

University of the Arts Helsinki
Sibelius Academy

**Jean Sibelius's *En saga* and Its Two Versions:
Genesis, Reception, Edition, and Form**

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

The present study examines the two versions of Jean Sibelius's tone poem *En saga*, Op. 9. It is divided into three parts. The first part sheds light on the genesis and revision of the work as well as on the reception of both versions. The programmatic interpretations of critics and scholars are also discussed, as are Sibelius's own sporadic remarks. The second part examines the critical editing of music. To begin, a short view is cast on the history of the text-critical approach in editing music. After that, special emphasis is placed on the complete critical edition *Jean Sibelius Works* (JSW): its principles and practices. The study then examines both versions of *En saga* from the perspective of critical editing. The surviving sources for both versions are introduced, as are the editorial questions that arose during the editing process. The questions and their solutions are discussed, and the versions compared. The third part is form-analytical. First, it discusses Sibelius's studies in music theory and his musical influences before composing *En saga*; second, it provides the theoretical background for the form-analytical approach that is applied in this study. The analysis focuses on the sonata form (through thematic events and harmonic aspects), which manifests on two levels: as a sonata form covering the entire work and as the four-movement sonata cycle appearing in the work's sections. The study examines such a two-dimensional sonata form in the two versions of *En saga* and traces the effects of the revision on the formal design.

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Preface

The present study examines Jean Sibelius's (1865–1957) tone poem *En saga* for orchestra, Opus 9, and its two versions dating from 1892 and 1902. The study is divided into three parts, which provide a historical, editorial, and form-analytical view of the two versions of *En saga*, respectively.

The idea of writing this study gradually came to mind during my work as an editor for the complete critical edition *Jean Sibelius Works* (JSW) while I was preparing the edition of *En saga*. I realized that the critical editing of music was a fairly new and unknown area of activity in Finland, as was the early version of *En saga* also. Thus, in writing this study, I initially had two aims in mind. Firstly, to broaden our common knowledge of the text-critical approach to music: what is done, why, and how. Much has been written about textual criticism in literature, but far less about the critical editing of music. Furthermore, the existing literature deals more with editing older music. With regard to Romantic music, the writings tend to be the prefaces of different critical editions, articles in conference proceedings or musical magazines, or chapters in anthologies of a specific composer. Editorial texts on Sibelius's music thus far consist of only JSW and related publications.¹ However, information acquired through this new scholarly branch opens new perspectives on Sibelius's music. In explaining this, I concentrate for obvious reasons on the practices and premises of the Sibelius project.

Secondly – and this is connected with the first reason – I wanted to introduce the early version of *En saga* to the public. Namely, the early version of *En saga* was published for the first time in the JSW volume in 2009. Before then, the availability of the score was limited: it appeared only as a manuscript up to the revision in 1902 and was then lost until 1935, when a manuscript copy was recovered and has since been housed in the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra archive. Consequently, few scholars have properly examined it.² The situation changed with the publication of the critical edition: it presents new information about the early version and also the opportunity to compare the early version to the revised one.

¹ Literature related to the already published JSW volumes appears on the project webpage: www.nationallibrary.fi/culture/sibelius/selectedliterature.html

² To the best of my knowledge, only two: Ringbom 1956 and Murtomäki 1990. Howell (1989) also mentions the early version, but he refers mostly to Ringbom's views.

While working with *En saga*, the overall form of it began to interest me more and more. Previous form-analytical literature on *En saga* is quite limited. The most extensive study, including comparison of the two versions, appeared in 1956.³ Thereafter, texts have focused on the revised version, probably because of the limited availability of the early version. This study therefore outlines the sonata form in the two versions of *En saga* and traces the effects of the revision on the formal design. Most writers tend to agree that *En saga* represents a sonata form. Differences between their interpretations have mostly to do with labeling the themes and defining structural borderlines.⁴ Liszt's Piano Sonata in B minor (S.178) entered the discussion as a formal model or counterpart, because in addition to the overarching sonata form, also a sonata cycle appears in *En saga* as well. I explain how, in my view, this two-dimensional sonata form (term by Steven Vande Moortele) functions in *En saga*.⁵ Additionally, when I became familiar with Warren Darcy's concept of "teleological genesis", I realized it helps to explain and identify the roles of the themes and their interconnections.⁶ The use of this concept offers a new perspective of the thematic events of *En saga*, which the two-dimensional sonata form does not include: it creates wider spans by connecting themes into longer units, and through its themes appearing in different phases of music.

To examine a work, one must also know its background, such as information on the composition process and possible revisions of the work. Thus, to open the study, I added a part that explains these matters. Additionally, since *En saga* is a tone poem, the possible program behind it has interested listeners and scholars over the years. Sibelius provided no specific program for it, only a few hints in different connections. I collected these as well as the various different interpretations and depictions of critics and scholars and present them under a few headings together with the reception of the first performances. From the beginning, both audiences and the critics warmly welcomed Sibelius's new work; in fact, it was considered Sibelius's best work thus far as well as very Finnish in nature. The revised version of 1902, in turn, was judged more mature and coherent as a composition and well suited to the arenas of the world, where it was headed.

³ Ringbom 1956.

⁴ These include, e.g., Murtomäki 1990, 1995; Ringbom 1956; Tanzberger 1943; and Tawaststjerna 1965.

⁵ Vande Moortele 2009.

⁶ Darcy 1997.

Chapters in Outline

The focus of Part I is the genesis and reception of *En saga*'s two versions. Chapter 1 sheds light on the genesis, the revision process, and its effects on the work as well as on the publishing process of the revised version; little is known about the composition process. Two sketches can be dated to 1891, when Sibelius was studying in Vienna. A letter from December 1892 declares the work to be finished. The revision took place ten years later over a few months' time. The impulse of the revision originated with Ferruccio Busoni's invitation, according to which Sibelius was to conduct his own work in Berlin in the fall of 1902. After the performance, a publishing contract was signed, and the revised version appeared in print in 1903. The early version fell into oblivion and was published only in 2009 in JSW.

Chapter 2 explains the reception of the two versions of *En saga* from two viewpoints. Firstly, the chapter discusses the first performances of both versions and their public response in Finland. Secondly, it deals with the programmatic references of *En saga*. The work is a tone poem, although the composer specified no literary or other program for it. Many scholars and critics have found the situation enticing and have therefore suggested various ideas about the program. These interpretations seem to fall roughly into three categories: the work is interpreted as being related to painting, Finnishness, and to a particular tale or events. Chapter 2 sums up these ideas and also presents Sibelius's own, sporadic mentions.

Part II focuses on the principles of critical editing by first offering background on editing music and then on specific questions about *En saga*. Chapter 3 concentrates on the critical editing of music by shedding light on the history and practice of critical editing with a particular focus on the editing of romantic music. Some general principles are defined, and the entire path from sources to the publication of the first edition is explained. In addition, a sample case involving accents appears at the end of the chapter to demonstrate the various interpretations a single mark can evoke among professionals during the publication process.

In Chapter 4, the study then explains more thoroughly the premises of the JSW project. The source situations of Sibelius's works are explained as are the typical practices of the past copyists and engravers who were occupied during Sibelius's lifetime. Sibelius's notational practices have been discussed with examples, although the sources for *En saga*

include only a few sketches as autographs. Still, knowing these practices helps to understand the (mis)interpretations or alterations that the copyists and engravers made. In addition, some tacit emendations carried out in JSW are based on the knowledge of these practices.

Chapters 5 to 7 then focus on the tone poem *En saga* by going deeper into the editing process. The chapters pose questions that arose during the critical editing process and illustrate them with music examples. The questions involve problems originating from the sources, which are few and not in the hand of Sibelius. For the early version, only copies in the hand of an unidentified copyist survive, whereas for the revised version, only the printed materials are extant. Moreover, the sources include errors, misinterpretations, and inaccuracies. Chapter 5 explains the editorial questions about the early version, and Chapter 6 explores these same questions in the revised version. Chapter 7 discusses the interaction between the versions in editing: whether and how the two versions of *En saga* can influence the editorial solutions made for the one version or the other version.

Part III views *En saga* from the form-analytical point of view. Chapter 8 introduces Sibelius's theoretical studies and musical influences before composing *En saga* as well as the theoretical background and terminology of the present study. My analysis applies features of the sonata form, which manifest on two levels, therefore I use the term "two-dimensional sonata form."⁷ Another important concept is "teleological genesis," which describes the thematic events of *En saga* quite well.⁸

In Chapter 9, the formal structure of *En saga* and its connections to the sonata form – to both the four-part cycle and the one-part form – is the essential question. Views on the formal structure of the previous writers are commented on, and I express my own view. The form in both versions is discussed in detail section by section (exposition, development, recapitulation) from the viewpoint of the two-dimensional sonata form. Then, the features of a four-movement sonata cycle are discussed. After the explanations of the early version comes an explanation of the effects of the revision on the form.

⁷ The term is adapted from Vande Moortele 2009.

⁸ The term is adapted from Darcy 1997.

Notes on Examples

Facsimiles:

The names of the instruments do not appear on every page. In the text, the staff (or staves) in question has been assigned a number. The numbering begins from the top of the page unless noted otherwise.

The printed first edition of *En saga* lacks bar numbers. In this study, passages are referred to by their page numbers and rehearsal letters. The page numbers always refer to the first edition by Breitkopf & Härtel (Leipzig 1903); the rehearsal letters remain the same in JSW.

Abbreviations and Other Indications

B&H	Publishers Breitkopf & Härtel
HPO	Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra (Helsingin kaupunginorkesteri/Helsingfors Stadsorkester = Helsinki City Orchestra), originally the Orchestra of the Helsinki Orchestral Society
HUL	Signum used for Sibelius musical manuscripts in the National Library of Finland (former Helsinki University Library) Sibelius collection (see Kilpeläinen 1991).
JSW	<i>Jean Sibelius Works</i> , the complete critical edition
ms	manuscript
NA	National Archives of Finland, Helsinki
NL	National Library of Finland, Helsinki
SAL	Sibelius Academy Library, Helsinki
SFA	Sibelius Family Archive (at NA)
SibMus	Sibelius Museum, Turku
Ö.	Signum used for Sibelius musical manuscripts added to the Sibelius collection at the National Library of Finland after the compilation of Kilpeläinen 1991.

Pitch names are given according to the British system whereby *c*¹ designates middle C. Major mode keys have been referred to with upper-case letters, and minor modes with lower-case letters.

Pseudonyms

- A. J. Armas Järnefelt of *Uusi Suometar*
Bis K. F. Wasenius of *Hufvudstadsbladet*
E. Otto Ehrström of *Uusi Suometar*
E. K. Evert Katila of *Uusi Suometar*
K. Karl Flodin of *Nya Pressen*
O. Oskar Merikanto of *Päivälehti*

Unidentified pseudonyms:

Cis of *Uusi Suometar*

F of *Hufvudstadsbladet*

M. P. of *Svenska Dagbladet*

P. S. of *Germania*

W. K. of *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*

PART I

GENESIS AND RECEPTION

1 GENESIS, REVISION, AND PUBLISHING

Jean Sibelius's (1865–1957) early output preceding *En saga* consists mostly of solo songs, piano pieces, and chamber music, but also includes a few orchestral works. His first works for orchestra are Overture E major (JS 145) and *Scène de ballet* (JS 163), both composed while Sibelius was studying in Vienna in spring 1891. His largest work thus far, however, was his breakthrough work *Kullervo* (Op. 7), a choral symphony which premiered in spring 1892. Later during that same year, Sibelius finished the tone poem *En saga* (Op. 9), which then premiered in the early spring of 1893 and has since been among the most performed works of Sibelius.¹ *En saga* is an outstanding work in Sibelius's oeuvre in at least two ways: it was the first tone poem of a long list of others to come and was the first orchestral work by Sibelius to attain a steady position in the concert repertoire.²

The composition history of the work is somewhat obscure: only some of the composer's own statements on the composition process survive, some of which originate only from a later period. In addition, some hints of the composition process can be found in the correspondence. However, the facts found in these literary sources vary, and sometimes even differ from each other, so gaps still remain. Section 1.1 sheds light on the genesis of *En saga*.

¹ Sibelius used the Swedish name *En saga*, which is also used in the present study as well as in the critical edition. The Finnish translation, *Satu*, however, appeared from the beginning in concert programs and Finnish-language writings. In English, *En saga* means a fairy tale. In the following, the original citations in different languages use various versions of the title, which have all been translated to *En saga*.

² Although Sibelius called *Kullervo* a symphony while composing it and after its premiere, the program leaflet of the premiere called it a symphonic poem.

After a decade of successful performances, Sibelius revised his work in 1902; the revision is explained in Section 1.3. The revised version then replaced the early version, which disappeared for decades. Section 1.2 sheds light on the later history of the early version. The revised version was subsequently published in the year following the revision, as Section 1.4 shows. The early version of *En saga* was published for the first time in 2009 in the complete critical edition *Jean Sibelius Works*.³

1.1 The Composition of the Early Version

The motivation for composing *En saga* is often claimed – at least by Finnish biographers – to have come from conductor Robert Kajanus’s (1856–1933) request to Sibelius. Since *Kullervo* was too large a work to be performed frequently, Kajanus told Sibelius to write “something for the audience, something that would bring him a bit of true popularity: a piquant da capo piece.” This legend has circulated ever since.⁴ Even in 1921, Sibelius himself said “By the way, *En saga* was composed because Kajanus once asked me for something short. It became a slightly longer composition.”⁵ Later, however, the Kajanus connection annoyed Sibelius, who on several occasions denied that *En saga* had been composed for Kajanus. Sibelius stated that he was already composing the work, later to be called *En saga*, and began nothing new for Kajanus.⁶ In an interview held in 1921, Sibelius said that *En saga* is based on the motives he composed in Vienna while studying there in 1890–1891: “I began the work in Vienna and continued it in Monola, Lieksa, where we

³ See Wicklund 2009. The revised version also appears in the volume as critically edited and newly engraved.

⁴ “något för publiken, något som kunde förskaffa honom ett grand verklig popularitet: ett ‘pikant dacapostycke.’” Furuhjelm 1916, 135. This same mention can be found in Ekman 1935, 118–119; Ringbom 1948, 39; Tawaststjerna 1965, 307; as well as in the concert review in *Dagens Nyheter* of 5 December 1935.

⁵ “‘Satu’ syntyi muuten sen johdosta, että Kajanus pyysi kerran jotain lyhyttä. Siitä tulikin pitempi sävellys.” Väisänen 1921, 78.

⁶ When mention of composing *En saga* at Kajanus’s request appeared in the newspaper *Kaleva* by “Tähystäjä” on 5 December 1943, Sibelius denied it in his reply of 25 December to his son-in-law, Jussi Snellman, with the heading “Sibelius puts misinformation straight and explains” (*Sibelius oikaisee vääriä tietoja ja selittää*). The reply was not published (NA, SFA, file box 41). Sibelius also asked Nils-Erik Ringbom to clarify the facts about the history of the composition in his book (1948), which he did (he also clarified the matter in his article about *En saga* in 1956). The same explanation can be found in the memoirs written by Sibelius’s secretary: Levas 1957, 114.

were spending the late summer of 1892.”⁷ However, Sibelius may have recalled the time incorrectly, which, in fact, was not uncommon. By “beginning the work in Vienna” Sibelius may also mean that the work is based on the ideas sketched there.⁸

A sketchbook with the date 1891 survives (HUL 0419) and includes two sketches with themes that ended up in *En saga*. These appear on both sides of a green-colored folio (torn off from a bifolio). As Example 1.1 shows, on the one side (p. [263]) appears the theme found in b. 166ff. (150ff. in the revised version; for the themes, see Example 9.1 on pp. 184, 185). The theme appears in G minor, a key not found in either version of *En saga*. The theme is otherwise quite similar, except for the appearance of the pick-up bar and the level (no repetition) of the latter 8th note in b. 6; also the repetition of the 8-bar melody with the different ending tone has been shown.

On the other side of the folio (p. [262]), appears another theme found in b. 208ff. (b. 197 in the revised version), or at least a preliminary form of it, as Example 1.2 shows. This 8-bar theme also appears in a key (D minor) which appears in neither version of *En saga*; the melodic shape also differs somewhat from its final form (compare with Example 9.1). In addition, the time signature is $\frac{3}{4}$, not \mathbb{C} , which gives the theme a different character. In fact, this form of the theme brings to mind a critique from the premiere of *En saga* in which the critic noticed that “[t]o us, the fact that Mr. Sibelius, once within all this Finnishness, lets us hear a motif from Bizet’s opera, *Carmen*, seems a curious exception.”⁹ Sibelius may have heard *Carmen* in Vienna, where it was performed during his stay in December 1890. The reference to *Carmen* may refer to the habanera rhythm found in the aria “L’amour est un oiseau rebelle”; the same rhythm appears in *En saga* as a rhythmic pattern as well as in the theme seen in Example 1.1. In a letter from Vienna, Sibelius reported to his former music theory teacher Martin Wegelius (1846–1906) that he had heard Pauline Lucca sing *Habanera*: “I was mad about her. I felt a chill run up and down my

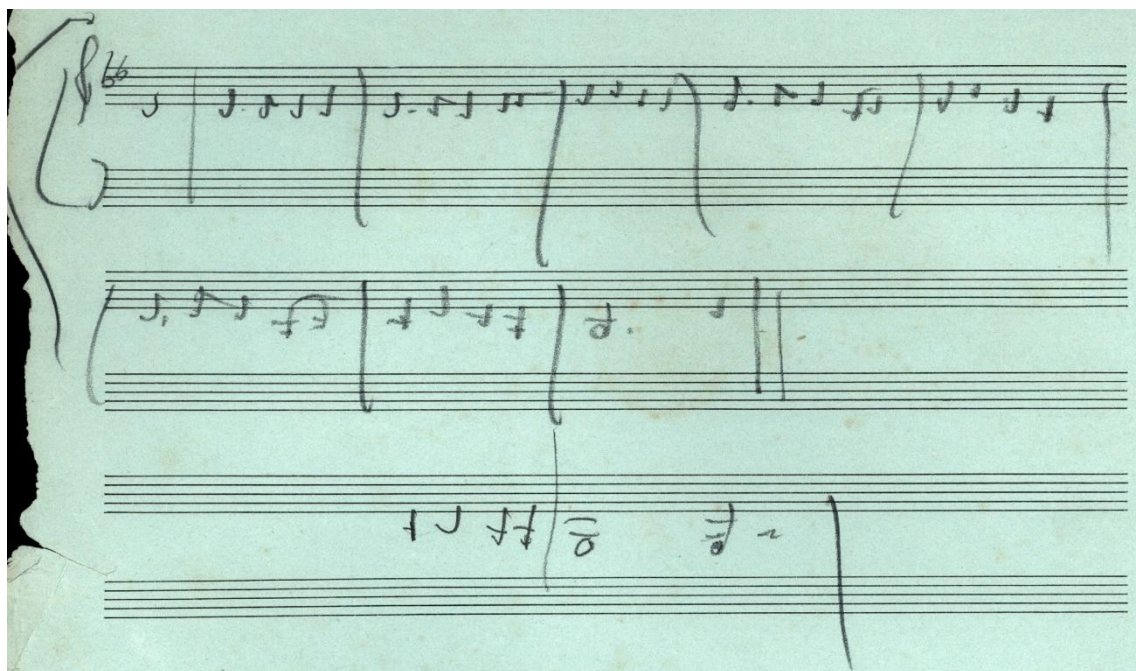
⁷ “Alun tähän sävellykseen tein Wienissä ja työtä jatkoin Lieksan Monolassa, jossa vietimme loppukesää v. 1892.” Väisänen 1921, 77–78. Sibelius may refer here to *En saga* when, in a letter to Aino about all wedding arrangements, he mentions that he has new composition plans. Letter dated 2 June 1892 (NA, SFA, file box 94).

⁸ For details on the sketches, see the Appendix.

⁹ Bis in *Hufvudstadsbladet* of 17 February 1893: “Endast som ett märkvärdigt undantag anteckna vi omständigheten att hr. Sibelius med ens bland all denna finskhet låter oss höra ett motiv ur Bizets opera *Carmen*.”

spine exactly as if someone were brushing me.”¹⁰ Another likely option is a reference to the melodic resemblance in a passage in the aria “Les tringles des sistres tintaient.”¹¹

Example 1.1. A sketch of *En saga* (HUL 0419, p. [263]).



Example 1.2. A sketch of *En saga* (HUL 0419, p. [262]).

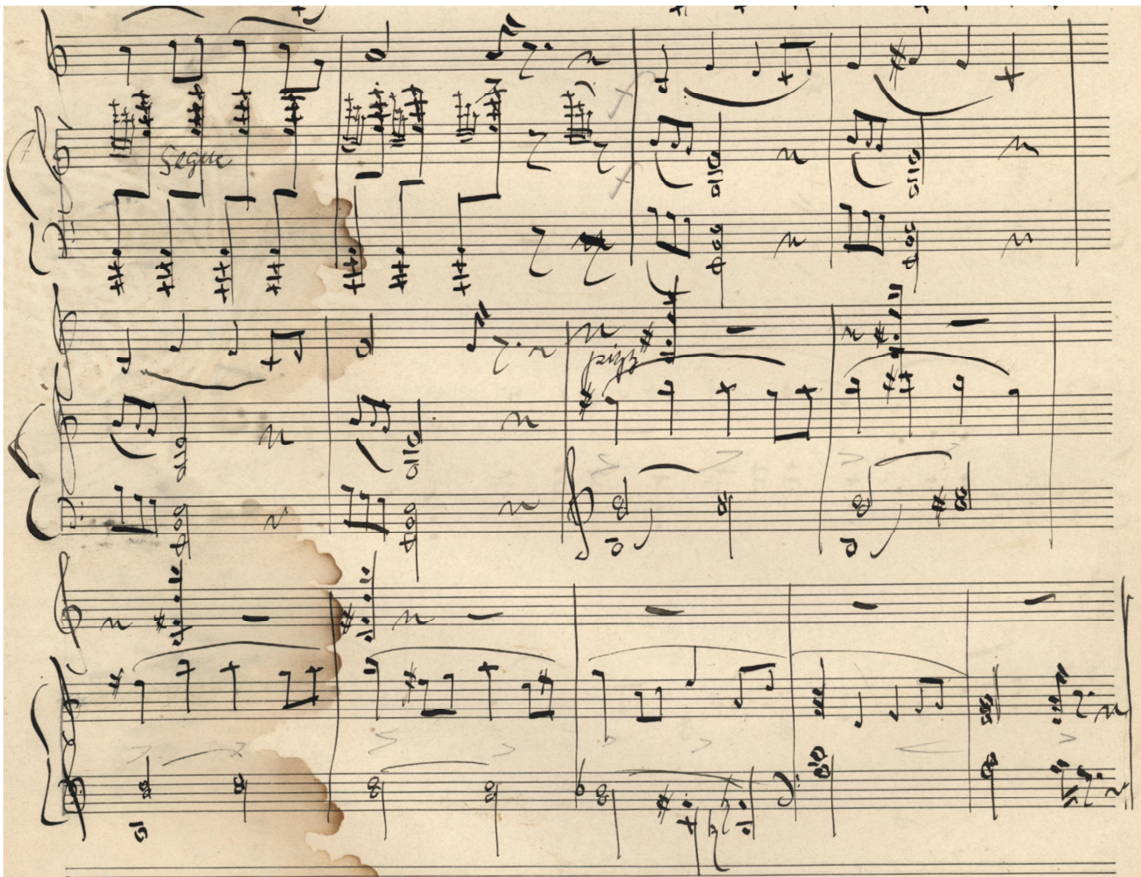


¹⁰ Pauline Lucca (1841–1908) was an Austrian soprano and belonged to the Viennese aristocracy. Letter to Wegelius dated 28 March 1891 (NA, SFA, file box 121, cited in Tawaststjerna 1992, 169): “Jag var galen i henne. Det gick kårer öfver ryggen på mig, som hade någon borstat mig.”

¹¹ The passage in question begins in b. 69 (with the words “Tra la la la_”). The aria is also known as “Chanson bohême.” See also Section 2.2.2.

Sibelius is known to have used old sketches for new compositions or to change his original plans concerning the use of a melodic annotation. Interestingly, a reminiscence of an earlier composition appears in *En saga* also. Namely, a melodic curve from the Violin Sonata (JS 178), dating from the summer of 1889, appears in the theme found in b. 38 onward in *En saga* (shown in Example 9.1). Example 1.3 shows a passage from the second movement of the Violin Sonata (bb. 8–20), where the melody in question begins in b. 10. (cf. *En saga*, early version: b. 50 ff. [nearly similar], 717ff., and 883ff.; and the revised version: bb. 46, 613, 741). Sibelius composed the Violin Sonata while he was still studying in Helsinki with Martin Wegelius, but he probably never showed the work to his teacher; it also remained unpublished during Sibelius's lifetime.¹²

Example 1.3. Sonata for violin and piano (JS 178), movement II, bb. 8–20.



¹² Furuhielm 1916, 50 and 71; Dahlström 2003, 610; Goss 1997, 105. The Violin Sonata was published in 1996 (Espoo: Fazer).

The work that later became *En saga* was apparently not initially intended as an orchestral work, but rather a chamber work. Although the exact phases of the composition process are unknown, some information can nevertheless be found in Sibelius's letters to his friend, writer Adolf Paul (1863–1943). In late September 1892, Sibelius shared his plans for a new composition: “I shall include a septet. I have a totally new form for it. So it – some moods – contrasts and clear, light colors and sharp gestures. Do not tell any living soul about it because not a single note yet exists.”¹³ The next mention two months later, in November, concerns a composition, *Balettscen* No. 2, which has not survived, at least not with that title. At this point Sibelius seems to have forsaken the idea of a chamber work – a septet, an octet, or a nonet, as he later recalled – and began thinking in orchestral terms.¹⁴ He wrote: “Do you think Weingartner would be interested in getting *Balettscen* No. 2 (it is totally of a tale in romantic style, 1820) from me? Do you think so?”¹⁵ Although nothing was actually written of the composition of the players, bringing out the name of conductor Felix Weingartner does refer to an orchestral work, as does the title of the work, *Balettscen*, since *Balletsken* No. 1, dating from 1891, is an orchestral work. This work, *Balettscen* No. 2, was possibly – even probably – a nearly completed version of *En saga*. Although no more mention of *Balletsken* No. 2 can be found, one month later, in December 1892, Sibelius tells Paul that “I have finished a ‘Saga’ for orchestra. You should be impressed by it. It is Rausch. I have been thinking about Böcklin’s paintings. Why, he paints air that is too clear, swans that are too white, and sea that is too blue, and so on.”¹⁶ Of course, Sibelius’s earlier descriptive word to Paul, “a fairy tale” (*saga*), is also easily connected to a *saga*.

¹³ A letter written in Helsinki on 27 September 1892, preserved in the Royal Library of Stockholm (copies in NL, Coll. 602.62.1): “En septett skall jag taga i hop med. Jag har en aldeles ny form för den. Så den – några stämningar – kontraster och klara, ljusa färger och skarpa gesturer. Tala ej åt någon lefvande om den ty ej en enda ton finnes ännu.”

¹⁴ According to Furuholm (1916, 118), Sibelius planned *En saga* as an octet (also mentioned in Ekman 1935, 98). However, in Väisänen (1921, 78), Sibelius said that “It [*En saga*] was originally written for a nonet” (Alkuaan se on kirjoitettu nonetille). The early version has been “reconstructed” as a septet by Professor Gregory Barrett in 2003, but as Sibelius’s letters show, no such work existed. The “reconstruction” should therefore be called an arrangement. No chamber works originating from 1892 are presently known (except a duo for two violins, JS 66).

¹⁵ Felix Weingartner (1863–1942) was an Austrian conductor, composer, and pianist. A letter with a stamp from 13 November 1892 (NL, Coll. 602.62.1): “Männe Weingartner vore intresserad att af mig få en Balettscen No 2 (den är aldeles om en saga i den romantiska stilen, 1820). [T]ror Du det?”

¹⁶ Arnold Böcklin (1827–1901) was a Swiss symbolist painter (see Section 2.2.1). In a letter dated 10 December 1892 in Helsinki: “Jag har en ‘Saga’ för orkester färdig. Du borde anslås af den. Den är

Sibelius later told his son-in-law, conductor Jussi Jalas (1908–1985), about the finished score: “After I had finished *En saga*, I took it right away to a bindery. I picked it up on Christmas Eve, but the ink had smeared onto the opposing pages, thus ruining the score. I immediately began to rewrite it, which my mother-in-law found odd because it was Christmas.”¹⁷

1.2 Later History of the Early Version

Neither the autograph manuscript nor the orchestral parts of the first performance of the early version of *En saga* have survived. In fact, all materials of the early version were considered lost after the revision in 1902. Some even searched for the materials; while gathering materials for his biography of Sibelius, Erik Furuhjelm (1883–1964) wrote to Sibelius on 18 July 1916 that “[e]ither you or I could write to Schnéevoigt and possibly ask him if he knows where the original *En saga* score is. Since the revision affected both the form and the orchestration, it would be most interesting for me to go through the first version.”¹⁸ However, the materials were found only in 1935, when conductor Georg Schnéevoigt (1872–1947) was unexpectedly able to recover his own copies from Riga. Schnéevoigt had borrowed both the full score and the orchestral parts from Sibelius when he had had the materials copied for himself while launching his career as a conductor in 1901 by conducting the Riga 700th anniversary orchestra during the summer.¹⁹ Thereafter, these sources for the early version – the manuscript copy together with the orchestral parts – have belonged to the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra.

rausch. Jag har tänkt på Böcklins taflor. Han målar ju den för klar luft, för hvita svanar, för blått haf med m.”

¹⁷ A note, based on a discussion with Sibelius, dated 31 December 1943 by Jalas (NA, SFA, file box 1): “Kun olin saanut Sadun valmiiksi vein sen tuoreena sitojalle. Jouluaattona kävin sen noutamassa ja muste oli tarttunut vastakkaisille sivuille niin että partituuri oli aivan pilallinen. Ryhdyin heti kirjoittamaan sitä uudelleen, mitä anoppini ihmetteli kun oli joulu.” Neither copy has survived.

¹⁸ In his book (1916, 145), Furuhjelm mentions that the original manuscript has not been recovered. “Vare sig Du eller jag skrifver till Schnéevoigt, vore det mähända skäl att samtidigt fråga honom, om han vet var det ursprungliga partituret till En saga finnes. Eftersom ju omarbetningen berört både formen och instrumenteringen, vore det af allra största intresse för mig att genomgå den första affattningen.” (NA, SFA, file box 19).

¹⁹ More details on the sources appear in Section 5.1. For Schnéevoigt’s career, see Erickson 1984, 44.

Schnéevoigt was interviewed for newspapers about the recovery, but the matter still remains somewhat unclear. In spring 1935, a Finnish newspaper reported that “while in Riga as a cellist, he [Schnéevoigt] had the score and orchestral parts copied.”²⁰ Later, in 1935, an article in a Swedish newspaper reported that the score was copied 36 years before, in 1899.²¹ This year could be possible because the papermark of Breitkopf & Härtel on the Schnéevoigt copies first appeared in 1899. However, the local newspapers mentioned no performances of *En saga* in Riga before the summer of 1902. Therefore, Schnéevoigt likely had the score and parts copied in 1901 at the earliest, while he was conducting the summer season orchestra in Riga for the first time. He obviously had the materials copied before the work was revised, because the revised version then replaced the early one. After the revision, no interest was shown in the early version, which is probably why the copy of it remained in Riga (in the library of Zeebad Scheveningen). No performances between 1902 and 1935 are presently known.

Whether Sibelius altered or corrected the work after its premiere and before lending the score to Schnéevoigt for copying remains unknown. Some markings on the score suggest that at least one cut took place. Namely, both the rehearsal letter U and the rehearsal number 3 appear in the same bar (b. 393). Of course, this cut may already have taken place before the premiere, and both rehearsal letters might then have been copied onto the score and orchestral parts for some other reason. On the other hand, the revision may have created the need for a new copy of the score, which would explain the copying invoice from 1895.²² It is, of course, equally possible that Sibelius needed another copy to lend to Kajanus, for instance, for a summer season orchestra performance.

In any case, that the score and parts were found and returned to Schnéevoigt in 1935 was quite fortunate because these copies were and even today remain the only surviving sources for the early version of *En saga*. The recovery was received quite favorably and with great interest in Finland, and Schnéevoigt conducted both versions of *En saga* in several

²⁰ Schnéevoigt was originally a cellist and played in the HPO between 1895 and 1903. In Riga, however, he apparently devoted himself entirely to conducting (Erickson 1984, 44). “Sagan om En saga” by Otto Ehrström in *Hufvudstadsbladet* of 30 March 1935: “under sin vistelse i Riga som violincellist lät han kopiera Sibelius’ manuskript jämt stämmor.” Ehrström also states that Schnéevoigt had purchased the materials back with the HPO.

²¹ M. P. in *Svenska Dagbladet* of 5 December 1935.

²² A copying invoice dated 11 July 1895 by August Österberg for the score of *En saga*; another invoice dated 21 December 1898 by Ernst Röllig for the orchestral parts of *En saga*; (NA, SFA, file box 3). Neither copy has survived.

concerts during that same year, 1935. He also conducted the early version for the first time at Sibelius's 70th anniversary concert on 4 December 1935 in Malmö, Sweden.

Since 1935, the early version has been performed every now and then. Both versions were broadcast on Swedish radio in 1944 and on Finnish radio in 1958, and the early version was performed at a concert in Helsinki in 1963, after which all the materials were apparently lost again. They were recovered only because conductor Alun Francis found them in a second-hand bookshop in Oxford in the 1970s and gave them to conductor Paavo Berglund (1929–2012), who then returned them to the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra Music Library.²³ The early version was performed a few times in the 1990s and since, and was even recorded in 1996.²⁴

1.3 The Revision of *En saga*

In the summer of 1902, Sibelius's friend, composer, conductor, and pianist Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924) suggested that Sibelius come and conduct one of his orchestral works in Berlin, where Busoni arranged a series of three concerts with modern music. He asked a favor of Sibelius: “You should – according to my plan – give the main number. Would you grant me the honor and conduct your *En Saga*? In the beginning of November. The Philharmonic Orchestra. Two rehearsals.”²⁵ The choice of *En saga* for the concert was a difficult task for Sibelius. He discussed the matter over the summer with Busoni, who also suggested Symphony [No. 2?] and symphonic poem *Skogsrådet*. Sibelius himself seems to have suggested a choral work as well, possibly the new work *Tulen synty* or even *Kullervo*. Busoni, however, replied: “Unfortunately I cannot give myself up to the uncertainty and inconvenience caused by singers [...] Therefore, I believe we had better stick to the ‘pure’ orchestra.” On 10 September 1902, a little less than two months before the Berlin concert, Busoni asked Sibelius “to decide soon and to send the chosen work, the score and the

²³ Paavo Berglund wrote the information on the flyleaf of the full score. He also confirmed the information orally to the author in October 2006.

²⁴ The Lahti Symphony Orchestra made the first recording: BIS-CD-800.

²⁵ A letter dated 12 June 1902 (NA, SFA, file box 17): “Du sollst – nach meinem Plan – eine Hauptnummer abgeben. Würdest Du mir die Ehre erweisen, dein ‘En Saga’ zu dirigieren? Anfanges November. Das Philharmonische Orchester. Zwei Proben.”

correct parts, immediately.”²⁶ Even so, a week later, Busoni sent Sibelius a telegram, again asking him to decide between *En saga* and the Symphony, and to telegram him the decision.²⁷ In the end, Sibelius decided to perform *En saga*, but to revise it first. Whether Sibelius had planned the revision already earlier or whether he decided it right there and then remains unknown. Sibelius at least seems to have made the decision to revise already in July, since Sibelius’s friend and patron Axel Carpelan (1858–1919) wrote to his cousin about his visit with Sibelius in Tvärminne: “S[ibelius] travels to Berlin in November where he will conduct his *En saga* in revised form in Busoni’s concert.”²⁸

Sibelius spent the summer of 1902 working in Tvärminne, where he wrote to his wife Aino (1871–1969) on 18 September – a week after Busoni had asked for the materials: “Beloved darling! [...] Just now I have to prepare *En saga* to be played in Berlin. Otherwise I am in a happy mood. Nature here is so wonderful.”²⁹ The beginning of the revision was postponed, however: on the following day, Sibelius received a message from his copyist, Ernst Röllig, informing him that the score of *En saga* had not yet arrived from Kiev.³⁰ Still, a few days later Sibelius wrote to Aino that he is still waiting for the score.³¹ But on the following day, he was probably already working on *En saga*, since on the surviving sketch pages Sibelius marked *24 Sept[ember]*. In mid-October, he was apparently still thinking of the work: on a postcard from Axel Carpelan, dated 14 October, Sibelius drew staves and notated over the text a fragment of the theme, heard in b. 166 onward.³²

Thus, Sibelius seems to have revised the work in quite a short period of time, about one month. To save time and trouble, he probably used the manuscript pages of

²⁶ A letter dated 10 September 1902 (NA, SFA, file box 17): “Ich kann leider mit Sängern u. den daraus folgenden Unsicherheiten und Umstaendlichkeiten mich nicht einlaßen [...] Darum glaube ich besser, wir halten uns an das ‘reine’ Orchester.” and “schnell zu entschliessen und Partitur u. korrekte Stimmen des gewählten Werkes sofort zu schicken.”

²⁷ Telegram dated 16 October 1902 (NA, SFA, file box 17).

²⁸ Letter to Lydia Rosengren, dated 28 July 1902 (Åbo Akademi Brevsamling, Rosengren familjen, file box 31): “I november reser S.[ibelius] till Berlin, där han på en Busoni konsert skall dirigera sin ‘Saga’ i reviderad gestalt.”

²⁹ A letter written in Tvärminne on 18 September 1902 (NA, SFA, file box 95): “Rakas kulta! [...] Paraikaa täytyy nyt saada ‘satua’ kuntoon Berliinissä soitettavaksi. Olen muuten iloisella tuulella. Täällä on luonto niin ihana.”

³⁰ Kajanus probably had the manuscript with him while he conducted concerts during the summer in Kiev (see Sirén 2010, 57). “Unfortunately I cannot send you the score of *En saga* yet, since the materials have not yet arrived from Kiev!” (Kann Ihnen die Partitur von der ‘Saga’ leider noch nicht senden, indem die Noten von Kieff noch nicht eingetroffen sind!) in a letter dated 19 September 1902 (NA, SFA, file box 26).

³¹ A letter written in Tvärminne on 23 September 1902 (NA, SFA, file box 95): “I’m waiting for *En saga*. Meanwhile I’m composing something new. [I have] various plans about which [I’ll tell you] when we’ll meet.” (Odotan ‘sagan’ tuloa tänne. Sillä aikaa teen täällä uutta. Kaikenmoisia plaaneja joista kun tavataan.)

³² The postcard is preserved in NA, SFA, file box 18. See the List of Sketches.

the early version as a basis for the revision: he reused all those pages with no or only minor alterations and rewrote the passages of music only for substantial alterations. Sibelius is known to have used this technique with other works also, which would explain why the autograph manuscript of the early version has not survived; unfortunately, neither has the autograph manuscript for the revised *En saga*. Therefore, the revision process remains somewhat of a mystery. Despite the short period of time, the revision was completed on time, as Carpelan reported to his cousin on the day of the first performance: “*En saga* ready in the nick of time, fine.”³³

The revision of *En saga* was quite extensive. The length of the work was reduced by about one sixth (142 bars); in addition, the instrumentation and articulation were significantly changed. The melodic materials, however, remained mostly intact. All the themes that are repeated several times in the course of the work remained. Nevertheless, Sibelius cut out the new thematic material from the development of the early version. The removal of this material also affected the recapitulation, where some fragments of it appeared. That phase was therefore removed from the revised version (see Section 9.2). The removal of the new thematic material from the development was the main reason for the shortening of the revised version. Namely, when Sibelius removed the new material, he added little else, but treated the next theme developmentally (see Figure 9.3). In addition, he also made some minor deletions or ellipses. One example occurs around the first theme, which in the early version is preceded (as is each of its statements) with an 8-bar preparatory passage (bb. 30–37, 58–63). This was shortened to four bars in the revised version. For more details of the effect of the revision on the form, see Section 9.4 (Summary). In addition, the revision reduced the restlessness of the harmony and the key changes. The long and frequent pedal points additionally created the more stable nature of harmony. Moreover, the changes of tempo indications have reduced from the over 20 appearances in the early version by a third compared to the revised one.

An illuminating example of the details that Sibelius changed is the theme appearing in b. 166ff. (b. 150 in the revised version; see Example 9.1 on p. 185). Sibelius orchestrated the theme anew: in the early version, the violas and cellos play the theme in pizzicato, doubled by the horns. The ending (bb. 173–175), which follows the theme statement before the second statement, is played by the violins and doubled by the flutes. In the

³³ A postcard to Lydia Rosengren dated 3 November 1902 (Åbo Akademi Brevsamling, Rosengren familjen, file box 31): “Sagan färdig sista minuten, praktig.”

revised version, the violas still play the theme, but with bow and with no doublings; the doublings were also removed from the ending.³⁴ Removal of the doublings changed clearly the color of the theme. Other typical changes include Sibelius's addition of some articulation and dynamic markings for the themes. In addition to changing pizzicato to arco, Sibelius added dots, lines, and slurs to the theme. Moreover, he changed the tremolo in the basses to tied whole notes, which are doubled by the horns (thus, changing to pedal tones instead of doubling the theme). Consequently, the texture also changed. This change was reinforced with the new patterning in the cellos: instead of doubling the theme, the cellos play arpeggiated chords as pizzicato. The dynamics were somewhat changed as well: more crescendo and diminuendo wedges appear in the revised version, where the dynamic level is otherwise softer, too.

1.4 Publishing

Sibelius tried to publish the early version of *En saga* in 1895 by offering it, together with the symphonic poems *Skogsrädet*, Op. 15, and *Vårsång*, Op. 16, to a Russian publisher, but without success. Namely, in the fall of 1895, Ferruccio Busoni wanted to help his friend Sibelius to receive public recognition for his “genial talent” (genialen Begabung). He therefore advised Sibelius to offer his compositions to the Russian publisher Mitrofan Belaieff (1836–1904). Belaieff published only Russian music, but Busoni's idea was that a Finnish composer could be included among the Russian ones, because Finland was a Grand Duchy under Russian sovereignty. With this idea in mind, Busoni contacted the Russian composer Alexander Glazunov (1865–1936), “Belaieff's left hand”, who promised to make enquiries. In October, Busoni wrote to Sibelius: “He [Glazunov] writes me [...] that the thing has been decided in the favor of the Finns and asks your works to be sent to Belaieff. The acceptance is decided by a ‘committee’ consisting of three admirable and honest artists, so I do not doubt your success. I would advise [you] to send *En saga*,

³⁴ See also Wicklund 2010a.

Vårsång, and *Skogsrået* and certainly immediately.”³⁵ In November, Sibelius did indeed write to Belaieff: “I have dared to send you some of my compositions only because Ferruccio Busoni asked me to. There are three of them. I apologize that the third score is so badly written. I would be grateful to you, if you would kindly read them through and possibly have them printed.”³⁶ Sibelius probably attached the works Busoni recommended. However, Sibelius’s offer to the publisher came to nothing, perhaps because a Finnish composer could not be regarded as a Russian one after all, or maybe the “admirable and honest” committee did not value Sibelius’s works highly enough. No explanatory documents are presently known. Although the early version of *En saga* was performed throughout the late 1890s, no other attempt to publish it before the JSW volume is presently known. Thus, the early version was published for the first time in the critical edition.

Rather, the revised version of *En saga* was published. The contract for publishing was signed by Sibelius and Helsingfors Nya Musikhandel a day before the premiere of the revised *En saga* in November 1902.³⁷ The actual printing took place in Germany by Breitkopf & Härtel, who informed Sibelius about the arrival of the materials in November, even though the score was eventually printed only in the following fall of 1903.³⁸ The first printed edition included no opus number, which appeared for the first time on the piano arrangement (by F. H. Schneider) in 1908. The new print of the full score (with new title pages but unchanged music pages) in 1920 by Breitkopf & Härtel includes the opus number 9 for the first time.³⁹

³⁵ “Er schreibt mir [...] dass die Sache zu Gunsten der Finnen entschieden ist und bittet Ihre Werke an Belaieff zu senden. Über die Annahme entscheidet ein ‘Comite’ von drei vortrefflichen und ehrlichen Künstlern, so dass ich nicht zweifle dass Sie Glück machen werden. Ich würde rathen die *Saga*, *Vårsång*, *Skogsrået* [*sic*] zu senden und zwar sofort.” Letter dated 25 October 1895 (NA, SFA, file box 17). Glazunov told Busoni that the ‘committee’ consisted of him, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, and Anatoly Liadov. This information appears in a letter that was auctioned at J. A. Stargardt’s in March 2006 (present whereabouts unknown).

³⁶ “Ihnen einige Compositionen zu senden habe ich nur gewagt weil Ferruccio Busoni mich darum bat. Es sind darin drei. Ich bitte um Entschuldigung dass die dritte Partitur sehr schlecht geschrieben ist. Wenn Sie die Gute haben die durchzulesen und vielleicht drucken lassen, bin ich Ihnen dankbar.” Original letter dated 18 November 1895, preserved in the Central Archives of Music, Moscow; typed copy in NA, Erik Tawaststjerna archive, file box 38.

³⁷ The contract is preserved in NA, SFA, file box 47.

³⁸ A postcard from B&H to Sibelius is preserved in NA, SFA, file box 47. In a postcard to Axel Carpelan, stamped 7 October 1903, Sibelius wrote that he had just received the score (NA, SFA, file box 120).

³⁹ This information was confirmed by Dr. Andreas Sopart of B&H Archives in fall 2007. However, he found no evidence of a new print, made in 1906, mentioned in Dahlström 2003, 29.

2 RECEPTION

This chapter sheds light on the reception of *En saga*. To begin, Section 2.1 describes the first performances of both the early version in 1893 and the revised version in 1902, and after that, discusses the programmatic readings of the work. The extramusical views of Sibelius, critics, biographers, and scholars seem to fall on three subjects: painting, Finnishness, and the story or events of the music. These subjects are all based mostly on either Sibelius's statements or the atmosphere created by the music, but a few writers also connect their views to specific passages in the music. Section 2.2 addresses the extramusical views in greater detail.

2.1 First Performances

2.1.1 First Performances of *En saga* in 1893

The premiere of *En saga*, conducted by Sibelius himself, took place on 16 February 1893 in the Solemnity Hall of the University of Helsinki. The program of the rest of the concert included Schumann's *Manfred* Overture, Grieg's *Peer Gynt* Suite No. 2 as well as songs by Gluck, Schumann, and Tchaikovsky, all of which were conducted by Robert Kajanus. According to reviews, the audience welcomed Sibelius's new work warmly with enthusiastic applause.

A young student described the concert to her sister that same night: “[I] have just returned home from a wonderful symphony concert. Sibelius’s *En saga*, among others, was played under his baton. In the rehearsal, it had not been liked at all, so there had been talk about leaving [...] in the concert, but thereafter nothing[;] he was much applauded. J. liked it terribly for the most [part, and it was] original and wonderful.”¹

In addition to the audience, the critics also enjoyed the new work, praising Sibelius’s originality and genius and proclaiming Sibelius’s new composition his best work so far, Finnish by nature, and splendidly orchestrated. The only fault mentioned was its length. The following passage from one of the reviews published in all four main newspapers in Helsinki at that time reflects the critics’ opinions.

Sibelius’s special Finnish nature as a composer is already well known from his previous works. The melancholy feeling he conveys through tones and the heavy, brooding, and often dissonant composition of these tones, which surround his feelings and which flow amply forth, are also well known. In these respects nothing very new emerges from this work, but on the contrary, many harmonic progressions, many harsh modulations, and many Finnish motives (e.g., redolent of Kullervo) evoke earlier works. [...] But what is new in this *En saga* is so worthy that it completely elevates this work above all of Sibelius’s other orchestral works. The extensive fantasy; the masterful handling of the simple, main motives in constantly new forms; the strength, which swells from the composer’s bosom to quite awesome, yet magnificent heights; the subtlety, which gently caresses the ear and perforce pushes its way into the heart; the richness of color which comes from the excellent orchestration and imitation of its effects: such are qualities that are by no means of low value. When, in addition to and in the background of all this, appear such beautiful, wafting Finnish motives tinged with sadness, as in this fantasy-like *En saga*, in our opinion it shows that Sibelius has taken a remarkable step forward in the noble task of his great soul. Yet if in several places little cuttings had taken place and not so

¹ I.[ngrid] Bergroth to her sister Naomi (Emi) de la Chapelle [née Bergroth] on 16 February 1893 (Andersson, unpublished notebook 9): “Har just kommit hem från en härlig sinfonikonsert. Bl. a. spelades Sibbes *En saga* för orkester under hans egen ledning. På repetitionen lär man ej als ha tyckt om den så att det t.o.m varit fråga om bort [unclear] på konserten, men deraf vardt intet han fick mkt applåder. J. tyckte rysligt om den för det mesta originell ock underbar.”

many repetitions occurred, which make an unquestionably tiresome and monotonous impression, the general effect of the work would doubtlessly have been better.²

The early version of *En saga* was performed several times, mostly in Helsinki but also in other, smaller towns, and at least in Turku, where the reception was also full of praise.³ According to the copyists' surviving invoices, additional copies were made of both the score and the orchestral parts;⁴ they may have been needed if two performances were to take place (nearly) simultaneously or if another conductor wished to borrow the materials for a longer period of time, such as for a summer season orchestra. Sibelius apparently needed one copy with him while he spent the summer 1894 in Central Europe. Namely, in September, he wrote to Aino: "I miss you so much now. The reason why I'm not coming immediately is that I would like to show my scores (*En saga* and [*Carelia*] Suite) to Busoni and others, and also to hear Falstaff (by Verdi), which Busoni praises so. [...] Yesterday I received a telegram from Helsinki stating that *En saga* has not yet been sent (Lindfors was supposed to send it and ask Kajanus first, who had not yet replied). When I receive the score and get my things done here, I'll leave."⁵ The correspondence does not indicate

² "Sibeliuksen suomalainen omatakeisuus säveltäjänä on jo hänen entisistä töistään kyllin tunnettu. Myöskin hänen surunvoittoinen tunteensa säveleissä ja tuo raskas, painostava ja monasti epäsointuisa sommitus äänistä, jotka hänen tunteitaan ympäröivät ja jotka virtana tulvehtivat esille – ne tunnetaan myöskin. Tästä uudesta teoksesta ei tällä alalla mitään erittäin uutta ilmesty, päinvastoin muistuttaa moni harmoniain seuraaminen, moni jyrkkä modulatiooni ja moni suomalainen motiivi (esim. Kullervo-musiikkia muistuttava) laillansa edellisistä teoksista. [...] Mutta mikä tässä 'Sadussa' taas on uutta, se on sen arvoista, että se kerrassaan panee tämän teoksen Sibeliuksen orkesteritöistä ensimmäiseksi. Se laajalle ulottuva mielikuvitus, se yksinkertaisten päämotiivien mestarillinen käsittely yhä uusissa muodoissa, se voima, mikä säveltäjän povesta paisuu aivan pelottavaksi ja samalla suurenmoiseksi, se hienous, joka pehmeästi hivelee korvaa ja pakosta tunkee sydämeen, se väririkkaus ja juuri sen vaikuttajana – erinomainen orkesterille sovittaminen ja sen efektien jäljitteleminen, – siinä ominaisuuksia, jotka eivät suinkaan ole vähästä arvosta. Kun kaiken tämän ohessa ja pohjalla on niin kauniita surulliselle vivahtavia ja suomalaisilta tuoksahavia motiiveja, kuin tässä fantasiiantapaisessa 'Sadussa', on Sibelius tällä teoksellaan mielestämme ottanut tuntuvan askeleen eteenpäin suuren sielunsa jalossa työssä. Jos vielä moniaisissa kohdin olisi pieniä lyhennyksiä tehty, eikä aina niin usein samaa kerrottu peräkkäin, joka kieltämättä tekee väsyttävän ja yksitoikkoisen vaikutuksen, olisi kappaleen kokonaisvaikutus epäilemättä ollut parempi." O. [Oskar Merikanto] in *Päivälehti* of 17 February 1893. Other reviews on the same day by E. [Otto Ehrström] in *Uusi Suometar*, Bis [K. F. Wasenius] in *Hufvudstadsbladet*, and K. [Karl Flodin] in *Nya Pressen*.

³ See, for example, *Abo Tidning* of 16 February 1894.

⁴ Invoices dated 11 July 1895 and 21 December 1898 (NA, SFA, file box 3). See Section 1.2, Footnote 22.

⁵ Pianist, composer, and conductor Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924) was Sibelius's friend. A letter to Aino (NA, SFA, file box 95) written in Berlin and dated 7 September 1894: "Nyt on ikävä sinua kovasti. Syy minkätähden en tule heti on se että tahtoisin näyttää partituuriani (Saga ja Svit) Busonille y. m. ja myös kuulla Falstaffin (Werdin) jota Busoni niin kehuu. [...] Eilen sain telegrammin Helsingistä että Saga ei vielä ole lähetetty (Lindfors piti lähettää ja ensiksi kysyä Kajanukselta, siltä ei ollut vielä tullut vastausta). Kun sen saan ja olen täällä toimittanut asiani niin lähdän."

whether the plans materialized. Presently, how Kajanus was involved remains unknown; perhaps Sibelius wanted to know whether Kajanus needed the score for a performance.

The early version was replaced with the revised version in 1902. The score of the early version was thought to be lost for good, until in 1935, when Georg Schnéevoigt got back the materials he had had copied for him in 1901. Both versions were played in Helsinki that very spring. After comparing the two versions with each other, the writers were thrilled to see the difference, testifying to the progress in Sibelius's skills. Otherwise, the reception was about the same as in 1902, when the revised version premiered (see below).

2.1.2 First Performances of the Revised *En saga* in 1902

The premiere of the revised *En saga* on 3 November 1902 in Helsinki was conducted not by Sibelius, but by Robert Kajanus. Other works in the concert were Svendsen's Symphony No. 2 and Bruch's Violin Concerto No. 1 with Jacques Thibaud as soloist. The concerto attracted the greatest attention in the reviews, which were positive and full of praise for *En saga*, if briefly so. The critics compared the revised version to the early one and thought that the new version was better, more coherent and logical. Since the papers reported the forthcoming Berlin performance, the critics also encouraged Sibelius by writing that they considered the work well worth performing abroad. Merikanto's review again summarizes the opinions: "The richness of detail has still grown through the revision, even though the work has simultaneously acquired a more unified artistic form. Only in a few places did we feel that the previous clarity had suffered. Perhaps the performance was not sufficiently detailed. [...] What already in this youthful work gives one cause to wonder is the richness of instrumentation, colorfulness, originality, and ingenuity. In these respects, *En saga* is an excellent demonstration anywhere, and it must be admitted that behind such a work must be none other than a genius."⁶

⁶ "Tuo pienten seikkojen ylönpaltisuus [*siv*] on tullut vielä lisätyksi viimeisen muodostelun kautta, mutta samalla on teos saanut kokonaisemman taiteellisen muodon. Ainoastaan muutamissa kohdissa meistä tuntui kuin entinen selvyys olisi uuden muodostelun kautta saanut kärsiä. Ehkei myöskään esitys ollut kylliksi detaljityötä. [...] Mikä jo tässä aikaisessa sävellyksessä ihmetystä herättää, on instrumentaationin rikkaus, monivärisyys, omintakeisuus ja nerokkaisuus. Tässä suhteessa kelpaa 'Satu' näytelappaleeksi missä tahansa, ja kaikkialla on tunnustettava, että sellaisen teoksen takana ei voi olla muu kuin nero." O. in *Päivälehti* of 4 November 1902.

A little criticism was also expressed: “What is new in the later version is the greater concentration, the fewer powerful crescendi, and the more brilliant use of horns. [...] The performance did not present the work in the best possible light.”⁷ In fact, all the critics agreed that the performance was not as good as they wished. This may have resulted from the brief rehearsal time caused by the lateness and haste of the revision process (see Section 1.3).

The next performance – and the very reason why Sibelius revised the work in the first place – took place in Berlin two weeks later on 15 November and was conducted by Sibelius himself. Being only the second time Sibelius had conducted abroad, it was a significant occasion.⁸ He reported home to Aino in depth:

Now my things here are as follows. I visited Busoni. He was, of course, very kind. But – I can rehearse only on Thursday!! You can imagine how angry I was, especially because of the Åbo [Turku] concert. I could have given it. [Sibelius had to cancel the concert because Busoni wired that he was needed in Berlin]. I can rehearse twice on Thursday. I guess it will go all right. I am very curious. My fellow competitors are Belgian [Theophyle] Ysaye (brother of the king of the violin), [Frederick] Delius from Paris, and von Michailovsk [Michailovich]. [...] My journey was long. I worked almost all the time. I checked the parts. Otherwise, everything has gone well. [...] I am second on the program. At first I was angry, but now I think it is a good place. Here in Berlin, the audience tires quickly. Kajus [Kajanus] also thought that the best place would be in the beginning. I don’t think so, and I suspect you don’t either. I sent you a telegram about the place today. [Second letter with the same date of 12 November:] Everything is in order concerning *En saga*. At least [it] should be. The score [has been] written to the end and the parts checked. What a terrible job it was. All ten copies of the first violin parts, for example, have fourteen pages each. That already

⁷ “Uutta myöhemässä muodostelussa on etenkin suurempi keskittäminen, muutamat voimakkaat crescendot ja torvien loisteliaampi käytäntö. [...] Esitys ei mielestämme saattanut eilen teosta kaikkein parhaimmassa valossa esille.” E. K. [Evert Katila] in *Uusi Suometar* of 4 November 1902.

⁸ The first time Sibelius conducted abroad was in Heidelberg in the summer of 1901 (*The Swan of Tuonela* and *Lemminkäinen’s Return*). In 1943, Sibelius dictated to Jussi Snellman: “Sibelius was present when Kajanus conducted his composition *Aino* in Berlin in 1890; when Sibelius left the concert, he thought: ‘Next time it will be me.’ This came true 11 [sic] years later when he conducted *En saga* in the same hall with the same orchestra.” (Sibelius oli läsnä kun Kajanus v. 1890 johti ‘Aino’-sävellyksensä Berliinissä; poistuessaan konsertista hän ajatteli: ‘Seuraavalla kerralla se olen minä’. Tämä toteutui siis 11 vuotta myöhemmin, jolloin hän samassa paikassa johti ‘Sadun’ saman orkesterin esittämänä.) in “*Sibelius oikaisee väärää tietoa ja selittää?*” (Sibelius puts misinformation straight and explains), (NA, SFA, file box 41).

makes 140 pages and some of the other parts are equally long. [Despite the date, Sibelius seems to have continued the letter on the following day, 13 November.] Now both rehearsals are over. They went well and they like *En saga* a lot. Busoni even embraced me. It is so beautiful. I'm going to conduct it in the Philharmonie on Tuesday and perhaps in Leipzig. I haven't decided on that yet.⁹

Later, Sibelius told Jussi Jalas about the rehearsals: "I conducted *En saga* at the music festival in Heidelberg. Because I was young and unknown, the viola players teased me and used uncomfortable fingerings. I borrowed one player's instrument and showed myself how that passage should be played. The attitude of the orchestra changed completely and the rehearsal went splendidly."¹⁰

The Finnish newspapers also took note of the concert in Berlin and reported – more extensively than for the Helsinki concert – what the German critics wrote about Sibelius's music. The reviews were mostly favorable, but some expressed their doubts: "The only valuable work of the four in the concert was *En saga* by the Finnish Sibelius. [...] the music develops logically and has character, the coloring is rich and attests to tastefulness, and all in all, the work, which could have been a little shorter, shows true artistic originality"; "the

⁹ Presently, no evidence shows that Sibelius would have had the opportunity to conduct in Leipzig. Sibelius's letter, written in the Hotel Bellevue Potsdamerplatz, Berlin and dated 12 November 1902 (NA, SFA, file box 95): "Täällä on nyt asiani seuraavasti. Olin Busonin luona. Hän oli hyvin ystävällinen tietysti. Mutta – vasta tuorstaina [sic] saan repeteerata!! Voit kuvailla kuinka se minua on suututtanut etenkin Åbo konsertin takia. Olisin voinut sitä pitää. Tuorstaina saan kaksi kertaa repeteerata. Kyllä kai se tulee menemään. Utelias olen kovin. Kanssakilpailiani ovat belgialainen Ysaye (veli viulun kuninkaalle) ja Delius Pariisista ja von Michailovsk. [...] Matkani oli pitkä. Tein työtä melkein koko ajan. Collationeerasin stämmat. Muuten meni kaikki hyvin. [...] På programmet är jag som numro två. I början var jag arg, men nu tror jag att det är en bra plats. Här i Berlin tröttnar publiken fort. Kajus tyckte att det vore bäst äfven i början. Jag icke och icke Du håller tror jag. I dag telegraferade jag till Dig om platsen." Another letter, also written in the Grand Hotel Bellevue, Berlin, and dated 12 November 1902: "Saagassa on kaikki kunnossa. Ainakin pitäisi olla. Partituuri loppuun kirjoitettu ja stämmat kollationeeratut. Hirveä homma siinä on ollut. Esim. kaikki 10 ensimmäistä viulustämmaa jossa jokaisessa 14 sivua. Se on jo 140 sivua ja muut vielä joskus yhtä pitkät – Nyt on molemmat probet ohi. Hyvin kävi ja paljon pitävät saagasta. Busoni ihan syleili. Kaunis se vaan on. Aion dirigeerata sen Filharmoniaassa tiistaina ja ehkä Leipzigissa. Tästä en ole vielä varmaan päättänyt."

¹⁰ Sibelius's statement is contradictory: he conducted *En saga* only in Berlin in 1902 and two *Lemminkäinen* legends in Heidelberg in 1901. The occasion to which Sibelius refers currently remains unknown, but based on the viola notation, *En saga* seems more probable. "Johdin Sadun Heidelbergin musiikkijuhlilla. Kun olin nuori ja tuntematon, tekivät alttoviulunsoittajat kiusaa ja käyttivät epämukavia sormijärjestyksiä. Pyysin eräältä heistä instrumentin ja näytin itse, miten se kohta oli soitettava. Orkesterin asenne muuttui täydellisesti, ja harjoitus sujui erinomaisesti." An undated note by Jussi Jalas (NA, SFA, file box 1).

work would have made an even more favorable impression if it had been performed by a skillful conductor.”¹¹

The dreaded critic Otto Lessmann of *Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* spared no words in his criticism of the other works: “The program of the second orchestral concert, given by Mr. Ferruccio Busoni and the Philharmonic Orchestra in the Beethoven hall, actually left a painful impression. [...] If steps forward in art should be illustrated in such works, the muse would veil her head.” He, too, however, praises Sibelius: “This music is full of spirit and meaningful content. Strange harmonic combinations and astonishing sonorities of seemingly heterogeneous harmonic elements also attract Mr. Sibelius, but one can nonetheless sense the organizing, masterly hand of a goal-oriented tone poet able to create a characteristic shape in tones from the original creations of his imagination, which captures the listener’s interest.”¹²

Not all the critiques were favorable, although here too it becomes clear that Sibelius was already of good repute: “And still another tone composer has this evening ‘sung away his chance’: the Finn Jean Sibelius. Towards meager, obstinate monotony, dry in invention, blunt in sound, his *En saga* drags on. Had we not known the opposite, after such a sample we would also have to count Sibelius among the large number of the less-talented. [...] After the failure of the second concert, the announcement of the continuation of the orchestra evenings in the autumn of 1903 seems nearly like blasphemy.”¹³

¹¹ *Päivälehti* of 27 November 1902, “Sibeliuksen ‘Satu’ Berliinissä” by an unknown writer who had translated the reviews. “Ainoa arvokas konsertin neljästä sävelteoksesta oli suomalaisen Jean Sibeliuksen ‘Satu’, [...] kehitys on johdonmukainen ja karakteria omaava, väritys on rikas ja hienoa aistia todistava, ja lopuksi ilmenee teoksessa, joka voisi olla hieman lyhyempi, merkitty taitelijayksilöllisyys,” originally by Otto Taubmann in *Börsen-Courier*. “Olisi teos tehnyt vieläkin edullisemmän vaikutuksen, jos se olisi esitetty jonkun taitavan johtajan kädestä,” originally from *Frankfurter Zeitung*.

¹² “Das zweite Orchesterkonzert, das Herr Ferruccio Busoni mit dem Philharmonischen Orchester im Beethovensaale gegeben hat, hinterließ seines Programmes wegen einen geradezu peinlichen Eindruck. [...] Wenn in solchen Werken sich der Fortschritt der Kunst darstellen sollte, dann mag die Muse ihr Haupt verhüllen. [...] Das ist Musik voller Geist und gedanklichem Inhalt. Auch Herr Sibelius gefällt sich in befremdlichen harmonischen Kombinationen und verblüffenden Zusammenklängen anscheinend heterogener harmonischer Elemente, aber bei ihm fühlt man doch die ordnende, meisternde Hand eines zielbewußten Tonpoeten, der den eigenartigen Gebilden seiner Fantasie eine charakterische Gestalt in Tönen zu geben vermag, die das Interesse des Zuhörers fesselt.” “Aus dem Konzertsaal” in *Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung* of 21 November 1902. Pseudonym P. S. agreed with this opinion in his writing “Die musikalische Woche” in *Germania* No. 270 of 22 November 1902.

¹³ Sibelius had conducted Tuonelan joutsen and Lemminkäinen palaa kotitienoille in the music festival in Heidelberg in the summer of 1901, where he found great success. “Berliner Konzerte” in *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten* by Rudolf Buck of 22 November 1902: “Und noch ein Tonsetzer hat am diesen Abend ‘versungen und verthan’: der Fine [*sic*] Jean Sibelius. Zu magerem, störrischem Einerlei, dürr in der Erfindung, stumpf im Klang, zieht sich seine ‘Sage’ hin. Wenn wir nicht das Gegentheil wüßten, müßte man nach solcher Probe auch Sibelius zu der großen Zahl der

The following day, Sibelius describes the concert and his feelings to Aino in a letter: “It went very well. I was called forth five (?) times. My *En saga* was the best novelty, I think. I was very calm and conducted well. They don’t really understand *En saga*. It is too fine for them. Here I send you the only critique I have hunted down (Lokalanzeiger). [...] The main thing is that I can conduct a world-class orchestra. And well! Everybody says that! I have planned to conduct it once again on Tuesday. We’ll see. I cannot leave here for a few days yet. Greetings from everybody here. Kitti [Sibelius’s brother Christian] (was perfectly delighted yesterday; Nelma [Christian’s wife] was said to have cried, since they were so moved.) It sure was wonderful.”¹⁴

On the following day, Sibelius was still in high spirits and had grown in confidence when he wrote to Aino: “I have had great success. I killed the whole other program. Here I send you one of Taubmann’s critiques. [...] I am so calm and sure about my art now. I have been acknowledged as an accomplished ‘artist’, and that is very much here in the whole wide world. [...] And then this, that ‘I can’ in my art. We could break through anywhere. And brilliantly.”¹⁵

Minderbegabten rechnen. [...] Nach dem Mißerfolg des zweiten Konzertes wirkt die Ankündigung, daß die Orchester-Abende im Herbst 1903 fortgesetzt werden sollen, fast wie eine Blasphemie.”

¹⁴ In the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* of 16 November 1902, pseudonym W. K. wrote: “*En saga* [...] offers concerning the working-out and purely sonorously much inspiring and partly things that succeed only in definitely compositionally talented brains.” (En saga [...] in der Arbeit und rein klanglich viel Anregendes und zum Theil Dinge bietet, die nur einem entschieden tonschöpferisch begabten Kopfe gelingen). Sibelius’s letter written in the Grand Hotel Bellevue, Berlin, and dated 16 November 1902 (NA, SFA, file box 95): “Meni oikein hyvin. Minua huudettiin esille viisi (?) kertaa. Minun saga oli mielestäni paras noviteetti. Olin hyvin levollinen ja dirigeerasin hyvin. Eivät ne oikein ymmärrä sagaa. Den är för fin för dem. Jag sänder Dig här den enda kritik jag fått tag uti (Lokalanzeiger). [...] Hufvudsaken är att jag kan dirigera en världsorkester. Och det bra! Det sade alla! Jag har tänkt dirigera den än engång om tisdag. Få nu se. Härifrån kan jag ej resa ännu förrän om några dagar. Hälsningar från alla här. Kitti (alldeles förtjust i går, Nelma lär gråtit, så rödda voro de.) Nog var det underligt.”

¹⁵ For Taubmann’s critique, see Footnote 11. A letter written in Hotel Bellevue, Berlin, and dated 17 November 1902 (NA, SFA, file box 95): “Suuri menestys on minulla ollut. Tapoin koko muun programmin. Lähetän tässä yhden Taubmannin kritiikin. [...] Olen niin levollinen ja varma nyt taiteessani. Olen tunnustettu eteväksi ‘Konstnär’ ja se on näin maailman keskuudessa hyvin paljo. [...] Och sedan detta att ‘jag kan’ i min konst. Vi kunna slå oss ut hvar som helst. Och det brillant [sic].”

2.2 Aspects of Programmatic Interpretations

En saga has awakened many programmatic associations in the listeners, beginning with its title. Sibelius consistently used the Swedish name *En saga*, which has two meanings: a fairy tale and a saga (an ancient Scandinavian legend).¹⁶ From the beginning, the Finnish name *Satu* appeared in concert programs and Finnish-language newspaper reviews. “*Satu*”, however, means a fairy tale, but does not include the meaning “saga.”

When the epithet tone poem was attached to *En saga* is not exactly clear. In the first concert programs and reviews, it was simply called “*En saga* for orchestra” or referred to as Sibelius’s new work. However, the pseudonym Bis of *Hufvudstadsbladet* called it a tone painting (tonmålning), and an unidentified critic in Turku a tone poem.¹⁷ The epithet “Tondichtung” was added to the score only for the revised version of 1902. From the beginning, however, the title of the work clearly implies it is to be understood poetically. Therefore, unsurprisingly, many explanations of the content have come to light over the decades. These interpretations seem to fall into three categories: painting, Finnishness, and the story or event.

Associations with painting originate from Sibelius, who mentioned he had been thinking of Arnold Böcklin’s paintings while composing *En saga*. Sibelius’s music, in turn, has inspired Axel Gallén to depict it through painting. Reviews and other writings, for their part, often mention a Finnish tone, which the first performances of the early version in 1893 highlighted in particular, probably due to rising nationalism and the deterioration of relations with the Russian Empire. After the presentation of *En saga* to European audiences, Northerness was added to Finnishness, probably initiating from the composer’s nationality and his homeland’s geographic position as well as the title. Other programmatic associations concerning the story or events in the music emerged in discussions mostly after the performances of the revised version in 1902. All these topics are discussed in the following sections one at the time, although the Northern aspect is often linked to the other programmatic depictions.

¹⁶ Sagas are stories about ancient Scandinavian and Germanic history, written mainly in Iceland in the 12th to 14th century. They are texts in prose, often with embedded poems, and tell tales of worthy men and of heroic deeds of days long ago.

¹⁷ Bis on 17 February 1893 and an unidentified critic in *Åbo Tidning* of 16 February 1894.

2.2.1 Painting

Sibelius himself has mentioned the Swiss symbolist painter Arnold Böcklin, whose paintings he had been contemplating while composing *En saga* in 1892 (cf. Section 1.1). Sibelius was probably impressed by Böcklin's paintings, which he had seen while studying in Berlin (1889–1890) and Vienna (1890–1891). Böcklin was highly esteemed at that time and considered the leading symbolist painter, as Max Lehrs noted a few years later: “The 15th [century] donated us *Leonardo*, the 16th *Albrecht Dürer*, the 17th the great *Rembrandt*. For the 18th century, it is difficult to find an equivalent, – and the 19th gave us *Arnold Böcklin*.”¹⁸

Sibelius was interested in the visual arts and had close friends in those circles. He visited art galleries during his trips and surely acquainted himself with symbolism while studying in Berlin and Vienna. Sibelius described Böcklin's painting by saying that “he paints air that is too clear, swans that are too white, and sea that is too blue, and so on.”¹⁹ The reference to swans is revealing, because Böcklin painted swans in only two paintings: *Die Gefilde der Seligen* (*The Elysian Fields*, 1877/78) and *Lebensinsel* (*The Island of Life*, 1888). Although named differently, these are sister works depicting the same view with equally bright colors. *Die Gefilde der Seligen* has been in the National Gallerie Berlin since 1878 on, and therefore Sibelius almost certainly saw it there in 1889–1890. The painting is quite large (170 x 250 cm), so it is easy to understand the impact it had. The painting disappeared in 1945, but its later sister work, *Lebensinsel*, was purchased for Kunstmuseum Basel in 1960 from private hands.²⁰ Sibelius also described at least one other of Böcklin's painting to Finnish painter Magnus Enckell (1870–1925), who was to leave for Italy in 1894. After seeing the paintings himself, Enckell wrote to their mutual friend, Yrjö Hirn: “Böcklin; it really was something I did not expect. His ‘Vita somnium breve’ was exactly the way Sibelius described Böcklin to me. It was a joy, but it rather leaves a melancholy

¹⁸ Symbolism was known to Finns as well; it came to Finland in the turn of the 1890s, during which time it flourished. The first symbolist paintings were seen in the exhibition of Suomen Taiteilijat (Artists in Finland) in 1891; see Sarajas-Korte 1966, 7–9. “Das fünfzehnte schenkte uns einen *Lionardo*, das sechzehnte *Albrecht Dürer*, das siebzehnte den grossen *Rembrandt*. Für das achtzehnte sind wir schon in Verlegenheit, einen Namen von ebenbürtigem Klange zu nennen, – und das neunzehnte gab uns *Arnold Böcklin*.” Cited in Sarajas-Korte 1966, 297; originally in Lehrs Max, *Arnold Böcklin. Ein Leitfaden zum Verständnis seiner Kunst*. München 1897, 14–15.

¹⁹ In a letter Sibelius wrote to Paul on 10 December 1892 while composing *En saga*; the Swedish original appears in Section 1.1, Footnote 16.

²⁰ For details on Böcklin's paintings, see Andree 1977. *Die Gefilde der Seligen* can be viewed at www.adam.fi/index.php/sv/galleri/item/root/boclinautuaittenkenntat1878.

impression.”²¹ Sibelius may have mentioned Böcklin in connection with *En saga* even publicly; Furuholm, at least, mentioned Böcklin’s art in a magazine article in 1905: “That the composition already with its first performance enthralled listeners’ minds owes in the first place to the emotional intensity related to Böcklin’s art. [...] Blood-red, feverishly hot are the scenes that *En saga* unfolds before the imagination.”²²

Sibelius’s friend, painter Axel Gallén (1865–1931; Akseli Gallen-Kallela from ca. 1907), inspired by the symphonic poem *En saga*, painted an aquarelle *Sibelius Sadun säveltäjänä* (Sibelius as the composer of *En saga*), which was already shown in an exhibition in May 1894.²³ The painting has three spaces: on the left appears a fantasy landscape inspired by Sibelius’s composition, below which lies an empty space where Gallén hoped Sibelius would have written a theme from *En saga* (which Sibelius did not do), and on the right, a portrait of Sibelius in profile, gazing towards the landscape.²⁴

Both Gallén’s portrait and the landscape appeared in an exhibition in the spring of 1894 in Helsinki. According to critics, the portrait of Sibelius was “one of the very best items in the exhibition” and successfully depicted Sibelius deep in thought. The landscape, said to depict Sibelius’s thoughts, caused confusion. On the one hand, viewers found it odd and even amusing, but on the other hand, pleasant: “This mishmash, however, gives a splendid, beautifully colored area, and thereby affects [the viewer] very pleasantly.”²⁵ Gallén

²¹ A letter to Yrjö Hirn, written in Milan and dated 28 October 1894 (NL, Coll. 75.89): “Boecklin; det var verkligen något som jag ej väntat mig. Hans ‘vita somnium breve’ det var alldeles så som Sibelius beskriver Boecklin för mig. Det var glädje men som snarare verkar melankoli.” Enckell also describes the meeting with Sibelius in a letter to his mother dated 5 October 1894 (NL, Coll. 471). *Vita somnium breve* has been in Konstmuseum Basel since 1888.

²² “Att tonverket dock redan vid sitt första utförande fjättrade åhörarnes sinnen beror väl i främsta rummet på den med Böcklins konst besläktade känslolintensiteten [...] Blodröda, feberheta äro de scener, som i ‘En saga’ upprullas för fantasin.” Furuholm 1905, 13.

²³ The painting was also mentioned in 1935 when the early version of *En saga* resurfaced and was performed again (*Helsingin Sanomat* of 15 April 1935).

²⁴ The portrait is quite similar to the one that appears later that same year in the *Symposion* painting. The landscape is depicted from the angle of a spectator sitting on a branch of the pine tree painted on the right. Golden fruits hang from the tree on which a salamander climbs. The ground below the tree is deep red with rat-like creatures running on it and a river flowing behind it. Snowflakes, big and carefully drawn on the front, hang in the air. (See www.sibelius.fi/english/ainola/ainola_kirjasto_taide.html). As Kokkinen (2011) has suggested, Gallén’s painting could be seen in the light of theosophy, according to which people should aim to develop their senses and reach for more spiritual knowledge (divine wisdom), which masters or prophets are capable of achieving. Interestingly, only a master is able to see a salamander, which is ascribed an affinity with (elemental) fire and is also connected to creativity and inspiration. The transcendental landscape in Gallén’s painting (with the salamander, among other things) depicts something that can only be seen by such a master, in this case, Sibelius.

²⁵ “ett af utställningens allra förnämligaste nummer” pseudonym F in *Hufvudstadsbladet* of 6 May 1894; “tämä sekasotku antaa kumminkin erinomaisen kaunisvärisen pinta-alan ja vaikuttaa semmoisena hyvin miellyttävästi,” A. J. [Armas Järnefelt] in *Uusi Suometar* of 29 April 1894. Eero Järnefelt also liked the portrait, but – as he writes to Louis Sparre on 9 June 1894 – the landscape, which he

may have discussed *En saga* with Sibelius and the programmatic ideas behind it: they spent time together with other artists interested in symbolism at that time. However, no presently known document indicates whether Sibelius drew an analogy between the painting and his music.²⁶ Gallén gave the painting to Sibelius but it was again on exhibition in Berlin and Gothenburg in 1895 at least, and probably later too, since it was returned to Sibelius's home while Sibelius was conducting *En saga* in Berlin in 1902.²⁷ Presently, the painting rests in the library of Ainola.

Gallén's painting was on exhibition already in 1894, only one year after the premiere of *En saga*; it is therefore important to note that the landscape has very likely guided or colored some critics' opinions of Sibelius's music later in their writings.²⁸ However, no specific program for *En saga* can be drawn from either Böcklin's or Gallén's paintings.

2.2.2 Finnishness and Northerness

Finland was a grand duchy of the Russian Empire during 1809–1917. In the 1880s, attempts for unification began, including plans to consolidate Finland's postal, customs, financial, and defense institutions. This motivated the rise of Finnish nationalism, eventually leading to independence in 1917. Because the arts are a powerful means of building a national identity, national works had already emerged in literature and the visual arts. Therefore, when Sibelius began his career, the desire for a Finnish composer was also clearly in the air. Finnishness was already mentioned in the reviews of Sibelius's earlier works, beginning with his first works. Theme and variations for string quartet (JS 195) served to prove Sibelius was a pure Finn who understood our national uniqueness; the Finnish spirit penetrates the entire string quartet (Op. 4); Sibelius's Finnish nationality

finds somewhat Japanese, does not have the same effect on him as Sibelius's music has. Cited in Wennervirta 1950, 188.

²⁶ Gallén-Kallela-Sirén (2001, 198) writes that Sibelius, "however, did not find the landscape a suitable symbol for his own *En saga*" (ei kuitenkaan pitänyt maisemaa sopivana vertauskuvana omalle *Sadulleen*).

²⁷ Aino's letter to Jean, dated 14 November 1902 (NA, SFA, file box 28): "When you receive this, the big day will have passed. How I yearn to be with you. Gallén's painting has arrived home and I admire all the while your pretty picture. I would like to kiss it through." ("Kun tämän saat, on se suuri merkkipäivä jo ohitse. Kuinka mielelläni olisin kaan minä mukanaasi. Se Gallenin taulu on jo tuotu kotiin ja ihailen aina vähän päästä sinun nättiä kuvaasi. Tahtoisin suudella sen läpitse.")

²⁸ Cf., e.g., Furuholm 1905 in Footnote 22 and Flodin in Footnote 53. The views of the lynx hunting were also connected to the painting; see Footnote 54.

becomes clear from Overture (JS 145), and a Finnish undertone is evident in the song *Drömmen* (Op. 13 No. 5).²⁹ The first performance of *Kullervo* (28 April 1892) was the culmination: the critics declared it the birth of Finnish music.³⁰ In this respect, one can easily understand why *En saga* was considered so Finnish in nature ten months later. Thus, the strong emphasis on Finnishness was, after all, in the spirit of the times.

Finnish critics reported hearing a certain Finnishness or national tone in Sibelius's *En saga*, specifically in the first performances in 1893. Otto Ehrström described the work after the premiere: "The spirit of the work is completely Finnish. It is so characteristic of the composer to write Finnish music. Almost each chord, although not heard before, sounds familiar to the Finnish ear. What Juhani Aho wrote in his short stories describing the finest Finnish character, J. Sibelius has written for instruments as equally clear and equally depicting chords."³¹ In fact, Finnishness appears in one of Sibelius's own statements, though not directly describing *En saga*. Namely, the melody of the second movement of the violin sonata (JS 178), dating from 1889, closely resembles the first theme of *En saga* (see the discussion around Example 1.3). In a letter to his uncle Pehr, Sibelius depicts the second movement as "Finnish and melancholy; it is a genuine Finnish girl singing on the A string."³²

The critics found nothing new in Sibelius's Finnishness; it was considered obvious. This was a consequence of the latest and largest of Sibelius's works, *Kullervo*, which premiered nearly a year before *En saga* and is based on a story from the national epic *Kalevala*; it is therefore considered very Finnish by nature.³³ Unsurprisingly, *En saga* was compared with *Kullervo*: "The way of composing here much resembles the one [used] in *Kullervo*. What places his tone poem into more intimate contact with our audience this time

²⁹ Unknown writer in *Uusi Suometar* of 21 April 1889, unknown writer in *Päivälehti* of 14 October 1890, Cis in *Uusi Suometar* of 29 April 1891, and K. in *Nya Pressen* of 20 October 1891.

³⁰ See *Nya Pressen* and *Uusi Suometar* of 29 April and *Päivälehti* of 30 April 1892. The *Kullervo* reception and the birth of Finnish music are discussed in Heikkinen 2012.

³¹ Juhani Aho (1861–1921) was a Finnish writer. E. [Otto Ehrström] in *Uusi Suometar* of 17 February 1893: "Kappaleen henki on perin suomalaista. Säveltäjän luonteen ominaisuushan juuri on kirjoittaa suomalaista musiikkia. Melkein joka sointu on suomalaisen korvalle tuttua, vaikkapa ei ennen kuultuakaan. Sen, minkä Juhani Aho on kirjoittanut novelleissaan hienointa ja suomalaista luonnetta kuvaavinta, sen on J. Sibelius kirjoittanut soittimille yhtä selvinä ja yhtä kuvaavina sointuina."

³² Letter to Pehr dated 6 July 1889: "är finsk och vemodig; det är en äkta finsk flicka som sjunger på a strängen." Sibelius also had a program for the 3rd movement: people are celebrating the Midsummer Night out in the fields singing and playing when a meteor hits the ground amongst them. They are astonished, but continue playing. Cited in Goss 1997, 181.

³³ See Merikanto's critique in Footnote 2; see Section 2.2. On the Finnishness and *Kullervo*, see Huttunen 1998, Goss 2009, and Heikkinen 2012.

is the genuine Finnish spirit and nature, which permeates his melodies. To us, the fact that Mr. Sibelius, once within all this Finnishness, lets us hear a motif from Bizet's opera, *Carmen*, seems a curious exception."³⁴ Interestingly, the same association to *Carmen* turns up over 20 years later in Italy, where the work is otherwise considered Finnish in nature.³⁵

Kalevala, with its stories of Karelian origin, was still connected to *En saga*, also by Sibelius. Namely, in 1921, A. O. Väisänen interviewed Sibelius for the newly established annual of the Kalevalaseura [Kalevala Society]: "– Probably the great work after *Kullervo*, *En saga*, was created in the spirit of Karelia? – Indeed! It has got a down-home feeling. How could one think of anything but Finland while listening to it! I began the work in Vienna and continued it in Monola, Lieksa, where we were spending the late summer of 1892, though where the composition took place is unimportant for the character of the work. I have never been as Finnish as I was in Vienna, Italy, and Paris, and I have never been as Parisian as in Pielisjärvi."³⁶ Later still, Elmer Diktonius found the national tone of *En saga*, but on a more general level: "The Sibelian saga includes folk epic in romantic disguise. What it tells is simple as a folk song, gloomy as the wilderness, and brilliant as a princess and half the kingdom."³⁷

Although its Finnishness was considered self-evident to the audience in its first performances, one critic attempted to describe what makes *En saga* so Finnish: "With this new work, Mr. Sibelius stands on the same exclusively national ground as in *Kullervo*. The major seconds of the rune melodies can again be found here, as well as the fantastic atmosphere and desolate expression – at times as if hunted in torn grief, other times as

³⁴ The reference to *Carmen* (*Chanson bohême* and the habanera rhythm) has been discussed in Section 1.1. Bis in *Hufvudstadsbladet* of 17 February 1893: "Sättet att komponera påminner här mycket om hans förfarande i Kullervo-kompositionen. Hvad som i detta fall äfven ställer hans tondikt i intimare rapport med vår publik, är den genuint finska anda och natur, som genomgår hans melodik. Endast som ett märkvärdigt undantag anteckna vi omständigheten att hr. Sibelius med ens bland all denna finskhet låter oss höra ett motiv ur Bizets opera Carmen."

³⁵ The Finnish newspapers reported on the concert held in Rome on 2 February 1916 conducted by Arturo Toscanini. According to *Hufvudstadsbladet* (18 March 1916), an Italian critic had written that "of the many motives of *En saga*, two are more Spanish than Finnish in nature. One of them leads one to think about 'Chanson bohême' in *Carmen*." (af 'Sagans' många motiv två äro af mera spansk än finsk färgläggning. Det ena af dem kommer en att tänka på 'Chanson bohême' i Carmen).

³⁶ Varmaankin Kullervon jälkeinen suuri teos 'Satu' syntyi Karjalan merkeissä? – Aivan. Kotoinen on siinä maaperä. Kuinka voikaan sitä kuullessaan ajatella muuta kuin Suomea! Alun tähän sävellykseen tein Wienissä ja työtä jatkoin Lieksan Monolassa, jossa vietimme loppukesää v. 1892. 'Sadunkaan' laatuun nähden ei tosin ole merkitystä sillä, missä sitä on tehty. En ole koskaan ollut niin suomalainen kuin Wienissä, Italiassa ja Pariisissa enkä niin pariisilainen kuin Pielisjärvellä." Väisänen 1921, 77–78.

³⁷ "Den sibeliuska Sagan innehåller folkepik i romantisk förklädnad. Vad den berättar är enkelt som folkvisan, dystert som ödemarken och glansfullt som prinsessan och halva kungariket." Diktonius 1933, 42.

though drowning into indescribable tonal chaos.”³⁸ The reference to rune singing is perhaps not farfetched: Sibelius collected rune melodies during his honeymoon in the summer of 1892 and composed or at least completed *En saga* immediately after that.³⁹

In the reviews, after the revision of *En saga* in 1902, however, Finnishness was no longer emphasized in Finland. Rather, the new version was compared to the early one (more concentrated, more suitable for the arenas of the world) and won praise for its wonderfully fairy tale-like atmosphere. Perhaps the Finnishness of this work was already so self-evident mentioning it was no longer necessary. In addition, because the forthcoming performance in Berlin was widely known, Finnishness was not emphasized in order to show *En saga* as a world-class work capable of competing in the forthcoming Berlin concert. Nevertheless, this time the Berlin critiques raised the issue of Finnishness, as the melodies of *En saga* were thought to originate from Finnish folk melodies.⁴⁰ The Berlin concert was about the first time *En saga* was performed abroad.⁴¹ Thereafter, Finnishness, or more widely a Scandinavian or Northern character, has constantly been linked with *En saga* abroad. This is quite understandable, because when one hears something different from everything one has heard before, one easily thinks it derives from the composer’s nationality and homeland.

This becomes clear from the writing of the German musicologist Walter Niemann, who described Sibelius’s music in 1904. According to Niemann, all of this also applies to *En saga*: “Sibelius’s music stands initially on purely national soil, is pure ‘Heimatkunst’ to apply this abused word properly once. This is already told by the subjects, whom he chooses for a vocal or instrumental version; the characters of the homely rune songs of the national epic *Kalevala*, the national poets Runeberg and Topelius come alive again in tones. His music is, like the rest of the modern Scandinavian art of music, on the ground of folk music; it shows the melody and rhythm of the Finnish folk tunes in an unadulterated

³⁸ K. in *Nya Pressen* of 17 February 1893: “Hr. Sibelius står äfven i denna sin nya komposition på samma exklusivt nationella grund som i ‘Kullervo’. Runomelodiernas stora sekunder återfinnas äfven här, likaså den fantastiska stämningen, det ödsliga, än i sönderslitande smärta uppjagade, än i ett obeskrifligt tonkaos drunknande uttrycket.”

³⁹ For more on Sibelius and folk sources and rune singing, see, e.g., Sibelius [1896] 1980, Murtomäki 2005 and 2010, Väisänen 1935, and Heikkinen 2012.

⁴⁰ *Päivälehti* of 27 November 1902, for example, cites *Vossische Zeitung* and *Börsen-Courier*.

⁴¹ In addition to performances in Finland, the early version was probably performed during the summer seasons of 1901 and 1902 in Riga and Kiev, respectively.

manner, the same way we can see the Norwegian in Grieg's creations transformed and expanded into art music."⁴²

A few months later, Otto Munschel expressed similar views in a concert review in Riga: "But the crown of Sibelius's creatures is in any event the symphonic poem *En saga*. This is real 'Heimatkunst'! Here Sibelius unveils the rich emotional life of a strong gnarled tribe, here the psyche of the Finnish landscape speaks to us in shocking ways! It is noteworthy, how the maestro in all the above-mentioned works nobly avoids all jumble of intrusive instrumentation despite its impressive weapon effects. Sibelius is a 'tone poet', not a merely sound poet or a noise artist."⁴³

Sibelius explained his own views to Axel Carpelan in 1901, during his trip to the music festival in Heidelberg: "I have come to, I think, a different view of the national in music. We adore and have adored the ethnographic in music, if I may so express myself. But the truly national lies still deeper. Compare, for example, Verdi and Grieg. The former is perhaps the most national and yet European, but the latter – I cannot hide it – speaks dialect. [...] (I wrote earlier that 'we adored the ethnographic in music'; I actually mean that we believe it to be true only of the ethnographically directed, when it comes to melodic lines and such. Understand me correctly!)"⁴⁴

Sibelius was unhappy about the newspapers often describing his music as Finnish and folk-tune based. He therefore asked Rosa Newmarch to put the matter right in 1906:

⁴² The idea of Heimatkunst was so pervasive that Niemann could probably have labeled Sibelius's music as such without hearing a tone. Niemann's view of the program of *En saga* appears in Footnote 58 below. "Sibelius' Musik steht zunächst auf rein nationalem Boden, ist reine 'Heimatkunst', um dies mißhandelte Wort einmal richtig anzuwenden. Das sagen schon die Vorwürfe, die er zu vokaler oder instrumentaler Ausführung wählt; die Gestalten der heimischen Runengesänge, des Nationalepos 'Kalevala', der Nationaldichter Runeberg und Topelius werden wiederum in Tönen lebendig. Auch seine Musik steht, wie die gesamte moderne skandinavische Tonkunst, auf dem Boden der Volksmusik; sie zeigt die Melodik und Rhythmik der finnischen Volksweisen in ebenso unverfälschter Weise, wie wir diejenige der norwegischen in Griegs Schöpfungen in die Kunstmusik übergeführt und ausgebaut sehen." Niemann 1904, 187.

⁴³ "Aber die Krone der Sibelius'schen Schöpfungen bleibt jedenfalls die symphonische Dichtung: 'Eine Sage'. Das ist echte 'Heimatskunst'! Hier entschleiert Sibelius das reiche Gemütsleben eines kräftig knorrigen Volksstammes, hier spricht zu uns in erschütternden Weisen die Psyche der finnländischen Landschaft! Bemerkenswert ist es, wie der Meister in allen oben erwähnten Werken vornehm jeder wüsten aufdringlichen Instrumentierung aus dem Wege geht, trotz imposanter Waffenwirkung. Sibelius ist eben "Tondichter" nicht Schalldichter oder Lärmkünstler." Otto Munschel in *Rigasche Rundschau* of 12 (25) July 1904.

⁴⁴ Sibelius to Carpelan on 21 May 1901 (Åbo Akademi Brevsamlng, Rosengren familjen, file box 39): "Jag har kommit till, som jag tror, en annan åsigt om det nationella i musik. Vi dyrka och hafva dyrkat det etnografiska i musik om jag så får uttrycka mig. Men det verkliga nationella ligger nog djupare. Jämför t.ex. Verdi och Grieg. Den förra kanske den mest nationella och dock europé – den sednare – jag kan ej dölja det för mig – talar bygdemål. [...] (Jag skref tidigare att 'vi dyrkat det etnografiska i musik'; jag menar egentligen att vi anse för sant endast det etnografiskt riktiga hvad tongångar och dylikt angår. Förstå mig rätt!)" Cited in Dahlström 2010, 83–84.

“I should be glad, Madame, if you would correct a common error. Often I find that my themes are described as folk tunes in the foreign press; so far I have never made use of any themes but those which are absolutely my own. Therefore, the thematic material employed in *Finlandia* and *En saga* is my own invention.” Newmarch fulfilled Sibelius’s request in that same year in her biography of Sibelius.⁴⁵

Sibelius himself did not want to confirm any connections between *En saga* and the *Kalevala* either. According to his secretary, Levas, he once in his later years replied to an enquiry from overseas that, if some basis must be searched from folklore, the atmosphere in *En saga* is closer to *Edda* than to *Kalevala*.⁴⁶ The way Sibelius commented on *En saga* after decades must be seen in context. He may have accommodated his partner in conversation or in the spirit of the times. His mention of *En saga* being closer to *Edda* than to *Kalevala* may only be a way to avoid linking the work to the Finnish national epic and rather to show a broader environment, thus proving Sibelius to be a more international composer already in his youth.

The word atmosphere in Sibelius’s statement is also noteworthy. Sibelius clearly does not want to specify or lead thoughts to any specific history or tale of either *Kalevala* or *Edda*, so he instead refers only to the general Scandinavian ambience. In fact, Furuhjelm formulated this idea already in 1914: “*En saga* is not least interesting through the romantic mixture of [its] different elements, [which] the content of atmosphere presents. The material is partly Finnish: the desolate, wild, introvert; partly typically Ossianic: the dark glow over the elegiac and gloomy iridescent pictures.”⁴⁷ Also, Downes has broadened the horizon beyond the purely national and speaks of the character: “The ‘Saga’ of Sibelius might well be associated in the mind of the listener with some ancient Scandinavian epic. It is dark, fantastical, fate-ridden in character. Every page carries the impress of the North.”⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *En saga* was performed for the first time in England in August 1906. Sibelius to Newmarch on 8 February 1906 (NA, SFA, file box 121) : “Je voudrais bien, Madame, que vous veuillez corriger une erreur générale. Souvent dans la presse étrangère je trouve qu’on tient mes t[h]emata pour des mélodies nationales. Jusqu’à présent je n’ai jamais employés [sic] que des t[h]emata absolument de moi-même. Ainsi aussi la matériale [sic] t[h]ématique en ‘Finlandia’ et ‘En saga’ est de moi.” Translation from Bullock 2011, 55. See also Newmarch 1906, 15.

⁴⁶ Levas 1957, 137.

⁴⁷ “Intressant är *En saga* icke minst genom den romantiska blandning[en] af olika element, stämning[s]innehållet företer. Substansen är dels finsk: det ödsliga, vilda, inåtvända, dels typiskt ossiansk: den mörka glöden öfver de elegiskt och dystert färgskimrande bilderna.” Furuhjelm 1914, 221.

⁴⁸ Downes 1935, 270.

2.2.3 General Programmatic Interpretations

Sibelius was reluctant to specify any particular program for *En saga*. While composing, he hinted to a tale in a letter to Paul: “Do you think Weingartner would be interested in getting Balettscen No. 2 (it is totally of a tale in romantic style, 1820) from me?” It is clear, however, that this reference does not mean that *En saga* depicts a tale by the Grimm brothers or by the Finnish national writers Zacharias Topelius or Johan Ludvig Runeberg any more than it depicts any specific folk tale or any other kind of tale for that matter. In reply to a question about the program 21 years later, Sibelius explained: “*En saga*’s music depicts basic moods and – why not – different phases of a saga to which everybody can write poetic ‘content.’”⁴⁹ Later still, in the 1940s, after discussing with Sibelius, his son-in-law Jussi Snellman wrote: “That composition which Sibelius called *En saga* is in fact a ‘soul’s confession.’”⁵⁰ Sibelius finally issued a statement about *En saga* to his secretary, Santeri Levas (1899–1987), which he wanted to be shared only after his death: “*En saga* is psychologically speaking one of my most profound works. I could almost say it encompasses my entire youth. It is an expression of a certain state of mind. When I composed it, I had undergone many shattering experiences. In no other work have I revealed myself so completely. Therefore, I find all interpretations of *En saga* totally alien.”⁵¹

The program for *En saga* – or the lack thereof – sparked little wonder after the first performances of the early version in 1893. Only one critic was “missing a text as an explanation for the musical scenes succeeding each other.”⁵² Only after the premiere of the revised version in 1902 did the writers begin to picture the possible program and find allegories. The writings suggest various ideas, which are often full of action. Karl Flodin

⁴⁹ A letter to journalist Gunnar Hauch dated 20 April 1913 (NLF, Coll. 206.61): “Sagens musik återger grund stämningar och, hvarför ej, olika faser i en saga till hvilken hvar och en kann digta ‘innehåll.’”

⁵⁰ *Sibelius oikeasee vääriä tietoja ja selittää*, notes dated 25 December 1943: “Tuota sävellystä Sibelius sitten nimitti ‘Saduksi’, mutta todellisuudessa se on ‘själsbikt’ (sielunriippi).” Sibelius also mentioned that Symphony No. 2 is a ‘soul’s confession.’ (Jalas note dated 31 December 1943; NA, SFA, file box 1).

⁵¹ “Satu on psykologisesti kaikkein syvällisimpiä teoksiani. Voisinpa melkein sanoa, että siihen sisältyy koko nuoruuteni. Se on erään sielun tilan ilmaus. Niihin aikoihin, jolloin kirjoitin Sadun, sain kokea paljon järkyttävää. Missään muussa teoksessa en ole paljastanut itseäni niin täysin kuin Sadussa. Kaikki Sadun tulkinnat ovat minulle tietysti jo senkin vuoksi aivan vieraita.” Levas 1957, 139.

⁵² Bis in *Hufvudstadsbladet* of 17 February 1893: “längtade efter en text som förklarning på de hvarandra aflösande musikscenerierna.”

formulated his ideas: “What does this saga tell? Fantasy can evoke different figures, watchable episodes, which could lay the foundations for the musical drawing. How these figures look and what these incidents are depends on one’s power of imagination. But a blood-red illumination covers the picture, which is painted in a desolate, heavy, enormously passionate and storm-agitated manner, and strange phantoms float by as if chased by gusts such as those in Dante’s *Inferno* that entwine Francesca and Paolo.”⁵³ In a Finnish short story by Samuli Suomalainen in 1903, *En saga* was thought to picture a wintry lynx-hunting episode from Aleksis Kivi’s *Seven Brothers* (1870), the first novel written in Finnish.⁵⁴ Olin Downes, in turn, demonstrates: “Then the orchestra gathers itself, girds up its loins, and leaps into a dance with knives drawn – lust of battle, glory of death. It is a return in spirit to great days forever gone – when we were greater men. Yes! When I hear this music, I avow a carnal desire to discard the soft fat ways of life; to set out in oilskins, or something, for somewhere, to discover at least a desperate polar bear bent on conflict!”⁵⁵

Rosa Newmarch’s description of *En saga* also includes action under a Scandinavian sky:

“The music suggests the recital of some old tale in which the heroic and pathetic elements are skillfully blended, while the title indicates that it may belong to Scandinavian rather than to Finnish history. [...] In imagination we hear a tale of great deeds, of love and heroic death, half sung and half recited by some wandering bard; interrupted from time to time by comments from the listeners, to whom it is as familiar as to the singer himself. At the great outburst towards the close, perhaps the warriors rise to acclaim the memory of the favourite hero; and when the rafters cease to ring with their noise, some dreamy soul sits on in the darkened hall, still lost in thoughts suggested by the Saga.”⁵⁶

⁵³ “Hvad täljer denna saga? Fantasin kan frambesvärja växlande gestalter, åskådande händelser, som kunna antagas ligga till grund för den musikaliska teckningen. Huru dessa gestalter se ut och hvilka dessa händelser äro, beror af enhvars föreställningsförmåga. Men en blodröd belysning hvilar öfver taflan, i en ödslig, tung, oerhördt lidelsefull och stormupprörd stämning är den målad, och sällsamma fantom sväfvä förbi, som jagade af vindilar likt dem, hvilka i Dantes Inferno omsvepa Francesca och Paolo.” Flodin 1902, 6–7.

⁵⁴ Suomalainen’s short story “Aleksis Kiven satu” (Aleksis Kivi’s Fairy Tale) in Suomalainen 1903, depicts a composer and a conductor – easily connected to Sibelius and Kajanus – discussing the revision of a work called “Satu”, which depicts a lynx hunting. Tauno Karila (1965, 39) also connects the lynx hunting story with Gallén’s painting of *En saga*.

⁵⁵ Downes 1935, 221.

⁵⁶ Newmarch 1929, 66–68. The essays, however, date from 1908 to 1927.

However, many writers feel that the most powerful effect of *En saga* comes from its forceful, strong atmosphere. Furuhjelm, for instance, describes it thus: “The great impression the work creates derives largely from that force with which the tone scald described the supernatural, and the strong ethical effect is the feeling of smallness and reverence before its revelation.”⁵⁷ Although some writers conclude that no specific program is necessary, they cannot deny the strong associations the music raises, associations that tend to point towards the north.

Walter Niemann assures that no program is needed to explain Sibelius’s work. He also emphasizes the atmosphere:

“We do not need any ‘program’ for this ‘saga’ to be able to tell for each moment what loomed for the composer. This, however, is clear from the beginning for the one who has grasped the character of this music: it is not a question of musical-programmatic description in each of the Icelandic sagas from the Middle Ages that tell of old Norwegian kings, old Icelandic tribes, hard things, convulsive destinies, dreadful blood feuds, venturous Viking raids, and manslaughter battles. It has much more to do with the spiritual and musical atmosphere that the telling of an old saga – the same, whether Icelandic, Swedish, or Finnish – wells up in the listener. Here, the saga itself becomes music; the Finnish Ossian stands before us. Since, in its peculiar, sharp rhythm, with its loose kinship between the Finno-Ugric and Magyar languages and music redolent, only the third (C minor) theme lets in the rebellious and veil-en shrouded figures to become almost disembodied, unreal. Such is the ghost of the dark powers, which lie dormant and battle in the soul of each northerner.”⁵⁸

⁵⁷ “Kompositionens stora verkan härrör i hög grad af den kraft, hvarmed tonskalden skildrat det öfvernaturliga, och den starka etiska effekten är känslan af litenhet och vördnad inför dess uppenbarelse.” Furuhjelm 1914, 221.

⁵⁸ Niemann repeated these same ideas in his writings of 1913 and 1917. “Wir brauchen gar kein ‘Programm’ für diese ‘Sage’, um uns nicht sofort in jedem Augenblick sagen zu können, was dem Komponisten vorschwebte. Das aber ist von vornherein für den, der den Charakter dieser Musik erfaßt hat, klar: es handelt sich nicht um die musikalisch-programmatische Abschilderung im einzelnen einer jener frühmittelalterlichen isländischen *Sagas*, die von alten norwegischen Königen, von alten isländischen Geschlechtern, von harten Dingen, erschütternden Schicksalen, fürchterlichen Blutrachen, von kühnen Wikingfahrten und männermordenden Schlachten erzählen. Es handelt sich vielmehr um die seelische und musikalische Stimmung, die die Erzählung einer alten Sage – ganz gleich, ob einer isländischen, schwedischen oder finnischen – beim Hörer auslöst. Die Sage selbst wird hier Musik; der finnische Ossian steht vor uns. Denn nur das in seiner scharfen bestimmten Rhythmik unmittelbar an die lose Verwandtschaft der finnisch-ugrischen und der magyarischen Sprache und Musik erinnernde dritte (*C-Moll*) Thema läßt die in Rebell und Schleier verhüllten Gestalten zu beinahe unkörperlich, unwirklich, ist Spuk der dunklen Gewalten, die in der Seele jedes Norländers schlummern und sich bekämpfen.” Niemann 1917, 26–27.

Ringbom seconds the idea that no program is needed and finds this to be most natural. According to him, *En saga* is simply a tale “which Sibelius *himself* has invented, a tale he was perhaps unable – perhaps even unwilling – to tell in words; instead [it is] a fantastic saga, which has been possible to reproduce only through diversified and various meanings with tone language.”⁵⁹

2.2.4 Sibelius’s “Shattering Experiences”

Sibelius stated in his late years that when he composed *En saga*, he had undergone “many shattering experiences” and revealed himself completely (see Footnote 51). Which then might Sibelius’s “shattering experiences” have been around the time of composition?

The period of time consists of the months from the late fall of 1890 while traveling to study in Vienna, from where the sketches date from, and continues to Christmas of 1892, when the work was completed. During these approximately two years, Sibelius experienced constant financial difficulties (as he otherwise did, too). He was always short of money and was dependent on his benefactors or, additionally, had to borrow money. In fact, he could not leave Vienna when he wanted to in the spring of 1891, because after his medical operation he was held in the clinic until his family wired money to release him.⁶⁰

This, in fact, leads to the other constant worry Sibelius had – and actually had throughout his life: namely, his health. Just before traveling to Vienna in the summer up 1890, Sibelius suffered from spitting of blood (hemoptysis) three times. In the Vienna operation the following spring, a “stone” was removed. In addition, Sibelius confessed to Aino in a letter that he was no longer “clean” and explained further to Wegelius that he suffered from “bad pollutions” (probably syphilis) caused by his unrestrained life.⁶¹

⁵⁹ “en som Sibelius *själv* har hittat på, en som han kanske inte ens kunnat – om han alls velat – berätta med ord, utan en fantastisk saga, som blott tonernas mångskiftande och mångtydiga språk varit mäktig att återge.” Ringbom 1948, 41.

⁶⁰ Sibelius spent about a month in Dr. Eder’s private clinic (see Tawaststjerna 1965, 207–208 or Mäkelä 2011, 92). In a letter to his mother, Sibelius explains that his treatment was so expensive (400 gulden) that it would be best if Christian sent his share of Pehr’s inheritance (Hämeenlinna City Archives, Sibelius Archive, file 18), cited in Goss 1997, 192.

⁶¹ Sibelius wrote to Paul on 9 December 1891 (NL, Coll. 206.62.1) telling him a secret: according to a doctor, Sibelius was near becoming deaf. Letter to Aino dated 8 February 1891 (NA, SFA, file box 94); letter to Wegelius dated 9 April 1891 (NA, SFA, file box 121).

Still another experience that left deep emotional marks was the death of Sibelius's uncle Pehr on 4 January 1890. Uncle Pehr was a very important person for Sibelius, as an early letter shows: "Forgive me, dear Uncle, for all the trouble I bring about, but Uncle fills the place of my father here on this Earth."⁶²

Other essential experiences had to do with professional skills. In Vienna, Sibelius auditioned as a violinist in the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra in January 1891. He proved to be too nervous, however, and failed the audition. So, his dreams of a career as a violinist were buried. Soon after, in 1893, Sibelius also ended his public career as a violinist in the quartet of the Helsinki Music Institute.

Undoubtedly, the new musical impacts that Vienna offered were among Sibelius's most important experiences. As Sibelius himself has said, for example, the late piano sonatas and string quartets by Beethoven opened his senses to a new world.⁶³ This musical world also made Sibelius doubt his own talent. In Finland, he had been a celebrated young, promising talent, but in Vienna, he was just a student among others who also had to return to counterpoint and other basic exercises. And at the same time, Richard Strauss, older than Sibelius by only one year, conducted his symphonic poem *Don Juan*, which Sibelius witnessed. Connected to Sibelius's doubts about his professional skills were the harsh critiques of Sibelius's Overture E major (JS 145) and *Scène de ballet* (JS 163) that appeared in spring 1891 as well as of *Kullervo* in spring 1892.⁶⁴ Erkki Salmenhaara also sees *En saga* as Sibelius's struggle to find his own path.⁶⁵

In fact, Sibelius planned the two works, Overture and *Scène de ballet* as movements of a symphony. He did not realize his plan, however, but instead sent the movements home as separate works to be performed (28 April 1891) to convince his financiers. *Scène de ballet* may have some connection to *En saga*, because during the composition, Sibelius called it *Ballettscen No. 2* (see Section 1.1). In a letter to his former teacher Martin Wegelius, Sibelius wrote on 4 May 1891 about the ideas in *Ballettscen* [No. 1]: "It is based on a sad, sad

⁶² Sibelius to Pehr Sibelius (1819–1890) on 25 August 1885: "Förlåt goda Farbror allt besvär jag åstadkommer, men Farbror är ju i min pappas ställe här på jorden." (Hämeenlinna City Archives, Sibelius Archive, file 18) cited in Goss 1997, 160.

⁶³ See Chapter 8, Footnote 22.

⁶⁴ Although usually left unnoticed, the Swedish-speaking newspapers expressed critical opinions of *Kullervo*. See *Hufvudstadsbladet* of 1 May 1892, *Åbo Underrättelser* of 6 May 1892, or Heikkinen 2012, 14.

⁶⁵ Salmenhaara 1984, 100.

experience [...] I have never wept as much as I did when composing it. [...] There is something of ‘intoxication’ and ‘thigh’ in it.”⁶⁶

Perhaps Sibelius’s “shattering experiences” could also be understood as positive ones or at least be connected to such. Doubtlessly, the most positive event during this time in question, which in fact affected the rest of Sibelius’s life, were his engagement (1890) and marriage (1892) to Aino Järnefelt. Sibelius also felt some emotions of excitement when under pressure to assure his future father-in-law that he was capable of earning a living for his family. All of this must have evoked powerful emotions in Sibelius, as did the novel *Yksin* (*Alone*) by the writer Juhani Aho. The novel is autobiographical, and the character “Anna” in it is a literary portrait of Aino; in fact, the novel is a love declaration to Aino. Sibelius read the novel during Christmas 1890 and viewed Aho as his rival for Aino. Sibelius became extremely jealous and even considered challenging Aho to a duel. With regard to Sibelius’s powerful and changing emotions and his fear of his health, his letter to Paul is revealing. On 30 May 1891, Sibelius wrote from Vienna that he is “devilishly melancholy” (satans melankolisk) and weeps through the night and sleeps all day; he had also drawn a coffin for himself.⁶⁷

However, none of the above-mentioned facts, events, or moods in Sibelius’s life are unequivocally manifested in *En saga*. No one can put a finger on a certain passage or theme and prove that it stands for a certain event. Nor can anyone tell whether the music depicts Sibelius’s stay in the hospital or the death of his uncle.

All in all, despite the shattering experiences, this period in his life was undoubtedly fruitful for Sibelius, who also matured as a composer and developed his talent. This was also a kind of new beginning for Sibelius: he discovered his own, individual path in which he was able to successfully assimilate Finnish national features.

2.2.5 Programmatic Readings based on Specific Musical Elements

Most of the programmatic references that the writers have made are general depictions, impressions created by the music’s atmosphere, in addition to some hints from Sibelius.

⁶⁶ “Ett sorgligt, sorgligt minne ligger till grund [...] Jag har aldrig gråtit så mycket som då jag lagade den. [...] Det är något af ‘rus’ och ‘lär’ i den.” (NA, SFA, file box 121). See also Mäkelä 2011, 92.

⁶⁷ Letter dated 30 May 1891 (NL, Coll. 206.62).

Few writers have attempted to explain the work through musical events. biographers or scholars, however, have expressed some mention of the overall characters or the process in general. The following briefly explains those depictions, which the writers have linked to the score. Most of these depictions refer to the revised version, but the musical events or themes all to which all the writers refer remain the same in both versions. The bar numbers mentioned in the text refer to the revised version.

One branch of depiction begins with Walter Niemann (1917), followed by Nils-Erik Ringbom (1956) to whom Erik Tawaststjerna (1965), in turn, refers. Niemann describes the themes as follows: the primary theme (theme found in b. 34 on) is epic in nature and can be characterized as “once upon a time” (*es war einmal*); the first secondary theme (theme found in b. 150 on) is in march rhythm, and the second secondary theme (theme found in b. 197 on) reflects fight and battle (*Kampf, Streit*). The end (coda) has been characterized as tragic, including quiet sadness, and in Ringbom, the word epilogue also appears.⁶⁸ In addition, Olin Downes (1935) agrees with these ideas, calling the theme (b. 150) “a monotonous barbaric dance theme”, hearing “dance with knives”, and depicting the end as “a last flicker of life in the ashes of a fire that flared for a moment in the world’s Arctic night.”⁶⁹

Ernst Tanzberger (1943) goes one step further. He not only characterizes the themes, but also illustrates some action in the music. His depictions are in line with Niemann’s: the first theme is a majestic-patriarchal theme, which is a symbol of the ancestor of the heroes’ tribe; the second theme represents a young hero of the tribe; and the third heroic theme represents heroes of the enemy tribe. The development (bb. 270–600) depicts the dramatic adventures and battles of a Nordic military expedition, which ends victoriously while the enemy, depicted in the third theme, has been left on the battlefield. In the recapitulation, the thankful youth welcomes the heroes returning home. In the coda, a festive death lament echoes in the distance.⁷⁰

Tauno Karila, inspired by Samuli Suomalainen’s short story, is convinced that *En saga* is related to the Finnish novel *Seven Brothers* by Aleksis Kivi. According to Karila, the main theme (b. 34 on) is picturesque, like a desert, an expanded woodland reaching far into the distance. In the next theme (b. 150 on), the brothers set out skiing and trace the footprints

⁶⁸ Niemann 1917, 27; Ringbom 1956, 18.

⁶⁹ Downes 1935, 221 and 222.

⁷⁰ Tanzberger 1943, 14–17.

of a lynx in the snow. The following theme (b. 197 on) depicts the chase, which finally ends in a sharp shot by the piatti at the culmination (b. 707).⁷¹ Karila interprets Gallén's painting as depicting this very episode.

Veijo Murtomäki, in turn, depicts the music more from the perspective of musical events using a model of narrative logic, presented by Claude Brémont. According to Brémont, an action comprises three main phases: first, the situation, which opens the eventuality for an event or action; second, the passage into action from this eventuality; and third, the result of this action, which terminates the process in either success or failure.⁷² According to Murtomäki, the first theme is an epic theme of the hero, the second is a dance theme, and the third is a threat theme. Murtomäki then explains how the epic theme transforms into a dance-like mood leading to a tragic turn of action at the moment when the third theme appears together with the minor mode. The strange and frightening development (b. 290ff.) rises to nightmarish dimensions. The beginning of the recapitulation (b. 457ff.) tells how the hero becomes disheartened and stagnation follows. However, a magical twist of plot, peculiar to myths, emerges, and the will of life evokes. The final result of the action is nevertheless tragic: the hero has exhausted all his strength in expelling the threat and therefore, in the coda, his will of life (depicted by the dance rhythm in the music) fades little by little. The failure can also be seen as the wrong tonal level at the end. In conclusion, Murtomäki sees the structure of the work and the idea of the music combine in an inseparable way.⁷³

Brigitte Pinder's view is the most general, in that the ideas and processes in the music themselves constitute the program. In other words, she sees the searching, trying-out, and gathering of melodic, rhythmic, harmonic, and sonic ideas, which are later connected together, as the actual program of *En saga*. She then introduces the ideas and their development, but does not depict them extramusically at all.⁷⁴

Notwithstanding the various attempts from different angles to find or interpret poetic content of the tone poem *En saga*, in the end, nothing can be confirmed. Sibelius provided no program for the work, only some vague hints. Endeavors to follow those hints have led to nothing but associations. Thus, the program for *En saga* still remains veiled.

⁷¹ Karila 1965, 43. See also the discussion around Footnote 54.

⁷² Brémont, Claude. 1973. *Logique du récit. Collection Poétique*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 32, 131–132; cited in Murtomäki 1995, 488.

⁷³ Murtomäki 1995, 488–492.

⁷⁴ Pinder 2005, 52.

PART II
EDITION

3 CRITICAL EDITING: FROM SOURCES TO PUBLICATION

The purpose of this chapter is to shed light on music editing with a text-critical approach. The following sections present some general ideas about the essence of a critical edition followed by the most important editorial principles and problems, with a section of a sample case. Thereafter the sections discuss different kinds of sources, musical and literary, as well as their nature and role in the critical editing process. Lastly, they describe the publishing process and proofreading stages.

The general and particularly the special principles and guidelines vary between different critical editions and are seldom publicly available. Some guidelines are found in the published volumes, but they typically focus on the questions that are accurate in the given volume. Because this thesis focuses on Sibelius's *En saga*, it discusses partly here the practices of the complete critical edition *Jean Sibelius Works* (JSW). Furthermore, this chapter focuses on works of orchestral music; because *En saga* is such a work, this chapter may mention other kinds of works as additional examples.

3.1 What is a Critical Edition

3.1.1 General Background

Music has been printed since the time of Johannes Gutenberg in the late 15th century, and the first printing houses dedicated to music printing were established at the turn of the 16th century. The printing volume was initially very small; before the 18th century, most music was circulated as manuscript copies. Printed music became more common in the 19th century not only with the rise of the bourgeoisie and its music making, but also due to improved printing techniques.¹ Although the printing volumes in the 19th century were increasing, the music publishing field was still rather unorganized. Copyright laws were rudimentary and no international copyright law existed. Composers had the rights to their compositions for their lifetime, but only in their home country. When a work was published in one country, it could be freely used in other countries. Composers therefore had to make several copies of their works in order to get them published in different publishing houses in different countries. One example is Frédéric Chopin (1810–1849), who had a publisher in Germany, France, and England and who is known to have sent a manuscript of the same work to all three publishers in the same day.

Since publishers ruled the markets, composers had no control over the distribution of their works. If a composer did not make a contract with a publisher, one publisher could sell a work to another publisher at a cheaper price (because nothing had to be paid to the composer). Thus, the publishers could benefit from other publishers' best sellers, and no laws protected the composers' rights. Not even the concept of a work was clear in the sense that, initially, copyrights covered a work only as a material, printed object. Thus, publishers could make different collections with the same plates of a given work (or collections of extracts), or even compose some fragments themselves. As Philip Gossett mentions, in the genre of operas, for instance, even operas by Gaetano Donizetti (1797–1848) and Vincenzo Bellini (1801–1835) were newly instrumented from piano reductions

¹ For example, of J. S. Bach's (1685–1750) 200 cantatas, only one was printed during his lifetime, yet nearly all of Ludwig van Beethoven's (1770–1827) sonatas were published within two years of composition.

and published after that.² During the first half of the 19th century, the idea of a work of music as an immaterial object was recognized, as was the composer's exclusive rights to it. In addition, the number and range of people using printed music expanded. Prior to 1860, music was issued mostly for the use of performers. Music designed for study purposes first appeared in the late 19th century as a result of the rise of public concerts and, later, sound recordings, as well as the growth of the academic study of music and the rise of musicology. Public concerts and recordings contributed to the popularity of the miniature score, while musicology fostered historical and critical editions. The role of publishers also changed; their tasks included not only to manufacture and sell the works, but also to assist in the use of the works in all possible ways. All these matters, together with evolving printing techniques and copyright legislation, created a need and opportunity for critical editions.³

3.1.2 Critical Editing

Critical music editing originates in the mid-19th century, when complete editions of the works of the old masters began to be published with the rise of a common historical consciousness and the appreciation of the oeuvres of the past composers and writers. The first project was the Bach Complete Edition, begun in 1851, soon followed by an (almost) complete edition of Händel's works in 1858, the Beethoven edition in 1862, and the Mozart edition in 1877.⁴ Presently, almost all major composers have complete critical editions – if they are not ready, they are at least underway. Some editions are already in progress for a second time due to changes in editorial policy (e.g., from a complete to a critical edition) or the emergence of new sources (e.g., Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, Brahms editions). Differences between modern critical editions stem mainly from the style of the musical era of the composer as well as from the amount and quality of the surviving sources. Obviously, the editor's personal experience and familiarity with the music and style

² Gossett 2002, 219.

³ For general information on the history of music publishing, see, for example, Boorman 2010, Kurkela 2009, Cooper 2002.

⁴ One influence for the text-critical research came from Robert Schumann, who in 1841 wrote about the presumable errors in the published works of Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven. Later, Felix Mendelssohn and Johannes Brahms were also active in this area (see, e.g., Feder 1987). Already by the mid-19th century in England, some large-scale editions were compiled in order to preserve the national heritage; see Broude 2012, 3.

also affects the results. As editor James Grier stated, “Every piece is a special case [...] and every piece will tolerate more than one editorial solution. Moreover, no single editorial theory can satisfactorily accommodate the multiplicity of situations that arise in editing, even though each of the proposed theories of textual criticism has some value in particular contexts.”⁵

The goal of any modern critical music edition can be summarized in the words of the Brahms edition: “The goal of the JBG [Johannes Brahms Gesamtausgabe] is to reproduce the original notetext, which has been freed from scribal, copying, and engraving errors as well as unauthorized additions and which comes as close as possible to the composer’s intentions.”⁶ Obviously, the editions also aim for the highest possible quality. According to Robert Pascall, editor of the JBG, “the quality of an edition really depends on two issues: the quality of the editorial decisions in assessing the sources, and the clarity with which the editor tells you what has been done.”⁷

The principles for achieving high quality in modern scholarly music editing have been adopted from the text-critical approach in literature editing, although these principles were adapted to music as late as the end of the 20th century. To oversimplify, textual criticism can be explained in a nutshell: textual criticism (a branch of literary criticism) is concerned with the identification and removal of transcription errors in the texts of manuscripts. Given a manuscript copy (or copies), but not the original document, the textual critic strives to reconstruct the original text as closely as possible. The ultimate aim of the textual critic’s work is to produce a critical edition containing a text that most closely approximates the original. In Western culture, literature has been edited for about 2000 years, the most frequently edited texts being the Bible, Greek and Latin texts from antiquity, and Shakespeare. One could say that text-criticism in its modern sense began its rise during the Renaissance, and several scholars have since offered their input to the method.⁸

⁵ Grier 1996, 99.

⁶ “Ziel der JBG ist die Wiedergabe autenthischer Werktexte, die von Schreib-, Kopisten- und Stichfehlern sowie unautorisierten Zusätzen befreit sind und den Intentionen des Komponisten so nahe wie möglich kommen.” *Vorwort* (the general preface) in all volumes, p. VII (G. Henle Verlag, München, 1996–).

⁷ Pascall 2002, 102.

⁸ Of these scholars, the frequently mentioned as having had a significant impact are Karl Lachmann (1793–1851), Walter W. Greg (1875–1959), Fredson Bowers (1905–1991), G. Thomas Tanselle (1934–), and Jerome McGann (1937–). For more on textual criticism, see, e.g., Pulkkinen 2010, and for relations on music editing, see Grier 1991, Chapter 1.

Musical sources as well as literary or historical sources share not only many similarities but also differences, which make it impossible to mechanically apply to music techniques developed for editing written texts. The major similarity is the corruption of sources that has taken place along the source chain while new copies were reproduced, thereby yielding new variant readings. An important concept in textual criticism is the distinction between substantives and accidentals when discussing variant readings. Editor Ronald Broude, who has experience in both literature and music editing, has clarified the meaning of these two words: “When we speak of ‘substantives’ we are usually thinking of meaning; in general, a variant is said to be substantive when there is a difference in words, although we may allow a difference in punctuation as substantive when that difference creates a difference in meaning. Accidentals, on the other hand, have to do with differences in the forms of substantives or in the ways substantives are joined together; we speak of accidentals in connection with spelling, capitalization, and punctuation. A pragmatic way of distinguishing between substantives and accidentals is to look at the process of transmission and to say that substantives are those elements of a text that a scribe or compositor conscientious about reproducing his exemplar would not deliberately alter; accidentals are elements that he might change, so to speak, without thinking. In music, however, this distinction is difficult to sustain.”⁹ He further explains the difference in music editing: “And if once we accept the idea that in music there are few if any elements that do not convey some meaning, it follows that in music there can be no equivalent of the distinction between ‘substantives’ and ‘accidentals.’ Speaking pragmatically, however, we must recognize that editors of music do make distinctions that may be regarded as analogous to the distinction between ‘substantive’ and ‘accidental.’”¹⁰ Namely, as may be learned from critical editions, in their commentaries, editors do not report their each and every action; instead they also make tacit emendations. From this, Broude accurately draws the following conclusion: “Those elements of notation that editors report when they alter them we may take to have equivalent of *substantive* value; those elements that are not reported when they are altered may take to be the musical equivalents of accidentals in a verbal text.”¹¹ An example of accidentals in notation might be changing a clef, notating unpitched percussions on a single line instead of a five-line staff, filling empty bars with

⁹ Broude 1991, 115–116.

¹⁰ Broude 1991, 117.

¹¹ Broude 1991, 118. For tacit emendations, see 3.2.2; for variants in music, see, e.g., Kallberg 1990.

rests, changing the number of bars on a system, changing the font of the texts, and writing out shorthand notation in full (see also Section 3.2.2). In music, these accidentals are part of the notational image (Notenbild), whereas the equivalents of substantives comprise the notetext (Notentext).

In turn, the main difference between music and verbal text is that a work of music does not appear in written form only. Rather, the musical score is not an end-product, as a text is, but also functions as the foundation on which a performance, a sonic representation of the score, is based. The symbols of a musical text inevitably convey meaning for the performer and thus, compared to a verbal text, involves an additional dimension. Therefore, the editor must carefully consider the semiotic importance of each notational symbol. As Broude stated: “If it is our aim to capture every nuance that the composer intended to convey (in traditions where the notation could convey such nuances), then we certainly want to capture every detail – including every notational idiosyncrasy – of his holograph, in just the same way that an editor of a poet particular about his ‘accidentals’ will want to reproduce the accidentals just as the poet wrote them. If we accept the premise that such details convey elements of significance, then there is every reason to reproduce them – whether we are dealing with a sonnet or a symphony – and good editors will do so.”¹²

Editorial activity precedes performance, but the editor must also be aware of the performance practice – both the one at the time of composition and the present one – to be able to create a notetext that is clear, unproblematic and at the same time represents the composer’s ideas as closely as possible. In Pascall’s words: “notation without knowledge of performance practice remains only seemingly transparent, and the question of the meaning of the notation always leads into the field of performance practice research.”¹³ It must be stressed, however, that performance practice alone cannot guide the editor’s choices in such a way that, for instance, an easier-to-read notation, which might compromise the original intention, would substitute for a composer’s notational practice.

¹² Broude 1991, 118.

¹³ Pascall 1999, 265.

3.1.3 Critical and Practical Editions

In connection with critical editions, the question of a practical versus critical (or scholarly, as they are sometimes called) edition often arises. Many practical musicians today are interested in and search for manuscripts and other sources, yet the distinction between scholars and practical musicians is far from clear. As Pascall noted, there need be no distinction between practical and scholarly editions: “Collected [=critical] editions are often contrasted with practical editions, but this is a glib, not to say misleading, distinction. Editors of collected editions seek to present the best note-text they can arrive at, representing as closely as possible the notational intentions of the composer. Performers should really be willing to use this as the preferred basis of their study. The work done on collected editions, as we have already seen, is detailed and painstaking, and it is no surprise therefore that they are often used as the source for subsequent editions, perhaps in more practical (more ‘music-stand-friendly’) format.”¹⁴

The meaning of the term “practical edition” varies. Eva-Maria Hodel, the head of Breitkopf & Härtel’s editorial department, noted that practical performance material “from a purely technical point of view, it means all the sheet music necessary for a performance that is put at the musicians’ disposal.”¹⁵ Practical editions became common in the 19th century, when they were made for domestic music making and for pedagogical purposes. They belong to the tradition which associates text with performance. The typical idea of a practical edition is that it includes instructions for the performer about how the work should be realized, interpreted, and performed; practical editions contain fingerings, phrasings, bowings, and pedallings as well as realizations of thorough-bass numberings and ornaments, often added by famous virtuosos. One should remember, however, that one important difference between critical and practical editions is their aim for stability. Namely, a critical edition is considered a stable text, best representing the composer’s intentions whereas, in Broude’s words, “no claim is made by the enabling [=practical] text that it is the only or the best text of the work: the enabling text offers itself as one among many possibilities.”¹⁶

¹⁴ Pascall 2002, 101.

¹⁵ Hodel 2010, 13.

¹⁶ Broude 2012, 12.

The term “practical edition” has no positive ring to all. For instance, according to Broude, it “may be called ‘interpretive’ editing, which involves providing assistance for performers in the form of technical directions (e.g., fingerings) and interpretive guidance (e.g., suggestions of tempo or dynamics). So important a part has such ‘interpretive’ editing played in music that many musicians understand ‘editing’ to mean providing such indications. Indeed, music is the only discipline that has a special term – Urtext – to denote editions free of such editorial interpolations. Needless to say, ‘interpretive’ editors may well change stemming, beaming, clefs, and anything else that does not suit their fancy.”¹⁷

The epithet “Urtext”, attached to many editions, has had different interpretations. The word “Urtext” means “the original text”, so an Urtext edition should therefore present the composer’s finished manuscript without any additions by outsiders. Therefore, Urtext may be regarded as a subset of a critical edition. The first Urtext editions were published just before the turn of the 20th century and have seen considerable use in German-speaking areas. However, the difference between a practical and Urtext edition has faded: in the 20th century, Urtext editions were made with respect to the autograph, but with added fingerings, bowings, or other performance instructions. Obviously, editorial additions need to be clearly distinguishable from the notetext. In this way, an Urtext edition comes close to a critical edition; the great difference is the absence of detailed commentaries and critical remarks. The term Urtext is widely known among musicians, and therefore publishers still prefer to use it. Today, the original meaning of the word has more or less returned.

Modern critical editions have taken into account the different needs of scholars and performers. For instance, in formatting the Brahms edition, the music for four hands has been printed both as a score, which scholars find more practical, but also with *secondo* on the left and *primo* on the right side of each opening.¹⁸ In the future, the distinction between critical and practical editions may merge further with new techniques. Namely, the field of literature provides an example: some computer-based editions using hypertext already exist; these allow the user to freely move from one version of a text to another. This technique would enable the user of a critical edition to see the plain critically edited

¹⁷ Broude 1991, 120.

¹⁸ At least this was the intention; see Pascall 1999, 255.

text, the text with various kinds of practical information, or all existing information at the same time.¹⁹

The JSW editions also aim for both scholars and practical musicians, and in addition, serve as the basis for performing editions, separate printings, and for orchestral parts produced by Breitkopf. In all these, the notetext remains the same as in the JSW volumes, but the Critical Commentary has been omitted. In the study scores, a shortened Introduction appears along with some occasional additional information on the sources or such, together with mention of the critical edition volume. The publisher also labels all the additional materials they publish based on the JSW scores with the mention of Urtext.

3.2 General Editorial Principles

3.2.1 Content of a Critical Volume

In addition to the score(s), each volume in a modern critical edition usually contains a Preface, an Introduction, Facsimiles, Critical Commentary, and often various Appendices. The general Preface, which outlines certain general principles and introduces the series of the edition, remains the same in each volume. The Introduction sheds light on the work(s) included in the given volume and presents information about the composition process of the work(s), early performances, early reception, and possible revision and publishing – all illustrated with citations from contemporary sources, such as correspondence and newspapers. In addition, it may also include various special issues, such as the composer's own statements about the works or performance practice.

The other extensive and important report is the Critical Commentary, which includes different sections containing descriptions, filiations, and evaluations of the sources, outlines of the special editorial guidelines, questions concerning the work(s) in the volume, and the actual Critical Remarks. The Critical Remarks section identifies and lists

¹⁹ For discussion on the topic, see Broude 2012, 14–15.

differences between the sources used in editing, describes alterations and changes appearing in the sources, explains and justifies all editorial intervention, and also comments on possible questionable situations, though no editorial intervention may have taken place. Ideally, based on the information in the Critical Commentary, it should be possible to reconstruct the original sources. Often, volumes also contain facsimile pages showing some problematic or otherwise illuminating pages from the manuscripts or other sources. The details in these documents may, of course, vary slightly due to different emphases or views in each critical edition.

3.2.2 Guidelines

All good, modern critical editing projects have their own guidelines, which include general editorial principles as well as specific instructions concerning the editing process and the ways of reporting the results.²⁰ Such guidelines cannot be static, however; increasing experience, together with facing new situations and questions, inevitably means that editorial guidelines must be re-evaluated and edited from time to time. These guidelines cannot be overly rigid in details either. Since each musical work was created under a unique combination of cultural, historical, social, economic, and practical circumstances, each work (and its sources) is also a special case, and this must be appreciated in editing. In the words of Philip Gossett, editor of Rossini, each work of a critical edition “is expressed through the various stages of a complex intellectual and artistic process, which is presented to the reader.”²¹

The main guiding principle is the text-critical approach, which means that the editor carefully acquaints him- or herself with all existing sources, compares them with each other, and evaluates them. He or she then chooses the most reliable source as the main source and begins to prepare a score for the publisher based on this main source. Each erroneous and questionable item or place in the main source must be thoroughly examined and possibly emended or a detail added or removed. In doing so, the editor acts as a detective: he or she goes through all the evidence, draws conclusions, and finds solutions

²⁰ For Nordic editions, see Krabbe 2006; for JBG, see Struck 2003. Some examples of the JSW guidelines appear in Section 3.2 and Chapter 4; see also Virtanen 2006.

²¹ Gossett 2006, 134.

based on the evidence, rather than on his or her own preferences.²² This also helps to maintain a consistent editorial policy throughout not only one whole volume, but also the entire series of a composer's works. It is worth mentioning, though, that all editing involves interpretation and is based on the editor's experience and his or her knowledge of the composer's musical and handwriting style as well as the work's history and context. As Grier stated, "A hypothesis, an educated guess, drawing on intensive and extensive study of the work and its historical context, and presented to the user as speculation, is much more valuable than a simple acknowledgement that the truth cannot be known, no matter how valid that acknowledgement is."²³

Another guiding principle is the transparency of the entire editing process from sources to the finished volume. Transparency can be achieved with, on the one hand, explanations in the Critical Commentary and Remarks sections, and on the other, with typographical distinction. In practice, this means that everything must be documented: sources must be listed, descriptions and evaluations provided, differences between the sources noted, and finally, each editorial action must be explained and justified. All the facts must be explained in a way that permits scholars and performers not only to understand the logic and reasons behind an editorial action, but also to draw their own, possibly different conclusions. After all, the decisions are the well-educated interpretations of the editor. The editorial intervention is then presented in the score. In most critical editions, including JSW, editorial additions and emendations are shown by square brackets, broken lines (ties and slurs) or, in some editions, additionally with italics or other style, with smaller-size print, or footnotes. Footnotes may also show variant readings in other sources or simply direct the reader's attention to some important issue explained in the Critical Remarks. Since the use of these indications is connected to and dependent on the source circumstances of each individual work, the principles of their use and other specific editorial questions and procedures must be discussed in the Critical Commentary of each volume, as is done in JSW. However, not all editorial intervention is visible in the score; naturally, removed items can only be found in the Critical Commentary. Additionally, the source situation of a work dictates which emendations or additions are shown with typographical distinction. In the early version of *En saga*, for instance, both the surviving sources (full score and orchestral parts by an unknown copyist) are insufficient, and

²² The opposite happens too; one case in point appears in Example 3.3, see Footnote 38.

²³ Grier 1991, 182.

therefore additions from the orchestral parts have not been placed in editorial brackets (see Chapter 5).

Although transparency means that editorial intervention is shown in the notetext, critical editions include tacit emendations to original scores that may not be evident with typographical distinction. These include certain basic notational items that the composers did not repeat, such as adding instrument names, clefs, and key signatures after page turns, as well as filling empty bars with rests. Tacit emendations in most critical editions also include some notational standardization, such as changing the stem direction or side (e.g., moving an upward stem from the left side of the notehead to the right side). Furthermore, these include notating unpitched percussions on a single line, or combining two woodwinds on a single staff instead of notating them on two staves, or sometimes vice versa. JSW uses tacit emendation only when no other viable interpretation is possible; for some examples in JSW, see section 4.2.2, cases 1–5.

Sometimes emendation is made with only a general remark. This occurs in cases where tacit emendation is not possible, but listing each repeated detail separately would unreasonably burden the Critical Remarks. In JSW, an asterisk is usually added to alert the reader of the edition to consult the explanation for the emendation in the Critical Commentary. Example 4.1 (on p. 88) from *Skogsrået* shows a page from just such a case. The syncopated pattern in the second violins and violas (staves 5 and 7 from the bottom) was missing many ties, which have been added tacitly in JSW.

3.2.3 Sources

A variety of sources are needed in the course of critical editing, the most important of which are obviously the musical sources, from preliminary drafts to printed editions. The musical sources include various types of materials: autograph manuscripts (sketches, drafts, fair copies), other handwritten copies by copyists (e.g., engravers' copies), proofs, first editions, later editions, orchestral parts, and the authors' copies (*Handexemplare*). Literary sources are also needed to shed light on the composition, publishing, and revision processes as well as on early performances and reception. Literary sources, such as the composer's correspondence, diary, articles and reviews in newspapers and magazines also offer valuable information.

In the source evaluation or assessment section of a critical edition, the sources are often presented as a stemma, evaluated as sources, and classified. The selection of the main source – upon which the critical edition is based – and the use of the main source are justified, and the practices concerning the other sources are explained. Generally, all the sources with which the composer is known to have an input are taken into account.

In the Brahms edition, the sources have been divided into three categories: the main source (*Hauptquelle*: the source in which the necessary corrections are the fewest), reference sources (*Referenzquellen*: those sources closely related to the main source), and marginal sources (*Randquellen*: sketches and drafts, for instance, which, while of historical interest and importance, provide no strong input into the editorial decision-making process).²⁴ The role of the reference sources is further explained in the volumes, as, for instance, in Brahms's First Symphony: "The manuscripts and early versions in question provide for the edition at hand indispensable correctives based on their importance in the working-out and publication processes of the work. They reveal errors which have affected till the main source, help to clarify problematic source findings and attest to the composer's later changes."²⁵ JSW makes a similar kind of distinction, although the terms differ. The main source is one of the primary sources, which include autographs or copies and editions which Sibelius apparently approved; secondary sources were made during the composer's lifetime, but whether Sibelius authorized them, remains uncertain; reference sources include relevant information, but are not direct sources for the particular work or version (e.g., Sibelius's arrangement for another performing composition, a score fragment, etc.). However, in cases where only a very few sources appear, they are not necessarily labeled into different groups (as in the case of *En saga*).

In preparing the critical edition, the main source clearly acts as the decisive source representing the composer's notational intentions. The editions prepared during the composer's lifetime correspond mostly to the composer's intentions in the main features, such as pitches, rhythms, and tempo indications. However, due to the standardization and unification of dynamic and articulation markings during the printing process by the copyists and engravers, it may sometimes be sensible to use the autograph as decisive in

²⁴ Pascall 1999, 255.

²⁵ "Die betreffenden Manuskripte und Frühdrucke bilden für die vorliegende Edition aufgrund ihrer Bedeutung im Ausarbeitungs- und Veröffentlichungsprozeß des Werkes unentbehrliche Korrektive. Sie decken Fehler auf, die sich bis in die Hauptquelle ausgewirkt haben, helfen problematische Quellenbefunde zu klären und belegen nachträgliche Änderungen des Komponisten." Pascall 1996, 202.

some respects, as in details concerning articulation or the placement of dynamics. Thus, if several sources for a work have survived, a single source alone cannot always be regarded as reliable or decisive in every respect. This in no way entails arbitrary mixing of sources, but only in well-based cases and only with certain features, such as the lengths of wedges. One case in point in JSW is the First Symphony, where articulation and the placement of wedges have been based mostly on the autograph manuscript, although the first edition is the main source. This results from the many uncertainties in the first edition; Sibelius seems mainly to have taken care of the correctness of the pitches and general performance instructions (e.g., tempo markings, dynamics).²⁶

Sometimes, the source situation may not allow the editor to make changes to the notetext. In other words, the editor may find no evidence from the sources to support an alteration or addition that she or he thinks could be relevant based, for example, on the musical context. These may include dynamic, expression, or articulation markings, but also pitches and even notation in general: for example, should a rest or a note appear. In such cases, when the music remains intact, the question is nevertheless reported and explained in the Critical Remarks section. In addition, the editors of JSW, as in some other editions, aim to foresee possible problems and questions that musicians are likely to encounter and at least to comment upon them. What Barry Cooper has observed about the relation of critical editions and performances is true: “An awareness of how an edition has been prepared, however, and of the problems that faced the editor, can result in the performer gaining a much greater understanding of the music being performed. This in turn can lead to more effective performances.”²⁷ This, obviously, holds true for scholars as well.

One question concerning the sources is to decide which sources differ from the others enough to be considered a different version of a work and how to deal with them. Namely, for many composers, multiple versions of a work exist. Some editions believe the latest version, *Fassung letzter Hand*, is the authoritative version and publish only that. Other opinions, however, share Gossett’s belief that “for a critical edition to succeed, it must first abandon the notion that its purpose is to produce a single and definitive written text, a *Fassung letzter Hand*, for a musical composition.”²⁸ It seems that lately, scholars focus not on a single definitive version, the final form, but see it as the sum of all the creative work spent

²⁶ See Virtanen 2008 and 2009b.

²⁷ Cooper 2002, 91.

²⁸ Gossett 2002, 221.

on it.²⁹ Each version of a given work has its own value and history. In Sibelius's case, for instance, he occasionally considered a work to be finished and premiered it; only afterwards did he make changes. Therefore two finished versions of some works exist, both of which may be considered as *Fassung letzter Hand* at the moment they were finished. The task of a critical edition is to bring these versions to light and to help in finding their value. The critical edition provides the material which the performer and the scholar need in order to decide; the critical edition does not, however, make the choices. In fact, the most noticeable change in the editorial policy of JSW concerns situations where more than one version of a given work exists. Initially, the early versions were intended to be published only as facsimiles rather than as edited scores, but soon the decision was made to edit and publish all the complete early versions according to the same principles as the final versions.³⁰

3.2.4 Publication Process of the Early Editions

The publication process involves many kinds of sources and professionals. In the past, a copy of the work first had to be made if the autograph materials could not be sent to the publisher. Composers did not make the orchestral parts themselves, so a copyist (or copyists) was involved at least there.

Then the publisher's editor made markings on the score, which the engraver then interpreted and placed neatly and nicely for the best fit on the engraving plates. In other words, "the prime concern of the copyist or the printer is not necessarily to replicate the text of the piece with exactitude, but often to create a usable text for the purpose at hand."³¹ The engravers were not professional musicians and probably did not understand

²⁹ This has not always been the case, however. One example is Robert Haas's editions of Anton Bruckner's symphonies, which he began in the 1930s. Haas constructed new versions from several early versions by rejecting the printed versions (although printed during Bruckner's lifetime), including removed bars, and even changing the instrumentation and adding some sketched material; see Korstvedt 2000. Edition Eulenburg later published all the versions separately.

³⁰ These include, for example, early versions of *Cassazione* Op. 6; *En saga*, Op. 9; *Vårsång*, Op. 16; *Lemminkäinen* legends Op. 22; Violin Concerto, Op. 47; the 2nd movement of Symphony No. 3, Op. 52; *The Oceanides*, Op. 73 (including the "Yale" version); and Symphony No. 5, Op. 82. At the end of 2012, in the 20 published JSW volumes, over 40 works or versions that had never before been published had already appeared.

³¹ Grier 1996, 111.

the meaning of musical marks or the difference that results if, for example, a wedge is shortened. This becomes clear when a full score and orchestral parts were produced based on the same manuscript, even more so if produced by two (or more) engravers: variance always appears in the placements and lengths of markings when the engraver interpreted (or misunderstood) the composer's notational characteristics or intentions. These changes can be seen in the surviving engravers' copies, which in Sibelius's case are only few, particularly for longer works.³²

In preparing printed editions, unification or even standardization has taken place and continues to do so according to the publishing houses' customs or regulations, as well as the engravers' personal styles. After all, every time a printed score is prepared, some modernization and standardization inevitably takes place when the notation is converted to machine-written form. This holds true for all composers. Robert Pascall has noted about the engravers of Brahms's early editions: "Their job was to reproduce the music too, but also to regulate and amplify signs according to the then current notational practice [...] and to produce an object of pleasing graphic appearance."³³ Even today, such modernization is necessary and desirable in view of the users of the score: it makes reading the music easier. In the published editions, inadvertent errors and alterations also appear, although whether the publisher's editor or the engraver made them is not always clear. One example is illustrated by the Chopin excerpts in Section 3.3 below. Compare the autograph version (Example 3.1) with the other examples regarding the stem directions, especially in the right hand or the beam/flags in the left hand of the last bar of the examples.³⁴

It goes without saying that the publisher's editors also made some accurate alterations in order to make the scores easier to read. These include changes that mostly concern the layout and completion of the notetext (one might say, accidentals): two woodwinds (e.g., two flutes) were notated on one staff instead of two, empty staves were removed, rests were added to empty bars, bar numbers and key signatures were added to each system or page. The shapes of the rests and noteheads were also changed, the side and direction of the stems standardized, and shorthands were written out in full.

³² One of the surviving engraver's copies is the one for the Third Symphony; see Virtanen 2009a.

³³ Pascall 1999, 251.

³⁴ In Examples 3.3 and 3.5, the 8th-notes at 3–4/8 in b. 15 are for some reason notated with separate flags, without a beam. Example 3.6 introduces a new interpretation of the rhythm: it has been changed in bb. 14 and 15, where the latter 8th-note has become a quarter note, and the last rest has been shortened accordingly.

One of the most typical differences found between the manuscript and the printed score is the short versus long accents (as Section 3.3 illustrates). One reason for the slight differences in lengths of the wedges is that they were obviously written freehand (except for the very long ones); another reason may be that in manuscripts, the length of the upper and lower lines of the wedge often differ.

3.3 Sample Case with Accents

While striving towards the critical edition, which represents the composer's intentions as accurately as possible and provides the user with information about how and why the editor arrived at the particular reading in the score, the editor must find his or her way through the corrupted sources. Many problems along the way arose because of the composer himself – though surely unintentionally – but mostly, however, because of copyists, previous editors, and engravers.

The following presents a short survey of the interpretation of one of the most common markings that leads to different interpretations: the accent. The examples come from piano rather than orchestral music simply because a piano score takes less space. However, the situations with accents are similar to those in orchestral scores, although the number of interpretations may multiply when similar parts appear one below the other in the score. A ballade by Frédéric Chopin was chosen because it has been published numerous times since 1841 by different publishers, and several critical editions have appeared as well – both features that most of Sibelius's larger works lack.

The accent may appear in different lengths in the autograph manuscripts and be reproduced in a variety of interpretations by the copyists, editors, and engravers. In the following examples, the editor's name does not always appear in the edition, so who's interpretation – the editor's or the engraver's – appears in the print remains uncertain. When the print mentions the editor by name, one can safely assume that he is behind the interpretation.

Example 3.1 introduces three bars (bb. 13–15) from Chopin's Ballade No. 3, Op. 47. The autograph manuscript is lost, but a facsimile still exists and has been published; the excerpt is from that edition.³⁵

Example 3.1. F. Chopin: Ballade No. 3, bb. 13–15 of the autograph manuscript (1841), facsimile.



An examination of ten different editions reveals three different forms of accents: \rightrightarrows , $>$, and \wedge .³⁶ In two critical editions (WU and new Peters), the manuscript has been followed most carefully, as the excerpt from WU in Example 3.2 shows (new Peters is similar, except without fingerings). To be exact, however, the accent in b. 13 should come after the **f**, not above it. To follow the autograph exactly (placing **f** before the accent) was likely impossible due to the layout. The important thing is that the accent is placed at the notehead, not after it; the solution in WU is therefore well founded. In the manuscript, the accent is placed between the staves; although it appears perhaps a bit closer to the upper staff, **f** is likely intended for both hands. In these two editions, the difference in the lengths

³⁵ *Fryderyk Chopin Ballada as-dur op. 47* by Polskie wydawnictwo muzyczne, Krakow 1952.

³⁶ These editions (bearing the abbreviation to which they are hereafter referred to) are: Edition Henle, 2009, edited by Norbert Müllemann (Henle); a New Critical Edition by Edition Peters, 2006, edited by Jim Samson (new Peters); Edition Peters, 1948–1950, edited by Herrmann Scholtz and newly edited by Bronislaw von Pozniak (old Peters); edition Compozitor Publishing House, 1998 (CPH); Wiener Urtext Edition, 1986, edited by Jan Ekier (WU); Editio Musica Budapest, without the copyright year, but the firm was established in 1951 (EMB); Polskie wydawnictwo muzyczne, 1949, edited by Ignacy J. Paderewski (PWM); Edition Lienau, 1882, edited by Theodor Kullak (Lienau); edition Alfred Music Publishing, without the copyright year (AMP); and a sample from the internet with no information about the edition (anonymous). Although some examples here resemble each other in view of the accents, all the editions differ from each other in terms of layout, pedalling, fingering, and slurring, and have therefore not been produced from the same plates.

of the accents has been acknowledged. The new Peters (p. 59) explains that different sizes of accents appear in Chopin's music and that they apparently have different meanings according to the context. The edition preserves two sizes: the conventional accent and the long accent. The edition further states that "[t]he latter seem to have various functions: to indicate dynamic reinforcement, expressive stress and proportional prolongation for notes of long rhythmic value [...]; to convey a sense of 'leaning' to appoggiaturas, suspensions and syncopations; to emphasize groups of two, three or four notes, as well as rolled chords; and to prolong a stress over prolonged notes. Long accents are best thought of as a 'surge', versus the dynamic retraction implied by a visually similar diminuendo sign." WU also briefly mentions a similar view.

Example 3.2. F. Chopin: Ballade No. 3, bb. 12–15 of the Wiener Urtext Edition (1986), critically edited by Jan Ekier.

The interpretation of the long accents on beat 1 in bb. 13 and 14 differs in all other editions. In five of the editions, they appear as conventional short accents, as illustrated in Example 3.3.³⁷ Of these, the accent has been moved above the notehead in three editions (PWM, Lienau, AMP), and only in two editions (anonymous and CPH) do the accents remain below the staff. Interestingly, PWM claims that the edition appears “according to the autograph manuscripts and original editions with a critical commentary” (on the printer’s imprint page). In the commentary, the sources have been listed for all four ballades at the same time, with the accuracy on the level of “FE is the original French edition,” but with no source evaluation. In general, the commentary makes no mention of accents, nor does it comment on these particular bars. However, since this volume does contain the facsimile of the first page of the autograph manuscript, the reader can only

³⁷ Editions with short accents are PWM, Lienau, AMP, CPH, and anonymous.

wonder what solution was made. Thus, this early critical edition introduces interpretations which seem to be based more on the editor's own preferences than on the autograph.³⁸

Example 3.3. F. Chopin: Ballade No. 3, bb. 12–15 of the Chopin Complete Works, critically edited by Ignacy Paderewski (1949).

A combination of accents of both lengths appears in the newest available edition, the Henle critical edition. As Example 3.4 shows, the length of the first accent is quite accurate, although it is placed only after the notehead (cf. Example 3.2). For some reason, the latter accent is short and appears above the notehead. The commentary does not mention these bars at all. The second, corrected print of the French first edition³⁹ has served as the main source, but “A [=autograph] is an important secondary source, since F [French first edition] displays an unusually high number of errors and inaccuracies, which may be corrected with the assistance of A.”⁴⁰ Interestingly, the new Peters also uses the French first edition as the main source together with the autograph, but that version of the first edition, owned by Chopin’s pupil Jane Stirling, included fingerings and corrections of pitches made by Chopin. Thus, a similar kind of source evaluation has resulted in two different interpretations, neither of which follows the autograph in every detail (cf. Example 3.2, which is close to the new Peters).

³⁸ Another peculiar decision appears in the PWM edition: in b. 12, the uppermost pitch in the left hand at 3/8 and in b. 15 at 4/8, *c*^b (not *b*), differs from all the other examples. The editor has commented on the change as follows: “We have changed the *B* [=*b*] in the bass (which appears in the MS and in the original editions) to *C*^b [=*c*^b], since this corresponds more closely to the note’s harmonic significance.” (p. 63). It seems that AMP is based on the PWM edition, although this information is lacking, because this same change also appears in AMP.

³⁹ Published by Maurice Schlesinger in 1841 (plate number *M. S. 3486*).

⁴⁰ Henle 2009, 19 (www.henle.de/media/review/0937.pdf).

Example 3.4. F. Chopin: Ballade No. 3, bb. 12–15 of Edition Henle, critically edited by Norbert Müllemann (2009).

Of those editions with short accents, the Lienau edition differs even more from the others. As Example 3.5 shows, the first accent appears below, but the second appears above the notehead; *f* has also been added to b. 14. No explanations appear on these matters, although the edition does include remarks.

Example 3.5. F. Chopin: Ballade No. 3, bb. 13–15 of Edition G. Schirmer, edited by Theodor Kullak (1882).

The most extraordinary interpretation, however, appears in EMB and the old Peters, which can be seen in Example 3.6. The long accents in bb. 13 and 14 were changed to martellato marks, and wedges were added to the lower staff at 3–4/8 (and the slur was also shortened); the dynamic mark *mf* was also added to b. 14. Although the old Peters claims to have been critically edited and does include some remarks, it explains none of the previously mentioned details.⁴¹

⁴¹ EMB differs from old Peters in that the notation on the lower staff in b. 13 after $\frac{3}{4}$ includes only downward stems, and no division for hands is indicated.

Example 3.6. F. Chopin: Ballade No. 3, bb. 12–15 of Edition Peters, edited by Bronislaw von Pozniak (1948–1950).

The long *crescendo* wedge in b. 14 also differs in length in different editions. The wedge either ends before the 32nd rest in the right hand or continues to the end of the bar. In the autograph, two slurs cover the octemol, one on each side (see Example 3.1). The upper slur extends a bit past the bar line; it was perhaps drawn a bit carelessly just to show the octemol. In two critical editions (WU and new Peters), the upper slurs were interpreted as one: the entire gesture (to 3/8 in b. 15) is covered with one long slur, and an additional slur below the 16ths ends before the rest (see Example 3.2). Despite the slur ending before the rest, the wedge continues to the end of the bar.

In all other editions, the upper slur has been interpreted as the octemol slur and changed to a bracket or even been left out altogether. In these editions, two slurs appear in succession in one of the following two ways. The length of the wedge seems to coincide with the slur break in the last half of b. 14. According to the first interpretation, the first slur ends at the last note of b. 14, as in the autograph, and the next slur begins on the first note in b. 15. In these cases, the wedge is also long, as in the autograph. This interpretation occurs in Lienau (Example 3.4), Henle (Example 3.5), CPH, and anonymous (as well as in the first editions). The other interpretation has the first slur shortened in order to end before the 32nd rest and the other slur beginning at the last note of b. 14. In these cases, the wedge also ends with the first slur. This occurs in PWM (Example 3.3), EMB, old Peters (Example 3.6), and AMP. Interestingly, EMB and old Peters include an additional *p* \Rightarrow in b. 15.

All in all, the interpretations of the wedges are many and vary over time. Only two critical editions seem to have been able to produce a notetext close to the composer's autograph. Although this survey does not cover all existing editions, it surely tells about the gamut of interpretations in various editions.

4 THE CRITICAL EDITION *JEAN SIBELIUS WORKS* (JSW)

4.1 Introduction

Jean Sibelius Works/Jean Sibelius Werke (JSW) is a collected critical edition.¹ It is a compilation of all the complete, surviving works of Jean Sibelius and includes his own arrangements of his works (also including a few arrangements of folk songs) as text-critically edited versions in over 50 volumes. A part of Sibelius's oeuvre, including early versions of many of his works, is being published for the first time. The fruit of thorough examinations and exhaustive critical reports, the JSW editions serve both performers and scholars. Begun in 1996, JSW is the first text-critical music edition and the largest humanities project produced in Finland to date. The National Library of Finland, the Sibelius Society of Finland and Publishers Breitkopf & Härtel (B&H) are responsible for publishing the *Jean Sibelius Works*.² The composition of each volume appears as it would in any modern critical edition including the score(s), a Preface, an Introduction (both of these texts appear in English and German), Facsimiles, Critical Commentary (in English), and sometimes various Appendices. Often the Introduction texts, which discuss the genesis, reception, revision, and publication of the works, offer additional and complementary information, even

¹ For more about the project's organization and history, see the project's homepage at www.nationallibrary.fi/culture/sibelius; Wicklund 2007, Häkli 2006 (in Swedish), and Kilpeläinen 1998a (in Finnish).

² B&H was Sibelius's main publisher and has collaborated with Finnish publishing firms, which also published Sibelius's works, since 1898. Several other firms, such as Hansen and Lienau, have also published Sibelius's works.

completely new information that has never before been discussed in the literature, or correct some misinterpretations. The Critical Commentary also explains (in addition to the descriptions and evaluation) special questions and principles concerning the work(s) in each volume.³

Each volume also contains facsimile pages showing some problematic or otherwise illuminating pages from the manuscripts or other sources. Crossed-out passages may appear as facsimiles, and some longer passages or nearly completed early versions may also appear as computer-notated appendices, as may reconstructions or parts of literary sources.⁴ Because new sources may emerge after publication of the critical edition, and some additions inevitably need to be made or corrections added to the volumes (since no edition is error-free), the editors have prepared *Addenda and Corrigenda* lists.⁵

A variety of sources, both musical and archival, are needed in the course of critical editing.⁶ The following sections deal with these, in addition to Sibelius's notational practices and matters connected to the preparation of a critical edition, from the JSW point of view. In short, the following sections shed light on the sources and matters affecting them.

4.2 Autograph Manuscripts and *Handexemplare*

In JSW, the most important musical sources are Sibelius's autograph manuscripts. The main portion of these and other surviving manuscripts is preserved in the National Library of Finland in Helsinki, and another large portion is housed in the Sibelius Museum in Turku. Some manuscripts are in the possession of the Sibelius Academy Library, Helsinki

³ Some general principles and guidelines appear in Sections 3.1 and 3.2.

⁴ The autograph manuscript of the symphonic poem *Skogsrået* [Op. 15], for example, included several crossed-out passages. Two pages, totaling 48 bars, were also deleted from the full score, but this passage was copied to the still-surviving orchestral parts. Thus it was possible to reconstruct the deleted passage from the parts and publish it. In addition, the poem text, on which the symphonic poem is based, appears in the Appendix of that volume. In volume I/2, Symphony No. 1, several passages deleted from the autograph appear in the Appendix in computer-written form. One of the passages even includes rehearsal numbers and conductor's markings. Volume I/4, Symphony No. 3, includes a complete early version of the second movement.

⁵ Currently the A&C lists are available for JSW VIII/1 (Songs for solo voice and orchestra), I/2 (Symphony No. 1), and I/3 (Symphony No. 2); these lists appear on the B&H website. Lists for JSW VIII/2–4 (solo songs) and I/10 (*En saga*) are underway.

⁶ In Sibelius's case, the majority of musical and some literary sources have fortunately been listed in a work catalogue (see Dahlström 2003).

City Archives as well as the publishing firms (B&H, Robert Lienau); various smaller archives also house some minor collections. The whereabouts of some of the manuscripts, however, remains unknown; they may have been destroyed or be in the possession of private collectors, some of whom have unfortunately chosen not to make their materials available for research.

New manuscripts (i.e., manuscripts whose existence or whereabouts has been unknown) have emerged in recent years and will most probably continue to emerge in the future. Such findings sometimes come too late to appear in the critical editions, as happened with some songs.⁷ Fortunately, things turned out more favorably with *Night Ride and Sunrise*, Op. 55. Namely, the autograph manuscript, believed to be lost, emerged at Sotheby's in 2005 and was auctioned abroad. One year later, however, it resurfaced when it was donated to The Juilliard School, where it was digitized and is presently available to researchers – including the JSW editor when the volume with that work begins.⁸ As for the smaller compositions, new versions of known compositions or entirely new ones appear in most JSW volumes.

The autograph manuscript sources include various preliminary annotations, here collectively called sketches (without any specific distinction between a sketch or draft or their state of finality). In general, a large number of Sibelius's sketches have survived, although still more may exist than are presently known. Those sketches that ended up in compositions are not evenly connected to works. Namely, for some works, (almost) no sketches survive (as with *En saga*, *Skogsrådet*, or *Vårsång*), but on the other hand, for some works, even a great many do (as with Symphonies No. 3, 5, and 7; Violin Concerto, *Pohjola's Daughter*).⁹ Some of the existing sketch-material did not end up in any finished work, at least according to present knowledge. However, the available sketches are examined during the editing processes, so a close inspection and detailed examination of the works may also reveal new connections not only between sketches that were not previously connected to any work, but between finished works as well.

⁷ Right after the publication of the orchestral song volume (the last of the solo song volumes), four manuscripts, including one autograph, were made public from a private collection in Oulu. These were the autograph fair copy of the arrangement for voice and orchestra of *Vären flyktar hastigt*, Op. 13 No. 4; *Vilse*, Op. 17, No. 4 (engraver's copy); *Var det en dröm?*, Op. 37, No. 4 (fair copy); and *Flickan kom ifrån sin älskelings möte*, Op. 37, No. 5 (fair copy). The last three were made by copyists and the necessary new information appears in the A&C list.

⁸ The digitized manuscript can be viewed at the Juilliard Manuscript Collection website (www.juilliardmanuscriptcollection.org/composers.php#/works/SIBE).

⁹ For a detailed study and classification of Sibelius's sketches of his Third Symphony, see Virtanen 2005.

Fortunately for the editor, Sibelius's finished autograph manuscripts rarely contain emendations by anyone other than Sibelius, which is not the case with all composers. Obviously, numberings and such inserted by the copyist or the engravers, or song texts written by Sibelius's wife Aino may embellish the manuscripts, but these markings are easily distinguished from Sibelius's own hand and do not usually affect the editing of the notetexts. These markings do help in defining the source, its timing, its place in the source chain, and thus its value and relevance as a source in editing.

Some *Handexemplare* (published scores owned by Sibelius) also exist, but they include relatively few markings, typically only Sibelius's signature. Other handwritten markings mostly have to do with tempi: in many cases, Sibelius added tempo indications and metronome markings. Not all of these, however, are corrections proper and thus not meant to be added to the new prints of the scores. One example is the tone poem *Vårsång*, the *Handexemplar* of which includes metronome markings. Sibelius added these (apparently on request) while an arrangement for a brass band was underway; these tempo indications can be found in that printed score. The added metronome markings are often the result of inquiries by the conductors or other performers; even the publisher requested a list to be added to the symphonies. Sometimes Sibelius added tempo instructions after listening to a performance from the radio. Whether to include these additions to the critical edition score or only in the Critical Commentary is certainly worth considering separately for each case.¹⁰ One type of source is arrangements made for a different ensemble: a piano part from a solo song arranged for orchestra or vice versa, a male choir arranged for mixed choir or vice versa, or an orchestral work arranged for piano. The arrangements made by Sibelius may provide some clarification for editorial questions on the original work. These arrangements are also edited and published in the JSW volumes. The different versions serve as reference sources for each other in the course of editing. If, for instance, a pitch in a given work (that still fits the music) differs from the analogous bar elsewhere in the same

¹⁰ Sibelius said to his son-in-law, conductor Jussi Jalas, "I have marked the metronome numbers only to avoid the grossest errors. ("Metronominumeroita olen merkinnyt vain karkeimpien erehdysten välttämiseksi; Jalas 1988, 9) [...] The metronome markings in my works are wrong as hell" ("metronomimerkinnät teoksissani ovat päin helvettiä."). Jalas-note dated 20 March 1945 (NA, SFA, file box 1). This may just be Sibelius's puff after listening to a performance or perhaps after discussing tempi with Jalas. Sibelius made lists of metronome markings for his symphonies with different instructions. It was obviously not easy for him to choose the metronome markings.

work, the editor may check the reference source to see if the change was carried out there also.¹¹ However, arrangements made by others are not considered sources in JSW.

4.3 Sibelius's Notational Practices

Sibelius's notational practices conform mostly to those of his time, but his notation in his manuscripts bears certain individual features throughout his entire oeuvre. Many times, when the autograph manuscript is missing, one can visualize it in various passages through the copyist's copy. Namely, the contemporary copyists were usually quite accurate in their copying tasks; they seldom interpreted or "improved" the notation, but reproduced the composer's manuscripts with most of its personal features and ambiguities as accurately as they could. However, the engravers or later copyists did not always follow the autographs as accurately. Their misinterpretations and even errors become more understandable and even easier to locate when the editor is acquainted with Sibelius's notational practices.

Sibelius usually notated all pitches carefully and even corrected them while proofreading, although oversights do occur. Rhythmic ambiguities sometimes occur in his scores, mostly as multiple or missing dots or rests. However, these are usually easy to emend according to the harmonic context and the operative time signature. Obviously, when more than one possibility is viable (e.g., two pitches fit equally well) or if the editor has any doubts, the situation is explained in the Critical Remarks.

In JSW, Sibelius's original notation has largely been retained even if the exact meaning of it is unknown (see cases 16–20 below); the composer's intentions are sometimes best illustrated in his autographs. If any standardization has been deemed to compromise or risk the intentions or interpretational aspects manifested in Sibelius's autograph sources, the composer's original notation has been followed as closely as possible.

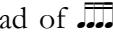

Many of those notational practices that can be found in other composers' manuscripts as well may often be described as shorthand. However, some of Sibelius's

¹¹ For the versions of *En saga* as reference sources to each other, see Chapter 7.

notational practices demand more thinking of a critical editor. These include the placements and lengths of slurs, wedges, and dynamic marks. The following shows a list of notational practices in orchestral music.¹² At the top of the list are those practices common to a variety of composers, and at the end of the list appear those practices with unclear meanings, which represent Sibelius's more individual characteristics.¹³

Example 4.1 is a page from the autograph score of *Skogsrået* [Op. 15] and illustrates all the below-mentioned cases 1–7. The key signature includes four sharps; the copyist (Ernst Röllig) who made the parts annotated the numberings above staves 2, 3, and 8 as well as the word “oboe” (on staff 2).

Shorthand markings:

1. Instrument names are not repeated in the accolade of each page. Rather, the names appear on the first page, again when an instrument reappears after longer rests, and when one instrument is changed to another (e.g., flute to piccolo). In the string section, the instrument names are marked when changes appear with divided strings notated on more than one staff. In addition, names for unpitched percussions appear more often, because more than one instrument is usually notated on the same staff.¹⁴
2. Clefs or key signatures are not always repeated on each page; after the beginning, they are marked when changes take place.
3. Empty staves exist: each instrument appears (about) on the same staff of each page, and the staves remain empty during *tacet* passages (staff 3 for the clarinet).
4. No whole rests appear on empty bars or during longer *tacet* passages (staves 1–4, 7–8).
5. Actual shorthands also appear, such as ♯, *Coll I*. Among these may also be counted the tremolos marked with slashes (e.g.,  instead of ; see the lowermost staff and staves 1–5 in Example 4.2).

¹² The list is based on fair copies and finished manuscripts, not sketches. In the sketches, even less information is available; they may be just memoranda without clefs, key signatures, bar lines, or rhythms.

¹³ Each JSW volume discusses Sibelius's notational practices as much as necessary for the given works. For a collective survey of his practices in writing for the choir, see Ylivuori 2013.

¹⁴ Instrument names are not given on each page in all printed scores either; rather, it depends on the publisher's house style.

6. Sibelius notated the four horns on two staves, but wrote the dynamic and expression marks only once between the staves. Apparently the markings are intended for the entire group, at least when they play similar material. This same principle also applies to other brasses notated on two staves (sometimes also bassoons), and to divided strings when notated on two (or more) staves.
7. Many times Sibelius used shorthand notation for repeated pitches in woodwinds: e.g., a half note with a slash through the stem instead of four 8th notes. Additionally, he often added dots on the first notehead to show the subdivision, but these were sometimes interpreted as staccato dots. If such an interpretation is viable based on the context, the JSW edition obviously takes this into account. One case in point can be seen in the flutes (staff 1). The number of dots (12) is based on the dotted half note that appeared initially; the rhythm was later changed: the duration dot was crossed out, and the rest added on beat 1. Based on the context, in this case the dots are not staccato dots. The orchestral parts also back up this interpretation: the first flute was notated as 16th notes, and the second flute as shorthand, but both without the dots.
8. Still another shorthand is the use of articulation marks in repeated patterns only in the beginning. Sibelius sometimes added *simile* or *segue*, but not always. It is sometimes clear how long the articulation should last, but in some cases, it is not and must therefore be carefully commented in the Critical Remarks.

The kinds of shorthands in cases 1–6 are easily written out or filled in into the score according to the practices of modern music printing insofar as they do not change the musical meaning. However, ? marks may raise questions about repeating possible dynamic marks. Although it is sometimes practical to write out tremolos notated with slashes, this is not always the case.¹⁵ All such cases are obviously considered and decided upon separately each time.

¹⁵ For example, in the beginning of *Luonnotar*, the accompanying string parts were left with longer note values with slashes in order to let the melodic line show better.

Example 4.1. The autograph manuscript of *Skogsrået* (HUL 0102), page 65 (bb. 511–520).

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for the piece "Skogsrået". The score is written on ten staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting at measure 31 and marked "Solo". It includes dynamic markings such as *ppp* and *piu piano*, and performance instructions like "dolce ed espress.". The second staff contains a melodic line with notes and rests. The third and fourth staves show a piano accompaniment with rhythmic patterns. The fifth staff is a numerical sequence: 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. The bottom six staves (6-11) contain dense piano accompaniment with various textures and dynamics, including *pp* and *piu piano*. The manuscript is on aged, yellowed paper with some ink bleed-through from the reverse side.

Markings with multiple possible interpretations:

9. The practice of marking triplets, quintuplets, and the like was to use a slur in addition to the number. However, these slurs can refer to two things: they may serve purely to show the proportional grouping of the notes, or they may also indicate articulation (or in strings, bowing). The slurs must be considered each time in context, and one must decide thereafter whether they might also refer to articulation, and should therefore be left intact. For example, in the early version of *En saga*, the decision was made to mark both the triplet mark (a square bracket with a number) and a round slur on the melodic figures, where the slur might also indicate articulation, and only the triplet mark on repetitions, where its only purpose seems to be to show the proportion (see Sections 5.2.4 and 6.3.4).
10. The beginnings and especially the endings of slurs are often inaccurately placed, ending between pitches. To decide whether a slur should end on the previous or on the following pitch can usually be decided based on the context, similar parallel parts or analogous places elsewhere in the work. In some cases, the orchestral parts also help with the decision. One case in point in *En saga* (although in the copyist's copy) is explained in Section 5.2.4.
11. In addition, a slur or a tie sometimes continues eloquently to the right margin, as if showing the continuation. After the page turn, however, the slur or tie does not continue; even a rest may follow. A similar eloquent beginning may also appear in the left margin, but no traces of the beginning of the slur appear on the previous page. Of course, the opposite also happens: a slur or tie does continue after the page turn, even though the beginning seems to end neatly at the end of the last bar on the previous page.
12. Sibelius usually wrote tempo or dynamic instructions (*stringendo*, *poco a poco crescendo*, etc.) that apply to a longer passage not only as complete words, but also using more space than usual. However, these were typically placed tighter when printed; thus the impression and perhaps part of the information was lost. In Example 4.2 from *Skegsvånet*, such a placement is visible when *Poco a poco più vivace* spans five bars. Also in this example, the copyist Röllig made the annotations in the accolade, the numberings, and the word “posauner”.
13. Sibelius used several different types of notation for harp glissandi.¹⁶ Although the differences or implications for musical practice is not always clear, the differences are preserved in JSW.
14. Sibelius used the common *tr* marking for notating timpani tremoli. He did not, however, use the trill line constantly. Rather, he seems to have used the trill line

¹⁶ See, e.g., Kilpeläinen & Virtanen 2003, 281.

only for longer note values, typically pedal tones. This distinction may imply different articulation, as editors Kari Kilpeläinen and Timo Virtanen have suggested: “a *tr* marking without the wavy line may imply a clear, accent-like articulation [...], whereas *tr* with the wavy line would mean an even, continuous tremolo.”¹⁷ The use of ties in timpani rolls changed: in the 1890s, Sibelius only seldom used ties, but later more frequently. Since all these differences may bear slight differences in articulation, they are preserved in JSW.

15. Sibelius also made a distinction between writing the abbreviation *f* or the entire word *forte* as well as *p* or *piano* (see the last bar in Example 4.1). The abbreviation seems more a local dynamic marking, whereas the entire word seems to refer to the wider interpretation of expression of a possibly longer passage.¹⁸ Thus, a *diminuendo* wedge, for example, may appear simultaneously with *forte*.

The above-mentioned cases 9–15 are not solved so straight-forwardly, however, and have also led to different interpretations among copyists, engravers, and editors. These kinds of questions are always considered in context and thoroughly reported in the critical edition (see also Section 4.4).

Markings with interpretations that are not always clear:

16. The dynamic marks almost always appear slightly before the beat, sometimes even on the wrong side of a bar line, and therefore sometimes in cases even on rests. Obviously, it is sometimes only a matter of space, or rather lack of space (see Example 4.2, especially the last bar).
17. Sibelius may write *mezzo* or *mezzo* without any immediately following (or preceding) additions such as *voce* or *piano*. These often appear not only for the voice part, but also for instruments (as violin or bassoon). In addition, Sibelius used other “open” markings, such as *più* or *meno* similarly.¹⁹ Sometimes these may be linked to a previous dynamic mark.



¹⁷ Kilpeläinen & Virtanen 2003, 281.

¹⁸ Therefore *forte* means not only loudly, but also strongly, with emphasis, bringing out, and *piano* means not only quietly, but also evenly, softly, or withdrawingly.

¹⁹ *Mezzo* appears for bassoon in Symphony No. 3, movement I, b. 136 as well as in *Luonnotar* (version for solo voice and piano) where the voice begins in b. 9. *Meno* in the same version of *Luonnotar*, bb. 72, 142 is probably connected to *forte* or *poco f* appearing 4–5 bars earlier. Violinist Kaija Saarikettu has noted that *mezzo* is more a term for expression than for dynamic. She interprets *mezzo* in the beginning of *Romance* for violin and piano, Op. 78 No. 2, to mean something like “not yet very extrovertedly”; see Saarikettu 2008, 26.

Example 4.2. The autograph manuscript of *Skogsrået* (HUL 0102), page 29 (bb. 247–255).

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. At the top, the tempo instruction "Poco a poco piu vivace." is written in cursive. The score consists of multiple staves. The upper section features a complex texture with many notes and slurs, including a section with a double bar line and repeat signs. Below this, there are staves with fewer notes, some containing rests and dynamic markings like "ff". A section of the score is numbered 1 through 10, with some notes crossed out with an 'X'. The bottom part of the page shows more staves with rhythmic patterns and rests. On the left margin, there are several red 'X' marks and some handwritten notes. The page number "29" is written in the top right corner.

18. The length and placement of wedges vary between simultaneous similar parts. Sometimes it is clear how the placement of a wedge moves rightwards from the top staff towards the lower ones. Similarly, the placement of a slur may be more precise at the top of a page than on the lower staves. These differences may stem from natural variance in handwriting and not be deliberate differences, and therefore need not be reproduced. In addition to >, Sibelius used different lengths of ≻ as accent marks, or long accents, which has led to different interpretations among copyists and engravers. An additional detail that leads to different interpretations is that the upper and lower lines of a wedge sometimes begin or end differently (not only in Sibelius; cf. Example 3.1 on p. 76).
19. From the beginning of the 20th century, Sibelius has a special habit of notating double ties () and slurs (). The double ties appear in autograph manuscripts, most often in the (low) strings, and are carefully drawn. In the *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa* autograph score, Sibelius even added the second ties for cellos and basses while proofreading in the 1940s. Thus, they are not errors made by copyists or engravers who, in fact, usually changed the double ties to single ones. Sibelius's double ties/slurs were first thought to be connected with bowing, bow directions, or perhaps with divisi playing. However, double ties also appear in voice parts as well as in piano texture. Finally, an example was found in which double ties appear in strings playing *pizzicato*.²⁰ Therefore, it seems the double ties relate not to bowing or other playing techniques, but rather to articulation, expression, or intensity.
20. Yet another notational convention to cause confusion is Sibelius's way of marking solos for the divided strings. Namely, it seems Sibelius used the word *Solo* on the one hand to mark one player's solo, but on the other hand to mark a solo for a whole instrument group or, for instance, a sub-group, such as one half of the divided violas. This question also arises in *Cassazione* (version for small orchestra) in b. 211. The question there is whether Sibelius intended the solo for a single viola or for the entire viola section. In the 7th symphony (b. 236), the first and third horns play the same music and are both marked *Solo*. It therefore seems that the meaning of the word *Solo* in Sibelius's manuscripts is something like "bring out (*hervortretend*), be aware, pay attention." Additional confusion comes from the fact that Sibelius did not always mark the end of the solos. Concluded from the manuscripts, some features in the score seem to mark the end of the solo or the change from *solo/altri*

²⁰ Double ties with *pizz.* appear in the autograph of the early version of the violin concerto (cellos and basses in movement II). Double ties (and a slur) in the string parts and a double tie in the vocal part appear in *Arioso*, Op. 3 (pp. 2 and 8 also as facsimiles, see Kilpeläinen and Virtanen 2003). A double tie also appears in the autograph of the piano piece *Oeillet*, Op. 85 No. 2, but was removed for publication. For more on double ties, see Virtanen 1999 (in Finnish) or Virtanen 2009a, 160.

back to normal *divisi a2*. These features include rests, fermatas, and the change of texture, time or key signature, or tempo indication.²¹

Case 16 is clear to the critical editor and those who have studied Sibelius's autographs, but nevertheless leads to different interpretations. Cases 17–20 are not straightforwardly solved because their meaning is not always clear. JSW nevertheless retains these markings and reports on them in the Critical Commentary.

4.4 Copyists, Publishing, and Proofreading

The following section discusses, rather than the critical edition, only the publication process – including publishers' editors' and engravers' actions – as well as proofreading only with regard to publishing during Sibelius's lifetime.

4.4.1 Copyists' Copies

Performance, especially of orchestral works, required many kinds of copies. To enable performances, at least the orchestral parts had to be made. In many cases, the score was also copied, not only because two performances took place in close time in different places with different conductors, but also because some conductors (such as Jalas or Schnéevoigt) had their own copies to keep. The publisher needed a copy after the contract for publishing was signed (as well as a copy of the parts). Sometimes Sibelius sent his autograph to the publisher, but in other cases, a new copy was prepared for publishing purposes. Sibelius himself also copied some smaller compositions, such as piano pieces, works for violin and piano, or solo songs, for the performers. Orchestral parts, however, were always copied by copyists. Those materials which Sibelius himself used— such as orchestral parts – he also checked, and if changes took place, he also corrected all the copies.

²¹ For some sample cases, see Wicklund 2007.

For copying the orchestral materials, Sibelius used some trustworthy copyists regularly for several years. The copyists Sibelius most frequently used – Ernst Röllig (1858–1928), Paul Voigt (1867–1943), and August Österberg (*1861) – also played in the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra, the one that premiered most of Sibelius’s orchestral works under his – or Kajanus’s – baton and with whom further performances also took place.²² The copies these men made are quite trustworthy and carefully copied, and therefore include only few errors. Even so, errors, misinterpretations, and omissions occur. The copyists copied directly from Sibelius’s autographs, resulting in two things. Firstly, there was no further intervenience, only Sibelius’s own corrections to the score, and therefore no several layers of unauthorized markings have accumulated. Secondly, they copied Sibelius’s markings and their placements quite accurately. Thus, they passed on not only Sibelius’s notational practices (double slurs, long accents, etc.), but also his inaccurate endings of slurs and other issues for the critical editor to consider. The copyists made some annotations in the autograph score in places to facilitate the making of the orchestral parts, but did not add the instrument names or other missing items on each page of the copy they made. Obviously, not all copyists were experienced and careful, and so unsatisfactory copies also exist. One illuminating example is the early version of *En saga* (see Chapter 5). In general, it seems that the early, or contemporary, copyists better understood Sibelius’s practices and that the later copies include more interpretations and standardizations. This becomes evident when comparing several surviving copies from different periods of time.²³

Hand-copied orchestral parts are also a very important source in editing. Although the orchestral parts were copied by copyists rather than by Sibelius himself, they occasionally include corrections written in Sibelius’s hand. Sometimes they also contain markings that the players wrote during rehearsals with Sibelius; many players also added at the end of their parts information about the durations and dates of performances.²⁴ All these bits and pieces may prove important and valuable in the larger picture.

²² Röllig and Österberg began copying already in the 1890s; Voigt, in fact, was the one who copied Sibelius’s lost Eighth Symphony in 1933; at least an invoice for copying the first movement exists.

²³ See, for example, *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*, Wicklund 2013a and b. Although the work was composed in 1895, it was revised twice and finally published as late as in 1954.

²⁴ Sibelius usually conducted the premieres himself and other early performances before the work was printed. In the printed orchestral parts, players’ markings may result from a very long period of time (up to present), so JSW only on special occasions takes these markings into account.

4.4.2 Editors and Engravers at the Publishing Houses

In contrast to the fairly good situation with Sibelius's manuscripts, a few engravers' copies for larger works have survived. Most of Sibelius's publishing firms were abroad. Although some of the works were published by Finnish firms, it was impossible to take care of the engraving in Finland, so it was executed abroad. Only shorter works that were typeset (as were most works for choir) were actually produced in Finland.



As noted previously, the publisher's editor made the first markings to the score, mostly concerning the layout. Some details were also discussed with Sibelius.²⁵ Thereafter, the engraver executed his part of the publishing process. At least in Sibelius's case, most variants were caused by engravers and less by editors, except those made for purposes of copyright (see below).

Publishing houses each had their own guidelines or rules which their engravers followed. For example, in some publishing houses, markings that were considered superfluous were removed. These include, for instance, repeated **f** or **ff** markings, which Sibelius used as accents. Another example is a simultaneous pair of markings, which the publisher interpreted as redundant and therefore removed one or the other of the markings. Such markings include *crescendo*, written with an opening wedge, or *diminuendo*, with a closing wedge.

In Symphony No. 3 (published by Robert Lienau, 1907), for example, all of Sibelius's original **fz** marks were changed to **sf** – a mark Sibelius never used. In addition, the wavy line was added after the **tr** mark in the timpani staff, although Sibelius seems to have been quite precise in his use of the line.

Another item is the word *forte* (and *piano*, although not so frequently), which was usually shortened to **f**. However, these two marks could also appear at the same time because, for Sibelius, they bear different meanings. The fully spelled word seems to refer to a more general character and a longer passage than the mere **f**. It is even rare to find the word *forte* in printed editions. Some expression marks (e.g., *cantabile*, *espressivo*) have also been shortened, some of them inconsistently, perhaps due to lack of space.

²⁵ One example is the revised version of *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*, where Sibelius had notated the string tremolos with three slashes. The editor at B&H asked if these could be notated with two slashes according to the modern practice (which was done).

Other typical actions in the publishing houses include the “standardizing” or “normalizing” of slurs in cases when, for instance, three notes have two slurs between them. Thus, two slurs (as in ) were changed to one long slur (). Additionally, the number of slashes in the stems was unified. This occurred in the First Symphony where, in the manuscript, the cellos have two slashes and the basses only one; in the printed score, they both have two.²⁶ Another typical action was that double ties were changed to single ones.

In the printed scores, in addition to standardization, many markings are missing. In some cases, dynamic marks have been omitted, probably because of their placement before the beat; they were left unnoticed. Otherwise, marks may be missing due to lack of space. In addition, the engravers did not duplicate the marks from, for example, the first and second horns for the third and fourth horns when they should have, but sometimes did duplicate or unify marks when they should not have.

One further question is the use of a single or double bar line at key or time signature changes. A double bar line may be interpreted as implying a formal division, which, concluded from the manuscripts, was Sibelius’s practice as well. Sometimes the copyist seems to have changed the single bar line to a double one in addition to the engravers according to the publishing house’s style. Whether Sibelius accepted the double bar lines that appear in the printed scores or whether he tried to change them while proofreading remains unknown. At least *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa* features single bar lines because Sibelius changed them back in the proofs.²⁷

In addition to the publishers’ house rules, because engravers obviously had to interpret the handwriting in the manuscripts, parallel markings sometimes vary (see the lengths of wedges in Section 3.3). Sibelius also used wedges with different lengths, which have been interpreted differently by different engravers. In the score, for instance, they might appear as short accents, whereas the orchestral parts may show a variety of lengths up to a long *diminuendo* wedge.²⁸ Additionally, markings may end up into a wrong staff, for

²⁶ In movement IV, bb. 333–337; see Virtanen 2008.

²⁷ Sibelius’s autograph (HUL 0112) includes no double bar lines, although a copyist’s copy from 1935 does. Sibelius already crossed them out there and wrote in the margin “kein Doppelstrich” (no double lines).

²⁸ A short sample showing variance in the revised *En saga*, appears in Example 6.1a, b on pp. 149, 150. For a sample case in Sibelius’s *Vårsång*, see Wicklund 2007.

another instrument they were intended for, or they may be changed to other marking, such as *mp* to *mf*.

In some cases, the orchestral parts were made from the handwritten parts, not the score, and some markings made by the players have been transferred to the printed parts. In Symphonies 2 and 7, for instance, these markings include articulations and bowing marks in the string parts. At times, the players also changed some dynamic marks, and the changed, i.e., the sometimes incorrect marks were then engraved in the orchestral part.²⁹

International copyright legislation complicated the publishing processes also, because Finland joined the Berne Convention as late as in 1928, after which only a minority of Sibelius's works were published.³⁰ Before then, however, in order to obtain the American copyright, the European publishing firms had to employ an American citizen as an editor to be able to publish Sibelius's works in the U.S. Therefore, these editors – Julia A. Burt perhaps most frequently – added dynamics, tempo indications, performance instructions, and articulation markings together with pedal markings and fingerings to the piano notation. This happened mostly with shorter works, such as solo songs, piano or violin pieces, but also with some major orchestral works such as Symphonies 5 and 7, and *Tapiola*.³¹

Usually, the publisher's editor first read the proofs, adding his or her markings, after which the proofs were then sent to Sibelius. He actually had no other choice than to accept the intervention of the editor. If the proofs do not survive, it is very difficult to distinguish between the editor's and the composer's markings. Something may be deduced based on one's knowledge of Sibelius's style, such as his tendency never to write fingerings in the piano texture. Something may also be deduced from the style of a certain editor based on surviving proofs. In the proofs of the 7th symphony, handwritings by Sibelius, Burt, and the publishing house's editor are all quite easily distinguished from each other. In this case, nearly all the correction markings by Burt seem to be typical of the proof stage: the addition of some omitted slurs, dynamics, and accidentals. Burt has honored the composer's intentions and made no real revisions. Perhaps as a reaction to such activities,

²⁹ See Kilpeläinen 2000 and 2010.

³⁰ The Berne Convention for the protection of literary and artistic works, the international union for copyright issues, was established in 1886 and has since been revised several times. Russia did not participate in the agreement, so Finland, being an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire, was also left outside the agreement.

³¹ For further information, see the JSW volumes, series V for piano pieces and series VIII for solo songs, and Pulkkis 2010.

in 1926, the Copyright Office in Washington demanded “substantial amount of new matter added to the original work.”³²

4.4.3 Publication Process and Printed Editions

If the composer proofreads and approves the first edition of a work, one might easily assume that it therefore represents the composer’s final intentions and is the best source available. However, this is not necessarily so. Even if the first edition was carefully produced, it inevitably includes errors or at least inaccuracies. In many cases, the first edition may be hastily produced and sometimes even without the composer’s supervision. Therefore, the first edition may still contain errors, some of which even the composer may have pointed out and which the publisher promised to correct in the future. For some works, however, the only surviving sources are the printed ones (the full score and the orchestral parts), as is the case with the revised version of *En saga*. In such situations, a special problematic question is the intervention of the publisher’s editors and outside editors or revisers, who had to be used to obtain the copyrights in America. If in these cases the only surviving source is the printed edition, it is almost impossible to distinguish between the composer’s and the editor’s markings. In cases when the fair copy (by Sibelius or the copyist) is available, the printed score occasionally may differ from the fair copy, and whether such changes are errors or deliberate alterations by Sibelius during the publishing process remains unknown. In such cases, correspondence not only with the publisher, but also with friends, performers, and conductors may sometimes reveal help with editorial decisions.

In addition to minor corrections and additions due to engravers’ errors and misinterpretations, Sibelius also made some – even major – compositional changes, even during the publication process. The most dramatic example of this is perhaps *In memoriam*, Op. 59. After the work was already engraved, Sibelius sent the publisher a telegram informing them not to publish the work, because he had made some changes. He asked the publisher to destroy the plates and even promised to compensate the publisher for any

³² Although the Office’s letter does not mention Sibelius’s name, it obviously included his work(s), because publisher Wilhelm Hansen, who had just published Sibelius’s 7th symphony (in 1925, revised by Burt), sent to Sibelius a copy of the letter.

financial losses. The publisher then destroyed the plates, and the work was published in its revised form.³³ However, the publisher had already made proofs of the early version and sent them to Sibelius, who, perhaps in error, donated them to the Sibelius Academy in 1947 together with some other materials. Thus, the early version still survives and will be published in JSW.

The *Lemminkäinen* legends, the printing of the two parts (*Lemminkäinen ja saaren neidot* and *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*), which took about 15 years to complete (1939–1954), also indicate many stages of corrections. Sibelius read the proofs in the beginning of the 1940s and made changes, after which further changes were discussed several times in correspondence with the publisher throughout the rest of the publication process. Sibelius wanted to make one last change after the score of *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa* was already printed. The publisher sent Sibelius the original cello part for making changes and promised to add them to the score as a separate slip. Sibelius also said he wanted to postpone the publishing of the two scores until after his death. In the end, Sibelius relinquished both of these ideas, but still wanted the composition year to be added to the score, which the publisher promised to do with a stamp.³⁴

When the contract for publishing was signed, the publisher had the right to print a certain number of copies. Rarely was the entire number printed immediately. Later imprints used the same plates but sometimes minor changes did take place. One such case involves the piano piece *Granen (The Spruce)*, Op. 75 No. 5, where Sibelius mentioned to the publisher that the printed edition – even after proofreading and correcting – still includes “ugly errors” (“fula fel”). Some attempts were made to correct the errors in the later prints, and a few pitches were changed. However, the result remains musically unsatisfactory. During the critical editing process, some help could be found from an unauthorized copyist’s copy made as an archive sample of the work for the Finnish publisher and from an earlier, still unpublished version of the work; based on that information, the questionable passage was finally corrected in the JSW edition.³⁵

Additional second-hand information can be found in the printed scores that belonged to Sibelius’s son-in-law, conductor Jussi Jalas (1908–1985). In his scores, Jalas

³³ For further information, see, e.g., Dahlström 2003, 273–274.

³⁴ The correspondence is preserved at NA, SFA, file box 43. For further information, see Wicklund 2013b.

³⁵ For further information, see Kilpeläinen 2008. The early version is included as a middle section in the work *Valse lyrique* Op. 96a, appearing for the first time in Pulkkis 2011.

made corrections and notes which he claims came from Sibelius. Most of these scores are preserved in the Sibelius Academy Library, Helsinki. Jalas's notes are mentioned in JSW when they appear to come from Sibelius, shed light on an editorial question, or bear on the musical meaning or interpretation.

In the printed editions, flaws may appear due to the printing technique. Namely, the same metal plates were used for several prints, and since the plates inevitably deteriorate under many pressings, the small details, like staccato dots, began to fade. Obviously, some extra ink drops may appear as well, which could look like intended dots. In addition, the publishers may have made some minor corrections to the new imprints, although they are not mentioned (cf. *Granen*). The editor must therefore be careful when examining the printed sources.

New editions have also been made regularly after Sibelius's death. When these were newly engraved, they inevitably presented new layers of errors, omissions, or inaccuracies. In these stages, however, old errors are seldom corrected. Consequently, these posthumous editions are not used as sources in JSW.

4.4.4 Sibelius as Proofreader

Unfortunately, very few proofs of Sibelius's music have survived. Only a handful was left in Ainola; Sibelius obviously returned the proofs to the publishers after having read them. For example, proofs have survived for only two of Sibelius's seven symphonies; proofs for the Seventh Symphony are preserved at Wilhelm Hansen's, and the proofs for the Third Symphony and the Violin Concerto are preserved at Lienau's. Because the Breitkopf archive in Leipzig was destroyed during the Second World War, the proofs and engravers' copies housed there were lost.³⁶

Sibelius did read proofs, but unlike Brahms, for example, he was not a particularly scrupulous proofreader in every respect. He was quite precise with correct pitches, but not necessarily with slurs, ties, or other articulation or dynamic marks, which often remain uncorrected, even in places next to where a pitch was corrected.

³⁶ B&H mentioned this fact several times in the 1940s (see Dahlström 2003, 307 or a letter from B&H to Sibelius dated 6 January 1944 [SibMus]).

In the critical edition of Sibelius's First Symphony, editorial intervention took place about 400 times. With the help of the autograph manuscript, about 200 errors and 200 inaccuracies were emended, and instrument parts complemented.³⁷ In comparison, the Critical edition of Brahms's First Symphony contains 281 interventions. Of these, only ten corrections concerned pitch or rhythm; all others were "directly performance-relevant: extent and placement of hairpins, erroneous and wrongly placed dynamic and articulation signs."³⁸ Thus, Sibelius's way of proofreading also seems to be a more general way of proofreading.

One possible reason for the poor proofreading is that Sibelius – as well as other composers – was perhaps already so occupied with new compositions that he did not want to spend time on proofreading, or perhaps he had learned that corrections may result in new errors in the score. In addition, since most his publishers were abroad, sending proofs back and forth was time-consuming, and the publishing was often executed under tight schedules; there was not always time for several proofs, and the publisher wanted the materials back as soon as possible. As a result, the first editions, even though basically prepared under his supervision, very often contain copyists' and engravers' errors, misinterpretations, inaccuracies and generalizations, as well as changes made according to the standards of the publishing houses; some alterations marked during the proofreading inevitably got through into print uncorrected.

Sibelius stated to Jalas: "Printing errors still exist in my scores, because for some reason I have always been in a hurry to get the proofs to the publisher on schedule. Everything was usually corrected in the [orchestral] parts."³⁹ Although this may seem to imply that the orchestral parts are more reliable than the score, it is not necessarily so. It is true that Sibelius corrected orchestral parts, especially after making changes to the score, but it is far from clear whether these changes were also attached to the printed materials. Additionally, Sibelius as well as the engravers may have omitted something during the later stages of the publishing process – if he read the proofs of the orchestral parts at all. In his book, Jalas recalls Sibelius saying that at the proof stage, he always had something new underway; he even claims that Sibelius was uninterested in reading proofs.⁴⁰

³⁷ Virtanen 2009b, 9.

³⁸ Pascall 1999, 266.

³⁹ Jalas's note of 17 July 1942: "Partituureihini on jäänyt painovirheitä sillä aina on jostain syystä ollut kiire saada korrehtuurit määröpäivänä kustantajalle. Stämmoihin on yleensä kaikki korjattu."

⁴⁰ Jalas 1988, 36.

In a newspaper article, conductor Martti Turunen stated that Sibelius had told him on the phone about an error in the choir song *Laulu Isänmaalle* in 1956: “When the mixed choirs are used to sing it this way, it is impossible to correct it any more. It is useless to whistle in the wind. These kinds of printing errors appear in my other compositions, too, and I have pointed these out to Breitkopf & Härtel among others, but the corrections have not taken place.”⁴¹ This may well be the situation with some other works, too – at least before the critical edition appears.

4.5 Literary and Other Archival Sources

In addition to the musical sources, other archival sources are necessary as well. The following section explains the situation from the JSW point of view. The archival sources needed for the preparation of a critical edition include Sibelius’s correspondence, his diary, interviews, articles and reviews in newspapers and magazines, biographies, receipts, notes, publishers’ indexes, and early recordings. In short, everything in addition to musical sources that might offer any piece of information shedding light on the composition and possible revision process, changes of plans, possible programmatic or other ideas behind the works, performance history and early reception. A large proportion of these sources is preserved in the National Archives of Finland, as well as in the National Library, but also in other archives and libraries mentioned previously. In addition, publishing firms have their own archives. Although the majority of this source material is already at hand and its whereabouts are known, letters continue to surface at auctions frequently.

From the point of view of critical editing, the most important of the literary sources is Sibelius’s large correspondence, which also widens little by little when new letters – previously lost or unknown – surface. Sibelius frequently wrote to his wife Aino while on the road – no matter how short the distance – and told her about his compositional plans,

⁴¹ “Sibeliuksen Isänmaalle” in *Uusi Suomi* of 6 January 1960: “Laulun Isänmaalle kohdalla Martti Turunen kertoo saaneensa puhelimitse Sibeliukselta tiettyä painovirhettä koskien seuraavan lausuman (jo vuonna 1956): ‘Kun sekakuorot ovat tottuneet laulamaan sen tässä muodossa, on vaikea sitä enää korjata. On turha potkia tutkainta vastaan. Tällaisia painovirheitä on muissakin sävellyksissäni ja olen niistä huomauttanut mm. Breitkopf & Härtelille useaan kertaan, mutta korjausta ei ole saatu aikaan.’”

feelings, and practical matters. Sibelius also had some close friends with whom he frequently exchanged ideas about music.⁴² This correspondence provides details that help us define the dates of composition and the phases of the process as well as corrections or revisions. Obviously, Sibelius corresponded with many other people, too, including performers, copyists, and publishers to mention only a few; unsurprisingly, such correspondence may also contain valuable information. Practical matters in the letters may, for instance, explain that an orchestral part was transposed or set for another instrument due to lack of the original instrument required for a performance. This, in turn, helps to evaluate these kinds of additional materials. In Sibelius's correspondence with his publishers, corrections and alterations to the works are mentioned and sometimes also the actions taken by the publishers' editors and even mentions about the proofreading or the lack thereof as well. All this is obviously very important information for the critical editor while gathering the pieces for building up the whole picture of a work.

Sibelius's diary is also a very important source, but he began keeping a diary only in 1909 and seems to have written in it only at home.⁴³ In his diary, Sibelius generally mentions the works underway, but seldom describes the composition processes. He underlines in green all the names of the works he has finished or revised; this information is valuable for the editor. Sibelius also writes about his contacts with publishers and comments on reviews and articles. His diary bears numerous notes from the first years, but the number of markings begins to decrease toward the 1920s, although a few markings still appear from 1944.

Newspaper articles and reviews also offer valuable information. They describe the performances and thus shed light on not only a work's performance history, but also the reception of the works. Sometimes the reviews include surprisingly detailed information. In the case of *Vårsång*, mention of the key in which the version was played (the two existing versions being in different keys) helped to clarify the number of versions that existed as well as to date the revision. Another example concerns *Cassazione*: mentions in the reviews and foremost in Sibelius's correspondence with Aino helped to conclude the order and dating of the two versions of the work, which had previously been unclear.

⁴² One of them was Axel Carpelan (1858–1919), also Sibelius's patron. His correspondence with Sibelius was published in Dahlström 2010. Sibelius's correspondence with Aino was published in Talas 2001 and 2003.

⁴³ Sibelius's diary (in Swedish) was published in Dahlström 2005.

In addition to the printed reviews, articles, and such, other second-hand sources exist. Namely, from the beginning of the 1940s, Jussi Jalas kept notes of discussions he had with Sibelius on musical matters. These notes include Sibelius's statements mostly on music (his own and in general), some on people. He has commented on the performances of his works as well as given performance instructions (mostly concerning nuances and tempi), but also corrected a few errors.⁴⁴

Yet another means for collecting information is audio sources. Conductor Robert Kajanus (1856–1933) recorded some works in the early 1930s.⁴⁵ Kajanus was Sibelius's friend and conducted his works from the beginning; the two men had an interdependent relationship throughout Sibelius's career as a composer. Kajanus heard the first performances conducted by Sibelius after which he always asked Sibelius about tempi and other details for performances of Sibelius's works. So it is unsurprising that Sibelius highly esteemed Kajanus's performances, with a few exceptions.⁴⁶ For instance, Kajanus's recording of the First Symphony has proved valuable considering the marked differences in the metronome markings of different sources. The only recording with Sibelius as conductor took place on New Year's Day 1939 when he conducted *Andante festivo* for a live radio broadcast.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ There are about 140 numbered, typewritten notes and another lot of handwritten notes that is nearly as large, but includes mostly the same items, all preserved in the NA. One has to bear in mind, though, that these notes are only annotations on loose tabs without the context of the discussions.

⁴⁵ Kajanus's recordings with the London Symphony Orchestra in 1930 were among the first Sibelius recordings ever. They feature Symphonies No. 1 and 2, and parts 1 and 3 of the *Carelia* suite. Other works, including Symphonies No. 3 and 5, *Tapiola*, *Pohjola's Daughter*, *Belsazzar's Feast*, were recorded in 1932.

⁴⁶ According to Jalas, Sibelius was not entirely pleased with Kajanus's recording (1932) of the Third Symphony. See Jalas 1988, 63.

⁴⁷ It was the first salute to the New York World Fair, and included speeches. *Andante festivo* with Sibelius as conductor was released on compact disc by YLE 1997 (YLE FT9707) and Ondine 2001 (ODE 992-2). The Finnish Broadcast Company (YLE) maintains the few existing documentaries on Sibelius in their web archive. One interview from 1948 features Sibelius's voice; the others are later ones that are more general in nature.

5 EDITORIAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE EARLY VERSION OF *EN SAGA*

The purpose of this chapter is to shed light on the surviving sources of the early version of *En saga* and to demonstrate with examples the different kinds of questions that arose in the course of critical editing. Two complete sources for the early version of *En saga* (1892) survive: manuscript copies of the full score and a full set of orchestral parts.¹ The following chapter contains examples from the full score (referred as the “score”). When referring to an orchestral part, the word “orchestral” is mentioned each time; the word “part” refers to the instrument parts in the full score. The term “parallel” always refers to a vertical (simultaneous) parallel part or parts, whereas “similar” or “analogous” means that the same entity appears elsewhere in the score or in the orchestral part(s).

¹ The set of orchestral parts contains individual parts for each instrument plus multiple copies of the string parts (5 copies for the first violin, 4 for the second violin, 2 for the viola, 2 for the cello, and 2 for the bass). Additional copies of the string parts, made for a performance in 1935, also exist. Copied from the early orchestral parts by four different copyists, they introduced new mistakes in addition to the ones already found in the early orchestral parts. Consequently, these additional orchestral parts for strings have not been used as a source in editing the early version of *En saga*. Also, three sketches survive which provide no information for answering the questions raised in the course of editing. For descriptions and details of the sources, see Wicklund 2009. For a list of sketches (for both versions), see the Appendix and Examples 1.1 and 1.2 (on p. 20).

5.1 Evaluation of the Sources

Both the surviving sources, the full score, and the set of orchestral parts were made by the same unknown copyist in 1901. The sources differ from each other in several places and both contain passages open to various interpretations in view of parallel parts, similar passages, and harmonic context. That is, both sources contain mistakes, misinterpretations, and omissions.

In this kind of source situation (with surviving full score and orchestral parts), the full score is usually chosen to serve as the main source for preparing the critical edition. Namely, the first performance was usually conducted from the autograph manuscript score, whereas the orchestral parts used in the first performance were almost always copied by a copyist, rather than by Sibelius himself. In practice, this means that the orchestral parts contain copyists' interpretations, mistakes and inaccuracies. Additionally, it often happens that, among other things, dynamic marks are placed differently in the orchestral parts, where the proportions (lengths) of the bars differ from those in the full score. For example, a long diminuendo wedge in the score may even resemble a short accent in the orchestral part or vice versa; alternatively, if the dynamic mark *f* appears in the middle of a bar in the full score, it may appear on beat 1 in the orchestral part's narrower bar. New copies of both the score and the orchestral parts were then made from the autograph score and copyist's orchestral parts after the first performance. All copies are therefore at least one step away from the autograph score. In the editing of *En saga*, the full score has also served as the main source; however, the orchestral parts play a more important role than usual, as will become clear below.

5.1.1 Filiation

The filiation of *En saga* is unclear. That is, whether these surviving sources were copied from Sibelius's autograph manuscript or from a copyist's copy remains uncertain. Namely, two copying invoices indicate that August Österberg copied the score in 1895 and that



Ernst Röllig copied a set of orchestral parts in 1898.² However, the surviving sources are in the hand of neither of them, but in the hand of an unidentified copyist. Although Sibelius also used some of the same notational practices, the surviving sources were not necessarily copied from the autograph manuscript. Those features may also have been transferred to these sources through several copyists. Thus, there are four possibilities for the filiation of the full score: it was copied 1) from the autograph manuscript, 2) from Österberg's copy, 3) from an (thus far) unknown copy (copied either from the autograph or from Österberg's copy), or 4) from a set of orchestral parts. Of these possibilities, the first two are the most plausible. Namely, the surviving materials were made for conductor Georg Schnéevoigt, who (concluded from correspondence) had borrowed a manuscript from Sibelius for copying.³ What makes possibilities three and four less plausible is that full scores were seldom copied from the orchestral parts, and some clues usually remain to tell about new copies even though they were later lost.

The orchestral parts look like they were copied from an earlier set of parts, not directly from a score, for several reasons. Firstly, the surviving full score bears no added copyist's markings, which are needed in making the parts, such as instrument names (which are not repeated on each page of the full score) or numberings of the empty bars in order to mark the number of *tacet* bars in the orchestral part. If the orchestral parts were copied from the autograph score, these markings would not appear in the score copy either. Secondly, the most convincing evidence is, however, found elsewhere: some differences between the full score and the orchestral parts prove that these materials were copied from different sources:

- In certain places, notation is missing in the orchestral parts, but appears in the full score or vice versa;
- Most errors in the orchestral parts do not appear in the score (and vice versa);
- The orchestral parts bear the rehearsal number 4, but the full score does not;

² Based on the number of sheets mentioned in the invoices, the whole set of orchestral parts seems to have been copied, but whether the entire score was copied or only some (revised) part(s) of it remains ambiguous (see Wicklund 2009, 249). The copying invoices date from 11 July 1895 and 21 December 1898 (NA, SFA, file box 3).

³ See Section 2.2.

- The instrument designations are inconsistent (*Fl.gr.*, *Piatti*, and *Gr.Cassa* in the orchestral parts, but *Flauto*, *Becken*, and *Gr. Trommel* [although this one inconsistently] in the full score);
- Clef changes appear in different bars;
- Divided strings are notated on a single staff in one source, but on two staves in the other;
- The way of notating some patterns differs (e.g.,  in the score, but  in the orchestral part);
- The orchestral parts contain markings not found in the score (*Solo* [Fig. II, b. 265; Tbn. I, b. 322], *Spiccato* [Vc., b. 430]).

Based on the mistakes made by the copyist, it seems that he was a beginning musician (if a musician at all), and it seems unlikely that he could have planned such things as the page turns, which in this copy of the orchestral parts are well planned. For the same reason, it seems very unlikely that the copyist would have made such differences mentioned above between the full score and the orchestral parts. The orchestral parts were therefore most likely copied from a set of orchestral parts, and there are three plausible possibilities for the filiation of the orchestral parts: the orchestral parts were copied 1) from the first copies (made for the premiere of 1893), 2) from Röllig's copies, or 3) from (thus far) unknown copies (copied either from the first parts or from Röllig's copies). Here, too, the first two possibilities are the most likely.

5.1.2 Markings by the Copyist, Conductors, and Players

The identity of the copyist of the two surviving sources remains unknown. Schnéevoigt had had the manuscript copied while he was conducting in Riga in 1901, and the copyist could have been a local person.⁴ As far as is presently known, no other Sibelius copies have been found that were copied by this same person. He made lots of mistakes, some of which he noticed and corrected mostly by scraping. It is uncertain whether he had copied music

⁴ At least the copyist's handwriting includes some features not typical of Sibelius's or even of Finnish handwriting style, but are typical of German handwriting style: two cross lines for the letter t, the use of β , and a line above mm, just to mention a few.

before; some features in the score suggest he had not. For example, he wrote ζ instead of c in words like *dolce* or *tacet* (see Example 5.3) and abbreviated *crescendo* as *cres* (see Example 5.13, staff 9), which Sibelius did not do in his autographs (although incorrect spellings do appear in his manuscripts as well). The copyist seems to have been unfamiliar with the meaning of accidentals, because he drew them on the wrong lines (see Example 5.8, where the flat on beat 2 appears between the pitches).⁵ Also, the fact that tremolo beams lean in the opposite direction than they should, shows that this copyist was not very familiar with the notetext (see Example 5.1, staves 2, 4 [starting from the top]).

Example 5.1. Score of the early version, string section, p. 3, bb. 18–20.



Furthermore, the copyist had some notational practices of his own, which do not ease the reading of his notation.

- He did not always distinguish *f* from *ff*, or *ff* from *fff*, but inconsistently drew both versions on different instrument staves for parallel parts in the same bar and perhaps still something else in the orchestral part.

⁵ For example, in the score, in bb. 366–368 in the tuba part, a \flat is needed before each pitch (*D*, *B₁*, *A₁*, *D*), but the copyist drew all flats at the level of *F*.

- The copyist drew a large loop at the end of the cross line on his *f*'s, making it look more like *fz*. To distinguish these two markings, one must bear in mind that the copyist wrote *Fz*, that is, he used an uppercase letter F. Because of the loop on his *f*'s, sometimes even his *mp* and *mf* resemble each other. See Example 5.2, 1st bar, and 5.7, where only *f*'s, and no *fz*'s, appear.
- Many of his whole and half notes on ledger lines look at first glance like three ledger lines or as two quarter notes (a third) around a ledger line (see Example 5.2, the beginning of staves 7 and 15);
- Noteheads fill the space for two pitches or are placed ambiguously in between. In Example 5.2, staff 6, 2nd bar, such a pitch has been corrected and labeled (*a*); see also Example 5.8, where the first pitch seems to be written *f^b*, but is actually *e^b*;
- His $\frac{3}{4}$ may be interpreted as $\frac{1}{4}$ (see Example 5.2, staves 6 and 7 from the bottom, 1st bar);
- Stems, slurs, and wedges overlap and merge with each other (see Example 5.2, staves 1–5), and so forth.

Besides, some notation is missing altogether from the orchestral parts, and even some longer passages lack notation in both sources; fortunately, bars are missing only from one source at a time. Thus, it is clear that both of these sources inevitably contain mistakes, misinterpretations and inaccuracies, but because they usually appear in different places between the sources, the sources complement each other.

In addition to the copyist proper, other hands also made markings to the full score in lead pencil. Judging from the handwriting and different shades of lead, they were made by at least three different persons, although the hands that drew only lines or x marks are difficult to distinguish and count. These persons filled in some missing notation, pointed out some errors, repeated instructions, such as tempo or dynamic markings in a slightly larger size, and also added some instrument names for the entrances after long passages of rest. In other words, the markings mostly contain no new information, but instead look like they were made by conductors. One of these persons was almost certainly Georg Schnéevoigt; many of the markings could be in his hand, but distinguishing his handwriting with certainty in each instance is impossible. Furthermore, the score has been in service since the day it was copied in 1901, and all the conductors who have conducted the work

during the past hundred-odd years could have added markings to the score. Thus, it is virtually impossible to identify all the persons behind the markings.⁶

The players also made various markings in the orchestral parts. They have corrected errors, cleared away ambiguous markings, added missing instructions, and marked bowings or other articulation marks. Since the orchestral parts have also been in use for over a hundred years, it is equally impossible to date the markings or identify the persons behind them. Their markings have therefore not been listed in JSW, but rather are weighed critically and reported when illuminating; no decisions have been based solely on them.

⁶ The score was forgotten after 1902, but was later recovered in 1935 and has since been in the possession of HPO.

Example 5.2. Score of the early version, woodwind and brass sections, p. 89, bb. 805–808.

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for woodwind and brass sections, covering measures 805 through 808. The score is written on ten staves. The top five staves represent woodwind instruments, and the bottom five staves represent brass instruments. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as *mf* and *mp*. A large red number '23' is written in the upper right corner. Red numbers 805, 806, 807, and 808 are written above the first four measures of the top staff. The bottom staff is labeled 'Cm I' at the beginning. The handwriting is in black ink on aged, yellowish paper.

5.2 Editorial Questions

In the following, seven different categories of items that raise questions and demand action in the course of editing are listed with examples. In these categories, the most typical or frequently appearing kinds of mistakes and questions are explained together with those that have led to editorial emendation.⁷

All the differences between the sources have been listed in the Critical Remarks of the critical edition, along with editorial emendations and decisions as well as their justifications.⁸ Of course, it is not always absolutely certain that an error occurs, that something is missing, was misplaced, or misinterpreted. Some clear cases obviously exist: if the bar does not have enough values to fill in the time signature or features one pitch with a single stem and no rest appears for two instruments. Otherwise, it is more a question of drawing conclusions based on the musical context and comparing the similar passages with each other, the score, and the orchestral parts. Of course, knowledge of Sibelius's notational practices and style is needed to help in drawing conclusions. Sometimes alternative solutions may present themselves, but none of them can be deemed the only correct solution. It is therefore of the utmost importance that all editorial decisions be reported and all plausible solutions explained. The performer can then become acquainted with the question and draw his or her own conclusions and make decisions.

5.2.1 Instrument Designation

These cases include situations where a part (or parts) is notated on the wrong staff; the notation does not show exactly which or how many instruments should play, or some other misinterpretations affect the choice of instrument.

⁷ According to the JSW Guidelines, some items, such as missing clefs and key signatures, along with missing rhythmic dots, may be added without brackets. If, however, a viable alternative reading is possible, the editorial emendation is shown with brackets and justified in the Critical Remarks.

⁸ About 600 editorial interventions (changes, additions, clarifications) took place in editing.

Sometimes the copyist notated a part on the wrong staff, but after the page turn, the part may continue on the correct staff. This happened for the first time on page one. There, in b. 9, the entrances of the two oboes were notated one staff too high on the staves for the second flute and the first oboe. After the page turn, from b. 10 on, the music continues on the correct oboe staves. In this score, this kind of misplacement appears three times. In the orchestral parts, however, these passages appear correctly.

This kind of mistake becomes understandable if one takes a look at the score. Namely, Sibelius only occasionally wrote the names of the instruments in the left margin. He did it in the beginning, but thereafter only when some changes took place (e.g., flute was changed to piccolo, strings were divided) or when an instrument began playing again after a longer rest. Without experience in reading scores, copying errors can easily take place. Perhaps for this same reason it happens few times in the score that instructions, probably initially written below the staff and intended for one instrument, were copied for the instrument below, and placed above that staff. An example can be found in the first clarinet part in b. 855, Example 5.3. There the oboes have *dolcissimo* (spelled as *dolziissimo*) on the melodic line, and the other woodwinds, together with the horns, have *morendo* on the sustained background chord. However, *dolcissimo*, placed below the second oboe staff, was erroneously copied for the first clarinet instead of *morendo*. In the orchestral part, no such instructions appear. In JSW, *dolcissimo* in the first clarinet part has been changed to *morendo* based on the musical context.

Example 5.3. Score of the early version, woodwind and brass sections, p. 94, bb. 853–866.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for woodwind and brass sections, measures 853-866. The page is numbered at the top with red ink. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'dolcissimo' and 'morendo'. There are also handwritten numbers 1-5 above some measures, and the word 'OMO' written vertically on the left side.

In the full score, the number of instruments to play sometimes remains unclear. These kinds of mistakes occur every here and there in the score, but the orchestral parts usually help to clarify the situation. One example can be found on p. 88 (see Example 5.12, staff 12, the last bar). The notation for the third trumpet is interesting, because double stems appear and triplet markings were added twice, thus indicating two instruments. However, it is clear that no fourth trumpet is required for just this one bar in the entire work.⁹

Another example appears in the horn parts, where within a single passage, two-bar phrases alternate from one staff to another (Example 5.4, p. 67, staves 9–10). The horns are notated on the staves in pairs, and in the first and third two-bar phrases, rests appear for the first horn. The similar phrases (second, fourth, and fifth), however, have no rests for either horn. Should the horns in these phrases play in unison or should the first (in the last bar) and third horns rest (bb. 3–4, 7–8)? In this case, the orchestral parts provide the

⁹ Although *Kullervo* uses three trumpets, on three occasions, the notation appears for four trumpets. This reading has been retained in the critical edition; see the Critical Commentary of JSW I/1 (2006), p. 2 at www.breitkopf.com/feature/werk/3828.

answer: there, each phrase is notated for one horn at a time. It seems sensible, because the similar patterning continues for about 20 bars (bb. 577–596), and the rests also appear consistently in the beginning of the passage in the score. JSW has followed this interpretation.

In the strings, unisono markings are also sometimes missing after *divisi* in the score, where they were usually notated on one staff. The change back to unison playing usually becomes clear from the context. This may also be the reason why these markings were not originally written in the score. In the orchestral parts, divided passages were most often notated on two or more staves even though they appear on one staff in the score. However, it is not always absolutely clear how to interpret the *divisi*. As Example 5.12 shows (staff 4 from the bottom, first bar), *divisi* was written for the second violin in b. 797, but no *unisono* appears thereafter. In this case, the orchestral part follows the score exactly. From b. 801 on (b. 5 of Example 5.12), the pattern is easily played without *divisi*, as it also appears a little later (b. 817ff., no *div.* after single pitches). The question then remains whether the octaves with tremolo were intended to be played *divisi*. JSW is based on the reading in the sources.

Another ambiguous example of divided strings appears in bars 617–634, where the second violins have chords with three notes, notated on one staff, with the instruction *divisi*. In the orchestral part, the passage is notated on two staves, as Example 5.5 shows. Whether this solution of division originates from Sibelius, the copyist, or the players remains unknown. This is certainly not the only way to interpret the instruction; Sibelius may also have thought of *divisi a3*. For these reasons, JSW has retained the reading in the score, and the Critical Remarks explain the reading in the orchestral part.

Example 5.4. Score of the early version, p. 67, bb. 579–587.

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation, likely a score for a vocal and piano piece. The page is numbered 109 in the top right corner. The score is organized into systems of staves. At the top, measures 579 through 587 are indicated in red ink. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'pp'. On the left side, there are handwritten labels: 'Soprano' and 'Alto' for the vocal parts, and 'a I b.' for the piano accompaniment. The score is written on aged, yellowed paper. A blue stamp is visible on the right edge of the page.

Example 5.5. The orchestral part for the second violin, pp. 8–9, bb. 617–642.

The image shows a musical score for the second violin, consisting of three systems of staves. The first system has two staves, with the upper staff marked 'ppp' and 'divisi'. The second system has two staves, with the upper staff containing several measures with a slash through the staff, indicating a rest or a specific performance instruction. The third system has two staves, with the upper staff containing several measures with a slash through the staff, indicating a rest or a specific performance instruction. The score is written in a key signature of two flats and a 4/4 time signature.

A strange notation for the triangle appears on two pages of the full score (pp. 67–68). There the copyist wrote *Triangel* in the left margin of the pages (before bb. 579, 588) and drew a straight horizontal line above the cymbal *tr* line (see Example 5.4; marking appear above staff 8 from the bottom). The notation for the triangle in the other places was written on a staff, not between staves, and the part was notated with proper noteheads, and tremoli with slashes, not with trill lines. On these pages, however, the notation oddly begins two bars after the new tempo designation, *Vivace*, and ends one bar before the next tempo change. In the orchestral part, no notation for the triangle appears after b. 423 at all. Sibelius may have planned a tremolo for the triangle here at some stage after all, since tremolo appears earlier with this same melodic material (see bb. 250ff.) and does not begin immediately there either. Because the notation is not unequivocal from the sources, it has not been reconstructed in JSW.

Some questions also arise from the part for the second flute/piccolo. Since the part is designated *Flauto II et piccolo* in both the score and the orchestral part, it seems clear that both instruments are needed. In the full score, however, the instrument that begins with is *Piccolo* (b. 18), and no designation for the second flute appears thereafter. In the orchestral part, one marking for the second flute appears (*Fl. gr.*) in b. 399. Soon after, in b. 433, *piccolo*

appears again and is clearly marked in both sources. It seems therefore likely that the designation for the second flute is missing from the full score only in error, and so has been added in JSW.¹⁰ This copyist's omission, however, raises the question of whether the marking is missing in other places as well. Besides the first appearance of the designation *piccolo*, it reappears three times thereafter in the full score (for the entrances in bb. 250, 433, 689) and four times in the orchestral part (b. 54 in addition to those in the full score).

Sibelius made some changes to the use of the flute in the revised version. He gave the beginning to the second flute, not the piccolo as in the early version. He also changed the first flute and piccolo to play in octaves in the revised version instead of in unison. In one place in particular, the question remains whether Sibelius really thought about the piccolo in the early version when he notated the part (see Example 5.6, staff 2). Namely, he notated piccolo *Coll I* in b. 437 on, and for the first flute in b. 441 he wrote the pitches *b-c'* on beat 1 in unison with the oboes, clarinets, and violins. For the flute, *b* is rare but playable, whereas the piccolo cannot play either of the pitches *b-c'*. It seems that Sibelius may have thought of two flutes here – even more so because the same ascending scale, which appears in the viola one octave lower and in the cello two octaves lower, was notated differently. For them, the first pitch (*B, B₁*) is unplayable, and the second one is the lowest playable pitch. Thus, Sibelius wrote a quarter rest for both instruments on beat 1 and began the scale only from beat 2 (pitches *d, D*). If he was thinking of the piccolo here, and not the second flute, why did he not notate the bar in the same way as for the viola and the cello? Due to lack of evidence, the score cannot be changed in JSW, but a comment has been added.

It is also quite unusual to use two differently tuned clarinets simultaneously, as in this case, when the first clarinet is in *B_b* and the second in *A*. Sibelius chose the *A* clarinet probably because of its lower range, but the lowest pitch is needed only once in the entire work. It plays the *e* for three bars (bb. 430–432), thus sounding lower than the bassoons. In the revised version, both clarinets are in *B_b*, and the passage with the low *e* does not appear. One reason for choosing the *A* clarinet could also be the lack of another *B_b* clarinet in Helsinki when *En saga* was composed in 1892.¹¹

¹⁰ In the Critical Remarks of the critical edition, the remark has fallen out at the column break, but appears in the A&C list.

¹¹ The instrumentation of the symphonic poems *Impromisation/Vårsång*, premiered in the summer of 1894, and *Skogsrädet*, premiered in the spring of 1895, include two *A* clarinets. Still, as late as in 1898, the situation of windplayers in Helsinki was poor. According to Adolf Paul, Kajanus's orchestra had

Example 5.6. Score of the early version, the woodwind section, p. 52, bb. 437–441.



5.2.2 Pitches

Questions concerning the pitches are varied: the pitch may be incorrect, missing altogether or ambiguous due to inaccurate placement. In addition, although the notehead was neatly placed, the key signature, accidental, or the clef may be missing. All these appear equally frequently in the full score and in the orchestral parts.

In these sources, a fairly common mistake is a wrong or ambiguously located pitch (typically a whole note) occupying the space for two pitches. Some of these cases are clear: the pitch does not fit the harmonic context and may appear correctly in the orchestral part, a parallel vertical part, or a similar bar elsewhere. Sometimes, however, several alternative pitches could be possible on musical bases. This is the case in the second trombone part in

two clarinet players and one bassoon player. The only other bassoonist in the city was a player in the “Suomen kaarti” who suffered from tuberculosis; consequently, he was not particularly eager to play (see Paul 1937, 33–37).

b. 813 (see Example 5.7, pp. 89–90, staff 13, bars around the page break). Should the pitch remain the same after the page break, as in the preceding bars (d) as it does in the parallel parts (oboes, first clarinet, bassoons, other trombones, tuba, bass), or should it change, as in the score, to $A\flat$, a pitch lower than the one in the third trombone part ($B\flat$)? A third possibility appears in the orchestral part: the second trombone plays in unison with the third one ($B\flat$). Each possibility fits the harmony. JSW has chosen to sustain d as in the parallel parts which sustain the chord while the two melodic lines (by Cl. I, Cor., Tr., and strings, except bass) are the only active ones. Furthermore, the chord is a $B\flat$ major chord, and besides the first and third horns' passing D , the third of the chord, the second trombone is the only instrument to play it.

Example 5.7. Score of the early version, pp. 89–90, bb. 805–820.

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation, specifically staves 805 through 820. The score is written on aged, yellowed paper. At the top, the measure numbers 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, and 820 are written in red ink. A large red number '23' is written above the staff between measures 807 and 809. The notation includes various musical symbols: notes, rests, beams, and slurs. Dynamics such as *mf* (mezzo-forte) and *cresc.* (crescendo) are indicated. There are also some markings like 'a 9' and 'All I' (Allegro I). The score is organized into systems, with some staves having repeat signs (slashes with dots) indicating repeated rhythmic patterns. The handwriting is in black ink, and the overall appearance is that of a working manuscript.

Example 5.7 continuation

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation, identified as the continuation of Example 5.7. The score is written on aged, yellowed paper and consists of approximately 15 staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, stems, and beams. Above the first staff, measure numbers 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, and 820 are written in red ink. The score features several dynamic markings, including 'mp' (mezzo-piano) and 'All.' (Allegretto). There are also performance instructions like 'Cello rub.' (Cello ritardando) at the bottom. The notation is dense, with many notes and rests, and includes some complex rhythmic patterns and articulation marks. The overall appearance is that of a working manuscript or a composer's draft.

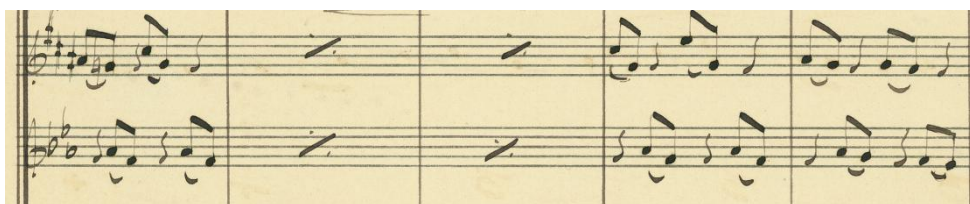
Another matter to be considered in defining pitches is carelessly placed accidentals. One such case appears in b. 331 for the first and second trumpets (see Example 5.8). There, a third appears on beat 2, and one flat appears between the noteheads. The flat could be intended for either pitch, but should appear before the written *b*, which becomes clear from the context and the orchestral part. This same Example 5.8 also shows a sample of a missing and an ambiguous pitch. The second trumpet has no notation, no pitch or a rest on beat 1. In view of the orchestral part and the similar b. 321, the trumpets share the same pitch; thus, a downward stem is missing. Such missing stems when instruments come across in unison are, in fact, quite typical in the score. In addition, the existing pitch on beat 1 is written $e\flat'$, although it looks more like $f\flat'$.

Example 5.8. Score of the early version, trumpets I and II, p. 38, b. 331.



Yet another confusing pitch-related marking is, surprisingly, the quarter rest. On many occasions, the quarter rest looks much like a quarter note with a little curvy stem and can thus lead to interpretation as an additional pitch. In the following Example 5.9, the clarinets have only quarter rests (no quarter notes) in addition to the eighth notes.

Example 5.9. Score of the early version, clarinet I (*A*) and II (*B*), p. 14, bb. 122–126.



One “classical” type of error is missing notation in the score or missing bar(s) in the orchestral parts. Notation is missing in several instances in the early version of *En saga* in the full score, and some bars are missing in nearly each of the orchestral parts. In two places, a longish passage is missing in the score: one is in the triangle part, and the other in the strings. In the first case, the triangle begins playing tremolo from the left side of a double page (b. 393), but notation is missing on the right-hand page (bb. 399–407). After the page turn, however, the notation continues. In the orchestral part, the repeated tremolo notation continues without a break, which makes sense musically. It seems that the copyist simply forgot to add the notation in the score; however, it has been added in JSW.

The other longish example of missing notation can be found in the strings (p. 91 of the score; see Example 5.10, staves 1–5 from the bottom), where the exact place where the copying stops is clear. The copyist had copied the right-hand page beginning from the top of the woodwinds through the brass instruments and had also begun to notate the first violin. After notating five bars, something happened and the task was suspended. While continuing the copying, the copyist simply turned the page first without completing the notation for the strings. Later, an unknown hand filled in the missing notation on p. 91 for all the strings in lead pencil. In the orchestral parts, the original copyist appears to have completed these bars in ink for all strings, as seems reasonable; a few missing bars in the middle of a repeated passage with strings playing the melodic line is not a typical solution for Sibelius. This is reinforced by the somewhat similar passage on p. 89 as well (see Example 5.7, first page). However, the missing notation appears mostly in the orchestral parts. Typically, whole bars are missing in passages where similar bars or patterns are repeated, which easily results errors in counting the bars.

Example 5.10. Score of the early version, p. 91, bb. 821–827.

821 822 823 824 825 826 827

mf *mf* *mf*

aduo
aduo

Cantabile
Cantabile

mf *mf* *mf*

pp *pp* *pp* *pp* *pp* *pp*

pp *pp* *pp* *pp* *pp* *pp*

pp *pp* *pp* *pp* *pp* *pp*

Cello cello

Additionally, the clefs and key signatures are occasionally missing. One interesting case in point appears at the very end of the work, in the clarinet part in the *Tranquillo* section (b. 867ff.; see Example 5.11, staff 1). The first clarinet plays the solo accompanied by the static chords in the strings. In the score, the key signature includes three flats for the strings and one flat for the clarinet in $B\flat$. The music, however, is in $E\flat$ minor with necessary accidentals appearing in the strings. The clarinet part, in its turn, was written with A natural (sounding G natural – a *major* third!) throughout, and a sharp was added before each written D and E (sounding C and D). This makes the melodic line sound strange and out-of-tune, which was surely not Sibelius's intention. In the score, a later hand emended the key signature for the clarinet to four flats and changed all sharps to naturals in lead pencil. In the clarinet orchestral part, the copyist drew the new key signature, with four flats, at the beginning of the *Tranquillo* section. This is the way this similar passage was notated in the revised version, and also in JSW.

Sometimes the copyist did notice his mistake and corrected it. For example, he notated two bars in reverse order in the score, but wrote the correct order of the bars over them (Vc., bb. 330, 331). In various places, he has scraped off the incorrect notation and replaced it with the correct one, especially in the orchestral parts. Also, after notating a wrong pitch, the copyist several times notated the correct one over it and beside the blot wrote the name of the correct pitch.

Example 5.11. Score of the early version, p. 95, bb. 867–909.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "26 Tranquillo". The score is written on aged, yellowed paper and consists of three systems of staves. The first system (measures 867-909) includes parts for Clarinet in F, Bassoon with Bassoon Clarinet, Flute I, Flute II, Viola, and Cello. The Clarinet part has a dynamic marking of *ppp* and a tempo marking of *con sordini*. The Bassoon part has a dynamic marking of *ppp* and a tempo marking of *con sordini*. The Flute parts have a dynamic marking of *ppp* and a tempo marking of *con sordini*. The Viola part has a dynamic marking of *ppp* and a tempo marking of *con sordini*. The Cello part has a dynamic marking of *ppp*. The second system (measures 910-922) includes parts for Clarinet in F, Bassoon with Bassoon Clarinet, Flute I, Flute II, Viola, and Cello. The Clarinet part has a dynamic marking of *ppp* and a tempo marking of *con sordini*. The Bassoon part has a dynamic marking of *ppp* and a tempo marking of *con sordini*. The Flute parts have a dynamic marking of *ppp* and a tempo marking of *con sordini*. The Viola part has a dynamic marking of *ppp* and a tempo marking of *con sordini*. The Cello part has a dynamic marking of *ppp*. The third system (measures 923-929) includes parts for Clarinet in F, Bassoon with Bassoon Clarinet, Flute I, Flute II, Viola, and Cello. The Clarinet part has a dynamic marking of *ppp* and a tempo marking of *con sordini*. The Bassoon part has a dynamic marking of *ppp* and a tempo marking of *con sordini*. The Flute parts have a dynamic marking of *ppp* and a tempo marking of *con sordini*. The Viola part has a dynamic marking of *ppp* and a tempo marking of *con sordini*. The Cello part has a dynamic marking of *ppp*. The score is marked with red numbers above the staves, indicating measure numbers. The piece is in 4/4 time and has a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The tempo is marked as *Tranquillo*. The score is written in black ink on aged, yellowed paper.

5.2.3 Dynamic Marks

In his manuscripts, Sibelius usually wrote the dynamic marks (*p*, *f*, etc.) a little before the note for which it was intended. Thus, a mark intended for beat one, for instance, usually appears in the preceding bar line or even before it, at the end of the preceding bar. This, of course, may lead to confusion if one is unfamiliar with Sibelius's way of placing dynamic marks. The copyist of *En saga* seems to have followed Sibelius's placements accurately and sometimes may even have moved a mark from the bar line to precede it, perhaps in order to avoid overlapping. Such misplaced markings occur in this score on each page (and regularly in the orchestral parts), but knowing Sibelius's practice of notating, they are easily emended. See, for example, the six uppermost staves in Example 5.12, or staves 7 and 13–14, where *ff* is intended for beat 1 of b. 5, not for beat 4 of the preceding bar.

The copyist's way of drawing *f* and *ff* as if they meant almost the same thing (mentioned in 5.1.2) leads to confusion. Divergence appears when several instruments share the same music and presumably should have the same mark in the same bar. JSW usually chooses within each instrument group the mark of the majority in the full score (the most consistent markings), but in keeping with the analogous bars, and provides a comment only in doubtful cases. One divergent case appears in b. 817 in the woodwinds with the chromatic scale. There, *f* appears only once, and *ff* five times (see Example 5.7, b. 5 on the 2nd page). In JSW, *ff* has been changed to *f* by analogy with the similar bars 801, 805, and 821, but also based on the musical context: a *crescendo* followed by *ff*. Also, four of the orchestral parts have there *f*.

However, the number of *fs* has not been standardized in each case, not even within one instrument group. In b. 437, for instance, the tuba has *f*, even though the other brasses have *ff*. JSW has retained, *f* as in both sources, but also because Sibelius often wrote different dynamics for tuba (see, e.g., bb. 315, 797). When *f* or *ff* appears for only one instrument part, and not several, there is obviously no need to unify it in JSW.

Example 5.12. Score of the early version, p. 88, bb. 797–804.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation, numbered 122 at the top left. The page is titled "Example 5.12. Score of the early version, p. 88, bb. 797–804." The score itself is written on ten staves, with measures 797 through 804 indicated by red numbers at the top. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *mf* and *mp*. There are also some performance instructions like *divisi* and *Celli*. The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style on aged paper.

Another typical question with dynamic marks is a missing dynamic. Sometimes the missing mark can be concluded with the help of the parallel parts in the score, and a missing dynamic mark in the score may be found in the orchestral part. At times, an analogous bar or even longer passage that may prove helpful can also be found elsewhere in the score. For instance, in b. 138, the flute and piccolo begin playing after rests, but they do not have any dynamic marks; nor do the oboes (see Example 5.13, two uppermost staves, 3rd bar). *f* appears in the analogous b. 801 and three times thereafter (analogous bb. 805, 817, 821, which appear in Examples 5.7 and 5.10), which gives support for adding it to b. 138. The \ll following the added *f* in b. 139 is not absolutely clear in the score either. Namely, it is missing from the piccolo and from the second clarinet, and its length varies. The variation in length probably stems partly from Sibelius, who did not always accurately mark the beginnings and especially the endings of wedges (or slurs), and partly due to lack of space. In the analogous bars, \ll appears for all winds playing the chromatic scale, except for the few missing ones, which do appear in the orchestral parts (only once in the first flute it appears not). On the latter occasions, also the clarinets play the chromatic scale. In JSW, the dynamics have been unified to *f* \ll *ff* in the woodwinds by analogy with the parallel bars and as in the orchestral parts.

Yet in some cases, the dynamic mark is missing from both sources. The most difficult of these places are the entrances of instruments after long passages of rest, where the mark needs to be based on the musical context (e.g., tuba, b. 196). Sometimes, a mark has not been repeated in the score when the other of two instruments, notated on a single staff, begins to play a bit later than the first one. In JSW, the dynamic mark has been repeated in the score, provided it appears in the orchestral part (e.g., Cor. II, b. 219).

Still one quite interesting case concerning dynamics is one where no *crescendo* markings appear in the score, although plenty appear in the orchestral parts. This happens in a passage (bb. 837–848) notated with two pairs of repeat signs (bb. 837–839 repeated [840–842] and thereafter bb. 843–845, also between repetition signs). In the score, only *fff* appears at the beginning of the passage, but in half of the orchestral parts (Picc., Ob., Fg., Va., Vc., Cb.), either *cresc. poco a poco*, *poco a poco cresc.*, *sempre cresc.*, or *cresc.* appears in b. 838 (and due to repetition signs, b. 841) in the hand of the copyist. Where this instruction comes from is presently unknown. It could originally have been Sibelius's idea in the autograph score, which he perhaps crossed out only partly, and the copyist therefore copied it onto some of the orchestral parts. It could also be players' additions to the first

set of orchestral parts from which the work was performed and which was used to make these surviving parts. Due to these uncertainties, in addition to the fact that the instruction does not appear for all instruments, it has not been added in JSW. However, a footnote drawing attention to the matter has been added.

Example 5.13. Score of the early version, wind sections; p. 16, bb. 136–143.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for wind sections, measures 136 through 143. The score is written on ten staves. The top staff is a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The bottom staff is a bass clef staff with a key signature of two flats (Bb, Eb) and a common time signature (C). The notation includes various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. There are several dynamic markings: *dim* (diminuendo) in the second staff, *sfz* (sforzando) in the third staff, *sf* (sforzando) in the fourth staff, *crs.* (crescendo) in the sixth staff, and *sfz.* (sforzando) in the seventh staff. There are also performance instructions: *Call I* in the fifth staff and *TRB III* in the eighth staff. The measures are numbered in red ink at the top: 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, and 143. A red scissor icon is drawn over the top staff at measure 140. The notation is dense and complex, with many accidentals and ties.

5.2.4 Slurs

One question about Sibelius's manuscripts in general is the placement of slurs: where a slur should begin or end. Sibelius himself did not always draw the beginnings or especially the endings of slurs very accurately, and the copyist seems to have copied the placements quite precisely. On the other hand, the copyist may have been careless or made errors and thus increased the confusion. In practice, this means that a certain pattern in the score may be slurred differently not only in similar adjacent bars, but also in analogous parts elsewhere in the score and still differently in the orchestral parts. One example can be found in a passage beginning in b. 250, where a melodic idea appears for the first time on the two uppermost staves, and later on other staves also (see Example 5.14). The focus is at the ending of the slur: should it end at the end of the bar (on the last eighth-note) or on beat one of the following bar. In the passage from b. 250 (pp. 29–30) onwards, the slur mostly ends at the end of the bar, but twice on the bar line and twice in the following bar (although the other slur at the system break seems to end first on the 8th note). However, when the same idea appears again later (pp. 39–40), the slur ends fairly consistently on beat one of the following bar. This also seems to be the practice in the other four appearances of the same idea later in the music, although the slur might, at times, end a bit ambiguously on the bar line as well. However, if a trill (or a new repeated pattern, as in the oboes, b. 725ff.) follows, the slur always ends on the last eighth-note. This principle has been consistently followed in JSW. The orchestral parts follow the score with only a few exceptions in both ways.

Example 5.14. Score of the early version, woodwind section; pp. 29–30, bb. 249–268.

Another item that leads to confusion is the use of a slur on triplets (quadruplets, etc.). Specifically, the practice of marking triplets and the like was to use a slur in addition to the number. These slurs may serve purely to show the proportional grouping of the notes, but they might also indicate articulation or, in the case of strings, bowing. Thus, the editor must examine and interpret these slurs case by case. An illuminating example

appears on p. 88 of the score, where different kinds of slurs can be found (see Example 5.12). Compare, for example, the slurs in the first clarinet (staff 5), where the first triplet (b. 2) has a triplet slur, but the second triplet (b. 4) does not. The slurs for the third and fourth horns (staff 10) also seem inconsistent, since the first triplet has a slur (b. 4), but the next one does not (b. 7). The lack of the slur in the latter triplet may result from the repetition of pitches in three of the four horn parts (the same appears in the viola part, staff 3 from the bottom, first bar). In JSW, the decision has been made to use both the triplet marking (a square bracket with a number) and a round slur on the melodic figures (e.g., Cl. in b. 2 and Vl. II in b. 1) and only the triplet marking on repetitive patterns (like Va. in b. 1 and Cor. I, II, IV in b. 7). This view is supported by the markings in the orchestral parts and the score, as becomes clear, for example, in b. 207. There, in the woodwind parts, triplets are marked with slurs accompanied by long articulation slurs (see Example 5.15, staves 1–4, first bar).¹²

Additional questions sometimes arise due to missing parts of slurs or ties. Namely, either the beginning or the end of a slur or a tie is sometimes missing at page turns or system breaks. These omissions in drawing the slurs probably originates from Sibelius, and the copyist undoubtedly copied accurately only what appeared in his source and did not add the missing portions of the slurs or ties. The missing portions of these slurs and ties have been emended in JSW, but comments have been added only in doubtful cases.

¹² The decision to preserve the slurs and to add the portion(s) showing markings (a square bracket with a number) applies to other JSW volumes as well. The risk of losing the other meanings of the slur if it were changed to a bracket marking has not been taken.

Example 5.15. Score of the early version, pp. 24–25, bb. 207–215.

This image shows two pages of handwritten musical notation. The left page contains measures 207 through 211, and the right page contains measures 212 through 215. The score is written on multiple staves, including piano accompaniment, violin, and other instruments. A large red 'L.' is written at the top of the first page. A triangle symbol is labeled 'Triangel' in the lower section of the first page. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'mf' and 'pizz'. The manuscript is on aged, yellowed paper.

5.2.5 Other Articulation Markings

In the early version, other questions about articulation marking mainly concern the percussions and the strings. In general, the articulation markings are distinctively fewer than in the revised version.

In the percussion parts, especially the bass drum and the cymbals, in both the full score and the orchestral parts, no parentheses with the *tr* mark in continuous trills appear after page turns in the score or system breaks in the orchestral parts. The repetition of the mark could, however, be interpreted as a new attack. Nevertheless, these breaks, and thereby the repeated *trs*, do not coincide with phrases or changes in the texture, and accentuating a new beginning by stressing the first beat does not seem to reflect the musical idea. In addition, the breaks and the *tr* marks appear in different bars in the orchestral parts and the score. For these reasons, the parentheses for repeated *tr* marks on continuous trills at page and system breaks have been added tacitly in the score of the critical edition, and the situation has been explained in the general remarks.

In the string parts, some articulation markings need emending. One such marking which is frequently missing is *arco* after pizzicato passages. It is often easy to conclude where to add it based on the context. These cases include, for example, b. 54, where *arco* has been added for the viola, which changes to tremolo playing, and for the cellos and basses, which have tied notes from there onward.

In a few tremolo passages in the strings, the slashes are missing in the orchestral part or the number of slashes is not the same in all bars in the score (see Example 5.12, staff 4 from the bottom). These instances are easily cleared by comparing with the other source and/or similar bars. The missing slashes have been tacitly added when they seem necessary and the slashes appear in the orchestral part. One case in point is b. 132, where the slash is missing in the viola part from the latter half note. At the same time, the cello part below has one slash too many, but in the orchestral parts, these appear correctly. Perhaps the copyist was unfamiliar with the meaning of the slashes. Near the beginning, he also notated them leaning in the wrong direction (see Example 5.1).

Another question is the interpretation of a short versus long accent. The long accents are typical of Sibelius, but not always reproduced correctly by the copyists and engravers. However, the long accents are few in the early version. In the revised version, they appear

more numerous, which means that Sibelius has either changed some of the accents or that the copyist(s) has interpreted all long accents as short ones in the copy of the early version.

In addition, different minor omissions of articulation markings occur: occasionally, missing slurs on grace notes, missing staccato dots, and tenuto lines, all of which may usually be concluded based on the surrounding bars or parallel parts or which appear in the orchestral part.

5.2.6 Shorthand Markings

Sibelius himself used some shorthand markings, such as, *ditto* (♯) or *Coll I*, quite frequently in his manuscripts. In the copyist's score of *En saga*, *Coll I* might sometimes be missing from one page within a passage of several pages, and sometimes, as in the bass part on pp. 88–89, the marking reads *Coll I* after *Coll Cello*. In any case, these are obvious cases and easily emended. Naturally, only ♯ (not *Coll I*) appears in the orchestral parts, but sometimes, when the score was notated ♯, the orchestral part was written out in full.

The most frequently appearing marking, ♯, appears on 83 of 97 total pages. It is mostly clear, but it can sometimes raise questions; in other words, the question is how literally one should interpret the marking. Is it a literal repetition of the preceding bar, with all its articulation and dynamic marks, or does it refer only to the actual notes: the pitches and the rhythm? Usually, the repetition of the articulation can be deduced based on the surrounding bars, and the question that remains is whether to repeat the dynamic marks. Sometimes Sibelius does repeat dynamics in adjacent bars; usually these are loud, accentuating *ffs*, *fffs*, or *fzs*. Therefore, each instance must be carefully evaluated in context and explained in the Critical Remarks.

Yet another notational shorthand is Sibelius's way of marking dynamics for instrument choirs and not providing them separately for each instrument. This most often concerns the horns, notated in pairs on two staves. Although the markings are usually dynamics written only once between the two staves, the slurs and accents are sometimes written similarly (only for the upper staff) also. Many times, a passage begins with markings for both staves, but at some point the lower markings may end. This does not mean that these two pairs of horns should begin playing differently – especially when their texture remains the same – but seems only to be Sibelius's shorthand, which the copyist followed.


This same practice also applies when three trumpets or trombones are notated on two staves, two woodwind instruments are notated on two staves instead of one, or divided strings are notated on two or more staves.

It seems likely that Sibelius used some kind of shorthand for continuous articulation as well. Or, to be more precise, he only showed the articulation in the beginning of a passage and then left it out of the score. For example, the portato articulation is clearly marked for both violins in the beginning of a passage (b. 510), but after the page turn, it ends in the second violin (b. 512) and a few bars later in the first violin also. In the orchestral parts, however, the articulation was notated throughout the entire passage (bb. 510–526), which seems to be the musical idea, since no particular changes take place in the texture. The articulation has therefore been completed in JSW as well.

5.2.7 Editor's Speculations

The examples mentioned above are places where a question arises or a clear problem occurs. Yet there are also instances where the editor may suspect something is missing or incorrect, but finds no evidence for it. In these cases, there is little to be done; the editor can only comment on the matter either in a footnote on the music page or in the Critical Remarks or both.

One such case appears in the second clarinet part (bb. 208–209, 212–213; see Example 5.15, staff 6), where grace notes may be missing. They appear for the first time when this melodic idea appears (bb. 208–209), as they do in the parallel first violin part. Two bars later, however, the grace notes do not appear in the clarinet part, the score, or the orchestral part, although the parallel violin part still has them. The revised version sheds no more light on the matter because no grace notes appear there at all for this pattern. In the critical edition, the reading in the score has been retained due to the lack of evidence otherwise. However, a footnote has been added in order to draw attention to the matter to encourage the performers to decide whether to add the grace notes.

Another case of doubts concerns the percussions. Namely, no *tr* marking or slashes appear on long note values in the bass drum in either source, although it seems necessary. For example, in bb. 373–375, the bass drum has  with the instruction *dim. molto*, but no tremolo markings. Also, in bars 456–459, a long tied note appears, which, according to

both sources, is clearly intended for the bass drum. The length of the tied note suggests that the *tr* is either missing or that the notation is intended for the cymbals.

The question of a tempo indication appears in b. 393, where a new section clearly begins after the preceding fermata, where no tempo indication appears. Sibelius quite frequently placed new tempo indications in the work and definitely in places where a new section begins and the texture changes. Originally, both sources contained both the rehearsal letter U and rehearsal number 3 in this bar, which indicates that a passage has been removed between these marks. Perhaps a tempo indication also appeared in the deleted passage and was omitted by mistake in the present version.

In many instances, a dynamic mark, missing from the score, may have been added based on the orchestral part. Sometimes it is impossible to add anything, even if the editor suspects a dynamic is missing. Such an instance appears in the string section in bar 361, where *f* may be missing. The rest of the orchestra has *f* on beat 1, but *ff* appears in the similar b. 369. The strings have nothing in the score in either bar, but in b. 369, *ff* appears in each of the orchestral parts for the strings. *f* may be missing from b. 361, but, of course, it is also possible that Sibelius wanted the strings to play *mf* there, valid from the previous page.

In all these cases, due to the lack of evidence, JSW has followed the reading in the sources and added a remark.

6 EDITORIAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE REVISED VERSION OF *EN SAGA*

The following chapter discusses the same aspects as in Chapter 5 that concern the early version and will compare the solutions in the versions. The use of the terms remains the same as in Chapter 5. In the following, the full score is referred to as the “score”. When referring to an orchestral part, the word “orchestral” is mentioned each time; the word “part” refers to the instrument parts in the full score. The term “parallel” always refers to a vertical (simultaneous) parallel part or parts, whereas “similar” or “analogous” means that the same entity appears elsewhere in the score or in the orchestral part(s). Page numbers refer to the first edition by Breitkopf & Härtel (1903).

6.1 Evaluation of the Sources

For the revised version of *En saga*, two complete sources also survive: the full score and the orchestral parts, both printed.¹ The publishing contract was signed as early as on 2 November 1902, but the work was published only in the fall of 1903; Sibelius himself received the score in October.² No further information is presently known about the

¹ Some sketches have survived, but they provide no information on answering the questions raised in the course of editing. For a list of sketches, see the Appendix.

² For the publication, see Section 1.4.

publishing process or the proofreading; not even any copying invoices have been found. Thus, it is unknown whether the engraver(s) used the autograph manuscript or a copyist's copy of the full score as the basis for his work. A copyist's set of parts used in the performances was usually used to engrave the orchestral parts, but no documents verify that in this case. Nor is it known whether Sibelius took part in the publishing process. The proofs were probably sent to him, as the publishers used to do, but Sibelius was not a very scrupulous proofreader (see Section 4.4.4).

The first printed set of orchestral parts contained handwritten parts for all instruments, except strings; string parts, as was customary, were immediately engraved. The other orchestral parts were also engraved for a new print, which, according to B&H's archivist, was taken in 1920.³ Since no autograph or hand-copied sources have survived, the printed full score has served as the main source for the critical editing.⁴

6.2 Editorial Questions

The number of errors or uncertainties appearing in the score and orchestral parts of the revised version is considerably smaller than it is in the early version. The reason for this is the fact that the composer obviously prepared his score specifically for publishing. Therefore, he probably tidied up his markings and also made corrections in the proofs. The smaller number of errors may partly be due to the normalizing, standardizing, and unification of the handwritten notation – at least to some extent – by the engraver. As seen before, the handwritten materials always contain variance in their placement of different markings on similar patterns or in simultaneously appearing parts, so some aligning or unifying must take place. For example, the engraver has aligned the crescendo and diminuendo wedges, the beginnings and endings of slurs, and the placement of dynamic marks in the vertical parts of the score. It has not been an easy task, however: the score is

³ This information was confirmed by Dr. Andreas Sopart of B&H Archives in the fall of 2007. He could find no evidence, however, of a new print, made in 1906, mentioned in Dahlström 2003, 29.

⁴ Justification for using the full score rather than the orchestral parts as the main source is the same as in the early version (see Section 5.1 above). Example 6.1 shows the differences between the full score and the orchestral parts. For descriptions and details of the sources, see Wicklund 2009.

inconsistent in each respect, and differences between the full score and the orchestral parts appear on nearly every page of the full score. The differences may originate from the use of two engravers, one of which engraved the score and the other, the orchestral parts. This would explain the different interpretations, but no evidence shows how many engravers were involved. Although the differences may be understandable, the task of resolving them remains.

In the following, the items raising questions and causing action in the course of the critical editing of the revised version have been listed according to the same categories as in Chapter 5 of the early version. All differences between the sources have been listed in the Critical Remarks of the critical edition, where all editorial emendations and decisions have also been reported and justified.⁵

6.2.1 Instrument Designation

No obvious problems with instrument designation appear in this version, because nothing was copied on the wrong staff and no real difficulties occurred in defining instruments or their number. Some minor actions have been taken, however. For example, *a2* markings were printed in the score only at the beginning of passages, but not repeated after page turns or system breaks. In the orchestral parts, the situation is clear and the (*a2*) markings have been added in JSW for clarity (according to JSW guidelines).

In the score, divided strings are notated mostly on several staves with braces in the accolade to make the division clear. When divided strings appear on one staff, single pitches usually appear thereafter to mark the return to unison playing. In addition, rests seem to bear the same meaning: *a2* or *unisono* markings are usually absent if rests follow the *divisi* passage. The brace in the accolade can, however, be a bit misleading when the instrument names are missing from the margin. Namely, the practice of connecting the cello and bass staves with a brace in printed editions may lead to the misunderstanding of divided cellos, particularly, when the other strings are divided, as on p. 11 onward. In JSW, the cellos and basses are never bracketed together, and when divided strings are notated on two staves, they are connected with an additional brace.

⁵ Over 100 editorial actions (changes, additions, clarifications) took place during editing.

On one occasion, the engraver was a bit careless. The violas are divided on pp. 58–61 (bb. 457–492); the solo viola plays with bow, and the rest of the violas play pizzicato. Therefore, their rhythms differ, even though they otherwise play in unison (bowed: $\downarrow \curvearrowright \uparrow$), pizzicato: $\downarrow \uparrow$). On two pages, the engraver made a mistake and copied the rhythm from the upper divisi to the lower viola divisi also: once on p. 58 (b. 460) and twice on p. 60 (bb. 478–479, just before the rehearsal letter O). These have been emended in JSW by analogy with similar bars and as in the orchestral part in the first case.

Furthermore, in b. 586 (p. 65), *Tutte* had to be added to the viola part: it seems to be missing only in error.⁶ Namely, before the preceding rests, only one solo viola was playing. Based on the texture and overall context, the whole group should continue from here. A similar situation appears in the first violins, where before the preceding rests, only four solo violins were playing. On p. 65, they do have the marking *Tutti*, as does the orchestral part of the viola.


6.2.2 Pitches

In a few cases, some incorrect pitches occur, but they are only a handful. Most of them appear in the full score (in the middle of a repeated pattern), but in these cases, the correct pitch appears in the orchestral part. The most serious example appears in b. 599 (p. 66, 5th bar), on the second violin staff. There the chord on beats 3–4 remains the same (G major seventh chord) as in the previous two bars, although the chord changes in the nearly similar cello part (to a C minor chord). Since the change of chord also appears in the second violin orchestral part in this bar and since both the harmonic context and the two-bar phrasing support the view, the chord has been changed in JSW.

Another interesting case appears in the first oboe part in b. 578 (p. 64, b. 4 of the lower system). No notation appears in the second half of the bar in either source. In the similar b. 574, notation does appear in both sources. The half rest in b. 578 may remain from the early version, which has an identical passage, with one exception. The passage beginning in b. 571 on p. 64, marked *Moderato*, corresponds to the passage from b. 675 of the early version (although without dynamics), with the exception of a half rest at 2/2 in

⁶ The remark explaining this is missing from the Critical Remarks, but appears on the A&C list.

the first oboe in the bars corresponding to bb. 574, 578 in the revised version. The replacement of rests with notes seems likely to be Sibelius's change, but one that the copyist or engraver improperly carried out. Thus, the notation has been added at 2/2 of b. 578 in JSW by analogy with similar parts and as in b. 574.

The tuba part raises the question of what exactly should the notation be in b. 645 (p. 74, b. 3). Namely, instead of a rest, a whole note *G* with *f* appears in the orchestral part. This is quite strange, and no similar bar seems to be nearby – not on the staves above or below – from where this could have been miscopied. The similar bassoons do not have anything in the orchestral parts either. Perhaps Sibelius made some changes here, which remained ambiguous and were therefore misinterpreted. In the early version, the tuba has  in the corresponding bars 748–749 (bb. 644–645 in the revised version), which appears in a different key (a major third higher) with no dynamics. Obviously, the notation may derive from a player's markings, since the orchestral parts were copied from parts (most probably used in a performance). The reading in the score of the revised version appears adequate.

In one instance, the question arises whether to remove certain pitches. This passage appears in the divided first violin part, where two solo violins play. Sibelius's son-in-law, conductor Jussi Jalas, marked in his score *x*) above b. 465 (p. 59, b. 2 on the upper system) and crossed out the phrase in bb. 465–468 for the lower violin part in red pencil. At the tail margin, he wrote two remarks, both indicating the same thing: Sibelius wants to remove the lower violin solo, because it seems too contrived.⁷ When exactly Sibelius told Jalas this and whether he said it for some particular situation, concert, or player, or whether Sibelius intended the change to be incorporated into the score is presently unknown. JSW has therefore mentioned it, but the left music intact.

Something has also been added to the critical edition: a rest in b. 315. In bb. 311–315 (p. 42) the first and second violins play in sixths (mainly), but at the end of the phrase, the notation on the last beat is missing from the second violin (b. 315). It should probably be a rest, as in the first violin and as in the orchestral parts; JSW has therefore been emended accordingly.

⁷ Jalas's remarks: 1) in lead pencil: *Sibelius ottanut pois alemman stemman "Vaikuttaa liian reflekteeratulta."* (Sibelius has removed the lower part 'seems too contrived') and 2) partly on top of the first marking, a new one in black ink: *Sibelius: alempi viulu-soolo pois! "Se vaikuttaa liian reflekteeratulta."* (Sibelius: remove the lower violin solo! 'It seems too contrived.')

6.2.3 Dynamic Marks

Obviously, human errors occurred during the production process of the revised version of *En saga*, so some markings, including dynamics, are missing in error. In most cases, the missing markings can be found in the other source and may then be added in the JSW score, as was done with the early version as well.

Differences in the placement of dynamic markings exist mostly between the full score and the orchestral parts. The differences probably exist because the printed score and the orchestral parts were made from two different sources by two different persons (Sibelius and the copyist of the orchestral parts); moreover, they may also have been engraved by two different engravers. In either case, the original source from which the copies were made must have been somewhat ambiguous or blurred to allow such different interpretations. Of course, the differences may simply be errors, but then again, they are more numerous than usual. In the orchestral part, a dynamic mark typically appears in the wrong bar – either too early or too late – or on the wrong beat in the correct bar. These kinds of differences in placement between the score and the orchestral parts appear on every other page of the full score.

In a few places, however, a dynamic mark, missing from both sources, has been added in JSW. These additions have been made by analogy with a parallel, simultaneous part(s) or based on a similar bar elsewhere; in such cases, square brackets indicate the editorial intervention. See, for example, the flutes in b. 53 (p. 10, the last bar), where ***f*** has been added (in brackets), as in the rest of the orchestra. The majority of the added dynamics, especially wedges, appear in the brasses and seem to be missing mostly because of Sibelius's practice of writing for instrument choirs (e.g., for four horns on two staves, the dynamics appear only once between the staves; see Section 4.3, case 6).

A bit more complicated are the dynamic marks in b. 297 (p. 40, 3rd bar) for clarinets, bassoons, and brasses, where no marks, ***fp***, or ***f*** appear simultaneously. In addition, some of the markings include \rightrightarrows leading to the following bar. In JSW, the markings have been unified to ***fp*** \rightrightarrows , except in the clarinets, where ***mf*** follows the ***f***.⁸ The markings have been unified by analogy with similar parts and as most of them appear in the orchestral parts. In

⁸ The difference in dynamics in the clarinets results from its activation through the playing of the melody.

the score, the marks were missing from the third and fourth horn (notated on a single staff) and the third trumpet, which may originate from Sibelius's practice of notating dynamics only once between the staves for instrument choirs. Probably for this same reason, some wedges are also missing from the score and have been added in JSW; see, for example, bb. 311–313 (p. 42, bb. 1–3), the third and fourth horns.

The lengths of crescendo and diminuendo wedges in the orchestral parts differ from those in the score on nearly every page. Example 6.1 shows one passage where the length of the wedges varies. Example 6.1a shows the reading in the score, whereas Example 6.1b was constructed from the orchestral parts. The length of the wedges at 2/2 in bb. 389 and 390 differs between the two sources, but are also inconsistent within each source. In the score (Example 6.1a), the first flute has > both times, the horn has a long accent, and the bassoons have a long accent in b. 389, but a short one in b. 390. In the orchestral parts, the accents are long, but their length varies. In JSW, the first accent in the flute has been lengthened by analogy with parallel parts and the orchestral part. However, the shorter accent has been retained in the following bar on the shorter note value according to the main source.

In JSW, small adjustments in aligning the placements of < and > have been made tacitly as in, for example, bb. 69–70 (p. 13) or bb. 178–181 (p. 28). A peculiar little detail is the < on ♭ in the bass part in b. 331 (p. 44, b. 6), where the bass plays pizzicato. The same dynamic also appears in the orchestral part and has been retained in JSW because it appears in both sources and probably has to do with the overall dynamic gesture.

Another marking with different interpretations is the dynamic mark *f*. Namely, the number of *f*s differs on several occasions; *f* most often appears in the orchestral part, whereas, at the same time, *ff* appears in the full score. Plenty of these differences also exist in the early version (where it partly originates from the copyist's notational style), but may also indicate that Sibelius's original markings were somewhat ambiguous or blurred, perhaps due to changes in the score. Also, a few other differences in dynamics occur between the score and the orchestral parts. Each has been evaluated in context and reported in the Critical Remarks.

6.2.4 Slurs

Example 6.1a. Score of the revised version, bb. 388–394 (page turn after b. 390).

The musical score for Example 6.1a consists of eight staves, each representing a different instrument. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is common time (C). The score is divided into two systems of four staves each. The first system includes Flute I (Fl. I), Oboe I and II (Ob. I, II), Clarinet in B-flat I and II (Cl. (Bb) I, II), and Fagot I and II (Fg. I, II). The second system includes Cor Anglais I and II (Cor. (F) I, II), Cor Anglais III and IV (Cor. (F) III, IV), and Grand Cymbal (Gr. c.).

The score features several slurs and dynamic markings. The Flute I part starts with a *ff* dynamic and has a slur over the first four measures. The Oboe I and II part has a slur over the last four measures, starting with a *f* dynamic and ending with a *p* dynamic. The Clarinet in B-flat I and II part has a slur over the last four measures, starting with a *f* dynamic and ending with a *ff* dynamic. The Fagot I and II parts have slurs over the first four measures, both starting with a *ff* dynamic. The Cor Anglais I and II parts have slurs over the first four measures, both starting with a *f* dynamic and ending with a *p* dynamic. The Cor Anglais III and IV parts have slurs over the first four measures, both starting with a *f* dynamic and ending with a *p* dynamic. The Grand Cymbal part has a slur over the last four measures, starting with a *mp* dynamic and ending with a *dim.* dynamic.

The score also includes various performance instructions such as *ff*, *f*, *dim.*, *p*, and *mp*. There are also some specific markings like *[a2]* and *a2* above notes in the Clarinet and Cor Anglais parts, respectively. The Grand Cymbal part has a wavy line indicating a tremolo effect.

Example 6.1b. The revised version, bb. 388–394 constructed from the orchestral parts.

The musical score for Example 6.1b consists of ten staves, each representing a different instrument or section. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is common time (C). The score spans measures 388 to 394. The instruments and their parts are as follows:

- Fl. I:** Starts with a *ff* dynamic, playing a melodic line with slurs and accents.
- Ob. I, II:** Plays a sustained, legato line starting in measure 389 with a *f* dynamic, ending with a *p* dynamic.
- Cl. (Bb) I, II:** Plays a sustained, legato line starting in measure 389 with a *f* dynamic, ending with a *ff* dynamic.
- Fg. I:** Plays a melodic line with slurs and accents, starting with a *ff* dynamic and ending with a *ff* dynamic.
- Fg. II:** Plays a melodic line with slurs and accents, starting with a *ff* dynamic and ending with a *ff* dynamic.
- Cor. (F) I, II:** Plays a melodic line with slurs and accents, starting with a *f* dynamic and ending with a *p* dynamic.
- Cor. (F) III, IV:** Plays a melodic line with slurs and accents, starting with a *f* dynamic and ending with a *p* dynamic.
- Gr. c.:** Plays a sustained, legato line starting with a *mp* dynamic, ending with a *pp* dynamic.

Because both sources are printed, the engraver had to decide which pitch or mark to engrave and how long a wedge or a slur should be. However, the clarity of the placement or the length of the markings does not necessarily mean that no questions arise or that the score would be consistent.

An illustrative example of inconsistency is the endings of the slurs in the same pattern (♩♩♩♩) as in the early version (see Example 6.1a and the early version, b. 232ff.). Of course, the engraver has decided where the slur on the eighth notes ends (that is, on the last eighth or on the following half note), but he decided differently in different bars and instruments both within the score and between the score and the orchestral parts.

Obviously, it is also possible that more than one engraver participated in the engraving, which would make the differences more understandable. In any case, the inconsistency suggests that the endings of the slurs were not all accurately drawn in the source manuscript. In addition, the slurs do not appear in each occurrence of this pattern (see, e.g., the passage beginning in b. 197 [p. 30]), which may also have been the case in the manuscript score.

The following example of this figure comes from b. 391 (p. 51, b. 2), where the slurs end inconsistently in the first flute, bassoons, and first and third horns (see Example 6.1a). In the orchestral parts, only the first horn follows the score; the slurs in the other orchestral parts are the opposite of those in the score. The same passage has been constructed from the orchestral parts in Example 6.1b. Based on this bar (391), one could argue that the slurs differ in various instrument groups: short slurs in the woodwinds and long ones in the brasses. However, the instrument group, whether woodwind or brass, seems to have no effect: in the analogous bb. 413, 417 (p. 54, bb. 3, 7), for example, the slurs lead to the half note twice in both groups. JSW draws the following conclusion: the slur should end on the eighth note when a diminuendo wedge appears on the following half note, whereas the slur should continue to the half note when no wedge appears there.

The other question about the slurs, encountered in the early version, namely the presence of the slurs on triplets (or the like) to indicate proportional grouping or articulation, seems a bit inconsistent in the printed score. The use of the slur has not been straight-forward for the engraver either, as it varies often: most triplets have either square brackets or simply the number 3 to show the rhythmic division, and articulation slurs appear in only a few cases, as does a combination of the two (see, e.g., b. 168 in the viola and b. 175 in the violins, both on p. 27). Patterns with repeated pitches have no slurs (as in cellos and basses from b. 667, rehearsal letter S, onwards). However, whether the engraver (or the publisher's editor) interpreted the slurs in the manuscript as indicating only rhythmic divisions – the triplet or the like – and therefore changed the marking to a bracket remains unclear. All in all, the number of slurs on triplets with a melodic line (not pitch repetition) is smaller in the revised version than in the early version. Because the manuscript is missing, only a few slurs have been added in JSW. These were added by analogy with similar bars and as in the orchestral part; this has been done, for example, in both violins in b. 321 (p. 43, 3rd bar); the analogy can be found in b. 337 (p. 45, 5th bar).

6.2.5 Other Articulation Markings

Some articulation marks were apparently somewhat ambiguous or blurred in the manuscript, since the score reflects a little confusion. An example is the articulation of the theme, which appears for the first time in the viola (b. 150ff.). The theme later appears several times with the basic articulation (see Example 6.2): portato dots on the repeated pitch (b. 150) and portato lines on the descending stepwise pattern (bb. 152, 154, 156). However, the articulation varies often between the score and the orchestral part. Usually, the part differs from the score in that the part has portato lines instead of the dots on the repeated pitches. This occurs in the score only once, on p. 26 in b. 150 (rehearsal letter F), and in this bar, the portato lines also appear in the orchestral part. The articulation has been emended in JSW by analogy with several other similar bars. In addition, the articulation has been added to b. 162, where it was missing from both sources. The early version has no similar articulation on this theme.

Example 6.2. The revised version, the basic articulation of the theme, bb. 150–158.

Another mark that confused the copyists and engravers is the long accent, which is quite typical of Sibelius's notation and appears quite frequently in this version, although in the early version, wedges of any length appear much less frequently. The copyists and engravers did not always know how to interpret the long accent and consequently interpreted it differently in different places. On about one in four pages of the score, the length of an accent differs from that in the orchestral part. Clearly, the manuscript sources for the printed version contained several long accents, since some inconsistencies have resulted. In bb. 17 and 22 (p. 3, bb. 2, 7), for example, the woodwinds have a short accent, but in most of the orchestral parts, the accent is long. The same also occurs in the similar

bb. 27 and 29 (p. 4, bb. 5, 7). Another rather striking example is in the bass part, beginning from b. 195 (p. 30, two bars before the rehearsal letter H). For the next 63 bars, the accent is short in the full score, but consistently long in the orchestral part. It is impossible to know with certainty which one Sibelius notated in his autograph, but it was probably the long one. The copyist or the engraver is unlikely to have changed a short accent to a long one; they usually did just the opposite. Due to the lack of evidence, however, JSW has retained the reading in the main source – the short accents – and added a footnote to explain the difference in the orchestral part.

In the string parts, *arco* is a typical marking to be missing after *pizzicato*, as was also the case in the early version. In most cases, it can be concluded from the context, but has been added in JSW for clarity. The marking may be absent because of performance practice: a hundred years ago, most musicians probably knew when rest passages, texture changes, formal borderlines or the like also canceled the previous instruction, such as playing *pizzicato*. Although the practice may have been self-evident then, it may not be so today. In addition, back then, the questions could be posed to the composer, unlike today. One example can be found in b. 18 (p. 3, b. 3) in the bass part, where *arco* is missing. The previous marking is *pizz.* in the very first bar. Here, after rests, the sustained pitches are without question played with a bow. This *arco* marking is missing in the early version as well. Another marking in this group is *nat.*, which is missing from the bass entry in b. 388 (p. 50, b. 6). The previous instruction is *sul ponticello* for all strings in b. 351 (p. 47). Thereafter, the other strings have *nat.* added in b. 377 (p. 49), but since the bass has rests there, it should obviously be added here for the bass also.

One more mark to be added for the trombones in bb. 651–652 (p. 75) is *tenuto*. There, *ten.* can be found on the trumpet notes, but not for the first and second trombones, which play the same rhythm, articulation, and dynamics. The marking is also missing from the orchestral parts, but has been added in JSW based on the parallel trumpets. Sibelius probably had intended the marking for both instruments, but the copyist or engraver misinterpreted it. A similar situation appears a little earlier, in bb. 644–645 (p. 74, bb. 3–4), where *tenuto* lines appear for the trumpets, but are missing for the trombones in the score, although they appear in the orchestral parts.

Some other questions also arose concerning the *tenuto* lines. One such place is the passage beginning in b. 601 (p. 67), where the horns play the theme. There, all notes are either under a slur or have *tenuto* lines, except in bb. 606, 608 and 624. Although the

tenuto lines are also missing from the orchestral part, they have been added in the two first-mentioned bars in JSW based on their consistency in the score otherwise. In b. 624 (p. 70, the last bar), the tenuto line has not been added because of the gesture in a syncopated rhythm.

Regarding the trills in the percussions, the same question as in the early version arises. Namely, especially in the bass drum and cymbal parts, in both the full score and the orchestral parts, no parentheses with the *tr* mark in continuous trills appear after page turns in the score or after system breaks in the parts. The repetition of the mark could be interpreted as a new attack. However, these breaks, and thereby the repeated *trs*, do not coincide with phrases or changes in the texture; moreover, accentuating a new beginning by stressing the first beat does not seem to reflect the musical idea. One of these passages appears in Example 6.1a, where page turn appears; thus, the *tr* is repeated in the printed score in b. 391 (but, not in the orchestral part). In general, a comparison of the orchestral parts and the score show that the breaks and *tr* marks appear in different bars. For these reasons, the parentheses for repeated *tr* marks on continuous trills have been added tacitly after page and system breaks in the score of the critical edition, and the situation has been explained in the general remarks.

In addition, the ties for the bass drum in bb. 88–90 (p. 17), missing in the score, have been added in JSW, as in the orchestral part. They have also been added to all bass drum passages appearing between bb. 123–393 (p. 22–51), since they consistently appear in the score after b. 405 (p. 53) and always in the orchestral part. Sibelius's use of ties on long trilled notes in the percussions was inconsistent; in fact, he tended to write fewer ties in his early output (see Section 4.3).

6.2.6 Shorthand Markings

Shorthand markings are fewer in the printed score than in the score of the early version. Obviously, shorthands help when writing by hand, but they have mostly been written out in the printed edition.

About the only shorthand in the printed score is *simile*. The marking *sim.[ile]* in the score refers to the continuation of the articulation in the violins and viola in the beginning, bb. 3 and 32 (on p. 1 for the passage continuing on the following page; on p. 5 for the

passage continuing on the next four pages). According to the JSW guidelines, these articulations have been written out in full, as was also done in the orchestral parts. The same articulation also appears in the passage beginning in b. 54 (p. 11) for the same instruments. In this case, however, the articulation was marked in the printed score only on the first pattern, and no *simile* appears thereafter, although the pattern continues through to b. 77 (p. 14). This also seems to be a shorthand that originates from the manuscript score. In the orchestral parts, the articulation has been realized, as in JSW also.

6.2.7 Editor's Speculations

Sometimes, however, questions remain unsolved. The editor may suspect the reading in the sources, but due to the lack of evidence, nothing can be changed in the score of the critical edition. In such cases, however, JSW provides an explanation in the Critical Remarks or as a footnote.

One case in point is the passage beginning from b. 480 (p. 60, rehearsal letter O) in the cellos. No instruction appears there in either the score or the orchestral part (nor have the players added anything there) for the accompanying pattern in the cellos, although in a parallel passage, beginning in b. 150 (p. 26, rehearsal letter F), the parallel part is marked *pizzicato*. This later passage should perhaps also be played *pizzicato*, but lacking further evidence, JSW has retained the reading in the sources and added only a remark. An interesting detail is that, in two recordings made in Sibelius's lifetime, the cellos do indeed play *pizzicato*.⁹ Unfortunately, Sibelius's own view has not been documented anywhere.

Another example of a notation that raises questions also appears in the cellos, in the very last bar. The solo cello has the fifth of the chord, *Bb*, as does the lower divisi also, where it was added to the long *Eb* that they have already played for seven bars. Thus, the fifth seems to be accentuated in the last bar, but whether that was the intention remains uncertain. Namely, in the score of the early version, nothing is being added to the last bar:

⁹ These recordings were both made by the London Philharmonic Orchestra: in 1946 conducted by Victor DeSabata and in 1956 conducted by Sir Adrian Boult. In the earliest known Finnish recording, the Finnish Radio Symphony Orchestra conducted by Nils-Erik Fougstedt in 1961, the cellos also play *pizzicato*. In the earliest recording of *En saga* by Eugene Goossens and New Symphony Orchestra in 1930, this passage is missing (probably due to restrictions caused by the format, 78rpm record).

the solo cello plays the *Bb*, and the others play only the *Eb*. In the orchestral part of the early version (both desks), the notation originally appeared as in Example 6.3.

Example 6.3. The early version, the end of the cello orchestral part, bb. 945–952.



In the early version, at some later point, a different copyist from the one who copied everything else added the notation for the solo cello, the seven-times repeated pattern (♩. ♪. ♪. ♪.) on *Bb*, in different ink. When he made the addition and whether Sibelius invented it only later or whether the lack of the solo notation was just an omission by the copyist in the first place remains currently unknown. However, the notation in the last bar remains unchanged after the addition, as in Example 6.3. When, then, and by whose hand did the second *Bb* appear in the revised version? Whether the lower part also needs the fifth and, thus, the emphasis in the revised version, or whether it is just a misinterpretation remains an open question. Since the evidence for changing the notation in the printed full score is lacking, JSW has retained it, but has also added a remark.

Some of the doubtful cases found in the early version were changed or cut out from the revised version. The end (the last 85 bars), however, remains unchanged musically, but some dynamics differ. In both versions, the passage begins with *ppp* for all strings. However, 25 bars later (b. 892) in the early version, *sempre pp* appears below the cymbal and the first violin staves, whereas in the orchestral parts, it appears for all strings. A logical marking would, of course, be *sempre ppp*. Whether the copyist simply made mistakes or whether Sibelius made changes – such as changing, changed the first *pp* to *ppp* at a later date – is impossible to determine. That the latter marking, *sempre pp*, is missing from the revised version may be a change Sibelius made, or an omission made by the engraver. Nevertheless, *ppp* is later repeated in both versions.

Sibelius most probably reused the manuscript pages of the early version to make the revised version (see Section 1.3). Therefore, probably a few old markings were inadvertently left in both the manuscript sources, the score and the orchestral parts. One example of this concerns the tempo marking *Moderato e tranquillo*, which appears in the

printed version in b. 725 (p. 83, rehearsal letter U). In the orchestral parts of most of the winds, it reads simply *Tranquillo*, which in turn is the tempo indication in the corresponding bar (b. 867) of the early version. It was probably left unchanged there only by mistake.

Other speculations concern the accents. They may be missing in a few places, but at least one appearance is also questionable. One question about the possibly missing accents arises twice: for basses and for horns. The bass part, in the passage beginning in b. 683 (p. 80, b. 3), has accents in the first two bars, but they end thereafter even though the same pattern continues. Whether the accents should also continue, or whether the accents appear only to mark the beginning of the passage (also equally possible) remains unclear. Because they do not continue in either source, they have not been added in JSW.

In the second and fourth horn parts in b. 136 (p. 24, b. 2), the question also arises whether the accents are missing. They appear in the similar b. 129 (p. 23, b. 2), except for the second bar for the second horn. On the other hand, it is equally possible that the accents should not appear in b. 136 and that the accents in the preceding bar should be long. They appear as long accents in the orchestral parts, where the last accent in the second horn is really a diminuendo wedge extending beat 1 in b. 136 and where ***p*** also appears for all four horns in b. 135. This suggests that the horns should fade rather than accentuate in b. 136. Since the woodwind and string parts also contain changes in b. 136, compared to the similar b. 129, the accents have not been added in JSW.

The questionable accents appear in the second violins, which have accents on double stops, although they play pizzicato in bb. 197–198 (p. 30). It is a rare combination, and the cellos, which also play their triple stops pizzicato, do not have the accents. They may have been copied to the second violins from the first violin or the viola staff in error, but it is equally possible that Sibelius wanted to mark the beginning of the new motive. Since the accents appear in both sources, JSW has retained them and added a remark.

7 INTERACTION BETWEEN THE TWO VERSIONS IN EDITING

Because two versions of *En saga* exist, the self-evident question arising is whether these versions can serve as reference sources for each other in the course of editing. A reference source is not a direct source in the sense that editorial decisions would be based solely on it, but it may still contain relevant information. In other words, a reference source is not decisive, but may nevertheless shed light on some details.¹ Although the editorial policy within one work must remain consistent, the information in the reading of a reference source may support the decision of which reading to choose in the other version. The use of a source as a reference is never straight-forward, however, and must be evaluated case by case.

In general, between the source and its reference source, similar passages and parallel parts may be compared with each other, logic or occurring patterns concluded from them, and the possible bearing on editorial decisions considered thereafter. In the case of *En saga*, however, comparing similar passages between the two versions is not so simple because the versions differ considerably from each other in places.

While revising the work in 1902, Sibelius had most probably reused a portion of the manuscript pages of the early version.² He left some pages about as they were, made some changes to the old pages, and completely rewrote some passages. Those pages that remain largely unchanged in both versions could in principle serve as reference sources for the other version, at least for some features. In practice, however, due to the lack of autograph

¹ For the classification of sources, see Section 3.2.3.

² For more details, see Section 1.3.

manuscripts, it is impossible to know whether Sibelius deliberately made a change or whether the copyist or the engraver just made a mistake. It is equally possible that during the revision process, something went uncorrected on the pages of the early version and that something was not added to the full score simply by mistake – perhaps due to the tight schedule of the revision and agreed publishing.³ Thus, all the differences – at least small discrepancies – may not be authoritative.

During the ten years separating the two versions, Sibelius also changed his mind concerning some details of the work, such as articulation, the placement of slurs, and dynamics; and he deliberately did things differently – orchestrating, among other things. He also marked more dynamics and articulations in the score of the revised version and shortened the work radically by removing some thematic material. For these reasons, passages between the two versions are seldom similar and therefore not easily compared with each other. Furthermore, the most difficult questions that arise in the course of the critical editing typically relate to passages that have indeed been changed or removed and appear in only one of the versions (usually only once), and thus no comparison is possible.

In addition, one must remember that at the moment of the revision, after ten years of composition, Sibelius was inevitably more experienced and mature as a composer. He had spent time in Central Europe, where he listened to as much music as he could and also studied scores. But above all, he had composed a lot himself. In a word, his views had evolved. Therefore, using the revised version as a reference source for the early version, that is, changing the early version according to the revised one, would reflect Sibelius's views at the time of the revision, not at the time of composition. In addition to the fact that no autograph sources survive, all this has led to the decision that the revised version has not served as a reference source for the early version.⁴

The other possibility, the use of the early version as a reference source for the revised version, depends on the details in question. One must remember that the early version contains far more inconsistencies and uncertainties than the revised version, which was prepared for publication (tidied up and, probably, proofs corrected). Nevertheless, the pitches (the melodic lines) remain mostly the same in both versions, and for questions of pitches or sometimes rhythms, a comparison is possible. With regard to these details,

³ For two such instances, see Sections 6.2.2 and 6.2.7.

⁴ The early version contains no instruction for the cymbals, but the suggestion to play with timpani sticks was added based on common practice and the revised version.

comparison as a reference source is actually possible and works in both directions, and if a similar situation appears in the early version, it has been checked and regarded only as additional information for the solution made for the revised version. However, questions of defining pitches or rhythms could be solved in the context of one version alone. With regards to other details, the articulation and dynamics of otherwise similar passages only seldom remain the same, and thus comparison of such matters is impossible. The orchestration was also changed, but the comparison of passages between different instrument groups (e.g., woodwinds and strings) offers no conclusions without paying attention to their different playing techniques, which could affect the articulation, slurring, or dynamics. For these reasons, it is still impossible in practice to use the early version as a proper reference source for editing the revised version.

After all, for only one question was comparison of the versions possible. This was the question about the ending of a slur in a particular pattern: whether to end it on the last eighth note of the bar or to extend it across the bar line (see Sections 5.2.4 and 6.2.4). Both versions lead to the same conclusion: the slur should end on the last eighth note when articulation follows (trill, wedge); otherwise, it should continue to the half note. JSW has adhered to this conclusion, but based on the consistency within only a single version.

PART III
FORM ANALYSIS

8 INTRODUCTION TO FORM ANALYSIS

Discussing issues related to musical forms in Sibelius's music is not so straightforward. Although Sibelius often applies traditional forms, he sometimes uses them in new and individual ways. In addition, when the form follows classical principles, passages may still appear whose formal function is unclear. The form of *En saga* (both its versions) is individual, new, and breaks conventions. Although still freely based on the classical models, the form is shaped mostly by the thematic materials. To my knowledge, no work with so similar a formal plan exists. The purpose of this chapter is to contextualize those issues that may have affected the composition of *En saga* and to introduce the new terms I have applied in the form analysis in Chapter 9.

As most scholars agree, *En saga* presents a sonata form; surely not a prototype, but still a recognizable one. However, the designations of themes and the placements of borderlines between sections vary from one scholar to another, sometimes even drastically. This is probably due to the viewpoint they have chosen, since sonata form is not a fixed and unchanging scheme, but rather has changed over its history and has had different emphasis. Some scholars have also pointed out that *En saga* includes features of the sonata cycle as well.¹

Section 8.1 offers a brief overview of some of the principles of the sonata form in the late 19th century that have a bearing on the form analysis of *En saga*. Section 8.2 provides background information on Sibelius's studies and compositional activities

¹ These include Ringbom 1956, 19; Tawaststjerna 1965, 313; and Murtomäki 1990, 161. One exception is Marc Vignal (2004, 348), who states that none of the themes possesses exactly the role or tonality that would be required for a classical sonata form.

preceding the composition of *En saga*. Section 8.3 explains the theoretical background and terminology used in the analysis, presented in Chapter 9.

8.1 Background

Regarding sonata form, in the decades preceding the composition of *En saga*, thematic aspects were considered essential, and the second theme became centrally important. In general, the prevailing idea was to concentrate on striking and original themes.² This was a clear change of focus: whereas the writers in the 18th century (e.g., Heinrich Christoph Koch) looked at the whole from the perspective of harmony and harmonic closures, the writers in the 19th century (Adolf Bernhard Marx in the first place) emphasized the beginnings articulated by the themes. In other words, the central preoccupation of formal theory and analysis had transferred from a harmonic emphasis to a more strictly thematic emphasis. As William E. Benjamin states, “over the course of the nineteenth century, global harmony loses its identity as primary structure in many larger movements.” He explains his ideas through the thematization of harmony, by which he means “harmony becoming part of the color of a theme and of harmonic relations being brought into play to reinforce networks of themes in their transformational interrelations. The thematization of harmony in turn implies that the field of large-scale structure is partially vacated, left open to new shaping forces, and helps to explain the progressive shift in the second half of the century from a preoccupation with structures defined in terms of a conventional syntax (of harmony, meter, and phrase structure) to one with structures whose dimensions are natural, continuous, and scaled by intensity (dynamics, density, and aspects of timbre). [...] unity would be experienced in terms of shapes of varying intensity and not in terms of key or chord.”³

Increased emphasis on thematic organization was not the only novel feature in the 19th-century view of the sonata form. Another new layer added to the sonata form can be most famously found in the B-minor Piano Sonata by Franz Liszt (1853), in which the

² See, e.g., Brown 2007, Burnham 2002, Mangsen 2013, or Webster 2013.

³ Benjamin 1996, 238.

different movements of a sonata cycle are combined within the single-movement sonata form. This, in my view, also occurs in *En saga*.⁴ As is often characteristic of these kinds of forms, including Liszt's Sonata, not only the themes, but also thematic transformation plays an essential role in achieving the different demands of both formal dimensions: the sonata form and cycle. In fact, the idea of the thematic transformation technique may even have tempted composers towards new formal experiments also. Steven Vande Moortele explained the role of thematic transformation as follows: "Thematic transformation is [...] closely allied with the phenomenon of two-dimensional sonata form itself. It is not difficult to see why this is the case: thematic transformation is an ideal tool for the mediation of single-movement and multi-movement patterns. Allowing for the presentation of the same thematic material in shapes that markedly differ in tempo and character, it meets the requirements both of unity within a single movement and of contrast between separate movements."⁵ In *En saga* also, the themes are clearly related and strongly articulate the form. Such an idea is actually familiar already from A. B. Marx (whose ideas Sibelius knew; see below), who emphasized the logical flow of theme groups in the exposition, and especially the linking and interrelationship of its principal themes.⁶

Such two-dimensionality combining the sonata form and cycle was not taught in the theoretical literature, the standard textbook (*Formenlehre*) volumes. The sonata form was (in addition to rondo forms) the main interest and, for Marx, the culmination of forms. In general, however, the largest forms in that literature tended to be those of a single movement.⁷ What Marx offers on the sonata cycle is quite sparse. According to him, three movements are enough in a cycle when they present different tempi and characters. The return of the tonic and the fast tempo in the finale are also enough to establish unity within the cycle. Marx does not talk about the interrelations between movements, however.⁸ Therefore, when Sibelius mentions to his friend Adolf Paul that "I have a totally new form for it [*En saga*]," one possible interpretation among others, is that he referred to a

⁴ Whether Sibelius heard Liszt's Sonata remains presently unknown, as no mention has been found; however, he likely heard it played by his friend, pianist Ferruccio Busoni.

⁵ Vande Moortele 2009, 41.

⁶ Marx 1857, summarized in Burnham 2002, 888–889.

⁷ In fact, according to Burnham (2002, 888), the major portion of Marx's 100 pages on the treatment of the sonata form deals with the exposition (First Part), 6 pages with the development, and only 3 pages with the recapitulation. His repertoire consists of Beethoven's piano sonatas, but he explores no single movement as a whole.

⁸ Marx 1857, 319–333, Section *Zusammenstellung verschiedener Sätze zu einem grösseren Ganzen*; summarized in Vande Moortele 2009, 16.

combination of the sonata form and cycle.⁹ It is, of course, equally possible that Sibelius referred to something else, as he had already been considering the formal aspects before. A bit earlier, he wrote from Vienna to Paul that “I have held a pistol to the old music jargon’s head, that is, to compose after the old formula.”¹⁰ These considerations of breaking the traditional form resulted in the five-movement choral symphony *Kullervo* in early 1892 and *En saga* in the fall.

The new form Sibelius had in mind for *En saga* may at least partly have to do with the aesthetics of the times, Art Nouveau, with which he was acquainted, at least through his friend Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924). Busoni was a world-class piano virtuoso and composer who brought to Finland the fresh winds from the wider musical world, when he worked in Helsinki also as a teacher (1888–1890). Busoni was interested in aesthetics and even published his own ideas in a booklet.¹¹ He surely discussed his ideas about music with Sibelius and in the circle known as the “Leskovites.”¹² Busoni’s ideas resonate with those of Art Nouveau in that both emphasize the forms of nature and thus reject the symmetry of classical forms. According to Busoni, all arts have but one goal: “the imitation of nature and the interpretation of human feelings.”¹³ Busoni highlights the organic growth and compares it to that of species of plant. Inside one single species, each plant becomes original regarding its size, shape, and strength. He further explains: “So already in each

⁹ Letter to Paul dated 27 September 1892 (NLF, Coll. 206.62.1): “Jag har en alldeles ny form för den.”
For more on the composition process, see Section 1.1.

¹⁰ Letter to Paul dated 24 April 1891 (NLF, Coll. 206.62.1): “Jag har nämligen rent ut sagt satt knifven i [sic] strupen på den der gamla musik jargongen d.v.s. att laga musik enligt recept.”

¹¹ Busoni 1907 (*Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik der Tonkunst*); see also Oramo 2012. Although Busoni’s *Entwurf* dates from a later period of time, he probably discussed these ideas much earlier.

¹² In addition to Busoni and Sibelius, the Leskovites included Adolf Paul, as well as Aino’s brothers Armas and Eero Järnefelt. Sibelius also met Busoni while studying in Berlin in December 1889. Busoni’s impact on Sibelius’s life was notable. He, for instance, suggested that Sibelius study in Vienna after Berlin. Sibelius acknowledged Busoni’s influence. In 1921, after Busoni conducted Sibelius’s Fifth in Berlin, Sibelius wrote him on 20 November (Staatsbibliothek Berlin): “Ohne Dich hätte Die Symphonie Papier geblieben, sowie ich eine Erscheinung aus den Wäldern.” (Without you the symphony would have remained only paper as well as I, an apparition from the woods).

¹³ Busoni 1916, [6]: “nämlich die Abbildung der Natur und die Wiedergabe der menschlichen Empfindungen.” That these ideas were discussed in the Leskovite circle is supported by what Adolf Paul in his novel *En bok om en människa* (*A Book about a Human Being*) of 1891, makes the principal character Sillén (i.e., Sibelius) explain about art: “All have a right to it – the shabby fellow as well as the over-refined, well-educated salon type. It must not be only mathematical riddles to help the latter pass their time. It must be Nature – more of the Nature that has produced both of them. [...] For both need it and have a right to be justly treated,” translation by Johnson 1959, 38–39. (“Alla ha rätt till den – slusken så väl som den öfverförfinade, fint bildade salongsmänniskan. Den får ej vara matematiska gåtor till tidsfördrif endast för den senare. Utan bör vara natur – mera af den natur som frambragt dem båda. [...] Båda äro i lika stort behof däraf. Båda hafva samma kraf på rättvisa.”) Paul 1891, 227.

motive lies its full-grown predetermined form; each one must unfold itself differently, yet each follows the imperative law of eternal harmony. This form remains indestructible, though never the same.”¹⁴ This idea undoubtedly has its musical equivalent in thematic transformation, which was not only current, but also manifests itself in *En saga*.

In fact, Busoni’s ideas conform to those Marx had on the sonata form. Namely, according to Burnham, in Marx’s view “the sonata form functions like an organism: its subsections are not, like those of the minuet forms, individual organisms, but rather begin to function as interdependent and indispensable organs of a larger organism (the whole form).” In addition, Marx insists repeatedly that the nature and type of the opening theme determine the way it is continued and, ultimately the type of the overall form.¹⁵ As will be seen below, the opening theme of *En saga* is essential in terms of the form; the subsections are interdependent, and the music proceeds organically from one subsection to another.

8.2 Sibelius’s Musical Influences and Theoretical Studies Preceding *En saga*

Sibelius’s theoretical studies began already at his childhood home in Hämeenlinna, where he reported to his uncle, Pehr Sibelius (1819–1890), in February 1884 that he had begun to explore Johann Christian Lobe’s book *Lehrbuch der musikalischen Composition*. He also reported about his studies in species counterpoint.¹⁶ His musical studies continued at the Helsinki Music Institute during his student years (1885–1889). His teacher, Martin Wegelius (1846–1906), also became his friend to whom he frequently reported about his studies during his studentship abroad.¹⁷ Wegelius is known to have used the Bußler’s

¹⁴ Busoni 1916, [14]: “So liegt in jedem Motiv schon seine vollgereifte Form vorbestimmt; jedes einzelne muß sich anders entfalten, doch jedes folgt darin der Notwendigkeit der ewigen Harmonie. Diese Form bleibt unzerstörbar, doch niemals sich gleich.”

¹⁵ Burnham 2002, 887 and 889.

¹⁶ A letter to Pehr dated 28 October 1885 (Hämeenlinna City Archives, Sibelius Archive): “I contrapunkt håller jag på med cantus firmus i trestämmig sats och någon stämman kontrapunkterar.” (In counterpoint, I am exercising with cantus firmus in a three-voice texture with one voice making counterpoint.) Cited in Goss 1997, 81.

¹⁷ Wegelius’s impact on Sibelius was substantial. He was a well-educated man who published a lot; his “Länsimaisen musiikin historia” (History of Western Music), for example, dates from 1891.

method in his teaching.¹⁸ Sibelius's studies continued thereafter in Berlin (1889–1890) and Vienna (1890–1891), where his teachers were Albert Becker (Berlin), Robert Fuchs and Karl Goldmark (Vienna). It is known that at least *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition, praktisch-theoretisch*, volume three (1845), by A. B. Marx was used, as some of Sibelius's exercises from these study periods have survived.¹⁹

Sibelius was quite an experienced musician even before his studentship: he had played and listened to a great deal of music. He also played the violin together with his sister Linda as pianist and his brother Christian as cellist. In addition, Sibelius participated in all kinds of home music making groups with his friends and neighbors. The repertoire consisted of Haydn, Schubert, Mendelssohn, and Beethoven, to mention only some of the most played composers. He continued playing chamber music in the Helsinki Music Institute (from 1885) and also joined its student orchestra. Although the musical life in Sibelius's hometown of Hämeenlinna was quite lively, after moving to the capital, Helsinki, Sibelius could hear music daily. In the Music Institute concerts (about 60 a year), he acquainted himself with chamber music, mostly by Viennese classics, but also by Romantics. Top foreign artists also gave high quality concerts (chamber and recital). The Helsinki Philharmonic Society Orchestra actively gave concerts as well, including both symphony and "popular" concerts several days a week.²⁰ Still in Vienna, Sibelius joined the students' orchestra. In addition to his experiences as a player or listener to classical forms, Sibelius had also composed several works that contain sonata form before *En saga*, including trios, quartets, sonatas, and a piano quintet as well as the *Kullervo* symphony.²¹ As a result of all this, Sibelius was quite familiar with the principles of the classical forms in 1892, when composing *En saga*.

¹⁸ The library of Ainola contains two books by Ludwig Bußler: *Der strenge Satz in der musikalischen Compositionslehre in 52 Aufgaben* and *Musikalische Formenlehre in 33 Aufgaben* (Berlin: Carl Habel, 1877, 1878). According to his method, the student first learns to master short structural units (a few bars) and then gradually longer and longer units. One such exercise survives (NL, HUL 0796). This includes 50 melodic ideas, of which 30 are from 2 to 4 bars in length and the longest ones, 16 bars in length; some of the units elaborate on earlier melodic ideas.

¹⁹ Sibelius's exercises are preserved in NL; for more details, see Kilpeläinen 1991, Chapter 5, "Student works," Sections S (Instrumental counterpoint exercises), T (Vocal counterpoint exercises), and Y (Other studies), as well as Chapter 7, "Miscellanea," Section Y. Written notes survive (HUL 1769a and b), containing parts Sibelius has copied from Marx's book, about fugue and rondo forms (in Swedish, but with Marx's German abbreviations).

²⁰ More details on Sibelius's musical environment can be found in Goss 1997 and Kilpeläinen 2001.

²¹ These include at least five trios, six quartets, and two sonatas. In Berlin, he also composed four sonata expositions as well as an entire first movement for Becker (JS 179).

Sibelius actively took part in the social life of Vienna. He obviously heard a lot of music and was influenced by what he experienced. Sibelius has told that he began the composition of *En saga* while studying in Vienna (see Chapter 1), where he lived from October 1890 to June 1891. According to his correspondence, he was also composing a symphony there. Just in the heat of the composition of the planned symphony in December 1890, he heard a concert – namely, Anton Bruckner’s Third Symphony – that made an indelible impression, which also left an impact that – in my opinion – can be seen in *En saga*. Sibelius reported to Aino immediately after the concert: “Today a concert. One composer, Bruckner, received a volley of whistles. In my opinion, he is the greatest living composer. Perhaps you heard Martin W[egelius] speak of him. [...] His symphony in D minor was played. You cannot imagine what an impression it made on me. It has its flaws and shortcomings, of course, as in all, but it has one quality above all, namely, youth, although the composer is an old man. I find the form ridiculous; it is often purely Mozartian.”²² The reference to Mozartian forms may refer to the composition’s well-formed and clear formal units. This criticism of classical forms (with clearly articulated cadences) may have to do with Sibelius’s ideas of the “totally new form” he had in mind for *En saga*. At least well-formed units with clearly articulated cadences are infrequent in *En saga*, as will be clear in Chapter 9. Sibelius never finished the planned symphony in Vienna and, in the end, he sent two parts of it as separate works to be performed in Helsinki to convince his financiers in the late spring of 1891. These two works were the Overture in E, JS 145, and *Scène de ballet*, JS 163. In April, Sibelius wrote to Aino: “I am not interested in finishing it [the symphony] anymore, because I have to acquire more confidence regarding

²² Another, earlier concert experience, which Sibelius himself mentioned as a powerful one, was hearing Beethoven’s late quartets in Berlin. Sibelius reminisced that “when he [Joseph Joachim] interpreted Beethoven’s late quartets, it was an experience which opened a whole new world for me. That was the first opportunity to hear these beautiful tone compositions, which at that time were generally considered impossible to be played.” (Ekman 1935, 79). (“Kun hän tulkitsi Beethovenin viimeiset kvartetit, niin se oli elämys, joka avasi minulle uuden maailman. Sain silloin ensimmäisen kerran kuulla nämä ihanat sävelluomat, joita siihen aikaan yleisesti pidettiin mahdottomina soittaa.”) The Bruckner performance was the premiere of the third version of Bruckner’s third symphony. Letter to Aino dated 21 December 1890 (NA, SFA, file box 94): “I dag var det consert. Der blef en componist, Brückner [sic], uthvisslad. Han är enligt min tanke den störste nu lefvande kompositören. Du hörde kanske Martin W. tala om honom. [...] Det var hans D moll symfoni som uppfördes. Du kan ej tro hurudant intryck den gjorde på mig. Fel och brister har den naturligtvis som allt men den har ett framför allt annat och det är ungdom, ehuru komponisten är en gammal man. Formen finner jag narraktig, den är ofta rent af Mozartisk.”

the old symphony form.”²³ Despite this mention, Sibelius wrote only ten days later that he was working with a new symphony (which eventually became *Kullervo*).

Sibelius mentioned in earnest his need to acquire more confidence in the symphony form; at least he wrote to Aino (4 May 1891) that he had been studying Beethoven’s symphonies “for about the hundredth time,” though he does not mention which of the symphonies he studied. However, Sibelius’s analyses of the first movement of Beethoven’s Eroica symphony survive in a sketchbook containing sketches related to, for example, *Kullervo*, *Scène de ballet*, and other works dating from the early 1890s.²⁴ Sibelius also mentions that he has rejected at least 50 themes for the symphony (16 April 1891). Although not all of these have survived, one or more may have ended up in *En saga* in the following year; at least the two that are known to have ended up there were written on green paper similar to that of some of the *Kullervo* or *Scène de ballet* sketches (in the sketchbook HUL 0419).²⁵

This urge to study Beethoven and to refine themes may have resulted from his teacher Goldmark’s critique. Namely, according to Sibelius’s letter to Wegelius in February 1891, after examining Sibelius’s Overture, Goldmark commented: “Reflect on your themes thoroughly; that way, you will get more content. Beethoven sketched his themes fifty times!”²⁶ Goldmark also had strong ideas about the quality of melodies created by a true composer: “A true composer can also be recognized by contrapuntal polyphony. Where the melodic invention of a false composer is thin as a sheet of paper and often trivial, that of a true composer is profound and sublime, just as the contrapuntal polyphony by the false one is artificial, distressed, and sharp, whereas the one by the true composer is –

²³ Letter dated 4 April 1891 (NA, SFA, file box 94): “Jag har mistat lusten att fullborda den af skäl att jag måste tillägna mig mera säkerhet i den gamla symfoniform.”

²⁴ Sibelius wrote on the cover page of the sketchbook (preserved at NL, HUL 0419) “Sibelius 1891.” He wrote an analysis of Beethoven’s Eroica symphony on p. [41]: columns for exposition, development, and recapitulation sections, in which the succession of events is depicted with numbers of bars occasionally accompanied by references to the nature of the event, whether thematic, developmental, or concluding. Sibelius knew Beethoven’s symphonies well; he had heard the Third in Berlin in the spring of 1890, as well as symphonies 5 and 9, and several late piano sonatas and string quartets. In addition, he had already heard all the symphonies in Helsinki earlier. In a letter he wrote to Aino from Vienna dated 13 April 1891 (NA, SFA, file box 94), Sibelius mentioned that hearing a performance of Beethoven’s Ninth was such a powerful experience that he wept. In 1935, he noted that he still had the score in which he made annotations while listening to Hans von Bülow conducting in Berlin; Ekman (1935, 77), however, does not mention which of the symphonies.

²⁵ According to Kilpeläinen (1992) this green sheet music paper was not sold in Finland. All compositions connected with this green paper date from the early 1890s.

²⁶ A further impact may be Flodin’s critique of the piano quintet one year earlier, when he could “again trace the melodic sterility, which was already glimpsed in Sibelius’s first works.” (“[...] åter spåra samma melodisk sterilitet, som redan i hr. Sibelius första verk framskyntade.” in *Nya Pressen* of 6 May 1890. Letter to Wegelius dated 12 February 1891: “Überlegen Sie eingehender Ihre Themen, damit Sie mehr Inhalt bekommen. Beethoven skizzierte seine Themen fünfzig Mal!”

despite the harmonic richness – always melodious, well-sounding, and therewith reflects emotions.”²⁷ Whether influenced by Goldmark or not, the melodies in *En saga* also appear as contrapuntal polyphony.

In addition to Bruckner’s Third, another work that may have had an impact on Sibelius’s thinking and whose consequences maybe reflected in *En saga* is Strauss’s *Don Juan* (1888–1889). Sibelius heard it for the first time in Berlin conducted by Strauss himself. The work bears some similar features to Sibelius’s *En saga*. Namely, two keys (E major/C major) govern *Don Juan*’s large-scale tonal organization and, according to Vande Moortele, the work also represents a two-dimensional sonata form that includes an interpolated episode belonging to neither of the sonata dimensions.²⁸ Chapter 9 will explain the similar features in *En saga*.

In short, the two main viewpoints of the sonata form – harmonic and thematic – were also topics of consideration for Sibelius at the time he began the composition of *En saga*. He was well acquainted (both in theory and practice) with the principles of classical forms and the way of articulating through endings. He paid attention to form while composing, although he was hardly aiming towards a readily fixed form; rather, he let the materials freely mold the entirety of the work.²⁹ On the other hand, Sibelius was quite concerned about the themes and the shaping of thematic materials, which was the emphasis of the sonata form at the time. Moreover, he was well aware of the typical key relations not only through his ear and experience, but also through his theoretical studies (e.g., Marx). Some annotations of these appear, for instance, in his surviving notes (HUL 1769, see Footnotes 18 and 19).

²⁷ “Auch an kontrapunktischen Polyphonie erkennt man den echten Komponisten. So wie die Melodie des unechten Komponisten in der Erfindung papierdünn und oft trivial, die des echten tief und vornehm ist, so ist die kontrapunktische Polyphonie des unechten spintisiert, gequält, geklügelt, die des echten aber trotz harmonischen Reichtums immer melodisch, wohlklingend und damit Seelenvorgänge reflektierend.” Goldmark’s ideas are cited in Revers 1995, 169.

²⁸ Sibelius had already heard works, which represent a two-dimensional sonata form and ambiguity in presenting the tonic key earlier; this kind of formulation was nothing new to him. These include at least Liszt’s *Les Preludes* (1849–1855) in Helsinki in 1886 as well as *Die Ideale* (1856–1857) in 1899 (see Brown 2007, 783–785; Vande Moortele 2009, 88 and 91).

²⁹ Remarks about the sonata form also appear later (after Vienna and before *En saga*), twice in letters to Aino from Loviisa: while composing *Kullervo*, Sibelius told that the introduction (first movement) is in strict sonata form (17 December 1891) and that he had completed the exposition of the first allegro movement (29 December 1891).

8.3 Theoretical Background and Terminology for the Form Analysis

This study takes into account both the thematic and harmonic aspects of *En saga* (including keys and cadences) which play an important role in defining the form of the two versions and their differences. In discussing of the work's form, I will primarily consider the harmonic stability and stabilization as well as the manifestation of the boundaries of formal units. In his approach to form, Sibelius was a child of his time: he articulates the borderlines first and foremost thematically; in particular, he clearly articulated the beginnings of thematic units. The units are usually harmonically stable, although the keys of these units are seldom confirmed with strong cadences – at least not in a classical manner. In fact, the overall harmonic structure of *En saga* deviates quite strongly from classical conventions. For example, the work begins and ends in different keys, neither of which is easily interpreted as the main tonal center. The key relations are original, and the polarities or tensions between keys do not appear in such a way they are found in the classical repertoire. Because of these marked deviations, Chapter 9 does not consider in greater detail the relationship of the overall harmonic structure of *En saga* to classical conventions.

In addition to common form- and harmony-related terminology, I apply the terms “two-dimensional sonata form” (by Vande Moortele) and “teleological genesis” (by Warren Darcy). No-one has previously applied these terms to *En saga*, even though Nils-Erik Ringbom's idea of “exponential forms” is perhaps closest to the idea of a two-dimensional sonata form, and although James Hepokoski (1993) applies a teleological theme, for example, in his analysis of Sibelius's Fifth Symphony.³⁰

³⁰ The idea of exponential forms is nothing new. Tanzberger, for instance, suggests that *The Bard* (Op. 64) represents an exponential *Bar* form (Tanzberger 1943, 52). Ringbom in turn finds exponential forms in *En saga*, which is in sonata form, but its four subsections also simultaneously present sonata forms. See Section 9.1.2.

8.3.1 Two-dimensional Sonata Form

The “two-dimensional sonata form” is a term introduced by Steven Vande Moortele (2009),³¹ who uses it to describe works that combine the different movements of a sonata cycle (fast, slow, scherzo, finale) within a single-movement sonata form. Vande Moortele defines the two-dimensional sonata form as follows: “A two-dimensional sonata form, then, can be defined as the combination of the movements of a sonata cycle and the sections of a sonata form at the same hierarchical level of a single-movement composition. It includes all essential sections of the sonata form and all movements of the sonata cycle, but these can interact in a variety of ways.”³² The two-dimensional sonata form thus contains two intertwined sonata forms appearing on two different levels of the form: the first sonata form spanning the entire composition, hereafter referred to as the “overarching sonata form” (term by Vande Moortele), and the second sonata form appearing within the first movement of the sonata cycle, hereafter referred to as the “cycle’s sonata form.” Figure 8.1 illustrates the two levels of the form and their projection onto each other, that is, how the movements of the sonata cycle hypothetically appear during the sections of the overarching sonata form. This illustration is the framework, an idea which, however, only rarely manifests as such in music. The figure also introduces the type of figure I use in Chapter 9 to illustrate the two formal dimensions of *En saga*.

Such a form has previously been called the “double-function form” or “multi-dimensionality.” William Newman was probably the first to present the double-function form in his discussion of Liszt’s B-minor Sonata (1969). According to Newman, the sonata cycle and the single-movement sonata form coincide completely and seamlessly. Each and every unit in a work therefore fulfills a double function: one in the form, and one in the cycle. In other words, the form’s exposition occurs at the same time as the cycle’s first movement, the form’s development includes the cycle’s inner movements, and the form’s recapitulation and coda function as the cycle’s finale. This also includes parallels on another formal level: in the cycle’s sonata form, the exposition coincides with the overarching sonata form’s primary-theme zone, the development with the transition, the recapitulation

³¹ In his book, *Two-dimensional sonata form*, Vande Moortele studies nine two-dimensional works beginning with the B-minor Sonata by Franz Liszt, followed by *Tasso* and *Die Ideale*, then *Don Juan* and *Ein Heldenleben* by Richard Strauss, and continuing with works by Arnold Schönberg and Alexander Zemlinsky from the early 20th century.

³² Vande Moortele 2009, 23.

with the secondary-theme zone, and the coda with the closing zone. Carl Dahlhaus developed the idea further in his article (1988), where he called it multi-dimensionality (*Mehrdimensionalität* instead of his previous *Mehrsätzigkeit in der Einsatzigkeit*). Dahlhaus's point is that one must realize that instead of forcing a musical unit into a formal section, "units belonging to different formal levels [section, movement, cycle] can be not only juxtaposed, but also melded together."³³ To put this into practice, he introduced two terms: identification and interpolation. With identification, he simply refers to the projection of the two levels of dimensions onto each other when they do coincide. Vande Moortele, who also uses the term, explains: "The same formal unit simultaneously functions as a movement in the sonata cycle and as one or several units in the sonata form. [...] When a movement of a sonata cycle is identified with a unit of the sonata form, either function leaves its mark on the formal unit in question, imposing upon it a number of its own defining characteristics and inactivating some of those of the other dimension."³⁴ In other words, tension arises between what these two dimensions are expected to do or how they proceed and what they actually do.³⁵ Interpolation, in turn, reflects Dahlhaus's new idea whereby a movement of the cycle (typically the slow movement or the scherzo) may interpolate in the overarching sonata form. The overarching sonata form is suspended during an interpolated movement.

Figure 8.1. The two levels of the form: the overarching sonata form and the sonata cycle. The cycle's first movement also includes a sonata form.

Over-arching sonata form	Exposition	Development		Recapitulation - coda
Sonata cycle	1st movement	Slow movement	Scherzo	Finale
	Exposition Development Recapitulation			

³³ Dahlhaus 1988, 206: "[...] Kategorien, die verschiedenen formalen Ordnungen [Satzteil, Satz, Satzzyklus] angehören, sowohl nebeneinander gestellt als auch miteinander verschmolzen werden können." Also cited in Vande Moortele 2009, 25.

³⁴ Vande Moortele 2009, 25.

³⁵ In this respect, particularly interesting – even problematic – is the unit which on one level represents the secondary-theme zone, which traditionally introduces a new theme and key, and on the other level, the recapitulation, which recovers the primary theme and key.

Vande Moortele's then describes what is new in his system as follows: "Often – and this is the major difference between my two-dimensional sonata form and Newman's double-function form – entire movements stand between two different sections of the sonata form, thus fulfilling a function in only one of the two dimensions. The projection of a sonata form and cycle onto each other in a two-dimensional sonata form is, in other words, loose: sections and forms can coincide, but they do not have to."³⁶ This idea he shares with Dahlhaus, but he also adds the term *exocyclic* to the system. By this he means that not only can a movement of a cycle be inserted into the middle of the overarching sonata form (interpolation), but it may also occur the other way round (*exocyclic unit*). Thus, an *exocyclic unit* belongs only to the overarching sonata form and plays no role in the cycle, which, in turn, is suspended during an *exocyclic unit*.

Vande Moortele may be criticized for sweeping problems under the carpet: when a section in one dimension does not match the form, he puts it on hold. However, this is not avoiding problems, but rather a more sophisticated way of handling the non-conventional sections. Earlier, all sections were simply forced into a formal unit regardless of whether they were suitable. Vande Moortele instead recognizes those units that do not fulfill a function in a given formal dimension and sensibly drops them out of the whole, thus giving way to an interpolated or *exocyclic unit*. The fact that a formal dimension is temporarily on hold does not affect the perception of the whole. Namely, our way of perceiving is by its very nature such that we immediately begin to build wholes and connect things together. Hepokoski and Darcy formulated this aptly: "[H]uman perception is influenced by a drive to make wholes, coherent shapes and continuities, out of otherwise merely successive, scattered, disparate, or partial information. We seek to fill gaps, to fashion incompleteness into a recognizable totality, to find meaningful patterns in what might otherwise be random – in short, to make the cohesiveness that we crave. [...] This is all the more true when our perception is to operate within guidelines of a genre system – such as the varying types of sonata form and multimovement construction – that encourages us to find the coherence that is presupposed by the system in the first place."³⁷ Vande Moortele's term *two-dimensional sonata form* not only provides a richer way to describe the form, but it also specifies the form to that of the sonata. Usually, in these form types, the sonata form is

³⁶ Vande Moortele 2009, 22.

³⁷ Hepokoski and Darcy 2006, 340.

pre-existing (also firstly perceived), and the movements of the sonata cycle are added onto it.

These definitions are important in my study, because the two-dimensional way of describing the form serves quite well in depicting the early version of *En saga*. However, the power of depiction diminishes radically with the revision of the work. I have nevertheless used similar kinds of figures, showing both levels of form, in illustrating both versions. This is due to the fact that this way, it is easier to compare the versions with each other, and furthermore, the similar figures clearly show how the revision changed the form.

8.3.2 Teleological Genesis

The other useful principle for describing the form as it appears in *En saga* is “teleological genesis.” The use of this concept offers a new perspective of the thematic events of *En saga*, which the two-dimensional sonata form does not include. Namely, it creates wider spans by connecting two themes into a longer unit and by linking themes that appear in different phases of the work.

Teleological genesis is one of the seven hermeneutic concepts which Warren Darcy introduced in his article on Bruckner’s sonata deformations. This concept has two subcategories, namely, “teleological thematic genesis” and “teleological structural genesis.” These otherwise share the same principles, but are separated by the length of the passage they span or, more precisely, by the structural level in which they appear: the theme or the entire movement. Two types of teleological themes appear of which the second, “double theme” type is most appropriate for describing Sibelius’s *En saga*. Basically, a teleological theme appears in the primary-theme zone and consists of two parts: first, a generative crescendo and second, the thematic or tonal goal (telos) to which the generative crescendo leads; thus, it is end-oriented. Darcy describes the double theme type: “In this case the *crescendo* itself (P^{gen})³⁸ contains a more or less fully formed thematic statement, while the *telos* (P^{tel}) presents a different theme as a goal. Here we are dealing [...] with the use of one theme to engender or give birth to a second, to which it is at least temporarily subordinated. Often the apparent thematic closure and well-formedness of P^{gen} begins to

³⁸ The abbreviation *P* refers to primary-theme zone.

break down through motivic fragmentation and sequence; it ultimately loses its identity until, at the crucial moment of the generative process, it forcibly expels P^{tel} .³⁹ According to this concept, one could state that the entire (primary-) theme zone is a process which intensely leads towards the thematic goal, telos, as well as to the tonal goal. The second subcategory, teleological structural genesis, operates similarly, but over longer compositional spans. Thus, the description “a fully formed theme is gradually transformed into something different; this transformed shape constitutes the *telos*” is adequate. Darcy, however, further explains the wider compositional span: “Often the chief task of the Finale is to transform its primary theme into the initial idea of the first movement. [...] When the transformation finally takes place, it coincides with a long-delayed confirmation of the tonic.”⁴⁰ In my opinion, *En saga* contains both of these subcategories: teleological thematic genesis during the primary-theme zone and teleological structural genesis as a process spanning the whole work. Moreover, in both levels, the two goals – thematic and tonal – are reached in the telos.

³⁹ Darcy 1997, 260.

⁴⁰ Darcy 1997, 261 and 262.

9 TWO-DIMENSIONAL SONATA FORM IN *EN SAGA*

This chapter explains how the two versions of *En saga* simultaneously reflect both the conventions of the sonata form and the features of the sonata cycle. I will offer my interpretation, including new ideas on how this kind of two-dimensionality and a procedure called “teleological thematic genesis” shape the form of the whole and of the themes. I will concentrate first on the early version, but I will also compare the revised version to the early one and show what effects the revision had on the form. My purpose is not to provide any final, watertight truth on the form of *En saga*, but rather to reflect the chain of events with the generally accepted features of a sonata form. Naturally, a variety of possible interpretations and viewpoints exists. The following analysis explores the form by concentrating on the harmonic aspects and the thematic events.

As mentioned in Chapter 8, the emphasis on harmony and endings through cadences in the principles of the sonata form originated in the 18th century. On the other hand, the thematic aspects became centrally important in the 19th century. Sibelius’s *En saga* is challenging in both senses: on the one hand, the main tonal center becomes clear only during the exposition and is neither the first nor the last key in the work. On the other hand, despite the clearly articulated themes, the work offers no thematic trajectory that would clearly associate individual thematic utterances with unequivocal formal functions (such as the first or secondary themes). In the following, attention will be paid to these aspects and their interaction.

As an introduction, I offer an overview of the form in both versions as well as examples showing the overall thematic and harmonic procedures. After that, I discuss the

versions in detail, section by section (exposition, development, recapitulation) from the viewpoint of both the overarching sonata form and the sonata cycle, respectively. In addition, I comment upon the form in relation to the views of other scholars.

The starting point for each section's discussion is the early version, which is first studied in detail. The reason for this, above all, is the fact that the early version is more complicated and multifaceted, and that Sibelius simplified and shortened it while revising it; thus, the other reason is chronology. After a discussion of each formal section, I compare the revised version to the early one and discuss the significant differences.

Another point of reference is the assumption that of the two dimensions explained in Section 8.3, the overarching sonata form is primary to the sonata cycle. Namely, the sonata form remains active nearly all the time in both versions, whereas the dimension of the cycle projects itself only fragmentarily. Therefore, I explain the dimension of the sonata form first, and then discuss the projection of the sonata cycle onto it towards the end of each subsection. Each subsection first offers an overview of events, followed by discussion of details concerning the form, themes, and harmonic aspects.

Overview

An overview of the two dimensions, the overarching sonata form and the sonata cycle (in short, form and cycle), in the early version of *En saga* appears in Figure 9.1. As in all similar figures, the uppermost row shows the sections of the overarching sonata form, the middle row the bar numbers, and the bottom row the movements of the sonata cycle. The broken diagonal lines indicate passages which fulfill no function in that dimension, which is therefore momentarily inactive. As becomes clear from the figure, both dimensions are not constantly active. The overarching sonata form is on hold only once, in the middle of its recapitulation. In the sonata cycle dimension, excluding one short passage, the first movement coincides with the introduction and exposition of the overarching sonata form. The "slow movement" and the "scherzo" coincide with the development of the overarching sonata form, although the dimension of the cycle is inactive part of the time at both ends. The dimension of the cycle is reactivated as the finale only after well over half of the recapitulation of the overarching sonata form has passed, but the two dimensions continue thereafter to the end of the work. This interpretation will be justified in the more

detailed discussion that follows, in which the two dimensions of the form will be analyzed in greater detail.

Figure 9.1. *En saga* 1892: form and cycle.

Form	INTRODCTION	EXPOSITION			exposition repeat		
Bars	1–29	30–204	204–207	208–293	294–332	333–377	377–392
Cycle	SONATA-FORM	FIRST					MOVEMENT

DEVELOPMENT				RECAPITULATION		RECAP. cont.	CODA	
393– 429	430–461	462–493	494– 541	542–650	651– 674	675– 700	701– 866	867– 952
	“SLOW MOVEMENT”	“SCHERZO”						FINALE

A similar kind of overview of the revised version’s form appears in Figure 9.2. As a result of the revision, the overarching sonata form is shorter than the early version. Firstly, the repeat of the exposition ends earlier, and thus the dimension of the cycle is active during the entire exposition. Secondly, a passage of the recapitulation is omitted, thereby allowing the finale to begin immediately after the passage during which both dimensions are on hold. As mentioned before, this two-dimensionality does not describe the revised version well. Only the first movement and finale appear, but no slow movement or scherzo. A similar way of presenting the form to that in the early version has been retained, however, because it shows unequivocally how the form changed in the revision and how the versions are easy to compare to each other.

Figure 9.2. *En saga* 1902: form and cycle.

Form	INTRODUC- TION	EXPOSITION	exposition repeat
Bars	1–29	30–270	271–350
Cycle	SONATA - FORM FIRST MOVEMENT		

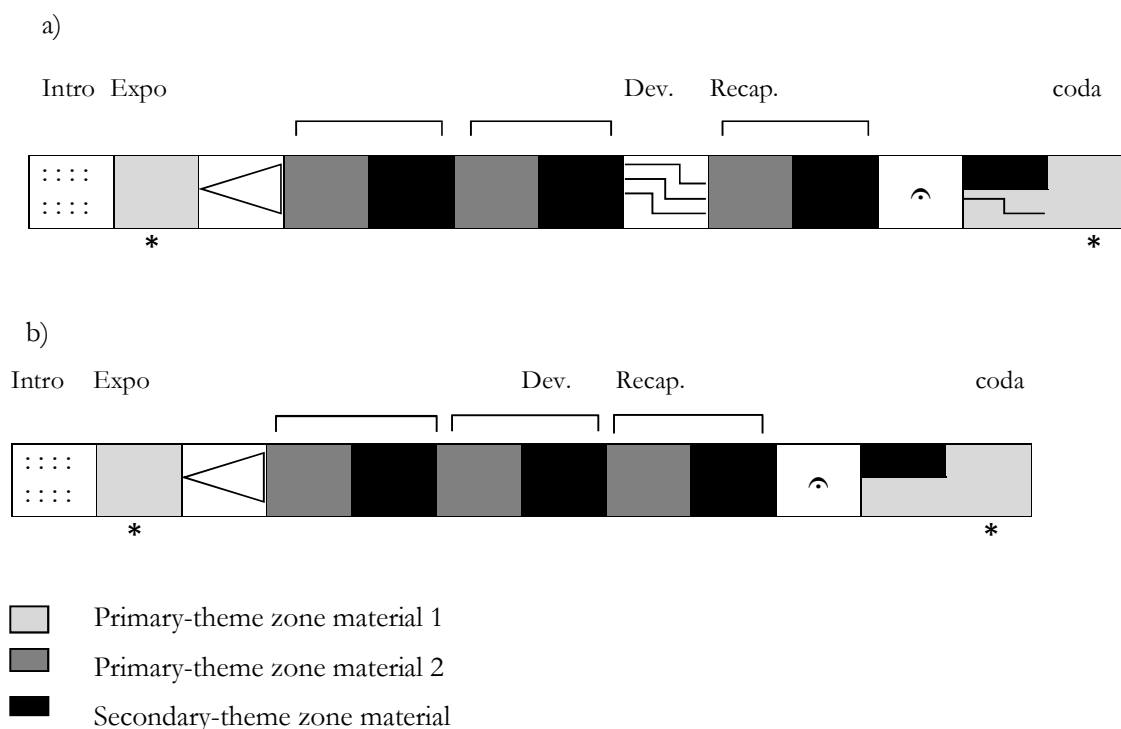
DEVELOPMENT	RECAPITULATION		RECAP cont.	CODA
351–456	457–550	551–596	597–724	725–810
			FINALE	

Regarding the thematic material, the two versions include nearly all the same ideas. On a large scale, the order of the thematic ideas in the revised version remains the same as in the early version. Figure 9.3 shows a highly simplified depiction of the succession of thematic materials in both versions. As the figure shows, the pair (marked with a bracket above) with primary- (marked in dark grey) and secondary- (in black) theme zones appears three times. The other recurring thematic block (in light grey) is the one appearing immediately after the introduction and as the last (marked with an asterisk) in the coda. Regarding the themes, the only exception between the versions is the new thematic material occupying the development and part of the recapitulation of the early version, the material which was omitted from the revised version. Instead, the revised version skips the repeat of the secondary-theme zone in the exposition, and this thematic material was used in the development. Consequently, at the end of the exposition and during the development, the thematic ideas appear in different phases of the form.

Although the succession of the thematic material is the same, in the revised version, the shifts from one thematic (and formal) unit to another have generally been made denser or blurred; they are not as obvious as in the early version.¹ This especially holds true at the change from the exposition to the development section.

¹ This often occurred when Sibelius revised his works.

Figure 9.3. The simplified succession of thematic materials in a) the early version and b) the revised version of *En saga*.



The themes of *En saga* play an important role in shaping the form and their beginnings especially stand out and articulate the course of the work. Although they are closely related, the themes each have a character of their own. However, since their interrelations do not seriously affect the form of *En saga*, the subject has not been further discussed.² The first appearances and names of the themes used in the present study appear in Example 9.1. The themes have been labeled according to their roles, which becomes clear in the course of the discussion. The example lists the themes in both versions (the early version in 9.1a and the revised one in 9.1b), although they differ only slightly. As becomes clear from the example, Sibelius added some articulation while revising the work.

² For more details on the relationships of the themes, see, e.g., Murtoimäki 1990, 1995 and Howell 1989, 207–210. Although the idea of interrelations between themes was familiar to Sibelius from Marx's composition treatise and it clearly appears in *En saga*, Sibelius did not admit that it was intentional. At least in 1909, Sibelius stated that the interconnections, which Carpelan had noticed in *Nightride and Sunset*, were subconscious: "You mention motives which are related among other things that I have done subconsciously. Afterwards I can detect this and that, but one becomes merely a tool in the great wholeness. This wonderful logic (let us call it God), who governs a work of art, is the thriving force." ("Du nämner om motiv de där äro besläktade m.m. allt sådant jag omedvetet gjort. Efteråt kan jag ju konstatera ett och annat, men man blir i det stora hela dock ett verktyg. Denna underbara logik, [låt oss kalla den Gud] som behärskar ett konstverk, är ju det tvingande.") Letter to Carpelan dated 20 July 1909 (NA, SFA, file box 120). See also the discussion in Section 8.1.

Example 9.1. The first appearances and names of the themes in a) the early and b) the revised version.

a)

Generative theme

x

Bridge idea

End idea

Telos theme

U motive

Secondary theme zone, A

Secondary theme zone, B

New theme

Ex. 9.1 b)

Generative theme

...and its transformed ending

Bridge idea

End idea

Telos theme

U motive

Secondary theme zone, A

Secondary theme zone, B

9.1 Exposition

9.1.1 Exposition in the Early Version

Figure 9.4 shows the form and cycle in detail in the introduction and exposition of the early version. After an introduction follows the exposition (b. 30ff.), which is repeated; however, the repetition is shortened.³ In the exposition, the primary-theme zone (bb. 30–204) represents a type called a “double theme” of a concept called “teleological thematic genesis” (for more details on the concept, see Section 8.3). In this concept, the music first introduces one thematic statement, which after an end-oriented generative crescendo leads to a second theme as telos.⁴ After this, in *En saga*, a short transitional phrase follows and leads to the secondary-theme zone (bb. 208–293), where the theme appears in the form of a small ternary, ABA. The sequence of events that follows is best described as the repetition of the exposition (bb. 294–392), although both theme zones are abridged. Namely, the repeat contains only the latter, that is, the telos theme of the primary-theme zone followed by the mere BA statement of the secondary-theme zone. The exposition then ends with a short codetta.

From the harmonic point of view, the exposition of the early version does not represent a typical procedure of a sonata form. The main tonal center appears to be C major (alternating with minor), but only after various other keys is the dominant of C major first reached in b. 98, and C major is properly confirmed for the first time with an authentic cadence only in b. 176 in the primary-theme zone. The secondary-theme zone does not represent the expected new, contrasting, but stable key area. Instead, it wanders through two different tonal areas (with only weak tonal closures) only to end up back to

³ I use the term “abridged repeat”, although the form and harmonic progressions do not remain exactly the same as in the exposition proper.

⁴ The main theme of the first movement of Anton Bruckner’s Third Symphony represents a double-theme type. Since Sibelius heard the work in Vienna in 1890, it probably influenced him; at least he was quite impressed with the work (see Sibelius’s letter concerning his experience on Bruckner’s Third in Section 8.2). Moreover, similarities also appear at the beginnings of the works, such as the “swirling nebula of string figurations” (Darcy 1997, 261) over which the trumpet theme appears in Bruckner – the first attempts also appear by trumpet in *En saga*, although the bassoon ultimately plays the theme proper. Furthermore, Philip Coad (1985, 188) points out that in *En saga*, the characters of the three themes in the exposition “seem modeled on the general plan of Bruckner in his genuinely tripartite expositions.”

the main tonal center C. The repetition of the exposition also remains in the main tonal center until near the end of it (up to theme A), from where a tonally indeterminate progression follows, lasting to the end of the exposition.

Primary-Theme Zone

The primary-theme zone is preceded by an introduction (bb. 1–29). This beginning of the work functions as an introduction in both the cycle's local and the overarching sonata forms. Figure 9.4 also shows the projection of the two dimensions onto each other, in other words, the identification of the exposition of the overarching sonata form and the local sonata form of the cycle in detail. As the figure shows, excluding one unit during which the dimension of the cycle, while not fulfilling a function, is on hold, the formal units function simultaneously in both dimensions.

One characteristic feature of *En saga* is the scarcity of clear tonal closures and the ambiguity of keys. This becomes clear from the very beginning of the work, the introduction, which already shows the restlessness of the harmony: strikingly, the first chord is an A-minor $\frac{6}{4}$ chord. It is not cadential and does not lead to the dominant in A minor, but instead the music moves via passing chords to a second inversion of an $A\flat^9$ chord (b. 18), which is then enharmonically renotated as a $G\sharp^9$ chord (b. 30). This gives an impression of perhaps an extended dominant chord waiting for resolution to the tonic of $C\sharp$. Three melodic ideas, or in fact, their preliminary forms, are also introduced during this passage: firstly, the neighbor-note motive from b. 1 on in ascending form and with long note values (bassoon and horns), which later mostly appears in descending form (as b. 245); secondly, the germ idea for the telos theme (oboe and bassoon) from b. 9 on, which also includes the preliminary form of the rhythmic motive; and thirdly, the beginning of the generative theme from b. 18 on (clarinet and trumpet).

In the following bb. 30–37, the sustained chords ($G\sharp^9$ chord from b. 30 and a half-diminished $D\sharp^{\frac{6}{5}}$ chord from b. 34), together with the new repeated pattern in the strings, may still initially appear to function as a continuation of the introduction, but when a theme begins four bars later (b. 38), the passage is retrospectively interpreted as the beginning of the primary-theme zone. It is a prefix: a passage in a specific zone appearing before the actual melody. This impression is further reinforced by a similar prefix (bb. 58–

65) before the second theme statement. The first theme proper, here called the generative theme, is thus heard from b. 38 on. As often occurs in this work, the beginning of the theme clears out the situation and articulates the events. The generative theme appears in C# minor as expected, but the harmonies do not coincide with the melody: instead, a sustained D# half-diminished chord appears until at the end of the theme, where a tonal closure in C# minor is found (bb. 50–52). However, this kind of a closure, V_3^4-I (with fourth instead of third), is weak: a proper cadence is avoided by the stepwise descent in the bass, which is doubling the melodic line. This way of ending a theme is typical of this theme. Nevertheless, this closure expresses a clear tonal arrival in this context. This is the first closure in the entire work, and therefore, together with the thematic idea, confirms the impression of a primary theme. Although the beginning of a theme (and thus perhaps also a formal section) stands out from the texture, its ending does not.

The unit then begins anew with the string patterns unexpectedly a half step higher on a D-minor seventh chord (b. 58 on). Although a closure was just heard, the music does not remain in that realm, which raises a question about the phase of the form we are in. The melody (b. 66 on) appears in D minor, but this time no dominant chord appears even at the end of the theme statement, so the tonal closure is thereby evaded. Instead, the end of the melody is lengthened, activated, and transformed. A kind of thickening occurs when the prefix does not precede the theme that seems to begin for a third time in b. 94. The melody begins right away, but a whole step higher, as if in E minor, although the opening interval is now a fourth, not a fifth. After four bars, the harmony arrives at the G-major $\frac{4}{3}$ chord – again a possible dominant chord, but in C. The course also changes otherwise, and it becomes clear that no repetition of the theme is at hand. Instead, the opening idea of the theme is accelerated (b. 100) and accompanied by the rhythmic motive $\downarrow \cdot \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow \mid \downarrow \cdot \uparrow \uparrow \uparrow$ (b. 102 on), which for the first time appears in its final form, continuing to b. 105. Rather, this passage (bb. 94–105) seems to be a transition, and the drive with the dominant makes one expect a clear gesture to mark the end of the primary-theme zone. This gesture, however, fails to appear and instead, the process that already began continues.

In fact, from the two-dimensional point of view, b. 94, which begins the transitional process, is crucial. Namely, the two dimensions still coincide when the exposition begins in b. 30 with the generative theme in the primary-theme zone of the overarching sonata form. In the cycle's sonata form, the theme also acts as the primary theme. The relationship of the dimensions changes in b. 94, however: they no longer coincide (in Vande Moortele's

words (2009, 27), this is the point of “dimensional disconnection”); at this point, the two-dimensionality no longer remains latent. While the primary-theme zone continues in the overarching sonata form featuring the generative crescendo, the unit from b. 94 does act as the transition in the cycle’s sonata form (see Figure 9.4).

The passage that follows, beginning in b. 106 (continuing to b. 165) and marked with a new tempo indication *Allegro molto vivace*, clearly corresponds to the description of the generative crescendo of a teleological thematic genesis. The generative crescendo is carried out by breaking down or fragmenting the generative theme and repeating these fragments one after the other, over and over again. These two fragments are here called the bridge idea and the end idea; see Example 9.1a. The bridge idea (taking shape in b. 100, and its final form from b. 106) is the accelerated form of the beginning of the generative theme (marked with an “x” in Example 9.1). It is not conclusive in character, but rather transitional: in addition to this generative crescendo, it appears between theme statements and keeps the motion on while extending (usually) one chord. The end idea (first in bb. 114–117) also originates from the generative theme, but from its end (marked with a “y” in Example 9.1). The end idea appears in this four-bar form at the end of theme statements (with one exception in the recapitulation) and may also be supported by a proper cadence (V–I).

The generative crescendo begins expectedly by resolving the dominant $\frac{4}{3}$ chord to the tonic C (bb. 105–106). Although different keys are implied during the generative crescendo, no key is confirmed with a cadence or closure. The intensification towards the goal of the generative crescendo is realized through the growth of both the dynamic level and the number of instruments playing.

In the cycle’s sonata form, the transitional passage on the dominant in the overarching sonata form (bb. 94–105) would have been sufficient as a transition between theme zones, but the generative crescendo expands it all the way to the next theme (b. 166). The process of breaking down and repeating ideas during the generative crescendo is clearly transitional in character, in addition to the growth of tension linked to the new tempo indication (in b. 106). Thus, the transition, as expected, transfers the music to a new key.

Figure 9.4. *En saga* 1892: Exposition: form and cycle in detail. Key areas with closures or cadences have been marked at the bottom of the form row. The upper-case letters indicate major keys, and the lower-case letters indicate minor keys.

Form	INTRO- DUCTION	EXPOSITION					EXPOSITION abridged repeat						
		primary- generative	theme <i>crecendo</i> <i>bridge+end</i> <i>ideas</i> C:V ₃ ⁺ -I d:	zone <i>telos theme</i> C:V ₇ -I c:V-I	transitional phrase <i>bridge idea</i>	secondary-theme zone A B A g#:V-I c: C:	primary-theme zone <i>telos theme</i> C:V ₇ -I c: VI	secondary- theme zone B A c: f: D#:V-I	closing zone				
Bars	1-29	30-93	94-165	166-204	204-207	208- 249	250- 269	270- 293	294-332	333- 352	353- 377	377-392	
Cycle	intro- duction	EXPOSITION primary-theme zone	transition	secondary- theme zone		DEVELOPMENT			RECAPITULATION secondary-theme zone			closing zone	
	SONATA-FORM		FIRST		MOVEMENT								

The goal of the generative crescendo (and thus of the primary-theme zone), the new theme, which is here called the telos theme, then bursts into full bloom in b. 166. The telos theme is repeated four times: it appears as two pairs (from b. 166– and 187–) with the first pair representing C major, and the second one, C minor. Within both pairs, the first statement ends with the end idea, and the second statement begins as an overlap (bb. 176, 197). Both pairs end with the bridge idea, but avoid cadences. The first pair avoids the cadence by standing on a D-minor chord, and the last one cadences with an authentic cadence (bb. 203–204) already before the bridge idea. In addition to the shift from major to minor, an interesting process is found in the melodic line. Namely, in the first two statements, the melody begins from the third, but when the mode shifts into minor, the melody begins from the fifth. This would, of course, be the third in the relative E \flat major, which will be the tonal center in which the entire work ends.

During the telos theme, the tonal center remains the same during all four theme statements and is further confirmed with two authentic cadences. As late as at the end of the first theme statement appears the first authentic cadence in the entire work and is also the first one in C major (b. 176), although C major (alternatively minor) is the main tonal center of the work. Thus, in addition to the thematic goal, the generative crescendo also reaches the other, namely, the tonal goal.

From the viewpoint of the sonata form of the cycle, the unit representing the telos theme (bb. 166–204) fulfills the landmarks for a secondary-theme zone. After the extensive and fragmentary transition is sounded a broader melodic line: the new expected theme. It appears in a new key and represents stable thematic statements. The cycle's secondary-theme zone ends with the authentic cadence in b. 204.

The bridge idea (bb. 204–207), following the last telos theme statement and cadence, then moves to an E \flat ⁷ chord, which is enharmonically the dominant of the following key area (g \sharp) in which the secondary-theme zone of the overarching sonata form begins. Thus, this short passage, the bridge idea, functions as a connecting phrase. The bridge idea has thus far been acting as transferring or as a bridge from one statement to another; thus, its recurrence signals that a change is again at hand. The passage is so short that it does not have enough weight to stand out as a formal transition, but is instead a connective phrase. At this point, one might again expect a gesture to mark the end of the primary-theme zone to arrive before the secondary-theme zone (the first attempt occurs in bb. 94–105). However, the expected gesture is overridden: the dominant chord that appears does not

mark a break or gap, but instead leads to the G \sharp -minor tonic at the beginning of the secondary-theme zone.

Regarding the cycle's sonata form, this connecting phrase of the overarching sonata form (bb. 204–207) is unnecessary. No transitional passage between the secondary-theme zone and the development is needed for formal reasons, although it might be for, say, dramaturgical reasons. Because the phrase does not act as a proper formal unit, it still appears as a part of the cycle's primary-theme zone.

Secondary-Theme Zone

The secondary-theme zone (bb. 208–293) of the overarching sonata form represents a small ternary, ABA. It introduces contrasting thematic statements, character and keys. Harmonically, it features a descent by major thirds from C in the preceding primary-theme zone to the C in the following exposition repeat (C–g \sharp –e; see Example 9.2). This unsettledness of the harmony is atypical in the sonata form convention, where the secondary-theme zone is first and foremost stabilizing. On the other hand, clear theme statements and key areas are locally somewhat stable. A tension is created while both these typical and atypical features appear simultaneously. The unstable harmonic progression, in turn, is typical of the sonata cycle point of view, where this zone represents the development section.

The secondary theme's A section (bb. 208–249) includes a thematic statement twice. The first statement ends with an authentic cadence (V⁷–I) in G \sharp minor (b. 222). Although the lowest tone of the dominant chord is D \sharp , the cellos play it on beat 2 as *pizzicato*, whilst the basses play the descending melody (A–G \sharp) – both facts which somewhat minimize the effect of the final nature of the cadence. This first statement of the theme is followed by the bridge idea (bb. 226–229), which turns immediately to an E-major seventh chord. The theme is then repeated (b. 230 on) in E minor, but the theme's closure (bb. 242–244) is weak: despite the preparation for the cadence, the cadential six-four (b. 242) is never properly resolved due to the melody appearing again in the bass, and resulting in a stepwise descent to the tonic.

After a sustained ending tone, B, together with the neighbor-note motive (bb. 245–249 in the viola part) and *stringendo*, the contrasting B section, marked *Più vivo*, follows (bb.

250–269). The melody is quite scalic above a static harmony: B as a pedal tone in several octaves with alternating $\frac{5}{3}$ and $\frac{6}{4}$ chords, thus extending the preceding key, E minor. In addition, the neighbor-note motive (C–B, C \sharp –B from b. 257) appears throughout the B section. After that, the A section returns (bb. 270–293), even though this time the theme is heard only once. This A section appears in C major, although the melodic line begins a third lower than expected, thus appearing as if in A minor. The cadence is evaded at the end of the theme; instead, the end of the theme is repeated and dissolves into the dominant preparation of the following unit with G-major six-three and four-three chords with the rhythmic motive added onto it (bb. 292–293). In other words, the secondary-theme zone ends on the dominant of C major.

In the cycle's sonata form, this unit (bb. 208–293) acts as the development section. This is an interesting situation in which the two functions of the two levels seem contradictory: the secondary-theme zone is stabilizing in nature, whereas the development is typically not. Thus, features of these two functions, secondary-theme zone and development, appear simultaneously. It is true that the well-formedness of the secondary-theme zone (ABA) or the presentation of new thematic material is not the most usual way of manifesting a development. However, the unusual features of the secondary-theme zone, in turn, the changing of keys, and, at the end of the secondary-theme zone, the dominant preparation of the key of the exposition's return (retransition), are typical of a development. Thus, some of the defining characteristics of both functions, the secondary-theme zone and the development, are simultaneously present in this formal unit; the two dimensions both manifest themselves.

Exposition Repeat

According to Classical sonata form conventions, a codetta could follow after the secondary-theme zone. Typically, however, a harmonically closing authentic cadence would precede it. In some cases, it does not; in such cases, the task of closing is left to the codetta.⁵ In *En saga*, the cadence is lacking, and instead of a codetta, the secondary-theme zone is followed by an abridged repeat of the exposition (bb. 294–377). In the repeat, both theme zones appear in shortened form (both shortened from the beginning), and no

⁵ For more details on such occasions, see Hepokoski and Darcy 2006, 190–191.

connecting phrase appears between the theme zones. However, a kind of a closing or a codetta does follow after the repeat. The repeat remains in C major or minor, except for the A section of the secondary-theme zone, which is harmonically unstable.

The generative crescendo is omitted from the exposition repeat; thus, the primary-theme zone begins with the telos theme (bb. 294–332), which, as expected, occurs in C major and minor, respectively. The primary-theme zone proceeds as in the exposition proper (b. 166 on) also otherwise: the telos theme is repeated four times and ends with either the end idea or the bridge idea. However, the only cadence appears after the first statement (V^7-I in bb. 303–304), and no cadence appears during the C minor key area: neither at the end of the fourth theme statement nor at the end of the end idea following it. The primary-theme zone ends on $\flat VI$ (b. 332), rather than on I, thus leaving the zone harmonically open. Also, the character of the music is changed along with the shift to minor (b. 315) due to the new tempo indication, *Largamente*, and the new patterning in the accompanying strings.

In the cycle's sonata form, the return of the telos theme at the beginning of the exposition repeat in the overarching sonata form marks the beginning of the recapitulation (b. 294). Thus, the exceptionality of repeating (partly) the exposition becomes understandable and even necessary from the two-dimensional point of view. The omission of the generative crescendo results in the omission of the cycle's primary-theme zone and transition (that is, the first part) of its recapitulation.⁶

In the cycle's sonata form, the recapitulation (bb. 294–332) appears, as expected, in the main tonal center of the work, C major/minor. What is unexpected, but rather appears to be another great difference (in addition to the omission of the first part), is that the main tonal center is that of the secondary-theme zone and not the one in which the primary-theme zone was initially presented ($c\sharp$). Thus, one could argue that the key of the cycle's primary-theme zone is incorrect. This deviation results from the harmonic progressions of the overarching sonata form, which in this case dominates (the tonal goal is reached only when the telos theme begins). The end of the recapitulation is not conventional either; namely, it does not contain a cadence. Therefore, the end of the recapitulation and, thus, the first movement is left at the moment tonally open.

⁶ The omission of the first part would have been more typical if the development were based on the materials of the primary-theme zone. Since it was not, the recapitulation would typically begin with the primary-theme zone.

The overarching sonata form's secondary-theme zone arrives without transition and begins immediately with the contrasting B section (bb. 333–352), thus resulting in a form of BA. The B section again extends the preceding key, this time C minor (with $\frac{5}{3}$ and $\frac{6}{4}$ alterations and the pedal tone G), and is accompanied by the scalic melody and the neighbor-note motive (A \flat –G, A \natural –G from b. 340). It is remarkable that by extending the preceding key, the B section remains in the key of the primary-theme zone and fails to introduce the contrasting key that is expected in the secondary-theme zone. The A section that follows (bb. 353–376) includes the thematic statement only once, as in the exposition proper, but differs from it from the harmonic point of view: this A section is no more in C, but appears harmonically unstable. Thus, it brings the expected change of key to the secondary-theme zone, even though the key area would preferably be stable. This one, however, is not: the A section begins in F minor, but cadences in D \flat major (bb. 365–366), and is followed by a repetition of the end of the statement in F \sharp minor (b. 369 on). Despite the similar beginning of a descent by major thirds (F–D \flat), as in the first A section in the exposition proper, this time the descent remains incomplete, and no cadence appears at its end. Instead, a short codetta follows the secondary-theme zone.

The dimension of the cycle is inactivated for the first time after its recapitulation (the repetition of the primary-theme zone), namely, during the repetition of the secondary-theme zone (bb. 333–377). This passage simply fulfills no function in the cycle's sonata form, because it contains material from its development (as transformed and shortened) and repeating it would be highly unusual. Interpreting the exposition repeat as belonging entirely to the cycle's sonata form would result in repetition of the development following after a shortened repeat of the exposition (secondary zone only). Hereafter, the recapitulation would be missing altogether. This explanation seems implausible or fails to describe the music well, and therefore the dimension of the cycle is suspended.

The codetta (bb. 377–392) that follows also includes no cadence and is therefore not properly conclusive. However, it does carry out the task of calming down and clearly marking the end of a section by other means. During these 16 bars, the music fades away, but still introduces a new motive, called the U motive in Example 9.1a (b. 379, clarinet) – a melodic variant (consisting of only fifth and fourth intervals) of the rhythmic motive that was already heard during the generative crescendo and the telos theme in the primary-theme zone. Thus, the material in the codetta is based on the materials from the primary-theme zone (which was already typical in the Classical Era). The zone sustains the B $\frac{04}{3}$

chord, whose function is indeterminate. Although this kind of dissonant chord is an inconclusive ending from the harmonic point of view, other facts strongly articulate the closing: the texture becomes thinner and thinner after tutti, the diminuendo continues to *pp* and *ppp*, the note values lengthen, decreasing the motion, harmonic stasis, and finally the fermata.

From the viewpoint of the cycle, the codetta is also needed, since no cadence (or rather only a deceptive one) appeared at the end of the recapitulation. The dimension of the cycle is therefore active once again during the codetta that marks the end of the first movement (although still not tonally), yet quite clearly by other means. In other words, during this passage the two dimensions coincide again.

Previous Interpretations

Because the inner subdivision of the exposition is far from straight forward, it is possible to interpret the events in various ways. One possibility for the primary-theme zone of the exposition proper would be to label the generative theme as the primary theme, after which the telos theme would already be the secondary theme.⁷ Then the following theme (the A section, in my view, the secondary theme) would be the second thematic idea in the secondary-theme zone. Some scholars share this view, although nearly all of them have analyzed only the revised version; nevertheless, the expositions of both versions closely resemble each other in this respect.⁸ This kind of an interpretation would result in many highly exceptional features in terms of both harmony and form. Firstly, with this interpretation, the primary theme would appear twice, both times in a different key (c#, d), neither of which is the main tonal center or even returns during the work. Secondly, the secondary-theme zone would surprisingly begin in the main tonal center of the work (C). Thirdly, the secondary-theme zone would, in turn, be extremely long (bb. 166–293) and include a short transitional passage between its themes. Followed by the exposition repeat, which would then include only the secondary-theme zone materials, the secondary-theme zone would expand vastly, up to b. 377.

⁷ The two dimensions would therefore coincide up to the end of the telos theme.

⁸ See, e.g., Tanzberger 1943, Murtomäki 1990 and 1995. Some scholars have ignored the question of the position of the themes by labeling them only with numbers or letters (e.g., Jalas, Coad, Gray).

Only one scholar, namely Nils-Erik Ringbom, who has thoroughly analyzed the early version as well, has a differing view.⁹ He refuses to call the telos theme a secondary theme; instead, in his table of form, Ringbom calls the telos theme an “exposition with version m of the primary theme” (the epithet ‘m’ comes from his description of the theme as being “in stylized march rhythm”). He then labels the A theme of the secondary-theme zone (b. 208) as the secondary theme. I agree with this, although not with his reasoning, which is unconvincing: “Given the close relationship between the e-theme [epic; in this study, the generative theme] and the development or ‘small development’ [the generative crescendo], which precedes and forms the premise for the m-theme’s [telos theme] appearance – and cannot be called either ‘transition’ or ‘bridge’ – it seems not justified to name the latter as ‘secondary theme.’”¹⁰ On the contrary, a close relationship between themes does not hinder them from appearing in different formal units; instead, motivic unity and thematic transformation lie at the heart of the two-dimensional sonata form, not to mention the symphonic poem. However, Ringbom’s reasoning shows that he has in mind something reminiscent of what Darcy later calls teleological thematic genesis.

In the following secondary-theme zone, Ringbom nevertheless does not interpret a ternary form, but instead labels the B section as a “transition to the partial repetition of the exposition.” He then begins the exposition repeat from the latter A section (b. 270), thus gaining an odd secondary–primary–secondary-theme zone repeat.¹¹

9.1.2 Exposition in the Revised Version

The introduction and exposition of the revised version (bb. 1–350) in many respects follow the early version. Nevertheless, in addition to some minor compression here and there, in view of the form, a significant difference exists: the exposition repeat was shortened by the omission of the secondary-theme zone. In addition, the end of the exposition was blurred, and the shift to the development is not clearly marked in every respect. The thematic ideas

⁹ Ringbom 1956. Erik Tawaststjerna (1965) seconds Ringbom’s ideas.

¹⁰ “Exposition av huvudtemats version m,” (Ringbom 1956, 42); “i stiliserad marschrytm,” (ibid, 13); “Med hänsyn till den nära släktskapen mellan *e-temat* och den utveckling eller ‘lilla genomföring’ som föregår och bildar förutsättningen till *m-temats* framträdande – och som varken kan kallas ‘övergång’ eller ‘mellansats’ – synes det inte heller motiverat att ge det senare namn av ‘sidotema.’” (ibid, 16).

¹¹ “övergång till expositionens partiella omtagning,” Ringbom 1956, 44.

are all familiar, but the themes were transformed more (for the succession of the themes, see Figure 9.3b, and for the first entries of the themes, Example 9.1b). The revised version also differs harmonically from the early version. What immediately catches the eye is the multiplicity of pedal tones, which give the work a more stable nature. Although cadences are fewer, so too are the keys. In addition, the balance between the relative keys of E \flat major and C minor is more obvious (see Example 9.2 for a reduction of the harmonic progression), but the result of this balancing act is different: E \flat major, not C major, becomes the main tonal center. In this version also, the main tonal center stands out because it contains the first, most, and strongest cadences in the work. The center being E \flat obviously has its bearing to the overall harmonic plan, for the center is now the same as the last one of the work (E \flat minor). Otherwise, although differences in the patterning, instrumentation, articulation, dynamics, and other areas also take place, they have not been listed unless the difference is important formally or harmonically. Figure 9.5 shows the form and cycle in detail.

Figure 9.5. *En saga* 1902: exposition: form and cycle in detail.

		EXPOSITION				EXPOSITION abridged repeat	
INTRO- DUCTION	intro	Primary- <i>generative</i> ----- <i>crecendo</i>	theme	zone	Secondary- theme	zone	Primary-theme zone
	↑	<i>generative theme</i> c#: d:	<i>bridge+end ideas</i> E _b ,V ₃ -I ₆	<i>telos theme</i> E _b ,V ₇ -I c:V ₂ -I ₆	A c:V ₁₇ -I ₆	B A E _b ,V-I	<i>telos theme</i> c#: f#:V ₂ -I ₆ c:V
Form	1-29	30-81	82-149	150-196	197-226	227-246	247-271
Bars	intro	EXPOSITION Primary-theme zone	transition	secondary-theme zone	DEVELOPMENT		RECAPITULATION secondary-theme zone
Cycle	SONATA- FORM		FIRST	MOVEMENT			

The introduction remains the same with regard to both the melodic ideas and the harmonic progression. The generative theme also appears similarly, although the prefix in the strings is shortened both times, that is, before its first appearance in C# minor (b. 34ff.) and its second one in D minor (b. 58ff.). This time, the end of the first statement in c# features no closure: instead of a tonic after the dominant (G# $\frac{4}{3}$ chord, b. 47), an F# chord appears above the C# bass (b. 48). As in the early version, the theme also attempts to begin a third time, in E minor (b. 85), but instead of settling on the dominant of C major, the C-major chord appears with a major seventh (b. 88ff.). This difference (not arriving on the dominant) thus results in the opportunity for a half cadence and a transition to be lost and thereby also the tonicization of C. Instead, the *poco stringendo* with the bridge idea smoothly leads to the generative crescendo. The shift is smoothed by continuing the pattern in the accompaniment in the strings (VI. I, II, Va.) still for two bars (90–91) during the acceleration with the bridge idea. Moreover, the absence of the highlighting rhythmic motive smoothens the shift even further.

Both the bridge idea and the end idea appear during the generative crescendo (bb. 96–196), but, in addition, a new element, the short idea at the end of the generative theme invades more space. This idea appeared for the first time at the end of the second statement of the generative theme in D minor (bb. 74–75; see Example 9.1b, transformed ending). This addition already appeared in the early version in the corresponding place and flashed by twice during the generative crescendo. In this version, the idea is extended and appears four times. Instead of the two-bar appearance (bb. 108–109), the last three times extend to four or five bars.

From the harmonic point of view, the generative crescendo proceeds very much like in the early version. However, C major turns to minor (b. 114), and the key signature to three flats (b. 122). The greatest difference in the passage is the tonal goal, which is not C, but E \flat major. Hints suggested this in the early version as well, but this version also confirms E \flat major with a closure. Although the closure is again weak due to the descent in the bass (V $\frac{4}{3}$ – I \flat in bb. 140–141), the key is nevertheless clear. Moreover, this is the first closure in the entire work, appearing much later than in the early version (b. 52 in c# and b. 106 in C), and confirms E \flat major. Therefore, the E \flat minor, in which the work ends, comes as little surprise in this version. At the end of the generative crescendo, the rhythmic motive is for the first time introduced as a rhythm (not as part of the bridge idea) two bars before the telos theme, towards which the rhythm leads. In the early version, the rhythmic

motive was introduced already at the beginning of the generative crescendo, but this later placement highlights the arrival of the telos theme. Otherwise, reaching the goal of the primary-theme zone, the telos theme, is not as underlined as in the early version. This largely results from reaching the new key (E_b) long before the end of the passage. This also affects the sonata cycle: from its point of view, the transitionality of this passage is not as clear as in the early version. Again, it is nevertheless true that this transitional passage also really functions as a transition in that it transfers the music to the new key.

The first statement of the telos theme (b. 150ff.) thus appears in E_b major, but still with no cadence; the theme ends with a closure above the pedal tone E_b (V^7-I in bb. 159–160). The second statement (b. 160ff.) quite quickly turns into C minor, which is given more space by repeating the end idea (in a slightly transformed shape) on the dominant. However, the closure is again weak; this time due to the descent in the bass (V^2-I^6 in bb. 184–185). The third statement (b. 185ff.) begins immediately without the bridge idea and appears in C minor, but above the E_b pedal. All in all, the telos-theme passage is shorter with its three statements than with the early version's four statements and ends quite abruptly without the end idea or a cadence. The shift to the secondary-theme zone (b. 197ff.) is interlaced by the introduction of the accompaniment pattern of the secondary theme already during the last two bars of the telos theme. Both E_b major and C minor appear in the telos theme as keys, but both fail to properly confirm the key. However, E_b major is stronger, because it appears as the first closure in the entire work, and a closure is repeated before turning to C minor.

Because the transition-like connecting phrase between the theme zones does not appear in the revised version, the secondary-theme zone (bb. 197–271) begins immediately and presents the ABA form as in the early version. The clear beginning, together with the different theme, character, and texture, articulate the beginning of a new zone. The striking difference from the early version is the key: no contrast arises as the theme zone continues in C minor. Here too, the E_b pedal appears persistently (as during the telos theme) and the closures of the two theme statements above that, VII^7-I^6 (bb. 209, 223), are not harmonically conclusive. Moreover, the theme statements overlap, which also weakens the sense of closure in b. 209. In the early version, the B section clearly extended the preceding key. Here, the B section (b. 227ff.) is harmonically more blurred due to a double pedal tone, E_b-G , as if recalling E_b major, whereas the scalic melody features C minor (both natural and melodic modes in the scales). Thereafter, the latter A section (bb. 247–271),

although in C minor, ends on a B \flat -major seventh chord (b. 267), thus representing the dominant in E \flat major. In addition to this dominant preparation, the rhythmic motive reappears in the last two bars also, thus signaling the revival of the telos theme, which this time marks the beginning of the exposition repeat.

Regarding the cycle's sonata form, where this zone is the development, the developmental quality is clearly left in the background. This is due to the clear thematic statements and the new thematic material, as in the early version, but this time additionally due to the stability of the harmony. Ending up on the dominant of the main tonal center is the same, but in this version, the key is E \flat . The dominant chord of E \flat major (bb. 267–270) acts as the retransition leading to the recapitulation and primary-theme zone in that key.

In the overarching sonata form, the repeat of the exposition begins right away (overlap) without any pauses in b. 271 and is abridged as in the early version (only the telos theme from the primary-theme zone appears). This time it is abridged even more extensively, whereas the secondary-theme zone is not repeated. The telos theme is repeated four times in about the same way as in the early version (although it was repeated only three times earlier in this revised version). The primary-theme zone appears in E \flat major (first two statements) or minor (b. 290ff.). At the end of the fourth and last theme statement, the end idea, which already spanned a longer space in the exposition proper, is now repeated and transformed again and stands on the dominant of E \flat . Surprisingly, a fifth theme statement begins immediately after that, and not in E \flat , but unexpectedly in F \sharp minor instead, where V²–I⁶ is heard right away (bb. 322–323). After that slightly transformed theme statement, the transformed shape of the end idea is repeated another two times (b. 335ff.), leading the music into a G-major chord, which functions as the dominant of C, first in b. 346, after which G continues as a pedal tone; the G chord returns in b. 351. The standing on the dominant of C (bb. 346–351) is similar to the one in the exposition proper (cf. bb. 173–181), where still one telos-theme statement followed, but the cadence was avoided by the bass movement (V²–I⁶). Here, instead, the dominant is the goal and harmonically ends the section as a half cadence. In a way, the bars on the dominant appear as the final portion of a transition-like passage that might lead to the secondary-theme zone. In this respect, this procedure is in dialogue with the older practice, where the transition often ends with such a standing on the dominant. The notable difference from the early version is that no repeat of the secondary-theme zone appears. Instead, at this point the already transformed end idea blends into the passage marked *sul ponticello* in the

strings (b. 451). The borderline between the exposition and development is not as clear as in the early version, which contains an at least rhetorically ending codetta. Here, the music has instead slipped off the trail and deviates from the expectations created by the exposition proper. Namely, the expected repeat of the secondary-theme zone does not follow. At that point, the *sul ponticello* begins instead.

The borderline to the *sul ponticello* passage (bb. 351–368) is blended by the continuing tremolo in the strings as well as the thematic idea, the triplet pattern from the transformed end idea, which has already been repeated several times. Therefore, the question arises whether the passage is still part of the exposition or whether it begins the development section: before it, the primary-theme zone is still at hand, and after the *sul ponticello* passage, the development clearly carries on.

Also the previous writers have differing views in defining where the exposition ends and the development begins. Tanzberger's view of the end of the exposition proper (b. 270) coincides with mine, but in his view, the following exposition repeat already belongs to the development despite the fact that in the repeat, the first two statements of the telos theme still proceed similarly to that in the exposition proper and, furthermore, remain in E \flat major.¹² Murtomäki, in turn, extends the exposition just that much further (b. 290), including the first two statements of the telos theme in the exposition repeat. Thus, he begins the development in the middle of the repeat, just when the third statement begins and the E \flat major shifts to minor.¹³ This does not seem a convincing enough reason, however, since a comparable shift (although to the relative minor) takes place in the exposition proper as well, as does a similar extension of the third statement. The most peculiar interpretation, however, comes from Pinder, who begins the development as early as from b. 90 (what first seems to be the beginning of the third statement of the generative theme). The development section then occupies most of the entire work, lasting up to b. 596, to the moment when the generative theme returns.¹⁴

Ringbom's reading remains the same as in the early version. He again ends the exposition in the middle of the secondary-theme zone, before the latter A section (b. 246).

¹² Tanzberger 1943, 18. Jussi Jalas shares Tanzberger's view (Jalas's analysis appears on a folio attached to his score, preserved at the Sibelius Academy Library; additionally, analytical markings appear throughout the music pages. No annotation in any source suggests that any of these ideas came from Sibelius).

¹³ Murtomäki 1990, 175.

¹⁴ Pinder 2005, 68. Interestingly, Timothy Jackson begins the exposition around the place where Pinder begins the development, namely in b. 96 (according to a handout example from a lecture in November 1995).

In his view, the abridged repeat of the exposition extends to b. 368. As a result he, as the only scholar, includes the entire sul ponticello passage in the exposition, although he describes it as “a transition to development” (övergång till genomföringen), the same way he describes the B section of the secondary-theme zone (bb. 227–246) as “a transition to the partial repetition.” Ringbom’s view may have been guided by his idea of the “exponential forms” (potenserade formerna) governing the entire work. With this term, he refers to the two levels of form; according to him, below the level of the sonata form governing the whole appear four small-scale sonata forms: namely, during the exposition, exposition repeat, development, and recapitulation.¹⁵ This view, in fact, has something in common with the idea of two-dimensionality or Hepokoskian rotations.

The differences in the interpretations can be explained by the fact that the borderline between the exposition and development lies in different places based on different parameters of music, which Figure 9.6 clarifies. From the harmonic point of view, a conclusive ending with a clearly marked authentic cadence to end the exposition already appears in bb. 270–271, at the shift from the exposition proper to its repeat. After that, an authentic cadence appears only in the recapitulation. After the cadence, E \flat continues as a tonic, although in minor, up to b. 319. Thereafter, C minor also appears as a key (b. 346ff.), and during the sul ponticello passage, G \sharp minor becomes the goal and turns out to be the key from around b. 369 on. Such harmonic unsettledness might well take place in a development, and the half cadence (b. 346) is not a typical way to end an exposition. With regard to the thematic material, it remains quite uniform through the entire passage at hand. The already transformed beginning of the end idea, where the triplets and the ascending scale (instead of repetition) appear together with the tremolo accompaniment already from b. 320, is carried through the sul ponticello up to b. 373, where the secondary-theme zone materials take over. Retrospectively, the development could begin in b. 323, where the telos theme begins unexpectedly for the fifth time representing right away a new key (f \sharp) with a weak closure. The change of texture obviously takes place at the beginning of the sul ponticello passage and again in b. 369. The change of texture to sul ponticello with winds falling silent seems a bit surprising. It appears rather like an interruption, after which the music continues more as expected with the return of the winds in b. 369.

¹⁵ Ringbom 1955, 17–18 and 20. Erik Tawaststjerna (1965, 273–276) also adopts Ringbom’s views.

In a word, the unexpected change of key in b. 323 with the extra fifth telos-theme statement and its different treatment may make one wonder whether the music is taking a new direction. When the texture changes (b. 351) after reaching the dominant of C (b. 346), it becomes evident, at least retrospectively, that the development has begun. Significantly, however, there is no single moment when all the parameters together would signal the onset of the development section. Rather, it is a process.

Figure 9.6. *En saga* 1902. Musical parameters at the change from exposition to development.

Bars	271	323	346	351–	368	373	377
Form	...exposition						
Cadence	E♭: V–I						
Key	E♭:	e♭:	f♯:	c:	→ g♯:		
Themes	telos	-----	transformed	end idea	----	transformed	B A
Texture				Tutti	Strings <i>sal ponticello</i>		
					Strings Woodwinds		

From the point of view of the sonata cycle, the recapitulation begins with the exposition repeat as in the early version. This time, however, the omission of the secondary-theme zone of the overarching sonata form is expected: it represented the development in the cycle's sonata form and is therefore not needed in the recapitulation. To pinpoint exactly the end of the recapitulation, and thereby also the first movement, is a bit problematic: no proper cadence appears during the exposition repeat, nor a codetta (as in the early version) to mark the end of the recapitulation (and I movement). Rather, a kind of a shift to the development takes place. Therefore, to determine the ending of the first movement, which consists of a cadence, the cadence in bb. 270–271 should retrospectively be seen as the end of the first movement of the cycle. In doing so, the exposition repeat would be exocyclic, as would the *sul ponticello* passage. This, in turn, results in the absence of recapitulation. However, this interpretation does not properly depict the music. Namely, the beginning of the *telos* theme after the authentic cadence (b. 271) is perfectly expected and sensible start for the recapitulation regarding both theme and harmony. However, despite the expected beginning of the recapitulation, its ending is blurred. The ending for the recapitulation and the first movement is not thematically well articulated due to the transforming of the end idea and its melting into the patterning of the *sul ponticello*. In addition, the recapitulation fails to produce a proper cadence, and ending on the dominant (b. 346) is unsatisfactory.¹⁶ In a way, the *sul ponticello* passage is an intruder, and the continuation of the recapitulation is with that interruption left open. The situation is cleared only retrospectively, when the development is unmistakably in progress.

¹⁶ Although Murtomäki has based his interpretation on tonal criteria, this happens in his interpretation (1990, 175): a short recapitulation with only the *telos* theme (i.e., the secondary theme). Thus, no cadence appears to mark the end.

9.2 Development

9.2.1 Development in the Early Version

Unlike in the revised version, in the early version, the borderline between the exposition and development is, in turn, most clear cut. The development section (bb. 393–541) is further divided into four phases. In the classical convention, the development typically reworks thematic materials from the primary-theme zone or, more rarely, from the closing or the secondary-theme zone. In *En saga*, the first phase's ideas also come from the previous passage acting as the codetta. Thereafter, the development does not modify or transform the preceding themes as such, but introduces a new thematic idea, which is quite rare. No cadences appear during the development, and the keys change until near the end (b. 429), when the dominant chord, G, enters, thus marking a typical retransition by extending the dominant harmony leading back to the main tonal center, C major (b. 457). Thus, the development fulfills its traditional function by preparing the recapitulation. From the point of view of the sonata cycle, the two inner phases of the development are parts of the sonata cycle representing the “slow movement” and the “scherzo”, as Figure 9.1 shows. The slow movement and the scherzo, however, are not proper movements in the sense that they are not tonally closed and are considerably shorter than other movements. Rather, they are phases that bear the characteristics of a slow movement and a scherzo. The dimension of the cycle seems primary during these phases: due to these characters and the thematic independence from the rest of the work, the cycle seems to come to the fore. Figure 9.7a shows the form and cycle in the development of the early version.

Figure 9.7. Development: form and cycle in a) the early and b) the revised version in detail.

a)

Form	DEVELOPMENT			
	preparatory link	new thematic idea		retransition rhythmic dominant motive pedal
Bars	393–429	430–461	462–493	494– 514–541
Cycle	“slow movement”		“scherzo”	

b)

Form	DEVELOPMENT		
	<i>sul ponticello</i>	B A	retransition rhythmic motive dominant pedal
Bars	351– 368(376)	369–(373 377)–429	429–456
Cycle			

The nature of the first phase (bb. 393–429) seems rather preparatory. It consists of two main ideas, both of which link this phase to the codetta of the exposition just heard: the arpeggiated sextuplets and the U motive (see Example 9.1a). Both of these ideas are further elaborated. Harmonically speaking, the passage rather quickly (after two bars of a $G\sharp^{o7}$ chord) arrives at an F major ninth chord on which it then stays. This chord could be a dominant, and the expectation of resolution to the tonic strengthens the preparatory impression of the passage.

The new tempo indication *Poco a poco meno vivo* (b. 430), together with a *crescendo* (b. 433) leading to *Posato e molto sostenuto* (b. 434), separates the following passage from the previous one as well as the louder dynamic. In fact, this second phase (bb. 430–461) is the only one in the entire development that includes *fs* in the dynamic. In addition, the entire orchestra is playing a new, broad, *cantilena* melody in the full strings in a romantic style. The passage has no cadences, but proceeds in A minor, though on pedal tone E from b. 434

on.¹⁷ This second phase of the development reactivates the dimension of the cycle and acts as the slow movement. Because it is neither tonally nor formally closed and is short, the slow movement appears rather as a character. The impression of a slow movement is first and foremost created by the aforementioned new qualities of the melodic line: it is not characterized by repetitions, as the preceding themes in the exposition are, but rather presents a more passionate melodic curve. In other words, the phase fulfills the slow movement's demand for contrast with the different key and the more lyrical theme. These elements stand out better than the atypical features, the lack of harmonic stability, and clear slowness of tempo.

The motion in the bass after the long pedal tone marks the shift to the third phase (bb. 462–493), as does the new tempo indication *Allegro*. Furthermore, the dynamic level is lowered to piano again, and the brasses fall silent. Both the texture and the character change, although the new thematic ideas just introduced continue. Thus, the music contains both continuity (thematic idea) and contrast (characters of the movements). The U motive returns, and its rhythm thickens (♩. ♪♪ ♩. ♪♪). The texture also breaks down: pizzicato appears after sustained tones in the basses, 16ths after quarter and half notes in the cellos, a sustained tremolo tone after the melody in the violins, and all in all somewhat shorter, repeated, and canon-like piled ideas in the melodic line. Harmonically, a seventh chord, B^{o7}, again on pedal tone E (bb. 476–489), followed by a D-minor seventh chord (b. 490–) dissolves into the fourth phase (b. 494).

Regarding the cycle, this third phase at least partly appears as the scherzo. The scherzo is also short and is neither tonally nor formally closed, but simply lends its character to this phase of the development. The passage bears the rhythmically more active and bright characteristics of a scherzo, although it achieves no full blooming. Instead, after becoming perceptible, the scherzo's character gradually melts into the end of the third phase.

The fourth phase (bb. 494–541) of the development is distinguished primarily because of the ideas from the telos theme, including the characteristic rhythmic motive. The pedal tones (which already appeared in b. 474) create continuity between the phases and continue here: D, followed by C (bb. 502–513), during which the dominant, B_♭⁷, appears (b. 510). It resolves into E_♭ (b. 518) on pedal tone G (from b. 514 on). E_♭,

¹⁷ Thus it presents an A-minor six-four chord as in the very beginning of the entire work.

however, is not the tonal goal, and b. 522 contains an implied G-major chord. Although the chord has no third (and from b. 530, consists only Gs), the sustained G represents the dominant and can thus be seen to act as the retransition. Towards the end of the phase, the texture thins and becomes quieter, reaching three *ps*. Finally, the G-major chord unassumingly resolves to the tonic, C, in the beginning of the recapitulation with the *telos* theme in b. 542.

9.2.2 Development in the Revised Version

Not only is the development of the revised version (bb. 351–456) shorter than that of the early version, but it differs drastically otherwise as well. Figure 9.7b shows its three phases: the preparatory-like *sul ponticello* passage and the two other phases. Firstly, as mentioned before, the borderline of its beginning is not clearly marked in terms of each parameter, as it is in the early version, but is rather quite blurred. Secondly, the new thematic idea introduced in the early version has been totally cut out; the development is instead based on the secondary-theme zone materials (see Figure 9.3). From the viewpoint of the sonata cycle the development also differs drastically from the early version. Namely, the characteristics of either the slow movement or the scherzo do not even appear as characters in the development of this version. Therefore, it does not fulfill any function in the dimension of the cycle, which is therefore inactive through the entire development. As mentioned before, the revised version displays the dimension of the cycle much less than the early version.

The first, preparatory-like phase of the development, the *sul ponticello* passage, quite smoothly links with the following phase (see Figure 9.6 above). This is partly because at the end of that passage, the harmony clearly points towards G# minor, which is clearly the key from b. 372 on, where the development is on concerning all parameters. The shift is further smoothed by the continuation of the tremolo and *sul ponticello* in the strings through the first eight bars of the second phase (bb. 369–376), which includes changes in orchestration, texture, and thematic ideas. First, the woodwinds enter, followed by the scalic melody, B, from the secondary-theme zone (b. 373). If the beginning of the *sul ponticello* passage feels as if the lights went out, causing minor disorder and uncertainty

about what is happening, these eight bars turn the lights back on and put everything back on track in b. 377.

Theme A from the secondary-theme zone enters in b. 377. It does not appear in its entirety, but is rather fragmented into four four-bar segments (beginning in bb. 377, 383, 388, 394) with extended last tones. A pattern deriving from the theme keeps repeating without pauses in the strings.¹⁸ The theme statement proceeds in G \sharp minor, but with no cadence. The theme then begins anew, this time in E minor (b. 401ff.), but presents only the two first segments. The key signature then changes to three flats (b. 409), and the theme begins for the third time (b. 411), now in C minor. This time it appears again in its entirety accompanied by the neighbor-note motive with the full orchestra playing. This statement, with the repeated string pattern climbing higher and higher together with *crescendo possibile*, is clearly oriented towards the dominant, G, which arrives in b. 429.

The high point of the preceding *crescendo* in b. 429, combined with the appearance of the rhythmic motive, simultaneously marks the beginning of the third phase, which represents the retransition. From here begins then the descent in terms of dynamics and the number of instruments playing. In addition, instead of continuing with the melodic ideas from the secondary-theme zone, this third phase contains only ideas from the telos theme.¹⁹ Pedal tone G continues throughout the entire phase and quietly and unassumingly resolves to the tonic at the beginning of the recapitulation (b. 457).

The harmonic progression of this development leads from C via major thirds (G \sharp -E) back to C. The C appeared at the change to and in the beginning of the sul ponticello passage, which then leads to G \sharp minor. Thereafter, the theme statements proceed in E and C minors, respectively, and the retransition remains on the dominant of C minor, resolving to the tonic at the beginning of the recapitulation (b. 457). Interestingly, this harmonic progression is the same as in the secondary-theme zone of the exposition proper in the early version, which acts there as the development of the sonata cycle's first movement level.

¹⁸ The pattern (first in b. 379 in VI. I) appears in one sketch (HUL 0098, p. [1]), where Sibelius notated the telos theme with variants. In other words, this pattern follows the telos theme; perhaps Sibelius at some point considered this pattern instead of the present sul ponticello material. Sibelius also sketched the A and B themes appearing simultaneously on a sketch HUL 0777, p. [3].

¹⁹ Jalas begins the recapitulation already at the beginning of this phase, perhaps based on the clear entrance of the rhythmic motive from the telos theme. However, he marks this retransition as introductory.


9.3 Recapitulation and Coda

9.3.1 Recapitulation in the Early Version


In the early version, the recapitulation of the overarching sonata form begins in b. 542. As Figure 9.8a shows, the music for the rest of the work can be divided into four phases followed by a coda: recapitulating the primary and the secondary-theme zones, interrupted by an interpolated passage, the recapitulation continuation, and the final *Tranquillo* passage as coda. Tonally speaking, the recapitulation begins in C minor, which continues after a drop into E minor. However, the work ends in E \flat minor. During the recapitulation, all themes are also heard not only successively, but some simultaneously also. The dimension of the cycle is inactive during the three first phases, and the finale begins after the interpolated phase.

Figure 9.8. Recapitulation: form and cycle in a) the early and b) the revised version in detail.

a)

RECAPITULATION			RECAP cont.		CODA	
telos theme c:	B c:	A c:V-I		B, rhythmic motive, generative theme slow mvt theme e: c: e \flat :	generative theme e \flat : V-I	
542–576	576–596	597–650		651–700	701–788	789–866
				FINALE		

b)

RECAPITULATION			RECAP cont.	CODA
telos theme c:	A		B, rhythmic motive, generative theme E \flat :	generative theme e \flat :V-I
457–499	500–550		551–584	585–724
			FINALE	

The recapitulation begins as expected (b. 542): it was prepared, it begins with the telos theme from the primary-theme zone, and it appears in the key of the main tonal center, C minor (the key signature changes accordingly). The telos theme is heard four times – otherwise in C minor, except for the third time in E \flat minor – on a tonic pedal. The difference from the exposition is the lack of cadences or closures as well as the omission of the end or bridge ideas after statements two to four. In addition, the texture is enriched with short melodic ideas deriving from theme A (see, e.g., flute in bb. 544–546).

In the second phase, the recapitulation proceeds with the secondary-theme zone presenting themes B (bb. 577–596) and A (bb. 597–650, *Meno vivace*). Here, too, the enriching short melodic ideas continue to appear in the woodwinds during the A theme, which is also modified rhythmically in its second statement (b. 617ff.). Both themes appear in C minor, and the tonic pedal continues. Because both the primary and the secondary-theme zone materials have been repeated and furthermore both A statements end with an authentic cadence (bb. 611, 641), the recapitulation could end, perhaps with a coda added to it. The expectation for a coda is further reinforced by the sustained tonic chord in quiet dynamics and the fermata (b. 650).

The third phase (bb. 651–700), beginning with a new tempo indication *Molto moderato* and played with only solo strings, conversely, is rather surprising and unique in character and evidently turns out to be an interpolation. At first glance, the beginning may appear to be the coda. The three phrases, each ending with a fermata, soon prove to be not closing in character, but rather appear the calm before the storm. The oboe, appearing in b. 675, soon joined by other woodwinds, activates the music again with the U motive; the *Meno moderato* indication (b. 689), together with tutti and the rhythmic motive, have a clear drive onwards. The reappearance of this familiar rhythmic motive also signals the return to the recapitulation after the off-track phase. This short passage (bb. 675–700) is a kind of link gaining energy after the static interruption and leads to the fourth phase. In other words, this third phase, while not being the expected coda, interrupts the recapitulation and is therefore an interpolation, which does not belong to the overarching sonata form. Although it leads back to the recapitulation, in terms of harmony, the direction is wrong: instead of the key of C, the music ends up with a B-major seventh chord (b. 697) as the dominant of E minor, and the key signature changes to one sharp.

The fourth phase (bb. 701–866), which reactivates the recapitulation, may be further divided into two segments: the former (bb. 701–788) presents the themes from the primary

and secondary-theme zones, whereas the latter (bb. 789–866) additionally presents the theme from the development. Both segments proceed as waves with a long rise to a high point followed by a shortish fading. Since the expected coda did not appear, but the interpolated passage instead gained energy for a new rise, it gives the impression that the recapitulation is not yet over; and since the materials from the exposition still remain, the recapitulation is easily interpreted to continue. Moreover, if the recapitulation already ended after the second phase, it would be much shorter than the exposition and development sections.

The first segment of the fourth phase immediately presents the B theme, and four bars later (b. 705), the generative theme joins it with the instruction *Allegro*. The themes are accompanied by the rhythmic motive. Harmonically, this segment is alienated with its key signature of one sharp (b. 701). The B theme appears in E minor, whereas at the same time, the generative theme's melody proceeds in B minor, although it eventually modulates to E minor. The sustained chords repeat a B-major seventh chord and an E-minor six-four chord thus extending the dominant of E minor. E minor is not an expected key in terms of the sonata form or cycle, and thus the tonal resolution for the tonic C waits even further. The music rushes with full steam towards the chord ($F\sharp^{06}_5$) marked with *fff* (b. 757), after which it gradually fades. A recollection from the very beginning of the work suddenly appears – the arpeggiated string pattern – together with an A-minor chord (b. 768). The melodic idea resembles those from the beginning of the scherzo phase in the development. The harmony turns towards C minor, and the key signature changes accordingly.

The latter segment of this phase (bb. 789–866) then begins with the development's slow movement theme in C minor, although with no cadence. Instead, after a few bars, the harmony turns towards E \flat major. The segment is quite fragmentary: it repeats different short elements, including the rhythm from the development theme as well as the rhythmic motive, chromatic scales, and the end idea as rhythmically augmented. This segment culminates in b. 849 with the powerful tutti stroke. The harmony still points towards E \flat , although the dominant chord that is left sounding after the culmination (b. 849) is not the clearest of dominants (a B \flat^9_7 chord with F in the bass and a fourth instead of the third).²⁰ The E \flat tonic becomes clear, however, when the last phase, the coda, begins (b. 867). While

²⁰ The dominant chord already appears in b. 825 as a 2nd inversion (B \flat^9_7 with \flat^9); later the third, D, is replaced by an E \flat in b. 837. This may be seen as a large-scale 7–4 (anticipating the coda). In addition, the 2nd inversion of the dominant chord is typical of this work.

the cadence is still missing, the recapitulation has failed to conclude the work harmonically; consequently, the task is shifted to the coda.²¹

In the two-dimensional sonata form, one major challenge for the composer is the relationship between the recapitulation of the overarching sonata form and the finale of the cycle. The challenge is created by the juxtaposition of the different demands. Namely, the recapitulation is by definition a nearly similarly organized return of the exposition, whereas the finale and the first movement should differ from each other. Therefore, in *En saga*, the finale begins only after the interpolated phase, that is, from b. 701, after the expected recapitulation has passed and the different (more complex and monumental) treatment of the materials begins. In addition, since the other movements of a cycle have been heard (at least as characters if not as fully-fledged movements), the finale can be expected to occur in order to complete the sonata cycle. Vande Moortele speaks about the *principle of cyclic completion*. By this he means that the listener does not that much hear the finale as a finale because of the modifications made to the recapitulation, but rather because of what the listener has previously heard (from the viewpoint of the cycle) in that the sonata cycle is such a strong generic convention. He further explains that “every modification pointing in the direction of a finale is enough to effectively allow its interpretation as the finale of the cycle.”²² In fact, in *En saga*, after the rather character-like or hinted-at slow movement and scherzo, the finale’s character is most clear: the cycle grows stronger towards the end. One could perhaps also state that the appearance of the weighty finale in its part reasons or gives more power to the interpretation of the middle movements.

Another term which describes this finale well is “summative finale” by Michael Talbot.²³ By this he refers to the finale’s double tendency both to summarize the previous movements and to surpass everything that has been said in those previous movements in intensity and rhetorical power. In two-dimensional sonata forms, finales are generally summative in character. As Vande Moortele points out, a finale that occurs during the recapitulation of the overarching sonata automatically contains thematic material from the

²¹ Hepokoski and Darcy call this a non-resolving recapitulation (Hepokoski and Darcy 2006, 245); according to them, non-resolving recapitulations can be found in several of Bruckner’s sonata-form movements.

²² Vande Moortele 2010, 55.

²³ Talbot separates three types of finales: the light type he calls the “relaxant finale” (the most usual type), the weighty “summative finale” type, and the restful “valedictory finale” type (Talbot 2001, 50). He describes the difference between the first two (which of both are fast): “the relaxant finale is an *envoi*, whereas a summative finale is a *dénouement*” (ibid, 83). According to Talbot, Bruckner’s Third Symphony, which quite impressed Sibelius (see Footnote 4 and the discussion around Footnote 22 in Chapter 8), also has a summative finale.

first movement that appeared during the exposition of the overarching sonata form. To avoid too strong a parallel with the exposition and the first movement, to balance between similarity and difference, materials in the finale are usually modified or transformed and are joined by thematic material from the other movements.²⁴ In *En saga*, these materials are the U motive from the scherzo and the new theme from the slow movement. Further elements that point in the direction of a summative finale are clear: firstly, the complexity of the structure (presenting the contrapuntally combined themes); secondly, “resolving unfinished business,” which in this case is realized by bringing in the generative theme, which was left in a subordinate position in the exposition (teleological structural genesis); thirdly, the fast tempo together with the extensive rise, both dynamically and gradually achieving the full orchestra play.²⁵

The last phase of the work (bb. 867–952) is entitled *Tranquillo*. In the overarching sonata form, it functions as a coda following the recapitulation, whereas in the cycle, this phase is a coda of the finale, thus still part of the movement that concludes the cycle. In the coda, only the strings, which have a repeated accompaniment pattern throughout the phase, are playing with the solo clarinet. The clarinet plays the generative theme in its initial form (proceeding with half notes), familiar from the beginning of the work. The tonic is E \flat , which was reached at the end of the previous phase, but has now shifted into minor. The dominant extends (with $\frac{6}{4}$ –7 alterations) while the theme is heard; eventually, when it reaches its final tone, the dominant resolves to the tonic; the awaited perfect authentic cadence appears at last (b. 921). During the sustained and fading tonic, the cello still repeats the beginning of the telos theme.

In this last phase, the teleological structural genesis also realizes. The generative theme was heard as the first theme of the entire work, after which it disappeared as such. It was fragmented into bridge and end ideas, and lost its identity, as is typical of the generative process. The generative theme resurfaced during the recapitulation, during the phase where the finale begins (b. 701), but connected with the B theme. Finally, in the coda, the theme transforms back to its initial form. As usual in the thematic structural genesis, here too, the confirmation of the tonic coincides with the final transformation of the theme.

²⁴ See Vande Moortele 2010, 55.

²⁵ Talbot 2001, 106.

9.3.2 Recapitulation in the Revised Version

In the revised version, the recapitulation of the overarching sonata form begins in b. 457. The music may be divided into four phases and a coda, as in the early version, recapitulating the primary- and secondary-theme zones, interrupted by an interpolated passage, the recapitulation continuation, and the final *Moderato e tranquillo* passage as the coda (see Figure 9.8b). The greatest difference from the early version is the shortening of the fourth phase: the latter segment, which contained the early version's new theme from the development, is for obvious reasons omitted. Additionally, the second phase is also abridged.

The first phase (bb. 457–550) recapitulates the primary-theme zone mostly as in the early version: first, the telos theme (although only three times) and texture which is enriched with the melodic ideas deriving from the A theme in the woodwinds. The second phase (bb. 500–550) this time includes only the A theme (no B) from the secondary-theme zone, which appears twice. In this version too, both phases appear in C minor, but on the E \flat pedal (b. 480ff.), not the tonic, and with no cadences, which is the notable difference from the early version. The recapitulation might end here after the second phase: the lack of the B theme poses no hindrance, but the lack of a cadence does. Since a cadence rather than a slow fragmented passage is expected, the third phase here is also surprising.

The third phase (b. 551ff.) is a similar interrupting phase, as in the early version. Entitled *Lento assai*, it is played with the solo strings. It does not include cadences, but instead, puts the overarching sonata form on hold. This time the energy-gaining link is instructed with *poco a poco stringendo*, leading to the fourth phase marked *Allegro molto*.

The fourth phase (b. 585ff.), which reactivates the recapitulation, differs markedly from that of the early version.²⁶ In the early version, this phase includes the new thematic idea from the development. Since the theme was omitted from this version, it had to be omitted from this phase too. Due to this shortening, the fourth phase in this version includes only one wave-like segment, which constitutes of a similar rise to the first segment

²⁶ Ringbom and Jackson begin the recapitulation here in b. 585. As a result, their recapitulation includes the themes in reverse order beginning with the secondary-theme zone. Although Murtomäki begins the recapitulation already in b. 457 (as I do), the effect remains the same because he sees the telos theme as belonging to the secondary-theme zone. Tanzberger avoids this, as he begins the recapitulation only after the secondary-theme zone has passed in b. 600. Thus, in Tanzberger's view, the recapitulation includes only the B theme and leaves the telos and A themes unresolved.

of the early version (up to b. 650). The harmonic ambiguity still remains, but the key is expected (instead of alienated, as in the early version): the melody of the generative theme proceeds in G minor (but modulates to C minor), whereas the scales of the B theme are in C minor, and the sustained chord extends the dominant of C (with $\frac{6}{4}$ -7 alterations). Instead of the passage containing the early version's development theme, a short addition with a turn to E \flat major appears, after which the phase continues as in the early version (from b. 667).²⁷ However, the expected resolution to the tonic is delayed here also. The augmented end idea appears together with the generative theme and chromatic scales heading towards the culmination in b. 707. This is the same process as in the early version, and so is the chord (B \flat) $\frac{9}{7}$ chord with F in the bass and a fourth instead of the third) that is left sounding together with the fading out to the beginning of the last phase.

The last phase (bb. 725–810), the coda, in this version is entitled *Moderato e tranquillo*, but otherwise remains the same as in the early version. It too appears in E \flat minor and extends the dominant during the generative theme and eventually achieves the perfect authentic cadence.

The dimension of the cycle is inactive during the beginning of the recapitulation (first and second phases). The interpolating third phase, *Lento assai*, may at first give the impression of the beginning of a slow movement. After all, that would naturally follow after the first movement, which was last heard (before the exocyclic passage); additionally the tempo is slow and the character calm. However, this moment is already quite far from the first movement, and the opportunity for a slow movement is lost with the resigned character and fragmented melodic line followed by the energy-gaining rise; thus, while the fourth phase begins, it is evident that the finale has begun.

In the cycle, the finale thus consists of the fourth phase and the coda (bb. 597–810). Since the fourth phase was shortened during the revision, the finale is also shorter and includes only a single long rise. Tonally, it remains in the expected C minor–E \flat major/minor realm. It also includes all the themes presented earlier and may be called summative for the same reasons as the early version. In the sonata cycle, the finale appears as the strongest of the movements. Its character is clear, as is the form. Because the finale of the revised version is so clearly shorter, it divides into two almost equally long units.

²⁷ Sketches for this differing passage appear in several surviving folios: HUL 0096, pp. [1, 2], 0099, p. [1], and 0777 pp. [5, 6].

Thus, the coda could perhaps be seen as gaining more weight, as does the coda in the early version.²⁸

9.4 Summary

Although the original *En saga* was heavily revised, its most characteristic features, the overarching sonata form and the thematic materials as well as the structure of the themes, remained. In addition, the overall harmonic structure in both versions is unique: the tonal frame remains the same, including the opening and concluding keys, which do not appear as the main tonal center. Interestingly, the main tonal center is not the same in both versions.

The overarching sonata form in the early version of *En saga* is unique, but clear. The unusual features in the exposition are the structure of the primary theme, the teleological thematic genesis, and the shortened repeat of the exposition. The development, in turn, is conventional, except when introducing new thematic material. The recapitulation includes a deviation of key (from C to E minor) and repeats some of the themes in perhaps a somewhat exceptional manner: namely, the themes from both the primary- and the secondary-theme zones appear simultaneously. These unusual features can all be connected to the two-dimensionality. To put this another way, the exceptional features in one dimension derive from the other dimension, where they are expected.

The form of the revised version is more conventional. Its unconventional features remain in the exposition, where the repeat is even more shortened. The ambiguous shift from the exposition to the development is a new and atypical phenomenon. Although the recapitulation is shortened, it too introduces the themes as contrapuntally combined in much the same way as the early version does. In both versions, the other outstanding formal feature is the shape of the primary theme, the teleological genesis.

What is special about the form as a whole is, of course, its two-dimensionality. Although the two levels of form at times contain unconventional features, both levels, in

²⁸ The finale may be interpreted as the combination of a summative and a valedictory finale (see Footnote 23).

my opinion, manifest themselves in such a degree that this kind of an interpretation is justified and depicts the form in a unique way. The four movements of the sonata cycle are all hinted at, at least in the early version. The outer movements, which are most clearly manifested in the early version, also appear in the revised version. However, the two-dimensionality is radically reduced, and the revised version has none of the characteristics of the inner movements. Furthermore, the first movement lacks a proper ending; only the finale retains its full character. Therefore, the two-dimensional depiction is much less powerful in the revised version.

All in all, Sibelius blurred the form on both levels while revising. He erased nearly the entire sonata cycle, but also distanced the overarching sonata form. This becomes clear near the borderlines, which were especially blurred and elided. At the time of the revision, in the fall of 1902, Sibelius had composed two symphonies (one in 1899 and another in 1902), both of which present a clear sonata cycle. Perhaps he wanted to distinguish between absolute music – the symphonies – and the tone poems by distancing the form of the tone poem from the one of the symphonies. Sibelius had already planned a symphony in 1891 (see Section 8.2), which on his first attempt came to nothing, but on his second attempt resulted the five-movement choral symphony *Kullervo* (1892); the third attempt was the early version of *En saga*.

Tonally, both versions proceed somewhat unexpectedly; the overall frame remains the same, although changes occurred during the revision. In the early version, the tonal goal seems clearly to be C major, which later shifted to minor, although the entire work ends in the minor mode of the relative key. In the revised version, in turn, C minor seems to be primary over the major, and the ambiguity between C minor and E \flat major is more apparent thanks to the lesser key areas and the long pedal tones. However, E \flat major becomes the main tonal center. As a result, the contrast of keys in the exposition of the sonata form may be considered at least mild if not lacking altogether. The most peculiar tonal solutions remained in the revision. These include the restlessness of the harmony (the beginning of the work in a tonally indeterminable key, proceeding through various keys towards the main one), the sounding of the first theme in a key (c \sharp) that never returns during the rest of the work, and reaching the main tonal center (C/E \flat major) only inside (not at the beginning of) the primary-theme zone. Both versions end in E \flat minor. In the revised version, this is the minor mode of the main tonal center. What is a huge difference between the versions is the different main tonal center: the C of the early version was

overridden by the E₁ of the revised version. These original features may be associated with the narrativity or the (hidden) program of the work.

With regard to the themes, the greatest difference is the omission of the new theme from the development of the early version in the revised version. Otherwise, the themes remain the same, but are treated in a varied way. For instance, in the revised version, the borderlines between themes are compressed by leaving out general pauses or by shortening the sustained last tones. The most powerful example of blurred borderlines, however, is the ambiguous shift from exposition to development, where the point of change varies according to the parameter. Another illuminating example is the change from the telos theme to the A theme. In the early version, the bridge idea (bb. 204–207) links the last statement of telos theme to theme A, whereas in the revised version, the new and active accompanying pattern from theme A of the secondary-theme zone already appears during the last tone of the telos theme (bb. 195–196) and joins the themes smoothly together. Otherwise, the themes are more transformed in the revised version. The first appearance of the telos theme, for example, spans about 40 bars in both versions. In the early version, it consisted of four equally long theme statements. The revised version, in turn, includes only three theme statements whose ends are lengthened by varied repetitions.

The type of structure of the primary theme appearing in both versions, the teleological thematic genesis, is exceptional. A similar concept also operates over longer compositional spans, then called the teleological structural genesis. As Darcy explains, when appearing as structural genesis, the themes in different movements are connected, and the chief task of the finale is to transform its primary theme into the initial idea of the first movement. In *En saga*, this principle materializes beautifully. The generative theme is the initial idea, which transforms into the telos (telos theme). During the recapitulation and finale, the initial theme is, in turn, transformed (by appearing in accelerated form and simultaneously with the B theme) back into the initial idea. This initial generative theme appears in the coda, where the theme is sounded alone again with its original, slow character.²⁹ Although the overall form changed in the revised version with regard to both the sonata form and the cycle, the teleological formulation remained in its entirety. In fact,

²⁹ Bruckner's III symphony is yet again an example of this; there, the trumpet theme from the first movement reappears in the finale, in the coda; also an example is the finale of the Seventh Symphony (Darcy 1997, 262). Another example Sibelius might have known of is Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony.

the beginning and the end of the work contain the fewest changes. In addition, the extraordinary interpolation in the recapitulation remains the same in both versions.

Among various writers, the revised version has generally been considered more mature, coherent, and concentrated – somehow “better” in every respect.³⁰ However, it has been told that both Aino Sibelius and Robert Kajanus favored the early version over the revised one. Aino said that Sibelius removed some “wild passages” from it, and thus the revised version became “more civilized and polished.”³¹ For me, it would be very difficult to choose one version over the other, as both versions include interesting and unique features. Today we are fortunate to be able to treasure them both.

³⁰ This was already the critics’ opinion after the premiere in 1902 (see Chapter 2) as well as after the revised version resurfaced in 1935; the same mention can be found in, e.g., Ekman (1935), Ringbom (1956), Tawaststjerna (1965), and Howell (1989).

³¹ “rajuja kohtia” and “sivilisoidumpi, poleeratumpi” in “Aino reminisces,” annotated by Eva Paloheimo on 12 December 1958 (NA, SFA, file box 93). According to Andersson, Kajanus agreed with Aino. Andersson’s note (dated 19 September 1952), after his conversation with Sibelius, tells that Kajanus “did not like the revision of *En saga* either. Kajanus was more impressed with the original ‘wild’ that appeared in the first version.” (“inte heller tyckte om omarbetning av *En saga*. Kajanus tilltalades mera av det ursprungliga ‘vilda,’ som uppträdde i den första versionen.”). Also mentioned in Dahlström 1998, 78.

Appendix: List of Sketches

All the sketches contain melodic annotations notated mostly on a single staff. The list below provides information on each sketch: a signum; the number of bars, if countable {a parallel passage in the score, though the similarity is imprecise}; additional details, such as the key or time signature, if different from the final score; and other possible annotations in italics. Some sketches were notated on more than one staff due to simultaneous melodic lines or harmonic references; these are indicated separately. When several different annotations appear on a single page, they are numbered separately; these numbers appear in the “signum” column (at right). In the last column appears a reference to the possible theme; the names used in this study and the first appearances of the themes appear in Example 9.1. A few short annotations are unidentifiable and thus remain unmentioned. For detailed physical descriptions of the sketches, see Kilpeläinen 1991.

Sketches of the early version

HUL signum, page	Bars	Key/time signature	Annotations	Number of staves	Other remarks	Reference to themes
<i>0419</i> , p. [262]	8 {208–223}	D minor; [3/4]				A
<i>0419</i> , p. [263]	9 {166–173}	G minor				telos theme
<i>0550</i> , p. [6]	20 {353ff.}	F minor		2		A

Sketches of the revised version

Some sketches also include fragments from the 1892 version, marked “1892:” before the bar numbers.

HUL signum, page	Bars	Key/time signature	Annotations	Number of staves	Other remarks	Reference to themes
0095, p. [1]	23 {1–29}		24 <i>Sept</i>	2		
0096, p. [1] 1)	20 {628–644}				without bar lines, partly without stems	
2)	7 + 5					bridge idea
0096, p. [2]	{645–666}				some passages repeated	transformed ending of the generative theme
0097, p. [1] 1)	8 {? + 227}		<i>c-moll</i>	2		B
2)	12 {1892: 361ff.}					
3)	5 {1892: 434ff.}			2		
4)	17 {257ff.}	E minor				
0097, p. [2] 1)	2 {128–129}					
2)	2x4 {278–281}			2		end idea
3)	3 {296–298}		<i>e moll</i>	2		telos theme
4)	8 {197ff.}					A
5)	{259ff.}	A minor				
0098, p. [1] 1)	~50 + without bar lines {150ff.}		<i>Obs. som förut blått ess sedan</i> [NB, as before, but then in E flat]	partly 2		telos theme
2)	17 {197ff.}					

3)	[14] {231–246}				without bar lines	B
4)	{383, 376}				without bar lines	
5)	4 {126–129}					end idea
0099, p. [1] 1)	16 {146–160}			partly 2		telos theme
2)	{695}				without bar lines	
3)	12 {651–662}					
0443, p. [3] 1)	{34}, {597}		<i>Allegro moderato, string. al Allegro molto + 8 takter sedan temat</i> [8 bars followed by the theme]			bridge idea, B
2)	18 {377ff.}	A minor		2		A + B
0443, p. [4] 1)	10 {93–104}			2		end idea
2)	5 {66–70}			2		end idea
3)	1 {1}	E minor	<i>Piu allegro</i>	5		
4)	5 {=85–89}		<i>Fg. Tuba, Bassi</i>	3	with dynamics	generative theme
0777, p. [5]					without bar lines and partly without stems, about the same as on p. [6], but beginning a third higher	transformed ending of the generative theme
0777, p. [6]	43 {651–694}					transformed ending of the generative theme

postcard from Axel Carpelan, dated 14 October 1902, NA, SFA, file box 18	{1892: 560ff. or 1902: 298ff.}				melodic annotation on top of the text, without clef, key signature, bar lines	
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