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Jean Sibelius's Works for Mixed Choir

A Source Study

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Abstract

Jean Sibelius (1865–1957) composed choral music throughout his entire active career. The earliest mixed-choir works date from his period of study at the Helsinki Music Institute (probably from 1888 or 1889) and the last work for mixed choir is a setting of his *Finlandia-hymni* dating from 1940. In total, Sibelius's mixed-choir oeuvre consists of 30 works.

The objective of the present study is threefold: firstly, to gather all the sources for the 30 mixed-choir works; secondly, to analyse the source material and to construct source chains; and thirdly, to study Sibelius's writing process and the evolution of each mixed-choir work from their earliest sketches to present-day editions.

The source material is divided into two groups: musical sources and biographical sources. The main focus lies on the musical sources. Chronologically, the musical sources form three categories: manuscripts, contemporary editions, and posthumous editions. Manuscripts include sketches, drafts, autograph fair copies, fair copies by people other than Sibelius (if used in the publication process), proofs, and *Handexemplare*. The dividing line between contemporary and posthumous editions is the year of Sibelius's death (1957). The biographical sources consist of Sibelius's diary, correspondence, and work lists. The study also consults newspaper reviews, as well as other sources when they shed light on the dating of the works in question.

The analysis of the source chains aims to map the evolution of Sibelius's mixed-choir works. The theoretical foundation of the analysis is based on the methodology of Genetic Criticism (*critique génétique*). Genetic Criticism does not seek to establish one definitive or singular version of any given work, but rather focuses on the study of the writing process. As a deviation from traditional Genetic Criticism, the present study does not limit the source chain to manuscript sources, but also considers published editions, including present-day editions. Each source – be it a sketch, fair copy, or a modern edition – is considered an equal representation of a stage in the work's evolution. Thus, the analysis is not restricted to Sibelius's writing process, but rather it also aims to describe how the works have evolved during their existence.

In the present study, analysis of the source chains consists of three parts: analysis of the writing process, analysis of the publication process of the first edition, and analysis of the textual transmission in subsequent editions including those published after Sibelius's death. The extension of the research material to include published material has required some modifications to the theory of Genetic Criticism.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Sibelius's *a cappella* Choral Works

In 1893 Sibelius made an impressive debut in choral circles. His first publically performed *a cappella* choral work, *Venematka*, garnered immediate success. According to Sibelius, the work had “a bomb-like effect” on the public.¹ The following year, the success of *Venematka* was followed by that of *Rakastava*, another choral work acclaimed both critically and publically. In newspaper reviews, the two works were often grouped together as representing the beginning of an entirely new kind of Finnish choral music. An anonymous critic in the newspaper *Wasa Tidning* summarised such sentiments thus: “Based on their musical spirit and content, both works are the most truly Finnish part-songs we have so far.”²

Both works were very different from what choirs of the time were used to singing.³ In particular, *Rakastava* proved extremely difficult for choirs. The varying quality of performances did not prevent audiences from appreciating the innovation of the new works. As another anonymous critic in the newspaper *Pohjalainen* wrote: “The two wonderful songs by Sibelius, *Venematka* and *Rakastava*, are particularly charming. Since these songs are, to my knowledge, musically the most significant works ever written for choir, it is clear that those not initiated in the secrets of musical art will find them difficult to perform. For a sudden modulation to sound in tune, every singer must perfectly understand the harmony. The former [work] was, however, performed with amazing confidence; the latter, however, did not succeed.”⁴

Reviews with similar content were published after several concerts in 1893 and 1894. Based on these reviews, many early performances were of poor quality, particularly of *Rakastava*. In addition to the problems of tuning, as mentioned in the above review, critics complained that the singers were often unable to reach the extreme registers demanded by

¹ Sibelius's description of the reception of *Venematka* in Väisänen (1921). See also Salmenhaara 1996, 417. The original statement: “Tällainen kuorosävellys vaikutti siihen aikaan kuin pommi.”

² *Wasa Tidning* 18 June 1894: “Båda två äro till sin musikaliska anda och sitt innehåll de mest finska kwartettsånger, wi tilswidare hafwa.” In *turn-of-the-century Swedish, part-songs were generally called quartets with varying orthography (at least qvartett, kvartett, and kwartett were all in use)*. Similar reviews were published on several occasions; e.g. the pseudonym K. wrote in *Nya Pressen* on 29 April 1894: “It [*Rakastava*] is Finnish – thoroughly Finnish[.]” (*Den är finsk – finsk allt igenom [...]*). For more on the reception of these works, see the Introduction in Ylivuori (JSW VII/2, forthcoming).

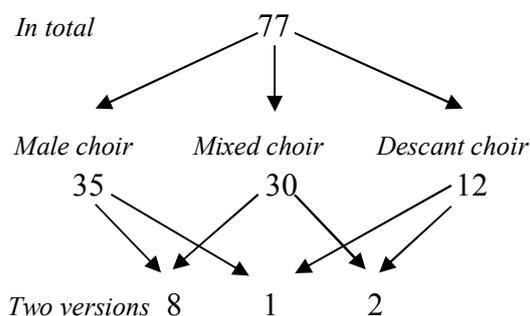
³ For the Finnish choral repertoire of the 1890s, see Hyökki 2003, 13–59.

⁴ *Pohjalainen* 21 June 1894: “Erittäin nuo kaksi ihanata laulua Sibeliukselta *Wenematka* ja *Rakastawa* owat hurmaawia. Kun nämä laulut owat musikaalisesti merkitsewintä mitä tietääkseni laulukwartetille on kirjoitettu, on myös selwää, että ne käywät waikeiksi esittää niille, jotka eiwät ole musiikkitaiteen salaisuuksien perillä. Että jyrkkä modulatsioonin woipi sointua puhtaasti, täytyy kunkin äänen täydelleen käsittää harmonia. Edellinen näistä esitettiin kuitenkin hämmästyttävän warmasti, jälkimmäinen taas ei onnistunut.”

Sibelius's compositions.⁵ Despite the almost insurmountable difficulties the works presented to contemporary choirs, they were frequently performed during the 1890s, a fact that added to Sibelius's fame. Consequently, several choral conductors began to bombard Sibelius with letters asking him to compose choral music for them. Sibelius fulfilled many such requests.

Sibelius composed choral music during almost his entire career. His earliest choral works date from his period of study at the Helsinki Music Institute (probably from 1888 or 1889) and his last choral work is a setting of his Christmas song *Joululaulu/Julvisa* for three-part treble choir, written as late as 1954 at the age of 89. No doubt in order to secure wider distribution for his works, Sibelius published – notably during the 1890s – many of his choral works in two versions: one for male choir and one for mixed choir. The above mentioned *Venematka* and *Rakastava* are good examples of this practice, since both were first written for male choir but later arranged for mixed choir. Sibelius wrote relatively few works for descant choir, but authorised many such arrangements by Jaakko Tuuri and Adolf Emil Taipale.⁶ Example 1.1 illustrates Sibelius's choral oeuvre: of the 30 works for mixed choir, eight also appear in versions for male choir and 2 also in versions for descant choir.⁷

Example 1.1. Sibelius's a cappella choral works in numbers (incl. arrangements).



⁵ An anonymous critic in *Uusi Suometar* on 27 August 1894 complained that the tenors were unable to reach the high notes in *Rakastava*, whereas the critic using the pseudonym A. in the same newspaper on 5 December 1893 complained that he could not hear the lowest notes in *Venematka*.

⁶ Sibelius even made a correction in the fair copy of Tuuri's arrangement of *Min rastas raataa* for female choir. The requests to publish are in NA, SFA, file box 31.

⁷ By descant choir, I refer to both female and children's choir. For more detailed discussion of different versions, see Chapter 10.

1.2 Sibelius's Works for Mixed Choir

The present study focuses on Sibelius's a cappella works for mixed choir. A mixed-choir work is here defined as an unaccompanied choral work written for mixed voices, which are designated as soprano, alto, tenor and bass. In total, 30 choral works fall into this category. The works are listed in Example 1.2. It should be noted that *Lauluja vuoden 1897 promootiokantaatista* (Opus 23) is treated in the present study as one work, although several of its nine movements has been published and performed separately. In addition, the two mixed-choir versions of *Finlandia-hymni* are not listed as two separate works, but are considered as two versions of the same work. The same is not applied to the poem *Den 25 Oktober 1902*, which Sibelius composed twice; although the works are based on the same poem, they do not share musical material and are therefore treated as two different works. Unfinished works, as well as Sibelius's counterpoint or harmonisation exercises from his student period, have been excluded from the present study.⁸

Chronologically Sibelius's works for mixed choir form three groups: works from 1888–1889, works from 1893–1905, and works written 1911 or after. These groups are distinct from one another in many ways. The latter two groups can be divided into two sub-groups based on their publication history; thus, the choral oeuvre studied here forms five categories in total: works from 1888–1889, works related to Opus 18, other works from 1893–1905, Opus 65 and related works, and other works after 1911. I will now give a short description of the distinctive features of each category.⁹

Works from 1888–1889. Sibelius's first choral works date from the composer's period of study at the Helsinki Music Institute (1885–1889).¹⁰ The works in this category form a homogenous group in many ways: tonally and stylistically they possess many features typical of the late-Romantic German style (represented in Finland in the 1880s by composers including Wegelius, Pacius, Faltin, etc.); they are all written to poems in the composer's mother tongue Swedish; and they all remained unpublished during Sibelius's lifetime.¹¹ In addition, Sibelius did not list any of them in his catalogues of works. These works also stand out from his numerous counterpoint exercises – usually set to texts such as *Kyrie eleison* or the like – or harmonisation exercises in strict chorale style. Nevertheless, the works may have been written as compositional exercises for his teacher

⁸ Sibelius's *Carminalia* (JS 59) is a borderline case, since it contains three three-part a cappella movements. Since a mixed-choir work is here defined as a four-part work, these movements of *Carminalia* fall outside the limits of the definition. Another borderline case is *Ateenalaisten laulu* (Op. 31 No. 3), of which Sibelius sketched a four-part version for boys and men. Whether a work, in which boys sing soprano and alto parts, should be viewed as a mixed-choir work is a difficult question. However, the question does not need to be answered here, since the choir version of *Ateenalaisten laulu* was left incomplete, and is therefore not included in the present study. The surviving sketch is published as a transcription in JSW VII/2.

⁹ For more detailed description, see Chapter 4.

¹⁰ For precise dates for the compositions, see Kilpeläinen 1992, 84, 90, 98–99, and 113.

¹¹ In addition to the a cappella works, Sibelius also composed two works for choir with piano accompaniment during this period. They contain features similar to those of the works discussed in the present study.

Martin Wegelius (1846–1906), though there is no direct evidence to support this assumption.¹²

Works related to Opus 18. Defining precisely which works constitute Opus 18 is not without its difficulties, as Sibelius changed the content of his Opus 18 several times between 1904 and 1931. In total, eleven choral works composed between 1893 and 1904 were at some point designated the opus number 18. Opus 18 first appeared in its final form in 1931, entitled *Six part-songs for male chorus*.¹³ Sibelius wrote many of the works of Opus 18 in two versions: one for male choir and one for mixed choir. Although the title of the opus changed from one autograph work list to another, it always included the epithet “for male choir” in some form or other.¹⁴ However, despite the epithet, Sibelius also listed the mixed-choir versions under Opus 18 in his later catalogues. Thus, the opus number has been used regularly in the context of the mixed-choir works regardless of the conflicting opus title. In Example 1.2, I have gathered all the mixed-choir works that have at some time appeared in Opus 18 under the looser heading “Works related to Opus 18”. Interestingly, Sibelius never wrote *Min rastas raataa* for male choir, but it exists only as a version for mixed choir. Why Sibelius placed it systematically among the male choir works in his catalogues remains unknown.

The mixed-choir works related to Opus 18 differ significantly from the earlier works described above. Tonally, the works often diverge from traditional tonal syntax by obscuring the feeling of key (by using techniques that could be described as tonal pairing and common-tone tonality) as well as by typical ‘Sibelian’ methods including pedal point and modal scales. All the works related to Opus 18 are written to poems in Finnish; mostly from *Kalevala* and *Kanteletar*, the two great works of Finnish epic verse, but also to poems by contemporary Finnish poets.

Four of the works related to Opus 18 were published in the choral collection *Sävelistö 4* by K. E. Holm in 1898. This same collection also contained *Aamusumussa*, a new work in print for the first time. Its common publication history binds it together with the other works from this category, and it is here included in that category, though *Aamusumussa* was never given the Opus 18 designation.

Other works from 1893–1905. From the same years as Opus 18, there are also many works that were not connected to Opus 18. Three of the works appear in two versions: *Juhlamarssi* and *Lauluja vuoden 1897 promootiokantaatista* were originally written as cantatas for choir, soloists, and orchestra, whereas *Ej med klagan* was originally composed for male choir. However, Sibelius discarded the male-choir version of *Ej med klagan* before its publication and transformed the material into a version for mixed choir. The male-choir version was left unpublished and forgotten; it resurfaced during the preparation

¹² Some of the pencilled markings could be described as pedagogical. Since they are often no more than single lines, their hand-writing cannot be verified; the markings are probably Sibelius’s own and not those of Wegelius. For details, see Section 4.2.1 and Chapter 12.

¹³ Grey 1931. For closer details of the history of the opus, see Chapter 4.2.2. In Dahström 2003, the title reads *Sechs Lieder für Männerchor a cappella*.

¹⁴ Titles of Op. 18 in different sources: “Manskvartetter” [Male quartets], “9 (or 10) mieskuorolaulua” [male choir songs], “10 kvartetter för mansröster” [quartets for male voices], and “Six part-songs for male voices a cappella.” Sibelius’s work lists are listed in Dahlström 2003, 693–696. See also Kilpeläinen 1992.

of the present study.¹⁵ Most of the works in this category were written for a specific event or publication; perhaps for this reason, though they date from the same period, these works are tonally and stylistically more traditional than the works of Opus 18. Moreover, in these works Sibelius uses mainly Finnish poems.¹⁶

Example 1.2. Sibelius's works for mixed choir.

Works from 1888–1889

Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar
Hur blekt är allt
Ensam i dunkla skogarnas famn
När sig våren åter föder
Ack, hör du fröken Gyllenborg*****

Works from 1893–1905

Works related to Opus 18

Sortunut ääni*
Saarella palaa*
Venematka*
Sydämeni laulu*
Min rastas raataa
Isänmaalle*
Rakastava*
Aamusumussa**

Other works

Työkansan marssi
Soitapa sorea neito
Juhlamarssi***
Lauluja 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista***
Den 25 Oktober 1902 (1)
Den 25 Oktober 1902 (2)
Ej med klagan*

Works from 1911 and after

Opus 65 and related works

Män från slätten och havet
Kallion kirkon kellosävel****
Uusmaalaiisten laulu*
Drömmarna

Later works

The Sun Upon the Lake Is Low
Koulutie
Skolsång
Den höga himlen*
On lapsonen syntynyt meille
Finlandia-hymni***

* also appears in a version for male choir; ** also appears in a version for descant choir;
originally from an orchestral work; *an arrangement of the bell melody (JS 102);
*****a folksong arrangement

For more detailed description of the different versions, see Example 10.1.

Opus 65 and related works. Sibelius also changed the contents of his Opus 65 on several occasions. The title of the opus was originally *Patriotiska sånger* (Patriotic songs)

¹⁵ For details, see Chapter 13. The male-choir version will be published for the first time in *Ylivuori (JSW VII/2, forthcoming)*.

¹⁶ The occasion for which the works were composed explains the two exceptions of using Swedish poems: *Den 25 Oktober 1902* was written for Thérèse Hahl's 60th birthday party and *Ej med klagan* for Albert Edelfelt's funeral. Both spoke Swedish as their mother tongue.

and it consisted of three works composed in 1911 and 1912: *Män från slätten och havet*, *Uusmaalaisten laulu*, and *Kallion kirkon kellosävel*. In 1917 Sibelius twice planned to add a fourth work to the opus; in addition to *Drömmarna*, Sibelius confusingly planned to include the male-choir work *Till havs!* in an opus consisting otherwise of mixed-choir works.¹⁷ Eventually the opus appeared containing only two works: *Män från slätten och havet* and *Kallion kirkon kellosävel*. Tonally, the works of Opus 65 differ from those in Opus 18; they are not overtly modern, rather their tonal ambiguities are created in far subtler manner.

Other works after 1911. After completing Opus 65, the majority of Sibelius's choral works were written for male choir. The mixed-choir works written after Opus 65 were generally commissions for hymnals, song books, or the like. The choice of language was all but dictated by the nature of the commission. In 1913 the language selection in Sibelius's choral oeuvre widened, when composer Horatio Parker (1863–1919) asked Sibelius to write music for his upcoming schoolbook used as a progressive music course in American public schools. One of these *Songs for American Schools* (JS 199), namely *The Sun Upon the Lake Is Low*, is written for four-part mixed choir, and thus is included in the present study.¹⁸ During the years in which he no longer published significant new works, the so-called 'Silence of Ainola', Sibelius wrote an arrangement of *Finlandia-hymni* for mixed choir, which is chronologically the last setting Sibelius wrote for mixed choir.

1.3 Objectives and Methods of the Present Study

The objective of the present study is threefold: firstly, to gather all available sources for the 30 mixed-choir works listed above; secondly, to analyse that source material and to construct source chains; and thirdly, to study the evolution of each mixed-choir work from the earliest sketches to the present-day editions. I will now briefly describe each step of the study.

*Gathering the source material.*¹⁹ The source material is divided into two groups: musical sources and biographical sources. The main focus of the study is on the musical sources. Chronologically, the musical sources form three categories: manuscripts, contemporary editions, and posthumous editions. Manuscripts include sketches, drafts, autograph fair copies, fair copies by people other than Sibelius (if used in the publication process), proofs, and *Handexemplare*.²⁰ The dividing line between contemporary and posthumous editions is 1957, the year of Sibelius's death, after which he could no longer take part in the publication process. The study of publications is restricted to those

¹⁷ *Till havs!* is presently known as *Opus 84 No. 5*.

¹⁸ The other works Sibelius wrote for the American schools are *The Autumn Song for two descant voices with piano accompaniment* and *A Cavalry Catch for unison male voices with piano accompaniment*.

¹⁹ For closer discussion of sources, see Chapter 3.

²⁰ A *Handexemplar* is a publication that has been in the possession of the author. It may – or may not – include the composer's emendations or corrections.

published by Finnish publishers or by Breitkopf & Härtel. Indeed, there are only relatively few editions that fall outside these parameters: a few of Sibelius's mixed-choir works were included in Estonian, Russian, or Finnish-American choral collections, but they were prepared without the author's participation and, furthermore, did not serve as a basis for later editions, thus their role in the source chain is rather insignificant.

Biographical sources encompass Sibelius's diaries, correspondence, and work lists. Newspaper reviews and other sources that may shed light on the dating of the works have also been consulted. The *Sibelius Werkverzeichnis* by Fabian Dahlström (2003) has provided an invaluable starting point in the process of gathering this material. However, during the course of this study, new sources have been actively explored; clues for effective archival search were provided by correspondence and by using other bibliographical sources.²¹

The sources of Sibelius's mixed-choir works have not previously been studied. Dahlström (2003) provides an exhaustive catalogue of all known Sibelius sources, while Kilpeläinen (1991) has categorised Sibelius's manuscript corpus in the National Library of Finland. However, both catalogues focus on simply listing sources, while the content of those sources has not been analysed. In addition to these two catalogues, *Tutkielmia Sibeliuksen käsikirjoituksista* by Kilpeläinen (1992) has provided important support, as it dates the manuscript sources (including the work lists) preserved in the National Library of Finland. In practice, the only previous source study on Sibelius's choral works is *Observationer beträffande kompositioner av Jean Sibelius* by Carol Hedberg (unpubl.).²² Hedberg's study does not focus exclusively on the mixed-choir works, but discusses Sibelius's choral output in its entirety. Hedberg's study dates from the mid-1960s (i.e. before the executors of the Jean Sibelius estate donated the vast manuscript collections to the National Library of Finland for research purposes), thus the study is based almost entirely on published material. Though Hedberg's study is now out of date (for instance, many works are not mentioned in the study at all), it represents an important step in Sibelius research, since it was the first attempt to list all of Sibelius's choral works.²³

Constructing the source chains. In the second step of the study, I explore the relationships between the different sources. In other words, the sources are positioned in a 'source chain' based on their chronology and how they are connected to one another (i.e. textual transmission between the sources). This process also clarifies precisely what kind of sources – and how much of them – are currently missing. Thus, the construction of such source chains was carried out in part simultaneously with the initial archival search. As mentioned earlier, many of Sibelius's mixed-choir works were first composed for another ensemble and arranged for mixed choir later; in the present study, the source chains for each work also include sources for the other versions of the work. In the present study

²¹ The archival search has yielded results. The greatest result of the present study is undoubtedly the resurfacing of the autograph fair copy of *Den 25 Oktober 1902 (1)* and the male-choir version of *Ej med klagan*. For other results, see Chapter 11.

²² Unfortunately, Hedberg's study was never published. Hedberg donated the manuscript of his study to the Sibelius Museum in Turku, where it is currently held.

²³ Articles on Sibelius's choral works listed in Goss 1998, 266–271 are for the most part relatively short descriptions of the stylistic features of those works.

different versions of the same work are called ‘parallel versions’. The source chain of a parallel version often sheds light on the problems arising from the source chain for the mixed-choir work.

Source chains for the mixed-choir works are varied. Some of the mixed-choir works remained unpublished during Sibelius’s lifetime, thus their source chains consist mainly of manuscript sources, whereas for several works no manuscript sources have survived, thus their source chains consist solely of published sources. Deducing the chronology of published sources is not as simple as it might seem at first; many early choral editions include neither the name of the publisher nor the date of publication. A chronology must therefore be deduced by comparing the content of the published sources – in a manner familiar from manuscript studies.²⁴

Analysis. The analysis of the source chains aims to map the evolution of the mixed-choir works. The theoretical foundation of the analysis is based on the methodology of Genetic Criticism (in French *critique génétique*). Genetic Criticism does not seek to establish a definitive or singular version of the work, but focuses on the writing process. The source chain is understood as “a chain of writing events” upon which an analysis of the writing process can be based.²⁵ Thus, each source – be it a sketch, fair copy, edition, etc. – is considered an equal representation of a stage in the work’s evolution. Thus concepts such as ‘main source’, deriving from the tradition of the copy-text, are not employed in the present study.

Deviating somewhat from traditional genetic studies, the source chain is here not limited to manuscript sources, and thus the analysis is not restricted to Sibelius’s writing process. The works have continued to ‘evolve’ after their publication – and even after Sibelius’s death – as editors have tried to solve problematic passages in earlier editions. In the present study, analysis of the source chains consists of three parts: analysis of the writing process, analysis of the publication process of the first edition, and analysis of the textual transmission in subsequent editions including those published after Sibelius’s death. The extension of the research subject from the manuscripts to encompass published material as well has necessitated certain modifications to the theory of Genetic Criticism. The theoretical foundations of the present study are discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

The sources of Sibelius’s works – as well as his creative process – have been the focus of much previous study, but his choral works have generally not been paid any serious

²⁴ A good example of the problems in dating published sources is the source chain for *Den 25 Oktober 1902 (1)*, which was composed and performed in 1902. The Sibelius Museum in Turku holds an early facsimile print that does not include any date or the name of its publisher. In 1903, the work was published in the choral collection *Sävelistö 5*. These two publications differ from each other in a few significant details. In Dahlström (2003), the facsimile print is assumed to be the first edition from 1902. The autograph fair copy – previously thought to be missing – was discovered during work on the present study. The fair copy contains both versions and, based on this copy, their chronology can therefore be deduced: the earlier reading in the manuscript (consistent with the version published in *Sävelistö 5*) was scraped off by a sharp tool and the new reading (the one in the facsimile print) appears on top of the previous reading in Sibelius’s handwriting. Thus, *Sävelistö 5* predates the facsimile print. It can therefore be assumed that one source is still missing: the one from which the première performance was given.

²⁵ From Deppman, Ferrer, & Groden 2004, 11.

attention.²⁶ Thus, a study of the mixed-choir works will provide an important complement to the overall image of Sibelius's creative process; the creative process of a 2-minute choral work differs significantly from that of a full-length symphony (e.g. in Virtanen 2005) or a solo song with piano accompaniment (e.g. in Tiilikainen 2003). There are several characteristic features in the sources of Sibelius's choral output that stand in contrast to those of other genres. Two of these are of special importance: firstly, unlike most of Sibelius's other works, the first editions of his mixed-choir works were often produced by typesetting instead of engraving; and secondly, several of the mixed-choir works are themselves arrangements or Sibelius later arranged them for another ensemble. Both the consequences of these differing means of production and the relationship between different versions of the same work receive special attention in the present study.²⁷

²⁶ For studies on Sibelius's creative process, see e.g. Kilpeläinen 1992, 1996, 1998, Tiilikainen 1998, 2003, Virtanen 1999, 2005, 2011. Additionally, the Introductions in the JSW volumes draw forth a detailed picture of Sibelius's creative process. Politoske (1996) is a good example of how the choral works are normally presented: it contains only a short description of each work.

²⁷ Typesetting is discussed in Chapter 8 and arrangements in Chapter 10.

Part I:

Sources, Methodology, and Mixed-Choir Works

2 Theoretical Foundations

The present study seeks to map the evolution of Sibelius's mixed-choir works. The evolution of each individual work is divided into two processes. The first process can be summed up by the question of how the work came into being and is centred on the manuscript sources. The second process deals with textual transmission from one edition to another. Thus, the dividing line between the two processes is the publication of the first edition: at the point of publication, the work changes its nature; it no longer resides in the realm of composer's private ponderings, but is subject to an infinite number of interpretations.

Section 2.1 focuses on the questions and key concepts of studying the manuscripts, whereas Section 2.2 discusses those concerning the study of the editions. Section 2.3 discusses some of the special problems arising from the fact that many of the Sibelius's choral works are arrangements and therefore exist in two (or more) versions.

2.1 The Writing Process and Genetic Criticism

Many of the theoretical treatises on the manuscript studies centre on questions concerning editing. The focus on editing has conditioned those treatises to aim at establishing a single accurate text of a work. Though understandable from the editorial perspective, this view – often associated with the Anglo-American tradition of textual criticism (i.e. the copy-text) – can be criticised for two reasons, both of which are crucial for the purposes of the present study: firstly, any attempt to produce a single edited text easily ignores the temporal dynamics of the writing process; and secondly, it tends to subsume all textual variation into a dichotomy of accuracy vs. error.

The aim of the present study is to analyse the logic of the evolution of Sibelius's mixed-choir works. To this end it is of the utmost importance (almost to the extent of its being commonplace) to retain the temporal dimension of the writing process at the core of the study, as the writing process is a temporal event. Such emphasis on the temporal dimension also affects the concept of textual variation: for example, a crossed-out passage in the manuscript is no less prestigious or revelatory than the writing that replaced it, nor is it in any way less significant; on the contrary, both readings are seen as meaningful stages within the writing process and cannot be described sensibly with the dichotomy of accuracy vs. error.²⁸

The theoretical foundation of the present study lies in the French tradition of Genetic Criticism, a literary-critical movement with its roots in the 1970s.²⁹ Genetic Criticism

²⁸ Cf. e.g. Greg 1950 [1969, 54]. The concept of using methodology of literary textual criticism in the context of musical works has been criticised by Broude (e.g. 2011 and 2012).

²⁹ Jean Bellemin-Noël's book *Le Texte et l'avant-texte: Les Brouillons d'un poème de Milosz from 1972* is often considered the true beginning of modern French genetic criticism (see e.g. Deppman, Ferrer and Groden 2004, 7). Louis Hay (2004), however, traces the origins of 'geneticism' all the way to the phenomena of Romanticism.

aims to render the manuscript material readable and to analyse the logic of the work's evolution with a focus on the writing process. For example, Pierre-Marc de Biasi describes the work of the 'geneticist' with five key operations: 1) gathering the manuscript material of the given work, 2) classifying the gathered material, 3) organising the material based on its content, 4) transcribing the material, and 5) analysis of the writing process.³⁰

Although the purview of Genetic Criticism comes close to that of the German tradition of Genetic Editing, which strives to maintain the temporal dynamic of the work by accepting successive versions of the work instead of simply a single, accurate text, the two traditions are separated by their very relation to the editions: for Genetic Criticism, the edition "is only part of a broader goal of reconstructing and analysing a chain of writing events" and not the actual goal.³¹

At the heart of Genetic Criticism lies the concept of the *avant-texte*, which stands in opposition to the concept of the *Text*. The *avant-texte* refers to the work before it becomes the work (or the *Text* in the terminology of Genetic Criticism). However, it is important to bear in mind that the *avant-texte* does not refer to any particular sketch or manuscript; rather it is "the geneticist's reconstruction of the genetic operations that precede the text."³² In other words, it is the scholar's reconstruction of the writing process. Therefore, there are in fact three concepts at work: the *Text* (often associated with the published work and/or publishable fair copy), the manuscript dossier of the work, and the *avant-texte* i.e. the scholarly reading of that manuscript dossier.

The temporal nature of the writing process can easily provoke false notions of causality. Genetic critics consciously avoid allusions to any teleological relation between the *avant-texte* and the *Text*: even though the *avant-texte* precedes the *Text*, the latter is never considered an inexorable consequence of the former. As Jean Bellemin-Noël formulates it:

Since the writing process is itself a production governed by uncertainty and chance, we absolutely must substitute spatial metaphors for temporal images to avoid reintroducing the idea of teleology. We must never forget this paradox: what was written before and had, at first, no after, we meet only after, and this tempts us to supply a before in the sense of a priority, cause, or origin.³³

Instead of using temporal images, Bellemin-Noël describes the relationship between text and *avant-texte* with the metaphor that we should see the *avant-texte* as "surrounding the final text with halo, that is, with verbal materials that radiate from it while resonating with it, whether such verbal spokes are parallel, oblique, or perpendicular to it."³⁴

Though the basic principles of Genetic Criticism appear as to present a lucrative approach for the purposes of the present study, the theory exhibits one shortcoming that

³⁰ De Biasi 2004, 44. De Biasi gives extensive examples of each operation in 2004, 45–64.

³¹ Deppman, Ferrer and Groden 2004, 11. The relationship between French and German traditions is discussed in van Hulle 2004, 29–36 and Lernout 2002.

³² De Biasi 2004, 43.

³³ Bellemin-Noël 2004, 31.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

needs to be addressed before it can be applied to the analysis of Sibelius's choral works. Since the focus of Genetic Criticism lies so heavily on the processes of the *avant-texte* (i.e. on interpretations of the manuscript dossier), the concept of the edition – and especially its relation to the concepts of the *text* and the *avant-texte* – has remained insufficiently problematised, at least for the purpose of the present study. A good example of this shortcoming is the blatant disregard for the publication process in de Biasi's description of how the text comes into being:

Concretely, this [=taking the existence of manuscripts into account] means examining the operation by which a text, notably a literary text, is invented, sketched, amplified, exploded into heterogeneous fragments and condensed until it is finally chosen from among and against several other written materializations. Fixed in its stable form, it becomes (at least traditionally) publishable as the finished text of the work.³⁵

I will, for now, dismiss the problematic concept of the text as a monolith implied by the phrase “fixed in its stable form” and focus solely on the problematic role of the publication process, also implicit in the same sentence.³⁶ Though the text becomes “publishable” in the last stage of the writing process as the author produces the version to be sent to the publisher, the autograph fair copy does not magically transform itself into a published edition. Even the content of the text is often refined (by the author or by someone else) during the publication process.³⁷ I see no essential difference between the refinements made by the author during the publishing process and those made, for instance, during the production of the final fair copy.

In the following, I will propose a model for the role of the edition as a part of the writing process. My central argument is that, despite their differing means of production, an edition (especially the first edition, but practically any edition with the author's involvement) and a manuscript source (be it a sketch, draft, or a fair copy) are not fundamentally different witnesses of the composer's writing process. In this respect my view differs from that of traditional Genetic Criticism whose distinction between a published source and a manuscript source seems to be at the heart of its key concepts, the *avant-texte* and the *text*.

As an example, I will use the typeset edition, which represents the most typical kind of first edition within the scope of the present study.³⁸ Typesetting is a form of transcription: the typesetter's task is to convert the text from one writing system into another. Unlike

³⁵ De Biasi 2004, 38.

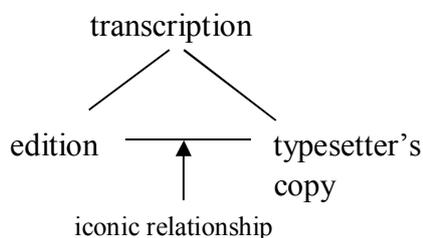
³⁶ The problematic concept of the singular text is discussed in Section 2.2.

³⁷ Reiman (1993, 93) makes a similar point when criticising “Bowers and his followers” for over-emphasising the role of the manuscript in the editing process. However, Reiman's solution is quite different from mine and is centred on his key concepts private, confidential, and public. For his ideas, see especially Reiman 1993, 92–118.

³⁸ Since engraving was not possible in Finland at the time, many of Sibelius's choral works were produced by typesetting instead. Larger works, particularly those with international interest, were sent abroad (usually to Germany) to be engraved. The process of typesetting and the differences between typeset and engraved editions are discussed in Chapter 8. Typesetting is often ignored in previous literature. For instance Broude (1991) links typesetting with book printing and engraving with printing music.

typesetting a literary text, the production of musical notation by means of typesetting is an extremely difficult task, and the typesetter’s craftsmanship determines to a great extent the outcome of the final product.³⁹ Typesetters were highly trained professionals, but they were not musicians; in other words, they were unable to read the notation *as a text* – instead, the musical notation was transcribed *as an image*.⁴⁰ The nature of a transcription process of this kind is perhaps best described using Charles Saunders Peirce’s semiotic model of signs: a typeset edition can be read as an iconic representation of the typesetter’s copy (i.e. the manuscript on which the edition is based), whereas the typesetter’s interpretation of the manuscript (i.e. the transcription) is the determining factor that connects the edition to the typesetter’s copy.⁴¹ Example 2.1 illustrates the idea.

Example 2.1. *Edition as a Representation of the Typesetter’s Copy.*



The model described in Example 2.1 is implicitly present in de Biasi’s article cited above: in this scenario, the *text* would in fact already appear on the autograph manuscript serving as the typesetter’s copy “fixed in its stable form” and “publishable as the finished text of the work,” since the relationship between the edition and the typesetter’s copy is iconic. For two reasons, however, the relationship between the published edition and the typesetter’s copy is not as simple as it might easily appear. Firstly, the edition is not just a transcription of the notation as it exists in the typesetter’s copy because the composer proofreads the transcription before it is published. At this stage, composers – and

³⁹ *Special features of the typesetting technique and how it affects the layout of the edition are discussed in detail in Chapter 8.*

⁴⁰ *This can be deduced through comparison of first editions and the manuscripts upon which they were based. Typesetters reproduced even the obvious errors contained in the manuscript without correcting them. For more on typesetters’ training, see Gardberg 2011.*

⁴¹ *According to Peirce, a sign is “something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity” (Peirce 1994, paragraph 228 [originally from ca. 1897]). Thus, a sign comprises three basic elements: a sign (called representamen), an object to which the sign refers, and an interpretant (i.e. another representamen which makes the connection between the sign and the object). Furthermore, a sign’s relation to its object is classified into three categories by the manner in which it denotes its object: index refers to a causal relation (e.g. swaying tree denotes windy weather), symbol refers to a conventional relation (e.g. the word cat denoting a specific species of four-legged animal), and icon refers to a relation based on visual likeness (e.g. the portrait denotes the person who modelled for the painter).*

especially Sibelius – not only corrected misprints, but often also refined other details of the work.⁴² Thus, while on the one hand being a transcription of the typesetter’s copy, the edition is also witness to a stage in the composer’s ‘writing process’ (which, at this point, might better be called the composer’s creative process, as the edition is not *written* by the composer in the strict sense). Secondly, the typesetter’s copy was often a manuscript other than the autograph fair copy.

Thus, in analysing the edition’s role as a witness in the writing process, we must distinguish the composer’s contribution from that of the typesetter (and the possible copyists, who in turn produced the typesetter’s copy). This is achieved by drawing the traditional distinction made within musical notation between *Notentext* and *Notenbild*. *Notentext* refers to those qualities of the musical notation that affect interpretations of the musical work, whereas *Notenbild* refers to the graphic qualities of the notation (such as font, layout, etc.).⁴³ It should be underlined here that interpretation does not necessarily mean any actual performance; rather, it refers to the abstract conception of the work gained by a musician reading the musical notation.⁴⁴

In typeset editions the distinction between *Notenbild* and *Notentext* is plain to see. The *Notenbild* was constructed by the typesetter, who was unable to read the musical notation as text. Thus, the *Notentext* remained untouched during the construction of the *Notenbild*. However, during the publication process, the *Notentext* did not remain immutable, since the work was subsequently refined by the composer, a party who normally would not concern himself with aspects of the *Notenbild*.⁴⁵

Example 2.2 illustrates the difference between *Notentext* and *Notenbild*, when viewed from the Peircean perspective: within any one edition, both aspects of the musical notation are essentially different representations. The *Notentext* is an indexical representation of the musical work: a person capable of reading music makes his/her interpretation of the work based on the edition’s *Notentext*; and in reverse, the composer seeks to communicate the work by means of the *Notentext*.⁴⁶ On the other hand, as a transcription the *Notenbild* represents the copy from which the typesetter has produced the transcription: due to the iconic relationship between the two, the textual scholar can deduce what kind of a source – or often even what specific source – was used as the typesetter’s copy.⁴⁷

⁴² Good examples of this are the source chains for *Isänmaalle*, *Uusmaalaisten laulu*, and *Män från slätten och havet*.

⁴³ McGann (1991) introduced a distinction between ‘linguistic code’ and ‘bibliographic code’. The concept of the linguistic code is consistent with that of the *Notentext*, but it must be emphasised that the bibliographic code is not the same as the *Notenbild*, which refers solely to the graphic qualities of the notation. Bibliographic code also includes broader issues such as publisher, price, book design and ink and paper. For the definition of bibliographic code, see also Bornstein 2001, 9.

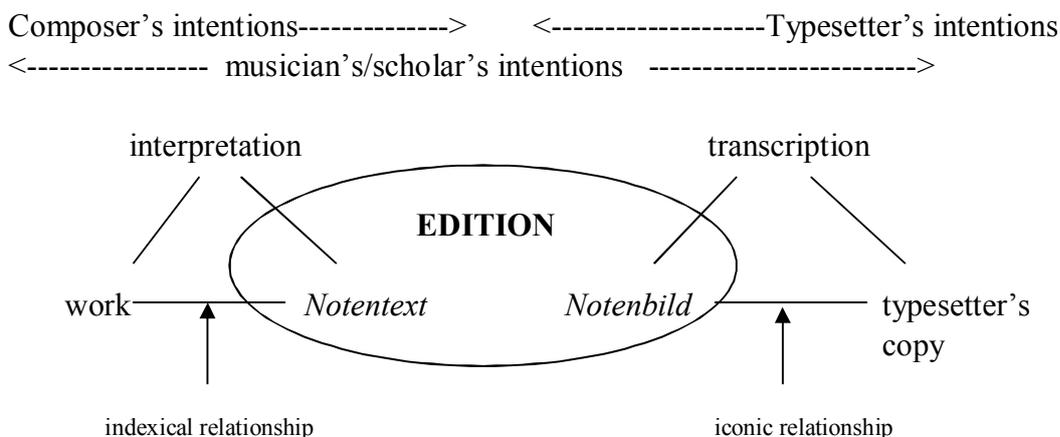
⁴⁴ Grier (1996, 24) defines this action as “the aural replication of a performance”.

⁴⁵ There is no known instance in which Sibelius instructed that a detail of *Notenbild* be changed. This paragraph describes the ideal situation; misprints caused by the typesetter’s errors during the construction of the *Notenbild* may inevitably affect the *Notentext*.

⁴⁶ It should be highlighted here that *Notentext* is not considered the work, but a representation of one stage in the temporal process of the work. For more on the concept of the work, see Section 2.3.

⁴⁷ See, for instance, Example 3.1 in Section 3.3.1.

Example 2.2. *The concept of edition analysed from the Peircean perspective.*



One of the advantages of the model presented in Example 2.2 is that it accepts the possibility of different kinds of typesetter's copies. In the first edition, the typesetter's copy may be the composer's autograph manuscript, but it may also be a copy made by a copyist (which is, in fact, a relatively typical situation among musical works); in later editions (or later imprints of the first edition), the typesetter's copy is usually not a manuscript source at all, but a previous edition. When an edition is based on a source other than an autograph manuscript – for instance, a copyist's hand-written copy produced for the purpose of the first performance – the copyist's interpretations (and possible mistakes) naturally affect the reading of the first edition.⁴⁸ However, if the composer has participated in the publication process – as was usually the case – the fact that the first edition is based on the copyist's copy does not invalidate the reading of the first edition. In other words, it does not mean that the first edition should necessarily be viewed as corrupted when compared to the composer's autograph fair copy.

Sibelius's *Uusmaalaisten laulu* is a good example of the above. The typesetter's copy, written by an unknown copyist, contains several writing errors that were accurately transcribed by the typesetter (which makes it an excellent example of the iconic relationship of the typesetter's copy and the *Notenbild*, see Example 2.2). The writing errors are easily detected, since the original autograph manuscript by Sibelius has survived. During the publication process, Sibelius read a total of three sets of proofs before giving permission for the edition to be released. When proofreading, Sibelius not only corrected *most* of the mistakes by the copyist, but also changed the *Notentext* by adding a few dynamic marks to the score. Thus, the autograph fair copy of *Uusmaalaisten laulu* is not the end of the writing process and does not represent the work as “fixed in its

⁴⁸ *The engraver's copy of Fantasia (Op. 17) by Schumann (discussed in Marston 1992, 16–21) provides an interesting example in this respect: as requested by Schumann, the copyist only copied the notes and the composer added the tempi, dynamic marks etc. himself. In addition, Schumann also made emendations to the music at that stage. Thus, the engraver's copy is an interesting mixture of 'autograph fair copy' and 'copyist's copy'. The typesetter's copy of the male-choir version of Isänmaalle provides an opposite case: Sibelius wrote the notes himself, but requested that the publisher add the tempi, underlay and dynamic marks.*

stable form". Due to the emendations made by Sibelius during the publication process, the first edition can be seen as a witness to the last stage of the writing process. However, although the first edition marks the ending of the writing process, it is not an ideal representation of the work as it contains misprints that went undetected by Sibelius in the process of proofreading. The existence of misprints in the first edition – regardless of whether they originate from composer, copyist, or typesetter – does not affect the edition's role as a witness of the last stage of the writing process: it would certainly be naïve to view the autograph fair copy as an error-free zone and automatically to consider it an ideal representation of the work. In this particular instance, both the first edition and the autograph fair copy reveal exactly the same problems from this viewpoint – and as stated above, I see no fundamental difference between them.

Another example that highlights my point is Sibelius's autograph fair copy of *Den 25 Oktober 1902 (1)*. This fair copy was used as the typesetter's copy for the work's first edition. After the publication of the first edition, Sibelius decided to make a number of emendations to the music. He executed the emendations by scraping from the manuscript all the notes to be altered with a sharp tool and by writing the new reading on top of the earlier one. In this case, the role of the first edition as a witness of a stage in the writing process is tangible: without the existence of the first edition, it would be difficult (if not impossible) to reconstruct the earlier stage of the work's evolution, since it has been literally removed from the fair copy. In this exceptional case, is it possible to view the first edition as part of the *avant-texte* of the work? The question is deliberately provocative, and I do not intend to answer it, but it does cast doubt over the idea that an edition and a manuscript source are essentially different witnesses of the work's evolution.⁴⁹

My view outlined above comes close to Donald H. Reiman's notion of the role of the fair copy in the source chain. Reiman classifies manuscripts into three categories based on their respective intended audiences. His categories (*public*, *confidential*, and *private*) are defined in the following way:

a manuscript is *private* if its author intended it to be read only by one person or a specific small group of people whose identity he knew in advance; *confidential* if it was intended for a predefined but larger audience who may – or may not – be personally known to or interested in the author; and *public* only if it was written to be published or circulated for perusal by a widespread, unspecified audience, including such abstractions as the nation, the reading public, and posterity.⁵⁰

Reiman points out that, although fair copies were sent to the publisher with the intention that their contents be published, they are perhaps not best read as public documents, since "the author's intention [during the Enlightenment and Romantic periods] included the expectation, or at least the hope, of correcting proofs personally and thus viewing and perfecting the text after it had been embodied in the printed form in which it

⁴⁹ This example raises the question as to what kind of role revisions play in the creative process; is there a borderline between evolution and revision? This question is discussed in Section 2.2.

⁵⁰ Reiman 1993, 65. *Italics mine.*

would be presented to the world at large.”⁵¹ This notion certainly holds true for Sibelius, who not only corrected misprints but frequently made emendations and alterations to the proofs. Thus, the fair copies should not be viewed as public so much as confidential documents, with the publishers’ editor/typesetter/engraver (or the like) as their intended audience. One important exception to this principle is created by fair copies intended for publication as facsimiles; these should naturally be considered as public documents. For example, the first edition of *Ej med klagan* was printed as a facsimile edition due to its hurried schedule, and this prevented the edition from being produced by the laborious means of typesetting.⁵²

2.2 Revisions and Later Editions

The publication of the work does not mean the end of the work’s evolution – especially when discussing the works of composers such as Sibelius who had a tendency to revise his works after their first performances and publications. And Sibelius was not in any way an exception among composers: one need only think of Robert Schumann, who revised many of his piano works, or Anton Bruckner, whose symphonies appear in many versions. The role of the composer’s revisions in the work’s evolution has been extensively explored in previous studies. Many of the discussions are centred on questions such as, which of the various versions *is* the work, or when is a work revised to such a degree that it becomes a new work instead of being a revised one.⁵³

One of the most popular conceptions has been the so-called *Fassung letzter Hand* principle, whereby the revisions represent a continuation of the creative process; the idea is that each revision made by the composer is an attempt to improve the work, thus, the writing process is considered to be over only when the last revision is made.⁵⁴ The *Fassung letzter Hand* principle is justly criticised for the implications it imposes on earlier versions: if the last version *is* the work, then earlier versions represent a somehow incomplete state of the work. This view overlooks the fact that even once the work has been published/performed for the first time, it was most probably considered completed,

⁵¹ Reiman 1993, 108–109.

⁵² For closer discussion, see Chapter 13. It should be added that, for Reiman, the author’s intention is always the decisive factor; for instance, a letter intended by its author to be confidential does not become a public document if later published, rather it is still considered a confidential document.

⁵³ Shillingsburg 1997, 165–179 provides an excellent overview of the previous discussion on the matter. See also Pulkkinen 2010, 114–120 and Tanselle 1989, 79–82.

⁵⁴ An extreme example of this is provided by the Austrian officer who said to Goethe in 1806: “I buy only ‘letzter Hand’ editions; otherwise one has always the annoyance of owning a bad book, or one must buy the same book for the second time. Therefore to be certain I always wait for the author’s death before I buy his works.” Naturally the officer had not read any of Goethe’s works, since their author was still alive. The translation is mine. The original reads: “Ich kaufe halt nur Ausgaben der letzten Hand; sonst hat man immer den Ärger, ein schlechtes Buch zu besitzen, oder man muss dasselbe Buch zum zweiten Male kaufen. Darum warte ich um sicher zu gehen, immer den Tod der Autoren ab, ehe ich ihre Werke kaufe” (cited from von Dadelsen 1961, 1; story published for the first time in 1832).

despite any the later revisions. The opposite view in favour of the early version is no less problematic; exactly the same criticism can be applied to, for instance, Georg von Dadelsen's view on the primacy of Schumann's early versions:

His [Schumann's] expression on the primacy of first conceptions is a clear rejection of the idea that the artist could somehow improve the work once written down; yes, in a manner of speaking, it must be a temptation to trust only the inspiration and not let it be changed afterwards by any well-intentioned advice.⁵⁵

It seems that the awkwardness of these answers is due to their implied conception of the work as a singular text. In fact, questions such as 'what version is the work' are somewhat editorial by nature; they are raised by the need of editors to publish a single, edited text that will be the representation of the work. This way of phrasing of the question is essential for any copy-text edition. Since the present study does not seek to find one correct text of the work, but to map the work's evolution, such questions are, from this viewpoint, simply wrong questions – or as Peter L. Shillingsburg so elegantly puts it:

It seems more likely, however, that every answer is unsatisfactory, not just because each textual situation is so particular that no answer by rule will do but because the concept of a stable work and stable text is fundamentally flawed.⁵⁶

In the present study, the concept of the work is not related to any particular version or source – be it an edition or a manuscript. Instead, it is understood as a "series of discrete historically extant objects"⁵⁷, each of which are studied in their own context, such as: on which manuscript source or earlier edition is the new edition based? Has the composer participated in the publication process? What kind of editorial work has affected the text? What is the edition's intended audience? Thus, my view comes close to that of the studies by, for instance, Jerome McGann, who attaches to the physical product the significance of the social conditions under which it was produced, and of Donald F. McKenzie, who states that "each version has some claim to be edited in its own right, with a proper respect for its historicity as an artefact."⁵⁸

When dealing with editions, one must bear in mind the fact that authorial intention is only one aspect of the production. In fact, works continue their evolution even after their

⁵⁵ Von Dadelsen 1961, 9. The translation is mine. The original reads: "Sein Wort vom Primat der ersten Konzeption ist eine klare Absage an die Auffassung, dass der Künstler am einmal niedergeschrieben Werk noch etwas verbessern könnte; ja, es soll gleichsam eine Mahnung sein, allein die Inspiration zu vertrauen und sich durch keinen noch so wohlgemeinten Rat bewegen zu lassen, nachträglich zu ändern." 'Schumann's expression' refers to his statement: "The first conception is always the most natural and best. The understanding errs, the feeling does not." The original: "Die erste Konzeption ist immer die natürlichste und beste. Der Verstand irrt, das Gefühl nicht."

⁵⁶ Shillingsburg 1997, 166–167 (see also p. 177). Shillingsburg is here discussing the question of when the revised text becomes a new work.

⁵⁷ Shillingsburg 1997, 172.

⁵⁸ McGann 1983 and 1991 and McKenzie 1986, x. The editorial inclination of the treatments is evident in the McKenzie quote. See also Shillingsburg 1997, Bornstein 2001, and Lebrave 1987.

author's death.⁵⁹ The changes occurring after the author's lifetime are not necessarily less significant than those that occur during his lifetime: many such changes, regardless of their origins, have exerted significant impact on performance practice and the way the work has been perceived: for example, the editor's decisions in the making of the 1985 edition of Sibelius's *Saarella palaa* have deeply affected the performance practice of this work.⁶⁰

Similarly, it should be noted that the extent of the changes does not necessarily correlate with their significance. As pointed out by, for instance, Hans Zeller, even small emendations may have a significant impact, since even unrevised parts of the text change their meaning or effect because their relationship to the revised passages is changed.⁶¹ In extreme cases, an edition producing the text of the earlier edition to the letter may be a highly significant source and should not be viewed merely as a reproduction of the earlier source: as an example, one need only consider the 1965 edition of *Saarella palaa*, which produces the syntactically incorrect *Notentext* of earlier editions without making any attempt to correct it. At the very least, the 1965 edition provides important information on the editorial work – or lack thereof – in the edition. This issue is discussed in more detail in Chapter 9.2.2.

2.3 Parallel Versions

Traditionally, when a musical work appears in multiple versions, the different versions have been defined based on the composer's action. This is also reflected in the terminology used: terms such as 'original composition' and 'arrangement of the original composition' imply that an arrangement is not an end product of the compositional process but something else altogether. Ontologically, it places an arrangement in undefined territory within – or even outside – the concept of the work.⁶²

A fruitful onset for the present study is provided by *Sibelius Werkverzeichnis* (the thematic catalogue of Sibelius's collected works) compiled by Fabian Dahlström, who does not differentiate between arrangement and revision.⁶³ Though the matter is not discussed explicitly in the Introduction, Dahlström's view of the position of the arrangement in relation to the concept of work can be deduced based on how the works are presented in the catalogue. Dahlström does not use the word 'arrangement' (*Bearbeitung*), when discussing different versions written by the same person. The use of the word *Bearbeitung* is reserved solely for instances in which the arranger is someone other than

⁵⁹ In this sense, the analogy with evolution is suitable, since the work does not evolve towards a perfect manifestation of the work but continues to evolve endlessly.

⁶⁰ See Section 9.2.2.

⁶¹ Zeller (1975). Cited in Shillingsburg 1997, 169.

⁶² For an example of such concept, see Torvinen's criticism of Levinson (Torvinen 2007, 133–134). For an example of the traditional view and the value judgement it implies, see Chapter 10.4.

⁶³ Dahlström 2003.

the composer.⁶⁴ In the catalogue, ‘work’ is an umbrella term under which Dahlström has grouped all versions (as *Fassungen*), regardless of whether they are the composer’s arrangements or revisions of his own work.⁶⁵

Dahlström’s idea of not making a distinction between an arrangement and a revision appears alluring. However, the idea is not without its problems, since the relation of the arrangement to the original version appears very different when one considers the composer’s intentions: a revision is intended to replace the original (i.e. the earlier) version – in other words, it somehow *is* the original work in a revised condition – whereas an arrangement is intended to co-exist in parallel with the original.

In the present study, the versions intended to co-exist are called parallel versions.⁶⁶ Most commonly, parallel versions are arrangements, though the concept does not necessarily require a change of ensemble – the intention of co-existence is the decisive factor. In the context of the present study, all parallel versions are seen as equal representations of the work – i.e. as stages in the temporal process, regardless of any change of ensemble; consequently, an arrangement is not merely a representation of its original version but a part of the work’s evolution process – a statement, which is perhaps contrary to the popular view on the matter.⁶⁷

Despite being representations of the same work, parallel versions display somewhat separate identities in relation to one another. From the perspective of the present study, the most important aspect of this concerns textual transmission: each parallel version actually has a source chain of its own; in fact, it is surprising how little readings of the parallel versions have affected each other after their publication. For instance, the emendations made by Sibelius to the music of one version have generally not affected the reading of the other version(s).⁶⁸ The model in Example 2.3 illustrates this idea. It should be noted that the possible number of parallel versions is not restricted to two (e.g. the source chains for *Isänmaalle* and *Rakastava*). The arrows represent the temporal dimension – for instance, the original version precedes the arrangement and source A precedes source B. In this model, the letters represent the sources and the dotted arrows possible textual transmission

⁶⁴ This practice applies both for Sibelius’s arrangements of other composers’ works (e.g., *Laulun mahti JS 118*) and for the arrangements of Sibelius’s works by other musicians (called *fremde Bearbeitungen*). In the index at the end of the book, the abbreviation *arr.* appears in the context of Sibelius’s arrangement of his own work on several occasions (2003, 669–679). This is probably an oversight, as similar use of the concept of the ‘arrangement’ does not otherwise appear in the book.

⁶⁵ To underline the implicit nature of the treatment of these concepts, the words *Bearbeitung*, *Fassung*, and *Werk* remain undefined in the glossary (appearing on pp. XXXVII–XLII in German, English, and Finnish).

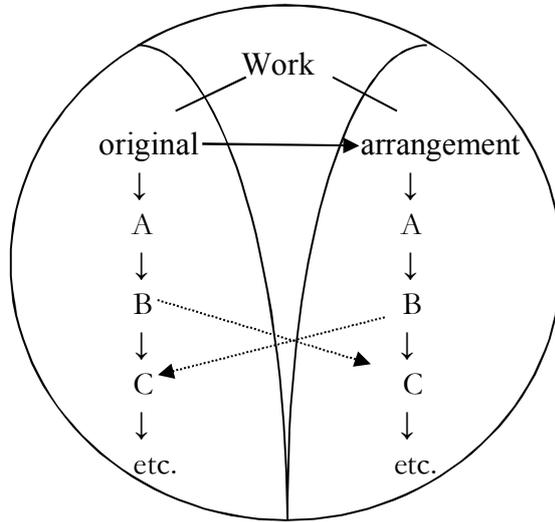
⁶⁶ Tanselle (1976) uses a similar categorisation making a distinction between horizontal and vertical revisions; Tanselle’s term ‘vertical revision’ complies to a great extent with my concept of the parallel version. However, the materials examined in our respective studies (musical vs. literary works) differ significantly, and for this reason I do not apply Tanselle’s terms; the process of arranging holds characteristics that do not appear in the literary revisions discussed by Tanselle. Interestingly, Tanselle later discusses (1991, 23) the differences between musical text and literary text.

⁶⁷ One should remember that the present study includes only those versions written by Sibelius.

⁶⁸ This aspect is discussed in detail in Chapter 10; especially in Section 10.3.

between the parallel versions, which naturally can occur both from the original to the arrangement and vice versa.⁶⁹

Example 2.3. Parallel versions.



It should also be noted that the present study excludes the arrangements of Sibelius's works by other people. Thus, it is not only their shared musical material that binds parallel versions together; their authorship also plays a role. This is not an unproblematic dividing line, but in a study that aims to analyse Sibelius's writing process, it makes sense.

2.4 Progression of the Present Study

The progression of the present study essentially follows the steps formulated by de Biasi as operations of Genetic Criticism (see Section 2.1 above). The present study began by gathering and classifying source material (de Biasi's operations 1 and 2). However, this source material gathered contains – in addition to the manuscript sources discussed by de Biasi – published editions as well. Sources, their special features, as well as the method of gathering them, are described in detail in Chapter 3.

Extant sources were thereafter organised according to their content. Special attention was given to their chronology, filiation, and their relations with each other. The outcome of this – i.e. the source chains themselves – are presented as the Appendix I at the end of the book. General features of the source chains are described in Chapter 5.

⁶⁹ The source chains gathered in the present study as the Appendix I follow the pattern presented in the Example 2.3.

The end result of the analysis of the works' evolution (de Biasi's operations 4 and 5) forms Part II. The analysis is divided into four units: the writing process is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7; the publication process – with an emphasis on the special features of typesetting – in Chapter 8; the textual transmission from edition to edition in Chapter 9; and the arranging process (i.e. the parallel versions) in Chapter 10.

Part III assesses three case studies. The case studies present works that display exceptional features that somehow separate their writing process from other works. These works are *Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar* discussed in Chapter 12, *Ej med klagan* discussed in Chapter 13, and *Rakastava* discussed in Chapter 14.

3 Sources

In the present study sources are divided into two groups: musical sources (i.e. the source chain) and biographical sources. The two groups provide different kinds of information. The main focus lies on musical sources, as they are the factual witnesses of the works' evolution processes, which the present study seeks to analyse. However, musical sources cannot be entirely separated from biographical sources, since the biographical sources include two kinds of information that are essential, when analysing musical sources: firstly, biographical sources provide crucial information on the dating of musical sources; and secondly, they may also contain information on the content of musical sources (e.g. corrections by the composer were often passed on to the publishers by letter).

The musical sources used in the present study are described in Section 3.1 and the biographical sources in Section 3.2. Section 3.3 discusses missing sources.

3.1 Musical Sources

3.1.1 Manuscript Sources

In previous literature, scholars have employed a multitude of terms to describe the manuscript's function in the writing process. The multiplicity of terms seemingly overlapping each other derives from the fact that terminology is advisedly meant to reflect the special features of the manuscript corpus under scrutiny. Since the writing processes of different composers are varied, it is only natural that scholars have applied a variety of terminologies.

In many ways the manuscript sources for Sibelius's mixed-choir works form a relatively uniform corpus, and for this reason the number of different terms used to describe different sources can be fairly limited. For example, due to the smaller-scale proportions of Sibelius's choral works, terms related to sketching their overall trajectory (such as *particelli*, *brouillon*, *continuity draft*, etc.) become unnecessary. Naturally, terms related to the sketching of the orchestration are also irrelevant here. In the present study, the following terms are applied to the musical manuscripts: sketch, draft, draft originally intended as a fair copy, fragment of a fair copy, and fair copy.

A sketch is a relatively short unit often featuring a single musical idea. My use of this term is – to some extent – equivalent to what some scholars have called *a concept sketch*, a term first used by Alan Tyson who defines it as “the germ of an idea for a number: nothing detailed, only a suggestion for the scoring, or a brief hint as to the treatment.”⁷⁰ Since the manuscripts of Sibelius's choral works do not require the sketch to be divided

⁷⁰ Tyson 1970, 570–571. For this kind of a sketch, see e.g. Examples 6.1 and 14.13, in which Sibelius has sketched the choral texture of the planned work, without further development of the thematic material.

into any subcategories, the prefix *concept* becomes unnecessary in the context of the present study.

A *draft* is a manuscript featuring the entire thematic material of a given work. Harmonic textures are also drafted to some extent. Repeated sections are not necessarily written out. The distinction between a sketch and a draft is, thus, based on the extent of the material in the manuscript. The distinction used in the present study is derived from Kari Kilpeläinen and Timo Virtanen.⁷¹ However, Virtanen defines a draft as a musical manuscript featuring “a longer unit of the whole work (for example, a passage or a section),” i.e. not as the entire material of the work.⁷² The difference in our definitions is a direct consequence of the different proportions of the studied works: the proportions of a symphonic orchestral work studied by Virtanen are significantly larger than those of an a cappella choral work with the average duration of around two minutes; “a longer unit of the whole [symphonic] work” would normally contain enough material for the choral work discussed in the present study. Thus, Virtanen’s use of the term *draft* is similar to mine, though our definitions differ.

A *draft, originally intended as a fair copy* refers to a fair copy that was emended after its completion and, therefore, no longer served as a fair copy but which instead was used as a basis for the next fair copy. Kari Kilpeläinen categorises these manuscripts as complete drafts.⁷³ Kilpeläinen’s term is correct in the sense that these manuscripts were, in fact, used as drafts for the final fair copies, but the term ignores one all-important aspect: at the time of their writing, these manuscripts were not considered to be drafts but fair copies of the completed works.

A *fragment of a fair copy* is a page (or pages) extracted from a fair copy. Often such a page was extracted due to a writing error, though sometimes they have been removed without any visible cause. In some instances, the extracted fragment of a fair copy is the only surviving manuscript source for the work (for example, this is the case in the choral a cappella version of *Lauluja vuoden 1897 promootiokantaatista*).

A *fair copy* is chronologically the last autograph fair copy of a work, often but not always used as the basis for the first edition. The term does not embody a value judgement: the fair copy is not considered to contain a definitive reading of the work; just like any other musical source, a fair copy is a stage in the writing process, a process that normally continues during the publication process and sometimes even after publication. In cases of multiple existing fair copies, the last one chronologically is called the final fair copy.

⁷¹ Kilpeläinen 1991, 1996, Virtanen 2005. The distinction based on the extent of the material has been criticised in Marston 2001, 472.

⁷² Virtanen 2005, 13.

⁷³ Kilpeläinen 1991.

3.1.2 The Publishing Process of the First Edition

Musical sources from the publishing process consist of the typesetter's/engraver's copy, the proofs, and the *Handexemplar*. In the following section, I will briefly describe these sources.

The *typesetter's/engraver's copy* is the manuscript used as the basis of the edition.⁷⁴ Typesetter's/engraver's copies are often, though not always, autograph fair copies. In some instances, Sibelius had a copyist make a separate copy to be sent to the publisher. These so-called copyist's copies are included in the sources of the present study only if they bear relevance in the source chain, i.e. if they were used as typesetter's/engraver's copies.

Whether the manuscript was used as a typesetter's/engraver's copy can usually be deduced from the markings in the manuscript. Typesetters/engravers often planned the layout of the prepared edition by indicating on the manuscript the planned system breaks and page turns before beginning the typesetting/engraving itself. By comparing the markings in the manuscript with the edition's layout, we can deduce whether the manuscript was used as the basis for the first edition or a later one. For example, in the case of *Den 25 Oktober 1902 (I)* the layout markings show that the autograph fair copy was used as the basis for both the first and the second editions.

The editions produced in Finland were always printed from typesetting plates, as there were no engravers in Finland at the beginning of the 20th century. The typesetter's markings are often not easily distinguished in the manuscript; typesetters indicated system breaks and page turns with small vertical lines above the corresponding bar lines in lead pencil. Engraved editions, on the other hand, were generally produced in Germany. German engravers used numbers written in pencils of different colours indicating different aspects of the layout. This means that the appearance of the engraver's copy differs significantly from that of the typesetter's copy, thus, the means of production can often be deduced without seeing the edition based on the appearance of the manuscript that served as the basis for the edition.⁷⁵

Proofs refer to the trial print of the first edition sent to the composer to be corrected. Only three sets of proofs have survived in the case of Sibelius's mixed-choir works (all for the first edition of *Uusmaalaisten laulu*). However, there are two kinds of circumstantial evidence showing that publishers of Sibelius's choral music did send proofs to be corrected by the composer:

- 1) Correspondence. There are several letters in the National Library of Finland sent by the publisher Otava (among others) to Sibelius with the contents "please return the enclosed proofs corrected". This seems to indicate that Sibelius returned the

⁷⁴ Most of Sibelius's choral works were typeset, though some were engraved. Their means of production exhibit some special characteristics; thus, this study always makes a distinction between a typesetter's copy and an engraver's copy.

⁷⁵ For the differences between engraved and typeset editions, see Section 8.4.

corrected proofs to the publishers and it also explains why they have not survived in the Sibelius Family Archive. Apparently publishers did not preserve the proofs.

- 2) Differences between the typesetter's/engraver's copies and the first editions. There are differences that are not misprints, typesetter's/engraver's oversights or the like. Instead it is probable that Sibelius himself made the emendations while reading the proofs.

Handexemplar is a copy of the published edition that has been in the possession of the composer. The copy may or may not contain handwritten markings by the composer. Sibelius's *Handexemplare* are currently held in two places: some in Ainola and some in the National Library. It is often difficult to conclude whether Sibelius's markings in the *Handexemplar* are intended as private or public writing: for example, in the copy of the solo song *Julvisa* (Op. 1 No. 4), Sibelius has sketched an alto line beneath the melody. This does not necessarily mean that Sibelius planned on publishing such a version of the song; the line was probably written for the Sibelius family's Christmas celebrations and, thus, intended for private use only.⁷⁶ Most of Sibelius's *Handexemplare*, however, contain no markings other than a signature and a date.

3.1.3 Published Sources

Published sources are divided into two groups, the year of Sibelius's death (1957) being the dividing line: editions published prior to or in 1957 are called contemporary editions and those published afterwards are called posthumous editions. New imprints of contemporary editions are difficult to define as they could also be considered new editions instead of merely new imprints of earlier editions. The problematic concept of the imprint is discussed below after the discussion of contemporary editions.

Contemporary editions are those editions for which Sibelius had a chance to read the proofs and whose readings he was thus able to authorise. At the turn of the 20th century, the field of mixed-choir music publishing in Finland was dominated by three publishers: Kansanvalistusseura, an adult education organisation with a strong national ideology, its Swedish-language counterpart Svenska Folkskolans Vänner, and the publishers K. E. Holm. Each organisation had its own publication series of choral music. Sibelius's mixed-choir works were published in the Kansanvalistusseura's series *Sekaäänisiä Lauluja*, Svenska Folkskolans Vänner's *Musikbibliotek, serien A*, and K. E. Holm's *Sävelistö, kaikuja kansamme lauluista*.⁷⁷ These choral series are not mutually exclusive, and many works appear in all three series (e.g. many of the works related to Opus 18).

Choral singing involved many political dimensions. For example, the three series mentioned above reflect their publishers' positions in the language dispute going on throughout Sibelius's lifetime: Kansanvalistusseura's publications consisted mainly of

⁷⁶ *Ej med klagan's Handexemplar raises similar questions. These are discussed in detail in Chapter 13.*

⁷⁷ *The choral-music series of the Kansanvalistusseura were later taken over by the publisher Otava. The works published by K.E. Holm are currently owned by Breitkopf & Härtel. The only work within Sibelius's choral output to be first published by B&H is Kallion kirkon kellosävel.*

works in Finnish while those of Svenska Folkskolans Vänner were in Swedish; K. E. Holm's publications, however, were mostly bilingual.⁷⁸ Choral singing played also an important role in disseminating ideologies and in fostering a uniform identity within society. Therefore, organisations from different fields commissioned and published choral music for their own purposes. This phenomenon is also visible in Sibelius's choral output, which includes works commissioned and published by, for instance, SLEY (the Lutheran Evangelical Association in Finland) and Viipurin Työväenyhdistys (the Workers' Union of Viipuri). Sibelius acknowledged the extra-musical dimension of choral singing, when accepting a commission from the students' association (Eteläsuomalainen Osakunta) to write an anthem for Uusimaa, a region in Southern Finland. Sibelius had supposedly remarked: "If the song is good, it cultivates the musical instinct of the entire population. The people of southern Finland [...] should have a regional anthem superior to the other regional anthems."⁷⁹

Due to the diversity of publishers, the publications themselves form a heterogeneous corpus ranging from periodicals (such as *Työväen kalenteri*) to publications intended for young people (such as *Koululaisen muistikirja* and *Nuori Siion*). Almost all these publications were printed in Finland, which means that the editions were produced by typesetting (instead of engraving). In addition, it also means that the editions were often typeset by people who were not used to typesetting music.⁸⁰

Imprints (newly typeset) refer to later imprints of contemporary editions. Most of the booklets in the Kansanvalistusseura's series *Sekaäänisiä lauluja* were republished several times. The Kansanvalistusseura did not save the typesetting plates of these earlier publications, but each new publication was typeset anew (this was common practice in the case of other publishers too). Therefore, new publications were not identical with their earlier counterparts. They not only included a unique set of misprints, but sometimes even the pagination was different. The new publications were not new imprints of the first edition in the strict sense, as they were printed from different typesetting plates. That being said, neither can they be considered to be entirely new editions. Due to the lack of a more accurate term, republished editions are referred to as *imprints (newly typeset)*.⁸¹

Newly typeset imprints were invariably based on the first imprint and not on the original manuscript source. In addition, there is no evidence that Sibelius would ever have participated in the publishing process of these later imprints. For closer discussion, see Chapter 9. It should be noted that after the 1950s, when typesetting was replaced by more

⁷⁸ In addition to the three series mentioned above, the mixed choir *Suomen laulu* began a publication series of its own, *Suomen laulun ohjelmistoa*. In addition to contemporary Finnish choral music, the series also included works by Dowland, Ockeghem, Brahms, Debussy, Tchaikovsky, etc. all translated into Finnish. The series did not include any works by Sibelius and is therefore not mentioned above.

⁷⁹ Rahunen 1957, 16. My translation is somewhat shortened. The exact quote: "Jos laulu on hyvä, se vaikuttaa kehittävästi koko väestön musikaaliseen vaistoon. Juuri eteläsuomalaisilla, maan keskustassa asuvana väestönä, tulisi olla hyvä maakuntalaulu, sellainen laulu, joka olisi yläpuolella muita maakuntalauluja." Rahunen's article is based on second-hand information (e.g. records and memos in the archive of the Eteläsuomalainen Osakunta) and may not be entirely accurate or reliable.

⁸⁰ For closer details, see Chapter 8.

⁸¹ For the terms 'edition', 'impression' and 'issue' within music publishing, see e.g. Broude 1991, 106–112. However, Broude does not describe this kind of situation.

sophisticated means of production (such as photosetting), the situation was quite different: in posthumous editions, new imprints were often identical to the first imprint.

Posthumous editions refer to editions published in Finland after 1957. Posthumous editions are often based on corresponding contemporary editions and not on the manuscript sources, even when they had survived. In the field of mixed-choir music in Finland after the 1950s there were two principal publishers: Fazer and Sulasol. Sibelius's mixed-choir works have been included in the series *Fazerin sekakuorosarja* by Fazer and *Sekakuorolauluja* by Sulasol. Around 1992, Fazer published some of Sibelius's previously unpublished choral works in the context of preparation for BIS's complete recordings of Sibelius's works.⁸²

3.2 Biographical Sources

3.2.1 Correspondence

Sibelius's correspondence forms an extensive corpus of documents. However, there are two groups of correspondents that are of special importance for the present study: publishers and choral conductors (or some other representative of a particular choir). These two groups of correspondents shed light on different aspects of the process: correspondence with the publishers sheds light on the publication process and in some cases helps to date the compositions more accurately, while conductors often asked about specific details of the composition. In addition, Sibelius's correspondence with Teosto, the composers' copyright organisation in Finland, is an important source, as Teosto forwarded to Sibelius several questions they had received from musicians, especially those from abroad.

The letters Sibelius received are preserved at the National Library of Finland (Sibelius Collection) and in the National Archives of Finland (Sibelius Family Archives), whereas the letters Sibelius posted to other people are naturally scattered all over the world and can be found in numerous archives and private collections. Letters sent by Sibelius to private individuals resurface on an almost annual basis.

The present study is based on the two Sibelius collections mentioned above. In addition, all archives that are known to possess letters written by Sibelius have been inspected.⁸³ I have also actively searched for previously unknown letters. For the present study, the following archives have been inspected: Breitkopf & Härtel, Otava, Holger Schildts Förlag (at ÅA), SLEY, the Sibelius Museum, Suomen laulu (at NA), Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat (at NL), Vår-förening (at SLS), Ilta and Aukusti Koskimies (at

⁸² *A cappella mixed-choir works were recorded by two Finnish choirs: Jubilate, conducted by Astrid Riska and Dominante conducted by Seppo Murto.*

⁸³ *The most important source for this correspondence is Dahlström 2003.*

SKS), Heikki and Armi Klemetti (at NL and SKS), Jonathan Reuter (at ÅA), Sulasol (at NL), to name the most important ones.⁸⁴

Despite the search for missing letters, the fact remains that in many cases only half of the conversation has survived, namely the letters Sibelius received. The most notable example in the present study is the case of *Rakastava*; based on surviving correspondence we know that Sibelius made some changes to the work, but what those changes are remains unknown (see Section 3.3.2). It should also be noted that a multitude of letters Sibelius received in the 1890s has disappeared. This is only natural, since the Sibelius family lived at at least seven addresses during the period 1892–1904 before finally settling in Ainola.⁸⁵

3.2.2 Diary

Sibelius began keeping a diary while staying in London in February 1909. The diary had a two-fold function. On the one hand it served as a catalogue of completed works and different financial matters (such as fees and debts),⁸⁶ and on the other hand it served as a surrogate friend during difficult times. As Sibelius wrote in his diary on 31 August 1911: “Don’t fall for tobacco or spirits. Rather scribble in your ‘diary’. Confide your bad mood on ‘paper’. In time [it will be] better so. Yes – in time!”⁸⁷

Sibelius wrote his diary entries in Swedish. At first, the entries are talkative, and he discusses at length, for example, his relations with his family and friends, people visiting Ainola, his reactions to reviews and other published articles, and even his own works – albeit not in great detail. During the 1920s his diary entries became shorter and sparser until, in 1929, he practically stopped writing the diary. The last entry dates from 1944.⁸⁸

The diary consists of two large booklets and a number of loose pages currently preserved in the National Archives of Finland. The diary was published as a critical edition in 2006, edited by Fabian Dahlström. In addition to an extensive commentary, the edition contains Dahlström’s analysis of the diary’s contents.⁸⁹

The diary is an invaluable source, especially with regard to the dating of Sibelius’s works. From the perspective of the present study, it is rather unfortunate that Sibelius composed the vast majority of his mixed-choir oeuvre before he began keeping the diary; many choral works from the 1880s and 1890s cannot be dated accurately, and some important questions concerning their history therefore remain unanswered. However, in 1911–1912 Sibelius discussed his compositional ideas at length in a number of diary entries. During these years, he composed the choral works *Män från slätten och havet*, *Kallion kirkon kellosävel*, and *Uusmaalaisten laulu*. The writing processes of these

⁸⁴ The list here contains those archives, from which I have found new sources.

⁸⁵ Hartikainen 2003.

⁸⁶ Sibelius often underlined completed works in green pencil and financial details in red.

⁸⁷ Fall ej för tobaken eller sprite. Skif kludd i din ”dagbok” hellre. Anförtro ”papret” ditt misshumör. I längden bättre så. Ja – i längden.

⁸⁸ Between 1930 and 1944 there are only ca 30 entries from 7 different years.

⁸⁹ Dahlström 2006, 8–25.

compositions are discussed in the diary in detail and the entries provide a unique insight into Sibelius's compositional process and into the conditions under which they were composed.

3.2.3 Work Lists

Sibelius began using opus numbers at the turn of the 20th century. During the next three decades, he not only added new opus numbers as his oeuvre grew, but also changed the numbering of his previously published works on several occasions. For this reason some of his works – his choral works in particular – were printed with more than one opus number; consequently, the same opus numbers may appear in the context of several different works. Sibelius's list of opus-numbered works remained a work-in-progress until his death, and there is no final or complete list of opus-numbered works. The later work lists are not internally coherent: for instance, Opus 21 contains only sub-number 2 (the male-choir work *Natus in curas*), but no sub-number 1; the lists lack Opus 107, which does not appear in any manuscript or publication, though they do contain numbers 108–117. Lists feature many other similar confusing details too.

Moreover, multiple versions of the same choral work sometimes cause confusion; Sibelius seldom specified the version for which the opus number is intended or whether the given opus number is intended to include all different versions of the work in question. For example, choral versions of *Rakastava* are often referred to as Opus 14, though based on Sibelius's autograph work lists it would appear that he intended number 14 only for the string-orchestra version of this work.

Sibelius's autograph work lists cannot therefore be considered complete catalogues of his oeuvre. Most of the lists do not list the works without opus numbers at all, and some lists contain only a selection of those works. Kari Kilpeläinen has analysed these work lists in detail, so there is no need for further scrutiny here.⁹⁰ The different opus numbers regarding Sibelius's mixed-choir works are discussed in Section 4.1.

3.2.4 Other Sources

Premières and other important concerts were often reviewed in the newspapers. Primarily newspaper reviews provide information on the reception history of a work, but sometimes also present important information regarding the musical sources behind them (e.g. *Venematka* and *Kallion kirkon kellosävel*) and the dating of the composition (*Den höga himlen och den vida jorden*)

A small number of Sibelius's choral works were recorded during the composer's lifetime. Although such recordings give information on the early performance practice of these works, they also provide an interesting perspective on certain problematic details

⁹⁰ Kilpeläinen 1991, 159–215. The work lists are also listed in Dahlström 2003, 693–696.

that appear in the musical sources. Recordings have been used as a source, insofar as they shed light on the questions rising from musical sources (see *Saarella palaa* in Chapter 9).

Publishing contracts sometimes help in dating the compositions. Extant contracts are preserved at the National Archives of Finland, but the collection is not complete. The majority of publishing contracts made with small publishers have not survived, and based on other biographical sources it would appear that at least some of these contracts were nothing more than verbal agreements (as is the case with e.g. *On lapsonen syntynyt meille*, for which the contract was concluded by phone⁹¹).

The last (and, indeed, the least) group of sources consists of early biographies. As they date from Sibelius's lifetime, they may contain information gathered directly from the composer himself. Sadly, biographies rarely mention his choral works, as these works were not considered an essential part of Sibelius's production.

3.3 Remarks on Missing Musical Sources

Naturally one can never know exactly how many and what kinds of sources are missing. Much, however, can be deduced from extant sources. Evidence for the existence of currently missing musical sources can be found both from biographical sources and from other musical sources. In the source chains outlined in the Appendix I, missing sources are marked with an asterisk.

3.3.1 Evidence in Extant Musical Sources

The source chain for *Sydämeni laulu* provides an interesting example of a missing source. The autograph fair copy of the male-choir version gives unambiguous layout markings, which, confusingly, do not comply with the layout of the first edition – or, in fact, with any other known edition. This puzzling fact in the source chain becomes understandable by comparing the details of bar 15 in the printed sources. Bar 15 of the autograph fair copy and the first edition are presented in Example 3.1.

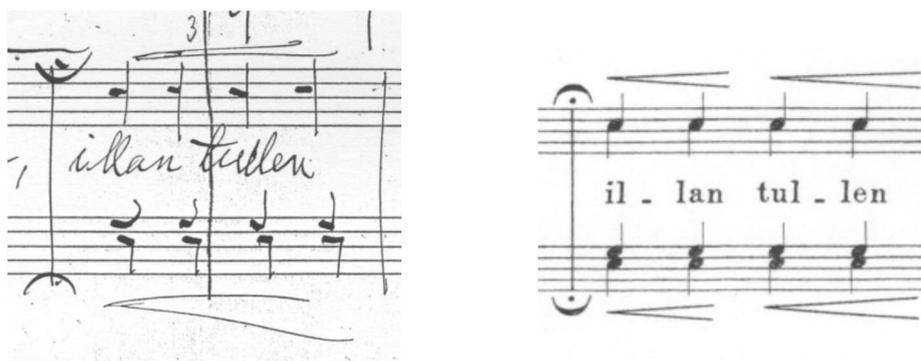
According to the layout markings in the autograph fair copy, there should be a system break in the middle of bar 15 in the subsequent edition; there is a vertical line between the second and third beats of the bar and the number 3 indicating the end of the third system on the page (see Example 3.1a); however, there is no system break in the first edition (see Example 3.1b). Furthermore, the long crescendo appearing in the manuscript has been divided into two consecutive crescendi in the first edition. The most probable explanation for this puzzling fact is that between the fair copy and the first edition was another source in which the crescendo marking was divided between two systems as planned in the

⁹¹ *Suokunnas* 1977.

markings on the manuscript.⁹² This division of a single consistent crescendo into two consecutive crescendi is transferred into the first edition, though bar 15 is engraved in a single system in the edition (see Example 3.1b). From this detail, it can be deduced that the missing copy based on the autograph fair copy was, in all likelihood, used as the engraver's copy in the production of the first edition. Thus, the source chain is as follows: autograph fair copy → missing copy → first edition.

Example 3.1. *Sydämeni laulu*, the male-choir version, bar 15.

a) the autograph manuscript (in SibMus.). b) the first edition (Wasenius, 1899).



Much can be deduced about this missing source without ever actually seeing it: in the case of *Sydämeni laulu*, based on the markings in the autograph fair copy, the layout of the missing source can be reconstructed; and based on the first edition, its function as the engraver's copy can also be extrapolated. However, many questions still remain unanswered. Was there one copy or multiple copies? Was the source handwritten or typeset? For what purpose was it made? In the case of *Sydämeni laulu*, I hypothesise that the copy was made by the male-choir Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat for the work's première in December 1898; the first edition was not published until the following year. According to the layout markings, the work was to be placed on pages 8–10, thus, there must have been some kind of a booklet, and the missing source may have been produced by typesetting. But if multiple copies were produced, why has not a single copy of the booklet survived?⁹³

3.3.2 Evidence in Biographical Sources

Sibelius sometimes commented on the progress of an on-going writing process in his diary entries. For instance, the diary entries related to *Män från slätten och havet* and *Uusmaalaisen laulu* show that Sibelius sketched these works intensively within a period

⁹² The division of the longer crescendo into two shorter ones at the system break was a common procedure in early editions. Further, no "open-ended" crescendo markings (indicating the connection from over the system break) were in use. See Chapter 8.

⁹³ It would appear that *Metsämiöiden laulu* (Opus 18 No 5) was on the same missing source, perhaps on the first pages. For details, see Ylivuori, (JSW VII/2, forthcoming).

of one month before writing the final fair copy. In both cases, the final fair copy is, nonetheless, the only surviving source of the writing process. Based on his diary entries, we can assume that several sketches and drafts must have existed at some point.

Sibelius's correspondence often provides references to currently unknown musical sources. For instance, Heikki Klemetti writes to Sibelius on 28 August 1911: "By the way, we sang 'Rakastava' from the VI booklet of 'Ylioppilaslauluja' edited by Hahl, and we executed the minor changes you wrote for the soloist on the piece of paper. The piece of paper is probably in the archives."⁹⁴ The piece of paper has been found neither in the archives of Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat nor of Heikki Klemetti, and the changes indicated by Sibelius remain unknown for now.

Sometimes even concert programmes and newspaper reports contain information on missing musical sources. For example, according to several newspaper reports, Suomen laulu sang the mixed-choir arrangement of *Venematka* on their concert tour in the summer of 1913, but Sibelius's arrangement was written on a manuscript paper manufactured in 1914. Further, in a diary entry Sibelius mentions having arranged the work on 11 October 1914.⁹⁵ Thus, the question remains as to what Suomen laulu actually sang in the summer of 1913. Pentti Virrankoski suggests that the version sung in 1913 was a preliminary version of the arrangement by Sibelius.⁹⁶ However, no evidence exists to support this assumption. During the preparation of the present study, I discovered among Sibelius's *Handexemplare* a copy of an arrangement in an unknown hand. The copy is undated and unsigned. It is possible that it is in fact the version sung in 1913, but there is no way to prove this. Moreover, the question of who wrote the arrangement remains unanswered.⁹⁷

One must always be cautious in forming a hypothesis based even partly on missing sources. According to the newspaper reports, *Kallion kirkon kellosävel* was sung by a choir at the inauguration of Kallio Church on 1 September 1912, but according to Sibelius's diary the choral arrangement was not completed until on 13 September.⁹⁸ Based on this anomaly, Dahlström assumes that there must have been another arrangement – perhaps by Heikki Klemetti, whom some newspaper reports erroneously announced as the composer of the song.⁹⁹ Dahlström's assumption remained valid until, during the compilation of the present study, the programme leaflet of the inaugural concert surfaced from the archives of the congregation of Kallio. The leaflet states unambiguously that the song was performed by a choir singing in unison. Thus, the missing source containing the choral arrangement assumed by Dahlström never existed.

⁹⁴ The letter from Klemetti to Sibelius in NA, SFA, file box 22: "Muuten me lauloimme 'Rakastavan' siitä Hahlin toimittamasta VI:nnestä vihosta 'Ylioppilaslauluja', teimme vaan sooloääneen Sinun paperilapulle kirjoittamasi pienet muutokset. Tämä lappu lienee arkistossa[.]"

⁹⁵ Reviews published in e.g. the *Manchester Guardian* on 14 June and *Turun Sanomat* on 3 June 1913. The paper mark of the manuscript gives the month and year of its manufacture.

⁹⁶ Virrankoski 2004, 94 and 375.

⁹⁷ See also Section 4.2.2.

⁹⁸ *Hufvudstadsbladet* 1 and 2 September, *Helsingin Sanomat* 3 September, and *Uusi Suometar* 3 September.

⁹⁹ Dahlström 2003, 295.

4 Mixed-Choir Works in Bibliographical Sources

4.1 Mixed-Choir Works in Sibelius's Work Lists

Sibelius began using opus numbers at the turn of the 20th century. During the next three decades, he not only added new opus numbers as the output grew, but also changed the numbering of his previously published works several times.¹⁰⁰ For this reason, some of the works discussed in the present study were published with more than one opus number. Consequently, the same opus numbers may have appeared in the context of several different works. In addition, multiple versions of the same work sometimes cause confusion; Sibelius seldom specified the version for which the opus number was intended or whether the given opus number was intended to include all different versions of the work in question. Similar confusion also relates to some JS numbers (i.e. the catalogue numbers for works without opus numbers; listed by Dahlström).¹⁰¹ One of the reasons for this confusion is that Sibelius did not compile any work list that could be considered final or definitive. Even his 'final' work lists are incomplete; for example, *Natus in curas* for male choir – as mentioned before – is known as Opus 21b, but there is no work that is known as Opus 21a.¹⁰² In the following section, I will clarify how the opus numbers of the mixed-choir works changed from one work list to another; this will probably shed light on the confusion appearing in other literature (and especially in editions and recordings).

The History of Opus 18. Sibelius wrote many of the works of Opus 18 in two versions: one for male choir and one for mixed choir. Although the title of the opus changed from one autograph work list to another, it always included the epithet "for male choir" in some form or other.¹⁰³ However, despite this epithet, Sibelius also listed the mixed-choir versions of the same works under Opus 18 in his later work lists. Thus, the opus number 18 was used regularly in the context of the mixed-choir works regardless of the conflicting opus title. The mixed-choir versions have not received a JS number in Dahlström's work catalogue (2003); thus, opus numbers are essentially the only way to refer to these works.

Sibelius revised the content of Opus 18 several times. Before establishing the final form of the opus, Sibelius presented it in public in at least two different forms:

¹⁰⁰ For problems concerning Sibelius's opus numbers and a detailed description of his work lists, see Kilpeläinen 1992, 159–215.

¹⁰¹ Dahlström 2003. In the catalogue, some of the different versions of the JS numbered works are indicated with letters (e.g. the two versions of *Aamusumussa* are 9a and 9b), but often these versions are simply listed after the number without distinction. In some cases, there is also a verbal description (e.g. *Juhlamarssi* receives no JS number, but an indication *Der Schluss aus dem 2. Satz, Fassung für gemischten Chor*, Dahlström 2003, 564).

¹⁰² Similarly, *Pan ja Kaiku* is known as Opus 53a, although it remained as the only work in that opus. For more details, see Kilpeläinen's extensive study on the work lists (1992, 159–215).

¹⁰³ Different titles are listed in Section 1.2.

In 1905¹⁰⁴:

- 1) *Rakastava*
- 2) *Venematka*
- 3) *Saarella palaa*
- 4) *Min rastas raataa*
- 5) *Metsämiehen laulu*
- 6) *Sydämeni laulu*
- 7) *Sortunut ääni*
- 8) *Terve kuu*
- 9) *Veljeni vieraila mailla*

In 1911–1930¹⁰⁵:

- 1) *Isänmaalle*
- 2) *Veljeni vieraila mailla*
- 3) *Saarella palaa*
- 4) *Min rastas raataa*
- 5) *Metsämiehen laulu*
- 6) *Sydämeni laulu*
- 7) *Sortunut ääni*
- 8) *Terve kuu*
- 9) *Venematka*

Around 1930, Sibelius revised the content of Opus 18 for the last time. The new sub-numbering was made public for the first time in its final form in 1931 in Cecil Gray's Sibelius biography, where it was titled "Six part-songs for male voices *a cappella*."¹⁰⁶

- 1) *Sortunut ääni*
- 2) *Terve kuu*
- 3) *Venematka*
- 4) *Saarella palaa*
- 5) *Metsämiehen laulu*
- 6) *Sydämeni laulu*

Although Opus 18 appears in this form in the work lists Sibelius authorised after 1931, the outdated sub-numbers of Opus 18 (especially those from 1911) have continued to appear in literature as well as in modern editions and recordings.

The history of Opus 18 is intertwined with that of Opus 21. Before *Isänmaalle* became the opening number of Opus 18, it appeared in the work lists as Op. 21b.¹⁰⁷ After *Rakastava* was excluded from Opus 18, it appeared as Opus 21 No. 1 (1909–1911). Confusingly, the choral versions of *Rakastava* have also regularly been listed under Opus 14, which Sibelius probably intended only for the string orchestra version.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ *Op. 18 appears in Sibelius's work lists for the first time in 1905. However, in a work list published in 1902 by Euterpe magazine, the works of Op. 18 appear in this order (except Veljeni vieraila mailla, which was composed later).*

¹⁰⁵ *In addition, evidence suggests that Sibelius twice planned to include a tenth song in the opus. In a work list from 1909, Op. 18 is titled 10 mieskuorolaulua [10 songs for male chorus], with Natus in curas being number 10. In 1914, Sibelius planned to add Herr Lager och skön fager as the tenth song. Neither of these songs was ever published as part of Op. 18, nor did they appear as Op. 18 in any published catalogue of Sibelius's oeuvre; thus, these plans were never realised.*

¹⁰⁶ Cecil Gray 1931, 207.

¹⁰⁷ *The sub-numbers in Op. 21 were contradictory; 1905–1909, both Isänmaalle and Natus in curas received second place (either as 2 or b).*

¹⁰⁸ *Although opus number 14 was intended primarily for the string orchestra version in most of Sibelius's work lists, Sibelius did mention the choral versions of Rakastava in the context of Op. 14 in one autograph work list (the list is designated in Dahlström [2003] as "Sib 1912–31").*

The History of Opus 65. Opus 65 appeared in Sibelius's work lists for the first time in 1912 as *Patriotiska sånger* [Patriotic songs]. It consisted of two works: a) *Män från slätten och havet* and b) *Uusmaalaisten laulu*. In 1914, Sibelius added *Kallion kirkon kellosävel* as c) and changed the title to *3 Patriotiska sånger*. A year later, Sibelius switched b) and c). Confusingly, *Uusmaalaisten laulu* also appears in one autograph work list from 1912 in Opus 7, together with *Ej med klagan* and *Juhlamarssi*.¹⁰⁹

Around 1917, Sibelius first planned to add the male-choir song *Till havs!* to the opus as d), but then crossed it out and replaced it with *Drömmarna*.¹¹⁰ However, this opus number appears in no edition of *Drömmarna* (not even, for instance, in the first edition dating from the same year). Opus 65 appeared in its final form in Cecil Gray's 1931 book, where it is entitled "Two part-songs for mixed chorus *a cappella*."¹¹¹ Other works mentioned above in the context of Opus 65 and 7 were ultimately left without an opus number.

The Sun Upon the Lake Is Low. Sibelius planned to include a set of children's songs among his opus numbered works. In several work lists written after 1912, Opus 8 consists of *Aamusumussa*, *Kansakoululaisten marssi*, *Terve, Ruhtinatar*, and *Three Songs for American Schools*, in which *The Sun Upon the Lake Is Low* is also included.¹¹² The children's songs were excluded from the opus-numbered works as late as 1931.¹¹³

4.2 Biographical Sources for Genesis and Reception of Mixed-Choir Works

In the following, I will provide an overall picture of the diverse biographical sources existing for Sibelius's mixed-choir works. Particular emphasis will be placed on remarks concerning the mixed-choir works either in Sibelius's correspondence or in his diary entries. I will also summarise how the premières were reviewed in Finnish newspapers. However, as the majority of the mixed-choir works (including the arrangements) were commissions for different publications including hymnals, school books, and collections of contemporary choral music, the precise date of the première is often difficult to identify. The following sections present only reviews of performances that can be accurately identified as premières. The section has been divided according to the categorisation outlined in Section 1.2.

The reception and genesis of the parallel versions are not discussed in the following. Discussion of the parallel versions is limited to a simple mention of whether the mixed-

¹⁰⁹ See Kilpeläinen 1992, 169.

¹¹⁰ After being crossed out, *Till havs* was replaced in the same work list in its final position as Op. 84 No. 5.

¹¹¹ Gray 1931, 214.

¹¹² In 1912, Opus 8 was called "*Sånger för barnröster*" [Songs for children's voices]. In 1914, the title was "*6 sånger för barnröster*", and in 1915, "*6 Skolsånger*" [6 school songs].

¹¹³ Gray 1931, 222 lists the children's songs in "works without opus numbers" in the same order as they appeared earlier in Opus 8. Gray lists *Aamusumussa* as *Päiv' ei pääse*, after the initial words. This practice is followed later in many sources.

choir work is an arrangement or whether Sibelius arranged it later for some other ensemble.

4.2.1 Works from 1888–1889

Each of the four works Sibelius wrote in 1888 or 1889 is known by two titles: *Ensam i dunkla skogarnas famn* is also known as *Vakna!*, *Hur blekt är allt* as *Höstkvällen*, *När sig våren åter föder* as *Blomman*, and finally *Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar* as *Tanken*.¹¹⁴ The confusion concerning titles stems from the fact that Sibelius gave no titles to the fair copies or sketches of the four works in question. In literature as well as in recording booklets, these works have been referred to either by their initial words or by the title of the original poem. In the present study, the works are referred to according to their initial words – i.e. in line with Dahlström's work catalogue (2003).

Very little is known of the origins of these four works. They were not published during Sibelius's lifetime and most probably were never performed either. Since the works date from Sibelius's student period, Sibelius may have written them as composition exercises for Martin Wegelius, who was his teacher at the time. This hypothesis is supported by pencilled markings, which can be interpreted as pedagogical (indicating, for example, parallel fifths or cross relations). The marks are often single lines or notes, so the handwriting cannot be identified with certainty, but the marks are probably Sibelius's own.

Although the works date from Sibelius's student period (1885–1889), they stand out stylistically from his actual counterpoint exercises, including fugue expositions – usually written to the text of *Kyrie eleison* or the like – and harmonisation exercises in strict chorale style. The four early original choral works included in the present study are the only compositions Sibelius wrote to secular poems in Swedish: three of them by Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1805–1877) and one by Emil von Qvanten (1827–1903).¹¹⁵

The folksong arrangement *Ack, hör du fröken Gyllenborg*, based on a folk ballad from Uusimaa (in Southern Finland) and dating from the same period, is also included in the present study. Sibelius learned the melody from a publication dating from 1887.¹¹⁶ The ballad is titled in the publication as *Ellibrand och fröken Gyllenborg*.

4.2.2 Works Related to Opus 18

Five of the mixed-choir works related to Opus 18 appeared for the first time in the choral collection *Sävelistö 4*, published by K. E. Holm. These works are *Sortunut ääni*, *Saarella*

¹¹⁴ For specific dating, see Kilpeläinen 1992, 84, 90, 98–99, and 113.

¹¹⁵ Sibelius also wrote vocal music as compositional exercises for Prof. Becker in Berlin in 1889–1890. These exercises have also been excluded from the scope of the present study. These works are listed extensively in Barnett 2007 and recorded in BIS's complete recording of Sibelius's works by Dominante conducted by Seppo Murto.

¹¹⁶ *Lagus* 1887, 5–7.

palaa, *Rakastava*, *Min rastas raataa*, and *Aamusumussa*. *Aamusumussa* is based on a poem by Juho Heikki Erkkö (1849–1906), whereas the other poems are taken from the *Kanteletar*. Very little information on the genesis or publication process of the works published in *Sävelistö 4* has survived, for the archives of K. E. Holm are currently lost. Consequently, all the manuscripts of the works published in *Sävelistö 4* are also lost.¹¹⁷ The collection was edited by Eemil Forsström (1866–1928), whom Sibelius knew closely. Despite their friendship, their surviving correspondence gives no direct mention of *Sävelistö 4*.¹¹⁸

Of the works published in *Sävelistö 4*, *Saarella palaa* and *Rakastava* had already been published in 1895 as male-choir works, whereas the others were published for the first time in *Sävelistö 4*. However, Sibelius later published *Sortunut ääni* also in a male-choir version and *Aamusumussa* in a version for children's choir.¹¹⁹ Despite the title of Opus 18 and its recurrent epithet "for male choir," Sibelius never wrote *Min rastas raataa* for male choir. Why Sibelius still continued to place it systematically in work lists among the male-choir works remains unknown.¹²⁰

Sibelius wrote *Rakastava* in a total of four versions: in addition to the above-mentioned versions for male and mixed choir, Sibelius wrote a string orchestra accompaniment for the male-choir version. This version (known as JS 160b) was, however, never performed during Sibelius's lifetime.¹²¹ In 1911, Sibelius wrote a version of *Rakastava* for string orchestra and percussion (without choir).

Three other mixed-choir works related to Opus 18 were published later. Sibelius wrote *Venematka* for mixed choir on 11 October 1914.¹²² The work, based on a poem from the *Kalevala*, had already been published in a male-choir version in 1893. According to several newspaper reports, the Finnish mixed choir Suomen Laulu sang a mixed-choir version of *Venematka* in their concert tour as early as the summer of 1913 – a year before Sibelius wrote the arrangement. Although the writer of the arrangement performed in 1913

¹¹⁷ In fact, this holds true in the case of nearly all the works that were first published by K. E. Holm. Den 25 Oktober 1902 (1) is the only exception, for the fair copy did not remain in the possession of the publisher but of Thérèse Hahl, to whom the work was dedicated.

¹¹⁸ The subject of publishing is touched upon in one letter from Forsström to Sibelius dated 10 October 1894 (currently in NL, Coll. 206.12) – four years prior to *Sävelistö 4*. However, the planned publication is referred to only as "a booklet", and no specific works to be published in the booklet are mentioned. *Sävelistö 4* was the only publication by Forsström to include Sibelius's music.

¹¹⁹ The male choir version of *Sortunut ääni* was published in 1901 and premiered on 21 April 1899. Which of the version were composed first remains unknown. The children's choir version of *Aamusumussa* was written and published in 1913.

¹²⁰ The placement of *Min rastas raataa* among the male choir songs has repeatedly caused confusion. For example, Martti Turunen, the conductor of the male choir Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat, informed Sibelius that he was unable to find the male choir version of *Min rastas raataa*. Sibelius's answer remains unknown. Turunen's letter to Sibelius (in NA, SFA, file box 31) is undated.

¹²¹ The version was planned for a performance in 1894, but it proved too difficult – especially the passage "suuta, suuta" (Klemetti 1940). Instead of the accompanied version, the a cappella male-choir version was performed.

¹²² Diary, 11 October 1914.

remains unknown, it was certainly not Sibelius.¹²³ Sibelius was probably aware of the arrangement, as he comments on Suomen Laulu's concert programme rather disapprovingly in his diary: "Suomen Laulu is having success in London. I [am] poorly represented in the programme."¹²⁴ The arranger is not mentioned in any review.¹²⁵ Sibelius's own arrangement is possibly a reaction to the arrangement by an unknown hand, since no commission or request to make such an arrangement has survived.¹²⁶ Sibelius's arrangement was published in 1914 by the Finnish adult-education organisation Kansanvalistusseura.

Sibelius set Aleksis Kivi's (1834–1872) poem *Sydämeni laulu* for male choir in 1898. The arrangement for mixed choir was written in 1904 for use at a summer course organised by Kansanvalistusseura.¹²⁷ In a letter dated 11 May 1904, Nestor Emanuel Huoponen, who worked as a choral conductor at these summer courses, informed Aksel August Granfelt, head of the Kansanvalistusseura, about preparations for the course: "Composer J. Sibelius informed [me] that he will arrange 'Sydämen[i] laulu' for mixed choir himself."¹²⁸ The arrangement was published in Kansanvalistusseura's choral collection in 1904.

The exact date of the composition of *Isänmaalle* is unknown. Although it was first published as a mixed-choir work in 1900, Sibelius drafted the first version for male choir. Although the early draft cannot be dated accurately, Sibelius may have written it as early as in 1898.¹²⁹ The mixed-choir publication was prepared for a singing festival held in Helsinki on 19–21 June 1900. The work was premièred at the main concert of the festival by "an enormous mixed choir" consisting of all the participating choirs conducted by

¹²³ *Suomen Laulu* also used to sing male-choir works in their concerts, but in this case, the reviews specifically mention that the version sung was written for mixed choir (e.g. *Turun Sanomat* on 3 June 1913 reviewing the rehearsal concert in Turku just before the English tour). In addition to the diary entry cited below, the fact that the arrangement by Sibelius is written on manuscript paper manufactured in 1914 is further evidence that Sibelius did not write the arrangement sung in 1913. See also Section 3.3.2.

¹²⁴ *Diary*, 15 June 1913: "Suomen laulu i London gör succes. Jag dåligt representerad i programmet."

¹²⁵ In NL there is an arrangement by an unknown hand; it may be the version sung in 1913, but the copy cannot be dated accurately. The copy in NL had been in Sibelius's possession.

¹²⁶ Sibelius comments in his diary entries that he felt that the only way to claim authority over his works was to have them published. For more details, see the Section 4.2.4 and the beginning of Chapter 10.

¹²⁷ Summer courses organized by Kansanvalistusseura were intended as supplementary training for school teachers.

¹²⁸ Huoponen's letter to Granfelt (the original lost, but a copy of the excerpt is in NL, HUL 0004b): "Säveltäjä J. Sibelius ilmoitti, että hän itse sovittaa 'Sydämen laulun' sekaäänille." The erroneous title (*Sydämen* instead of *Sydämeni*) also appears in Sibelius's autograph fair copy HUL 0004b.

¹²⁹ *Isänmaalle* is dated 1898 in Ekman (1935). The publication of the poem with the title *Isänmaalle* dates from 1898 (the first publication of the poem bears a different title, thus it is probable that Sibelius used the 1898 version). According to oral tradition, the poem instantly inspired Sibelius, who composed *Isänmaalle* immediately after reading it. Carol Hedberg (unpubl., 46) writes: "However, information suggests that the text immediately inspired JS as soon as he saw it and compelled him to write the composition practically at once." ("Det finns emellertid uppgifter om att JS omedelbart skulle ha inspirerats av texten, när han fick se den, och s.g.s. genast skrivit ut kompositionen då.") The manuscript of the early male-choir version surfaced in 1960. Still, the early work lists usually refer to *Isänmaalle* as a male-choir work.

Oskar Merikanto. The work became successful; according to an anonymous critic in *Päivälehti*, “*Isänmaalle* attracted well-earned attention and had to be repeated.”¹³⁰

Sibelius returned twice to the material of *Isänmaalle*. He wrote an arrangement for male choir in 1907.¹³¹ The melody of *Isänmaalle* appears again in sketches from the late 1940s or 1950s, but the surviving sketches from that period are rudimentary and even the planned ensemble cannot be deduced.¹³²

4.2.3 Other Works from 1893–1905

The category consists of seven works: *Työkansan marssi*, *Soitapas sorea neito*, *Juhlamarssi*, *Lauluja sekakuorolle 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista*, two different compositions of the poem *Den 25 Oktober 1902*, and *Ej med klagan*.

The idea for *Työkansan marssi* was presented in the summer of 1893 by Alli Trygg-Helenius (1852–1926), a campaigner in the workers’ movement as well as in the temperance and women’s movements. She suggested that the workers’ movement should have its own song, a kind of Finnish *Marseillaise*.¹³³ Sibelius and the poet J. H. Erkko (1849–1906) took on the task midway through their common opera project.¹³⁴ The exact date of the composition remains unknown, but Erkko received the fair copied work from Sibelius around 17 August 1893. The song pleased the poet: “It is a splendid thing that you found a melody for the march that pleases you. You cannot imagine how I rejoice in this.”¹³⁵ The song was published in the workers’ magazine *Työväen kalenteri* three years later in 1896. No information on early performances has been found. After the first publication, the song was largely forgotten, and Sibelius did not even include *Työkansan marssi* in any of his work lists.¹³⁶

There is very little information concerning *Soitapas sorea neito* based on the poem *Soita’pas soria likka* from the *Kanteletar*. Kilpeläinen dates the work to 1893–1894 based

¹³⁰ *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 21 June 1900: “enorma blandade kör.” *Päivälehti*, 21 June 1900: “*Isänmaalle* herätti ansaittua huomiota ja oli toistettava.” Although the festival concert was widely covered by the press, the reviews only briefly discuss Sibelius’s novelty. In *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 21 June 1900, the work was described with two adjectives: atmospheric and powerful (“*stämningfull*” and “*kraftig*”). *Pietarin suomalainen lauluseura* (the Finnish choral society of St Petersburg) recorded the work in 1900; it is the earliest known recording of Sibelius’s work.

¹³¹ In 1902 Selim Palmgren had written an arrangement of the work for male choir. This arrangement is often erroneously attributed to Sibelius (e.g. Turunen 1956, 1960). Sibelius’s arrangement from 1907 differs significantly from the draft version from 1898.

¹³² Sketches are in NL, HUL 1034/1.

¹³³ Johnson 1959, 63–64. Also in Johnson 1958.

¹³⁴ Sibelius planned to compose an opera titled *Veneen luominen*. Erkko’s libretto was based on Kalevala’s poems 6 and 16. See also Chapter 14.

¹³⁵ Letter dated 17 August 1893, in NA, SFA, file box 19: “Se oli mainio asia, että sait tuohon marssiin mieleisesi sävelen. Et usko, kuinka iloitsen tästä.” The work is also briefly mentioned in a letter dated 14 September 1893.

¹³⁶ The only publication of the song after 1896 is by Fazer, who bought the rights to the song in 1992.

on the handwriting and the ink used in the manuscript.¹³⁷ The present study indicates that it was probably intended as part of a larger mixed-choir work which, however, was never realised; many of its ideas were used in *Rakastava*, and *Soitapas sorea neito* was eventually left unpublished. For further details of its genesis, see Chapter 14. For the modernisation of the title and the song text, see Section 6.4.

Because Finland is a bilingual country (Finnish and Swedish), two singing festivals were held in Finland simultaneously in 1897: a festival in Swedish in Turku (on 17–20 June) and a festival in Finnish in Mikkeli (on 16–19 June). Sibelius wrote *Juhlamarssi* for the Finnish festival Mikkelin laulu- ja soittojuhlat, organised by the Kansanvalistusseura, which also published the first edition of the work. *Juhlamarssi* is an arrangement for mixed choir a cappella from the last section of the second movement of *Cantata for the University Graduation Ceremonies of 1894* (JS 105), originally composed for soloists, mixed choir and orchestra.¹³⁸ The text for the cantata was written by Kasimir Leino (1866–1919).

The work was premièred in the main concert of the festival on 19 June 1897, at which all participating mixed choirs sang *Juhlamarssi* together. The première was conducted by Sibelius's friend, Eemil Forsström, to whom Sibelius had donated the fair copy of the work.¹³⁹ Newspaper reports focused mainly on the celebratory speech and the celebratory poem, both of which were published in several newspapers which described in detail their performance and their effect on the audience. Some musical numbers were also mentioned in the newspaper reviews of the main concert, but *Juhlamarssi* was not among them.¹⁴⁰ Five days after the event, however, the pseudonym D. wrote an afterword to the festival in *Päivälehti* which briefly mentioned Sibelius's novelty: "The only song which had considerably troubled the choirs was *Juhlamarssi* by Sibelius. Considering the difficulty of the song, it was well performed, though we are certain that some of the singers sang only 'rests'."¹⁴¹

Lauluja sekaköörille 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista is based on the material originally composed for *Cantata for the Graduate and Master's Degree Ceremony of 1897* (for soloists, mixed choir and orchestra). The original cantata was the final product of an intensive collaboration between Sibelius and poet Aukusti Valdemar Koskimies (1856–1929). Paavo Virkkunen reminisced about the process: "The poet got to fulfil the special wishes of the composer several times. Words had come to an end, but melodies continued, and in his nocturnal creation the poet had soon acted according to the

¹³⁷ Kilpeläinen 1992, 111.

¹³⁸ *Juhlamarssi* receives no separate JS number in Dahlström 2003; in JSW VII/1 it is designated as "From JS 105."

¹³⁹ In the first page: "To Eemil Forsström, from your friend Jean Sibelius." ("Eemil Forsström'lle ystävältäsi Jean Sibelius.")

¹⁴⁰ Reports were published in at least the following newspapers: Mikkeli, Mikkelin Sanomat, Päivälehti, and Hufvudstadsbladet.

¹⁴¹ Jälkimuistelmia Mikkelin laulu- ja soittojuhlasta (Päivälehti, 24 June 1897): "Ainoa laulu, joka laulukunnille oli enin vaivaa antanut, oli Sibeliuksen Juhlamarssi. Tämän laulun vaikeuteen nähden esitettiin se erittäin hyvin, vaikka kyllä olemme warmat, että laulajien joukossa useatkin lauloivat waan 'paukseja'."

composer's wishes."¹⁴² The original cantata was never published.¹⁴³ Based on Sibelius's work lists, it is evident that Sibelius intended opus number 23 for the a cappella version and not for the original cantata.

Very little documentation has survived regarding the arranging process. Consequently, Opus 23 cannot be accurately dated; Sibelius sold the rights to the publishers R. E. Westerlund on 22 April 1899, which provides one borderline for dating it.¹⁴⁴ Although Opus 23 is something of a song cycle for mixed choir, no information has been found indicating that the cycle was performed in its entirety at the beginning of the 20th century. Many of the movements of Opus 23 became popular and were performed – and published – separately, especially movements I and VI. The first part of movement VI (*Soi kiitokseksi Luojan*) was also included in the Finnish hymnal of 1938 with a significantly altered text (as *Soi kunniaksi Luojan*), a matter of which Sibelius did not approve.¹⁴⁵

Thérèse Hahl (1842–1911) was an eminent figure in Finnish musical circles at the turn of the 20th century. She edited and published several collections of choral music, and worked both as a choir conductor and as a rehearsal pianist. She also sang as soprano soloist in many productions. Grand festivities were organised for Thérèse Hahl's 60th birthday. Sibelius composed a work for a poem written especially for the occasion by the architect Nils Wasastjerna (1872–1951).¹⁴⁶ Sibelius conducted the première at the birthday party, where he was not the only composer present; Richard Faltin (1835–1918), a composer and music teacher at the University of Helsinki, conducted his own motet for the occasion.

The work performed at the birthday party was *Den 25 Oktober 1902 (I)*. Apparently Wasastjerna was dissatisfied with Sibelius's composition. Soon after the party Sibelius wrote another composition using the same poem. In the manuscript of the later composition, Sibelius wrote: "Honourable brother! I prefer the earlier composition of Wasast[jerna's] song. Regardless, [I] wanted to compose it anew. Perhaps this

¹⁴² Virkkunen 1947: "Runoilija sai eri kertoja täyttää säveltäjän erikoisia toivomuksia. Sanat olivat loppuneet, mutta sävelkuviot jatkuivat ja yöllisessä luomisessaan runoilija oli pian tehnyt säveltäjän toiveiden mukaisesti." At the beginning of the 20th century, Finnish copyright law did not protect the rights of writers. In 1932, however, Sibelius assigned all the royalty payments he was entitled to from the performances of the cantata to Ilta Koskimies, the widow of the poet A. V. Koskimies. Letters from Teosto, the Finnish Composers' Copyright Society, to Sibelius in NL, Coll. 206.51.

¹⁴³ The score and the string parts are currently lost. The choral score, considerable parts of the piano score for the rehearsal use of the soloists (in NL, HUL 1006, 1007, and 1009), and some wind parts (in SibMus) have survived.

¹⁴⁴ The contract is in NA, SFA, file box 47. In addition to the contract, one manuscript page, including the first few bars of the second movement, have survived (in NL, HUL 1010).

¹⁴⁵ The alterations were made by Ilta Koskimies, who – in addition to other changes – added a third verse to the hymn. Sibelius commented: "If the hymn is sung at Ainola, it must be sung in the original form with two verses." ("Jos virttä halutaan laulaa Ainolassa, laulettakoon sitä alkuperäisessä, kaksisäkeistöisessä muodossa.") The quote appears, for example, in Pajamo and Tuppurainen, 2004: 438–439.

¹⁴⁶ The festivities are described in *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 26 October 1902.

[composition] suits the poet better.”¹⁴⁷ The later composition was, however, neither published nor performed during Sibelius’s lifetime.¹⁴⁸ In the present study, the two works are referred to as *Den 25 Oktober 1902 (1)* and *Den 25 Oktober 1902 (2)*. The works are commonly known also by the dedication as *Till Thérèse Hahl* (1 and 2).

Sibelius composed *Ej med klagan* for the funeral of his friend, Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), who was one of the most renowned painters in Finland at the time. The unexpected loss of his friend shook Sibelius deeply. He wrote to Axel Carpelan (1858–1919), his friend and benefactor, on 20 August 1905: “I am currently writing something for Edelfelt’s funeral. I cannot describe how much I miss him. Life is short!!”¹⁴⁹ The text consists of the last six lines of Runeberg’s epic poem *Molnets broder*. Sibelius composed the first version of *Ej med klagan* for male choir, but abandoned this version and adopted the material for mixed choir. The male-choir version was left unpublished and forgotten.¹⁵⁰ The funeral, covered by the press in detail, took place on 24 August 1905. Sibelius conducted at the funeral a choir consisting of singers from two choirs: the mixed choir Sinfoniakuoro and the male choir Muntra Musikanter.¹⁵¹ The work was printed for the first performance at the funeral as a printed photograph of the autograph manuscript. In the contemporary editions, the work was titled by the date of the funeral (19²⁴/₈ 05), following the reading in Sibelius’s autograph manuscript. However, Sibelius referred to the work in his work lists as *Ej med klagan*, based on the initial words of the text. Since the edition published in 1954, the title *Ej med klagan* has been in common use.

4.2.4 Opus 65 and Related Works

Four mixed-choir works have at some time been included in Opus 65: *Män från slätten och havet*, *Kallion kirkon kellosävel*,¹⁵² *Uusmaalaisten laulu*, and *Drömmarna*.

Män från slätten och havet was commissioned by the Music Committee of Svenska Folkskolans Vänner, an educational organisation operating in Swedish. The work was to be performed at the main concert of the Svenska Folkskolans Vänner’s singing festival held in Vaasa on 28–30 June 1912. Axel Stenius, chair of the Music Committee, placed

¹⁴⁷ Manuscript in NL, HUL 1021. To whom Sibelius addressed the writing remains unknown. “Hedersbror! Jag håller mera på den förra ~~best~~be compositionen till Wasast. sång. Wille dock göra om den. Möjligen anslår denna mera skalden.”

¹⁴⁸ The first edition was published by Fazer in 1992.

¹⁴⁹ Letter dated 20 August 1905 is in NA, SFA, file box 120: “Håller som bäst att skriva någonting till Edelfelts begrafning. Jag kan ej säga huru jag saknar honom. Lifvet är kort!!” The correspondence between Sibelius and Carpelan is also published in Dahlström 2010.

¹⁵⁰ The male-choir version resurfaced in preparing the present edition. The male-choir version will appear for the first time in JSW VII/2.

¹⁵¹ The announcements published on 22 August 1905 in both *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Helsingin Sanomat* stated that “the new cantata” would be conducted by Robert Kajanus. Kajanus did, in fact, conduct the funeral *Lacrimosa* from Mozart’s *Requiem*.

¹⁵² The work is also known by the title *Kellosävel Kallion kirkossa*. Although this is not idiomatic Finnish, it is in general use (even in some editions).

the commission while visiting Sibelius in Ainola on 1 October 1911.¹⁵³ Sibelius reflected his plans concerning the commissioned work in his diary entry from the next day: “The music must become monumental! Simple and grandiose –!”¹⁵⁴ In the following weeks, Sibelius wrote about the work in his diary several times. The first diary entries show a lot of enthusiasm: “[I have] been extraordinarily inspired. ‘Män från slätten och havet!’” Later Sibelius even began to doubt whether he taken the right path with the work: “[I am] uncertain whether the inspired grip is the right one. [...] If I express myself in a more noble and more polished way, the spontaneity, which ‘is the essence’ in this kind of work, disappears. A middle path should be trod.”¹⁵⁵ Sibelius was also unsatisfied with the poem by Ernst Knape (1873–1929): “The text must be improved.”¹⁵⁶ He negotiated with the poet, but whether any improvements were made at this point remains unknown. In the end, Sibelius seemed satisfied with the work: “The choral work will be good after all. [I] have worked with it today successfully.”¹⁵⁷ The work was completed and fair copied on 24 October 1911, but the fair copy was not sent to Axel Stenius until 7 November 1911.¹⁵⁸

Män från slätten och havet premièred on 30 June 1912.¹⁵⁹ The composition turned out to be extremely difficult for the choirs involved. To aid the choirs, Hans Aufrechtig (1869–1951), who also conducted the premièred, wrote a string-orchestra accompaniment to hold the massive choir of circa 1300 singers together. Sibelius had not authorised the string accompaniment (which is currently lost).¹⁶⁰ Despite the difficulties, the premièred was a success and the work was repeated immediately. The entire festival, including all the concerts, was covered widely by the Swedish-speaking press in Finland.¹⁶¹ All the critics unanimously emphasised the difficulty of the work. One anonymous critic summarised these thoughts in *Vasabladet*: “This number became undisputedly the highlight of the festivities and gathered the greatest interest. Initially, it was somewhat generally expected to be a disappointing performance, considering the capacity of our provincial choirs and the nearly insurmountable challenges the composition offered. Luckily, however, such

¹⁵³ *Diary, 1 October 1911.*

¹⁵⁴ *Diary, 2 October 1911: “Musiken måste bli monumental! Enkel och storslagen –!”*

¹⁵⁵ *Diary, 9 October 1911: “Varit storartat inspirerad. ‘Män från slätten och hafvet!’”* *Diary, 12 October 1911: “Osäker om det inspirerade taget på ‘Män från slätten’ är det rätta. [...] uttrycker jag mig ädlare och mera utsökt, försvinner omedelbarheten, hvilket ‘gör susen’ i dylika verk. En medelväg bör anträdas.”* Further doubts, 20 October 1911: “[I] am extremely unsatisfied with the choir work. In the structure, [there is] something sentimental. Perhaps I can work it away!” (“År på det högsta missnöjd med körverket. I anläggningen någonting sentimentalt. Kanske kan jag arbeta bort det!”)

¹⁵⁶ *Diary, 12 October 1911: “Texten måste förbättras.”*

¹⁵⁷ *Diary, 21 October 1911: “Körverket blir nog bra. Har arbetat i dag på det med framgång.”*

¹⁵⁸ *Diary, 24 October and 7 November 1911. The delay is possibly due to Sibelius’s trip to Berlin and Paris (he left on 25 October).*

¹⁵⁹ *Sibelius did not attend the festival despite being invited. The invitation is in NL, Coll.206.52.*

¹⁶⁰ *Diary, 20 June 1912: “Axel Stenius phoned and complained that ‘Män från slätten och hafvet’ is so difficult. With the string orchestra setting! As accompaniment! You really miscalculated yourself, dear Ego!” (“Axel Stenius ringde upp och jämrade sig öfver att ‘Män från slätten och hafvet’ är så svår. Med stråkorkesterbesättning! Som accompaniment! Alltså förräknade du dig, härlige Ego!”)*

¹⁶¹ *Hufvudstadsbladet, Vasabladet, and Vasaposten also covered the general repetition of the main concert. The Finnish-language newspaper Vaasa wrote a significantly shorter article, and other Finnish press did not cover the event at all.*

threats did not materialise. The choirs had taken their work seriously and the performance succeeded better than one could ever have hoped.”¹⁶² A critic at *Hufvudstadsbladet* also commented on both the work itself and the accompaniment by Aufrichtig: “The polyphonic setting of the composition is exquisite and although it is difficult to sing, it makes a strong impact. The accompaniment by Mr Aufrichtig for string orchestra was discretely integrated into the composition in such a way that it merely supports the singers without demanding an independent effect. This pious execution of the task gives credit to Aufrichtig’s good taste, just as the splendid way in which he rehearsed the choirs [...] is worthy of special recognition.”¹⁶³

To meet the needs of the rapidly growing city of Helsinki, a new church was built (1908–1912) in the district of Kallio (in Swedish Berghäll). The new church included a small carillon, for which Sibelius wrote a melody to be played daily (*Kallion kirkon kellosävel*, JS 102).¹⁶⁴ Sibelius participated in the planning committee of the carillon from the outset.¹⁶⁵ The planning as well as the building of the carillon was a troublesome task, which generated many disagreements between not only the members of the planning committee but also between the planning committee and the manufacturer of the instrument.¹⁶⁶

The church was inaugurated on 1 September 1912, but Sibelius, though invited, did not attend the inauguration.¹⁶⁷ For the occasion, Julius Engström, the priest of the new church, wrote a poem based on Psalm 100 to be sung with the bell melody. The poem, which was published in the newspaper *Uusi Suometar* on the day of the inauguration, was sung by a choir singing in unison accompanied by the carillon. The poem was also printed in the programme leaflet with the instruction that the congregation may join in the singing.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶² *Vasabladet*, 2 July 1912: “*Detta nummer blef ogensägligen festens glanspunkt och koncentrerade kring sig det största intresset. Man hade på förhand tämligen allmänt väntat sig en besvikelse af utförandet med hänsyn till den för våra landsbygdskörers kapacitet hart när oöfvervinneliga svårighet denna komposition erbjöd. Farhågorna visade sig emellertid lyckligt nog icke besannas. Körerna hade tagit sin sak på allvar och utförandet lyckades bättre än man någonsin kunnat hoppas.*”

¹⁶³ *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 1 July 1912: “*Den polyfoniska utarbetningen af tonverket är utomordentlig och ehuru svårsjunget gör det ett mäktigt intryck. Det af herr Aufrichtig tillagda ackompanjemanget för stråkorkester ansluter sig diskret till kompositionen så att det endast stöder sångarena utan anspråk på själfständig verkan. Denna pietetsfulla behandling af uppgiften hedrar hr Aufrichtigs goda smak liksom det utmärkta sätt, hvarpå han inöfvat körerna [...] är värdt ett speciellt erkännande.*”

¹⁶⁴ The melody is still played every day at noon and at 6 pm. Sibelius first planned to use a passage from the second symphony, but then discarded the idea. For details, see Dahlström 2003, 294.

¹⁶⁵ The original idea of building the carillon may have been Sibelius’s. See, for example, Kuosmanen 1976. Sibelius was also one of the musicians who evaluated the installed bells. Sibelius heard the bells on 5 April 1912 (diary, 4 and 5 April 1912).

¹⁶⁶ Some of the bells were out of tune and were returned to the manufacturer. Sibelius mentions the disputes twice in his diary: 21 and 27 August 1912. See also Kuosmanen 1976.

¹⁶⁷ *Diary*, 1 September 1912.

¹⁶⁸ As stated in Section 3.3.2, it was erroneously assumed that Klemetti wrote a choir arrangement for the occasion (e.g. Dahlström 2003, 295). However, both reviews and the programme leaflet (which resurfaced in the context of the present study) state unambiguously that the choir sang in unison.

Several newspaper reports of the inauguration erroneously stated that the bell melody was composed by choral conductor and composer Heikki Klemetti.¹⁶⁹ The misunderstanding by the press upset Sibelius deeply and is probably the main reason why he made two arrangements of the melody only a few days after the inauguration: one for piano solo and one for mixed choir a cappella. He felt that the only way to claim authority over his works and to prevent such misunderstandings from spreading any further was to have his works published.¹⁷⁰ Sibelius began writing the arrangements on 3 September, and the arrangement for mixed choir a cappella was completed on 13 September 1912.¹⁷¹ Sibelius was unaware of Julius Engström's poem published in the newspaper, and the arrangement contained no text at the time of its writing.

Sibelius first offered the two works discussed above, *Män från slätten och havet* and *Kallion kirkon kellosävel*, to the Finnish publishers A. E. Lindgren in September 1912. Sibelius's idea was that *Män från slätten och havet* would also be published, not only as a choral work, but also as an arrangement for piano solo. To this end, Sibelius proposed Leo Funtek as the arranger.¹⁷² Lindgren bought only the piano solo version of *Kallion kirkon kellosävel*.

In October 1912, Sibelius offered the two choral works to B&H, who accepted the composer's offer. In addition, B&H also bought the piano version from A. E. Lindgren.¹⁷³ Interestingly, the autograph fair copy of *Kallion kirkon kellosävel* sent to B&H on 14 October 1912 still contained no text.¹⁷⁴ The poem by Heikki Klemetti was sent separately as late as 17 December 1912.¹⁷⁵ Sibelius described Klemetti's poem for the purpose of

¹⁶⁹ *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 1 and 2 September, and *Helsingin Sanomat*, 3 September. Sibelius was, however, correctly named as the composer of the melody in *Uusi Suometar*, 3 September. Sibelius writes in his diary on 3–4 September: "Many things [have] tormented me. One such matter is, e.g., the report of the inauguration of Berghäll church, that Klemetti [has] composed the bell melody. But: I must let it be. From that direction, you never find justice of any kind! Hell! Oh poor lovely heart. Now rest. –Hag!" (*Många saker pinat mig. Så t.ex. ingår i invigningsreferatet af Bergkyrkan att Klemetti komponerat klockmelodin. Men: das muss man sich gefallen lassen. Någon rättvisa i den vägen får man aldrig! Ett helvete! O arma härliga hjärta. Nu hvila. –Kärring!*)

¹⁷⁰ *Diary*, 7 September 1912: "But I have a great weapon and it is that my works are printed" (*Men jag har ett stort vapen och det är att mina verk äro tryckta[.]*) This refers not only to the incident of the bell melody, but also to Riemann's lexicon, in which Sibelius erroneously thought that his *Kullervo* was placed in Kajanus's oeuvre ("Kajanus" in *Riemanns Musiklexicon*, 7. edition, 1909).

¹⁷¹ Sibelius mentions arranging the bell melody in his diary entries on 3–4, 8, and 12 September without specifying which of the two arrangements is in question. On 13 September, he writes: "Fair copied Op 65.b.", referring without a doubt to the choral version. ("Renskrifvit op 65. b." The text underlined in green pencil by Sibelius).

¹⁷² Letter from Sibelius to A. E. Lindgren, dated 14 September 1912, in NA, SFA file box 47.

¹⁷³ For details on the publishing process, see Dahlström 2003, 293–294. The correspondence is in NA, SFA, file box 42 and in the archives of B&H, Wiesbaden.

¹⁷⁴ *Diary*, 14 October 1912.

¹⁷⁵ Letter sent by Sibelius with the poem, dated 17 December 1912, in the archives of B&H, Wiesbaden. B&H requested the text from Sibelius several times during the autumn of 1912 (letters in NA, SFA, file box 42). One reason for the delay was that Sibelius had apparently first hoped that Otto Manninen would write the text for the song (Letter from Sibelius to A. E. Lindgren in NA, SFA, file box 47). Finally, Sibelius

translation: “The character of the text must be naïve and archaic, something like the style of the hymns from the 15th century.”¹⁷⁶ In 1938, Sibelius answered an enquiry from B&H that he was unfamiliar with Julius Engström’s poem, which had been sung at the inauguration, before B&H brought it to his attention – more than 25 years later. In the letter, Sibelius also expressed his opinion that the poem by Engström was “of mediocre quality.”¹⁷⁷

In October 1911, a few members of the Eteläsuomalainen Osakunta (the Students’ Association of Southern Finland) visited Sibelius in Ainola. The members enquired of Sibelius whether he was willing to write music for the poem *Uusimaa* written in 1896 by J. H. Erkkö (1849–1906). The song was planned to become the anthem of the Uusimaa region in Southern Finland. Sibelius answered that he did not want to write music for Erkkö’s poem, which Oskar Merikanto had already composed. He would, however, be willing to compose a regional anthem if the students provided him with a suitable new poem. For this purpose, the Eteläsuomalainen Osakunta decided to hold a writing competition, which was won by pseudonym *1912*, alias Kaarlo Terhi (1872–1921), a singing teacher from Salo.¹⁷⁸

Sibelius received the winning poem on 21 December 1911 and began working on it immediately. According to the first plans Sibelius wrote down in his diary, the music was to become “a unison, monumental, one that will travel through the centuries.”¹⁷⁹ Sibelius worked on the song intensively for nearly a month. During the composition process, he also expressed feelings of doubt: “Here in my chamber it [the melody] is quite good. But does it also affect [those] out in the broad, cold world? – Is it not too *douce*? And does it not sound too ‘homespun’?”¹⁸⁰ The song was still unfinished when the poet himself visited Ainola on 16 January 1912. Four days later, the song was completed, as Kaarle Krohn, a member of the writing competition’s board of examiners, was visiting Ainola and commented on the song.¹⁸¹ Sibelius fair copied versions for male choir and mixed choir the very next day, on 21 January, but revised the male-choir version on 1 February 1912. The publication process of the mixed-choir version had already begun, as Sibelius read the first proofs for the mixed-choir version as early as on 2 February.¹⁸²

commissioned the poem from Klemetti, who sent it to Sibelius on 16 December 1912 (letter in NA, SFA, file box 22).

¹⁷⁶ Letter from Sibelius to B&H, 17 December 1912, in the archives of B&H, Wiesbaden: “Der Charakter dieses Textes muss naiv und arkaisierend, etwa in Style der Hymnen in 15ten Jahrhundert sein.” The first version of the translation contained some misunderstandings, which Sibelius corrected in a letter dated 2 June 1913. For details, see Dahlström 2003, 293–294.

¹⁷⁷ Letter from Sibelius to B&H, dated 26 January 1938, in the archives of B&H, Wiesbaden: “sehr mittelmässig.”

¹⁷⁸ The early history of *Uusmaalaisten laulu* appears in Rahunen 1957.

¹⁷⁹ Diary, 21 December 1911: “En unisono, monumental, en som går genom sekler.”

¹⁸⁰ Diary, 12 January 1912: “Här i min kammare är den nog så bra. Men skall den värka äfven ute i den vida, kalla verlden? – Är den ej för *douce*? Samt klinga den ej alltför ‘hausbacken’?”

¹⁸¹ Diary, 16 and 20 January 1912. The other members of the board were Sibelius and Professor Tudeer. The deputy members were writers Aukusti Valdemar Koskimies and Juhani Aho.

¹⁸² Diary, 21 January; 1 and 2 February 1912.

Both Sibelius's composition and Terhi's poem were disputed. Some members of the Eteläsuomalainen Osakunta disapproved of the winning poem. Some even suggested that the poem by Kaarlo Terhi should be discarded and that the poet Eino Leino should be asked to write a new poem for Sibelius's composition.¹⁸³ But it was not only the poem that was controversial. When Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat (conducted by Klemetti) premièred the song in a male-choir version on 20 April 1912, the pseudonym W. commented: "The only thing I can say about Sibelius's new *Uusmaalaisten laulu* is that even the great master can sometimes compose without inspiration."¹⁸⁴

On 30 March 1917, the music committee of the Svenska Folkskolans Vänner decided to commission a mixed-choir work.¹⁸⁵ The poem to be composed was not sent to Sibelius, as was the case with most commissions; rather, Sibelius himself selected the poem *Drömmarna* by Jonatan Reuter (1859–1947). Sibelius completed the work on 21 April 1917 and sent the fair copy to Axel Stenius, chair of the music committee, the following day.¹⁸⁶ *Drömmarna* was published that same year in the Svenska Folkskolans Vänner's choral collection "Musikbibliotek."

4.2.5 Other Works after 1911

The category containing Sibelius's last works for mixed choir consists of five original mixed-choir works (*The Sun upon the Lake is Low*, *Koulutie*, *Skolsång*, *Den höga himlen och den vida jorden*, and *On lapsonen syntynyt meille*) and one arrangement (*Finlandia-hymni*).

In the early summer of 1913, American composer Horatio Parker (1863–1919) sent Sibelius a letter along with three poems in English.¹⁸⁷ Parker enquired whether Sibelius would be willing to compose the poems for his upcoming schoolbook. Parker planned a series of publications that would serve as a progressive music course in American public schools. For the series, Parker had also commissioned songs from several other contemporary composers (such as Max Reger). Sibelius accepted Parker's offer. The exact date of composing remains unknown, but it must have been before 21 June 1913, when Parker sent a letter to Sibelius thanking him for the songs he had already received.¹⁸⁸ The three songs Sibelius composed were not published together as an entity, but were scattered

¹⁸³ Rahunen 1957. Evidently Eino Leino accepted the assignment, since the new poem for Sibelius's song was published in *Helsingin Sanomat* on 12 March 1912 (printed also in Pajamo 1987, 78–79). However, Leino's poem does not appear in any edition, nor is there documentation that it would have been used in any performance.

¹⁸⁴ *Helsingin Sanomat*, 21 April 1912: "Sibeliuksen uudesta Uusmaalaisten laulusta en osaa sanoa muuta kuin että suuri mestarikin voi joskus säveltää ilman inspiratsionia." A review with similar content was published on the same day in *Hufvudstadsbladet*. The precise date of the première of the mixed-choir version has not been identified.

¹⁸⁵ Record of the meeting of the commission (30 March 1917) is in the Svenska Folkskolans Vänner's archive, Helsinki.

¹⁸⁶ Diary, 21 April 1917.

¹⁸⁷ The letter (undated, in NA, SFA, file box 24) was written in German.

¹⁸⁸ The letter, dated 21 June 1913 in NA, SFA, file box 24, was also written in German.

among different sections in the third and fourth books of the series. The songs remained fairly unknown, since they were not published outside Parker's series until the critical edition of JSW VII/1 in 2012. One of the songs, *The Sun Upon the Lake is Low*, after the poem by Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), was written for mixed choir, and it is therefore included in the present study.¹⁸⁹

In 1924, Walther Snellman, the headmaster of Oulun Lyseo (Lyceum in Oulu), asked the poet Veikko Antero Koskenniemi (1906–1962), his former pupil, to write a poem for the publication in honour of the 50th anniversary of Oulu's public school.¹⁹⁰ Koskenniemi accepted the task and sent the poem *Koulutie* to Snellman, who found the poem's subject inappropriate for pupils – especially a certain passage describing a school boy's first love. After the poet refused to alter the passage, Snellman censored the poem from the publication.¹⁹¹ Koskenniemi included *Koulutie* in his collection entitled *Uusia runoja*, published in the same year by the publishers Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö (later WSOY).

On 7 May 1925, Yrjö Karilas, the head of WSOY, sent a letter to Sibelius enquiring whether he would like to compose the poem *Koulutie*. Koskenniemi's poem collection was enclosed in the mailing. Sibelius composed the poem during the following few weeks, since on 25 May 1925, Karilas sent a letter to Sibelius thanking him for the manuscript WSOY had already received.¹⁹² WSOY published the work simultaneously in two editions: as part of *Koululaisen muistikirja*, a series of publications aimed at young pupils, and as a separate publication.¹⁹³

In 1925, Sibelius seems to have commissioned the text for two patriotic songs in Swedish from the poet Nino Runeberg (1874–1934): *Skolsång* for the use of schools and *Skyddskårsmarsch* for the paramilitary national defence organisation Suojeluskuunta (in Swedish Skyddskår). Runeberg initially found the task troubling. He wrote to Sibelius on 19 June 1925: "The commonplace patriotic lyric is a pest, and how to avoid its damned mode, when such a subject is in question. [...] *Skolsång* became even more difficult to put [stylistically] in formation." The poet permitted the composer to alter the text, if needed: "That the texts are written in lead pencil is not flippancy, but on the contrary: the idea is that with gummi elasticum, you will be able to take the necessary measures."¹⁹⁴

Sibelius offered *Skolsång* and *Skyddskårsmarsch* to the publishers Holger Schildts Förlag in 1925, but without success. The rejection was attributed to the company's lack of

¹⁸⁹ *Autumn Song* was written for two descant voices with piano accompaniment and *The Cavalry Catch* for boys in unison with piano accompaniment.

¹⁹⁰ The poem would have been published in Snellman 1924.

¹⁹¹ Erkki Tuomikoski, a member of the publication board, describes the chain of events in *Wikström* (1974). According to Tuomikoski, Koskenniemi had replied to Snellman that he had depicted his most tender childhood memories in the poem and would alter nothing.

¹⁹² Both letters are in NA, SFA, file box 47, along with the publishing contract dated 26 May 1925.

¹⁹³ The editions were not printed from the same plates but were typeset separately. Both editions were printed on 13 August 1925 (WSOY's work card archive).

¹⁹⁴ Letter in NL, Coll. 206.23: "Den patriotiska lyriken är en landsplåga, och huru undgå dess förb. tonart, då det gällde ett sådant ämne [...] *Skolsången* blev ännu svårare att få fason på [...]. Att texterna äro skrivna med blyerts är icke respektlöshet utan tvärtom: det är meningen att Du skall kunna med gummi elasticum vidtaga nödiga åtgärder [...]."

experience in the field of music publishing.¹⁹⁵ Whether Sibelius offered the works to any other publisher remains unknown. In any case, the works were neither published nor performed during Sibelius's lifetime.

Den höga himlen och den vida jorden was commissioned for Finland's Swedish-language hymnal. The commission was placed by John Sundberg, an organist and chair of the hymnal committee, in his letter dated 19 May 1927. The poem to be composed, a Swedish translation by Jacob Tegengren (1875–1956) of a poem originally written in Finnish by Simo Korpela (1863–1936), was attached in the letter.¹⁹⁶ Sibelius composed the hymn at the end of May or at the beginning of June, as in a letter dated 9 June 1927, the committee thanked him for the hymn they had already received.¹⁹⁷ The melody without accompanying parts and the complete four-part chorale without texts were published separately in a supplementary hymnal book in 1929. The work was sung possibly for the first time at the main concert (on 9 June) of the church-music festival organised in Kirkkonummi on 8–9 June 1929. According to a newspaper report, the hymn was sung by both the participating choirs and the congregation.¹⁹⁸

The Christmas song *On lapsonen syntynyt meille* was commissioned by Suomen Luterilainen Evankeliumiyhdistys (SLEY), the Lutheran Evangelical Association in Finland. In a letter dated 11 February 1929, Kauko Veikko Tamminen, the executive director of SLEY, “expressed his humble wish” that Sibelius compose a song for a children's songbook they were planning to publish. The letter includes detailed wishes for the commissioned song: “[The song] should be composed as a simple chorale, no [itches] higher than D, so that children can sing it with ease. The harmonisation should be simple (diatonic), in four parts, so that it may also be performed by a modest choir or player.”¹⁹⁹ The commission was fulfilled within a month, as in a letter dated 23 February 1929, Tamminen expressed his gratitude to the composer for the Christmas song SLEY had already received.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ Sibelius's letter to Holger Schildt Förlag, dated 23 November 1925 (in the archives of Holger Schildt Förlag, currently in the Library of Åbo Akademi). Sibelius also offered *Skyddskårsmarsch*, which was composed for male choir with piano accompaniment. The rejection letter, dated 27 November 1925, is in NL, Coll. 206.46.

¹⁹⁶ Although Sibelius composed the Swedish version of the poem, he used the Finnish text in the arrangement of the hymn for male choir with organ accompaniment (*Suur' olet, Herra! JS 58b*). The Finnish text is commonly used with the choral version.

¹⁹⁷ Letters dated 19 May 1927 and 9 June 1927 are in NL, Coll. 206.37.

¹⁹⁸ Newspaper *Västra Nyland* covered the festival on 11 June 1929. In the programme leaflet, only the first verse was printed.

¹⁹⁹ Archive of SLEY, Tamminen's file box (a copy of the original letter): “*Toivomme hartaasti, että [...] “Sävellettävä yksinkertaiseksi koraaliksi, ei d korkeammalle, niin että lapset voisivat sen helposti laulaa. Soinnutuksen tulisi olla yksinkertainen (diatooninen), neliäänisen [sic], jonka vaatimatokin kuoro tai soittaja voisi esittää.”*

²⁰⁰ In NL, Coll. 206.50. A copy of the letter is in Tamminen's file box in the archives of SLEY. In addition to the archival sources, Suokunnas (1977) documents an oral anecdote that Sibelius had given the option that the composition is written either for free or it is very expensive. SLEY had taken the ‘for free option.’

After the first edition by SLEY, this Christmas song was published in Finland during Sibelius's lifetime along with three other texts: in 1939 with a Finnish translation of a text by Swedish poet Betty Ehrenborg (translator unknown) and in 1948 with a Finnish text by Väinö Ilmari Forsman along with a Swedish text by Hjalmar Krokfors. In publications with these new texts, the rhythms of the melody were modified the better to fit the new text. Whether Sibelius authorised any of the later versions remains unknown.

The initiative to arrange the hymn from *Finlandia* (Op. 26) for mixed choir came from Roger Lindberg, the head of publisher Fazer. Lindberg had learnt in 1948 that conductor Arvo Airaksinen had made a mixed-choir arrangement of the hymn to be used in the festival organised by Nuoren Suomen Liitto, a youth organisation of the liberal party. The organisers had printed the arrangement by Airaksinen and planned to donate a copy of it to each participant of the festival. Lindberg saw this as a violation of both Sibelius's and the publishers' copyrights. Lindberg acted immediately on the matter by asking Nuoren Suomen Liitto to deposit all the prints with Fazer. He also wrote a letter directly to Airaksinen requesting an explanation. In October 1948, Lindberg informed Sibelius of the situation and of the actions he had taken. In the same letter Lindberg also enquired whether the composer would be willing to write a mixed-choir arrangement, which "would certainly be greeted with greatest gratification by the choirs of Finland." Lindberg suggests as an alternative that Sibelius could also assign "someone competent" to make the arrangement with his authorisation.²⁰¹ Sibelius decided to write the arrangement himself. He wrote two mixed-choir versions; the one in F major was published by Fazer in 1949, whereas the one in A_♭ major was left unpublished (it appeared in JSW VII/1 in 2012 for the first time).

The text Sibelius chose for the mixed-choir arrangement was written by the poet V. A. Koskenniemi.²⁰² Sibelius had written an arrangement for male choir in 1938 using a text by the singer Väinö Sola (1883–1961). The male-choir version with Sola's text also forms part of the *Masonic ritual music* (Op. 113), as No. 12. In many editions of the mixed-choir version, the arrangement has been labelled Op. 26 No. 7. Since Op. 26 usually refers to the orchestral tone poem *Finlandia* (without sub-numbers), the sub-number 7 is confusing.²⁰³ JSW VII/1 uses the designation "From Opus 26".

²⁰¹ Letter dated 9 October 1948 in NL, Coll. 206.44: "Det skulle säkert hälsas med största tillfredsställelse av alla landets körer." "[...] någon kompetent person." The pencilled marking in the corner of the letter by Santeri Levas, Sibelius's secretary: "the matter already clarified on 11 November 1948." ("Asia puhuttu jo selväksi 11.11.48.")

²⁰² Several choral arrangements written by different musicians using different texts had already appeared before 1948. However, these arrangements were unauthorised. For information on the countless different versions, see Dahlström 2003, 118–121 and Goss 2009, 196–206. Sibelius probably authorised the Swedish translation by Joel Rundt, the German translation by Helmuth von Hase, as well as the arrangement for solo voice with piano accompaniment by Jussi Jalas (published by B&H in 1953). Fazer mediated requests to publish (letters from Fazer to Sibelius in NL, Coll. 206.44).

²⁰³ The sub-number probably derives from the fact that the tone poem *Finlandia* was originally the seventh number (*Suomi herää!*) of JS 137.

4.2.6 Incomplete and Unrealised Works for Mixed Choir

In addition to the works included in the present study, Sibelius wrote, but did not complete, *Listen to the Water Mill* for mixed choir a cappella. The precise circumstances of its composition remain unknown. Based on the handwriting and the type of manuscript paper used, Kilpeläinen dates the song to 1905–06.²⁰⁴ Sibelius may have come to know the poem by Sarah Doudney while visiting England in November 1905, but no actual documentation exists to support this assumption.²⁰⁵ Sibelius completed the melody, but the harmonisation written for mixed choir remained incomplete. The autograph fair copy of the melody and the harmonised fragment are published in JSW VII/1 as Facsimiles I and II. Later, Sibelius used part of the melody of *Listen to the Water Mill* in his solo song *Kvarnhjulet* (Op. 57 No. 3).

Sibelius ignored a large number of commissions to write works for mixed choir. On some occasions, he promised to write such works but never fulfilled these promises.²⁰⁶ Sibelius also received a large number of poems by contemporary poets who wished for him to set their texts. One of these texts is of special interest. Namely, in 1953, Sibelius received the following letter written by Evert Smeds (1898–1970): “Some years ago, Lappträsk Hembygdsförening i Helsingfors [an association of people from Lappträsk living in Helsinki] sent to Professor [Sibelius] a home district poem I wrote along with a request to compose [the poem] for mixed choir. According to what Professor Johansson later informed me, Professor [Sibelius] had kindly accepted the assignment, and a little later, informed Professor Johansson by telephone that the composition was completed. For reasons unknown to me, it [the composition] was never delivered to either Professor Johansson or to the association. Since I for my own sake (not on the association’s behalf) would ardently like to possess the composition, I hereby allow myself to ask with the greatest politeness whether it still exists, and whether and at what price I might redeem the song.”²⁰⁷

Sibelius’s letters to Smeds have not survived, but some details of Sibelius’s response have been documented in the notes of Sibelius’s secretary Santeri Levas (1899–1987) written in the corner of Smeds’s letters. According to the notes, Sibelius did not remember having composed the poem in question, but asked the poet to send a copy of the poem to refresh his memory. Sibelius did, in fact, receive the poem, but the conclusion of the

²⁰⁴ Kilpeläinen 1992, 92–93. According to Kilpeläinen, the year 1907 is also possible, but highly unlikely.

²⁰⁵ In addition to Kilpeläinen, see also Barnett 2007, 173.

²⁰⁶ Unfulfilled promises were given to Eemil Forsström (letters in NL, Coll. 206.14), for example, and to Heikki Klemetti (letters in NA, SFA, file box 22).

²⁰⁷ Sibelius’s grandfather was from Lappträsk (in Finnish Lapinjärvi). Letter dated 10 April 1953 in NL, Coll. 206.36: “För ett antal år sedan sände Lappträsk Hembygdsförening i Helsingfors en av mig författad hembygdsdikt till Professorn med anhållan om tonsättning för blandad kör. Enligt vad prof. Johansson senare meddelade mig hade Professorn också godhetsfullt åtagit sig uppdraget och även något senare per telefon meddelat prof. J., att kompositionen var färdig. Av för mig okänd anledning kom den dock aldrig vare sig prof. Johansson eller föreningen tillhanda. Då jag innerligen gärna för egen del (icke för föreningens räkning) ville komma i besittning av kompositionen, tillåter jag mig härmed hövligast fråga, huruvida den ännu finnes kvar och i så fall om och till vilket pris jag kunde få inlösa densamma.”

matter remains undocumented. The last note by Levas states ambiguously: “Perhaps revert [to the subject].”²⁰⁸ No such work is known to have existed.

During the last years of the 19th century, Sibelius seems to have planned to write a mixed-choir work based on Aleksis Kivi’s poem *Suomenmaa*. The sketch contained a completed melody and sketched harmonies, but it remained uncompleted. In the same sketch, the melody also appears in a male-choir version – that too being in an incomplete form. Sibelius finally used the melody from these sketches in *Sandels* (Opus 28) for orchestra and male choir.

²⁰⁸ Letter dated 19 May 1953 in NL, Coll. 206.36: “måhanda [sic] återkommer.”

Part II:

Analysis of the Source Chains

5 General Remarks on Source Chains

The purpose of the present Chapter is to give an overview of the source chains, which are more fully analysed in Chapters 6–10. The collection of source chains forms a relatively heterogeneous corpus. The source chains can be categorised based on two factors that are not mutually exclusive, but should nonetheless be viewed as overlapping each other. The first categorisation illustrates what kinds of sources have survived and how extensively; this is discussed in Section 5.1. The second categorisation concerns parallel versions which are, in turn, discussed in Section 5.2.

5.1 Coverage of the Surviving Sources

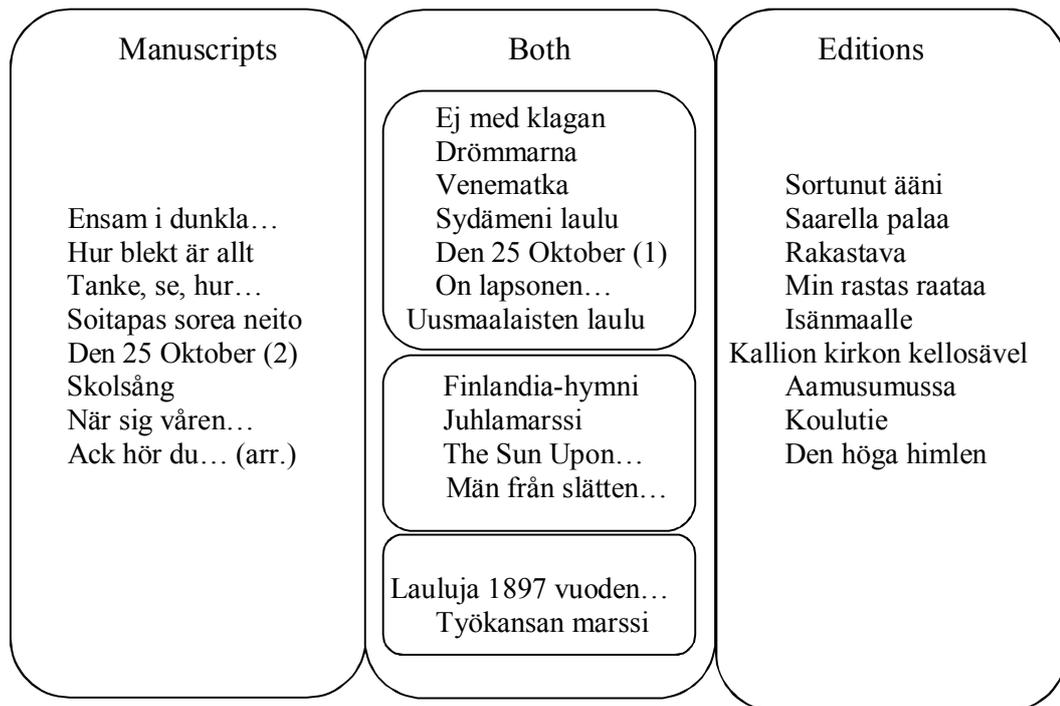
In the first categorisation, the source chains of Sibelius's mixed-choir works fall into three rough classes, whose division is based on the extent of the surviving sources (see Example 5.1). The first class contains eight works that remained unpublished during Sibelius's lifetime, thus their source chains consist primarily of manuscript sources. These works have been published posthumously (some in 1992 and rest in JSW VII/1 in 2012); posthumous publications, however, play a significantly different role in the source chain than those published during Sibelius's lifetime.²⁰⁹ In contrast to the posthumously published works in the first class, Sibelius's mixed-choir oeuvre contains nine works for which no manuscript sources have survived at all, thus the source chains for these nine works consist solely of the published editions (Example 5.1, right-hand column). Between these two extremes, there is a middle class, which consists of the thirteen works with source chains comprising both manuscript and printed sources.

The third – so called 'middle' – class does not form a uniform group, but must further be divided into three subclasses (in Example 5.1, from top to bottom): complete source chains (the uppermost box), source chains with a missing link (the middle box), and source chains with solely dubious manuscript sources (the lower box). In the first subclass, the word 'complete' means that there are no obvious missing links in the chain; naturally, it is always possible – and even probable – that some early sketches or proofs are missing. However, in these cases, the textual transmission flows uninterrupted from one source to another without the need to assume the existence of any missing sources. In the second subclass, the source chains include some obviously missing sources, which can be deduced based on the extant sources: for instance, in the case of *Juhlamarssi*, the surviving autograph fair copy was not used as the typesetter's copy for the first edition; thus there must have existed another manuscript (an autograph or a copy by an unknown copyist), which is currently missing. For the two works in the third subclass, *Lauluja 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista* and *Työkansan marssi*, one manuscript source for each has survived, but their role in the source chain is nebulous; the only manuscript source for *Lauluja 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista* is an extracted page of the autograph fair copy

²⁰⁹ For the special features of posthumously published works, see Section 6.1.2 and Chapter 13.

and the only manuscript source for *Työkansan marssi* is a fair copy by an unknown hand, which contains later emendations; the emendations may have been made by Sibelius, but this cannot be claimed beyond any doubt. In any case, the emendations were written on the manuscript after the publication of the first edition.

Example 5.1. Source chains classified based on surviving sources.



One essential question, which will be here introduced at a general level and examined in detail only later in this study, is raised by fact that the source chains are so different: do the different source chains complement each other? Can we isolate patterns in the more complete source chains that could be useful when analysing the source chains with significant gaps? Indeed we can. In particular, the study of the publication process (and more specifically the typesetting of musical editions at the beginning of 20th century) has provided tools with which it is possible to make relatively reliable deductions concerning the accuracy of respective editions and even regarding what kind of manuscript formed the basis of the first publication, even when no manuscript sources have survived. This matter is discussed in detail in Chapters 8 and 9.

Many of the deductions mentioned above are based on the recurrent features in Sibelius's notational practices and particularly on any deviations from those practices in contemporary editions. For this reason Sibelius's notational practices receive a special discussion in the present study (Chapter 7).

We may also reverse the question above. Does an analysis of the writing and publication processes provide useful information for the works that remained unpublished

during Sibelius's lifetime? Again, indeed it does. Although we can never reconstruct how these works would have been published, analysis has provided a deeper insight into the sources themselves and the matter of at what point of the creative process the work was left 'in the desk drawer'. A detailed example of this is provided in the case study of *Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar* in Chapter 12.²¹⁰

5.2 Source Chains for the Parallel Versions

Though the title of the present study is *Jean Sibelius's Works for Mixed Choir*, it has been practically impossible to limit the study solely to cover his mixed-choir works, as more than half of the mixed-choir works are found in two or more versions; either they are arrangements of earlier works or Sibelius later arranged them for another ensemble. Thus, the actual writing processes of these works extend beyond the writing processes of the mixed-choir versions.

The relationship between parallel versions is dependent on two factors. First, how different are the performing ensembles of the parallel versions, and second, what kind of arranging process has taken place: is the arrangement merely a transcription from one ensemble to another or has the music changed in the course of the arrangement. The second factor is discussed in detail in Chapter 10. I will now discuss the first factor, as it helps to outline the boundaries of the source chains more clearly.

Based on how different the ensembles of parallel versions are, the mixed-choir works are divided into three categories (illustrated in Example 5.2): whether the parallel version of the mixed-choir work is a) an a cappella choral work for another choral ensemble, b) an accompanied choral work, or c) written for a solely instrumental ensemble.

The sources of those parallel versions that fall into the third category – the right-hand column in Example 5.2 – have been excluded from the present study. Although this limitation might seem problematic (why include some parallel versions and not others?), there is a practical reason for their exclusion: since the present study seeks to analyse features of Sibelius's choral writing, instrumental versions do not shed any light on the matter. For example, analysing the writing process of the tone poem *Finlandia* and its evolution in later editions – as interesting as this would surely be – does not provide any relevant information regarding Sibelius's choral practices, which lie at the heart of the present study.

The second category – the middle column in Example 5.2 – is included in the present study, as their manuscripts provide information on the notational practices of Sibelius's choral music. However, they are not included in Chapter 6, which discusses the writing process of his a cappella choral music. Naturally, the writing process of a cantata is significantly different from that of a choral work with a duration of around two minutes. These versions are, however, included in Chapter 10 as part of a discussion of the arranging process.

²¹⁰ See also Section 6.2.3.

Example 5.2. Parallel versions categorised by ensemble.

Choral a cappella	Choral accompanied	Other
Venematka Sydämeni laulu Uusmaalaisten laulu Ej med klagan Sortunut ääni Saarella palaa Rakastava Isänmaalle Aamusumussa Soi kiitokseksi Luojan **Min rastas raataa**	Juhlararssi Den höga himlen Promootiokantaatti Rakastava	Rakastava Kallion kirkon... Ack, hör du fröken... Finlandia-hymni

Source chains for the parallel versions in the first category – the left-hand column in Example 5.2 – are included in the present study regardless of the order in which the versions were conceived, i.e. whether the mixed-choir version is itself an arrangement or was later arranged for another choral ensemble. In fact, in some cases the precise chronology of the versions is not always known (*Sortunut ääni*) or it is open to debate (*Isänmaalle*).²¹¹ It should be noted that the problems of how extensively surviving sources cover the source chain (view discussed in Section 5.1) apply also to parallel versions: for example, no manuscript sources at all have survived for the male-choir version of *Sortunut ääni*, whereas the source chain for the male-choir version of *Ej med klagan* consists solely of manuscript sources.

Min rastas raataa has been included in the first category as a special case, though Sibelius never arranged it. It is an interesting borderline case, because Sibelius proofread the arrangement for female choir compiled by Jaakko Tuuri. Sibelius corrected one mistake (a missing natural) from the fair copy. The correction gains special significance from the fact that the mistake stems from a misprint in the first edition of the mixed-choir work. The female-choir arrangements by Tuuri and Taipale are both authorised by Sibelius. They are included in the present study only if the manuscripts include corrections or emendations made by Sibelius himself. These sources are only consulted if they shed light on questions arising from the actual source chains.

²¹¹ Both these dubious chronologies are discussed in Chapter 10.

6 The Writing Process

6.1 Sketching

When studying the sketching processes of Sibelius's choral works, we must first make a clear distinction between the sketching processes of the original choral works from the sketching processes of the arrangements. The creative process behind the first – or so-called 'original' – version and the arrangement is fundamentally different as, in the latter instance, the musical material already exists before the writing process begins. In the following, I will discuss these two processes separately. Within Sibelius's original choral works is a uniform group consisting of Sibelius's very early works, i.e. works from 1888–1889. Although they are original choral works, their manuscripts have distinctive special features that separate them from the other original works. I will discuss the special questions concerning these early works separately. Thus, the section discussing the sketching process (6.1) is divided into three sub-sections: the original choral works (discussed in 6.1.1), the special features of the early works (in 6.1.2), and the arrangements (in 6.1.3). Additionally, the sketching process of *Rakastava* provides an isolated case among Sibelius's choral works, its unique features deriving from the fact that its musical material was not originally sketched as choral music. The sketching process of *Rakastava* is given separate, detailed discussion as a case study in Chapter 14. It should be noted that although the special features of the early works are discussed separately, these works are naturally counted as original choral works.

6.1.1 The Original Choral Works

Sibelius's sketches form a vast corpus of documents and for this reason his creative process has proven a most fruitful research subject. Several scholars have analysed Sibelius's laborious work from early melodic sketches through several stages of 'forging' before the work attained the shape in which it was finally published.²¹² In this respect, the source chains for Sibelius's a cappella choral works stand out as something of an anomaly: the relative scarcity of extant sketches is the most characteristic feature of the source chains for these works. Taking all 30 mixed-choir a cappella works and their respective male and children's choir versions into account, the number of manuscript sources that were not intended as fair copies at the time of their writing is no more than nine.²¹³

Eight of these nine 'pre-fair-copy' manuscripts fall into the category of drafts; that is, they contain the work's musical material almost in its entirety. The drafts of *Ensam i*

²¹² See e.g. Virtanen 1999, 2005, 2011 Tiilikainen 1998, 2003, Kilpeläinen 1992, 1996, Wicklund 2011. For the creative process of Beethoven, see e.g. Cooper 1990.

²¹³ Whether some of the manuscripts of the early works are intended as drafts or fair copies remains debatable. These sketches are discussed in detail in Section 6.1.2 and Chapter 12.

dunkla skogarnas famn, Hur blekt är allt, När sig våren åter föder, The Sun upon the Lake Is Low, Ej med klagan, Den 25 October 1902 [1], and the male-choir version of *Venematka* and *Isänmaalle* contain the work almost as it was later fair-copied and subsequently published – even details of the part-writing are largely legible in these drafts. Naturally variant readings are possible due to small-scale emendations and corrections, but nothing that would, for instance, affect the overall structure or design of the work or of individual phrases. Nor is there musical material that was later rejected and does not appear in the completed work.

A single manuscript falls into the category of sketches – that is, a manuscript containing a short passage of the planned composition: the sketch for the male-choir version of *Saarella palaa*, shown in its entirety in Example 6.1, contains the initial melodic gesture of the work.²¹⁴ It seems that Sibelius wrote down the motif for later use, as it is not developed any further in the manuscript (the manuscript comprises several bound bifolios containing 55 pages of writing).²¹⁵ An interesting detail in the sketch is Sibelius’s drawing above the musical idea of *Saarella palaa*. The drawing seems to depict a bonfire, perhaps on an island; the *Kanteletar* poem begins with line *Tuli saarella palavi* (“there is a fire on the island”). The drawing would suggest that, already at that point, Sibelius planned to use this motif in tandem with the specific *Kanteletar* text. Although the work’s textural idea (parallel sixth-chords moving above a pedal point) and the melody appear in the sketch exactly as in the completed work, there is one intriguing difference: in the sketch the pedal point lies a fifth higher than in the completed work. Thus, in the sketch, the first chord is a consonant E_♭ major chord, whereas in the completed work the pedal point lies on A_♭, creating a mildly dissonant and tonally more ambiguous beginning.²¹⁶

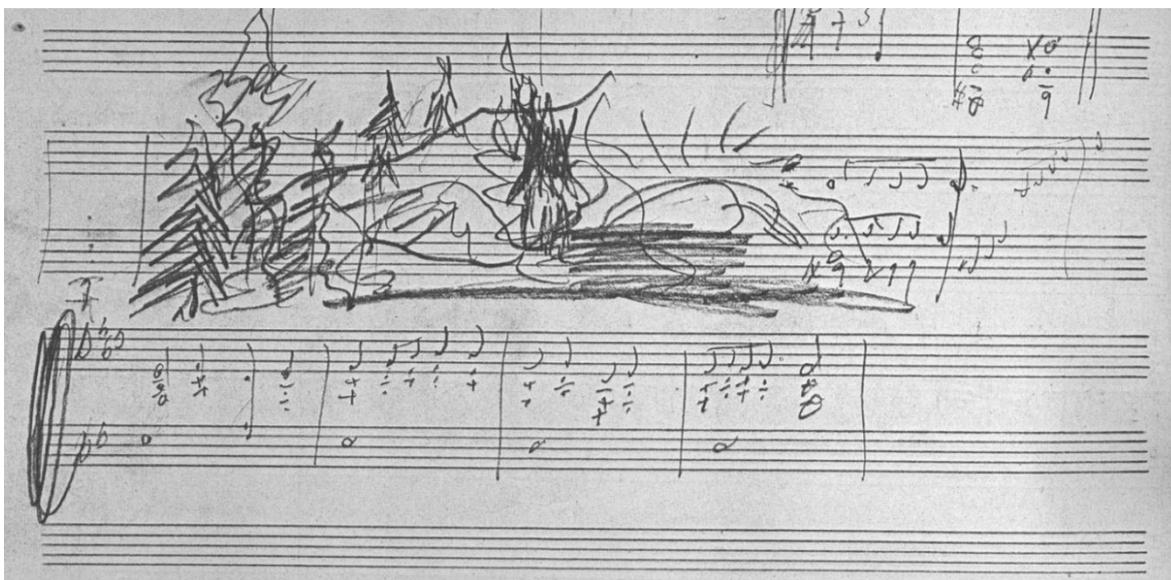
If sketching is understood as an initial stage in the composer’s creative process, during which the composition gradually takes its form as the composer juxtaposes, develops and rejects his or her musical ideas, there is little that can be said about Sibelius’s sketching process regarding his choral music. Many of the extant manuscript sources were intended as fair copies at the time of their writing and the writing process visible in the source chain – with the exception of *Saarella palaa* – begins at the point where all essential material of the work is already in existence. And since the sketch shown in Example 6.1 is the only extant manuscript source for *Saarella palaa*, its sketching process also remains veiled – we do not know how many steps there were between the extant sketch and the first edition, which is the next extant source in the source chain.

²¹⁴ In addition, a sketch for the mixed-choir arrangement of *Finlandia-hymni* survives; this is discussed in Section 6.1.3.

²¹⁵ It is also notable that the sketch shown in Example 6.1 is the only extant manuscript source for the work; the next extant source in the chain is the first edition.

²¹⁶ The male-choir version is in D_♭ major; in the previous sentence, the pitches are given as per the key of the sketch.

Example 6.1. *Saarella palaa* HUL 1400/[8]; staves 8–13.



One feature that seems to distinguish the sketching process of Sibelius’s choral music from that of his other genres is the lack of melodic sketching. For example, Jukka Tiilikainen begins his discussion of sketches for Sibelius’s solo songs with the following statement: “One of the most common characteristics of Sibelius’s song sketches is that they usually contain only a song melody.”²¹⁷ This statement also holds good for Sibelius’s creative process in general.²¹⁸ Thus, the question arises as to why are there no melodic sketches for the choral music.

An interesting point of reference in seeking an answer is given by Susan Youens who describes the sketches of Hugo Wolf’s *Lieder* as follows: “The composer notated only the vocal line and the incomplete principal motivic–melodic line of the piano on a series of single staves, *leaving no room for the accompaniment underneath* [...]”²¹⁹ Against this background, two observations on Sibelius’s writing practices gain interest: firstly, Sibelius often (although not always) wrote melodic sketches using every other staff, thus, *leaving an empty staff between the series of single staves* (see Examples 14.9 and 14.14.). Secondly, Sibelius generally wrote choral works using two staves; thus, the one empty staff below the melody would suffice as *room for the accompaniment underneath*.

My hypothesis is that Sibelius did, in fact, write melodic sketches in case of his choral music too. It is possible that he first wrote the melody in its entirety on every other staff, then used the same paper for sketching the other parts. Thus, melodic sketches for the

²¹⁷ Tiilikainen 2003, 40.

²¹⁸ For categorisation of Sibelius’s sketches, see Virtanen 2005, 20. Virtanen’s categorisation is based on the manuscript sources for the *Third Symphony*, but also applies to Sibelius’s sketches more generally.

²¹⁹ Youens 1990, 7. *Italics mine.* Sibelius’s song writing often also follows the practice of first writing down the melodic line without the piano part, which was sketched later. For Sibelius’s song sketches, see, e.g. Tiilikainen 2003. A similar process can be observed in Sibelius’s other compositions too.

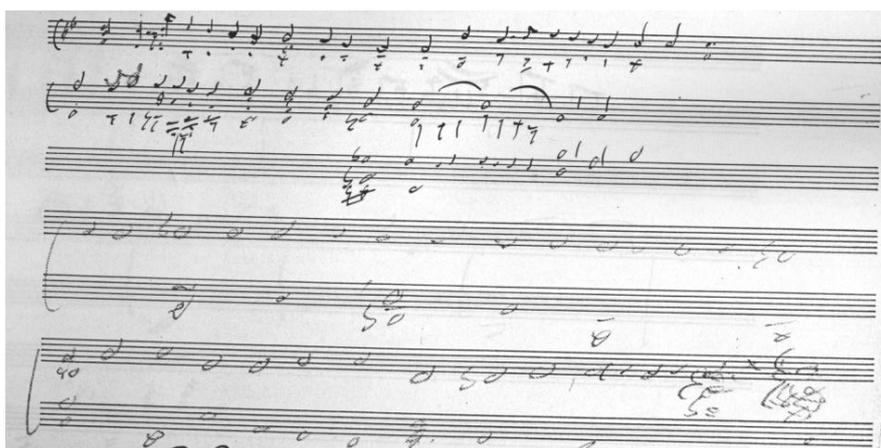
choral music do also exist; they simply do not exist as separate sketches (as in the source chains for other genres), but as the first (i.e. the earliest) layer in the eight extant drafts.

The drafts of *Den 25 Oktober 1902 (1)* (see Example 6.2) appear to confirm this hypothesis by being the exception proving the rule. Namely, the manuscript HUL 1524/[2] seems almost like a melodic sketch. For some reason, Sibelius did not leave an empty staff after the first system break; thus, there was no room left to finalise the part writing below the first appearance of the melody (the melody appears on staves 4, 5, 7, and 9, thus, using every other staff after the first system break, see Example 6.2a). Perhaps due to the lack of empty staves in the first system, Sibelius wrote the melody anew directly below the first draft (on staves 11, 13, and 15; see Example 6.2b). In this second draft, there are no emendations that concern the melody, but it seems that the focus is entirely on details of harmonisation – interestingly, the lower parts are partly written in pencil whereas the melody and most of the harmonies are in ink. In the two drafts of *Den 25 Oktober 1902 (1)*, we can see two layers of choral drafts separately (cf. similar features in the drafts for *Ej med klagan* in Chapter 13).

Overall, it is interesting to see how closely the fair copy of *Den 25 Oktober 1902 (1)* follows the first draft of the work (Example 6.2a). There are only two significant changes: firstly, Sibelius waived the dotted rhythm in bars 1 and 5 (in Example 6.2a, on first staff, 2nd, 3rd, 14th and 15th notes). Secondly, the melody originally consisted of four turn-motives – often referred to in Sibelius literature as S-motives – the third one beginning a third higher than the first two (in bar 9; beginning of the second staff in Example 6.2a).²²⁰ By slightly altering the turn-motif (see the emendation in lead at the beginning of the second staff in Example 6.2a), Sibelius achieves a more effective climax in the first phrase; the third note on the staff is a_b^2 instead of f^2 .

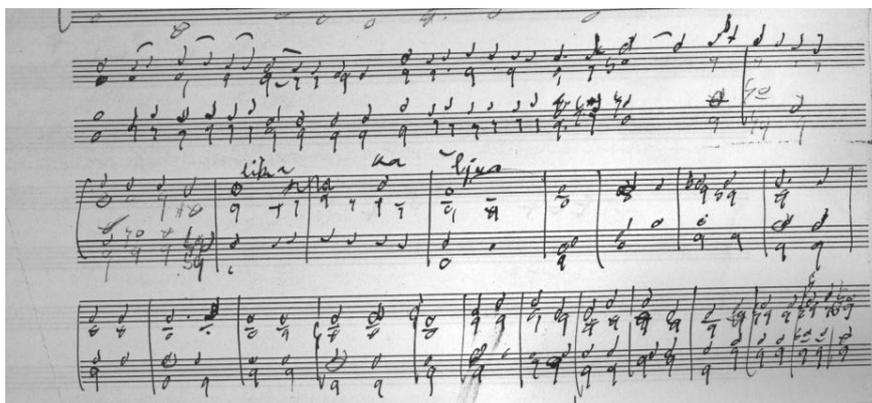
Example 6.2. *The draft of Den 25 Oktober 1902 (1).*

a) *the first draft (staves 4–10 in HUL 1524/[2]).*



²²⁰ The term *S-motif* in the context of Sibelius's works derives from Barnett (2007), according to whom the *S-motif* is a central feature of Sibelius's musical language and is found, for example, at the beginning of the hymn section in *Finlandia*: $c^2-b_b^1-c^2-d_b^2-c^1$.

b) the second draft (staves 11–16 in HUL 1524/[2])



In further defence of my hypothesis concerning these melodic sketches is the characteristically homophonic texture of Sibelius's choral music: in solo songs by Wolff and Sibelius, discussed by Youens and Tiilikainen respectively, the role of the piano part is often predominant and its textures varied. Since the lower parts of Sibelius's choral texture clearly have a subordinate (i.e. accompanying) role, they are more easily conceived and do not necessarily require a sketching process of their own – the drafts of *Ej med klagan* are a good example of this kind of process (see Chapter 13).

The small number of sketches (not only the absence of melodic sketches) is partly explained by the external circumstances of the creative process of Sibelius's choral output: most of his works for mixed choir are relatively short and written for a specific event or as a commission to set a specific text. Thus, the outlines of the composition are already comparatively clearly defined at the outset of the compositional process: the chosen song text gives the basic premises for the work's duration and design, whereas the commission itself dictates the ensemble. This was not a normal procedure in Sibelius's working methods; instead he often wrote down melodic ideas without a clear concept of the work as a whole or even of the ensemble for which the work was intended.²²¹ And since Sibelius's works for mixed choir (with the exception of *Män från slätten och havet*) are short, with a duration of ca. 1–2 minutes, there really is no need for sketches functioning as an *aide-memoire* or as a continuity draft.

Some sketches and drafts are certainly lost, and these lost sources may very well include melodic sketches for choral music. There is even some circumstantial evidence for such lost melodic sketches: Sibelius made several comments regarding the sketching process of *Uusmaalainen laulu* in his diary. Based on these diary entries, it would appear that he spent nearly a month (from December 1911 to January 1912) sketching the melody before making the choral arrangements. However, no musical sources from this sketching process have survived. Similar kinds of remarks in diary entries are found regarding *Män från slätten och havet*. In both cases, Sibelius had doubts concerning his initial ideas

²²¹ See, e.g. Kilpeläinen 1992, 151. *Ej med klagan* is an interesting case in point, as Sibelius composed the work first for male choir and then changed it for mixed choir. Had he learnt at some point that it would also be possible to have female singers at Edelfelt's funeral?

which were, at some point, discarded. It is possible, therefore, (or even probable) that some early melodic sketches for these two projects have survived, but if they contain no song texts, their identification would be difficult – or virtually impossible. However, based on biographical sources, the lengthy compositional process of these two works is exceptional in Sibelius’s choral output. Other works were in all likelihood conceived within a fairly small time span (for biographic sources, see Section 4.2).

6.1.2 Works from 1888–1889

Traditionally, the difference between a sketch and a fair copy is understood as essential. For example, Nicholas Marston begins his article on sketches in the Grove dictionary with the following definition:

A composer's written record of compositional activity not itself intended to have the status of a finished, public work.²²²

Two aspects of the definition bear significance for the study of the manuscripts of Sibelius’s early works. Firstly, Marston’s definition states that a sketch is a document of a work-in-progress, and secondly, that a sketch is a private document intended primarily for the author’s eyes only. Following Marston’s definition, the division between sketch and fair copy could be formulated through the manuscript’s function: a sketch serves as an *aide-memoire*, i.e. as the composer’s instrument in the creative process, whereas a fair copy is intended as a means of communication: it conveys its content to someone other than the author, be it other musicians, the typesetter, the engraver, or the publisher’s editor. Thus, the difference between a sketch and a fair copy (*autograph* in Marston’s terms) lies solely in the intended purpose of the manuscript and not, for example, in its appearance. As an example of this, Marston presents a detailed sketch:

Even though a sketch might be sufficiently extensive and fully notated as to be performable, its origin as an essentially private notation distinguishes it from a composer's manuscript of a completed work (see *Autograph*), a document typically intended as the basis for subsequent copying and publication.²²³

The case presented by Sibelius’s student works is the opposite of the one in Marston’s example. The problems with the student works arise not from extensively detailed sketches that could be taken as fair copies, but from fair copies that are not “fully notated as to be performable” (in Marston’s words). Instead, the fair copies contain some sketch-like features, and they raise the question as to whether these fair copies are, in fact, fair copies in the strict sense.

²²² Marston 2001, 472.

²²³ *Ibid.* A similar approach is presented by Reiman (1993) who categorises manuscripts based on their intended audience as private, confidential, and public documents.

These sketch-like features are a direct result of the circumstances in which the works were composed. It would appear that the choral works from Sibelius's student period were not intended for publication, and there is no documentation to indicate that these works were ever even planned for performance.²²⁴ Instead, they were possibly compositional exercises assigned by Martin Wegelius, Sibelius's teacher at the time.²²⁵ Thus, their intended audience consisted probably of a single person (in addition to the author himself).²²⁶

The fair copies of Sibelius's early works consist of two layers of writing. The first layer is without a doubt intended as a fair copy of the completed work – in Marston's terms, they are “fully notated as to be performable.” But every one of these fair copies contains emendations later made by the composer. In many cases, the first layer is written in ink and the emendations in pencil, thus they are easily distinguished from each other. The emendations were probably made during – or shortly after – the lesson with Wegelius. For instance, this can be deduced from the fair copy of *När sig våren åter föder*, presented as Example 6.3a. From bar 7 to bar 8, Sibelius wrote parallel fifths between the outer voices. The flawed voice-leading is marked with parallel lines (either by Sibelius or Wegelius) and soprano's last note in bar 7 – originally b_b^1 – has been corrected to e_b^2 by Sibelius. A similar kind of ‘pedagogical emendation’ also appears in the fair copy of *Ensam i dunkla skogarnas famn*, in which the marked cross-relation in bar 41 has been corrected by Sibelius by emending the melody.

Pedagogical corrections, however, are not the most problematic part of the second layer. Rather, new ideas sketched on the fair copy raise some very difficult questions. A good example of these questions appears in the fair copy of *När sig våren åter föder* on staves 7 and 8 (the lowest staves in Example 6.3a). After the completion of the fair copy, Sibelius sketched a new ending to the work – perhaps at Wegelius's suggestion. The new ending is not written as a correction or an alteration to the fair copy, but it possesses all the external characteristics of a sketch. For example, the inner voices are written only partially.

The process visible in the early fair copies now seems reversed: the first layer is a full-fledged fair copy, but some new ideas are noted down in a private, sketch-like hand. The problem arises because the sketch-like layer on the manuscript is the only surviving source for what was chronologically the latest version of the work – that is, the last stage of the writing process of these early works remains shrouded. However, that Sibelius never wrote out the finalised fair copies of these last versions does not necessarily mean that the works were left incomplete. Since the works were not intended for performance or publication, there was no need to write out one more fair copy with the latest ‘authoritative’ reading. For the pedagogical or private purposes for which the works were intended, the lower level of details – or even the idea behind the last version – was

²²⁴ Gräsbeck (2008), despite his painstaking search, could find no evidence of any performances. The same applies to many other works from this period.

²²⁵ That being said, there is no direct evidence to suggest that these works were compositional exercises. See Section 4.1.1.

²²⁶ In Reiman's (1993) terms, the manuscripts would fall into the category of confidential. For Reiman's theory, see the end of Section 2.1.

sufficient: once the problematic details were resolved satisfactorily, there was no need to continue with the task.

In many cases, Sibelius's intentions behind the sketched emendation can be explained fairly accurately, though the actual final version cannot be reconstructed. This is an important distinction – also in the case of *När sig våren åter föder* (shown in Example 6.3), in which the writing process of the emendation can be described quite accurately (see the transcription in Example 6.3b, c, and d). Sibelius first marked the two last bars to be replaced with a slightly longer version of the last phrase. The prolongation of the last phrase emphasises the word *engel* (angel, [*ängel* in modern Swedish orthography]). Then he decided to prolong the ending even further by repeating the last line of text. This repetition is made possible by evading the original final cadence, which, interestingly, now functions as the culmination of the work, and not as an ending. It is also of note that the repetition makes use of the emended ending shown in Example 6.3c (marked in Example 6.3d with horizontal lines) and not the penultimate bar of the original fair-copied version.

Though the harmonies (and even, to some extent, the inner voices) are implied by the tonal context (i.e. the outer voices), the factual part-writing intended by Sibelius remains unknown and the last version in Example 6.3d appears to be incomplete. We may assume that the composing was complete, but that the writing process remained incomplete. The inner voices can easily be added to the *Satz*, but it is important to remember that addition would be no more than an educated guess.²²⁷

To correctly identify the sketch-like emendations on the fair copies of the early works as private writing is a crucial part of reading the manuscripts of these early works.²²⁸ Many such emendations result in multiple possibilities concerning the latest version. However, it is not only the emending that provides multiple readings: in his early works Sibelius sometimes did not write melisma slurs but indicated melismas by placing each syllable under its respective note. A good example of this can be found in the bass line of *Ensam i dunkla skogarnas famn* in bar 21 (Example 6.4a), in which the syllable *-gen* from the word *sjungen* is placed below the last note of the bar. If the bass line in this case is unproblematic, the same cannot be said about the song text of the alto line in the same bar (bar 21), for which there are at least four different possibilities (given in Example 6.4b): the song text for the alto can be inserted either by analogy with the soprano part (option 1), the bass (option 2), or the tenor (option 3, perhaps the most unlikely); or the alto line can be interpreted as an inexact imitation of the tenor melody beginning in bar 20 (option 4).²²⁹ Bar 22 is even more complicated, because Sibelius also emended the rhythm of the alto line: as seen in Example 6.4a, the original alto line contains a melisma slur (from the minim e^1 at 1/4 [which looks like a crotchet as it has been emended] to the crotchet d^2 at

²²⁷ In the critical edition of *När sig våren åter föder* (JSW VII/1) the fair-copied first layer of the work is printed. The later endings are given in the Critical Remarks in its incomplete form without any additions by the editor.

²²⁸ A detailed description of the problems proposed by the sketch-like emendations on the fair copy of *Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar* is given in Chapter 12.

²²⁹ In the first edition dating from 1992, option 3 is printed without any mention of the other possibilities. For more on the first edition, see Section 9.2.3.

3/4). The question of how the song text should be placed after the emendation of the first note from minim to crotchet and the addition of e^2 at 2/4 is far from unambiguous: an analogy with the outer voices is possible, but also the repetition of *sjun-gen, sjun-gen* seems likely, though it is not supported by direct vertical analogy.

Example 6.3. När sig våren åter föder.
a) fair copy.

A handwritten musical score for the song "När sig våren åter föder". The score is written on five systems of staves. The first system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "När sig våren åter föder klar och ljuf Da-gen ler och blom". The second system continues the lyrics: "glö-der vak-nar du fastar vid din bleka stängel blad och knopp och brin". The third system continues: "gru-set som en en-gel lyf-tes opp". The fourth system shows the piano accompaniment with the lyrics "Faster vid din haka". The fifth system shows the piano accompaniment with the lyrics "Som en engel lyftes opp".

b) transcription of the first layer of the ending. c) the second layer.

A transcription of the first layer of the ending. It consists of two staves, treble and bass clef, in 3/4 time. The lyrics are: "gru - set som en en - gel lyf - tes opp." The music features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the bass and a melody in the treble.

A transcription of the second layer of the ending. It consists of two staves, treble and bass clef, in 3/4 time. The lyrics are: "gru - set som en [en - gel lyf - tes opp.]". The music features a steady eighth-note accompaniment in the bass and a melody in the treble, with a bracketed section in the lyrics.

d) the third layer.

Although such problematic fair copies separate the early works from the rest of Sibelius's choral output, in other respects the writing process of the early works appears similar to that described in the previous section (6.1.1). For example, the draft of *Ensam i dunkla skogarnas famn* implies that Sibelius wrote the melody first and added the details of the part-writing later. Thus, in this case as well, a manuscript categorised as a draft first functioned as a melodic sketch and then as a draft containing all the essential musical material of the completed work. The only difference is the absence of the authoritative note text of the final version, for which there was no need, since the works were intended neither for publication nor public performance.

Example 6.4. *Ensam i dunkla skogarnas famn.*

a) fair copy of bars 20–26.

b) alternative interpretations for the song text of alto in bar 21.

6.1.3 Sketching the Choral Arrangements

It would appear that, when writing choral arrangements, Sibelius generally skipped the sketching stage and wrote the fair copy directly. Based on everything that has been said about Sibelius's sketching process in general (in Section 6.1.1), this is completely understandable; as stated above, it was not the part-writing for which Sibelius usually needed the sketching stage, but the forging of the melody into its final shape. And when writing an arrangement, the musical material already existed so, naturally, no work with the melody was necessary.

That Sibelius did not write sketches when arranging is not deduced only based on the lack of extant sketches. Instead, hints of this can also be seen in extant fair copies of the arrangements. For instance, the fair copy of the mixed-choir arrangement of *Venematka* includes several emended passages, such as bar 11, which was written twice before reaching its final state.²³⁰ Two earlier readings are crossed out but still clearly legible. Normally, changes in the fair copies of the choral works look more like corrections or small-scale emendations. In the fair copy of *Venematka*, some changes give the impression that there was no model (i.e. a draft) for the fair copy, but that Sibelius in fact made the arrangement while writing the fair copy.²³¹

The source chain for *Sydämeni laulu* is another good example of a typical arranging process; in this case, however, the changes were not made during the writing of the fair copy and for this reason they could not be easily inserted into the fair copy by simply crossing out the earlier reading, as in *Venematka*. In *Sydämeni laulu*, Sibelius first wrote the fair copy of the entire arrangement in ink, but then decided to alter the texture in two passages. These alterations, resulting in a thinner texture, could not be squeezed in between the notes, so Sibelius had to write out a new fair copy.²³² The intended alteration is indicated with markings in pencil on the first fair copy. An important distinction must be made: although the source chain for the mixed-choir version of *Sydämeni laulu* consists of two manuscripts, their relation is not *draft* → *fair copy*, but instead, *fair copy* → *new fair copy*.²³³

The writing process of the mixed-choir arrangement of *Finlandia-hymni* presents a process with very similar features. This time, however, Sibelius wrote three fair copies before reaching the published reading.²³⁴ In addition to these successive fair copies, *Finlandia-hymni* is, interestingly, the only arrangement for which there is extant sketch material. The National Library of Finland contains a manuscript (HUL 0845), in which

²³⁰ All three pages of the fair copy are facsimiled in *JSW VII/1* (facsimiles III–V).

²³¹ For a comparison, see the writing process of *Ej med klagan*, described in Chapter 13.

²³² The reason for writing the new fair copy instead of just indicating the changes verbally probably arises from the features of the typesetting. These are discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

²³³ The first fair copy is categorised in Kilpeläinen (1991) as a complete draft.

²³⁴ Sibelius wrote the first version in *A*_♭ major, and second in *F* major. After completing the second version, he emended the bass line. The third fair copy, which served as the typesetter's copy, is currently lost. In *JSW*, the version in *A*_♭ major is published separately.

Sibelius tries out two different textures for the mixed-choir version. In each attempt, Sibelius writes out only the beginning of the hymn.²³⁵

It is likely that some amount of sketch material for the arrangements is lost. *Lauluja 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista* is an interesting case in point: the choral work contains musical ideas that do not exist in the original cantata. In fact, the choral work is almost a song cycle for mixed choir a cappella, in which, for example, the keys of successive movements are carefully planned so that the keys of each movement prepare those of the movements that follow. In addition, the key changes seem to be motivated by the text. The key relations of the movements differ significantly from the key plan of the original cantata.²³⁶ The most obvious example of such key relations is movement IV, which fulfils a merely transitive role within the whole; it is not a movement that could be performed on its own. The material of movement IV does not appear anywhere in the original cantata, and was conceived for the purpose of the choral work. In this respect, it is unlikely that Sibelius did not write any sketches for the arrangement of the *Lauluja 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista*. In any case, the fact remains that no sketches for the arrangement have survived and that the only surviving manuscript material for the arrangement consists of extracted pages from the fair copy portraying movement II.²³⁷

In addition to the lack of sketches, another typical feature in the writing process of the arrangements is that Sibelius seldom wrote out the song texts, the underlay, to the arrangements himself.²³⁸ For example, in the above-mentioned fair copy of *Venematka*, the text was inserted by Aino Sibelius. Aino Sibelius also wrote out the underlay for the fair copy of the mixed-choir version of *Ej med klagan*. In the case of the female-choir version of *Soi kiitokseksi Luojan* (Op. 23 No 6), Sibelius sent the fair copy – without any underlay – to the publisher Anna Sarlin, who added the text herself. The fair copy of *Kallion kirkon kellosävel* was also sent to the publisher (B&H) without any underlay (see Chapter 4.2.4). This practice probably led to some of the problems in the different editions: when composing *Aamusumussa*, Sibelius changed the original text in a few instances, the better to fit it to the melody. In the arrangement for children's choir, the text, however, follows the original poem and not the emended version of the original composition. My hypothesis based on the typical source chain for other arrangements is that the fair copy of the children's choir version of *Aamusumussa* contained no underlay and that the publisher copied the text from Erikko's poem collection without noticing the discrepancies with the published version of the work. The fair copy of the arrangement is currently lost, and thus the hypothesis cannot be confirmed.

²³⁵ In both sketches, the hymn is in A♭ major. In the first sketch, the basses are divided and sing in octaves. In the second sketch, the melody is sung by both soprano and tenor in octaves; alto and bass also sing in octaves for the most part.

²³⁶ For details, see Chapter 10.1.

²³⁷ An interesting detail in the history of Promootiokantaatti is the fact that Sibelius gave the Opus number 23 to the choral work and not to the original cantata (currently known as JS 105).

²³⁸ See also Chapter 7.1, feature 8.

6.2 Refining the Details: Fair Copies and Proofs

Sibelius wrote the fair copies of his choral works very carefully. In particular, the pitches were indicated so that there was almost no possibility of misreading them (the same cannot always be said of some of his orchestral scores). Additionally, writing errors or emendations that occurred during the writing of the fair copy were corrected in such a way that they would not normally cause any ambiguities concerning the desired reading. Such corrections and emendations were usually indicated by crossing out the unwanted note and rewriting the new one beside it. In cases where the new reading could not neatly be inserted around the earlier notes, Sibelius used a sharp tool (a razor?) to scrape off the ink and the earlier reading. The emendations inserted during the writing of the fair copies typically concern only the small details; usually only single notes are emended at a time. Whenever the need for a larger change in the fair copy occurred, Sibelius generally wrote a completely new fair copy instead of altering the first one (see *Sydämeni laulu* and *Finlandia-hymni* above). This was probably due to the brevity of his choral works; it is significantly easier to write a new fair copy than to scrape off several notes carefully without causing too much damage, e.g. making a hole in the manuscript.

There is one fair copy that stands out from the rest. Instead of writing directly in ink, Sibelius first wrote the fair copy of *Män från slätten och havet* in lead pencil and only later validated the reading in ink. This practice, unique among the choral works, probably stems from the notably greater length of the work compared to any other mixed-choir work. The layer in lead was probably intended to avoid the risk of having to start from the beginning again in case of error. But it probably served another purpose too: the manuscript may have functioned as a continuity draft before the final reading in lead was validated in ink. The layer in lead contains several passages that were altered many times, and it has a draft-like appearance. However, because the reading in lead could so easily be erased, earlier readings are mostly illegible today. If the first layer of the fair copy of *Män från slätten och havet* did in fact serve as a continuity draft, it is in this respect a unique source among Sibelius's choral works.

Very little can be said about the refinements Sibelius made during the proof-reading process, since *Uusmaalaisten laulu* is the only mixed-choir work for which proofs have survived – in fact, three sets of proofs survive for *Uusmaalaisten laulu*. Interestingly, Sibelius did not only correct the misprints but also added a new performance instruction: *meno*, appearing in four analogous bars (5, 13, 35, and 43).²³⁹

Although *Uusmaalaisten laulu* is the only mixed-choir work with surviving proofs, it is probable that Sibelius read proofs for many other works too.²⁴⁰ The circumstantial evidence – i.e. the comparison between the first edition and the engraver's copy – shows that Sibelius read proofs for *Män från slätten och havet* and refined the tenor line in bars

²³⁹ Sibelius did not notice all the misprints; see e.g. Example 8.9. Not all the misprints were typesetter's errors. The typesetter's copy was not Sibelius's autograph fair copy but a copy by an unknown hand, which contained several errors. Errors made by the unknown copyist were typeset accurately and some of them ended up in the first edition despite Sibelius's proofreading.

²⁴⁰ See Section 3.1.2.

36–38 during that process.²⁴¹ More proofs have survived for Sibelius’s male-choir works (see the sources in JSW VII/2, forthcoming). Although they do not fall within the scope of the present study, they also hint that it was custom among Finnish publishers to send composers proofs for approval.

6.3 Revisions and Later Thoughts

There are several instances, in which Sibelius returned to a choral work to make emendations after its publication. These emendations – with the exception of *Ej med klagan* discussed in Chapter 13 – concern only certain details and do not significantly alter the music. For example, in *Den 25 Oktober 1902 (I)* Sibelius altered the rhythm in two passages. The altered bars (8–9 and 40–41) are musically analogous with each other but they contain different song texts; after the alterations, the music follows the rhythm of the text more closely, which was probably the reason behind the changes. Sibelius made these emendations to the fair copy used earlier as the typesetter’s copy for the first edition. The altered manuscript was then used as the basis for the second edition.²⁴² Thus, although the first and second editions differ from each other, they are both based on differing autograph readings of the same manuscript.

Rakastava is an unfortunate example of revisions. A letter sent by conductor Heikki Klemetti to Sibelius gives the following information: “By the way, we sang ‘Rakastava’ from the VI booklet of ‘Ylioppilaslauluja’, edited by Hahl, and executed the minor changes you wrote for the solo part on a piece of paper. The piece of paper is probably in the archives.”²⁴³ Because Klemetti does not specify the requested changes and no such piece of paper referred to in the letter has ever been found in the archives, Sibelius’s later thoughts concerning the solo part in *Rakastava* remain unknown.

Information on Sibelius’s authorisation of certain changes that have occurred in his works after their first publication is contradictory. Apparently, Sibelius at some point had asked Klemetti to shorten certain time values in *Isänmaalle* in order to achieve the natural rhythm of spoken Finnish (such as the words *pyhä* in bar 4 and *yhä* in bar 8). However, according to another choral conductor Martti Turunen, Sibelius had informed him that no such shortenings should ever be made in any performance. This sparked a dispute between the two conductors, and in a letter to Sibelius Klemetti asks the composer to settle the matter. Unfortunately, Sibelius’s response is not known.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ Sibelius also solved the problem of the underlay during the proof-reading process (see Example 8.5d).

²⁴² That the manuscript was used for both editions can be deduced based on the typesetter’s markings.

²⁴³ NA, SFA, file box 22: “Muuten me lauloimme ‘Rakastavan’ siitä Hahlin toimittamasta VI:nneasta vihosta ‘Ylioppilaslauluja’, teimme vaan sooloääneen Sinun paperilapulle kirjoittamasi pienet muutokset. Tämä lappu lienee arkistossa[.]”

²⁴⁴ Klemetti’s letter in NA, SFA, file box 22. Interestingly, Turunen asks Sibelius’s permission to alter some rhythms in *Finlandia-hymni* in order to make the music comply with the text. Again, Sibelius’s answer is not known, but some emendations occur in the *Handexemplar* of the male-choir version. For details, see the source chain and Ylivuori 2012. Turunen’s letter in NA, SFA, file box 31.

In his own copy of the first edition of *Ej med klagan*, Sibelius altered bars 6–8 completely. For reasons unknown, Sibelius never made the new version public, and editions published during Sibelius’s life-time all follow the original reading. Their publication was authorised by Sibelius, so it would appear that he would have had opportunities to publish the new version but apparently decided not to do so. For details of the history of *Ej med klagan*, see Chapter 13.

6.4 Sibelius’s Treatment of Original Poems

In 1910, while composing *Korpen* (Edgar Allan Poe’s *The Raven* translated in Swedish by Viktor Rydberg), Sibelius wrote in his diary an oft-quoted entry: “Doubts concerning the text. ‘The words’ are always a burden to my art.”²⁴⁵ Bearing in mind that Sibelius wrote more than one hundred piano-accompanied songs, similar amount of choral works for different choral formations (a cappella as well as accompanied), the one-act opera *Jungfrun i tornet*, and incidental music to several plays, his entry seems, at the very least, somewhat dubious. Although the entry may have been written on the spur of the moment as a statement of frustration – *Korpen* was left incomplete in the early stages of composing – I believe it gives an invaluable insight into his perfectionist attitude towards the poems he was composing.

When comparing the original publications of the poems and the form in which they appear in Sibelius’s choral works, several types of differences occur frequently. These differences can often be interpreted as musically motivated. In other words, it seems that, whenever his musical ideas demanded it, Sibelius did not hesitate to change the original poem, the better to fit the words to his music. This occasionally caused some amount of discontent among poets. There are a number of contemporary descriptions of the collaboration between Sibelius and his poets. These descriptions share one important common feature.

The earliest contemporary description depicts the composition of *Cantata for the University Graduation Ceremonies of 1894* (JS 105). The collaboration between Sibelius and the poet Kasimir Leino was not without its disagreements, as is documented by Eino Leino, Kasimir Leino’s brother:

My brother Kasimir had written a festival poem for him.

–[Sibelius:] Here I need aa--aa--aa. There I need ii--ii--ii. Otherwise I will set one of the announcements in *Hufvudstadsbladet* [the Swedish-language newspaper in Helsinki].

My brother Kasimir was furious.

–An impossible man! he roared.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ *Diary, on 3 December 1910: “Dubier angående texten. Alltid äro ‘orden’ ett onus i min konst.” Sibelius discusses the plans concerning Korpen repeatedly in diary entries between 11 November and 15 December.*

²⁴⁶ *Leino’s description was posthumously published in Peltonen 1965, 364:*

According to Eino Leino's description, Sibelius had demanded that the poet change his poem so that certain musical ideas contained certain vowels and perhaps even certain rhythms. The poet was not pleased with the composer's demands and thought that such changes would alter too much of his poem and make it awkward.

Another description with similar features dates from 1897, when Sibelius was writing *Cantata for the University Graduation Ceremonies of 1897* (JS 106), this time in collaboration with Aukusti Valdemar Koskimies (also known as August Valdemar Forsman). Paavo Virkkunen later recalled the creative process:

The content and form of the cantata poem enchanted even the composer. At Korkeavuorenkatu 27 [an address in Helsinki], I was able to follow the close collaboration that tied the composer and the poet to one another. On several occasions the poet was asked to fulfil the special wishes of the composer. The words had come to an end but the melodies continued, and in his nocturnal creativity the poet had soon acted in accordance with the composer's wishes.²⁴⁷

Although the collaboration with Koskimies was more peaceful than that with Leino, this time too the original poem had to submit to the demands of the composition.²⁴⁸ This seems a typical feature of Sibelius's choral compositions.²⁴⁹ It would appear that for Sibelius the original poem was not a sacred or inviolable entity, which the composition seeks to illustrate. Rather, the poem acted as a starting point for the creative process and could be reworked during the process, if required by the musical logic. From the poet's point of view, this was easily interpreted as carelessness or insensitivity to literary art (as testified by Leino), but this was not the case with Sibelius. Quite the contrary: when studying Sibelius's choral works, it seems that he treated original poems with a rigour that could be described as perfectionism.

"Veljeni Kasimir oli kirjoittanut jonkun juhlarunon hänelle.

– [Sibelius:] Tässä minä tarvitsen aa--aa--aa. Tuossa minä tarvitsen ii--ii--ii. Taikka muuten minä sävellän jonkun Hufvudstadsbladetin ilmoituksen.

Veljeni Kasimir oli raivoissaan.

– Mahdoton mies! karjui hän."

²⁴⁷ Virkkunen (1947): *"Kantaattirunoelman sisällys ja muoto tenhosi säveltäjänkin. Sain Korkeavuorenkadun 27:ssä seurata sitä läheistä yhteistyötä, joka liitti toisiinsa säveltäjän ja runoilijan. Runoilija sai eri kertoja täyttää säveltäjän erikoisia toivomuksia. Sanat olivat loppuneet, mutta sävelkuviot jatkuivat ja yöllisessä luomisessaan runoilija oli pian tehnyt säveltäjän toiveiden mukaisesti."*

²⁴⁸ Koskimies published both versions of the poem (i.e. the original version and the version resulting from the collaboration). Thus, it would appear that he did not detest the revisions made according the composer's demands.

²⁴⁹ In addition to the two examples above, there are other examples too (e.g. with Jalmari Finne). One such example is the diary entry concerning the text of *Män från slätten och havet*, in which Sibelius writes on 12 October 1911: *"The text must be improved"* (Texten måste förbättras). Whether Sibelius made any improvements at that stage cannot be deduced, as the poem was written for the occasion and no source for the original text has survived (Sibelius received the text directly from the poet). The poem was later published, but it contains extensive revisions by the poet.

The text of *Drömmarna* is an excellent example of this. The song text accurately follows the text of the original poem published in *Seglande Skyar* in 1896 – except for one detail. Namely, the ninth line in the published poem reads: *hur de än komma och hur de än gå* (how they may come and how they may go) but as composed by Sibelius it is sung: *hur än de komma och hur än de gå*. Thus, words *de* and *än* have changed place. The change in word order does not change the meaning of the sentence, but when examined against the background of the composition, there is a clear musical motivation for the change. What if Sibelius had maintained the original word order? Because the changed words *de* and *än* fall on the same pitch, and because there is no consonant marking the beginning of the new word, they would easily be connected when sung, resulting in an altogether different articulation; at the very least, an attack would be needed at the beginning of *än*. With the changed word order, the articulation of the sentence, when sung, is naturally much more coherent and fluent. It can be argued that Sibelius changed the word order for purely vocal reasons.

The first movement of *Rakastava* is another intriguing example of how Sibelius changed the original poem during the composition process. In *Rakastava*, Sibelius changed the word order of the original poem (from *Kanteletar*) in several instances. These changes were mostly motivated by the requirements of the meter. For instance, the latter part of the couplet *Missä istuvi iloni, / maalla kulla marjaseni?* (Where lies my delight, where my dearest?) appears in Sibelius's composition as *kulla maalla marjaseni?* Because the musical phrase of the latter part begins with an up-beat, the greatest emphasis falls on the third syllable of the text. In the original word order, this would mean that *kul* [-*la*] would be emphasised instead of *maal* [-*la*]. The change in word order emphasises not only the word *maalla* itself, but also the alliteration (*maalla marjaseni*), which is of special importance in Finnish epic poetry.

It would appear that whenever the demands of the poem and the music were in contradiction, Sibelius did not hesitate to change the poem. However, not all such changes are motivated by the music. There is one type of change which Sibelius made to the original poems with the utmost consistency but which cannot be explained through musical needs. In *Kanteletar* and *Kalevala*, as well as in the texts of Aleksis Kivi, there are several words (especially adjectives) ending with letters *-ia*. Sibelius systematically altered these words to end with *-ea*. Instances of this change are numerous: *soria* → *sorea*, *kumia* → *kumea*, *heliä[llä]* → *heleä[llä]*, *kaitsia* → *kaitsea*, and *hopia[ista]* → *hopea[ista]*. The changing of the vowel does not affect the meaning of the word, but it has other implications. During the 19th century, standard Finnish was the subject of a rigorous scholarly debate (usually referred to as the 'dialect dispute' [in Finnish *murteiden taistelu*]). Namely, during the 17th and 18th centuries, standard Finnish was primarily based on Western dialects, but during the 19th century, as a direct result of the dialect dispute, features from Eastern dialects were gradually introduced into standard Finnish. However, the introduction of such Eastern elements did not occur without opposition (hence the dispute).²⁵⁰ The ending with *-ia* is a typical feature of the Western dialects

²⁵⁰ For the overview of the dialect dispute, see e.g. Lauerma 2004 and Rapola 1956. The term 'dialect dispute' refers commonly to the dispute that took place during the first half of the century. In the 1880s, the dispute had become more a question between the generations (Mielikäinen 2001). However, other

(especially the dialect of Pohjanmaa), which Sibelius apparently strove to neutralise. Thus, Sibelius's treatment of the original poems may reveal his position – or that of his Finnish teachers' and the surrounding Finnish circle – in the dialect dispute.²⁵¹ The endings with *-ea* (as invariably spelled by Sibelius) have later become the norm in modern standard Finnish.²⁵² The use of modern Finnish is a strange detail, considering that Sibelius continued to use old orthography in his mother tongue, Swedish, practically until his death.²⁵³

Although the changes made by Sibelius to original poems are generally relatively small-scale emendations, there is one interesting exception, in which Sibelius changed the actual words: in *Min rastas raataa*, based on a poem from the *Kanteletar*, Sibelius changed the line in the original poem *Poikia naittaa, / Tyttöjä työntää* ([the peasant] marries off his boys, pushes the girls [...]) to *Poika oottaa / tyttöjä tuolla* (The boy awaits for girls over there). The reason behind this change presumably lies in the fact that the volume used by Sibelius (the 3rd edition of *Kanteletar*) contains a misprint and reads *Poika naittaa, / tyttöjä työntää*. Due to the misprint, the meaning of the sentence has become blurred: in the erroneous reading, the boy becomes the subject of the sentence – instead of the peasant – and consequently 'the marrying off' does not make any sense. My hypothesis is that Sibelius did not reason out the missing letter *i* in the erroneous word *Poik[i]a*, but solved the problem by making up a new line in order to achieve a meaningful sentence.

The song text of *Min rastas raataa* also contains a change that is probably not deliberate – however, this cannot be stated beyond any doubt. In bar 13 (shown in Example 8.10a), the first edition reads *keihäitä heittää* ([the peasant] throws spears), although the original poem reads *keihäitä keittää* (boils spears [probably in the context of forging]). With the change, the alliteration – which is of such importance in the poems of the *Kanteletar* – is lost from the sentence. I find it very unlikely that Sibelius would have made such a change. Rather, the typesetter misreading Sibelius's handwriting is a more probable explanation for the change: the letters *k* and *h* often look confusingly alike – see Example 6.5, in which the first word *vaknen* could easily be mistaken for *vahnen* (should such a word exist). Similar instances are found elsewhere too: in *Aamusumussa*, the first sentence in the first edition reads *Päiv' ei pääse paistamahan, kun on valtaa vailla* (The sun cannot shine, because [it] has no power), whereas the original poem reads *Päiv' ei pääse paistamahan, kuu on valtaa vailla* (The sun cannot shine, the moon is without

composers of Sibelius's generation did not generally modernise the texts from Kalevala and Kanteletar, but retained their original readings.

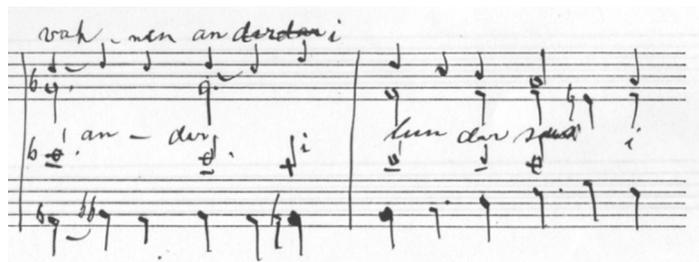
²⁵¹ *I am grateful to Elisa Orre for bringing this aspect of the dialect dispute to my attention and providing me with literature on the subject.*

²⁵² *Soitapas sorea neito is an interesting example also from the -ia/-ea perspective. In the song text, Sibelius changed the word likka (lassie) in every instance to neito (maiden); for example, the original title of the poem reads Soitapa's soria likka. One explanation for the change is that he perhaps tried to achieve more a dignified (high-brow) style. However, the changed title emphasises the vowel e instead of i: Soitapas sorEa nEito (instead of Soitapas sorIa lIkka), thus it can be argued that the change of likka → neito could be motivated by the change of -ia → -ea in the adjective.*

²⁵³ *Swedish orthography was changed to its present day forms as early as 1906.*

power). Again the letters *n* and *u* look alike in Sibelius's handwriting – see Example 6.5, in which the first word in the second bar, *lundar*, is a good example of the similarity between Sibelius's *u* and *n*. The third example of this kind of change is found in bar 35 of *Rakastava*, which in the first edition reads *ahot ainaista iloa* (the field [is] eternally happy) and the original *Kanteletar* poem reads *ahot ainoista iloa* (the field [is] solely happy).²⁵⁴

Example 6.5. *Ensam i dunkla skogarnas famn*, bars 34–35.



One more intriguing aspect must be mentioned here: the compositional process of *Skolsång* and *Skyddskårsmarsch* (for male choir) stands out as unique from the point of view of the text. Sibelius wrote both works without any song texts and sent the manuscript (both works were written on the same manuscript) to the poet Nino Runeberg along with a request to write song texts for these songs (see Section 4.1.5 for further details). After receiving the manuscripts from Runeberg with the newly inserted texts, Sibelius emended some rhythms in the original composition to better fit the music to the text. There is no other example of this kind in Sibelius's choral output,²⁵⁵ though there is an interesting quotation favouring this kind of process. Namely, according to the singer Wäinö Sola, Sibelius wondered why poets kept sending him their poetry collections in the hope that he would set them and remarked: “Why don't poets write poetry to my good compositions?”²⁵⁶

Some compositions have, in fact, inspired poets. First and foremost is *Finlandia-hymni*. There is a multitude of different poems written to its melody, particularly in Finnish and English but also in Swedish and German. Martti Nisonen even wrote an arrangement of the entire tone poem for male choir, thus providing poetry (in addition to

²⁵⁴ In these three instances, the main problem lies in the intentionality of the changes. Similar questions can also naturally be found in the context of other composers. Hallmark 1977, 118 discusses changes whose intentionality is questionable in tandem with the song text of Schumann's *Dichterliebe*.

²⁵⁵ In Sibelius's solo song *Hymn to Thais*, Jussi Jalas (Sibelius's son-in-law) and Aulikki Rautawaara (the singer to whom the song was dedicated) altered the rhythms in the vocal melody in order to make the music comply with the natural rhythm of the English poem. Sibelius probably approved this editing. For details, see Tiilikainen (2005, x and 175–180).

²⁵⁶ Sola's letter to Sibelius, dated 12 January 1952 (currently in NL Coll.206.36): “Mikseivät runoilijat runoile minun hyviä sävellyksiäni?”

the arrangement) for the entire length of the composition and not only for the hymn section.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ *The arrangement is unpublished. Its fair copy is preserved in the Finnish American Historical Archive in Hancock, Michigan. For the different poems written for Finlandia-hymni, see Goss (2009, 197–206). The first page of Nisonen's arrangement is facsimiled in Goss 2009, 196.*

7 Sibelius's Notational Practices in Choral Writing

The close study of Sibelius's manuscripts reveals that Sibelius's notational practice contains several consistent features typical to Sibelius but which distinguish his notation from that of other Finnish (choral) composers at the turn of the 20th century. The identification of notational practices provides an important tool, not only for the analysis of the manuscript sources but particularly for the analysis of printed sources.²⁵⁸

The identification of notational practices also sheds light on a number of questions concerning performance practice. The relationship between the special features of Sibelius's notational practices and the performance practice of his works, as documented in early recordings, is discussed in Section 7.2.

7.1 Features of Notational Practice

The consistent features of Sibelius's notational practice in choral writing are divided in the present section into three categories: 1) the appearance of the system, 2) melismas and song texts, 3) dynamic and agogic markings. These features are numbered to facilitate later reference.²⁵⁹

Appearance of System

1) Sibelius primarily used two-stave systems, when writing four-part a cappella choral music. More staves per system appear in Sibelius's choral music for two reasons: firstly, when the work contains more than four parts, and secondly, when the parts contain polyphonic writing.

Sibelius's choral writing shows a clear tendency towards using two staves whenever possible; even many polyphonic passages and passages with more than four parts are often written on two-stave systems. It was not uncommon for Sibelius to write as many as four male voices on one staff (e.g. *Venematka* and several movements in *Lauluja 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista*). Among his entire mixed-choir oeuvre, only four works are written entirely on four-stave systems: *Män från slätten och havet*, *Kallion kirkon kellosävel*, *Soitapa sorea neito*, and *Juhlamarssi*. Additionally, the second movement of *Rakastava* and several movements from *Lauluja 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista* are written on four-stave systems. Among the works listed above, *Kallion kirkon kellosävel* is a special case, as it is the only four-part mixed-choir work appearing on four-stave systems. No

²⁵⁸ *The Notenbild in Finnish choral editions closely follows the manuscripts on which they were based, thus maintaining the notational practices of the typesetter's copy. For this reason, the kind of manuscript used as the typesetter's copy can often be deduced from the edition. This is discussed in Chapters 8 and 9.*

²⁵⁹ *This chapter focuses on Sibelius's notational practices in choral music and especially in his mixed-choir works. For Sibelius's notational practices in orchestral music, see Wicklund (JSW I/12a, forthcoming). This chapter is indebted to Wicklund's doctoral thesis (forthcoming).*

manuscript sources for *Kallion kirkon kellosävel* has survived, so whether Sibelius actually wrote the work using four staves remains unknown. But if he did so, *Kallion kirkon kellosävel* would stand out as unique in this respect.²⁶⁰

2) Sibelius drew bar lines through systems regardless of the number of staves. This practice was, however, only rarely followed in Finnish editions because it was technically so difficult – and in some cases practically impossible – to reproduce such bar lines in the typeset. For technical aspects of the typesetting process, see Chapter 8.²⁶¹

3) When using four staves – i.e. writing tenors and basses on separate staves – Sibelius wrote the tenor parts using the sub-octave treble clef, but he did not write the eight below the clef. Thus, the clef resembles an ordinary treble clef, though the music is notated as if the eight were there. Sibelius placed the staff for a male soloist often between the alto and tenor choir staves, though not consistently. Male solos were also written using a sub-octave treble clef (i.e. as if for the tenor).²⁶²

4) When using two-stave systems, Sibelius invariably wrote parts with separate stems. Additionally, he always wrote ties and slurs for both parts separately. In *divisi* passages containing semibreves (i.e. no stems showing which of the parts were divided), Sibelius indicated the divided part by an arch besides the notes – even when there was no possibility of misunderstanding his intentions (see Example 7.2c). In curious contrast to the consistency of the two-stave practice, Sibelius's use of stems in *divisi* passages was varied, when more staves were in use; in *Juhlamarssi*, for example, *divisi* are sometimes notated with separate stems and sometimes with single stems – often both practices are even used within one phrase.²⁶³

5) In choral music, Sibelius wrote performance instructions in Finnish or Swedish, depending on the language of the organisation behind the commission, in addition to the traditional Italian expressions.

²⁶⁰ Sibelius's practice differs from that of many other Finnish composers. For example, Erkki Melartin and Mikael Nyström (among others) primarily wrote four choral parts on four separate staves, thus writing one part per staff.

²⁶¹ The practice of drawing bar lines varied from one composer to the next. For example, Ilmari Krohn used different kinds of bar lines to indicate the hypermetrical hierarchy of the bars and phrases. His practice was followed by only a few Finnish choral composers (such as Alfred Hiilimies). The peculiar use of bar lines by Krohn and Hiilimies was retained in their editions despite the technical difficulties it imposed, which shows that the practice was considered an important part of their music.

²⁶² Some composers – such as Oskar Merikanto – consistently used the bass clef when writing tenor parts on a separate staff (see Example 8.4b). In addition, Merikanto placed the staff for a male soloist (also written using bass clef) below the choir staves.

²⁶³ Sibelius's brother-in-law, the composer Armas Järnefelt, provides a good example of a different practice; he consistently drew parts on the same staff with one stem – regardless of the number of parts on the staff. For Järnefelt's practice, see Example 8.4a.

Melismas and Song Texts

6) In vocal music, Sibelius consistently used beams (rather than slurs) to indicate melismas in quavers or semiquavers, and slurs with crotchets or longer time values. In other words: in syllabic passages with consecutive quavers, the notes were never connected with a beam, as in Sibelius's instrumental writing.

The songs intended for children or for use in schools were performed either a cappella or with accompaniment, though Sibelius had not written out the accompaniment. In these works, Sibelius consistently used beams, as with his instrumental practice, connecting successive quavers or semiquavers within one beat with beams and indicating melismas with slurs. Thus, there are two different practices regarding Sibelius's use of beams in vocal music. Sibelius used both practices, but not arbitrarily. Instead, he reserved both uses for different purposes. Hereafter, these two practices are here called 'vocal' and 'instrumental' practice.

In general, Sibelius indicated melismas very carefully; even in his sketches, melismas are marked unambiguously (see e.g. *Ej med klagan* in Chapter 13). It should also be noted that in a cappella music Sibelius never used melisma slurs if all the notes within the melisma were connected with a beam.²⁶⁴

7) When using two staves, Sibelius placed the song texts between the staves. Only texts that differed from the 'general text' were placed above or below the system. The placing of the texts on four staves varies based on how polyphonic the writing is. Only in *Män från slätten och havet* is the text systematically placed below every staff.

8) Particularly when fair copying his arrangements, Sibelius did not write out the underlay himself. Often the underlay was inserted by his wife Aino Sibelius (e.g. in *Venematka*), or the task was left to the publisher (e.g. *Kellosävel Kallion kirkossa*, the male-choir version of *Isänmaalle*, and the female-choir version of *Soi kiitokseksi Luojan*). Some textual discrepancies between different versions arise from this practice (see Section 6.1.3).

9) In Sibelius's handwriting, certain letters resemble each other, and this easily leads to misinterpretation. The letters *u* and *n*, *a* and *o*, and *k* and *h* have caused particular confusion in the publication process. See Example 6.5 and the discussion in Section 6.4.

²⁶⁴ Nowadays, Sibelius's vocal practice is not used anymore, but choral writing follows instrumental practice (at least among Finnish publishers). In Sibelius's times, both practices were in general use.

Dynamic and Agogic Markings

10) Sibelius consistently placed dynamic markings above the system. When writing on two-stave systems, he sometimes duplicated the markings below the lower stave as well. However, markings below the system do not appear consistently; sometimes he duplicated almost every marking (as is the case in both versions of *Den 25 Oktober 1902*, in which the missing markings give the impression of their absence being an oversight) and sometimes only a few of the markings appear repeated below the system (e.g. in the fair copy of *Sydämeni laulu*).

When writing on four-stave systems, the practice is even more varied; in the fair copy of *Juhlamarssi* Sibelius wrote dynamic markings for each part throughout the work (although a few dynamic markings, intended in all likelihood for both tenor and bass, appear only between the male-choir staves [thus, as if intended only for the bass]), but in the fair copy of *Män från slätten och havet* he wrote general dynamic markings (intended for all parts) above the system. In the first edition, the markings above the system were given for each part separately, resulting in a dubious reading with dynamic markings on rests (see Example 8.5a, especially *poco crescendo* in the soprano part).

11) The dynamic markings (other than hairpins) are often written slightly before the place they are actually intended. In some occasions, the change of dynamics is placed at the end of the bar ending the previous phrase, though it is clearly intended as a new dynamic for the next phrase. Moreover, this practice has resulted in dubious readings in the first editions. What's more, the placement and length of these hairpins was not indicated by Sibelius with particular care; the variance in the handwriting causes editorial problems, though the intention behind their placement can often be deduced without greater problems.

12) To indicate accentuation, Sibelius occasionally used successive **f** signs, instead of traditional accents (>).²⁶⁵ In choral music, Sibelius preferred long accents to shorter ones.²⁶⁶ Although short accents do not appear in Sibelius's extant manuscripts, in some editions they do appear – e.g. in *Lauluja 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista*, for which the fair copy has not survived. For this reason, it remains unknown whether or not the short accents originate in the manuscript. The long accent often seems to indicate a softer emphasis, rather than a sharp articulation. Emphasis was probably achieved through agogic means.²⁶⁷

In *Isänmaalle*, Sibelius uses the entire arsenal of different accentual markings. In Example 7.1, three excerpts from *Isänmaalle* are presented. The first excerpt (a) is from

²⁶⁵ Sibelius's accentual **f** signs have previously been discussed by Virtanen 1997 and 2004.

²⁶⁶ Interestingly, although Sibelius does not use the short accent in his mixed-choir works, some are found in his male-choir output.

²⁶⁷ The use of > markings has been discussed in the context of other composers too, such as Brahms, Beethoven, and Schumann; for this discussion, see, e.g., Mies 1963 and Kohlhasse 1993.

the beginning of the first phrase of the last verse, in which **f** is given both for the up-beat and for the down-beat. As a result, the words *Niin* and *aina* (*thus* and *always*) are both emphasised; if only one **f** had appeared, it would probably be interpreted as a more general indication of volume and character and not as an emphasis. *Aina* together with *maass'* are furthermore marked with long accents. Another interesting detail in the song text is the exclamation mark that appears in the middle of the sentence: *Niin aina olkohon Suomenmaass'! Ain uljuutt'[.] uskollisuutta!* (*Thus, there will always be in Finland! Bravery [and] fidelity!*).²⁶⁸ The musical emphasis falls on the words *Thus, always, and Finland*.

The second example (7.1b) shows a different kind of emphasis; namely, the long accent in the middle of the phrase that is not intended as a sharp accent, but rather a softer and perhaps more agogic emphasis. The hairpin accentuates the dissonant culmination of the melody on the word *muistojen* ([the land] *of memories*). Hairpins of this kind are sometimes misinterpreted as indicating diminuendo.

The third example (7.1c) presents the three last bars of the work. Sibelius has indicated the emphasis on the dominant as well as on the tonic with successive **fs**. In addition, the hairpin appearing on the last bar beautifully reflects the stress of natural spoken Finnish, as the stress in the word *Suomi* (as with all Finnish words) is on the first syllable. Thus, the hairpin is probably not intended as an accentuation as such, but more likely as a diminuendo, though their difference in this context is negligible (cf. feature number 13 below).

Example 7.1. Three excerpts from *Isänmaalle*.

a) beginning of the last verse.

b) bars 38–41.

viit-taa. Niin ai-na ol-ko-hon Suomenmaass'! Ain ul-juutt' us-kol-li--suut-ta! Kun vaa-ra uh-kaa, ne

ff *Largamente*
Eä maa ei kos-kaan sor-tu--a saa E-lä.
Kõõn lä-mä muis-to--jen toi-vo--jen maa, E-lä.

²⁶⁸ The exclamation mark also appears in Cajander's original poem.

c) last bars.



13) When ending a choral work with a minim or a note with a longer time value, Sibelius often wrote a diminuendo hairpin on the last note of the work. This kind of diminuendo hairpin appears most often in the context of a triumphant ending in a *forte* character. Example 7.2 presents examples of these endings, both from the first editions and from the manuscripts.

Example 7.2. Examples of > on the last note.

a) *Ej med klagan.*

b) *Saarella palaa.*



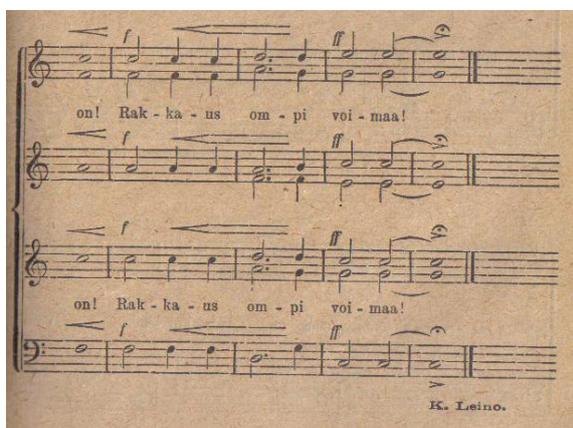
c) *Lauluja 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista (first edition).*



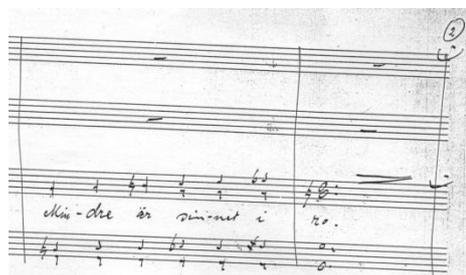
d) *Män från slätten och havet* b. 19–20
(first edition).



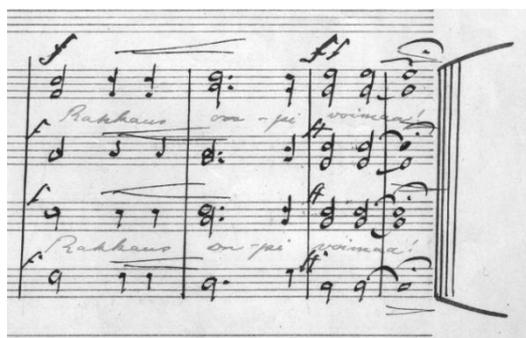
f) *Juhlamarssi* (first edition).



e) *Män från slätten och havet*
(fair copy).



g) *Juhlamarssi* (fair copy).



The exact placement of the hairpin varies. Most often it begins above the last note and extends until the end of the bar – sometimes even on to the rest at the end (see Example 7.2a, especially the lower hairpin). Sometimes the hairpin clearly appears after the note; this is the case in *Män från slätten och havet*, in which Sibelius wrote the hairpin at the end of a phrase placing it explicitly after the note (Example 7.2e). In the first edition (Example 7.2d), however, the hairpin appears directly above the notes. In *Juhlamarssi*, the hairpin appears in the first edition as a short accent instead of the diminuendo marked by Sibelius in the manuscript (Examples 7.3f and g).²⁶⁹

7.2 A Closer Look at Sibelius's Use of the Accent Sign ">"

Sibelius's use of > deserves closer examination, as it is unprecedented in Finnish choral writing. It would appear that, at the beginning of the 20th century, there was a significant change in aesthetics in Finnish choral music, something also reflected in the change of notational practice during the 1890s. Sibelius's role in this change is significant, as his

²⁶⁹ It should be noted that the autograph fair copy of *Juhlamarssi* was not used as the typesetter's copy for the first edition. See the source chain in the Appendix I.

practice of using > was rapidly taken up by several other composers (such as Merikanto, Kuula, Madetoja, etc.).

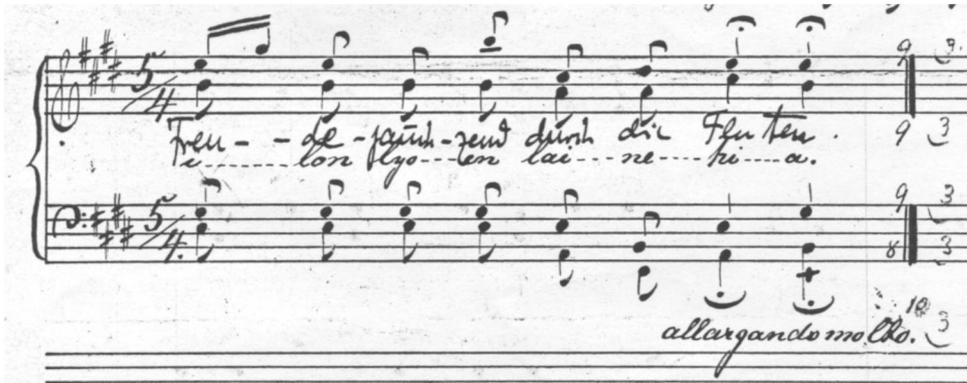
In Finnish choral editions from the 19th century, emphasis was commonly marked with < > above a single note.²⁷⁰ Often the < > markings appear in tandem with a fermata or *sfz*, though the marking also frequently appears on its own. A good example of the earlier practice is presented in Example 7.3, which portrays the three last systems of a chorale *I hemmet* published in the choral collection *Sävelistö 3* in 1890. The emphasis on the last note is particularly interesting, as in each verse this falls on an unstressed syllable.

Example 7.3. I hemmet in Sävelistö 3; pages 3–4.

The notational practice of writing < > on an individual note has an interesting point of resemblance in performance practice, documented in a number of choral recordings from the beginning of the 20th century. Early choral recordings show that choirs from the first half of the 20th century tended to represent emphases on single notes with rapid ‘swells’; i.e., < >, a crescendo followed by a diminuendo. A good example is Finlandia-kuoro’s recording of Sibelius’s *Venematka* from 1939.

²⁷⁰ For more on the use of < > during the Romantic period, see Brown 1999, 126–128.

Example 7.4. Venematka's last bar in the male choir version.



In Finlandia-kuoro's interpretation, the two last chords marked, with fermatas (see Example 7.4),²⁷¹ are sung with separate swells on each. This feels strange from modern perspective, but may be an echo of earlier performance practice:

lai – ne – hi – a
<> <>

The ending of *Venematka* is not a unique case; rather, it would appear that swells were a common practice at the time. In the same recording, Finlandia-kuoro performs Sibelius's male-choir work *Metsämiehen laulu* (Op. 18 No. 5). This work ends with similar swells:

mailma unholaan jää – köön
<> <>

To take one example from the end of the work (and not recorded by Finlandia-kuoro), in 1938 the male-voice choir Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat (conducted by Martti Turunen) recorded Sibelius's *Sortunut ääni*, which begins with similar swells:

mikä sorti ää – nen suuren
<>

and a few bars later:

lammikkona lai – latte
<>

²⁷¹ The manuscript served as the engraver's copy. It is written by an unknown hand. Above the Finnish poem appears a singable translation in German.

music should follow the rhythm and stresses of natural spoken language seems to have originated with Sibelius's generation.²⁷⁴ The use of > seems primarily aimed at guiding choirs towards a performance sensitive to the subtleties of the text.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴ See Hyökki 2003, 9. See also Hyökki's illustrative musical examples in pp. 13–58.

²⁷⁵ A good example of this can be found in Example 9.7a, in which Sibelius has indicated the stresses in *lika ljus* with successive > markings.

8 Typesetting

Contrary to most musical publications, editions of Finnish choral music in the first half of the 20th century were produced by typesetting and not by engraving, which was the normal practice in turn-of-the-century Europe. There is a natural reason for this unusual practice: there were no engravers in Finland at the time – indeed, there have never been any. The manuscript of the music that was to be engraved (i.e. orchestral music, most piano music, etc.) was usually sent to Germany to be engraved.²⁷⁶ Presumably due to the limited market for choral music with texts in Finnish or Swedish, it was not cost-effective to send manuscripts to Germany – particularly given that most of Sibelius’s choral music was published by non-profit organisations, which had no international contacts or experience in the field of music publishing. In fact, the only first edition of Sibelius’s mixed-choir music that was published by an international music publisher is *Kallion kirkon kellosävel* (by Breitkopf & Härtel); naturally, this edition was engraved, not typeset.

Producing a musical edition by typesetting is a significantly different process when compared to the process of engraving. Since typesetting was primarily designed for printing plain text (that is, letters), typesetting *Notenbild* was extremely difficult. In fact, certain kinds of complexities in the *Notenbild* which could be produced by engraving were impossible to achieve by means of typeset. Thus, the fact that contemporary editions of Sibelius’s choral music were produced by typesetting has an impact on the source chain – not only on the *Notenbild*, but also on its contents: the *Notentext*.

In the present Chapter, I will first describe features of the typesetting process from the perspective of musical editions (Section 8.1). Thereafter I will discuss its effect on published editions (8.2) and take a closer look at typical printing errors caused by features specific to the typesetting process (8.3). Finally, I will compare my findings in typeset editions with the features of engraved editions (8.4).

8.1 The Process of Typesetting

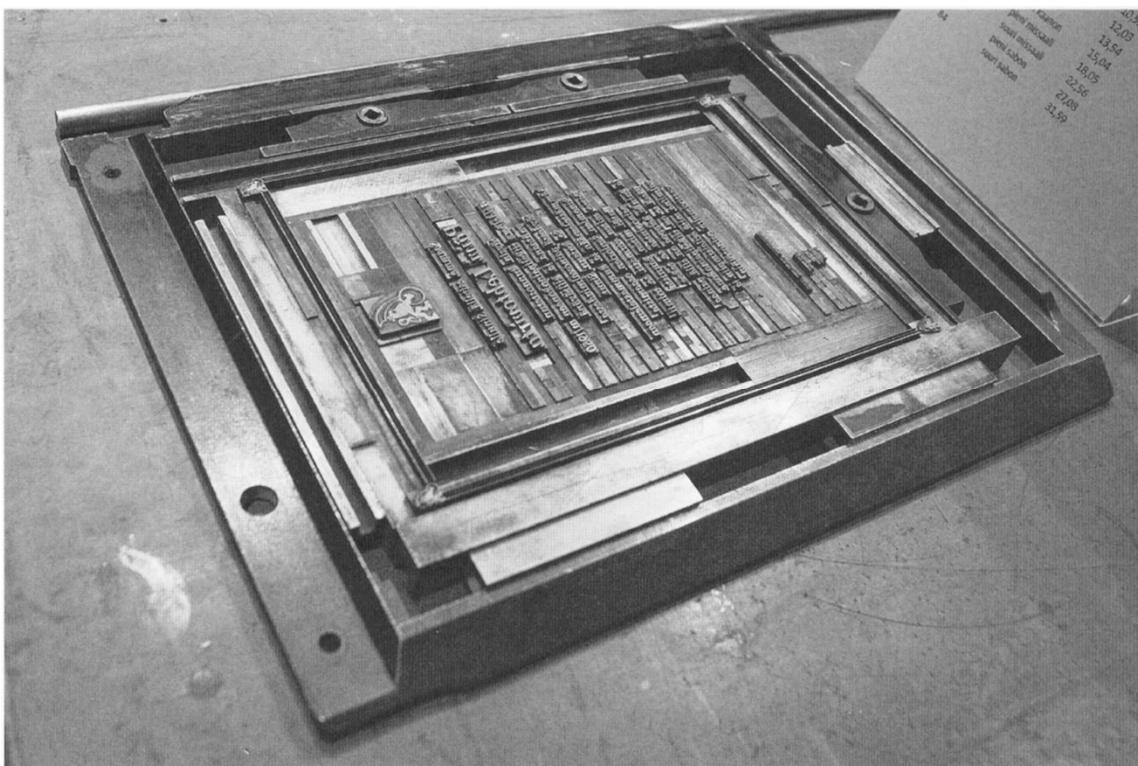
The most elementary constituent of typesetting is the type; a rectangular piece of wood or metal featuring an embossed sign. The typesetter’s task was to produce the page to be printed by choosing suitable types from a huge box (called cases of type) containing types with all signs in different sizes and styles. The chosen types were first placed into a composing stick (also called a ‘setting stick’) a few lines at a time. From the composing stick, lines were then inserted into a metal frame (called a ‘chase’, equivalent to one printed page). Types had to be tightly locked together in the chase; thus the length of lines had to be consistent in order to achieve the pressure of the metal frame delivered on each

²⁷⁶ This was the case with *Män från slätten och havet*, which was commissioned for SFV’s singing festival. For the festivities, SFV produced an engraved edition. The edition was engraved by B&H (as a sub-contractor). This was common practice with, for instance, the piano music published by Fazer or Westerlund.

line.²⁷⁷ It was of the utmost importance to make the composition in the chase tight, as any loose line would start to move within the print and would not print properly (if at all). Example 8.1 is a photograph of a finished chase ready for printing.

The size and shape of the types dictate the layout of the printed page to a great extent. It is worth noting that even the ‘white space’ around the actual printed signs (be the signs written text, staves in a system, dynamic markings, etc.) had to be constructed from blank types (called spacing material²⁷⁸). Thus, the layout of the page is not only restricted by the limited number of pre-existing types with different signs, but also by the limited number of blank types available for the typesetter.²⁷⁹

Example 8.1. *The chase of an announcement (in Päivälehti Museum, Helsinki.) Picture by Lars-Eric Gardberg (2009).*



The practices of typesetting were originally designed for the needs of book printing and not for music publishing. Typesetting plain text line by line is a relatively straightforward task, but building the *Notenbild* line by line presents a special challenge. Slurs and ties usefully illustrate the challenges of typesetting music: firstly, types must obviously not superimpose or overlap each other, thus, for example, any sign placed on the stave-lines must include, in addition to the actual sign, the stave-lines on which the sign is placed –

²⁷⁷ For the same reason, wooden types were also in use, though metal types would otherwise have been used. Their function was to absorb some of the pressure in the chase.

²⁷⁸ There is a vast terminology concerning the finesses of spacing that is not dealt with here. In example 8.1, the different kinds of spacing types can be clearly seen.

²⁷⁹ This is a very simplified account on the process of typesetting. For more information, see Hendell-Vuorio 1957, Gardberg 2011 and Chlapik 1987.

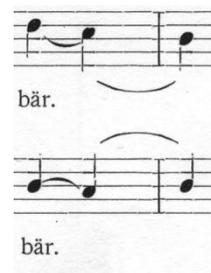
otherwise the stave-lines would break for the length of the type in the printed edition; and secondly, because the page was tightly constructed ‘line by line’, no types could be placed diagonally on the chase.

In particular, these two features of typesetting technique made the placing of slurs and ties extremely challenging. In manuscripts, slurs often began and ended on the stave-lines and made a steep curve in between; this kind of reading could not be followed accurately in typeset editions. Instead, as they were seldom placed on the staves and as they had to stay on the same horizontal level for their entire length, they sometimes appear awkwardly positioned in typeset editions.²⁸⁰ Example 8.2a shows a detail from Väinö Raitio’s choral work *Istuin illalla tuvassa*, in which the tie – constructed from four types – breaks for the length of the type containing the bar line, because no type exists containing both the bar line and the tie.²⁸¹ The typesetter of Sibelius’s male-choir work *Herr Lager och Skön Fager* has avoided this problem by placing the slur that should cross the bar line above and below the stave-lines (see Example 8.2b).

Example 8.2. Two examples of typesetting ties and slurs.

a) Väinö Raitio: *Istuin illalla tuvassa*, bars 7–8, soprano and alto.

b) Sibelius: *Herr Lager och Skön Fager*, bb. 34–35, tenor I and II.



Most musical symbols were constructed from several smaller types – such as the ties in the above example.²⁸² For the most part the boundaries of the types are clearly visible in printed editions. By analysing these boundaries, we can deduce the different types available for the typesetter. Example 8.3a shows how a long hairpin was typically typeset using several types. Due to the restrictions of diagonal placement, the hairpin does not continue to widen until the end of the hairpin, rather the short hairpin is then extended by horizontal lines. In the same example, the flag of the first bass note causes the lower stave-line to break, since the stave-line did not exist in the type containing the flag. In Example

²⁸⁰ Multiple-impression printing, in which the staves were typeset separately from the notes (and other musical markings), was only used in one source of the present study: in K. E. Holm’s *Sävelistö 4* (typeset in Oy F. Tilgmann Ab). The technique was generally not available in Finland (as far as I know, Tilgmann was the only firm using the technique). However, it seems that sometimes (but not often) the underlay was typeset separately from the other markings.

²⁸¹ The beginning of the tie is constructed from three types. The boundaries of the types are visible by close examination. The boundaries do not appear clearly in the example.

²⁸² For the technique of constructing musical notation, see the illustrative example in Chlapik 1987, 9.

8.3b, the main interest lies on the dactyl rhythm: the beams connecting the stems are constructed from three separate types.

Example 8.3a. Two examples of constructing musical symbols from types.

a) *Isänmaalle* bb. 36–37.

b) *Venematka* b. 15.



Based on an analysis of the typeset editions, we can state that no standard cases of types existed, but different typesetters had very different means available. For example, sometimes one type contained a whole quaver note, but sometimes an individual quaver was constructed from three types: the note head, the stem, and the flag were all on separate types. Example 7.1c above shows clearly how the flag was typeset separately from the stem (in particular, see the bass part in the penultimate bar). Similar variance between different publishers is common to the typesetting of slurs and hairpins; in some editions slurs could be inserted on staves more easily, whereas in some editions slurs never cross the stave-lines.²⁸³

As if building the *Notenbild* from tiny bits was not difficult enough, the types had to be inserted into the chase in mirror image in order that the page print correctly. However, a model (e.g. a manuscript) was always normally laid out (i.e. not in mirror image). Thus, an essential part of the typesetters' craftsmanship was the ability to read texts fluently even in mirror image.

Typesetters naturally had a finite number of types in their cases. Types were put back into their cases after the edition had been printed. This meant that not only subsequent editions but also later imprints of the first edition had to be typeset anew. Thus, there are extensive differences between separate imprints; even their layouts were different – to the extent that sometimes even the pagination differed. This shows how much the craftsmanship of the individual typesetter influenced the outcome of the edition. What's more, each imprint contains a unique set of misprints.

One of the most characteristic features of the typeset edition is the frequency with which system breaks fall in the middle of a bar. System breaks not only break the bar across two systems, but they often split the bar at a musically awkward point. Example 8.4 contains two excerpts from *Sävelistö 4*. Example 8.4a presents the first three systems of

²⁸³ Typesetting music required such specialised skill and several 'cases of types' specially designed for the purpose that music was not typeset in every printing house.

page 50, on which the penultimate bar of Järnefelt's work *Orpo ja lintu* is divided across two systems. The bar containing five beats has been divided exactly halfway through – i.e. from the middle of the third beat. As a result, the bar is graphically beautiful (four notes on each side), but the rhythm of the bar has become difficult for a musician to perceive. In Example 8.4b, the system break in Merikanto's *Suottako Suomi luottaa Luojahansa?* falls in the middle of the second beat of the bar with four beats.

Example 8.4. Two excerpts from *Sävelistö 4*.

a) Järnefelt: *Orpo ja lintu*.

b) Merikanto: *Suottako Suomi luottaa Luojahansa?*

50

la hy-väl-lä, Oot kun kul-lan kuk-ka-ros-sa,
A-sut ar-ma-han po-ves-sa, Sit-ten vai-ham-
me va-jo-ja, Ka-hen-kes-ken kai-ho-jam-me.

73

o-le le tyy-ty-väi-nen. Suot-
o-le on-nees tyy-ty-väi-nen kan-sa!
ja kas-sa. B. Suo-
ta-ko Suo-mi luot-taa Luo-ja-han-
mi luot-taa, luot-taa Luo-ja-han-
sa? Vei vi-lu vil-jan, ta-hos tou-on.

Examples of system breaks in the middle of the bar are found commonly in typeset editions; they appear in almost every choral collection from the turn of the century. In fact, even the first bar in Example 8.4a is a 5/4 bar that has been divided strangely in the middle of beat 3. The reason for breaking the bar derives from the size of the types: types are of a certain size, and therefore the layout cannot be easily compressed or widened in order to move the break point to a more convenient place, as can be easily done if the edition is engraved or produced using modern methods. As stated above, the size and shape of the types dictate the layout in typeset editions to a great extent.

It seems that no 'open-ended' hairpins were in use. Thus, whenever a hairpin was split by a system break, the original continuous hairpin was replaced by two consecutive hairpins. Although in most cases this practice causes no confusion, exceptions do exist (see e.g. *Sydämeni laulu* in Section 3.3.1).

8.2 Typeset Editions in Relation to Typesetter's Copies

Typesetters who typed out musical scores were highly trained book-printing professionals, but not professionally trained musicians. Therefore, they did not treat the score they were typesetting as *Notentext*. Instead, typesetters interpreted the *Notenbild* as an image – and not as a text – and strove to transcribe the image on the manuscript as accurately as the technical restrictions described above allowed. The typesetters' inability to read music can be deduced by the pedantic precision with which they even reproduced mistakes in the typesetter's copies. Even certain odd placements that resulted, for example, from lack of space on the manuscript, were usually transmitted into typeset editions. This also provides an explanation for awkward system breaks described above.

The word-to-word (or sign-to-sign) fidelity of typeset editions to their typesetter's copies also springs from the publishers' practice of sending the manuscripts to the typesetter without any preliminary preparations. There was no publishing editor supervising the publication process. The consequence can be seen in choral collections containing compositions by several composers: the *Notenbild* is not standardised or unified in any way; instead, there are several notational practices within one collection, each practice reflecting that of the composer in question.²⁸⁴

The special features of the relation of the typeset edition to its typesetter's copy are perhaps most evident in comparison to the relation of the engraved edition to its engraver's copy. As an example of an engraved edition, I will use the first edition of *Män från slätten och havet*, which is the only engraved edition of Sibelius's mixed-choir works for which Sibelius's autograph fair copy (which served as the engraver's copy) has also survived.

Example 8.5 gives four details from the autograph fair copy of *Män från slätten och havet* and their corresponding bars from the engraved first edition. The examples show what kinds of standardisation took place during the publication process. In each case, Sibelius wrote general dynamic marks (intended for all parts) above the system and only inserted markings intended for a specific part between the staves (e.g. the *forte* for the tenor in Example 8.5c). In this edition, Sibelius's original markings have been multiplied and inserted for each part separately. The multiplication is not always unproblematic; for example, in Example 8.5a, the multiplication has resulted in a dubious reading with dynamic markings on the rests (see the soprano part in particular).

In this edition, Sibelius's original written markings (*poco crescendo*, *piu piano*, *poco forte*, and *forte*) have been replaced with abbreviations (*poco cresc.*, *più p*, *poco f*, and *f*).²⁸⁵ The spelling of *più* has been corrected by the engraver. In addition, Sibelius's idiosyncratic overturned fermatas have been turned the right way up and inserted separately for each part.

The fourth example (8.5d) contains a syntactical error in Sibelius's manuscript. In the lower alto part, Sibelius had written the beginning of the text *haf-* [*vet*], but the word does not continue on the next system. The engraver has circled the syntactically incorrect bar in

²⁸⁴ Many collections were published without any mention of the editor. Even when the editor was mentioned, no standardisation had taken place.

²⁸⁵ For Sibelius's use of abbreviated dynamic markings, see Virtanen 1997.

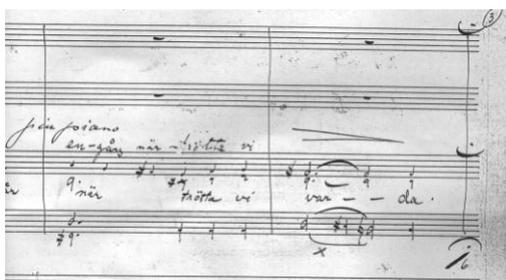
red pencil and written a large question mark beside it. In addition, the word *Text* has been added in lead.²⁸⁶

Example 8.5. Four details from the engraver's copy and the first edition of *Mån från slätten och havet*.

a) bar 58.



b) bars 31–32.

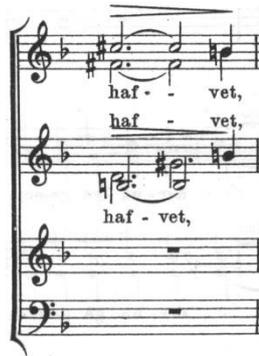
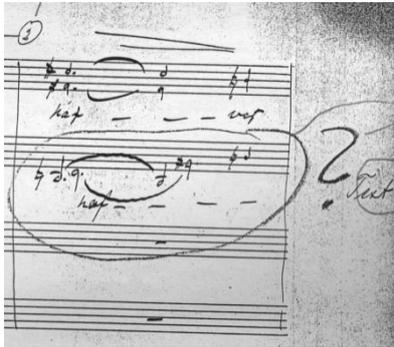


c) bar 97.



²⁸⁶ These markings could also have been made by the publishing editor. However, the markings are written in the same pencil as the layout markings, which suggests that the writing is by the engraver. Bar 12 is not the only underlay-related problem pointed out by the engraver in this work.

d) bar 12.



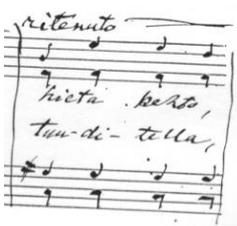
The kinds of standardisations presented in the example above did not occur in typeset editions. Instead, typeset editions seem to reproduce the reading of the typesetter's copy meticulously. The beginning of *Sydämeni laulu* (see Example 8.6) illustrates the typesetter's accuracy concerning the *Notenbild*. The typesetter has preserved the appearance and placement of all musical markings – even the upside-down fermatas appear in this edition exactly as they are placed in the manuscript. Not a single marking has been multiplied and the general dynamic marks appear only above the system in the typeset edition. Neither have verbal instructions been unified or standardised: in bar 4 Sibelius wrote *ritenuto*, and in bar 16 *riten*. The edition maintains this difference.

Example 8.6. Two details from *Sydämeni laulu*.

a) bars 1–2.



b) bars 4 and 16.



That the typesetters read the musical text as *Notenbild* – and not as *Notentext* – is particularly apparent in instances where the typesetter's copy contains a syntactical error.

Unlike the engraver in the case of *Män från slätten och havet*, typesetters would normally even copy erroneous readings accurately. This kind of situation appears in the first edition of *Venematka*. In bar 16, the second half of the third beat contains no underlay for the upper parts. The mechanism behind the mistake is logical: Sibelius did not write the text himself, but it was inserted by Aino Sibelius, who did not notice the need for the unconventional hyphenation of the word *su-o-ve-si-ä* (instead of the standard hyphenation *suo-ve-si-ä*) required by the music (see Example 8.7).

Example 8.7. *Venematka*'s bar 16 in first edition and fair copy.



Such meticulous reproduction of the reading of the typesetter's copy generally applies only for the musical text. Errors in the underlay and titles were corrected by the typesetter. For example, in the typesetter's copy the title of *Sydämeni laulu* erroneously reads *Sydämen laulu*, but the erroneous title has not been transmitted into the edition. The typesetter of *Sydämeni laulu* has also added the missing commas to the line *Tuonen lehto, öinen lehto*, and replaced *V.I* and *V.II* indicating the verses with numerals *1.* and *2.* (see Example 8.6a). Titles written in old orthography in the manuscripts (such as *Wenematka*) were commonly rendered according to modern practice (*Venematka*). That typesetters standardised underlay, but not musical notation, emphasises the fact that they did not have any musical training.

There are only three details in the *Notenbild* of the typeset editions that do not follow Sibelius's notational practices:

- 1) Sibelius systematically drew bar lines through the systems, but they were typeset only on the staves (which can also be seen in the examples above). The reason was probably technical: typesetting the bar lines through the systems would, for example, have complicated the placing of the underlay. This technical explanation seems convincing, because once typesetting was replaced by more sophisticated printing methods (such as phototyping in the 1950s) through-the-system bar lines also started to appear in subsequent editions.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁷ The editions that were typeset by small non-profit printing houses retained Sibelius's practice. For example, the first edition of *Työkansan marssi* (typeset by the printing house of the Viipuri workers' union) contains bar lines as in the manuscript. Thus, the practice of breaking the bar lines applies to printing houses that regularly typeset music.

- 2) Sibelius's practice of drawing the downward stems from the right-hand side of the note head was not followed in typeset editions.
- 3) Typesetters added a period after each verbal instruction (see e.g. Example 8.6b, where *ritenuto.* is printed, although *ritenuto* appears in the manuscript).

8.3 Typical Misprints in Typeset Editions

There are certain recurrent misprints resulting from the special features of the typesetting technique and which mark typeset editions off from engraved editions. I have identified four different categories of misprints typical for typeset editions but not found in engraved editions.

1: The Incomplete Sign

The most common misprint in typeset editions stems from the construction of the symbols from several types. Often the typesetter accidentally left out a part of the symbol. Examples of incomplete signs could be listed endlessly. In Example 8.8, three of the most typical instances are given:

Example 8.8a: in the last bar of the second system, the typesetter has forgotten to insert the beam between the soloist's first notes. As a result, two crotchets appear instead of quavers, resulting in there being too many beats in the bar.

Example 8.8b: in the second system, the typesetter has left out the stem from the alto's first note (second stave in the second system). Based on the placing of the other stems in the bar, stems and note heads in half notes seem to have been typeset from separate types.

Example 8.8c: the tie for the upper bass part has remained incomplete. As stated above, ties could not be typeset over the bar line; the typesetter has forgotten to insert the end of the tie. Notably, the stem is also missing from the bass's first note in the same bar.

2: Spelling Errors in Musical Terms

The origin of this category is closely related to category 1. There were no special types for example for dynamic marks, but they were spelled every time from separate letters. As a result, the Italian words were often misspelled – especially *crescendo* appears in many dubious forms in the typeset editions. The misspelled musical terms in the typeset editions include the following indications (among others): *poco a poco cresc.*, *largemente e forte*, *con muto*, *poco a poco crescendo*, *alargando*, and the dubious dynamic mark **mpp**. Although most of the verbal indications in Sibelius's choral works are in Finnish, I have not found any misprints in them; thus, the misspelling stems most probably from the unfamiliarity of the musical terms.

Example 8.8. Three examples of ‘incomplete signs’.

a) Genetz: *Karjala in Sävelistö 4.*

b) *Rakastava in Sävelistö 4, bars 71–76.*

c) *Venematka, bars 12 -13.*

3: Hairpins placed wrong way round

In the typeset editions, crescendo hairpins are often typeset as diminuendo hairpins and vice versa. Such an error is understandable, bearing in mind that the marks had to be placed in the chase as mirror images. Thus, the erroneous placement of the hairpin was extremely difficult to detect, especially as it had no single correct direction (unlike most signs), but depending on the situation it could be placed either way. Example 8.9 presents the last bar of the first edition of *Uusmaalaisen laulu*. An interesting feature of the source

chain is that Sibelius read the proofs for this edition but did not notice the erroneously placed hairpin.²⁸⁸

Example 8.9. Last bar of Uusmaalaisten laulu.



4: Overly Literal Reading

Typesetters aimed to reproduce images as accurately as possible.²⁸⁹ Many problems in the typeset *Notentext* derive from problems that already existed in the typesetter's copy. In the absence of a publishing editor, all problematic details of the manuscript were incorporated into the edition. A good example is the erroneous bar in *Venematka* discussed above (see Example 8.7). Editions often reproduced the reading of the typesetter's copy so accurately that it is possible to deduce many details of the typesetter's copy based only on the reading of the edition – without ever seeing the actual copy.

Another example of this is the reading of the second edition of *Min rastas raataa*, whose many details reveal that the first edition (*Sävelistö 4*) served as the typesetter's copy for the second edition. For instance, the first edition contains some illogical and unidiomatic notational practices, such as the melisma slurs on the tenor's quavers in bar 13 (see Example 8.10a). Such melisma slurs are not found in any known Sibelius autograph manuscript (see feature 6 in Chapter 7). Interestingly, the same melisma slurs appear in the first edition only in bar 13, and not in the analogous bars 14 and 15. Similarly the second edition reproduces the illogical melisma slurs only in bar 13.

The most interesting aspect of the second edition concerns dynamic marks. In the second edition, several new dynamic marks appear above the systems. However, the dynamic marks placed below the systems accurately follow those printed in the first edition. This has resulted in a number of contradicting details, such as the dynamic marks in bar 17, presented in Example 8.10b. Thus, it would appear that the typesetter's copy was indeed a copy of the first edition, but that it contained handwritten changes and alterations to the dynamic marks (perhaps written by a conductor for a performance). These added handwritten marks were in all likelihood intended to replace the earlier

²⁸⁸ A *diminuendo* hairpin appears in Sibelius's autograph manuscript as well as in the copy by an unknown hand used as the typesetter's copy in the first edition.

²⁸⁹ For example, according to typesetter Jorma Ojajarju, the typesetters at Helsingin Sanomat were instructed "not to think" – i.e. not to make any corrections or emendations to the text being typeset (Gardberg 2011, 226).

printed marks, but since the typesetter did not read *Notentext*, he did not see the contradiction between the new and the original marks but reproduced them as they appeared in the *Notenbild*.²⁹⁰

Example 8.10. Two examples from *Min rastas raataa*.

a) First edition bar 13.

b) Second edition bar 17.



8.4 Remarks on the Differences between Typeset and Engraved Editions

Timo Virtanen had categorised typical changes and mistakes made by copyists and engravers.²⁹¹ It is interesting to compare Virtanen's study of the engraved editions with my findings regarding the typeset editions. The comparison seems to confirm my observations on the differences between typeset and engraved editions. However, since the research material of the present study contains so few engraved editions (only two first prints are engraved editions), validation by Virtanen's more extensive study is important.²⁹² Virtanen's categorisation of engravers' and copyists' mistakes consists of four categories:

²⁹⁰ In the third edition (by Turun Kivipaino), these contradictions have been corrected by inserting the dynamic marks from the upper staff to the lower staff as well.

²⁹¹ Virtanen 2008, 217–218. The categorisation was published in the context of the critical edition of Sibelius's *First Symphony*. Broude (1991) also discusses the differences between engraving and typesetting. Broude associates engraving with music publishing and typesetting with book publishing – the distinction that is not entirely valid as shown by the editions of Sibelius's mixed-choir works. However, Broude's point that the means of production affect such elementary concepts as edition, issue and impression is important and his examples on the point are illustrative.

²⁹² In addition to *Män från slätten och havet* discussed above, the first edition of *Kallion kirkon kellosoavel* was also engraved, but as Sibelius's autograph fair copy that served as the engraver's copy has not survived, its first edition cannot naturally be studied against the fair copy.

- 1) Oversight: a detail in Sibelius's notation has gone unnoticed
- 2) Inaccuracy: Sibelius's notation has not been followed precisely
- 3) Misreading: Sibelius's unclear handwriting has caused errors
- 4) Misinterpretation, for which Virtanen gives three subcategories:
 - misinterpreted placement
 - a marking intended for one part is generalised for a whole group of instruments
 - the exclusion of apparently redundant markings

In addition to the above categorisation, Virtanen lists several instances where “Sibelius's original notation [...] was changed to a ‘standardized’ or ‘normalized’ form (according to notational conventions in printed music or publishers' guidelines).”²⁹³

It seems that three of Virtanen's four categories, numbers 1–3, also apply to the typeset editions: errors falling into the categories ‘oversight’ (1) and ‘misreading’ (3) are, for the most part, caused by Sibelius's unclear or ambiguous handwriting, and these kinds of errors are naturally also found in the typeset editions. On the other hand, many ‘inaccuracies’ (2) in the typeset editions are caused by the limited number of the types available for the typesetter. For example, the length of a hairpin in the typeset edition may differ from the original length for the simple reason that no suitable type was available.²⁹⁴

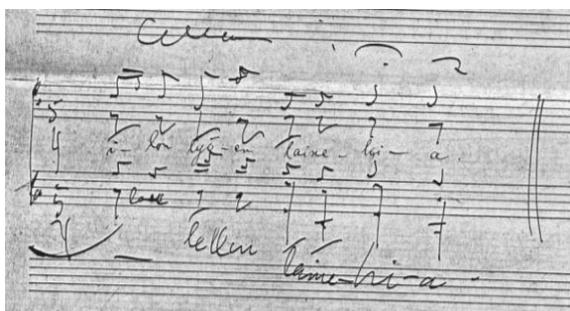
Sibelius's unclear handwriting has probably caused the errors in the last bar of the first edition of *Venematka* (see Example 8.11), in which the typesetter has left out two signs: *allargando* written by Sibelius above the system, and the first syllable of the word *laulellen* (i.e. *lau*) written by Sibelius on the lower stave and intended as underlay to the first beat for the upper bass part.²⁹⁵ In both cases, Sibelius's handwriting is far from clear. A non-musician could not be expected to identify correctly the word *allargando* from the hastily scribbled writing above the system. Thus, this error would fall into Virtanen's category of ‘oversight’. The syllable *lau-* is not only placed unconventionally on the stave, but it is also unclear by its very appearance, because Sibelius has first written *lask-*, then corrected *sk* to *u* by simply writing over it. However, it should be noted that the placement of text on the staves was practically impossible to produce in typeset, thus, the absence of *lau-* in the edition may have been a conscious decision by the typesetter and not an oversight.

²⁹³ Virtanen 2008, 216.

²⁹⁴ Virtanen also gives the length and placement of hairpins as an example of ‘inaccuracy’. Misreadings concerning the underlay, caused by Sibelius's ambiguous handwriting, are discussed in Section 6.4.

²⁹⁵ The bass *divisi* ends at the beginning of the bar shown in Example 8.11. The ending of a *melisma* slur that appears at the beginning of the bar is intended for the lower basses; the upper basses do not have the *melisma*, but they join the pitch *D* that the lower basses are already singing at the beginning of Example 8.11.

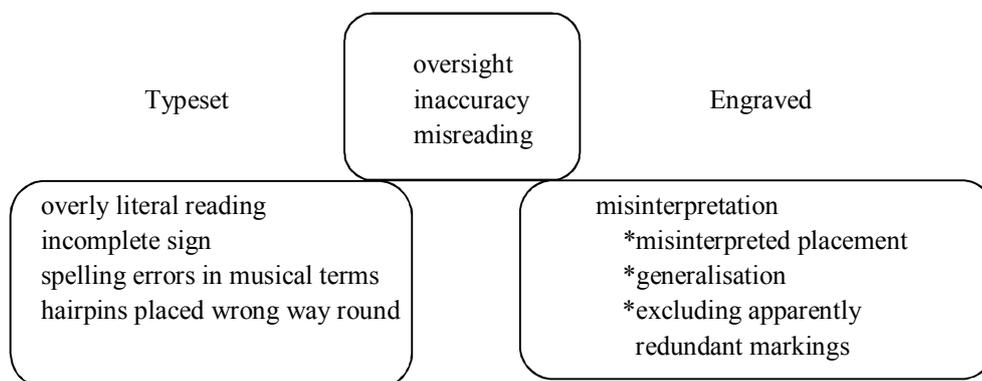
Example 8.11. The last bar of *Venematka* in the fair copy and first edition.



In addition to the three common categories outlined above, Virtanen’s fourth category, ‘misinterpretation’, does not exist in the typeset editions. Instead, it is replaced by ‘overly literal reading’; in fact, no interpretation – let alone misinterpretation – of the *Notentext* has usually taken place during the publication process of a typeset edition. Example 8.12 aggregates the categories in one table. The centre column contains features common to both typeset and engraved editions.

It should be noted that although the category of ‘incomplete signs’ derives from typesetter’s oversight, the two are nonetheless separate categories, as the mechanism behind the ‘incomplete sign’ is significantly different from Virtanen’s ‘oversight’: ‘incomplete signs’ are a direct result of the special features of the typesetting process and do not appear in engraved editions.

Example 8.12. Table of misprints in typeset and engraved editions.



9 Editions

Since Sibelius's mixed-choir works appear in virtually all major Finnish choral collections, the study of their editions also draws forth as a by-product the history of editorial practices in Finland during the 20th century. As stated above, the publication process of the contemporary editions of choral music differs significantly from that of other genres, as choral works were mainly produced in Finland by non-profit organisations that were not specialised in music publishing – as opposed to, for instance, the German publisher Breitkopf & Härtel or the Danish house Wilhelm Hansen who published Sibelius's orchestral music.

My research has revealed that the basic principles guiding the publishing process appear to have undergone essential changes during the 20th century on two occasions. The first change came at the end of the 1950s. Although this cut-off coincides with Sibelius's death, it is not the primary reason for the change, rather the advancements in printing technology are the primary causes of the change. Essentially, during the 1950s and 1960s the laborious typesetting process was gradually taken over by more sophisticated methods such as photosetting, which made the printing of the *Notenbild* considerably easier. Sibelius's death naturally marks an important dividing point when studying the editions, as the changes appearing in editions after 1957 cannot be considered directly authorised by the composer. By chance, Sibelius's death coincides with the change in printing technique: only one set of non-typeset editions of Sibelius's mixed-choir works was published and manufactured in Finland during his lifetime.²⁹⁶ The editions published in Finland during Sibelius's lifetime are here called *contemporary editions* and are discussed in Section 9.1.

The second change in editorial practices appeared during the latter half of the 1970s. Thus, the *posthumous editions* (i.e. the editions published in Finland after 1957) form two distinct groups. This time the dividing factor is not technological, but it is marked off by a change in the quantity as well as the quality of the editorial interventions executed in the new editions. Although the second change is somehow subtler than the first, it is no less distinctive: Fazer's editions of *Rakastava* and *Män från slätten och havet* (both published in 1977), followed by the new edition of *Saarella palaa* (1984), clearly represent a new kind of editorial thinking in Finnish choral music. It seems that the number of editorial interventions in editions continued to increase steadily thereafter. The posthumous editions are discussed in Section 9.2.

In Section 9.3, I will take a short look at the first choral volume of *Jean Sibelius Works. The Complete Critical Edition* (JSW VII/1: Works for Mixed Choir, published in 2012), which introduced the principles of scholarly editing in Sibelius's choral music for the first time.

²⁹⁶ The non-typeset editions published in Finland during Sibelius's lifetime include the works published by Fazer in 1953: *Sortunut ääni*, *Venematka*, two movements of *Lauluja 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista* and *Finlandia-hymni*. Typesetting was rapidly replaced as the principal means of producing musical editions at the end of the 1950s.

9.1 Contemporary Editions (until 1957)

The contemporary editions are characterised by their lack of editorial interventions. As discussed in Chapter 8, the manuscripts that were to serve as typesetter's copies were given to typesetters almost without any preliminary preparation of the *Notenbild*.²⁹⁷ Thus, choral collections including works by several composers contained several different notational practices.

The fourth volume of *Sävelistö. Kaikuja kansamme lauluista* (commonly referred to as *Sävelistö 4*), published in 1898 by K. E. Holm and edited by Eemil Forsström, serves as a good example of a typical Finnish choral collection from the turn of the century.²⁹⁸ It is also of special importance for the present study, as *Sävelistö 4* was the first edition for five of Sibelius's mixed-choir works: *Rakastava*, *Aamusumussa*, *Min rastas raataa*, *Saarella palaa*, and *Sortunut ääni*. In addition to Sibelius's new works, *Sävelistö 4* contained works by Emil Genetz, Armas Järnefelt, Oskar Merikanto, Mikael Nyberg, P. J. Hannikainen, and Erkki Melartin. Also included in the collection were two choral arrangements of Finnish folksongs by Richard Faltin and Eemil Forsström. Furthermore, the works by other composers in *Sävelistö 4* were first editions.

The absence of standardisation and unification in *Sävelistö 4* is obvious already at first glance. From the multitude of details, I have here picked only a few examples:

- The four-part works by Nyberg and Melartin are laid out on four staves per system, i.e. one undivided part on each staff (see Example 9.1a), whereas the works by other composers are mainly laid out on two staves – even if they include divisi passages (see Example 9.1b; see also Example 8.4b, in which a four-part male-choir passage is written on one staff).
- In the works by Järnefelt (see Example 9.1b and 8.4a), different parts on the same staff in homophonic passages are drawn with single stems, though in the works of the other composers the parts invariably have separate stems.²⁹⁹
- In Merikanto's works (see Example 8.4b), the tenor part and the male solo are written using the bass clef with the solo part placed below the system, whereas Sibelius's tenor parts (including the male solo in *Rakastava* in Example 8.8b) is written as if using the sub-octave treble clef (though no eight appears), with the solo part placed above the staff for the male voices (cf. feature 3 in Section 7.1).

The list could be extended even further, but what is of special importance is that each of the features mentioned above is a typical feature of the notational practice of the composer in question. Thus, we can deduce without seeing the typesetter's copies (the

²⁹⁷ Or the preliminary work was minimal: sometimes the number indicating the order of the works in the printed collection was added before the title of the work.

²⁹⁸ Editors were not editors in the modern sense; they were the people who compiled choral collections, but they did not edit the compositions themselves. This is discussed in more detail below.

²⁹⁹ In Example 9.1b the choral texture is placed on two staves, though the system in fact contains three staves. The uppermost staff is for the soloists (the tenor and soprano duet).

archives of the publishers K. E. Holm are currently missing) that the original readings of the typesetter's copies (possibly the composer's autograph fair copies) have been maintained accurately in the edition and no editorial guidelines were used to unify or standardise the *Notenbild* in the collection.

Example 9.1. Excerpts from *Sävelistö 4*.

a) Nyberg: *Aallon kehtolaulu*.

b) Järnefelt: *Armahan kulku*.

In closely studying the *Notenbild* of Sibelius's works published in *Sävelistö 4*, three details appear particularly confusing. Firstly, the dubious melisma slurs on quavers also connected with a beam appear in bar 13 of *Min rastas raataa* (the detail discussed already in Chapter 8.3; see Example 8.10a); secondly, the final quavers of the bass part in bar 37 of *Saarella palaa* are connected with a beam, though they do not form a melisma, but separate syllables [*kultakan-*] *gas-ta* fall on each quaver (see Example 9.2); and thirdly, if two parts are written on a same staff, slurs are drawn only once, but ties appear individually for each part (see Example 9.4a; especially the alto in bars 5–7). None of these three features is part of Sibelius's notational practice³⁰⁰, nor are they the kind of changes the typesetter would introduce, because all such changes would require an interpretation of the *Notentext* of the typesetter's copy.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ They specifically deviate from Sibelius's notational features 4 and 6 as outlined in Section 7.1.

³⁰¹ See Chapter 8. Another striking feature of Example 9.2 is the dubiously short slur at the beginning of the passage, which ends at the bar line. It is possible that there was a system break between these bars in the

Example 9.2. Saarella palaa, in Sävelistö 4, bb. 35–40.

Based on these three deviations from Sibelius's notational practice, my hypothesis is that Sibelius's autograph manuscript did not serve as the typesetter's copy for *Sävelistö 4*, rather this was likely based on a copyist's copy; the three changes described above are all examples of changes a copyist, as opposed to a typesetter, would introduce. In the first and second changes, the *Notentext* is almost correct, but the beams follow an instrumental practice not used by Sibelius in his choral works, and in the third change, the apparently redundant markings have been removed.³⁰² More importantly, however: because the reading of *Sävelistö 4* otherwise follows Sibelius's notational practices in every detail, it is probable that the copyist followed Sibelius's original reading extremely closely, making only these three deviations from the original text.³⁰³ As outlined above, the archives of K. E. Holm, the publisher of *Sävelistö 4*, are currently missing and subsequently the typesetter's copies are lost and the hypothesis cannot be confirmed.

Although my hypothesis cannot be confirmed from archival sources, there is one archival source which is intriguing from the perspective of my hypothesis: an early photocopy of the manuscript of *Aamusumussa* by an unknown hand preserved in the National Library of Finland.³⁰⁴ The reading in the photocopy follows literally the reading in *Sävelistö 4* – even including the erroneous *kun* instead of *kuu* in the underlay to *Aamusumussa* (see Section 6.4).³⁰⁵ Because only the photocopy survives, (and not the original manuscript made by the copyist), it is impossible to date the manuscript accurately. The copy was probably produced for an early (perhaps even the first) performance, as was common practice at the time. The original manuscript by the

manuscript, and the typesetter has not realised that it should be continued on the next system. This could be one explanation for the consecutive slurs in Example 9.2.

³⁰² Cf. Virtanen's classification of the typical errors made by copyists and engravers discussed in Section 8.4.

³⁰³ The extraction of the 'superfluous' slurs can be explained, for example, by the lack of space between the staves and the difficulty they pose in typesetting.

³⁰⁴ Coll. 206.89.2. The copy was originally in Sibelius's possession.

³⁰⁵ In addition, the copy shares *Sävelistö 4*'s illogical use of capital letters; in both sources, most lines begin with a capital initial letter, though not all of them.

unknown hand (and not the surviving photocopy) may very well have served as the typesetter's copy for the first edition in *Sävelistö 4*.³⁰⁶ However, because it cannot be dated accurately, it is also possible – though unlikely – that the copy was produced after *Sävelistö 4*, and therefore contains the same anomalies in the underlay.

Regardless of the possible existence of the copyist's copy, the three deviations from Sibelius's notational practices mentioned above further highlight the point being made concerning the lack of standardisation or unification of the *Notenbild* during the publication process of contemporary choral collections. Furthermore, the first two details are not merely deviations from Sibelius's normal notational practices, but also deviations within the work in question. For example, the dubious melisma slurs in *Min rastas raataa* do not appear in any of the surrounding, analogous bars.

The lack of standardisation and unification is by no means a special feature of *Sävelistö 4*; similar anomalies can be found, for instance, in every one of the hundred or so volumes of Kansanvalistusseura's choral collection (called *Sekaäänisiä lauluja*) published in Finland during the first half of the 20th century.³⁰⁷ This raises the question of the editors' role in the process, if they did not appear to *edit* the works. The editor's task was to collect and choose – and in some cases also to commission – the works to be published in upcoming collections. Many choral collections (notably those by Kansanvalistusseura) contained the programme of any upcoming singing festivals. In this respect, editors also took part in festival organisation. It should be noted here that the editor of *Sävelistö 4*, Eemil Forsström, did not, for instance, make his living in the field of publishing, nor was he an educated musician, despite being an eminent figure in the musical circles of 1890s Helsinki; Forsström was a lawyer by profession.³⁰⁸

There is one exception to the practice of not standardising the *Notenbild*: in the second edition of *Koulutie* (in *Koulun kuorolauluja* published in 1936 and edited by Lauri Parviainen), Sibelius's original notation using instrumental practice (see Section 7.1, feature 6) has been rendered according to standard vocal practice. This change was naturally not made the typesetter; rather the editor must have prepared the typesetter's copy before it was given to the typesetter. The second edition of *Koulutie* can be seen as the first modern edition of Sibelius's mixed-choir works, and it stands out as an aberration from the choral collections of that time. It should be noted that – as opposed to the likes of Eemil Forsström – Lauri Parviainen was himself an educated musician.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ This was the case with, for example, *Uusmaalaisten laulu*.

³⁰⁷ There are a few volumes containing works only by one composer. Naturally, these volumes are coherent.

³⁰⁸ Eemil Forsström (1866–1928) conducted the male-voice choir *Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat* for a few years. For most of his professional career, Forsström practiced law in the city of Viipuri (at the time located in Eastern Finland, after WW 2 in Soviet Union/Russia). We must bear in mind that the motivations behind such singing festivals were more political than artistic. They aimed to promote and advance the ideology of the Fennoman movement via music and also to lower class boundaries. For the political role of music festivals, see Rantanen 2013, 243.

³⁰⁹ Lauri Parviainen (1900–1949) studied composition and music theory at the Helsinki Conservatory and pedagogy at Helsinki University.

As previously outlined in Chapter 8, types were reused after the edition was printed. This meant that later imprints of editions that became popular were always typeset anew. Thus, different imprints of the same edition were not identical, but even their layouts varied depending on the kind of types the typesetter had available (they were not necessarily printed by the same printing company). More importantly, later imprints contain a unique set of misprints; based on these misprints it is possible to deduce which imprint was used as the typesetter's copy for subsequent imprints or other editions (see, in particular, the source chain for *Sydämeni laulu* in Appendix I). Based on analysis of the misprints, it seems that later imprints and other contemporary editions were almost always made with printed source as the typesetter's copy – the only exception being the second edition of *Den 25 Oktober 1902* [1], discussed in Section 7.3.

9.2 Posthumous Editions (after 1957)

9.2.1 The First Non-Typeset Editions from the 1950s and 1960s

Editions published in the latter half of the 1950s and the following decade(s) differ in many ways from the contemporary editions discussed above. The difference in appearance is mainly due to the end of the era of typeset editions: layout was no longer dependent on the size and selection of pre-existing types, but could be arranged more freely. The difference, however, is not restricted to appearance, but the editors' role is much more evident in the posthumous editions: contrary to contemporary editions, some editorial emendations were made during the publication process. It can be argued that because typesetting – with its idiosyncratic restrictions – was not involved in the process, the editor was more directly responsible for the end-product.

The editorial emendations in the first non-typeset editions concerned only dynamic marks, verbal performance instructions, and details of the layout. The greatest number of emendations was made to the arrangements. Sibelius's arrangements generally contained fewer performance instructions and dynamic marks than their original versions; in the new editions, missing markings were added to the arrangements based on the original version. Sometimes marks in the arrangement that contradicted those in the original version were changed according to the original version. A good example of this practice is the source chain for *Sortunut ääni*: almost all – but, vexingly, not all – discrepancies between the performance instructions and dynamic marks existing between the choral versions were unified in the first non-typeset edition of the mixed-choir version based on the male-choir version (see Chapter 10.2, Case 3).³¹⁰

³¹⁰ *The first non-typeset edition dates from 1953 and should therefore be placed among the contemporary editions. However, the change in printing technique is a more important factor than the time of Sibelius's death in the categorisation of these editions: the edition of *Sortunut ääni* contains all the characteristics of the posthumous editions and none of the contemporary editions.*

The kinds of emendation made by editors do not represent the only common denominator between the editions published during these decades; instead, the essence of their editorial work is perhaps most evident in what was *not* emended by editors. It seems that editors were extremely reluctant to meddle with pitches. For example, not even the obvious misprints have been corrected in the new edition of *Rakastava* dating from 1968, though the editor has changed Sibelius's performance instruction in archaic Finnish *Bassot kovaan, muut hiljaa* to the more modern sounding *Bassot marcato*.³¹¹ Obvious misprints left uncorrected in the edition are, for instance, the erroneous pitches $g\#^1$ for soprano (the last note in bar 27; should be a^1) and $a\#$ for tenor (on beat 3 in bar 108; should be b); the missing alto stem in bar 74 (see Example 8.8b) and the missing time signature in bar 100. These misprints are partly explained by the printing technique used; the new edition was produced by photosetting and was based on the first edition, thus literally reproducing its *Notenbild*. However, the technique would have permitted corrections to the *Notentext*, so the technique cannot justify the transmission of errors from the first edition to the edition of 1968.³¹²

The 1968 edition of *Rakastava* is by no means exceptional, but it provides a typical example of editions of the period. For instance, Fazer's choral collection *Kuorokirja 4* (1965) contains all the problematic details of *Saarella palaa* as they appear in the first edition – including the syntactically incorrect beam in [*kultakan-*] *gas-ta* in bar 37 (see Example 9.2).³¹³

9.2.2 Fazer's Editions of 1977 and 1984

Fazer's publication in 1977 of two new mixed-choir editions (*Rakastava* and *Män från slätten och havet*) seems to mark the beginning of an era of a new style of editing. In these two editions, the editors have tackled the problems of *Notentext* and provided solutions to them, instead of literally reproducing the *Notenbild* of earlier editions, as had been the case before. The solutions given by the 1977 editions are both sensitive to Sibelius's practices and musically well justified. From a scholarly perspective, their only fault is that such editorial interventions are not indicated in any way; the emendations are not made explicit typographically or in the section of critical remarks. The name of the editor does not appear anywhere in these editions, thus the editor remains unknown.

The editorial emendations in the two editions from 1977 are moderate. For example, in the edition of *Män från slätten och havet*, the most extensive change concerns the layout

³¹¹ Their meaning is not exactly the same. *Bassot kovaan, muut hiljaa* is literally "basses loudly, others quietly." Similarly Sibelius's instruction *Bassot selvään* (basses clearly) was also changed to *Bassot marcato*.

³¹² These misprints have been selected as examples, because analogous passages exist for these erroneous pitches, and the missing stem and time signature are obvious to anyone who reads music. There are other misprints in the edition too. It should be noted that some of the errors were in fact corrected in later imprints of the 1968 edition. They, however, bear the same edition number.

³¹³ Other dubious details are also followed in *Kuorokirja 4*. One such detail is discussed in Section 9.2.2.

of the work.³¹⁴ Sibelius originally wrote the work using four-staff systems throughout. The first and third editions (dating from 1911 and 1927) follow Sibelius's original reading literally in this respect. In the second edition (dating from 1926), the empty staves resulting from the alteration of the female and male choirs in bars 1–32 reflecting the question/answer structure of the text have been removed, but otherwise the layout follows the first edition. The 1977 edition does not merely remove the empty staves; here the entire four-part section (bars 33–112) has been written out using two-staff systems. Furthermore, though it is the most extensive change, the new layout is not the only emendation. In all three contemporary editions, dubious staccato dots appear on minims in bars 103–106. The staccato dots appeared in the first edition as a result of the engraver's misreading, and this was then faithfully copied into the two following editions.³¹⁵ The 1977 edition is the first edition in which the staccato dots have been removed.³¹⁶ Both emendations in the 1977 edition (the new layout and the removal of the staccato dots) are changes that affect the *Notentext* and not only the *Notenbild* – the kind of changes that previous editors of Sibelius's choral music had not carried out.

The 1977 edition of *Rakastava* features similar kinds of changes.³¹⁷ An illustrative example is the tenor line in bar 23. In Example 9.3, the bar in question is presented from both the first edition and the 1977 edition. As seen in the example, the editor has altered the tenor's last note to an *a* from the original *f#*. Although nothing points to the original reading being a misprint, the editor's reasoning behind the emendation can be deduced based on the musical context: the new tenor line follows the leap in the soprano line, thus filling the missing third in an otherwise thirdless chord; the new pitch *a* naturally connects the preceding *f#* to the following *b* in the next bar forming a beautiful melodic curve. In addition, the equivalent bar in the original male-choir version seems to back the editor's decision.³¹⁸ In addition, it should be noted that all "obvious misprints" of the first edition that were repeated in the 1968 edition (discussed in Section 9.2.1) have been corrected in the 1977 edition.

This small detail in the tenor line exemplifies the new editorial practice that occurred in these two 1977 editions; no change that affected the actual pitches had appeared before

³¹⁴ New imprints of the 1977 edition were printed in 1983, 1986, and 1993. The edition also contains a singing translation in Finnish by Reijo Norio entitled *Miehet aukeiden, aavain*.

³¹⁵ As stated in Section 6.2, Sibelius first wrote the fair copy in pencil and later validated the reading in ink. The misreading is caused by the erased stems (in pencil) from the previous reading which, in a few cases, do look like staccato dots. This misreading, though leading to a dubious reading, is wholly understandable.

³¹⁶ However, in the edition, one wrong note appears: *e*¹ instead of *f*¹ in beat 5 of bar 45. The misprint appears for the first time in the second edition (1926) and was thereafter transmitted to the third edition (1927) and finally to the edition of 1977.

³¹⁷ New imprints of the 1977 edition were published in 1979, 1983, 1984, 1987, 1988, 1991, and 1992 (and with minor changes in 1995). It should be noted that all these imprints contain the edition number F.M.4654, and as such they are easily confused. In fact, it is often impossible to deduce the year of the imprint from the printed copy.

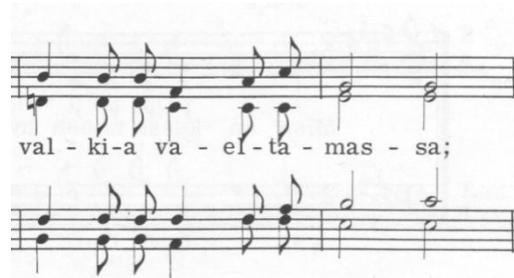
³¹⁸ There are several thirdless chords in the first movement of *Rakastava*. The editor of the 1977 editions has not emended other similarly 'open' chords.

these editions – though on a few isolated occasions some obvious misprints had been corrected.³¹⁹

Example 9.3. *Rakastava*, bb. 23–24.

a) first edition from 1898 (bb. 21–26).

b) the edition of 1977.



Fazer’s edition of *Saarella palaa* from 1984 follows the practice begun in the 1977 editions. There is one detail in the first edition of *Saarella palaa* (*Sävelistö 4*) that aptly illustrates the changes in editorial practice during the 20th century, and it is therefore discussed here more extensively.³²⁰ The typesetter of the first edition made an error in bar 6. The error is presented in Example 9.4a and it falls into the category of the ‘incomplete sign’: the first notes of the three upper parts appear to be missing a flag. The missing flag can be deduced in comparison with the original male-choir version; the equivalent bar in the male-choir version is presented in Example 9.4b. The second edition of the mixed-choir version, dating from 1922, follows literally the erroneous reading of the first edition without correcting the obvious misprint. Similarly the erroneous reading is found in all successive editions prior to 1984, including the edition in *Kuorokirja 4*, dating from 1965. The third edition of the work, SFV’s *Musikbibliotek*, is of particular interest, as the work was published in Swedish translation in 1926 (under the title *Det flammar i skogen*). Due to the new translation, some preliminary work with the typesetter’s copy must have been done before the work was submitted to the typesetter. The editor noticed the problematic detail, but provided a solution that is perhaps even more problematic than the uncorrected original reading: in the third edition, dots have been added to the first notes on the upper stave, but not to the tenor on the lower stave (see Example 9.4c).³²¹

³¹⁹ For example, the first movement of *Rakastava* was published separately by KVS in 1899. One erroneous pitch in the melody was corrected in the edition (i.e. one of the obvious errors listed in the previous section).

³²⁰ I have presented this detail earlier in *Ylivuori 2009* (in Finnish).

³²¹ In the second imprint, the dots have, however, been removed.

Example 9.4. The beginning of *Saarella palaa*.

a) First edition (*Sävelistö 4*).

b) First edition of the male-choir version.

N:o 5. Saarella palaa.
(Kanteletar.) Jean Sibelius.

Sopr.
Alt.
Ten.
Bas.

p
a
fp *p*
pp *pp*

Saa - - - - rel - la pa - - laa. Tu - li saa - - - - rel - la pa - laa.

N:o 15. Työnsä kumpasellaki.
(Kanteletar.) J. Sibelius.

Commodo.
T.1.2.
B.1.2.

p
fp
pp *pp*

Saa - - - - rel - la pa - laa - - - - . Saa - - - - . Tu - li saa - rel - la pa - la - vi; - - - - rel - la pa - laa.

c) Third edition (*SFV*).

d) The edition of 1984.

87. Det flammor i skogen.
(kanteletar.) Jean Sibelius.

p
a
fp *p*
pp

Eld - - - - sken ses fär - ga - - - - fu - - - - rornas stammar.

FAZERIN SEKAKUOROSARJA N:o 72
FAZERS SERIE FÖR BLANDAD KÖR
Saarella palaa. Bröllop stundar
(Työnsä kumpasellaki.) Kanteletar I:186 Owers anon.
JEAN SIBELIUS op. 18:3

p
a
fp *p*
pp *pp*

Saa - - - - rel - la pa - laa. Eld - - - - sken ses fär - ga - - - - fu - - - - ror - nes stam - mar.

Fazer's edition of 1984 is the first to provide a syntactically correct reading of the passage with the missing flag in bar 6 of the first edition (see Example 9.4d).³²² The editor of the edition has provided other interpretations too, especially concerning slurs and ties. The editor has altered the slur beginning in bar 6; in previous editions, the slur begins from the first note of the bar.³²³ Although the emended slur does not appear in any previous source for the mixed-choir version, there is an archival source backing the editor's solution: in a copy of the male-choir version by an unknown hand, the slur actually begins from the

³²² The opus number in the 1984 edition is erroneously given as Opus 18 No 3. See the changes of Sibelius's opus numbering discussed in Section 4.1.

³²³ Notably, in the 1984 edition slurs have also been provided for the altos.

second note (the editor has, in all likelihood, been aware of this source, as it too was in the possession of Fazer).³²⁴

An interesting point of reference for the interpretation given in the 1984 edition is found on the recording by Suomen laulu (cond. Heikki Klemetti) from 1929. In this recording, the choir gives an audible new attack on the first beat of bar 6 – as if there were no ties crossing the bar line from bar 5. Furthermore, Klemetti’s differing interpretation is well founded: it is probably based on the analogous bars 25–27, which repeat the music of bar 4–6. In the first edition, there were no ties from bar 26 to 27. What’s more, neither were there any separate quavers in bar 27; instead, the four quavers were grouped together with one continuous beam (see Example 9.5a). Thus, it would appear that Klemetti had altered bars 4–6 by analogy with bars 25–27. Interestingly, the edition of 1984 provides a reading based on the same mechanism, but executed in reverse: in the 1984 edition, bars 25–27 are altered by analogy with bars 4–6 (see Example 9.5b). Klemetti’s solution gains more interest from the fact that he knew Sibelius personally, and his interpretation may have been authorised by the composer.

Example 9.5. Saarella palaa, bars 25–27.

a) the first edition.³²⁵

b) the edition of 1984.

The image displays two musical staves for the vocal line of 'Saarella palaa', bars 25-27.
 Part (a) shows the first edition. The top staff has a *pp* dynamic marking and a slur over the first two bars. The bottom staff has lyrics 'pa - laa .' and a slur over the first two bars.
 Part (b) shows the 1984 edition. The top staff has a *pp* dynamic marking and a slur over the first two bars. The bottom staff has lyrics 'pa - laa. stammar, Saa - fu -' and a slur over the first two bars.
 Both parts show a change in the notation of bar 27, with the 1984 edition having separate quavers instead of a continuous beam.

Both interpretations discussed above are based on the analogy between bars 4–6 and 25–27. As a result they both provide a coherent reading. Despite the coherence, I cannot help but raise the question as to whether the use of analogy is justified in this case. Firstly, the surrounding contexts of the bars in question are not completely identical; secondly, the discrepancy in the beaming is also found in all sources for the original male-choir version.³²⁶

³²⁴ As seen in the source chain in Appendix I, the fair copy by unknown hand did not serve as the typesetter’s copy for the first edition. Instead, it would appear that both the manuscript and the first edition have a common source; probably Sibelius’s autograph fair copy.

³²⁵ The marks on the staves at the end of Example 9.5a indicate that the bar continues after the system break. Such marks were not commonly used in Finnish editions, but are found in Sävelistö 4.

³²⁶ For these reasons, analogy has not been used in the edition I have edited for JSW (JSW VII/1; see Examples 9.9 and 9.10), but the original discrepancy has been retained: a flag has been added in bar 6 (in accordance with the male-choir version), but no ties have been added in bars 26–27, which is syntactically correct in the first edition and probably closest to the autograph reading (especially given the special features of the typesetting process). There are several other similar problems in the first edition of *Saarella palaa*, notably concerning slurs and dynamic marks.

The 1984 edition of *Saarella palaa* is a landmark in editorial practice in another respect too: it is the first edition, in which Sibelius's practice of indicating melismas with beams rather than slurs (i.e. the vocal practice) was changed to adhere to instrumental practice. As seen in Example 9.4d, the quavers in bars 8–9 are connected with a beam, though a new syllable falls on each note. As discussed in Section 7.1 (feature 6), in a cappella music Sibelius always used beams to indicate melismas, as opposed to slurs (as in instrumental practice). The use of beams (instrumental practice) in vocal music has gradually become the norm during the last decade of the 20th century: for instance, Sulasol, the largest publisher of choral music in Finland, invariably uses instrumental practice in their new choral editions.³²⁷ The 1984 edition of *Saarella palaa* heralds a new era in this respect too.

9.2.3 The Two First Editions Published in 1992

In 1992, Fazer published editions of two of Sibelius's choral works that had remained unpublished during the composer's lifetime. Thus, despite the fact that these editions were published respectively 102 and 90 years after the composition of the works, the 1992 editions of *Ensam i dunkla skogarnas famn* and *Den 25 Oktober 1902 (2)* are the first editions of these works.³²⁸ In neither edition has Sibelius's autograph reading been followed accurately; rather it has undergone several emendations and standardisations. If the editions from 1977 discussed above were characterised by a sensitivity towards Sibelius's notational practice, the same cannot be said of the 1992 editions – both editions are highly problematic.

Of the two first editions from 1992, *Den 25 Oktober 1902 (2)* is the less problematic, perhaps due to the clarity of Sibelius's original fair copy. Still, Sibelius's use of hairpins has confused the editor: in the fair copy, Sibelius had marked subtle emphases on stressed syllables by writing successive hairpins in several bars. In Fazer's edition, the successive hairpins appearing in Sibelius's autograph fair copy (see Example 9.7a) have been connected to form a continuous diminuendo; see especially bars 2–3 and 6–8 (Example 9.7b). The editor's decision is highly dubious; instead of instructing performers to perform continuous diminuendi in these passages, the consecutive hairpins reflect subtle stresses provoked by the text: in bar 3, they imply an emphasis on the word *frisk*, and in bars 7–8 the hairpins shape the phrase *lika munter, lika ljus* according to the text. The slight stresses on both words *lika* and *ljus* at the end of the phrase are intriguing, as they bring character to the sentence – as one would presumably do when reciting the text.

³²⁷ For example, in *Sulasolin sekakuorolauluja 3* published in 2006, every work has been rendered according to this modern practice – including Sibelius's *Min rastas raataa*.

³²⁸ The publication was connected to BIS's project of the complete recordings of Sibelius's works. The choral works were recorded by *Jubilate* (cond. Astrid Riska) around 1992. Together with the two works mentioned above, a new edition of *Työkansan marssi* was also published, this being the second edition of the work; the first dates from 1896.

Example 9.7. The beginning of *Den 25 Oktober* (2).

a) autograph fair copy.

b) the first edition, Fazer 1992.

The 1992 edition of *Ensam i dunkla skogarnas famn* is highly peculiar. It contains some external features of a critical edition: marks placed in square brackets indicating editorial emendations executed during the publication process as well as two footnotes providing a reading ‘in the composer’s manuscript’ all give the impression that the reading otherwise follows the autograph fair copy. This, however, is not the case. The edition contains a multitude of editor’s interventions which are not indicated as such. These include dozens of added melisma slurs, a few added notes and altered time values, as well as added underlay. Interestingly, the same applies also to the footnotes: in two footnotes providing a total of two and half bars of music, there appear five added melisma slurs, two melisma slurs appearing in the manuscript are missing from the footnote, and finally, the footnote gives one erroneous pitch.³²⁹ Thus, not even the footnotes provide a reading *in the composer’s manuscript*.

A good example of these editorial emendations is provided by bar 18 (Example 9.8). In bar 18, Sibelius has drawn a melisma slur between the tenor’s first two notes, but has not given any specific underlay. It would appear that the texture of the bar is based on two pairs: the soprano is paired with the tenor, whereas the alto and bass form another pair. Therefore, it would appear that Sibelius intended the tenor line to be sung with the same text as the soprano: *sjungen, sjungen*. The editor, however, has not shared this interpretation. Instead, the slur has been lengthened according to the text of the bass and alto. This change is not indicated typographically, though the edition states that “[t]he additions enclosed by square brackets are by the publisher.”³³⁰

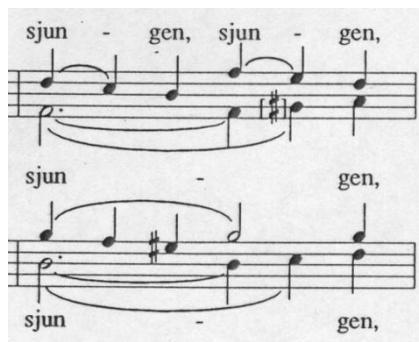
³²⁹ The last note in the first footnote is *d*¹, though the reading in the manuscript gives *c*¹.

³³⁰ The bar is a good example of another detail too: in the manuscript Sibelius indicated melismas by placing the syllable under/above its respective note, but did not write out melisma slurs; see, for example, the bass line. This kind of practice is highly untypical of Sibelius, but it appears frequently in the fair copy of *Ensam i dunkla skogarnas famn*. Yet another intriguing detail in the example is the inconsistency in the rhythms written by Sibelius for the alto and bass parts.

Example 9.8. *Ensam i dunkla skogarnas famn*, bar 18.

a) the autograph fair copy.

b) the first edition.



I do not wish to criticise the editor for making editorial interventions, since – as is the case in all fair copies of the works dating from 1888–1889 – the appearance of the fair copy of *Ensam i dunkla skogarnas famn* is far from the clarity one would expect of a standard fair copy.³³¹ Making an edition based on an unpolished manuscript containing partly sketch-like writing is, at best, a hazardous task requiring difficult choices and decisions from the editor. But what I do criticise, however, is the incorrect impression the few typographically marked emendations give regarding the clarity of the source material and the extent of the editorial emendations.³³²

9.3 Jean Sibelius Works

Jean Sibelius Works is a research and publishing project aiming to publish the entirety of Sibelius's compositions in critical editions. The project is coordinated by the National Library of Finland, the Sibelius Society of Helsinki, and the publishers Breitkopf & Härtel (Wiesbaden, Germany). The project began in 1996, and 20 volumes have been published until 2012.

2012 saw the publication of the first choral volume in the series (JSW VII/1; edited by the author of the present study) containing all of Sibelius's a cappella works for mixed choir and descant choirs (including works for children's and female choirs).³³³ The preparation of the edition took place simultaneously with the present study. The

³³¹ See Section 6.1.2 and Chapter 12.

³³² In this respect, I share Shillingsburg's idea of the editor's role. Shillingsburg (1997, 180) states that "[e]ditors are not asked by good readers to oversimplify the textual problems or to eliminate the anxiety of texts by pretending to have resolved for everyone what readers should resolve for themselves. I believe a good reader asks for clarity, not simplicity." Thus, in a good edition, it should always be clear precisely what the editor has done.

³³³ Also included in the first choral volume are two entities *Carminalia* and *Three Songs for American Schools*, which comprise both a cappella and accompanied choral works.

simultaneity of the two processes has been mutually beneficial: the present study exploits many observations from the editorial work, and many editorial decisions rely on the findings of the present study. As a result, JSW VII/1 is the first edition of Sibelius's choral works to be based on the extensive research of all available sources.

In JSW, Sibelius's notational practices (as described in Section 7.1) are maintained as accurately as possible.³³⁴ The editorial principles are based on the copy/text tradition, thus the reading follows the reading of the main source. Editorial emendations are typographically distinguished from the body of the music and explained and justified in the Critical Remarks. The choice of the main source is explained and justified in the section Source Evaluation. As an aberration from the copy/text tradition – and perhaps as a concession to German Genetic Editing – in the case of revised works JSW also contains early versions (e.g. early versions of *Lemminkäinen* appear in JSW I/12a and final versions in I/12b, ed. Wicklund).

The choral volume (and, indeed, all JSW volumes) also contains an introduction providing a historical context for the composition process and the early reception history of the works.

As an example of the editorial decisions in JSW, I shall present my solution for the problematic bars 5–6 and 26–27 of *Saarella palaa*. The problems arising from the sources have been discussed above (see Examples 9.4 and 9.5). Example 9.9 presents the reading from the JSW edition. As seen in Example 9.9a, I have added the missing flag to the first note of bar 6 and shortened the slur so that it begins on the second note (cf. the reading in Example 9.4a). Since it is difficult to mark the addition of a flag typographically as an editorial addition – it is practically impossible to place square brackets around a flag – I have added a footnote (see the asterisks at the end of bar 5), which directs the reader to the Critical Remarks section. The Critical Remarks for these bars are provided in Example 9.10.

Example 9.9b gives an example of a more traditional way of showing editorial emendations by placing the emended dynamic marks inside square brackets and indicating the added ties as dotted.

³³⁴ Practically the only deviation is the layout in *Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar and Ensam i dunkla skogarnas fann*, which appear in JSW in four-stave systems, despite the fact that Sibelius wrote them using two-stave systems. In JSW, the change was implemented for the sake of clarity.

Example 9.9. Saarella palaa in JSW edition.

a) bars 5–6.

b) bars 26–27 (and 28).

Example 9.10. Critical Remarks from the JSW edition.

a) for bars 5–6.

b) for bars 26–28.

Bar	Part	Source: Remark
5–6	S. A. T.	B: the flag is missing from the first note in b. 6; the typesetter's oversight. In JSW, the flag has been added based on R . The slur in B and R2 begins in b. 6 at 1/8, thus contradicting with the beam. In R1 , the slur begins at 2/8. JSW follows the reading in R1 . See also the remark for bb. 26–27.

26–27	S. A. T.	In some later editions, ties and beams have been changed as in bb. 5–6. Because bb. 5–6 and 26–27 differ and because the reading in B bb. 26–27 is syntactically correct, JSW has retained the difference.
	S. A. T.	R: a tie from b. 26, 3/4 to b. 27, 1/8.
27	S. A. T.	B: above the lower staff, p instead of pp ; for the upper staff, pp appears in the previous bar; typesetter's error? In R , no dynamics. In JSW, pp has been placed for both staves in b. 27 by analogy with b. 6, although bars differ somewhat.
27–28	S. A.	B: no ties between b. 27, 4/4 and b. 28, 1/4. Instead, there is a dubious slur for A . from b. 27, 3/4 to b. 28, 1/4. In JSW, the slur is interpreted as a misprint, and the ties have been added based on R .

10 Arrangements

Sibelius arranged many of his choral works; in fact, almost half of the mixed-choir works are also found in a version for another choral ensemble. The arranging process itself was often a frustrating task. For example, when writing the two arrangements of *Kallion kirkon kellosävel* (one for mixed choir a cappella and one for piano solo), Sibelius wrote an outburst of frustration in his diary: “Fair copied Op. 65b. How much trouble these transcriptions cause me!”³³⁵ Thus, the question arises: what made Sibelius use his valuable time rearranging his works? Some of the arrangements (e.g. *Sydämeni laulu*) were directly commissioned from Sibelius, but it seems that the motivation behind most of the arrangements was something else. Two answers seem likely: firstly, publishing a choral work in several choral collections secured a wider distribution for his works – and a better income; and secondly, if he did not write the arrangements himself, someone else certainly would have done so. For example, the arrangements of *Finlandia-hymni* and *Venematka* were directly motivated by earlier arrangements made by ‘incompetent’ arrangers (see Section 4.2).

There may be yet a third motivation. It seems that Sibelius felt that the only way to claim authority over his works was to have them published. As he wrote in his diary: “But I have a great weapon, and it is that my works are published.”³³⁶ Sibelius’s diary entry refers to an incident that occurred during the summer of 1912, when it was erroneously printed in several newspapers that Heikki Klemetti had composed *Kallion kirkon kellosävel* (the bell melody that was played by the carillon in the church of Kallio). This motivated Sibelius to write the two above-mentioned arrangements of the melody.³³⁷

Sibelius wrote remarkably few compositions and arrangements for female choir. However, he proofread and corrected female-choir arrangements of his works by Adolf Emil Taipale and Jaakko Tuuri and authorised their publication.³³⁸ Example 10.1 provides a list of all the arrangements that Sibelius made either of or from his mixed-choir works. The arrangements by Taipale and Tuuri, however, despite having been authorised by the composer, are not included in the list.

Example 10.1. Arrangements including a mixed-choir version.

<i>Sortunut ääni</i>	for male and mixed choir 1898; chronology unknown
<i>Venematka</i>	for male choir 1892 → for mixed choir 1913
<i>Saarella palaa</i>	for male choir 1895 → for mixed choir 1898
<i>Sydämeni laulu</i>	for male choir 1898 → for mixed choir 1904

³³⁵ *Diary, 13 September 1912: “Renskrifvit op 65.b. Hvad dessa transkriptioner kosta mig mycket bråk!”*

³³⁶ *Diary, 7 September 1912: “Men jag har ett stort vapen och det är att mina verk äro tryckta.”*

³³⁷ *The above-mentioned diary entry refers not only to the incident of the bell melody, but also to Riemann’s lexicon, in which Sibelius erroneously thought that his Kullervo was placed in Kajanus’s oeuvre (“Kajanus” in Riemanns Musiklexicon, 7. edition, 1909).*

³³⁸ *Taipale’s and Tuuri’s requests for publication are in the NA, SFA, file box 31.*

<i>Rakastava</i>	for male choir 1893 → for male choir with string orchestra accompaniment 1894 → for mixed choir 1898 → for string orchestra and percussion 1914
<i>Isänmaalle</i>	for male choir 1898 → for mixed choir 1900 → for male choir 1907
<i>Lauluja 1897 vuoden...</i>	for mixed choir, soloists and orchestra 1897 → for mixed choir 1898/9 → VI movement for female choir 1913
<i>Finlandia-hymni</i>	for orchestra 1899 → for male choir 1938 → for mixed choir 1948
<i>Kallion kirkon kellosävel</i>	for carillon 1912 → for mixed choir and for piano solo 1912
<i>Uusmaalaisten laulu</i>	for male and mixed choir 1912; both arrangements of a unison melody
<i>Juhlamarssi</i>	for mixed choir, soloist and orchestra 1894 → for mixed choir 1897
<i>Aamusumussa</i>	for mixed choir 1898 → for children's choir 1913
<i>Den höga himlen...</i>	for mixed choir 1927 → for male choir with organ accompaniment 1945
<i>Ej med klagan</i>	for male choir 1905 → for mixed choir 1905

10.1 Arrangements in Relation to Their Original Compositions

The purpose of the present section is to examine the relationship between the music of the arrangements and the original versions by comparing completed versions against each other. The comparison of different versions of the same work produces two-fold results: on the one hand, the comparison reveals details of Sibelius's arranging process but, on the other, it also raises a multitude of new questions, notably concerning the intentionality of certain differences between the original composition and its arrangement.³³⁹ Often it is not entirely clear whether a difference in parallel versions is due to Sibelius's oversight, a misprint in the edition, or an emendation by Sibelius.

The relations between the versions are divided into three categories (see the list below): the first category consists of versions, whose differences are primarily the result of the transcription from one ensemble to another without further changes. The second category features changes that are not explained solely by the transcription – in other words, the music also contains small changes. In the third category, the versions are different enough to raise the question as to whether the later versions can justly be called arrangements, though their essential musical material is based on earlier works. The following list groups the choral arrangements according to what kind of changes they contain in relation to their original versions:

Category 1 (transcriptions):

Venematka, Sydämeni laulu, Isänmaalle, Finlandia-hymni, Kallion kirkon kellosävel, Uusmaalaisten laulu, Aamusumussa, and Den höga himlen och den vida jorden

Category 2 (music slightly changed):

Saarella palaa, the choral versions of *Rakastava, Juhlamarssi*, and *Sortunut ääni*

³³⁹ *The writing process of the arrangements is described above in Chapter 7.1.3.*

Category 3: (music significantly changed):

Lauluja 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista, Ej med klagan and the string-orchestra version of *Rakastava*.³⁴⁰

Naturally these categories are not mutually exclusive. For example, the works listed in the second category also contain features of the first category, and the works of the third category contain features of all three categories.

Category 1:

An excellent example of a difference that is categorised as resulting from the transcription from one ensemble to another (rather than from a change in music for aesthetic reasons) is found in bars 8–9 of *Venematka*. The idiomatic mixed-choir texture is interrupted for those two bars, which are sung solely by the male voices. The mixed-choir texture reappears in bar 10. Notably, it is only the ‘orchestration’ that has changed: Sibelius has maintained the melody, the harmonisation, and the bass-line virtually unchanged – even the register of the melody remains as it was in the original version (i.e. the melody does not suddenly leap an octave lower, though it is only in the male voices during those two bars). This change in ‘orchestration’ is motivated by the text. Namely, bars 8–9 form a reporting clause saying: *Neiet niemien nenissä katselevat, kuuntelevat*: (The maids on the headlands’ tips look on and listen:) and bars 10–13 give the actual quote: “*Mi lienee ilo merellä, mikä laulu lainehilla...*” (“What could be the joy at sea [,] what the song upon the waves [...]”)³⁴¹ That the women are silent during the reporting clause and take on the melody at the beginning of the quote emphasises the fact that it is the maidens who wonder what is going on at the sea. Such illustration of the content of the text was not possible in the original version written for an all-male choir (see Examples 10.2a and b).

Bars 8–9 of *Venematka* are also a good example of the question raised above regarding the intentionality of certain differences between versions. As stated above, the mixed-choir arrangement of *Venematka* follows the melody of the original male-choir version very closely.³⁴² However, one difference exists: in bar 9, the anapest rhythm in the melody of the male-choir version (*kuunte [-levat]*) appears in the mixed-choir arrangement as a dactyl. Since the mixed-choir arrangement otherwise follows the original work in every detail, it can be argued that the changed rhythm is a writing error on Sibelius’s part. The writing error in the arrangement could be explained by the repetition in the music: in the arrangement, bar 9 repeats the dactyl rhythm of bar 8, though in the original version the dactyl rhythm of bar 8 is replaced by the anapest in the repetition (bar 9). Thus, the repetition of the music of bar 8 could be explained by carelessness – especially when we bear in mind that Sibelius did not write the text himself, but that it was inserted later by

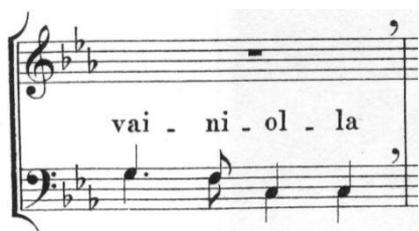
³⁴⁰ *Ej med klagan* is discussed in detail in Chapter 13. The string-orchestra version of *Rakastava* is excluded from the present study (see Section 5.2).

³⁴¹ Translated by Bosley 1989, 528.

³⁴² There is an obvious misprint in bar 7 of the male-choir version (the first bar in Example 10.2a): beats 4 and 5 should read $g\#^1/f\#^1$ instead of $f\#^1/e^1$.

Example 10.3. *Sydämeni laulu.*

a) *male-choir version, bars 10 and 22.*



b) *mixed-choir version, bar 10.*



The detail of *vainiolla/kellahdella* is not the only difference between the verses to be lost in the repeat structure. A similar detail is found at the very beginning of the verse, where a fermata appears on the bar line between bars 1 and 2, reflecting the structure of the text (the comma in the sentence *Tuonen lehto, öinen lehto* [...]). In the second verse of the male-choir version, the fermata is absent because the first two bars of the second verse now consist of a single sentence (*Siell' on lapsen lysti olla*), and stopping at the bar line (*Siell' on lapsen / lysti olla*) would not make any sense. Furthermore, this difference between the versions is lost in the repeat structure (see Example 8.6a).

Both details of the second verse described above derive from Sibelius's manuscripts and both first editions reproduce the reading of the manuscript accurately. Despite the justification by the autograph manuscripts, the question arises as to whether Sibelius really intended the arrangement to be printed with the repeat structure, thus unifying all text-based details of the second verse. Instead, could it be possible that the reading in the manuscript was intended by Sibelius as a kind of short-hand notation, which the publisher or the typesetter has erroneously taken literally? Bearing in mind the special features of the typesetting process in Finland, the latter hypothesis seems likely – especially as the differences between the verses are not indicated by Sibelius in any way. Interestingly, all

editions of the mixed-choir arrangement of *Sydämeni laulu* published during Sibelius's lifetime have retained the repeat structure.³⁴⁴

Category 2:

In the second category, the music has undergone more fundamental changes than just those resulting from the transcription from one ensemble to another. These changes take place at the borderlines of formal units; often they seem to undermine or smooth away such borders. The most extensive change occurs in *Juhlarssi*, which is an arrangement of the last section of the second movement 'Kaskeksi korvet ne raadettiin' of the *Cantata for the University Graduation Ceremonies of 1894* (JS 105, originally for orchestra, soloists, and mixed choir).

The original work is composed in a ternary form, in which the last section repeats the music of the first section. In the repetition, the text does not repeat the text of the first section, but the new text does not require any alterations to the music and the repetition is almost literal. The last section is followed by a short coda of 8 bars. The formal organisation and harmonic structure of *Juhlarssi* as it appears in the original cantata is presented in Example 10.4a.³⁴⁵

The form and the structure of the choral arrangement (presented in Example 10.4b) follow those of the original cantata until bar 38 – i.e. just before the return to the tonic in bar 40 of the original work. Instead, in bar 38, the music of the arrangement shifts to a D_♭ major chord. At the point of the expected thematic return in bar 40, the music shifts to an A_♭-seventh chord, which after two bars is reinterpreted as an augmented sixth chord. The dominant that follows the augmented sixth chord does not resolve until at the very end of the work (in the short coda, which has remained unaltered in the arrangement³⁴⁶). Thus, Sibelius has avoided the expected tonal resolution in bar 40 of the arrangement. In addition to the delayed tonal resolution, the change has also another consequence: bar 40 does not mark the beginning of a new section. As a result, the design of the arrangement is not ternary in the strict sense, but could be described perhaps more accurately as a rounded binary form: the thematic material of the beginning does reappear after bar 40, but altered to the extent that it merely refers to the beginning.

In a way, the avoiding of the tonal resolution in bar 40 is connected to the transcription process. In the original cantata, *Juhlarssi* functions as the conclusion of a 16-minute

³⁴⁴ Strangely, some male-choir editions have incorporated the repeat structure, probably in order to save space. There is an early manuscript by an unknown hand in the possession of the male-voice choir *Muntra Musikanter* dating from 1900, in which the male-choir version is written with the repeat structure (see the source chain). The first mixed-choir edition in which the second verse is written out is *Sulasolin sekakuorolauluja 2*. However, the detail *vainiolla/kellahdella* has not been emended based on the male-choir version, but they follow the manuscript's reading. In the first fair copy of the male-choir version, Sibelius (erroneously?) wrote the fermata in the second verse too but crossed it out. The first fair copy is facsimiled in Haapanen 1947, 37.

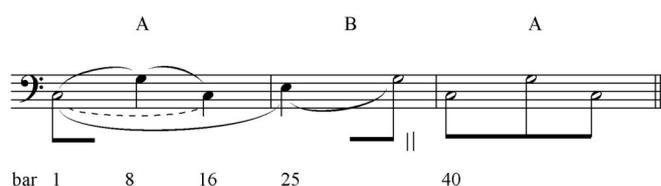
³⁴⁵ The original cantata is not published. The bar numbers and the key signature in Example 10.4a are presented as if in the arrangement. The cantata is in E major.

³⁴⁶ In both versions, the short coda consists of a plagal cadence, in which the first tonic has been eliminated: V-(I)-IV-II-I

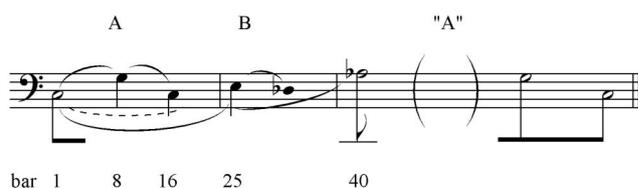
movement: structurally, the first chord of *Juhlarssi* marks the return of the tonic and is itself the point of structural resolution. Thus as a part of the cantata, *Juhlarssi* in its entirety prolongs the stable situation after the climax and there is no need to create a strong structural tension within the scope of *Juhlarssi*, as performed in the cantata. To my mind, the need to create structural tension arose when the material was extracted from its original context to function as a work in its own right. And similarly, the very fact of extracting it from its original context created the need for a climax within *Juhlarssi*.³⁴⁷

Example 10.4. Structure of *Juhlarssi*.

a) as part of the Cantata.



b) in the choral arrangement:³⁴⁸



In addition to *Juhlarssi*, *Rakastava* is another excellent example of how Sibelius altered the borderlines of formal units in his arrangements. These changes occur in two passages: firstly, Sibelius made minor alterations to the second movement by rhythmically shifting the first note of the beginning of two phrases one beat earlier, thus creating an overlap between what are consecutive phrases in the mixed-choir version (see Example 10.5a; note the accent at the beginning of the new phrase)³⁴⁹. Secondly, he added one bar between the third movement and the coda in the mixed-choir version – probably in preparation for the atmosphere of the solo passage, which in the original male-choir version begins immediately after the third movement (see Example 10.5b). Both changes result in a fluid transition from one phrase to another. In *Rakastava* there is also an intriguing change that falls into category 1, but which should be mentioned here: namely, in the male-choir version there is only a tenor soloist, whereas in the mixed-choir

³⁴⁷ The short rising melodic sequence in the latter A section does not appear in the original cantata.

³⁴⁸ The motion from E to A \flat is repeated and it appears in the graph in parenthesis. Although the repetition is dramatically significant, it does not bring anything new to the structure. However, it further undermines the feel of the last section as being the return of A section.

³⁴⁹ Also in *Juhlarssi* there is a hypermetric overlap in the arrangement (bar 32) that does not exist in the original cantata, creating a fluid transition from one phrase to another.

arrangement, the solo has been divided for male and female soloists, who together depict the poem's couple (see Example 10.5b). Just as in the case of *Venematka*, Sibelius has used the opportunity given by the new ensemble to depict the poem's content more accurately in the arrangement than was possible within the limitations of the original ensemble.³⁵⁰

Example 10.5. Rakastava.

a) bars 60–61 in the male-choir and mixed-choir versions.

b) bars 121–122 in the male-choir and mixed-choir versions.

Sortunut ääni is a special case in many ways. First of all, no documentation survives to indicate the chronology of the two versions; in other words, it remains unknown which was composed first, the male-choir version or the mixed-choir version.³⁵¹ Although the

³⁵⁰ In *Saarella palaa* the arrangement is one bar shorter than the original version. The difference in the length results from the duration of the dominant chord. Although the change is relatively small, it changes the timing of the opening section.

³⁵¹ The versions of *Sortunut ääni* are also discussed in Section 10.2.

versions share the same melody (transposed by a fifth, either up or down depending on which came first), the harmonisation contains small differences, which cannot be explained by the differing ensembles. The overall structure is similar in the two versions: they both form a transition from a sixth chord to a root-position chord (6–5 motion) and both are based on the idea of the parallel period reflecting the question/answer structure of the text (the music begins in bar 7 as if from the beginning). However, there are two important differences, both shown in the structural analysis in Example 10.6.

The first difference is the harmonisation of bars 4–5. In the mixed-choir version, the entire first phrase (the antecedent) is in the key of D minor, whereas the male-choir version contains two cadential emphases of the B \flat major (with root-positioned dominant and tonic chords both times), which heralds the root-positioned tonic of the last bar already during the antecedent. Thus, in the male-choir version, the goal of the tonal movement is anticipated at an early stage (see the middle-voice movement to *f* in the male-choir graph). The anticipation in the mixed-choir version is far more vague.

Example 10.6. *Structural analysis of Sortunut ääni. Background and middleground levels of both versions of Sortunut ääni.*

a) *the male-choir version.*

b) *the mixed-choir version.*

The second difference is the registral placement of the climax. In the male-choir version, the forte chord on *lammikkona lailattele* (in bar 12) is placed in an extremely high register, which the basses achieve by a sudden octave leap upwards. Matti Hyökki describes the effect of the leap: “The leap is linked to the gloomy atmosphere of the song; it is the gesture that resolves frustrations searing the soul of the poem’s singer. [...] In it [the octave leap] one can hear a strong masculine defiance [...]”³⁵² In the mixed-choir version,

³⁵² Hyökki 2003, 171: ”Hyppy liittyy kyllä luontevasti laulun synkähköön yleisilmeeseen, se on ele, jolla puretaan runoa laulavan sisikuntaa korventavia turhaumia [...]. Sen takaa kuuluu vahva maskuliininen uhma [...].”

the leap is missing and none of the voices are written in an extreme register; the climax is achieved solely by the means of conventional voice leading. Thus, in the mixed-choir version there is no “masculine defiance”, but the climax is achieved by more subtle means; this difference perhaps arises from the chosen ensemble.

Category 3:

The third category contains arrangements that differ from their original versions enough to raise the question of whether they in fact are versions of the same work. The relationship between the *Cantata for the University Graduation Ceremonies* and its mixed-choir a cappella version *Lauluja 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista* (henceforth *Lauluja 1897*) is perhaps not best described as the traditional original work–arrangement relation. Instead, their relationship comes close to that which some orchestral suites have with the incidental music (for theatre, opera, ballet, etc.) from which they originate. The original cantata consists of fourteen movements, whereas the choral arrangement is in nine movements. In *Lauluja 1897*, Sibelius has used some movements in their entirety, some movements appear only partially, and some movements have been left out completely. In addition, movement IV of *Lauluja 1897* does not appear in the original cantata.

The overall design of *Lauluja 1897* is fascinating. Using only parts of the original text and music, Sibelius has still managed to create a complete story. The story’s trajectory in the arrangement is as follows: the first movement depicts a group of youths setting out enthusiastically on a sea voyage (symbolising university graduates entering their lives as adults), but during the course of movements II–V, the youths realise how their boat is too small for their journey and how it will stay afloat only by the mercy and goodness of God. This realisation leads to the culmination of the work: a solemn double hymn of praise in movement VI (*Soi kiitokseksi Luojan* and *Tuule, tuuli, leppeämmiin*, both of which are regularly performed as independent works). After the hymns, the atmosphere of the music suddenly changes, and as a contrast to the preceding music, movements VII–IX are a joyous celebration of the love of God and the freedom He has given to ‘us’. The last movement (IX) continues the theme of freedom and is a patriotic anthem for Finland.³⁵³

The movements are interconnected by their key design and the movements form an entity that could be described as a song cycle for mixed choir: the beginning of each movement is prepared at the end of the previous movement or subsequent movements continue the situation created at the end of the previous movement. This kind of structure does not appear in the original cantata, thus I would like to discuss the cyclic features of *Lauluja 1897* in a little more detail.

Lauluja 1897 begins in A_b major (see Example 10.7). The ending of movement I employs the modally altered sixth scale degree throughout its last phrases, thus anticipating the beginning of the next movement in the parallel minor (A_b minor, written enharmonically as G_# minor). The beginning of movement II employs the sonority of ii^o of G_# minor. The movement proceeds first through the tonicisation of C_# minor towards the stability of the G_# minor tonic, which is not reached until as the very last chord of the movement. Thereafter, movement III begins with a unison G_# (on the up-beat), which is

³⁵³ In 1897 Finland was still part of Russia.

then harmonised as the ii° of $F\sharp$ minor (in bar 1), thus the stability that was achieved at the end of movement II is quickly challenged by the beginning of movement III.

Movements IV and V deserve special attention. Firstly, their ‘interconnectedness’ is taken so far that they would hardly work as independent entities, if removed from the context of the cycle. Instead, they melt together and come across as if they were two verses of one movement. Secondly, their role in reaching F minor (the key of the culmination of the work, the hymns in movement VI) is essential. Movement IV begins and ends on a $D\flat$ major chord, but the two $D\flat$ major chords have structurally different functions. Because the previous movement (III) ended in $F\sharp$ major, the $D\flat$ chord at the beginning of movement IV is heard as a dominant (enharmonically as $C\sharp$ major). A cadence in F minor is expected at the end of the movement, but no resolution appears; instead, the movement ends with a deceptive cadence. Thus, the $D\flat$ major chord at the end is heard as scale degree VI of F minor. Perhaps the most important feature of movement IV is its last phrase, which introduces the sonority of an augmented chord ($C-E-A\flat$). The augmented chord becomes the prevailing sonority in movement V. Movement V is in F minor, although no root-positioned F minor chord is heard during the entire movement. Movement V also ends with a deceptive cadence and the last chord is $D\flat$ major.³⁵⁴

These two movements prepare the arrival of the F-minor hymn thoroughly: they bring forth the F-minor mode, but without an actual F-minor root-positioned chord. In addition to the absence of a root-positioned tonic chord, the augmented sonority employed earlier in movement IV – and especially in movement V – gives these movements an instable character. Thus, the F-minor opening of the hymn (movement VI) creates a special feeling of stability and arrival, which perfectly coincides with the content of the text: during the instable passage, the youths ponder the dangers of sailing with their small boat at the mercy of the vast sea, and they become aware of how easily even a light breath of wind could capsize their boat. As the hymn begins, they realise that the mercy of God will not let their boat sink.

Example 10.7. *Key plan and drama of Lauuluja 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista (on the next page).*

³⁵⁴ *It is worth noting that although these movements have a transitional function in the cycle, they begin and end with a $D\flat$ major chord, which on some level closes the tonal structure, despite both chords being unstable. Cf. the first movement of Schumann’s Dichterliebe (discussed by e.g. Rosen 1998 and Suurpää 1996).*

movement	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX
Key	Ab major	G# minor	F# major	F minor apparent	F minor apparent	F minor	G# major	E major	E major
tonal events	stable	increase of instable elements		instable (beginning and ending on Db; no tonic sonority)		stable	return to the key of the beginning	stepping out	
drama	beginning of the voyage	different feelings of doubt				hymns	rejoicing in God	praising the freedom patriotic ending	

The key design is not the only feature of the work that binds the movements together. The *Notenbild* too highlights the cyclic features of the work. At the beginning of some movements, Sibelius has added empty bars to show the timing between the movements; and in the movements beginning with key signatures other than that at the end of the previous movement, Sibelius has often added courtesy signs as a reminder of the changed key signature. Further, at the beginning of movement VII – written in G# minor – Sibelius has added notes in parentheses to show the enharmonic relation of the consecutive movements (see Example 10.8).

Example 10.8. Beginning of movement VII of *Lauluja 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista*.

The passage depicted in Example 10.8 is an important moment in the overall structure of the cycle. After the solemn hymns in movement VI, the joyous character of the first movement returns; at the same time, the music returns to the A♭/G#-based tonality of the beginning.³⁵⁵ The patriotic praises of freedom in movements VIII and IX step out of the A♭/G# world and are in the stable and straightforward key of E major.³⁵⁶

The original cantata shows no features of the cyclic character. Instead, the 14 movements are mostly separate numbers (albeit some movements are connected with the marking *attacca*) and there does not seem to be any relationship between the key areas and the content of the texts. In the story of the original cantata, two soloists sing the parts of *Suometar* (the Maiden of Finland) and *Väinämöinen* (the main character in *Kalevala*). These characters are excluded from the arrangement – some solo passages do appear, but they are not personified.³⁵⁷

10.2 The Value Judgement of Arrangement

There are few musical terms that carry such a strong value judgement as the term ‘arrangement’, a word that often conveys so many negative connotations. From that point of view, it is interesting to examine cases in biographical literature on Sibelius, in which a scholar has not been willing to use the term arrangement, but has sidestepped the

³⁵⁵ The contrasting section in movement VII is written in A♭ major (and not G# major).

³⁵⁶ E is in 5-6-relation to the A♭/G# tonality of the preceding movements.

³⁵⁷ The original cantata is described in great detail in Hedberg (unpubl., 30–42).

problematic concept. A good example is the string-orchestra version of *Rakastava*, which is almost never called an arrangement, though it would fall under the commonly used definition of an arrangement: “an adaptation of a piece of music for a medium other than that for which it was originally composed.”³⁵⁸ For example, Harold E. Johnson writes: “In 1911, Sibelius rewrote (‘arranged’ would be misleading) *Rakastava* for string orchestra, triangle, and tympani.”³⁵⁹ Johnson’s statement is interesting, because he explicitly states that he has consciously avoided the term arrangement in the context of *Rakastava*. But why, then, would ‘arranged’ be the wrong word?

In the juxtaposition of the original composition vs. the arrangement, the original composition is always considered of greater primary importance than the arranged version. The value judgement is implicit, even in the phrase *an adaptation of the original composition*, which juxtaposes two different kinds of an act: the act of composition and the act of adapting the composition. This juxtaposition has fundamental consequences: it would suggest that the arrangement is not an end product of the act of composition – perhaps even implying that it is not the actual work of art. I believe this is the exact connotation Johnson (and other scholars writing about different versions of *Rakastava*) wants to avoid. In such cases, a different term is introduced: the original composition is now juxtaposed with the concept of the definitive version (or sometimes the final version), which is the end product of revision. Its relation to the original composition is similarly charged, but in reverse: the later version is no longer a reproduction, but an evolved version.³⁶⁰

Whenever multiple versions exist, much ink has been spilled over the question as to which of the versions is the definitive one and which ‘only’ an arrangement or an early version. If the ‘non-definitive’ version is something of lesser value than the definitive version, then what is it? This question, though several times asked, is still unanswered – and some think it will remain that way. For example, after stating that the male-choir version of *Rakastava* is the original version, and the string-orchestra version the definitive one, Carol Hedberg (an enthusiastic male-choir singer himself) feels the need to add at the end of the section discussing *Rakastava*: “The choral version can therefore not be regarded as definitely unseated by the string [orchestra] version, but still defends its place as music.”³⁶¹

From the present study’s point of view, the concept of the arrangement is a relatively simple one (as discussed in Chapter 2). In the case of multiple versions, there are also

³⁵⁸ Kennedy 2006, 33. *Adaptation is sometimes replaced by reworking, but the content of the definition seems to stay the same from one source to another.*

³⁵⁹ Johnson 1959, 60 (in the Finnish translation 1960, 70). *There are several similar discussions regarding Rakastava. See, e.g., Dahlström (BIS recording leaflet), or http://www.sibelius.fi/suomi/musiikki/ork_muita_rakastava.htm (read 1 August 2012), in which the mixed-choir version is considered an arrangement of the male-choir version, but the string-orchestra version is said to be “based on [...]” The authors’ reluctance to use the word arrangement is conspicuous.*

³⁶⁰ See also the discussion of *Fassung Letzter Hand* in Chapter 2.

³⁶¹ Hedberg unpubl., 21: “Körversionen kan därför inte anses definitivt detroniserad av stråkversionen, utan försvarar fortfarande sin plats som musik.” *For more similar treatments of Rakastava, see e.g. Ekman 1956, 142.*

multiple autograph readings. In theory, each of the versions has a separate, individual source chain. Parallel versions are seen as equal representatives of the work, regardless of the order in which they were conceived. However, the idea of seeing different versions as equals to one another is surprisingly distant from how the concept of the arrangement is commonly understood. In the following, I will present two cases (there are numerous instances) from the biographical sources in which such a value judgement has explicitly coloured discussion of Sibelius's choral works. Thereafter, I will discuss one case, in which in my interpretation the implicit value judgement has affected the reading of the musical sources.

Case 1: *Isänmaalle*

Perhaps the most illuminating example of the value judgement implied in the concept of arrangement is the different interpretations of the history of *Isänmaalle*. The publication and performance history of the work is as follows:

- Sibelius wrote a version for male choir in 1898, but never made this version public. It surfaced as late as 1960.
- The version published and premiered in 1900 is written for mixed choir.
- Selim Palmgren wrote an arrangement for male choir in 1902, which was published in several choral collections without any mention of the arranger. It was often erroneously thought to be by Sibelius (see e.g. Turunen below).
- Sibelius arranged the work for male choir in 1907 after a commission from *Turun Työväen Mieskuoro*. The version was premiered and published in 1908. (NB! The 1907 version differs significantly from the version of 1898).

The question as to whether the male-choir version or the mixed-choir version is the original version has been the subject of debate during the 20th century. One of these debates erupted in the newspaper *Uusi Suomi* in 1956, when choral conductor Martti Vaula wrote a causerie about misprints in music. A small section of the causerie was dedicated to misprints in Sibelius's music:

Now after the Sibelius celebrations, I would like to discuss the disservice that is done to his 'Isänmaalle' in some of its male-choir editions, [...] With the line 'eläköön tämä *muistojen* toivojen maa' there is a deviation from the original melody in the last crotchet of the bar, presumably without the proof-reader's noticing it.³⁶²

³⁶² Vaula, 1956: "Sävelmistä tahtoisin näin Sibeliuksen juhlapäivän jälkeen ottaa ensimmäisenä puheeksi sen omituisen karhunpalveluksen, mikä hänelle on tehty 'Isänmaalle' laulun eräissä mieskuoronuoteissa, [...] Sanoissa 'eläköön tämä *muistojen toivojen maa*' on nuotteihin tullut tahdin viimeisessä neljäsosassa poikkeama alkuperäisestä sävelkulusta, julkaisun oikolukijan sitä ilmeisesti huomaamatta." *Italics original.*

The conductor of several Finnish male choirs Martti Turunen replied a few days later in the same newspaper:

Sibelius's 'Isänmaalle' was originally composed specifically for male-voice choir. Ekman, in his Sibelius biography, refers to this by mentioning in the discography "Yks voima" (Cajander) for male choir 1898, Helsinki Otava. Information regarding the publisher may be erroneous, as the song is not found in its male-choir form in the choral collections of Kansanvalistusseura from that time. It is more probable that the song was first published separately by Y.L. [the male-voice choir Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat] and sung at festivities and concerts for the first time in 1902.³⁶³ [NB! The version performed in 1902 is the version arranged by Palmgren.]

The debate that followed is interesting, since the possibility of more than one authorised versions was not even mentioned. Further, both participants invoked the ultimate *argumentum ad auctoritatem* by using Sibelius as their source. According to Vaula, Sibelius had answered his inquiry regarding the matter by telegram in 1951, saying "You [Vaula] are perfectly right". Turunen claimed that Sibelius had spoken to him by telephone and had stated that he had it right.³⁶⁴ Neither man backed down, and the debate remained unresolved, because Vaula was unable to counter Turunen's last comment in 1960, as he had already died.

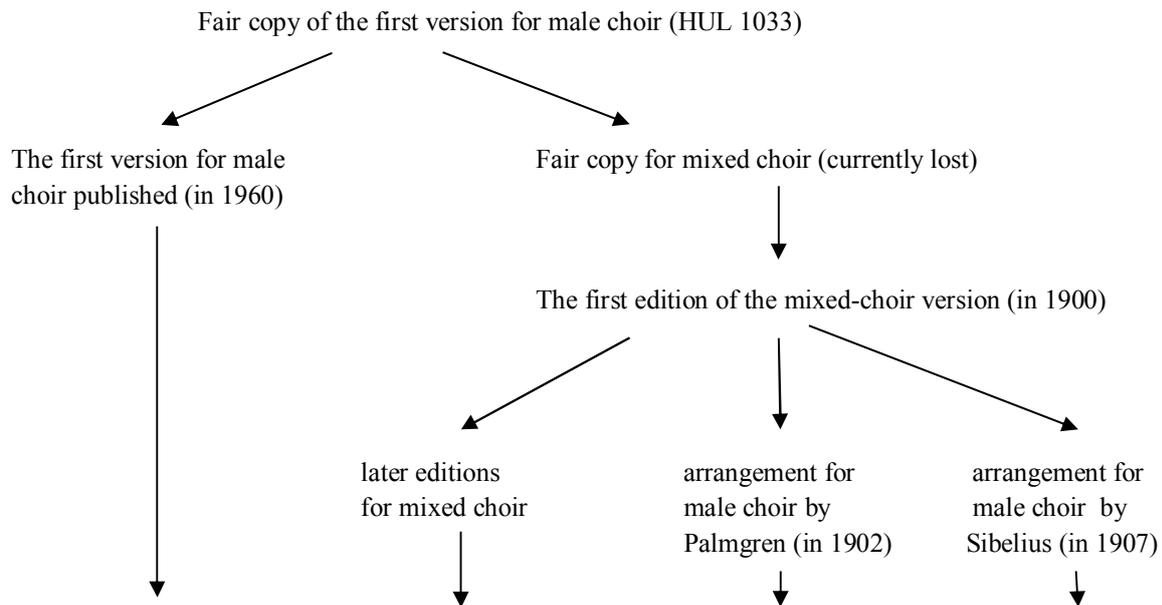
The history of *Isänmaalle* is ideal for this kind of debate: although the work was published and premiered as a mixed-choir work in 1900, Sibelius had written it for male choir in 1898, but never made it public; the published male-choir version dates from 1907. Thus, the question of originality is in fact a question of definition: is the first version an early version, i.e. a 'draft version', or the original composition?³⁶⁵

³⁶³ Turunen 1956: "Sibeliuksen 'Isänmaalle' on nim. sävelletty alkuperäisesti mieskuorolle. Jo Ekman Sibelius-elämäkerrassaan viittaa tähän mainitsemalla teosluettelossa "Yks voima" (Cajander) mieskuorolle 1898, Helsinki Otava. Tieto kustantajasta voi olla virheellinen, koska laulua mieskuoromuodossa ei ole löytynyt Kansanvalistusseuran julkaisuista niin varhaiselta ajalta. Todennäköisempää on, että laulu on ensi kerran julkaistu Y.L.:n irtonuotteina ja laulettu näistä vuosisadan vaihteessa juhliissa sekä konsertissa ensi kerran 1902."

³⁶⁴ Vaula (1 January 1956): "Olette aivan oikeassa." Turunen (1 January 1960) adds that Aino Sibelius too remembered that *Isänmaalle* was originally written for male choir. Notice that the last arguments by Turunen date four years after the original writing by Vaula.

³⁶⁵ The mixed-choir version does not follow the harmonisation of the first male-choir version, but Sibelius made several changes. The arrangement of 1907 follows the harmonisation of the mixed-choir version and not of the first male-choir version.

There are four different versions circulating in Finland, whose filiation is as follows:



Imposing a value judgement on different versions did not end when the debate between Vaala and Turunen ended in 1960. Carol Hedberg continued the discussion in his writings. According to Hedberg, the male-choir version should be considered the original version, since “male choirs in those days were the axiomatic interpreters of patriotic vocal music both here in Scandinavia and in Germany.”³⁶⁶ Confusingly, he does not identify unambiguously *which* of the male-choir versions he is referring to. However, Hedberg’s remark concerning the Palmgren version is most peculiar: “One doubts the justification of naming this version an arrangement in the general sense, since the composition was in fact first written for male choir and since Palmgren has stayed in the same key shown in mscr A [=the early version].”³⁶⁷ I believe these arguments show the real strength of the value judgement implied in the concept of the arrangement: for Hedberg, it is of the utmost importance to prove that the male-choir versions are *not* arrangements but original works of art.

Case 2: *Uusmaalaisten laulu*

Both the male-choir and the mixed-choir versions of *Uusmaalaisten laulu* were published in 1912. In the first edition of the male-choir version appears the text: “composed and arranged for male choir by Jean Sibelius.”³⁶⁸ From that detail, it has often been assumed

³⁶⁶ Hedberg unpubl., 46: “[...] manskören av ålder var den självskrivna interpreten för patriotisk vokalmusik både hos oss i Skandinavien jämte Tyskland.”

³⁶⁷ Hedberg unpubl., 47–48: “Man tvekar dock om det befogade i att kalla denna version ett arrangemang i gängse bemärkelse, då ju kompositionen verkligen först har skrivits för manskör och då Palmgren har stannat för samma tonart som mscr A visar.”

³⁶⁸ *Säveltänyt ja mieskuorolle sovittanut Jean Sibelius.*

that Sibelius composed the work ‘originally’ for mixed choir and arranged it for male choir. Hedberg does not believe this, but argues that “the formulation can be interpreted in many ways.” According to Hedberg, it is more likely that the work was originally composed for male choir: “Bearing in mind the old student traditions and the fact that student life at the time was not yet dominated by the feminine contribution as it is today, it appears probable that ‘Uusmaalaisten laulu’ was first composed for male choir a cappella.”³⁶⁹

The fallacy in Hedberg’s argumentation aside, it is interesting that Sibelius himself considered the composition a unison melody intended to be sung *en bloc*, a matter that can be deduced from his diary entries, in which he refers to both choral versions as arrangements.³⁷⁰ Thus, Hedberg had it right in a way; the reading in the first edition does not mean that the mixed-choir version is necessarily the original version, and there are, indeed, more ways to interpret the matter.

Case 3: *Sortunut ääni*

There are two versions of *Sortunut ääni* written by Sibelius; one for male choir and one for mixed choir. Very little information on the genesis of the work has survived. The facts concerning the early history of the work are as follows:

- There are no extant manuscripts for either version.
- The first edition of the mixed-choir version was published in the choral collection *Sävelistö 4* in 1898. No information on the publication process has survived.
- The first edition of the male-choir version was published three years later in 1901.
- The male-choir version was premiered 21 April 1899. The première date of the mixed-choir version remains unknown.

From the facts above, we can assume that the mixed-choir version was printed one year before the première of the male-choir version. However, the order in which the versions were conceived cannot naturally be deduced from the order of their publication. Thus it remains unknown which of the versions was written first.

The source chain of *Sortunut ääni* is intriguing. There are several differences between the first editions of the two versions, especially concerning the dynamic markings. Two subsequent editions of the mixed-choir version produce the reading of the first edition rather accurately. The fourth edition of the mixed-choir version is interesting, as its dynamic markings differ significantly from those in the first edition.³⁷¹ Interestingly, all

³⁶⁹ Hedberg (unpubl.), 61–62: “Formuleringen kan tolkas på flera sätt.” “Med tanke på de gamla studenttraditionerna och på det faktum, att studentlivet vid denna tid ännu inte dominerades av det kvinnliga inslaget så som i dag, förefaller det sannolika vara att ‘Uusmaalaisten laulu’ först komponerades för manskör a cappella.”

³⁷⁰ E.g., 21 January 1912: “Fair copied ‘Uusmaalaisten laulu’ in two arrangements.” (Skrifvit rent ‘Uusmaalaisten laulu’ i tvenne arrangement.)

³⁷¹ The fourth edition is the first that was not typeset. See the discussion in Section 9.2.1.

dynamic markings that the fourth edition has in common with the first edition are precisely the same marks that are also found in the male-choir version. In other words, in virtually all passages – there are two exceptions – where the readings of the first editions differ from each other, the reading of the mixed-choir version has been replaced by the reading of the male-choir version.³⁷²

The changes occurring in the fourth edition of the mixed-choir version have also affected the work's performance practice. A good example of this is illustrated in the following examples. Example 10.9a presents bars 1 and 2 from the first edition of the mixed-choir version, and Example 10.9b presents the corresponding bars from the fourth edition. In the first edition, there is a continuous crescendo hairpin, which begins at the beginning of first bar and extends over the bar line all the way to the second bar until the system break after the third beat. In the fourth edition, the crescendo has been split into two consequent hairpins, each spanning the length of one bar. In most performances the reading in the fourth edition is interpreted literally. Often the successive hairpins are realised by returning to the lower dynamic level at the beginning of bar 2 (e.g. Jubilate in BIS's complete recording).

Example 10.9. *Sortunut ääni*, bars 1–2.

a) first edition of the mixed-choir version.

b) fourth edition of the mixed-choir version.

The reading of the fourth edition follows the reading of the male-choir version. As is seen in Example 10.10, the layout of the male-choir edition is peculiar: the entire work is laid out one bar to a system, meaning that there is a system break after every single bar. Possibly for this reason, no crescendo hairpins longer than one bar appear in the male-choir version. This raises the question as to whether longer hairpins actually appeared in the manuscript serving as the typesetter's copy? If they did appear, they were probably split by the typesetter in the typesetting process, as was common practice (see Section 8.1 and Example 3.1). This comes across as a probable hypothesis, though it cannot be confirmed, as the manuscripts of both versions are lost. In any case, it does cast a doubt over the emendations in the fourth mixed-choir edition.³⁷³

³⁷² The source chain of *Sortunut ääni* is discussed in detail in Ylivuori 2010.

³⁷³ More details with similar content are presented in Ylivuori 2010.

Example 10.10. *Sortunut ääni*, male-choir version, bars 1–6.

2. SORTUNUT ÄÄNI.
 HVAD HAR BRUTIT TONENS VÄLDE?
 Et liian hitaasti. (KANTELETAR.) J. SIBELIUS.
 Ej för långsamt.

mf
 Mi...kä sor...ti ää...nen suu...ren,
 Hvad har bru...tit to...nens väl...de,
 ää...nen suu...ren ja so...ri...an
 hvad har stör...tai min stäm...ma klar
 ää...nen kau...ni...hin ka...ot...ti.
 dömt till tyst...nad min ljuf...va sång.
mp
 Jok' en...nen jo...ke...na juok...si
 Hon for...dom flu...tit som flo...den
 ve...si...vir...ta...na vi...la...si,
 som den bru...sau...de strömmens våg,
 Lam...mik...ko...na lai...lat...te...li
 vag...gat har som kuf...veis sän...ger

Despite the lack of evidence, it has been repeatedly stated in associated literature that Sibelius originally composed *Sortunut ääni* for male choir and, thus, the mixed-choir version is a later arrangement.³⁷⁴ Sheer repetition has turned this assumption into a ‘fact’, which is not, however, based on any source. For example, Carol Hedberg writes of *Sortunut ääni* in his study of Sibelius’s choral works: “The work was certainly originally written for male choir [...]” The claim “certainly” is interesting, as it is given without reference to any source, and it completely disregards the publication history. Hedberg ends the discussion by making an interesting statement (again with no reference to any source): “Notice that the work was published earlier in the setting for mixed-choir than in the original setting for male choir.”³⁷⁵

³⁷⁴ Tawaststjerna 1968, vol 2, 248, Furuholm 1916, 197, Hedberg unpubl., 45, www.sibelius.fi, etc. One piece of evidence to which biographers have often referred are the work lists in which Sibelius has labelled Opus 18 as consisting of male-choir works. As discussed in Section 4.1, this cannot be considered as evidence: firstly, Sibelius placed *Min rastas raataa* in Opus 18, despite the fact that it only exists as a mixed-choir work; and secondly, Sibelius often gave opus numbers for his arrangements and not for the original works (e.g. *Lauluja 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista* and the string-orchestra version of *Rakastava*). In addition, he gave the opus number 7 to the children’s choir version of *Aamusumussa* and not to the original mixed-choir version. *Aamusumussa* was later excluded from the list of opus-numbered works (see Section 4.1).

³⁷⁵ Hedberg unpubl, 45: “Sången är med säkerhet ursprungligen skriven för manskör [...]. Obs. att sången publicerades tidigare i sätningen för blandkör än i originalsättningen för manskör.”

The three cases above are chosen to illustrate the value judgement implied in the concept of the ‘arrangement’. It would appear that the value judgement is sometimes strong enough to affect even the note text of the musical sources. It could be argued that the extensive transmission of details from the male-choir version to the mixed-choir version in the source chain for *Sortunut ääni* is a result of the fact that the male-choir version was thought to be the original version and therefore its reading of greater primacy than that of the assumed arrangement.

Against this background, it is perhaps worth repeating that in the present study each parallel version of a given work is understood as an equal representation of the work’s history and the term ‘arrangement’ is not intended to carry any value judgement.

10.3 A Few Remarks on the Intentionality of the Discrepancies Between Versions

The discrepancies between the different choral versions of the same work pose difficult questions concerning the intentionality of the discrepancies. The most obvious question concerns the differing details that are found in most of the arrangements when read against their original versions: for example, the arrangement of *Venematka* follows the original version accurately, making rhythmical deviations in one bar: namely, the anapest in bar 9 of the original version appears as a dactyl in the arrangement (see Example 10.2; note that the last note of the bar is also shortened). The present study points towards an understanding that whenever the first editions of the different versions differ from each other, the difference derives in all likelihood from Sibelius’s manuscript; the typesetters of the first editions tend to reproduce the reading of the typesetter’s copies with remarkable accuracy. However, that a discrepancy stems from the autograph reading does not necessarily mean that it is intentional; one must always take into account the possibility of human error or the composer’s negligence due to, for example, haste in the writing process.³⁷⁶ Thus, for example, the intentionality of the differing detail in *Venematka* cannot be proven beyond any doubt, despite the evidence given by the differing autograph readings.

The question becomes even more complicated when it is asked the other way round. As discussed above, Sibelius made two clearly intentional changes to the music of *Rakastava*, when writing the arrangement for mixed choir (see Example 10.5.). It could be argued that the composer cultivated the musical material further during the process of arranging; thus, we may justly ask whether these emendations should also be executed in the context of the original version. The question is deliberately unorthodox, since an affirmative answer to the question would inevitably lead to a problematic mixing of the sources. What I find interesting, however, is that in the editions of the arrangements the reading has often been editorially emended based on the original version, but the revisions

³⁷⁶ For example, the autograph fair copy of the male-choir version (1907) of *Isänmaalle* contained no dynamic marks or underlay when it was sent to the commissioner. Sibelius signed the letter accompanying the manuscript with the words “in a hurry, yours” (*kaikessa kiireessä, teidän*).

the composer made to the music during the arranging process are automatically considered specific solely to the arrangement in question. It is somehow revealing that such a question has, to my knowledge, never been raised, for example, in the context of *Rakastava*, in which the bar Sibelius added in the arrangement could easily be inserted into the original version. However, to my knowledge, such an addition has never been done.

Since the discrepancies stem, in all likelihood, from the autograph readings, it is advisable to maintain the discrepancies between different versions. The complexity of the matter should, however, always guide performers to make decisions separately in each case. *Sydämeni laulu* is a good example, as it is a work in which the mixing of the sources appears an appealing alternative, despite its dangers. As I argued earlier (in Section 10.1; see Example 10.3), Sibelius wrote the arrangement using a shorthand notation, which the typesetter reproduced literally in the first edition. In other words, the differences between the first editions of the two versions are not intentional, but seem to be based on a misunderstanding during the publication process of the mixed-choir version. Thus, in this case, such *Quellenmischung* might be considered justifiable.

11 Results and Conclusions

11.1 Gathering the Sources

Since the sources of Sibelius's mixed-choir works have previously been almost entirely unexplored territory, the very gathering of sources – and in particular the search for new sources – can be considered to be one of the main results of the present study. The new sources that resurfaced in archival search have not only provided invaluable new information, but have also corrected some inaccurate information appearing in earlier literature. In the following, I will list the most important archival discoveries of the present study:³⁷⁷

- The male-choir version of *Ej med klagan*. This is a good example of how little previous research had concentrated on Sibelius's choral works. The drafts and the fair copy have been preserved and catalogued at the National Library of Finland (i.e. they were not 'missing' in the strict sense). However, the differing choral ensemble of the manuscripts has previously been left unnoticed. Furthermore, the fair copy of the male-choir version was misidentified by Sibelius's son-in-law Jussi Jalas as a draft for the male-choir work *Till havs!* (Op. 84 No. 5). For details, see the case study in Chapter 13.
- The fair copy of *Den 25 Oktober 1902 (1)*. The manuscript found in the archives of Vår-förening (in SLS) cleared up the problematic source chain for the work. Before the manuscript resurfaced, the chronology of the first two editions could not be deduced, as one of them was undated. The reading of the fair copy, however, settles the matter completely.³⁷⁸
- The programme leaflet of the inauguration of Kallio Church. It had previously been assumed that *Kallion kirkon kellosävel* was performed in a choral version at the inauguration (possibly written by Heikki Klemetti).³⁷⁹ The programme leaflet (as well as one newspaper article of the event), however, unambiguously states that the melody was sung in unison. Thus, it would appear that no choral arrangement prior to the one by Sibelius has ever existed.³⁸⁰
- The first publication of J. H. Erkko's poem *Työkansan marssi*. According to the correspondence between Sibelius and Erkko, Sibelius composed the poem in 1893. Confusingly, however, prior to the present study the first known publication of the

³⁷⁷ The sources are listed in Appendix I.

³⁷⁸ As discussed in Section 6.3, the fair copy was used as the basis for both editions; the reading of the manuscript indicates that the undated edition is later than the dated edition. In Dahlström 2003, 526–527, it had been assumed that the undated edition was the first edition.

³⁷⁹ See e.g. Dahlström 2003, 295.

³⁸⁰ Discussed in Sections 3.3.2 and 4.2.4.

poem dates from as late as 1896. Based on the clues given by Sibelius's correspondence, it turned out that the poem had already been published in the Christmas edition of *Päivälehti* in 1893 and that Sibelius used the *Päivälehti* version in his composition.

In addition to the discovery of new sources, the present study has brought to light some new missing links in the source chains. Probably the most interesting new information on the missing links concerns works published in the choral collection *Sävelistö 4*. Since both the archives of the publisher of the edition in question (K. E. Holm) and Sibelius's autograph manuscripts for these works are missing, the logical assumption would be that the missing manuscripts are safely held in lost archives. However, the present study gives reason to believe that *Sävelistö 4* was not based on autograph manuscripts, but on copyist's copies. If my hypothesis presented in Section 9.1 is correct, this means that there are two important sources – the autographs *and* the typesetter's copies – missing for those works, instead of just the missing autographs. Similarly, it is assumed in the present study that the typesetter's copies are also missing in the case of *Juhlamarssi* and of the male-choir version of *Saarella palaa* (see the source chains in Appendix I).

Other important missing links, whose existence is assumed based on the present study, contain the typeset source (sic!) preceding the first published edition of the male-choir version of *Sydämeni laulu* (see the discussion around Example 3.1); Sibelius's changes for the solo part in the male-choir version of *Rakastava* indicated by Sibelius on a piece of paper (see Section 6.3); and the proofs for *Män från slätten och havet*. In general, it would appear that Sibelius did read proofs for most of his works, though the only surviving proofs are those for *Uusmaalaisten laulu*.³⁸¹ The situation with the sketches would, however, appear to be rather different: based on the features of Sibelius's sketching process, it is likely that the small number of extant sketches results from the fact that there were not many sketches in the first place. This is discussed in more detail in Section 11.2.

Although it is not one of the most important aspects of the present study, I feel that the history of the mixed-choir version of *Venematka* still needs to be addressed here, since previous literature reveals some amount of confusion on the matter. The confusion stems from the fact that Suomen laulu sang the mixed-choir version in the summer of 1913, though Sibelius only wrote the arrangement in 1914. Virrankoski has assumed that Sibelius had written "an early version" in 1913, which would have been used by Suomen laulu.³⁸² Dahlström points out correctly that, despite being a mixed choir, Suomen laulu also sang some male-choir works at their concerts, thus it is possible that the choir in fact performed the original male-choir version – and not the mixed-choir arrangement – at their concert in 1913, which would explain the conflicting dates.³⁸³ There are three details found in the present study that point towards a different solution: firstly, the newspaper reviews of the concerts state unambiguously that version sung was for mixed choir –

³⁸¹ *The number of proofs existing for male-choir works (not discussed in the present study) is significantly higher. The reason why those proofs have survived remains unknown.*

³⁸² Virrankoski 2004, 94, 375. *The question is discussed in Section 4.2.2.*

³⁸³ *Ibid.*

however, the arranger is not mentioned. Secondly, in his diary Sibelius commented disapprovingly upon his appearance in Suomen laulu's concert programme, which means that he was indeed aware of the programme, but did not authorise the version used by the choir. Thirdly, a copy of the mixed-choir arrangement by an unknown arranger was found in Sibelius's collection of scores. Based on these three facts, I would state that Suomen laulu *did* sing a mixed-choir version in the summer of 1913. However, that version was not by Sibelius, but by someone else – possibly by Suomen laulu's conductor, the composer Heikki Klemetti. It is probable that the version in Sibelius's possession is the very version sung at those concerts.³⁸⁴ Sibelius did not authorise or approve this version, and it is probably the reason why he eventually wrote a version of his own.³⁸⁵

11.2 Writing Process

Sibelius's relation to the poems he was composing is perhaps the most intriguing feature of the writing processes of his choral works (see Section 6.4). When it comes to the text, it seems that Sibelius strove to maintain the rhythms and emphases of natural spoken language – a feature that seems self-evident but that was not prevalent in Finnish music before this. An interesting detail in this regard is that whenever Sibelius's musical ideas contradicted the poem to be set, he did not hesitate to alter the original poem. Many instances where Sibelius changed the original text for musical reasons are discussed in Section 6.4. The importance of the text is also visible in the fact that Sibelius meticulously indicated melismas in the earliest drafts of his choral works.

The source chains for Sibelius's mixed-choir works demonstrate relatively straightforward writing processes. Typically, the source chain consists of just one sketch or draft and the fair copy, which served as the typesetter's copy in the publication process. One distinctive feature in the source chains for the choral works is the absence of the initial melodic sketches that in other genres form a significant corpus of manuscripts. As discussed in Section 6.1, the absence of melodic sketches does not mean that the actual sketching process of the choral works was different: instead, it would appear that Sibelius first wrote the melody in the draft in its entirety and wrote the accompanying parts thereafter in the same draft; thus the existing drafts in fact also served as melodic sketches. Probably due to the homophonic nature of Sibelius's choral works, the part-writing did not require any sketching, but the accompanying parts were written directly below the melodic sketch.

Another feature of the straightforwardness of the process is how little 'forging' was done for the melodic material during the sketching process. Instead, from the very earliest drafts the works appear surprisingly close to their final readings. This is also probably due to the brevity of the works: it is possible that any forging was done inside the composer's mind before any material was actually written down. Yet another detail probably arising

³⁸⁴ However, since the copy is undated, it is impossible to date the arrangement accurately enough to be able to use it as definitive evidence.

³⁸⁵ For details, see Section 4.2.2.

from the brevity of the works studied here is the existence of manuscripts that were intended at the time of their writing as fair copies but that, due to the emendations, currently appear more like drafts. Such manuscripts are a quite unique feature of the choral works: due to the brevity of Sibelius's choral works, it was often easier to write an altogether new fair copy instead of emending the earlier fair copy by scraping the ink off. Thus, the earlier fair copy was used in sketching the emendations (see, for example, the discussion of *Sydämeni laulu* in Section 6.2 or the case study of *Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar* in Chapter 12).

A strange deviation from Sibelius's normal creative process is the source chain for *Skolsång*. It seems that Sibelius composed the work without any text and sent the manuscript to the poet, who then wrote the text directly onto the manuscript. The reason for this extraordinary procedure has remained unexplained (see Section 6.4).

Another deviation from the normal writing process is the case of *Rakastava*. The exceptional qualities are, however, explained by the fact that the piece was not originally intended as a work of a cappella choral music, but probably as a work for choir and orchestra. The early history of the musical material that ended up in *Rakastava* is discussed in Chapter 14.

11.3 Publication Process

Perhaps the most significant result of the present study is to be found in the study of the publication process of the typeset editions. The present study succeeded in creating concrete tools, which help to identify the mechanisms of textual transmission in the typeset editions. And since practically the entirety of Finnish choral music was produced by typesetting, these results hold great significance for further studies and are not limited solely to the field of Sibelius studies.³⁸⁶

Based on the analysis of typeset editions is the observation that typesetters did not typeset music as *text* but as *image*.³⁸⁷ Consequently, typeset editions reproduce, to the letter, the *Notenbild* of the manuscripts used as the typesetter's copies, including any possible errors or inconsistencies in its *Notentext*. Thus, comparison between the *Notenbild* of a typeset edition and the notational practices of the composer in question reveals much about the publication process.³⁸⁸ For example, the type of source used as the typesetter's copy can often be deduced on these grounds. Furthermore, an understanding of the typesetting process has produced information regarding the typical procedures – including typical misprints – which has gained new understanding for the mechanisms of the construction of the *Notenbild* in typeset editions.

Such an understanding can be applied in an analysis of the source chains. A good example of this analysis is the case of *Sävelistö 4* (discussed in Section 9.1). Based on the

³⁸⁶ The theoretical background is discussed in Section 2.1, the typesetting process is described in Chapter 8, and typeset editions are analysed in Section 9.1.

³⁸⁷ In general, typesetters were unable to read music.

³⁸⁸ Sibelius's notational practices are analysed in detail in Chapter 7.

deviations from Sibelius's notational practices, my hypothesis is that the reading of Sibelius's works in that edition is not based on autograph manuscripts, but on the copyist's copies, as the deviations are the kind of changes a copyist would make, but not a typesetter. That being said, the copyist has produced a fairly accurate reading of the original notation (there are only three deviations in five works). Another example highlighting the usefulness of the comparison between the *Notenbild* and the notational practices is the second edition of *Min rastas raataa*, discussed in Section 8.3. Based on the inconsistencies of the edition, we can assume that the second edition is not based on the first one, but on a copy that contains handwritten markings (by an unknown hand) on top of the systems, markings that the typesetter has incorporated into the reading despite the syntactical problems they cause to the *Notentext*. Thus, the problems of the *Notentext* are explained by the results of an analysis of the typesetting process.

11.4 Editions of Sibelius's Mixed-Choir Works

The textual transmission from edition to edition seems to form a relatively uniform pattern. The uniformity of the pattern can be largely explained by two factors: firstly, by the advancements in printing technology during the 20th century and, secondly, by changes in general editorial practices. These two factors are closely related: contemporary editions (until the end of the 1950s) were produced by means of typesetting, which meant that the typesetter was largely responsible for the outcome of the edition – including details of layout. I believe that the reason for the steady increase in the number of editorial emendations in editions, an increase that began after the 1950s, can be explained, at least in part, by the changes in printing technology: once the outcome was not dictated so heavily by the means of production, the editor could control the process and exert a greater influence on the end product.

As stated in Chapter 9, it is not only the number but also the quality of editorial emendations that changed. Editorial practices in Finnish choral editions can be generalised into three phases: practices until the mid-1950s, those from the mid-1950s until the late 1970s, and those after the late 1970s. In contemporary editions, no editorial work (in the modern sense) occurred at all. Instead, typesetters strove to reproduce the *Notenbild* of the manuscript (or some other source that served as the typesetter's copy) as accurately as possible – even including any obvious mistakes in the source. After the 1950s, some editorial emendations occur, though by then they were mainly connected to the performance or other verbal instructions and dynamic marks; the *Notentext* – and in particular the notes – was still generally left intact. In modern editions, editors have made many editorial interventions, which, however, are not indicated typographically in the editions. Such editorial emendations have significantly affected the modern performance practice of the works. One significant change during the 1980s was the introduction of instrumental practice in the earlier vocal works, in which beams has been commonly drawn according to melismas as opposed to beats. In most modern editions, Sibelius's use of beams has been rendered according to modern practice.

The treatment of parallel versions also seems to follow a uniform pattern. The source chains for the parallel versions have influenced each other surprisingly little; even those emendations made by Sibelius himself in one version have generally not been added to editions of the other versions. Practically the only form of textual transmission from one parallel version to another has been the inclusion of verbal performance instructions and dynamic markings in arrangements based on original versions. Transmission from the arrangement to the original version is practically non-existent.

As a general rule, it could be stated that the reading in the first edition follows the reading of the manuscript extremely closely. If a problematic reading of the first edition cannot be explained through typical typesetter's mistakes (presented in Sections 8.3 and 8.4), the problematic reading stems in all likelihood from the manuscript. Similarly, the discrepancies between parallel versions also derive from the autograph reading.

Part III:

Three Case Studies

12 From Fair Copy to Draft – A Case Study of *Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar*

Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar is an excellent example of the problematic questions arising from the sources of Sibelius's early works. Thus, the questions and problems discussed in the present case study are entirely applicable in the other works of the same period, too.³⁸⁹ In the present chapter, I will first present the extant manuscript sources of *Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar* and discuss the special features of the source chain (Section 12.1). Thereafter I will analyse the compositional process visible in the source chain (Section 12.2). Finally, I will discuss the problems concerning the last version of the work (Section 12.3.).

The score of *Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar* was published for the first time in JSW VII/1 (ed. Ylivuori 2012); in footnotes for Section 12.3, I have mentioned the editorial solutions provided in the JSW edition for the questions in hand. The scores of all versions are provided as Appendix III.

12.1 Manuscript Sources

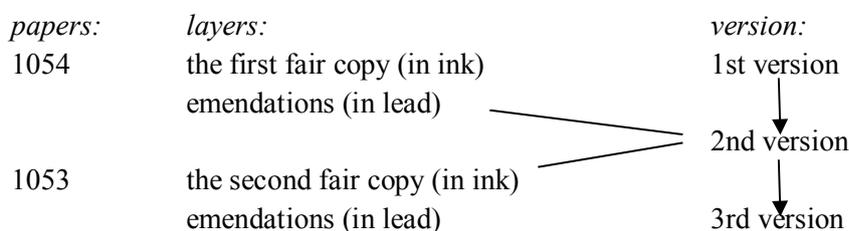
The only extant sources for *Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar* are two autograph manuscripts currently kept at the National Library of Finland under signums 1053 and 1054. Of the two manuscripts, 1054 was written earlier, and it consists of two layers of writing: first, Sibelius wrote out the entire work in ink, but made multiple emendations to it later. The emendations are made in lead instead of ink, and the layers are therefore easily distinguished from each other. The layer in ink is written in extremely careful handwriting, including all the details necessary for the work to be performed. Thus, the earliest surviving version of the work is not a draft but a fair copy, and at the time of its writing Sibelius probably considered the work to be complete.

The multiple emendations have rendered 1054 almost illegible in places. In addition, some of the emendations changed the music so much that the new version could not be written over the earlier reading as in most cases, but Sibelius had to write a few bars of the new version on the other side of the manuscript. Therefore, a new fair copy was needed, and 1053 fulfils this need. Apparently Sibelius was not satisfied with the version on the second fair copy either, as he later made numerous emendations to the second fair copy too. Luckily, Sibelius again used lead pencil when emending the fair copy written otherwise in ink; thus, the new layer in 1053 is also easily distinguished from the earlier layer written in ink.

The writing process visible in the two fair copies can be 'frozen' into three successive versions. The second fair copy (1053) is not a third version, but merely a reproduction of

³⁸⁹ For other works from the same period, see Section 4.2.1. From the same period there are also two choral works with piano accompaniment: their sources are very similar to the ones discussed here and the present analysis is applicable in case of those works too.

the version already visible in the sketched emendations of the earlier 1054. In the present study, the emendations (written in lead and added to the first fair copy) and the original reading (written in ink on the second fair copy) together constitute the second version of the work. Thus, the source chain and the ‘evolution’ of the work can be presented in the following table:



Both manuscripts described above have a two-fold function in the writing process. The first layer in ink is intended at the time of its writing to function as a fair copy. The emendations written in lead, however, nullify the manuscripts’ original functions; in neither of the manuscripts are the emendations mere corrections to the fair copy. Instead, the emendations are written in a sketch-like manner: the emended layer consists of writing that could perhaps best be described as a shorthand notation or as ‘notes-to-oneself’, annotations that are meaningful to the author, but not necessarily to anyone else. The sketch-like emendations written on the second fair copy (1053) are in all likelihood intended to function as a draft of the third fair copy – just like the emendations to the first fair copy function as a draft of the second fair copy. Since Sibelius never wrote the third fair copy, the source chain is peculiar: chronologically, the first extant source is a fair copy and the last is a draft.³⁹⁰

12.2 Remarks on the Compositional Process Visible in the Manuscript Sources

The first observation, when analysing the compositional process seen in the manuscripts of *Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar*, is the lack of any pre-fair copy manuscripts. Instead, even the earliest extant layer found in the sources was intended at the time of its writing as a fair copy. This naturally means that some sources are probably missing. It also means that the processes connected to generating the musical material remain hidden from view and that the compositional process at the focus of the case study could be perhaps best described as a set of revisions or refinements.

Although Sibelius made many changes to the music, the underlying structure of the work remained the same during the writing process visible in the three surviving versions. Sibelius composed the poem’s three strophes in a ternary form (ABA’), in which the outer sections are in the key of D major and the contrasting middle section in D minor. In the

³⁹⁰ Naturally, it is possible that Sibelius wrote the third fair copy and that it is lost. However, this is highly improbable. Reasons for this hypothesis are discussed in Section 12.4.

first version, the B section is longer; thus, the bar numbering of the A' section differs in the first version, in comparison with the second and the third versions.

All three sections have a strikingly similar underlying tonal structure. Firstly, each section begins on the subdominant chord (G/g) on the first downbeat, reaching the tonic (D/d) in the second bar of the section.³⁹¹ Secondly, each section emphasises the mediant III (F#/F). The mediant sonority is also present in the climax at the end of the work (the third to last bar). The most extensive alterations Sibelius made during the writing process concern the motion from and to the third scale degree. For example, in the first version the music of the B section comes to a stop at the F-major chord (in bar 19), which is then followed by an almost fanfare-like gesture, which leads the music to the dominant (bars 20–21; see Example 12.1). In the second version, the emphasis of F major (bar 16) is much more subtle; it is still somehow the turning point of the section, but in the second and third versions the music flows through the tonicisation of F major without interrupting the larger-scale movement towards the dominant.

Example 12.1. *The Ending of the B section.*

a) bars 16–21 of the first version.

snabb som lju - set fri - är du
 mer än bå - da fri är du Mer än bå - da fri
 lätt, som lju-set snabb och mer än mer än bå - da fri är du

b) bars 16–18 of the third version.

snabb som lju - set
 i lätt och lju-set snabb och mer än bå - da fri är du
 n lätt som

We can see a somewhat similar change in the outer sections too. In the first version, the music stops at the F# major chord (bars 4 and 25); the gesture in the male voices “*lätt och*

³⁹¹ The upbeats to the A sections represent the tonic in larger context, but they can also be interpreted as leading to the G-major chord. Particularly at the beginning, the G-major chord in bar 1 sounds like a tonic for a passing moment.

fri / glad och så” marks a strong – again almost fanfare-like – arrival at an F# major chord. In the second and the third versions, the male-voice gesture forms a bridge connecting the two four-bar phrases to one another more fluently. Reaching the mediant sonority was evidently a problematic task in the outer sections: Sibelius wrote several different alternatives during the writing process (discussed in detail in Section 12.3, see especially Example 12.2).

Another fascinating feature in the work’s writing process is the metrical shift occurring from the first to the second version of the B section. Strikingly, there are no upbeats in the first version of the B section; thus, both tonally and metrically it forms a strong contrast with the outer sections, in which practically all the phrases begin with an upbeat (the difference between the versions is also visible in Example 12.1). Interestingly, Sibelius made the metrical emendation in *1054* simply by crossing out the bar lines and rewriting them one beat earlier. A similar emendation is also made to the last phrase of the work. In the case of the last phrase, the emendation has led to the reading with excess beats in the bar. This is discussed below in more detail (Section 12.3, Detail 4).

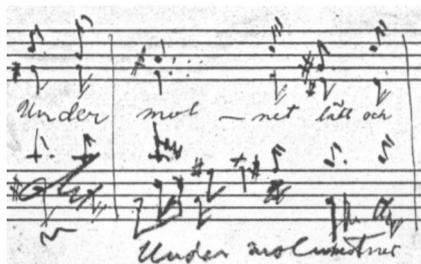
12.3 Problems of the Third Version

The third version proposes an intriguing conundrum: parts of it exist only as sketch-like emendations on the fair copy of the previous version. As stated in Section 12.1, the sketch-like emendations written on the second fair copy are in all likelihood intended to function as a draft of a third fair copy which Sibelius never wrote. Thus, the third version is chronologically the last version of the work, but there is no authoritative or ‘final’ text in the strict sense. In the following section, I will discuss four details as examples of the different questions raised by the sketch-like markings as the final reading.

Detail 1: Bar 3

The private nature of the emendations to *1053* becomes evident by studying the emendations to bar 3 (and the upbeat to it). As Example 12.2 shows, the appearance of the manuscript is far from the clarity one would expect of a standard fair copy.

Example 12.2. *Bar 3 in 1053. (The key is D major, i.e. two sharps are applied).*



Sibelius emended the original reading on the manuscript by crossing out and replacing the bass notes at the upbeat with a crotchet rest and sketching different variants for a new bass

line in bar 3.³⁹² I have been able to separate four different layers of bass lines on top of each other in bar 3. The bass lines are shown in Example 12.3 (a–d) in chronological order. The chronology of the first and last bass lines can be deduced with certainty, as the first bass line (a) is the only one written in ink and the last bass line (d) is written directly on the first one without any ‘middle steps’ (b and c) in the analogous bar 21.³⁹³ My hypothesis of the reciprocal order of the ‘middle steps’ is based on the placing of the notes and is not necessarily definitive.

Example 12.3. Bass lines in bar 3 in 1053.

a
b
c
d

[Un-der mol - net] mol-net Un-der mol-net Un-der mol-net Un - der mol-net

The private nature of the emendations does not affect only the neatness, but also the actual content of the writing. The most interesting detail in this respect is found at the upbeat to bar 3. With the added rest in the emended bass lines, the sonority at the upbeat becomes an open fifth ($C\#-G\#$) without the third of the chord ($E\#$) (see Example 12.2). The missing third is highly questionable: did Sibelius really intend the upbeat to be an open fifth, which as a sonority differs significantly from its surroundings? The question can be answered by studying the writing process as a whole from the first to the third versions.

The evolution of the upbeat is presented in Example 12.4, which shows that Sibelius actually returned to an earlier idea when writing the third version: in the first version, the male voices are silent at the upbeat. When Sibelius made emendations to the first version, he wrote $E\#$ for the basses and changed the altos to $G\#$ (see version 2 in Example 12.4). When Sibelius rewrote the crotchet rest for bass (version 3) he did not alter the alto line respectively.

In my interpretation, by crossing out the $E\#$ from the bass line Sibelius intended that the alto line should be changed as well. But when writing a private document not intended for other people’s eyes, he did not have to write out such obvious details: the purpose of the manuscript was not to instruct the performer in a performance or to serve as a *Stichvorlage* for an edition.³⁹⁴

³⁹² It is difficult to distinguish the layers from a black-and-white photocopy. The entire page is printed as *Facsimile VI* in Ylivuori 2012 (*JSW VII/1*).

³⁹³ In neither of the bars (3 and 21) has Sibelius written a triplet sign for the last reading.

³⁹⁴ For this reason, $E\#$ for the altos appears in square brackets in *JSW*. It should be noted that the work is laid out in *JSW* on four staves instead of two for the sake of the clarity – especially concerning the underlay.

Example 12.4. The evolution of the upbeat to bar 3.

Version 1	Version 2	Version 3 literally	Version 3 interpreted
 <p>Un - der mol - net</p>	 <p>Un - der mol - net</p>	 <p>Un - der mol - net</p>	 <p>Un - der mol - net</p>
 <p>Un - der mol -</p>		 <p>Un - der mol -</p>	 <p>Un - der mol -</p>

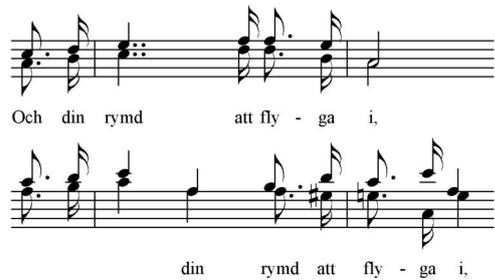
Detail 2: Bars 7–8

In bar 7, Sibelius has indicated changes to the rhythms in a way that is familiar from many of his other sketches from that period (see Example 12.5a). When writing a homophonic passage, in his earlier works Sibelius often wrote the exact rhythms for the soprano part only. For instance, *När sig våren åter föder*, dating from the same period, is written for the most part in this fashion. In bar 7, the emended rhythms are written for the soprano and bass parts. It is evident from the texture that the alto is to be changed as per the soprano part, and the tenor as per the bass part (see Example 12.5b), though this is not directly indicated.

Example 12.5. Bars 7–8

a) in HUL 1053.

b) in my interpretation.

The image shows a printed musical notation for two staves. The top staff has the lyrics 'Och din rymd att flyga i,' and the bottom staff has the lyrics 'din rymd att flyga i,'. The notation is clean and clear, representing the author's interpretation of the manuscript.

If the intention behind the pencilled markings in bar 7 is unambiguous, the same cannot be said about the markings in bar 8. It seems that Sibelius crossed out the male-voice gesture *flyga i*, but did not write down anything to replace the crossed-out passage. If we assume that Sibelius had an alternative in his mind, there are two options:

- 1) Sibelius initially crossed out the passage, but eventually decided not make any alterations.
- 2) Sibelius had an alternative reading already in mind but did not write it down.

Both options are present in the writing process of the second version, which is an interesting parallel, since both the draft and the fair copy exist. Sibelius acted according to option 1) in bar 9, where he indicated the tenor line to be changed (from d^l to b), but did not make the change in the fair copy after all. Option 2) is visible in the penultimate bar of the work, where Sibelius crossed out the last chord in the bar but wrote nothing to replace it. The replacement chord is not specified until the second fair copy.

Naturally, if we lose the basic assumption of an existing alternative, there is also a third option:

- 3) Sibelius had no actual alternative in his mind, and the lines have more general meaning; such as *bör omarbetas* (should be revised) found in Sibelius's handwriting in several instances. Many works marked by Sibelius with the words *bör omarbetas* were never revised.

All three options described above are as probable as the others. The actual meaning of the pencilled markings in bar 8 remains unknown to us due to the lack of sufficient information on the writing Sibelius intended to remain private.³⁹⁵

Detail 3: Bars 19–20

The second version of bars 19–20 and my interpretation of the intended emendation to it are presented in Example 12.6 together with a picture of the original manuscript. In bars 19–20, Sibelius has altered the melody.³⁹⁶ The reasons for the alteration are easily found; in the first two versions, the rhythm of the melody tempts singers towards false punctuation: *Är det gladt på jorden, hvila || Bland dess...* (If it is joyous on Earth, rest || among its...). In the third version, not only the rest at the end of bar 19 but also the dotted crotchet note at the beginning of bar 20 bind *hvila* into *Bland dess*, and the phrase structure of the music complies with the structure of the sentence in the poem (*Är det gladt på jorden, || hvila Bland dess...*).³⁹⁷

The problems in this passage do not concern the melody; Sibelius's intention is quite evident. Rather, it is the role of the other parts that raises the question. Besides the melody, Sibelius has indicated no changes in bar 19; does this mean that they are to remain as they are? The new melody fits the other parts, so such an interpretation is probable though not beyond doubt. But due to the lack of other evidence, I believe the lower parts are intended to remain as they are.³⁹⁸

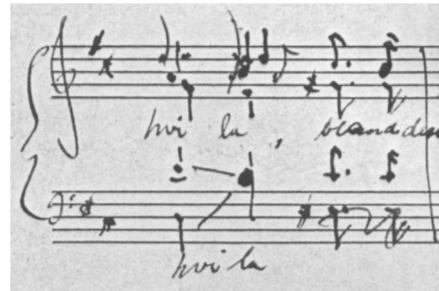
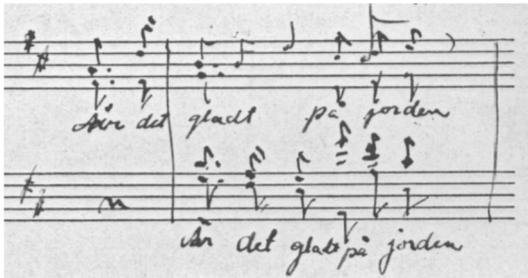
³⁹⁵ JSW follows the reading prior to the penciled markings (given in Example 12.5b), but the markings have been commented in the section *Critical Remarks*.

³⁹⁶ The reason why the second beat in bar 20 is so smudgy is that Sibelius first changed the D major chord to a B minor chord, then changed in back.

³⁹⁷ The bar numbering differs in the first version; the equivalent passage is found in bars 22–23 in the first version.

³⁹⁸ In JSW the lower parts in bar 19 follow the reading on the manuscript. The added bass note D derives from the analogous bar 2, in which Sibelius made the emendation in question.

Example 12.6. Bars 19–20 of the third version.
 a) on 1053 (there is a system break between the bars).



b) reading in ink (second version).



c) my interpretation of the pencilled marks.



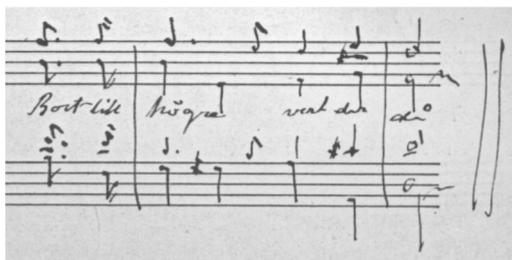
Detail 4: Bar 27

The penultimate bar of the work is strange in all three versions. In each case, there are excess beats in the bar, but Sibelius has indicated no change in the time signature, and 3/4 seemingly prevails until the end. This matter has apparently raised some questions in past; the work has been recorded twice, and in both recordings the rhythms of the bar have been changed as presented in Example 12.7b. In my interpretation, it is important to note that the excessive beats are not a result of an emendation, but a recurrent feature of the passage; for this reason they are probably not a result of an oversight. It is highly dubious, therefore, to assume that the rhythms should be emended to fit the prevailing time signature.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁹ In JSW, the rhythms have not been changed, but the change in time signature has been indicated in square brackets.

Example 12.7. Bar 27.

a) on 1053



b) as it appears in the recordings.



12.4 Conclusions

Based on all that is stated above, the question arises: why did Sibelius not write out the third fair copy? Bearing in mind that the work dates from Sibelius's studying period, a natural answer presents itself: Sibelius did not compose the work with the goal of publication, and therefore there was no need for a detailed fair copy. In my interpretation, this also means that there is a crucial distinction to be made: though the writing process does not end at the detailed fair copy, but in a sketch-like writing, this does not necessarily mean that the work itself was necessarily left unfinished. Instead, it seems that once the problematic details – perhaps pointed out by a teacher – were solved satisfactorily, the work was then considered complete. In fact, the lack of an authoritative *Notentext* of the 'final' version is a highly typical situation in Sibelius's early output; it seems that most of his early works were left in this condition without a final fair copy.

Identifying the emendations correctly as private writing plays a significant role in interpreting the sources of Sibelius's early works. For example, in Kilpeläinen's catalogue *1053* has been categorised as a fair copy and not, for example, as a draft or a fair copy containing sketch-like emendations.⁴⁰⁰ Reading the manuscript as a fair copy (in Reiman's terms, as a public document) has led to some interesting interpretations in past: in both of the above-mentioned recordings, an open fifth is heard at the upbeat to bar 3. Although the recordings follow the autograph reading in this one detail, one can argue that they do not present the work as intended by the composer. As I see it, the open fifth is the direct result of reading the manuscript incorrectly as a fair copy (i.e. as a public document) and not as a private document. However, since the third fair copy does not exist, many problematic details (such as the upbeat to bar 3) remain without a definitive solution and are ideal subjects for further debate.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰⁰ Kilpeläinen 1991, 287. Naturally, Kilpeläinen is correct in a way, as the first layer in the manuscript was, in fact, a fair copy.

⁴⁰¹ Similar detail is also presented in Section 6.1.2.

13 The Creative Process of *Ej med klagan*

Sibelius composed *Ej med klagan* for the funeral of his friend, Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), who was one of the most renowned painters in Finland. The funeral became a large-scale event, the ceremonies lasting all day.⁴⁰² Sibelius's work *Ej med klagan* was premiered at the funeral held in Nikolai Church with Sibelius himself conducting the mixed choir.

The study of the manuscripts of *Ej med klagan* reveals an interesting and surprisingly complicated history. The study shows that the first plans for the work were not, in fact, for mixed voices, but for an all-male choir. Further, Sibelius's plans to write the work for male choir were not only sketchy, preliminary ideas abandoned at an early stage. Instead, in the source chain one can see a process from sketches to a detailed fair copy of a male-choir work almost ready for performance. Thus, the study brought to light a completely new version of the work.⁴⁰³ But my study also showed that the evolution of the work did not end at its publication; Sibelius subsequently returned to the material of *Ej med klagan* on at least two separate occasions. Just as is the case with the beginning of the story, the later part of it has not been made public before either. In the following, I will describe and analyse the evolution of the work *Ej med klagan* based on autograph as well as published sources.

13.1 Sources from Sketching to Publication

There are eight autograph manuscripts for *Ej med klagan* which have survived to the present day (see Example 13.1). These manuscripts can be dated very accurately. Since Albert Edelfelt died unexpectedly of a heart attack on 18 August 1905, and since the first edition of the work was prepared for the funeral that took place on 24 August, we can assume that the entire writing process presented in Example 13.1 took place within those six days. In addition, there is a letter sent by Sibelius to his patron Axel Carpelan, dated 20 August, in which he writes: "I am currently writing something for Edelfelt's funeral. I

⁴⁰² *Hufvudstadsbladet* published a detailed description of the funeral ceremonies both on 25th and 26th August 1905. The ceremonies started in the morning in Haikko (some 50 kilometres west of Helsinki), where the painter's studio was situated. From Haikko the coffin was carried to Helsinki by steamboat. Most buildings in the city centre and all the ships in the harbour – as well as at the yacht club nearby – greeted the arriving steamboat with their flags at half-mast. The shops were closed, but some of them had decorated their display windows with pictures of (or by) the deceased painter. Kauppatori, where the boat came ashore, was full of people following the ceremony on the deck of the ship and the subsequent procession from Kauppatori to Nikolai Church. After the ceremonies at Nikolai Church, the procession continued to Hietaniemi cemetery, where Edelfelt was buried.

⁴⁰³ The male-choir version was premiered in May 2008 by the chamber choir *Audite* (conducted by Jani Sivén). *Tawaststjerna* 1971 erroneously prints an arrangement by Nils-Eric Fougstedt as an example.

cannot describe how much I miss him. Life is short!!”⁴⁰⁴ Based on the letter, 20 August is the probable date of the composition.

Since the work was composed only a few days before the funeral, there was no time to produce a proper typeset edition. Instead, the work was published as a printed photograph of the composer’s autograph manuscript. Thus, the first edition is something of a facsimile edition. The publication of the work as a facsimile edition characterises the source chain, since the fair copy had to be unusually ‘fair’. That was obviously not an easy task; of the eight surviving manuscripts three are incomplete fair copies. The reason for their incomplete state is that they include a writing error or an emendation that would normally have been altered by scraping off or just by writing over it. But, when making a facsimile edition, such alterations were not an option; instead, each time the writing process had to be restarted from the beginning.⁴⁰⁵

Example 13.1. Autograph Sources.

for male choir-----								
HUL 1027	->	HUL 1025	->	HUL 1023/2	->	HUL 1024		
draft		a complete draft		an incomplete fair copy		a fair copy		
for mixed choir-----								
HUL 1026	->	HUL 1023	->	HUL 0209	->	Sib.Mus.	->	1st edition
new draft		a fair copy and a draft combined		an incomplete fair copy		the final fair copy at SibMus		facsimile of SibMus

The fair copy of the male-choir version (*HUL 1024*, presented in Example 13.2) contains one peculiar feature; namely, there is no underlay in the manuscript. It may seem odd that I call a manuscript without any underlay a fair copy, but it becomes understandable, when one compares the male-choir fair copy to the photograph of the final fair copy, which was published as the first edition at the funeral (presented as Example 13.3). As we can see in Example 13.3, the underlay in the final fair copy is written, not by the composer, but in the beautiful handwriting of Aino Sibelius. Thus, the manuscript of Example 13.2 was in all likelihood intended as a fair copy, but before it was given the final touches by Aino Sibelius, the composer decided to abandon the male-choir version and make a new one –

⁴⁰⁴ “Håller som bäst på att skriva någonting till Edelfelts begrafning. Jag kan ej säga huru jag saknar honom. Lifvet är kort!!” *The correspondence between Sibelius and Carpelan is published in Dahlström 2010.*

⁴⁰⁵ *In addition to the surviving manuscript papers, there may have been more such uncompleted attempts that were directly discarded. E.g. HUL 0209 has survived, since Sibelius used the paper later for other purposes.*

this time for mixed choir.⁴⁰⁶ It is also worth noting that the layout of the fair copy of the male-choir version is similar to the layout in the final fair copy.

*Example 13.2. The fair copy of the male-choir version.*⁴⁰⁷



⁴⁰⁶ The lack of underlay in the manuscripts of the male-choir version is probably the reason why it has been left unidentified by previous scholars. The manuscript papers of the male-choir version were never missing, but they were misidentified.

⁴⁰⁷ Empty staves have been excluded from the example (also in Example 13.3).

Example 13.3. The first edition of the mixed-choir version (the fair copy facsimiled).

19 $\frac{24}{VIII}$ 05.

Jean Sibelius.

(Brecht)

Sopran
Alt.

by med kla-gan skall ditt min-ne fi-ras, by med

Tenor
Bas

ej lilt

kla-gan skall ditt min-ne fi-ras, ej lilt den som går och snart skall glöm-mas;

den som går och snart skall glöm-mas;

sa skall fo-ster-lan-det dig be-grä-ta, som en

di skall lan-det dig be-grä-ta, (mf)

af-ten grä-ta depp om som man, full af

gläd-je, ljus och lugn och sän-ga och med

fam-nen skickel med mir-gon rod-man.

Crescendo molto

Crescendo molto

13.2 On Differences Between the Two Versions

The music of the male-choir version is characterised by a sense of direction towards stability. The fundamental voice-leading structure (presented as Example 13.4a and b) is based on an auxiliary cadence in which the tonic of the work, the stable C major chord, is

reached only in the final chord. The sense of instability seems especially prominent at the beginning, and it is underlined by two factors: firstly, bars 1–7 prolong a $\frac{6}{4}$ chord, which is by its very nature unstable, and secondly, the chromatic harmonies obscure the prevailing A Dorian mode in the first six bars.

The unstable A minor $\frac{6}{4}$ chord resolves to a C major $\frac{6}{3}$ chord in bar 8. After the resolution of the $\frac{6}{4}$ chord, the work turns in a whole new direction, leaving the A Dorian world behind and starting a journey towards a new tonal centre. At the shift of the tonal centre the texture too changes drastically. In the first eight bars the texture is based around the outer voices moving in parallel octaves. This pattern is broken in bars 9 and 10 by the ultimate counter-motion – a voice exchange. Also, the chromaticism in the opening texture of the work eventually gives way to more diatonic progressions.

Yet another important feature in the drama of the male-choir work is the way in which it reaches its final cadence by avoiding any sense of firm closure. Although structurally the descending line is the primary one, from the point of view of drama the ascending line reaching g^1 at the final cadence seems to be of at least equal if not more importance. It brings the drama that began in the highly unstable A Dorian world to a conclusion on a stable yet open-ended tonic (Example 13.4c).

Example 13.4. *Voice-leading structure of the male-choir version.*

a) *Background.*

b) *Middleground.*

c) *The upper voice.*

The transformation of the work from the male-choir version to the mixed-choir version as it was eventually published is fascinating. The two versions have a lot of musical material in common: the melody in bars 1–6, the voice-exchange passage in bars 9–10, and the closing gesture in the last two bars. In addition, they both make use of a three-part texture at the beginning: in both versions there are two parts moving in parallel octaves. Although the versions are based on much the same material, they still come across as two different works. The fundamental difference between the versions becomes evident when we compare middleground structures (see Example 13.5). In the mixed-choir version there is no striving towards stability, as was the case in the male-choir version, which was based on the auxiliary cadence. Instead, the mixed-choir version begins on a stable A major tonic, and in that same tonic it also ends. The dramatic effect of the two versions could hardly be more different.

Example 13.5. Voice-Leading Structure of the Mixed-Choir Version.



Although the transformation of the first phrase from the Dorian male-choir version to the major-mode mixed-choir version contains several intriguing features, I will focus on only one detail: namely, the harmonisation of the upbeat. The upbeat, which is harmonised with a $\frac{6}{4}$ chord in the male-choir version, is harmonised with a tonic in the root position in the mixed-choir version. From the manuscripts it can be deduced that Sibelius originally planned to begin the mixed-choir version with a $\frac{6}{4}$ chord too. Apparently the decision to change the beginning was made at the last possible moment. In all the manuscripts for mixed-choir, there are two *e*'s – instead of *a-g#* – for basses the on the upbeat. The *e*'s are even visible in the final fair copy, which was photographed and published as the first edition. Sibelius did his best in trying to alter the bass line by scraping the *e*'s off with a sharp tool. This was, however, unsuccessful, since the ink had been absorbed so deep into the paper that any further scraping would have created a hole in the paper – there is almost a hole in the extant manuscript, but the ink is still clearly visible (see Example 13.6). However, the *e*'s are not visible in the published facsimile picture (Example 13.3). Thus, a confusing fact remains: the photograph and its object are not identical; the photograph was retouched at the negative stage.

This last-minute change to the upbeat is especially interesting, since it alters the tonal structure of the first bar. In the published version, the work seems to 'land' on the D major chord in the beginning of bar 1, which is then prolonged through the first bar. Thus, bars 1–2 form a plagal I–IV–I structure. In the version in the manuscripts, the structural weight of the subdominant chord is significantly weakened; with the $\frac{6}{4}$ beginning, the first bar

seems to prolong the $\frac{6}{4}$ chord for its duration through neighbouring motion and the first beat of bar 1 is left with no structural weight.

Example 13.6. The upbeat in the fair copy.



The transformation process features many other similarly interesting small details. But the most interesting feature in the process concerns the text; the male-choir and the mixed-choir versions use the text very differently. The text Sibelius chose for the work consists of the six last lines of Johan Ludvig Runeberg's (1804–1877) epic poem *Molnets broder*. In the poem, these lines are spoken by a young girl and the words are addressed to a fallen hero. The six last lines, composed by Sibelius, consist of a single sentence, divided into two clauses, forming a structure that could be described as *not – but rather*. In the first clause – represented in bars 1–6 – it is stated that the memory of a hero should not be honoured with lamentations, as we lament those people who are soon to be forgotten. In the second clause – starting from bar 7 – the text says that, instead, we should mourn the death of a hero “as the evening mourns the summer morning’s mist,” which means “facing the sunrise full of joy, light, tranquillity, and songs”. In other words, in the second clause the poem takes a transcendental turn typical of Runeberg’s poetry: it associates the ideal of mourning with a natural phenomenon. In Runeberg’s aesthetics, the natural world is a representation of divine laws and power.⁴⁰⁸ For Runeberg, who was a passionate anti-Hegelian and promoter of Christian values, death meant an awakening into real reality. Death is seen as the beginning of actual life, which in the poem is represented by the sunrise, the new morning.

It seems that in the version for male choir the music takes the hero’s point of view: the drama of the music goes through a transition from the utmost grief and instability to the joyous and celestial stability of the conclusion. It is not difficult to draw a parallel between the drama of the music and the poem’s idea of the hero’s death and his awakening to a celestial life. It is worth noting that the change in texture and in the tonal centre of the music occurs at the beginning of the second clause in the poem, where the *not* part is changed to the *but rather* part. Thus, the connection of music and text is almost literal. In the version for mixed choir it seems that the music assumes the speaker’s point of view: the grief is not underlined at the beginning, just as the young girl reciting the words tells

⁴⁰⁸ For Runeberg’s aesthetics and aesthetic discussion in Finland during Runeberg’s time, see Kinnunen 1967 (in Finnish).

us: *ej med klagan* (not with lamentations). It is interesting that when Sibelius composed for male choir, the music seemed to take the male character's perspective, but when the melody was sung by the sopranos, Sibelius composed from the female character's point of view.

13.3 Later Sources

The evolution of *Ej med klagan* did not end with the publication of the mixed-choir version at the funeral, but the work seemed to puzzle Sibelius for years afterwards. In his own copy of the first edition (the so-called *Handexemplar*), Sibelius altered bars 6–8. The new reading after the alteration is shown in Example 13.7 (cf. the reading before the alteration in Example 13.3). It is interesting how this alteration affects the voice-leading structure of the phrase. In the published version, locally the most important top-voice pitch in the voice-leading structure of bars 6–8 is e^2 . In the version of the *Handexemplar*, however, the local focus stays on $c\#^2$.

Example 13.7. Emendation of bars 6–8 in the Handexemplar.



The alteration Sibelius made in the *Handexemplar* can also be seen affecting the work's overall drama (see Example 13.8). In the version of the facsimile edition, there is an associative connection between the e^2 in bar 8 and the e^2 of the final cadence in bars 16–17. In the version of the *Handexemplar* this connection does not exist, as the structural weight in bars 6–8 is not on e^2 but on $c\#^2$. One may think that the sense of 'reaching' e^2 at the end becomes much more effective when it is not structurally anticipated in bar 8.

Example 13.8. Voice-leading structure after the emendation in the Handexemplar.



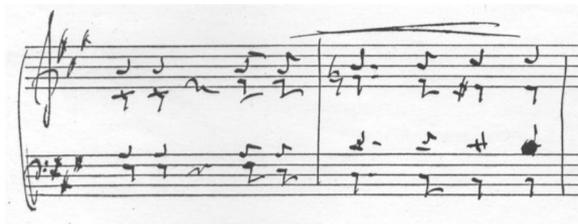
The version in the *Handexemplar* was never published; instead, in all published editions bars 6–8 follow the reading of the first edition. After the first edition, the work was printed three times in Finland during Sibelius’s lifetime; thus, Sibelius would have had plenty of opportunities to publish the revised version of the phrase. This makes the role of the *Handexemplar* in the source chain highly problematic: should the *Handexemplar* version be considered the final version? Or was it just an idea written down but later rejected by the composer? The latter option seems highly improbable considering the amount of effort that went into making the new version in the *Handexemplar*. As is seen in Example 13.7 above, the new phrase in bars 6–8 is not something hastily written over the old notes, but it is written on a set of new staves cut off from a different sheet, then carefully glued into place. In addition, the text in the new phrase was also written by Aino Sibelius so that the *Handexemplar* is consistent in appearance, even after the emendation. Furthermore, there is a copy of the altered version among Sibelius’s possessions, made by an unknown hand.⁴⁰⁹ It is difficult to see the reason for all the effort, if it was not intended to be published – and yet it has remained unpublished until now. It was printed as an *ossia* reading in a footnote of the critical edition (JSW VII/1).

The second edition, dating a few years after the funeral, complicates the concept of the ‘final’ version even more. It includes a small deviation from the first edition sung at the funeral: in bar 14 the last note for the bass is *e* instead of *f*[#] (see Example 13.9). This alteration is of special interest, since the passing note *e* is present in all drafts, but not in the final fair copy, where for some reason the passing-note idea was abandoned. Thus, the question arises: how has the reading in the extant drafts seemingly skipped over the fair copy (and the subsequent facsimile edition) to the edition dating a few years later? To me it seems highly unlikely that the editor of the typeset edition, Thérèse Hahl, would have made such an alteration by herself, coincidentally ending up with a reading of the early manuscripts. Instead, it seems more likely that when Sibelius gave permission to include the work in the choral collection, he asked her to alter the bass line. Some of the correspondence between Hahl and Sibelius has been preserved at the archives of the National Library of Finland and at Svenska Litteratur Sällskapet i Finland. There is, however, no mention of the work in question, and the source for the differing reading in the typeset editions remains a missing link in the source chain (marked x in Example 13.10). Naturally, since Sibelius and Hahl knew each other personally, the information may have been passed on orally and written down in the typesetter’s copy by Hahl herself. In any case, all subsequent editions (6 in total to the present day) follow the passing-note reading of bar 14.

⁴⁰⁹ The copy by the unknown hand is currently held at the NL.

Example 13.9. Detail in bar 14.

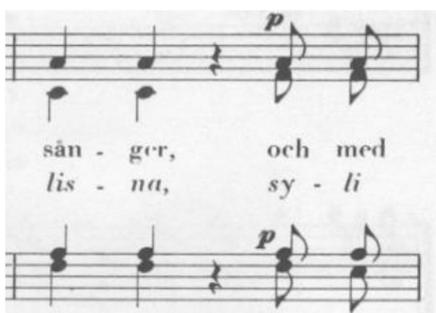
a) sketch (bars 14 and 15).



b) fair copy.



c) reading in editions after the second edition (example from the edition of 1966).

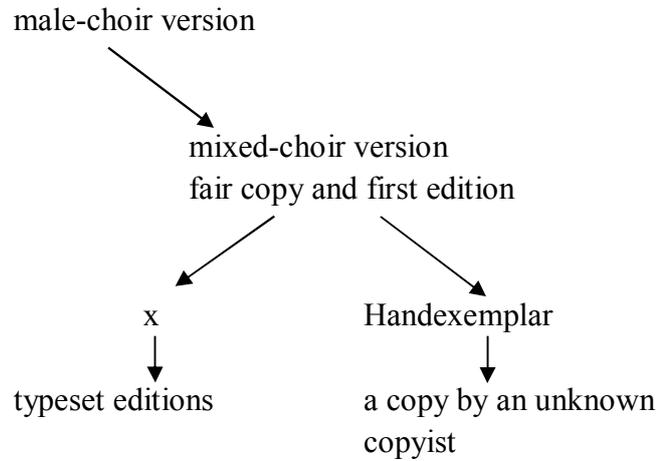


None of the sources contain both changes; neither the *Handexemplar* nor the unknown copyist's copy of it include the passing-note reading of bar 14. Then again, the typeset editions do not contain the altered bars 6–8 of the *Handexemplar*. This means that after the first edition the source chain diverges into two different branches, both of which can justly be seen as 'authorised' (see Example 13.10).

There is still one source that has yet to be mentioned. There is a manuscript in the National Library of Finland in which the material of *Ej med klagan* appears in orchestrated form.⁴¹⁰ The music in the manuscript is clearly extracted from a larger work and the manuscript paper is clearly extracted from a bigger pile of papers – the pages are numbered 32–35. Unfortunately the orchestral work, from which the material of *Ej med klagan* was taken, cannot be deduced based on any of the surviving sources. All that can be concluded is that Sibelius intended to use the material of *Ej med klagan* in some later orchestral work, but then rejected the idea. Interestingly, the orchestration follows the version of the *Handexemplar*, and not that of the published version.

⁴¹⁰ *Signum 1313*.

Example 13.10. The Source Chain.



By way of conclusion I can state that the manuscript study of *Ej med klagan* reveals an interesting story, in which the relations between the different versions are surprisingly complicated. For instance, the relationship between the male-choir version and the mixed-choir version is very different from the standard relation between the *original version* and the *arrangement*, and yet these versions cannot be considered independent compositions. In a way, the present study's term 'parallel version' seems, in fact, to describe their relation most accurately: they are two sides of the same musical material, but the versions maintain a highly independent identity. In other words, the male-choir version was the first step in the compositional process, and the mixed-choir version the second step. And as both the *Handexemplar* and the orchestration of the work demonstrate, Sibelius also planned to take a third and perhaps a fourth step as well. The question of why these steps were never realised remains unanswered, and the story of *Ej med klagan* has no definitive ending.

14 How *Tulen synty* Became *Rakastava*⁴¹¹

The choral works discussed in the present study do not form perhaps the most typical kind of creative process in Sibelius's oeuvre. Instead, Sibelius's typical sketching processes could be described as networks, in which the origins of different works are intertwined with each other. Namely, a typical feature of Sibelius's creative process is that material originally planned for a specific work eventually ends up in another work.⁴¹² Before finding its final resting place, material may have been tried out in several different contexts. Furthermore, some musical material was not intended for a specific purpose at the time of its writing, but some sketches were possibly ideas written down for later use without a specific work in mind. As Kari Kilpeläinen has remarked, this special feature of Sibelius's writing process is probably the reason why so many sketches have survived: Sibelius did not dispose of his old sketches as he assumed – or knew – that he would need them later.⁴¹³

One intriguing network of sketches dates from the 1890s. The network has two centres: *Rakastava* and *Tulen synty*⁴¹⁴. Based on manuscript sources, it seems that Sibelius planned to compose *Tulen synty* (the 47th poem of the *Kalevala*) twice during the first half of the 1890s. Although neither attempt resulted in a work called *Tulen synty*, the processes were not unfruitful. Most of the material sketched in these processes ended up in other works. *Tulen synty* confirms the proverb about the third time; Sibelius returned to the same poem a decade later in 1902, and this time he finally managed to complete the composition called *Tulen synty*. This finalised composition, today known as Opus 32, does not contain any musical material from the sketches of the early 1890s, thus it is a creative process entirely of its own. Furthermore, it must be noted that, in the present chapter, *Tulen synty* does not refer to the work of Opus 32 but to the attempts of the 1890s.⁴¹⁵

The second centre of the network is *Rakastava*, originally a three-movement male-choir work, which Sibelius submitted to a composition competition organised by the male choir Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat in the spring of 1894.⁴¹⁶ Based on surviving manuscript

⁴¹¹ The present Chapter is based on Ylivuori 2011b (in Finnish).

⁴¹² For Sibelius's creative process, see e.g. Kilpeläinen (1992, 1996, 1998), Tiilikainen (1998, 2003), and Virtanen (1999, 2005, 2011). In addition, Sibelius's creative process with regard to individual works is described in the Introduction of each JSW volume.

⁴¹³ Kilpeläinen 1992, 151. In addition, Sibelius implied this kind of method in a comment to his composition student Bengt von Törne: "Be careful not to be spendthrift with the themes and musical ideas of your youth. They are the richest and best you will ever invent, and even if you cannot give them at once their definite shape, they will later on form the basis of some of your happiest conceptions." Cited in Goss 1996, 222.

⁴¹⁴ *Tulen synty* is commonly translated as 'The Origin of Fire'. In the English translation of the *Kalevala*, the poem is entitled 'Fire from Heaven' (Bosley 1989).

⁴¹⁵ Sibelius later revised the premiered version of *Tulen synty* in 1910.

⁴¹⁶ Sibelius later wrote three other versions of *Rakastava*: for male choir with string orchestra accompaniment (JS 160b), for mixed choir a cappella (JS 160c), and for string orchestra and percussion (Op. 14). *Rakastava* has been analysed by Hyökki (2003, from the stand point of melodic rhythms) and Hallikainen (2006, from the stand point of text/music relation). The manuscripts of *Rakastava* have not been studied before.

sources, it seems that almost the entirety of the melodic material in *Rakastava* was already in existence before Sibelius decided to enter the male choir's competition. In other words, the musical material of *Rakastava* appears in the sketches for other purposes; for example, the first movement is based on the sketches of the first attempt at writing *Tulen synty*.

Thus, *Rakastava* and *Tulen synty* have contrasting roles within the network: *Tulen synty* remained incomplete in the 1890s, but its sketches functioned as sources for many other projects, whereas Sibelius did not sketch new musical material for *Rakastava*, but constructed it from the ideas already in existence. The present chapter describes the sources of these two works. I will first describe the sources for the two attempts at *Tulen synty* (Section 14.1). Thereafter I will describe the process of transformation from *Tulen synty* to *Rakastava* (Section 14.2). Finally, I will describe the sources for *Rakastava* that are not connected to *Tulen synty* (Section 14.3). Some special problems connected to the study of the network are discussed in Section 14.4.

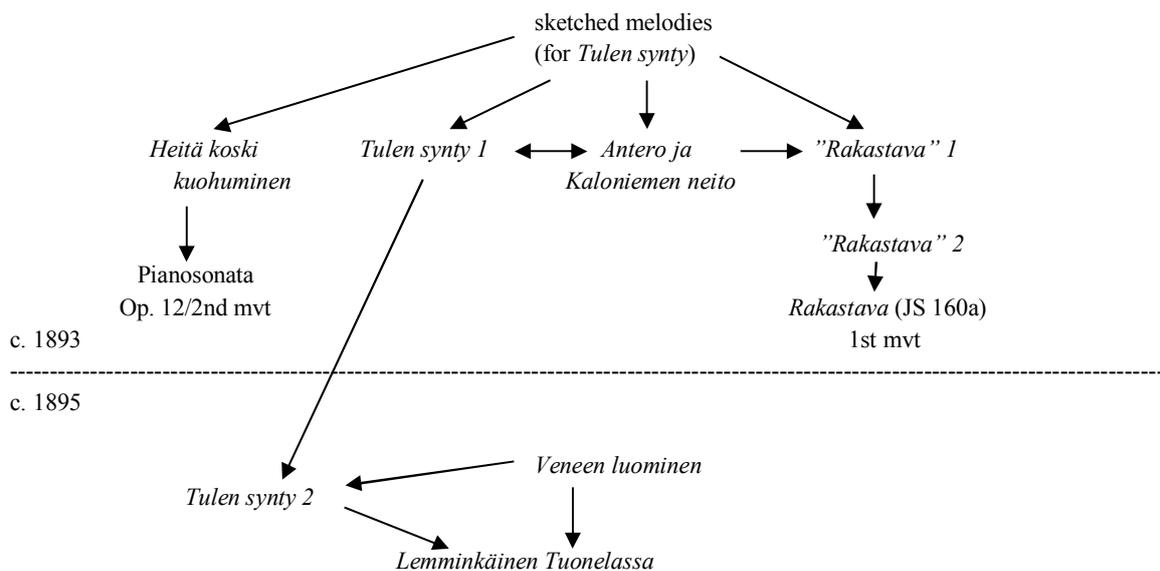
14.1 The Sketches for the Two Attempts at *Tulen synty*

The exact dating of sketches is often a difficult task, but in the case of *Tulen synty*, the fact that the material finally ended up in published works provides some parameters to aid in the dating process. Example 14.1 illustrates how the material originally sketched for *Tulen synty* appeared later in other works. Since the male-choir work *Rakastava* (JS 160a) was completed somewhere near the end of 1893 and the pianosonata (Op. 12) was published earlier in 1893, the first attempt at *Tulen synty* must have taken place in 1893, at the latest.

Based on the handwriting, the second attempt is not from the same year as the first attempt. The connections of the sketched material to the orchestral work *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa* and the incomplete opera *Veneen luominen* verifies this deduction. Since Sibelius used some of the material originally intended for the opera in his second attempt, it is probable that the composer had already discarded the opera project by this point. Similarly, since some of the material of the second attempt appears reused in *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*, the second attempt must precede it. The last remarks by Sibelius that he was composing an opera are from correspondence from the late summer of 1894. The first version of *Lemminkäinen tuonelassa* was premiered in April 1896. Based on these dates, I would state that the second attempt at *Tulen synty* dates from 1895.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁷ According to Kilpeläinen 1992, 122, all the sketches for *Tulen synty* are from 1893 or 1894; Kilpeläinen has based his dating on the handwriting and the type of paper used. For the connections between *Veneen luominen* and *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*, see Wicklund (Introduction to JSW I/12a), Wicklund (2012), and Tawaststjerna (1967).

Example 14.1. Material sketched for *Tulen synty* appearing in other works.⁴¹⁸



The earliest melodic sketches for *Tulen synty* appear on two folios: 0980 and 0981. On the first page of folio 0980, Sibelius wrote melodies at a fast pace: the rhythms of the melodies are indicated only roughly; no barlines are drawn; there are no clefs or key signatures; and no harmonies have been indicated. The process visible in the sketch could be described as a ‘stream of consciousness written down’: the ideas appear repeated multiple times with small adjustments. The first page of 0980 is almost full of this kind of writing. For the present study, the most important ideas are found on staves 5–7, where four melodic ideas finally developed in different directions appear in a small space. For each idea, this is the first appearance in the sketches, but they are still clearly recognisable (see Example 14.2).

Example 14.2. Sketch 0980, page [1], staves 5–7.⁴¹⁹



⁴¹⁸ The signums of the sketches at the National Library of Finland: *Tulen synty 1*: 0980 (incl. the melodic sketches), 0981; *Heitä koski kuohuminen*: 0689/2; *Antero ja Kaloniemen neito*: 0981/2; “*Rakastava 1*”: 0981/2; “*Rakastava 2*”: 1041; *Tulen synty 2*: 0979; *Veneen luominen*: 0116/4.

⁴¹⁹ Comments concerning the transcription of the examples are gathered at Appendix IV.

Two of the ideas appear here very close to their final form. The melody that ended up in the first movement of *Rakastava* (e.g. bars 9–12) is at the end of stave 6; and on stave 7 we see the melody that is currently known as the theme from the slow movement of the Piano Sonata. Before it was placed in the Piano Sonata, Sibelius used the melody as the opening phrase of the male-choir work *Heitä koski kuohuminen*, which, however, remained incomplete.⁴²⁰ It is fascinating how naturally the two ideas known from two different works are linked to one another in the sketch. On stave 5, there are two melodies in their early form. The beginning of the stave evolves through several stages into the melody of the first movement of *Rakastava*. I will return to this idea in Section 14.2 and will now concentrate on the process that originates in the latter half of stave 5.

At the end of stave 5 and the beginning of stave 6, there is a good example (however, in miniature scale) of the typical process visible in Sibelius's manuscripts that I have previously called a 'stream of consciousness written down'. On stave 6 Sibelius immediately rewrote the idea present at the end of stave 5, but this time in a rhythmically more structured form. On the other side of the folio, Sibelius sketched from this material a phrase with an ABA structure. This time, he also sketched the harmonies as well (see Example 14.3). The melody is characterised by the modally altered scale degrees $\hat{3}$ and $\hat{6}$, which Sibelius apparently did consciously: above the sketch, Sibelius wrote a note to himself: *fiss ciss obs* (note $F\#$ [and] $C\#$). The phrase transcribed in Example 14.3 is followed by a short instrumental passage; however, the only direct indication of the intended instrumentation is the word *trumpett* written above the sketch in Sibelius's hand (not visible in Example 14.3).

The sketches for the first attempt at *Tulen synty* are overall very fragmentary, and it is impossible to construct a general image of what kind of work Sibelius was creating. For example, the only reference to the orchestration is the single word *trumpett* in the sketch 0980. Even the question of whether the vocal part is intended for a solo singer or a choir remains unanswered.

Although the sketches chosen as Examples 14.2 and 14.3 are without texts, the musical material already appears in the earliest sketch (0980) with text. One noteworthy feature of the text is that Sibelius used poem's lines 42–55 in his sketches, whereas the completed and published composition from 1902 covers a significantly larger portion of the poem: namely lines 21–55. In my opinion, line 42 is a highly improbable first line, because if that were the case the story would not have any real beginning; moreover the very origins of fire (*tulen iskentä*) would not be included in the work. Therefore, I find it probable that some of the sketches intended for the first attempt at *Tulen synty* are currently missing or some of the sketches without texts were intended as the beginning of the work. In fact, some textless melodic ideas appear only once in the sketches, which may be interpreted in at least two ways: either Sibelius discarded the idea and it has therefore not been developed further, or the exact opposite is true: the melodic idea was found to be usable and left for some later use which then never occurred. However, based on surviving sources, it cannot be stated whether some of the textless ideas were, in fact, intended as the beginning of the work.

⁴²⁰ The incomplete male-choir work (JS 94) was published in 1960, completed by Erik Bergman.

Example 14.3. Tulen synty 1, the first harmonic sketches, 0980, page [2], staves 3–5.

The sketches for the second attempt at *Tulen synty* are just as fragmentary as the sketches for the first attempt. In this second attempt Sibelius used lines 34–57 of the original poem. Although the excerpt is shorter than in the published version, this time it would at least produce a meaningful and complete story. One interesting difference to the published version is that the excerpt chosen for the second attempt does not emphasise the darkness before the invention of fire; rather it begins directly from the appearance of fire: *Tulta iski ilman ukko / valahutti valkeata* (He struck fire, the sky's Old Man / and he flashed forth flame).⁴²¹ In the published version of 1902, the passage describing the darkness is rather long in relation to the work's total duration; the idea of moving 'from darkness to light' probably carried patriotic and political connotations in 1902, since at that time Finland was still struggling under Russian rule.

The surviving sketches for the second attempt are based almost entirely on two melodic ideas, both of which eventually ended up in the orchestral work *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa* (see Example 14.4). Sibelius did not originally create the melody in Example 14.4a for *Tulen synty*, but it appears for the first time in a sketch for the opera *Veneen luominen*. In its first appearance (0116, page [4]), the melody was probably intended for the opera's third act, since Sibelius has indicated the melody with the name *Tuonen Tytti* (sic). *Tuonen Tytti* (Maid of the Underworld) is one of the figures in the opera's third act, which takes place in *Manala* (the underworld of Finnish mythology).⁴²² *Tuonen Tytti*'s melody appears in the sketches for *Tulen synty* several times with many different texts; in Example 14.4a, I have chosen its earliest appearance in the context of *Tulen synty*.

For the other melody of *Tulen synty* (see Example 14.4b), I have not found any earlier history, thus it is possible that it was composed specifically for *Tulen synty*. The melody is first written out without text (as it appears in the example), after which it appears with the poem's line in which a maiden sings a lullaby for fire (*neiti tuuittelee tulta*). Sibelius's use

⁴²¹ Translation in Bosley 1989, 615.

⁴²² The chronologically latest version of the opera's libretto was found by Markku Hartikainen in 1998. It has been published in its entirety (Sirén 2000, 673–676). The extant musical excerpts for the opera are very fragmentary.

of the melody as a lullaby in *Tulen synty* is interesting, since in *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa* the same melody has often been interpreted as a mother’s lullaby to her dead son.

Example 14.4. *The melodies of the second attempt at Tulen synty.*

a) *Tulen synty 2 (0979, page [1], staff 1).*

Tul - ta is - ki il - man uk - ko va - la - hut - ti val - ki - a - ta mie - kal - la tu - li - te - räl - lä säi - läl - lä sä - ke - ne - väl - lä.

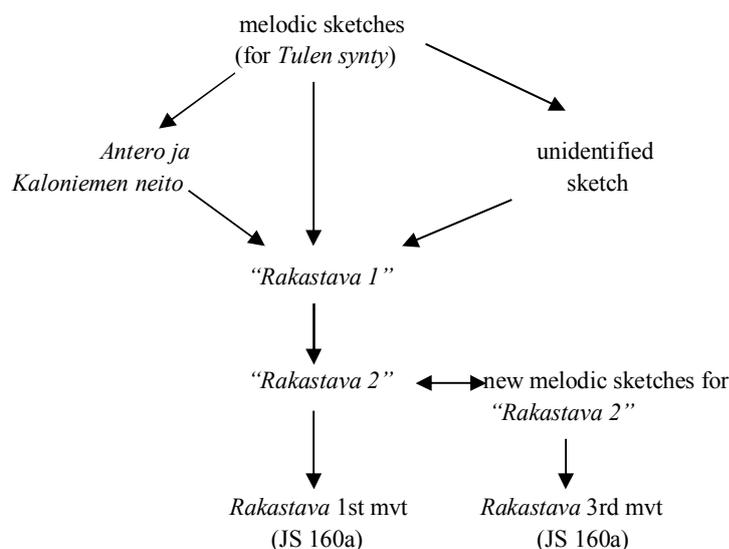
b) *Tulen synty 2 (0979 page [1], staff 5).*

14.2 From Tulen synty to Rakastava

The musical material originally sketched for *Tulen synty* went through various stages of evolution before it found its final resting place in the first movement of *Rakastava*. Before writing the male-choir work, Sibelius used the material – in addition to the sketches for *Tulen synty* – in the sketches of at least two other works. Since the sketches for both planned works are rudimentary, and because the material has not been developed very far, these works cannot be identified. For example, Sibelius did not give any hint in these sketches of what ensemble or how large a work he had in his mind. However, it is clear that these sketches have nothing to do with the male-choir work *Rakastava*, though they employ the same melodic material. In neither sketch did Sibelius write out any underlay. Due to the lack of better titles, I will refer to these two planned works that preceded *Rakastava* as “*Rakastava 1*” and “*Rakastava 2*”. The filiation of the melodic material from *Tulen synty* to the first movement of *Rakastava* is illustrated in Example 14.5.⁴²³

⁴²³ Note that no manuscript material for any choral or cappella version of *Rakastava* has survived. Essentially, the only sources for the choral versions are their first editions.

*Example 14.5. Musical material from Tulen synty to Rakastava.*⁴²⁴



The sketch of the first step in the process, “*Rakastava 1*”, is short and enigmatic. Although it is written on the same folio, 0981 (page [2]), as the first sketches of *Tulen synty*, it is written in a different pen and probably somewhat later; in my view, it is highly unlikely that the sketch was intended for *Tulen synty*. The sketch may have been intended as vocal music, but it must be stressed that Sibelius did not indicate any text for it. Thus, the musical genre of the planned work is pure guesswork.

As already mentioned in the context of Example 14.2, the first germ of the melody in *Rakastava* is found among the melodic sketches for *Tulen synty* (0980, page [1], stave 5). As something of a ‘stream of consciousness written down’, the melody appears a few times on the page, but then disappears from the sketches for *Tulen synty*. In the sketch indicated here as “*Rakastava 1*”, a harmonic context is also indicated for the melody. In fact, the harmony contains the most interesting feature of the sketch: at first, the melody begins on the third scale degree in the major mode (Example 14.6a), but directly below (found in Example 14.6b) Sibelius wrote the passage beginning on the fifth scale degree of the minor mode – a detail undetected in the melodic sketches. From this point on, the melody begins on the fifth scale degree of the minor mode, which is also how the melody is known from the male-choir work *Rakastava*.

⁴²⁴ Signums, not mentioned in Example 14.1: unidentified sketch: 1293/1; new melodic sketches for “*Rakastava 2*”: 1041/2.

Example 14.6. “*Rakastava 1*”.

a) 0981, page [1], staves 7–9.

Three staves of musical notation in treble clef. Staff 17 (labeled [17]) shows a melody starting with a quarter note, followed by eighth notes, and a half note. Staff 18 (labeled [18]) continues the melody with eighth notes and quarter notes. Staff 19 (labeled [19]) shows the melody continuing with quarter notes and eighth notes, ending with a half note. The notation includes various note values, rests, and a system break between staves 18 and 19.

b) 0981, page [1], staff 10.

A single staff of musical notation in treble clef, labeled [10]. It shows a melody starting with a quarter note, followed by eighth notes, and a half note. The notation includes various note values and rests.

As illustrated in Example 14.5, between the sketches for *Tulen synty* and “*Rakastava 1*” we can see two side-tracks of the creative process. Both of these side-tracks play a significant part in forming the melody in *Rakastava* and are important factors in the source chain. At some point, Sibelius planned to use the melody that ended up in *Rakastava* in the context of *Kanteletar*’s 36th poem, *Antero ja Kaloniemen neito*. This plan was never realised. In fact, the sketch (with the signum 0981) is the only surviving source for the planned work. The transcription of this sketch appears in its entirety in Example 14.7. At the end of the page, the sketch ends abruptly. Sibelius may have continued the melody on another page that was later lost, or he discarded the idea at that point. The sketch of *Antero ja Kaloniemen neito* is an interesting sidestep, as it was at this stage that one of the special features of *Rakastava* was invented; namely the ‘rhythmic shift’ of the phrase beginnings to one beat earlier, leading to syncopation.⁴²⁵ The idea of the rhythmic shift is also visible in the previously discussed sketch of “*Rakastava 1*” (Example 14.6a), in which the pitch e^2 has been tied over the system break from staff 8 to staff 9.

⁴²⁵ It seems possible to deduce an exact time for the invention of the rhythmic shift: on staff 1, the tie between bars 4 and 5 was obviously a later addition, and Sibelius did not indicate how the syllables should be placed in the emended melody – the syllable *Ot-* should be moved due to the tied notes on the previous bar. Similarly, the last note on staff 5 bar 2 (g^2) and the following tie were added later, and the syllable *Kon-* was not emended and remains in bar 3. The case is the opposite in staff 8: the tie connecting the notes in bars 4 and 5 was written as it appear in the transcription directly; even the syllable *Ei* has been written below the correct note. It was probably at this point that Sibelius returned to the earlier passages and made the necessary emendations. The last shift (the last staff, bars 1 and 2) was also written directly as it appears in the transcription.

Example 14.7. The sketch for *Antero ja Kaloniemen neito*, 0981, page [2].

[1] An - te - ro y - li - nen yl - kä [y - lim - mäi - sen] mie - hen poi - ka Ot - ti tal - lis - ta

[3] o - ri - hin rat - sun kul - ta - han ra - ken - si Läh - te - äk - sensä kä - ke - si men - nä

[5] kon - nus - ta ko - si - hin Kon - nun kuu - lu - a ty - tär - tä Ka - lo - nie - men neit - tä

[6] nuor - ta.

[7] I - so kiel - si e - mo e - pä - si kiel - si vel - jet ja si - sa - ret.

[8] va - rot - ti - vat läh - te - mäs - tä Ka - lo - nie - men nei - to - si - hin. "Ei su - a

[9] su - vai - ta siel - lä neit - tä ei an - ne - ta si - nul - le."

[11] To - ki [läk - si ei to - tel - lut a - joi] vas - ten ei va - ran - nut A - joi vas - ten

[12] vaa - ruk - si - a koh - ti mie - hen - ko - vi - a Ra - hoi nei - on tin - ki nei - on

[13] [nos - ti nei - on rat - sa - hil - le Hy - pyt - ti hy - väl - le] se - läl - le toi nei - on i - son

[14] ko - ti - hin Vie - ri tuost - ta vie - kon päi - vät tau - ti nei - to - sen

Strangely enough, the rhythmic shift appears in the very last stave of the sketches for the first attempt at *Tulen synty* (0981, page [1], stave 5; the melody is visible at the beginning of Example 14.3). This cannot be verified beyond any doubt, but it is possible that Sibelius wrote the melody before sketching *Antero ja Kaloniemen neito* and added the rhythmic shift later. However, the question as to whether the emended melody was

intended for *Tulen synty, Antero ja Kaloniemen neito*, or perhaps another work, remains unanswered.

Example 14.8. Unidentified sketch, 1293, page [1], stave 1.



Example 14.9. "Rakastava 2", 1041, page [1], staves 1–12.

The other side-track of the creative process is found in manuscript *1293*, which contains no indication to what kind of work is intended. The melody somewhat resembles the melody of the first attempt at *Tulen synty*, but not in any obvious way. I have marked the sketch in Example 14.5 as an ‘unidentified sketch’, and the transcription of its first staff appears in Example 14.8. The melody bears some resemblance to the beginning of *Rakastava*. Two details are particularly noteworthy: the melody begins on the fifth scale degree of the minor scale (cf. Example 14.6a and b) and it stresses the seventh scale degree as is familiar from the melody from *Rakastava*. The latter feature probably appears in the unidentified sketch for the first time.

Before ending up in the male-choir work, the melody of the first movement of *Rakastava* appears as something of a slow introductory passage for a quick instrumental work (in Example 14.5, indicated as “*Rakastava 2*”). Sibelius has not indicated the orchestration in any way. The sketch of “*Rakastava 2*” appears in its entirety in Example 14.9. The texture in the quick passage is probably in four parts, but it is not a pianistic texture. Thus, it was probably written for the use of an orchestra or some other smaller instrumental ensemble.

On the other side of the manuscript presented in Example 14.9 (*1041*, page [2], see Example 14.10), Sibelius wrote new melodic sketches. The sketches were certainly not intended as vocal music, but were probably intended for the same instrumental work as the sketch called “*Rakastava 2*” (and presented in Example 14.9). In these sketches, Sibelius forged the melody that finally became the melody of the third movement of *Rakastava* (*Hyvää iltaa, lintuseni...*). The process visible in the manuscript represents the ‘stream of consciousness written down’ at its most beautiful. On the first two staves, Sibelius wrote a melody that could not be identified as that of *Rakastava*, but which contains the ingredients of the final melody (see Example 14.10b). On staves 3–8, Sibelius searched for different ways to develop the melodic idea until the melody from the third movement of *Rakastava* finally appears on staves 9–10 – not in its final form, but it is clearly recognisable (see Example 14.10a).⁴²⁶ Sibelius then finalised the ending of the melody on staff 11. On the last staves of the page (not shown in Example 14.10), Sibelius fine-tuned the rhythms of the melody. The entire page was written very quickly; the key signatures and the clefs are indicated only on the first staff and the bar lines are drawn on the first three staves.

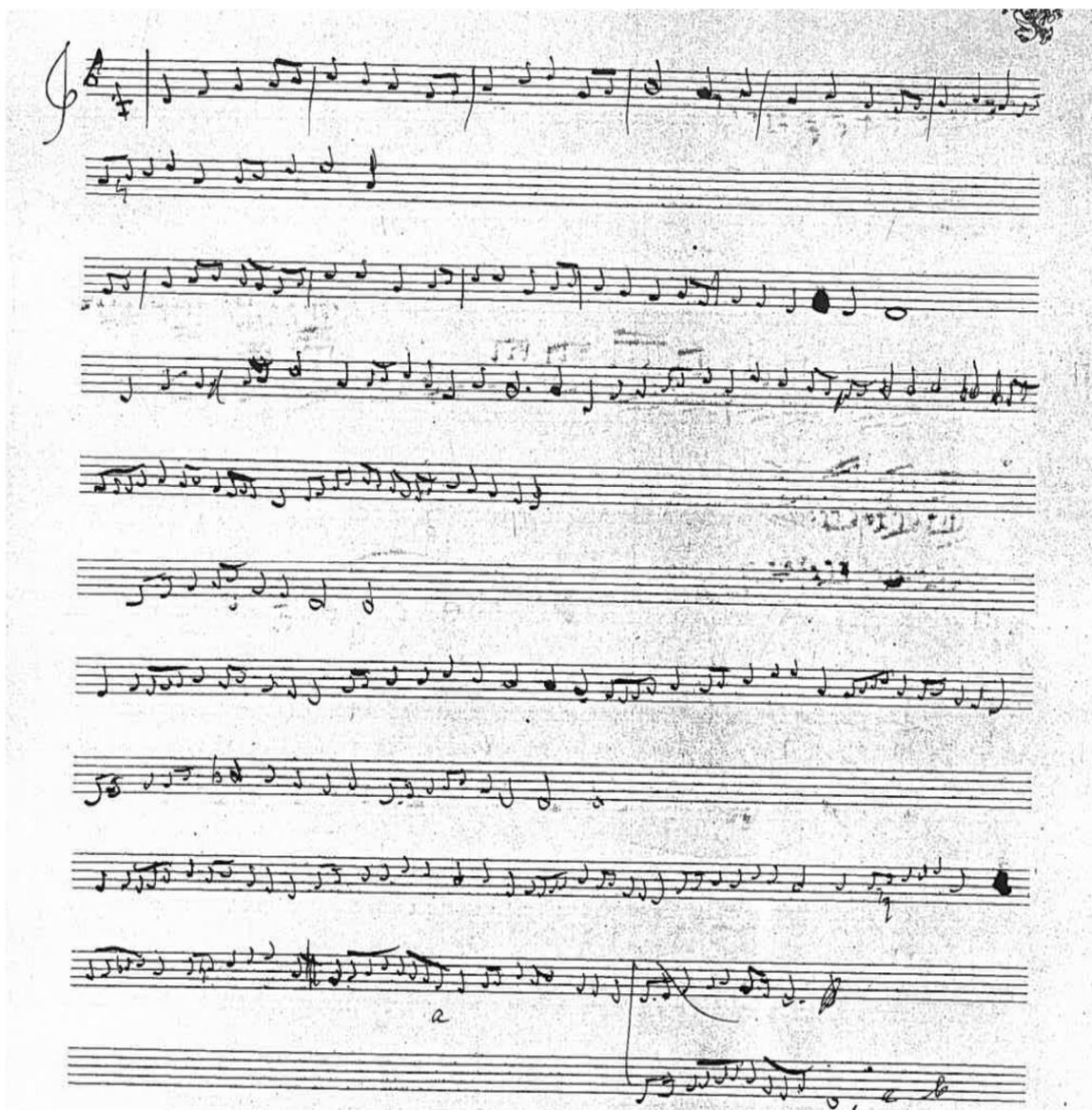
⁴²⁶ The first part of the melody (first eight bars in Example 14.10a) “evolves” on staves 3, 5, and 7; notice that staff 5 is a continuation of staff 4, thus it was not at first planned as the beginning of the melody. The first occurrence of the second part (from bar 9 on in Example 14.10a) can be found from staff 2.

Example 14.10. "Rakastava 2", new melodic sketches.

a) 1041, page [2], staves 9–10 including the emendation indicated on staff 11.



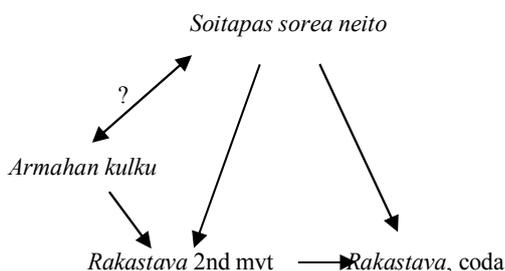
b) facsimile of 1041, page [2], staves 1–11.



14.3 Other Sketches for *Rakastava*

In a way, it is misleading to use the term ‘sketches for *Rakastava*’, since – as mentioned above – based on the surviving sketches it would appear that almost the entirety of the musical material in *Rakastava* already existed in sketches for other works before Sibelius decided to take part in the composition competition organised by Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat. In fact, no sketches have survived from the writing process of the subsequent male-choir work.⁴²⁷ The history of the musical material for the second movement of *Rakastava* and coda is illustrated in Example 14.11.

*Example 14.11. Other Sources for Rakastava.*⁴²⁸



The most essential source for the musical material of the second movement of *Rakastava* and its coda is *Soitapas sorea neito*; a work for mixed choir and tenor solo based on the poem *Soitapas soria likka* from the *Kanteletar*.⁴²⁹ Only one manuscript source has survived for *Soitapas sorea neito*. The source is not a sketch or a draft in the strict sense, but rather a fair copy. This means that the work was considered completed at the time of its writing. The work has two obvious connections to *Rakastava*: the ‘Eilaa’ texture (see Example 14.13) and the baritone solo from the coda of *Rakastava*, which appears at the end of *Soitapas sorea neito* as a tenor solo (bars 29–32, see Example 14.12). The connection between the two solos is reinforced by the content of the text in those passages: both solos describe kissing (although the original poem is not the same). That the same melody ends up in similar contexts but in different works is not unusual in Sibelius’s creative process. It seems that melodies tend to maintain their original role: just as the solo depicting kissing in *Soitapas sorea neito* ends up in *Rakastava* as a solo depicting kissing, the contrasting melody from the first attempt at *Tulen syntty* (the B section in an ABA structure) ends up in the first movement of *Rakastava* as a contrasting section (the B section in an ABABA’ structure). Additionally the lullaby from *Tulen syntty* appears as a lullaby in *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*.

⁴²⁷ Sketch 1044 may have been written for male choir, but this is not certain.

⁴²⁸ Signums unmentioned in previous examples: *Soitapas sorea neito*: 1022; *Armahan kulku*: 1042, 1043, and 1044.

⁴²⁹ For Sibelius’s changes of the text, see Section 6.4.

Example 14.12. Soitapas sorea neito, 1022, bars 29–32.



An-na suu - ta Suo-men nei - to, täl-le Suo - men sul-ha-sel-le, suu ei ku-lu suu-del - les - sa, kä-si kät-tä an-ta-es - sa.

The relation of the massiveness of the texture in *Soitapas sorea neito* and the work's short duration is confusing. The problematic dimensions of the work's dramatic trajectory makes it seem unlikely that the work might have been intended as an entity on its own. Instead, it makes an impact as something intended to function as part of a larger choral work. However, no direct clues have survived as to what the other movements were to have been. From this point of view, the sketch *1043* raises interest. Here Sibelius has sketched music to the *Kanteletar* poem *Armahan kulku*, which finally became the text of the second movement of *Rakastava*. Although the sketch of *Armahan kulku* bears a different melody and is in a different key from those of *Rakastava*, the sketch contains a similar textural idea: lively melodies using the repeated word 'Eilaa' as a text to accompany the reciting of the actual text with a line consisting of one note (see Example 14.13). Manuscript *1044* features the same music, but in E flat major, which interestingly is the key of the published male-choir work.⁴³⁰

The sketch of *Armahan kulku* is open to a number of different interpretations. Since all the manuscripts in Example 14.11 date from a relatively short space of time, it is possible that *Armahan kulku* and *Soitapas sorea neito* were together intended as movements in a single multi-movement work for mixed choir a cappella.⁴³¹ This interpretation would also explain why *Soitapas sorea neito* was finally left in the desk drawer (the work was published for the first time in JSW): the essential material of *Soitapas sorea neito* (the 'Eilaa' texture and the tenor solo at the end), as well as its intended 'partner', were used for other purposes; namely in *Rakastava*. However, it must be stressed that the connection between *Armahan kulku* and *Soitapas sorea neito* is based solely on circumstantial evidence (dating and similar musical material), thus I have marked the connection in Example 14.11 with a question mark.

⁴³⁰ Also in manuscript 1042/page [1], the material of the second movement of *Rakastava* is written in E flat major. One interesting detail is the appearance of the coda's melody in the context of the material of the second movement; this is depicted in Example 14.11 with an arrow from the second movement to the coda.

⁴³¹ Although the type of paper used in the fair copy of *Soitapas sorea neito* dates it to the years 1891 and 1892, Kilpeläinen (1991, 111) has, based on the handwriting and other details, dated the work to the end of the year 1893 or to 1894. If my hypothesis in Example 14.11 is valid (i.e. that *Soitapas sorea neito* precedes *Rakastava*) – which, based on the type of paper used is entirely possible – then *Soitapas sorea neito* was composed in 1893 at the latest. I find it probable that all the sketches in Example 14.11 were written within a relatively short time frame during 1893.

Example 14.13. Armahan kulku, 1043.

Ei-laa Ei-laa

Täst on kul - ta kul-ke-nun - na

Täst on men-nyt mie - li - tiet-ty

Täs-tä ar - mas as - tu-nun - na

Val - ki - a va-el-ta-nun - na

Täss on as-ty-nut a-hol-la

Tuoss on is-ty-nut ki - vel - lä.

14.4 On the Challenges in Defining the Borders of a Network

Sibelius's manuscripts from the mid 1890s reveal a multitude of sketches with melodies bearing similar features. It is practically impossible to deduce whether two sketches with similar melodies have a genetic connection, or whether the connection arises from the fact that they employ a text (or a topic) from the *Kanteletar* or the *Kalevala*, which in turn easily leads the melodic invention towards the Finno-Ugric tradition. For this reason, it is sometimes extremely difficult to define the borders of a network. An excellent example of this is found in the manuscript containing a rudimentary idea for *Väinämöisen soitto* (the 41st poem of *Kalevala*) dating from roughly the same time as the works discussed above.⁴³² The sketch for *Väinämöisen soitto* is a borderline case within the network of *Tulen synty/Rakastava*. Its melody is fairly close to the melody of the above-mentioned tenor solo from *Soitapas sorea neito*, though no exact match in the passages can be identified. The sketch for *Väinämöisen soitto* is transcribed in its entirety in Example 14.14. Perhaps the most clear connection to the *Tulen synty/Rakastava* network is to be found between the passage in *Väinämöisen soitto* with the text *kajahusta kanteloisen* and the passage in *Soitapas sorea neito suu ei kulu suudellessa* (in the solo, see Example 14.12).

⁴³² Kilpeläinen (1991, 377) dates *Väinämöisen soitto* between 1891 and 1895.

Example 14.14. Väinämöisen soitto, 1335, staves 1–4.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the piece 'Väinämöisen soitto'. The first system consists of a vocal line in G major (one sharp) and a bass line. The vocal line contains the lyrics 'Tul-ko-hom-pa kuu-le-ma-han ku ei lie-ne en-nen kuul-lut'. The second system also consists of a vocal line and a bass line. The vocal line contains the lyrics 'i-lo-a i-ki-ru-no-jen ka-ja-hus-ta kan-te-loi-sen.'.

Väinämöisen soitto is not an isolated case, and problematic questions concerning the extent of the network of sketches are fairly frequent in manuscript studies. In vocal music, such problematic passages are fewer due to the text, which makes it possible to connect even relatively short passages of music to their intended works. In the present study, I have delineated the network to those sketches that can unequivocally be connected to their intended works based on the underlay written by Sibelius. In manuscripts from the mid 1890s (in addition to those discussed above), there are several melodies without any texts or other verbal indications of what kind of planned but incomplete work they were intended for. They may have been intended as works discussed in the present chapter, but it is also possible that Sibelius had plans that we do not know of. A detailed analysis of these textless sketches may create further connections between the genesis of different works.⁴³³

Above, I have discussed only those sketches that can be connected to the network of *Tulen syntä/Rakastava*, based either on their texts or on another unambiguous musical connection. The definition could have been made on other grounds: on the manuscript containing *Heitä koski kuohuminen* (see Example 14.1) there are sketches for two published male-choir works: *Venematka* (published in 1893) ja *Saarella palaa* (published in 1895). Based on their common manuscript and shared topics from the *Kalevala* and the *Kanteletar*, these works too are connected to Sibelius's Karelian compositional ideas of the mid 1890s. But since the musical material of these two male-choir works is not connected to the works of the network discussed here, they are not presented in the charts of the present chapter.

⁴³³ On the other side of the *Väinämöisen soitto* sketch (discussed above) are more textless melodies that also appear on the other side of the sketch for *Armahan kulku* (1044). This connects, at least on some level, the planned work *Väinämöisen soitto* to the network discussed in the present chapter. However, such connections remain beyond the scope of the present study.

14.5 Conclusions

Erik Tawaststjerna describes the years 1893–1895 in Sibelius’s creative life as something of a trough:

It is difficult to see a uniform seam in Sibelius’s working year 1893–1894. The opera plans were left to stew, and he concentrated – or disconcentrated – on giving lectures and composing small-scale works. To the composition competition organised by Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat he sent *Rakastava*, a three-movement work based on poems from the *Kanteletar*. [...] The years 1893–1895 were overshadowed by the failure of the planned opera; not a single great work was conceived. [...] It would be alluringly simple to state that [the opera] *Veneen luominen* caused a troublesome break in Sibelius’s creative work, during which he wasted his powers on commissions and miniature works.⁴³⁴

According to Tawaststjerna’s account, composing the opera *Veneen luominen* and especially the failure in completing the work is the main reason why Sibelius composed so little during the mid 1890s.⁴³⁵ This is no doubt the partial truth, but based on the surviving manuscript sources we must state that *Veneen luominen* was not the only composition that Sibelius was working on but did not complete. In fact, the years from 1893 to 1895 seem like a creative trough only when listing Sibelius’s published or publically performed works. In the examples of the present chapter, the great number of different unfinished plans is conspicuous.

Based on the present study, it seems evident that, fairly soon after completing *Kullervo* (Opus 7, in 1892), Sibelius planned to compose another Karelian-inspired vocal work, and to this end he tried out several different poems from the Finnish epics the *Kanteletar* and the *Kalevala*. Of these plans he completed and published *Rakastava*, *Venematka*, and *Saarella palaa*, whereas *Veneen luominen*, *Tulen synty*, *Antero ja Kaloniemen neito*, *Heitä koski kuohuminen*, and *Väinämöisen soitto* were left incomplete at a relatively early stage. In a way, these diverse Karelian plans seem to culminate in *Lemminkäinen*, in which Sibelius used material originally intended for *Tulen synty* and *Veneen luominen*. Could it be that renouncing the restrictions of the text and beginning the work in the freer form of a

⁴³⁴ Tawaststjerna 1967, 21 and 57. Translation mine. The original reads: “Sibeliuksen työvuodesta 1893–1894 on vaikea erottaa mitään yhtenäistä juonetta. Oopperasuunnitelma sai hautua, ja hän keskittyi – tai hajottautui – pitämään oppitunteja ja säveltelemään pienehkömuotoisia kappaleita. Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajien sävellyskilpailuun hän lähetti *Rakastavan*, kolmiosaisen kuoroteoksen jonka teksteinä oli *Kantelettaren runoja*. [...] Vuosia 1893–1895 varjosti oopperasuunnitelman epäonnistuminen; yhtään suurta teosta ei syntynyt. [...] Olisi houkuttelevan yksinkertaista todeta, että *Veneen luominen* aiheutti Sibeliuksen luovassa työssä hankalan katkoksen, jonka kestäessä hän tuhlassa voimiaan tilaustöihin ja pikkukappaleisiin.”

⁴³⁵ Tawaststjerna (1967, 57) uses strong language when describing Sibelius’s creativity – or lack thereof – during these years; in addition to trough, on the same page he uses the terms recession and catastrophe, as well as the figure of speech the graph curves down and sinks to the minimum. Expressions in Finnish: *lama*, *katastrofi*, and *käyrä kääntyy laskuun ja painuu minimiin*. And in the original Swedish (1968, 236–237): *vågdal*, *depressionsartade tillstånd*, *katastrofen*, and *dalar kurvan tills den når ett minimum*. It is noteworthy that the biography was written in Swedish, though the Finnish translation was published first.

symphonic poem opened up some of the locks in his creative process?⁴³⁶ This interpretation is supported by a letter written by Sibelius to his wife, Aino: “I think I have found my old self again, musically speaking. I have found so many facts. I think I really am a tone painter and a poet. I mean that Liszt’s view of music is the one to which I am closest. The symphonic poem (that is what I meant by ‘poet’) [...]”⁴³⁷

⁴³⁶ Sibelius’s problematic relationship with original poems is discussed in Section 6.4 and in Ylivuori 2011a.

⁴³⁷ For more on the letter, see Wicklund (*the Introduction of JSW 12/a-b, forthcoming*). The letter (dated 19 August 1894) is in the NA, SFA, file box 95. The letter is also published in Talas 2003, 84. The original reads: “Minä olen luullakseni löytänyt itseäni musiikissa taas. Olen niin paljon tosiseikkoja löytänyt. Luulen että minä oikeastaan olen musiikki maalari ja runoilija [sic]. Tarkoitan että tuo Listz’in [sic] musiikki kanta on minulle lähintä. Tuo symfoninen runo (sillä tavalla meinasin runoilija) [...]”.

Appendix I: The Source Chains

Appendix I lists all musical sources used in the present study. Sources for the mixed-choir versions are listed in chronological order and allocated a source symbol (**A**, **B**, **C**, etc.). Missing links in the source chain are also given a source symbol; missing sources are indicated with an asterisk after the symbol (e.g. **B***). Parallel versions are listed after the mixed-choir version (with source symbol **pA**, **pB**, etc.). The printed sources for parallel versions are not exhaustively listed, rather the list contains only the relevant sources. The studied exemplars of the printed sources are those preserved in the National Library of Finland.

Many works (especially *Finlandia-hymni*, *Uusmaalaisten laulu*, *Den höga himlen och den vida jorden*, but also many of the works related to Opus 18) are printed in several editions without the choral texture, i.e. including only the melody, underlay, and chord symbols for accompaniment. These editions have been excluded from the list, as they are not intended for choral use.

Editions by Fazer exist in countless reprints. The reprints have not been listed separately, but are only mentioned in passing. Due to company mergers, the publisher of the reprint may be other than that of the original print. The publishing agency of Fazer was first sold to Warner/Chappel, who later transferred the rights of Sibelius's music to Fennica Gehrman. However, the *Notenbild* has remained identical despite the mergers.

The works are arranged in chronological order according to the categories presented in Example 1.2. In addition to the musical sources, the list contains the English translations of the titles, the author of the text, the first words of the poem, and the date of the composition. After each source chain is a short section that provides a description of the special features of the relations between the individual sources in the source chain.

Works from 1888–1889

Ensam i dunkla skogarnas famn [Vakna!], JS 72 (Alone in the Dark Forest's Clasp [Awake!])

Ensam i dunkla skogarnes [skogarnas] famn
Emil von Qvanten (1827–1903)
Composed in 1888 or 1889.

Text source:

von Qvanten's poem titled *Vakna!* was printed in *Dikter* (1880, Stockholm: Jos. Seligman).

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

A Draft. HUL 1028.

B Autograph fair copy. HUL 0613.

Contemporary editions:

The work remained unpublished during Sibelius's life time.

Posthumous editions:

C Fazer. 1992/1993.

D JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

In **A**, the music is sketched in its entirety, but the vocal parts are not written out in full. Although **B** is a fair copy, it contains several ambiguous readings. The readings in **C** and **D**, although both based on **B**, differ from each other significantly (for problems in **C**, see the discussion around Example 9.8).

**Hur blekt är allt [Höstkvällen], JS 96
(How faded Everything is [Autumn evening])**

Hur blekt är allt,

Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1805–1877)

Composed in 1888 or 1889.

Text source:

Runeberg's poem titled *Höstkvällen* was printed in *Lyriska dikter (Samlade skrifter [1])* in 1882.

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

A Draft. HUL 1234.

B Autograph fair copy. HUL 1029.

Contemporary editions:

The work remained unpublished during Sibelius's life time.

Posthumous editions:

C JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

In **A**, the music complies with that in **B**, but is written in sketch-like handwriting; for instance, the rhythms are indicated only partially in **A**.

**När sig våren åter föder [Blomman], JS 139
(When Spring is Born Again [The Flower])**

När sig våren åter föder,

Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1805–1877)

Composed in 1888 or 1889.

Text source:

Runeberg's poem titled *Blomman* was printed in *Lyriska dikter (Samlade skrifter [1])* in 1882.

Musical sources:*Manuscripts:*

A Draft. HUL 1234/[3].

B Autograph fair copy. HUL 1234/[2].

Contemporary editions:

The work remained unpublished during Sibelius's life time.

Posthumous editions:

C JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

A contains several emendation by Sibelius. The music of the last layer complies with the music in **B**. For **B**, see Example 6.3.

**Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar [Tanken], JS 191
(Thought, See how the Bird Swoops [The Thought])**

Tanke, se, hur fågeln [fågeln] svingar

Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1805–1877)

Composed in 1888 or 1889.

Text source:

Runeberg's poem titled *Tanken* was printed in *Lyriska dikter (Samlade skrifter [1])* in 1882.

Musical sources:*Manuscripts:*

A Draft intended as a fair copy at the time of its writing. HUL 1054.

B Fair copy with sketched emendations. HUL 1053.

Contemporary editions:

The work remained unpublished during Sibelius's life time.

Posthumous editions:

C JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

For details, see Chapter 12.

**Ack, hör du fröken Gyllenborg [Ellibrand och fröken Gyllenborg], JS 10
(Ah, Listen, Miss Gyllenborg [Ellibrand and Miss Gyllenborg])**

Ack, hör du fröken Gyllenborg,
trad.

Arranged in 1888 or 1889.

Text source:

The traditional ballade titled *Ellibrand och fröken Gyllenborg* was published in *Nyland. Samlingar utgifna af Nyländska afdelningen. III. Nyländska folkvisor. Ordnade och utgifna af Ernst Lagus* (Helsinki: Nyländska avdelningen) in 1887.

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

A Autograph fair copy HUL 1019.

Contemporary editions:

The work remained unpublished during Sibelius's life time.

Posthumous editions:

B JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

The autograph fair copy (**A**) is the only source for the arrangement dating from Sibelius's life time. It contains only the text of the first verse. The number of syllables varies in other verses; how the other 26 verses should be inserted in the melody, remains unclear. JSW VII/1 (**B**) contains only the first verse. Other verses are printed in the Critical Commentary.

Works from 1893–1905; Works Related to Opus 18

**Sortunut ääni, Op. 18 No. 1
(The Broken Voice)**

*Mikä sorti äänen suuren,
Kanteletar*

Composed/arranged in 1898?

Text source:

Kanteletar's poem I:57. Sibelius used the 3rd edition from 1887 (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 3)

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

No manuscript sources are known.

Contemporary editions:

- A** First edition in *Sävelistö 4*. 1898. KEH.
B Second edition in *Sekaäänisiä lauluja 13*. 1903. KVS.
C Third edition in *Sävelistö 8*. 1907/8. KEH.
Several newly typeset imprints exist; all based on the first imprint.
D Fourth edition. *Fazerin sekakuorosarja 8*. 1953. Helsinki: Fazer.
Several reprints exist (even as late as 1982).

Posthumous editions:

- E** In *Peijakas: lauluja Oulun yliopiston ylioppilaskunnan sekakuoro Cassiopeian matkan varrelta*. 1995. Oulu: Cassiopeia.
F JSW VII/1. 2012.

Parallel version (for male choir):

- pA** Copy by an unknown hand in possession of YL; possibly produced for the first performance in 1898.
pB First edition in *Suomalaisia ylioppilaslauluja 1*. 1901. YL.

Description of the source chain:

Which version of the work was composed first, remains unknown. The mixed-choir version was published first, but the male-choir version was premiered first. There are several differences between the first editions (**A** and **pB**). Subsequent mixed-choir editions **B**, **C**, and **D** are based on **A**, but have incorporated many dynamic markings and the Swedish translation from **pB**. The reading in JSW is based on **A**. For details, see discussion in Chapter 10 around Example 10.6.

Venematka, Op. 18 No. 3
(The Boat Journey)

Vaka vanha Väinämöinen

Kalevala

Arranged on 11 October 1914.

Text source:

Kalevala's 40th poem, lines 1–16. Sibelius probably used the 3rd edition from 1866 (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 14).

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

- A** Autograph fair copy, HUL 1015. 11 October 1914. Served as the typesetter's copy for **B**. The underlay in **A** was inserted by Aino Sibelius.

Contemporary editions:

- B** First edition in *Sekaäänisiä lauluja 52*. 1914. KVS.
Newly typeset imprint from 1920 is based on the first imprint.
C Second edition. *Fazerin sekakuorosarja 9*. 1953. Helsinki: Fazer.

Posthumous editions:

D Fennica Gehrman. 2005.

E JSW VII/1. 2012.

Parallel version (for male choir):

pA Draft HUL 0689/3.

pB* Autograph fair copy, lost.

pC Copy by an unknown hand in possession of YL; possibly produced for the early performances (probably dating from 1893).

pD First edition in *Ylioppilaslauluja* 6. 1895. YL.

pE Fair copy by an unknown hand. HUL 1823. Served as the engraver's copy for **pF** (based on **pD**).

pF Second edition. 1906. B&H (ed. no. Ch.B.1816).

Description of the source chain:

The mixed-choir version is an arrangement of the male-choir version. **B** contains several typesetter's oversights. **C** and **D** are based on **B**, but some dynamic markings and other performance instructions are added based on **pD**. JSW is based on **A**.

In the source chain of the parallel version, **pF** contains some errors that are caused by the copyist's oversights in **pE**; otherwise **pE** follows **pD**.

**Saarella palaa, Op. 18 No. 4
(Fire on the Island)**

Saarella palaa. Tuli saarella palavi;

Kanteletar

Arranged in 1898?

Text source:

Kanteletar's poem I:186 titled *Työnsä kumpasellaki*. Sibelius used the 3rd edition from 1887 (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 3).

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

No manuscript sources are known.

Contemporary editions:

A First edition in *Sävelistö 4*. 1898. KEH.

B Second edition in *Sekaäänisiä lauluja 73*. 1922. KVS.

C Third edition in *Musikbibliotek, serien A*. 1926. SFV. The underlay only in Swedish; titled *Det flammar i skogen*.

D Fourth edition in *Suomalaisia sekakuorohelmiä*. 1948. Helsinki: Otava.

Posthumous editions:

E In *Kuorokirja 4*. 1965. Helsinki: Fazer.

F *Fazerin sekakuorosarja 72*. 1984. Helsinki: Fazer.

G JSW VII/1. 2012.

Parallel version (for male choir):

- pA** Sketch HUL 1400/[8]. 1895?
pB* Autograph fair copy, lost.
pC Copy by an unknown hand in possession of YL; possibly produced for the early performances (dating from 1895).
pD Copy by an unknown hand. HUL 1781 (dating from 1895).
pE First edition in *Suomalaisia ylioppilaslauluja* 6. 1895. YL.

Description of the source chain:

The mixed-choir version is an arrangement of the male-choir version. **A** contains several misprints (leading also to syntactically incorrect readings). The reading in **A** has, however, been reproduced in **B-E** without any corrections, though they are typeset anew. **F** contains several editorial emendations. **JSW** is based on **A**, but the syntactically incorrect readings have been emended. The mixed-choir version was recorded in 1929 by Suomen laulu, conducted by Heikki Klemetti, who knew Sibelius personally. The recording can therefore be considered to provide valuable information on the problematic passages in the printed sources. See the discussion around Example 9.4.

Slurs, ties, and dynamic markings in **A** differ significantly from those in the male-choir version. In addition, the male-choir version is one bar longer: bar 15 of the male-choir version does not appear in the mixed-choir version. Interestingly, bar 15 has been crossed out in **pC** (by ?). The bar, however, appears in every published edition of the male-choir version.

It is possible that **pC**, **pD**, and **pE** are all witnesses of the autograph fair copy, currently lost (**pB***). It is also possible, but unlikely, that **pD** served as the typesetter's copy for **pE**.

Sydämeni laulu, Op. 18 No 6 (Song of my Heart)

Tuonen lehto, öinen lehto,
Aleksis Kivi (1834–1872)
Arranged in 1904.

Text source:

The poem by Aleksis Kivi was printed in *Seitsemän veljestä* published in SKS's series *Novelli-kirjasto* in 1870.

Musical Sources:

Manuscripts:

- A** Draft intended as a fair copy at the time of its writing. HUL 1016.
B Autograph fair copy. HUL 0004. 1904. Served as the typesetter's copy for **C**.

Contemporary editions:

- C** First edition in *Sekaäänisiä lauluja* 16. 1904. KVS.

Several newly typeset imprints exist. First two imprints bear relevance to the source chain; see the stemma below.

- D** Second edition in *Sävelistö 8*. 1907/8. KVS.
E Third edition in *Musikbibliotek*. 1914. SFV. The underlay only in Swedish; titled *Mitt hjärtans sång*. Printed also in *Musikbibliotek* from 1926; typeset anew.

Posthumous editions:

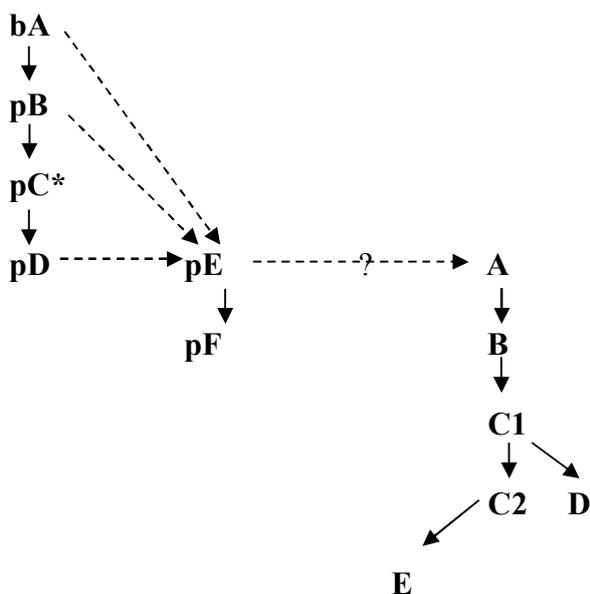
- F** In *Laulukannel: Opintoaineisto ikääntyvien kuorolaulua harjoitteleville opintokerhoille*. 1987. Helsinki: Kansallinen sivistysliitto.
G *Fazerin sekakuorosarja 30*. 1987. Helsinki: Fazer.
H *Sulasolin sekakuorolauluja 2*. 1989. Helsinki: Sulasol.
I Warner/Chappel. 1999.
J In *Laulun lahjoja*. 1999. Helsinki: Akateeminen laulu
K In *Sydänten laulusilta*. 2006. Sulasol.
L JSW VII/1. 2012.

Parallel version (for male choir):

- pA** Autograph fair copy owned by YL, currently in NL.
pB Autograph fair copy, in SibMus.
pC* Copy, made from **pB**, lost. **pC*** served as the engraver's copy for **pD**.
pD First edition in *Kaksi mieskvartettia Aleksis Kiven sanoihin*. 1899. Helsinki: Wasenius.
pE Copy by an unknown hand owned by MM, currently in NL. 1900.
pF MM, vol 5. 1901.

Description of the source chain:

For male choir For mixed choir



The mixed-choir version is an arrangement of the male-choir version. In **pA–pD**, the first two verses are written out. In **pE** and **pF**, the second verse is indicated with repeats, thus

unifying the discrepancies between the verses. Whether Sibelius authorised this unification, remains unknown. **pF** has served as basis for many later editions for male choir. Sibelius wrote **A** and **B** using the repeat structure (and thus following **pF**). The repeat structure has been retained in every mixed-choir edition (excluding **H**). For details, see Section 10.1 and Ylivuori 2010 and 2012.

Rakastava, JS 160c
(The Lover)

Miss' on kussa minun hyväni,
Kanteletar
Arranged in 1898?

Text source:

Rakastava's text consists of three poems from *Kanteletar*: the poem I:173 titled *Missä armahani?* for bars 1–36, the poem I:174 titled *Armahan kulku* for bars 37–92, and parts of the poem I:122 titled *Hyvä ilta, lintuseni* for bars 93–147. Sibelius used the 3rd edition from 1887 (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 3).

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

No manuscript sources for the mixed-choir version are known. For the sketching process, see Chapter 14.

Contemporary editions:

A First edition in *Sävelistö 4*. 1898. KEH.

B The first movement (bars 1–36) published separately in *Sekaäänisiä lauluja* 55. 1899. KVS.

Posthumous editions:

C Helsinki: Fazer. 1968.

D Helsinki: Fazer. 1977. The edition has been reprinted several times. The reprints since 1999 are published by Warner/Chappel.

E JSW VII/1. 2012.

Parallel versions (for male choir a cappella and accompanied).⁴³⁸

pA First edition for male choir a cappella in *Ylioppilaslauluja/Studentsånger* 6. 1895. KEH

pB Fair copy for male choir with string orchestra accompaniment. HUL 1045. 1894.

Description of the source chain:

The mixed-choir version is an arrangement of the male-choir version. Sibelius also wrote a version for male choir with string-orchestra accompaniment, but it was not performed or

⁴³⁸ Sibelius wrote in 1912 *Rakastava* for string orchestra and percussion. This parallel version has been excluded from the present study.

published during Sibelius's life time (Klemetti 1940). The mixed-choir version differs from the male-choir version in several details; especially the harmonisation of the third movement is different (see Section 10.1).

A contains several obvious misprints. **C** reproduces its reading without any corrections. However, in some later imprints of **C** some errors (but not all) appear corrected. **D** contains several editorial emendations and additions (see Section 9.2.2).

Min rastas raataa, JS 129
(Busy as a Thrush)

Min rastas raataa,
Kanteletar
Composed in 1898?

Text source:

Kanteletar's poem I:219. Sibelius used the 3rd edition from 1887 (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 3).

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

No manuscript sources are known.

Contemporary editions:

- A** First edition in *Sävelistö 4*. 1898. KEH.
- B** Second edition in *Sekaäänisiä lauluja 73*. 1922. KVS.
- C** Third edition without publisher's information (printed in Kivipaino, Turku in 1929).
- D** Fourth edition in *Suomalaisia sekakuorohelmiä*. 1948. Helsinki: Otava.

Posthumous editions:

- E** In *Kuorokirja 4*. 1965. Helsinki: Fazer.
- F** Fazer. 1993.
- G** *Sekakuorolauluja 3*. 2006. Helsinki: Sulasol.
- H** JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

The dynamic markings in **B** differ significantly from those in **A**. It remains unknown, who made the changes (see Section 8.3). Jaakko Tuuri used the dynamic markings of **B** in his arrangement for children's choir. Sibelius proofread Tuuri's arrangement and gave permission to its publication.⁴³⁹ Thus, he accepted the changed dynamics at least in that version. The dynamic markings of all later editions until JSW follow those **C**. JSW follows **A**.

⁴³⁹ Tuuri's manuscript with Sibelius's correction in NL (HUL 1784).

Isänmaalle JS 98a
(To the Fatherland)

Yks' voima sydämmehen kätkeyty on

Paavo Cajander (1846–1913)

Completed in 1900?

Text source:

Cajander's poem was published for the first time already in 1872 titled *Maljan-esitys Isänmaalle 18 1/10 72*. Sibelius used, in all likelihood, the second publication (in *Helmiä Suomen runoudesta*, KEH), in which it was titled *Isänmaalle*.

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

No manuscript sources from the writing process of the mixed-choir version are known. The melody of *Isänmaalle* appears in sketches from the late 1940s or 1950s, but the surviving sketches from that period are rudimentary and even the planned ensemble cannot be deduced. The late sketches are in NL, HUL 1034/1.

Contemporary editions:

- A** First edition in *Sekaäänisiä lauluja 11*. 1900. KVS.
Several newly typeset imprints were printed. The second imprint from 1903 has served as the basis for **D**.
- B** Second edition in *Sävelistö 5*. 1901. KEH.
- C** Third edition in *Musikbibliotek*. 1911. SFV. The Swedish translation probably authorised by Sibelius.
- D** Fourth edition in *Isänmaallisia lauluja, Sekaäänisiä lauluja 58–60*. 1919. KVS.

Posthumous editions:

- E** In *Sekaäänisiä lauluja 85*. 1986. Helsinki: Fazer.
- F** In *Laulukannel: Opintoaineisto ikääntyvien kuorolaulua harjoitteleville opintokerhoille*. 1987. Helsinki: Kansallinen sivistysliitto.
- G** In *Eliksiiri*. 2001. Helsinki: Audite, Metsoforte, POL, WiOL, EOL.
- H** In *Peijakas: Oulun yliopiston ylioppilaskunnan sekakuoro Cassiopeian laulukirja*. 2009. Oulu: Cassiopeia.
- I** JSW VII/1. 2012.

Parallel versions (for male choir):

- pA** Draft HUL 1030. 1898?
- pB** Autograph fair copy of the early version for male choir. HUL 1033. 1898.
- pC** Autograph fair copy of the final version for male choir. SibMus. 1907.
- pD** First edition of the male choir version. 1908. Turku: Turun työväen laulajat.
- pDh** Handexemplar of **pD** containing Sibelius's corrections. HUL 1882. 1908.

Description of the source chain:

Sibelius wrote the work originally for male choir (**pA** and **pB**), but never published that version. Instead, he wrote a new version for mixed choir. The final male-choir version (**pC**, **pD**) is an arrangement of the mixed-choir version. In JSW VII/2 (forthcoming), both male-choir versions are printed.

All mixed-choir editions follow **A**; no significant editorial emendations have occurred.

**Aamusumussa, JS 9a
(In the Morning Mist)**

Päiv' ei pääse paistamahan,

Juhana Heikki (Johan Henrik) Erkkö (1849–1906)

Composed in 1898?

Text source:

Erkkö's poem was published in *Ajan varrelta. Laulurunoja* (Helsinki: Otava) in 1896. Sibelius, however, made emendations to the poem while composing.

Musical sources:*Manuscripts:*

No autograph manuscript are known.

A Photostatic reproduction of a copy by an unknown hand, produced for the early performances. In NL, Coll.206.89.2. Originally a part of a leaflet containing several choral works by different composers. Only the excerpt containing *Aamusumussa* survives.

Contemporary editions:

B First edition in *Sävelistö 4*. 1898. KEH.

Posthumous editions:

C Fazer. 1993. Reprint by Warner/Chappell in 1999.

D JSW VII/1. 2012.

Parallel version (for children's choir):

pA First edition in *Sångers för tre stämmor/Kolmiäänisiä lauluja*. 1915. Helsinki: Tieto.

pA was published as two booklets: one in Finnish and one in Swedish.

Description of the source chain:

The original copy of **A** (and not the photostatic reproduction, which survives) may have served as the typesetter's copy for **B**, but since only the copy survives, it cannot be dated accurately. **A** may in fact be even later than **B**.

Sibelius altered the poem, when composing. In **pA**, the song text, however, follows the original text source. The reason for this is probably Sibelius's practice of not writing the underlay himself in the arrangements. It is probable that the editor inserted the text, and did not notice that it differed in **B**. Since no manuscripts survive, this cannot, however, be confirmed.

Works from 1893–1905; Other Works

Työkansan marssi, JS 212 (March of the Labourers)

Työkansa, nouskaamme!

Juhana Heikki (Johan Henrik) Erkkö (1849–1906)

Composed in August 1893.

Text source:

Erkkö's poem was published in *Nuori Suomi, Päivälehdessä joulualbumi III* in 1893. Sibelius received and set the poem prior to its publication.

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

A Fair copy by an unknown hand. 1893? HUL 1829. Possibly served as the typesetter's copy for **B**.

Contemporary editions:

B First edition in *Työväen kalenteri*, 4th issue. 1893. Viipuri: Viipurin työväenyhdistys.

Posthumous editions:

C Fazer. 1992/1993.

D JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

The copy by an unknown hand (**A**) probably served as the typesetter's copy for the first edition (**B**), although it lacks typesetter's markings. In **A**, the last chord of the first ending was altered, but **B** follows the original reading in **A**; thus, the alteration was made (by Sibelius?) after the publication of **B**. JSW follows the altered reading in **A**.

Soitapas sorea neito, JS 176 (Play, Pretty Maiden)

Soita'pas soria likka

Kanteletar

Composed in 1893?

Text source:

Kanteletar's poem II:238 titled *Soita'pas soria likka*. Sibelius used the 3rd edition from 1887 (Suomalaisuuden Seuran toimituksia 3), but made many changes to the original text.

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

A Autograph fair copy. HUL 1022.

Contemporary editions

The work remained unpublished during Sibelius's life time.

Posthumous editions:

B JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

The genesis of *Soitapas sorea neito* is probably intertwined with that of *Rakastava*. For details, see Chapter 14.

Juhlarssi, JS 105

(Festive March)

Nouse, kansa kaikki, hengen työhön,

Kasimir Leino (1866–1919)

Arranged in 1896?

Text source:

Kasimir Leino's poem (published in 1894 and 1899 by Otava) was altered significantly during the composition process. For details, see Section 6.4.

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

A Autograph fair copy. In NL. 1896?

B* Typesetter's copy for **C**, lost.

Contemporary editions:

C First edition in *Sekaäänisiä lauluja 10*. 1896. KVS.

Several newly typeset imprints exist; later imprints follow the second imprint.

Posthumous editions:

D Fazer. 1967

E Fazer. 1991

F JSW VII/1. 2012

Description of the source chain:

Two significant changes in the first edition (**C**) distinguish it from the autograph fair copy (**A**). Sibelius probably made the changes in **B*** (or while reading proofs, of which there is, however, no evidence). In any case, **A** did not serve as the typesetter's copy for **C**. **C** contains several misprints, some of which were corrected in its second imprint.

**Lauluja sekakuorolle 1897 vuoden promootiokantaatista, Op. 23
(Songs for Mixed Choir from the Cantata for the University Graduation Ceremonies of 1897)**

Me nuoriso Suomen, me riennämme nyt
August Valdemar Forsman⁴⁴⁰ (1856–1929)
Arranged in 1898?

Text source:

The original poem was altered significantly during the composition process. The alterations were made by the poet (see Section 6.4). The original poem was published in 1897. The altered version was published significantly later (the publication bears no date, Dahlström [2003, 96] suggests year 1925).

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

A The only surviving manuscript source for the choral version is a fragment of a fair copy (categorised by Kilpeläinen as a complete draft) for the second movement currently in NL, HUL 1010. Several sketches and drafts survive for the original cantata; they are not listed in the present study.

Contemporary editions:

B First edition. 1899. KEH.

Posthumous editions:

C Second edition. 1986. Helsinki: Fazer.

D JSW VII/1. 2012.

Parallel version (original cantata):

The original cantata was never published. The score as well as the string parts are currently missing. However, a facsimile of the autograph fair copy of the choral part – used by a chorister in the first performance – and the autograph piano score for the rehearsal use of the soloists survive. Based on these, the original cantata cannot be reconstructed in its entirety. The manuscripts are in HUL 1006, 1007, and 1009.

Description of the source chain:

C is practically a reprint of **B** with no editorial emendations. Although only three editions of the entire Op. 23 exist, several of its movements have been published separately:

Movement I in *Sekaäänisiä lauluja 49*. 1914. KVS.

First part of Movement VI was published in *Fazerin sekakuorosarja 10* (1953), in *Heimolaisen laulukirja* (1935), and *Sulasolin sekakuorolauluja* (1949).

Second part of Movement VI was published in *Fazerin sekakuorosarja 11* (1953).

Movement VII was published in *Fazerin sekakuorosarja 20* (1965).

In addition, the first part of Movement VI was included in the Finnish hymnal with altered song text (by Ilta Koskimies), of which Sibelius did not approve.

⁴⁴⁰ Forsman changed his last name in 1906 to Koskimies.

**Den 25 Oktober 1902 (1), JS 60
(25 October 1902 [1])**

Sången klang i barnåren
Nils Wasastjerna (1872–1951)
Composed in 1902.

Text source:

Wasastjerna's poem was written for the occasion and has not been published separately from the music. The original text source is currently missing.

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

- A** Two drafts, facsimiled in Examples 6.2. 1902.
B Autograph fair copy. SLS, file box *Vår-föreningen*. 1902.

Contemporary editions:

- C** First edition in *Sävelistö* 7. 1903. KEH.
D Second edition. No publisher's information, or date.
E Third edition. No publisher's information, dated 1935.
The underlay only in Finnish translation (by P. J. Hannikainen)

Posthumous editions:

- F** Fazer. 1993. Several reprints.
G In *Sekakuorolauluja* 3. 2006. Helsinki: Sulasol.
H JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

Autograph fair copy (**A**) served first as the typesetter's copy for the first edition (**B**), which can be deduced from the corresponding typesetter's markings. However, Sibelius later made changes to **A**. **A** shows the copyist's new layout markings which correspond with the second edition (**C**). **E**, **F**, and **G** follow the first edition (**B**), instead of the emended second edition (**C**). JSW follows the second layer in **A**, on which **C** is also based.

**Den 25 Oktober 1902 (2), JS 61
(25 October 1902 [2])**

Sången klang i barnåren
Nils Wasastjerna (1872–1951)
Composed in 1902.

Text source:

See *Den 25 Oktober 1902 (1)* above.

Musical sources:*Manuscripts:*

A Autograph fair copy. HUL 1021.

Contemporary editions:

The work remained unpublished during Sibelius's life time.

Posthumous editions:

B Fazer. 1992. Several reprints exist.

C JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

Although **A** is a complete fair copy, **B** contains several misunderstandings. For details, see Section 9.3.

**Ej med klagan [19 24/8 05], JS 69
(Not with Lamentation [24 August 1905])**

Ej med klagan skall ditt minne firas,
Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1805–1877)
Composed on 20 August 1905.

Text source:

Sibelius composed the last six lines of Runeberg's *Molnets broder*, printed in *Samlade skrifter* [1] in 1882.

Musical sources*Manuscripts:*

A Draft. HUL 1026.

B Draft, begun as a fair copy. HUL 1023.

C Fragment. Intended at the time of its writing as a fair copy. HUL 0209/2

D Autograph fair copy. Facsimiled as the first edition. SibMus.

Contemporary editions:

E First edition 1905. Facsimile of **D**.

Sibelius dedicated one copy of **E** to Berta Edelfelt, writing his condolences below the music. In SibMus.

Eh Handexemplar. In private possession, a copy in NL, Ö.22.
Contains Sibelius's emendation.

Eh2 A copy by an unknown hand of the emended reading in **Eh**, HUL 1782.

F Second edition in *Sävelistö 8*. 1907/8. KEH.

G Third edition in *Musikbibliotek*. 1921. SFV.

H Fourth edition in *Sångbok för blandad kör*. 1926. SFV.

I Fifth edition. Fazer 1954. (for the benefit of the Edelfelt foundation).

Posthumous editions:

J Fazer. 1960.

K JSW VII/1. 2012.

Parallel version (for male choir):

- pA** Draft. HUL 1027.
pB Draft. HUL 1025.
pC Fragment of the fair copy. HUL 1023/2.
pD Fair copy. HUL 1024.

NB!

The arrangement for male choir by Nils-Eric Fougstedt is often erroneously thought to be by Sibelius (e.g. the musical example in Tawaststjerna 1971, 39–40 is the Fougstedt version).

Parallel version (for orchestra):

- pE** Fragment with the material of *Ej med klagan* orchestrated. HUL 1313. The music follows **Eh**.

Description of the source chain:

All the manuscripts date probably from the same day. For the details and stemma, see Chapter 13.

Works from 1911 and after; Opus 65 and Related Works

Män från slätten och havet, Op. 65a (Men from Land and Sea)

Män från slätten och hafvet, [havet]

Ernst Viktor Knape (1873–1929)

Completed in October 1911.

Text source:

Sibelius received the poem personally from Ernst Knape. The original poem was never published, thus whether Sibelius made emendations to the text, when composing, remains unknown (see Section 4.2.4). The poet revised the poem later and the revised poem was published in 1918 (in *År och oden. Dikter af Ernst V. Knape*).

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

- A** Autograph fair copy. October 1911. SibMus. Served as the engraver's copy for **C**.
B* Proofs for the first edition, lost.

Contemporary editions:

- C** First edition in *Musikbibliotek 14 (serien A)*. 1911. SFV.
D Second edition in *Sångbok för blandad kör*. 1926. SFV.
E Third edition. 1927. B&H.
B&H published also parts for **E**.

Posthumous editions:

- F** Fazer. 1977. Helsinki: Fazer.
G JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

Sibelius first sketched the music in **A** in pencil and validated the reading by writing over it in ink. **C**, **D**, and **E** contain staccato dots due to the engraver's misreading; **A** contains no staccato dots, but some erased pencil markings resemble staccato dots, which led to the engraver's misunderstanding. Staccato dots do not appear in **F** and **G**.

Sibelius made few emendations to the music in **B***, thus **A** and **C** differ somewhat. A misprint in **D** (soprano, bar 45) was followed in **E** and **F**, thus the earlier sources were probably not consulted.

Kallion kirkon kellosävel Op. 65b
(The bell-melody of Kallio Church)

Päättyy työ, joutuu yö,
Heikki Klemetti (1876–1953)
Arranged on 13 September 1912.

Text source:

The original bell melody (see Section 4.2.4) contained no song text. After arranging the melody for mixed choir, Sibelius asked Heikki Klemetti to write a poem for the melody.⁴⁴¹ Klemetti sent the poem in a letter, which Sibelius forwarded to the publisher. The letter containing Klemetti's original poem is currently lost.

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

No manuscript sources for the choral arrangement are known.

Contemporary editions:

- A** First edition. B&H 1914. Also parts.
New imprint in 1965.

Posthumous editions:

- B** JSW VII/1. 2012.

Parallel version (for carillon):

- pA** Sketch (significantly different melody) HUL 1209. July 1912?
pB Autograph fair copy, in the possession of the congregation of Helsinki. 1912.
(published twice as a facsimile: Hurmerinta 1932 and Kuosmanen 1976)

Parallel version (for piano):

- pC** Autograph fair copy. NA, SFA. 1912. Served as the engraver's copy for **pD**.
pD First edition. 1912. Helsinki: Axel E. Lindgren.

⁴⁴¹ Sibelius originally planned to ask the poet Otto Manninen (1872–1950) to write the text for the melody.

NB!

In addition to Sibelius's own choral arrangement, the melody has been published as harmonised by Ilmari Krohn (1867–1960). These editions contain the text by Julius Engström (e.g. in *Laulukirja. Koulun ja kodin lauluja*. Helsinki: Otava, 1940).

Description of the source chain:

There are some differences in harmonisation between **A** and **pC** (the piano arrangement). These differences derive, in all likelihood, from Sibelius and are retained in JSW.

**Uusmaalaisten laulu, JS 214a
(Song of the People of Uusimaa)**

Missä maat on mainiommat,
Kaarlo Terhi (1872–1921)
Completed in January 1912.

Text source:

Sibelius received the poem from Eteläsuomalainen Osakunta (a student organisation). The original text source is currently missing.

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

- A** Autograph fair copy, January 1912. SibMus.
- B** Copy by an unknown hand. HUL 1057. Served as the typesetter's copy for **D**. January/February 1912.
- C** Three sets of proofs for the first edition. February 1912. Two first sets in NA, SFA, file box 40. The third set in HUL 1830.

Contemporary editions:

- D** First edition. Helsinki: 1912. Eteläsuomalainen Osakunta. Published almost simultaneously in *Uusi Voima. Suomen koulunuorison äänenkannattaja* (Helsinki: Valistus). Treated here as an imprint of **D**, since it was printed from the same plates as **D**. However, the underlay was typeset anew.
- E** Second edition in *Isänmaallisia lauluja. Sekääänisiä lauluja 58–60*. 1919. KVS.

Posthumous editions:

- F** Fazer. 1993. [In Dahlström (2003, 642), appears year 1991 instead of 1993].
- G** JSW VII/1. 2012.

Parallel version (for male choir):

- pA** Draft. HUL 1056. January 1912.
- pB** Autograph fair copy. HUL 1055. January/February 1912.
- pC** Two sets of proofs for the **pD**. February 1912.
- pD** First edition. 1912. For details see **D**; also the male-choir version was printed almost simultaneously in two editions.

Description of the source chain:

The first edition (**D**) was not based on the autograph fair copy (**A**), but on the copy by an unknown hand (**B**). **B** contains several errors by the copyist. Sibelius corrected some of the errors while reading the proofs (**C**), but some went unnoticed in the first edition (**D**). Sibelius made no markings on the music pages of the survived proofs, so how the publisher learned of the corrections remains unknown.

**Drömmarna, JS 64
(The Dreams)**

Släktena födas och släktena gå,
Jonatan Reuter (1859–1947)
Composed in April 1917

Text source:

Jonatan Reuter's poem was printed in *Seglande skyar. Dikter av Jonatan Reuter*. (1896, Helsinki: Söderström).

Musical sources:*Manuscripts:*

A Autograph fair copy. April 1917. SibMus.

Contemporary editions:

B First edition in *Musikbibliotek, Serien A 16*. 1917. SFV.

C Second edition in *Sångbok för blandad kör*. 1926. SFV.

Posthumous editions:

D Fazer 1965. Countless reprints exist.

E In *Sekakuorolauluja 3*. 2006. Helsinki: Sulasol.

F JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

B contains a misunderstanding by the typesetter. Sibelius likely did not participate in the publishing process. **D** and **E** contain also a translation in Finnish by Reijo Norio.

Works from 1911 and after; Other Works**Koulutie, JS 112
(The Way to School)**

Olen unessa useasti
Veikko Antero Koskenniemi (1885–1962)
Composed in May 1925.

Text source:

Koskenniemi's poem was printed in *Runoja* (Helsinki: WSOY) in 1925.

Musical sources:*Manuscripts:*

No manuscript sources are known.

Contemporary editions:

A First edition in *Koululaisen muistikirja XIII 1925–1926*. 1925. Porvoo: WSOY.

B Second edition. 1925. Porvoo: WSOY.

C Third edition in *Koulun kuorolauluja*. 1936. Porvoo: WSOY.

Posthumous editions:

D Fazer. 1993. Several reprints.

E JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

A and **B** were separately typeset, but on the same day (according to WSOY's work card archive). In **C**, Sibelius's use of beams was rendered according to choral practice (see Feature 6 in Section 7.1 and the discussion in Section 9.1). **D** and **E** follow Sibelius's original notation in **A** and **B** in this respect.

Skolsång, JS 172**(School Song)***Låt oss smida i tankens smedja*

Nino Runeberg (1874–1934)

Composed in 1925.

Text source:

Composition precedes the poem. See the *Description of the Source Chain* below.

Musical sources:*Manuscripts:*

A Autograph fair copy. HUL 1050. 1925.

B Autograph fair copy. HUL 1049. 1925.

Contemporary editions:

The work remained unpublished during Sibelius's life time.

Posthumous editions:

C Fazer. 1993.

D JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

Sibelius composed the work without any text. He sent the completed work (**A**) to Runeberg, who wrote the poem directly on the fair copy. After receiving **A** from the poet,

Sibelius emended some rhythms of the melody to more closely fit Runeberg's text and wrote a new fair copy (**B**).

**Den höga himlen och den vida jorden, JS 58a
(The Lofty Heaven and the Wide Earth)**

Den höga himlen och den vida jorden

Jacob Tegengren (1875–1956)

Composed in May/June 1927.

Text source:

Den höga himlen och den vida jorden is Tegengren's translation (in Swedish) of an original Finnish poem by Simo Korpela (*Maa, meri, taivas, kaikki, kaikk' on Herran*). Sibelius received the translation in a letter from John Sundberg. The letter in NL, Coll.206.37.

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

No manuscript sources for the mixed-choir version are known.

Contemporary editions:

A First edition in *Tillägg till Svensk psalmbok*. 1929. Helsinki: Förbundet för svenskt församlingsarbete i Finland. The edition consists of two parts:

A1 Melody with the underlay in *Normal upplaga*.

A2 Four part texture with no underlay in *Koralbok*.

Posthumous editions:

B In *Carmina 2*. 1977. Helsinki: Fazer. The text only in Finnish.

C In *Körboken*. 1980. Finlands svenska sång- och musikförbund.

D JSW VII/1. 2012

Parallel version (for male choir with organ accompaniment)

pA Autograph fair copy. HUL 0996. 1945. (The song text in Finnish)

pB First edition in *Chorus Cantorum Finlandiae'n Mieskuoro-ohjelmistoa kirkolliseen käyttöön*. 1954.

Description of the source chain:

In addition to the four-part choral texture, **A2** contains an organ prelude by John Sundberg. Sibelius himself later sketched different preludes for the work in context of writing **pA** (HUL 0997–0999).

**On lapsonen syntynyt meille, JS 142
(A Child is Born Unto Us)**

On lapsonen syntynyt meille,

August Verner Jaakkola (1887–1954)

Composed in February 1929.

Text source:

Jaakkola's poem was originally published in the periodical *Talvikukkia, evankelinen joululehti* (vol. 21, 1924). The original poem consisted of five verses. The original version of the poem was composed by Veikko Partanen (published in the same periodical in 1930). After 1924, the poem was revised by the poet. The revised poem consisting of four verses was not printed. Sibelius probably received the revised poem in a letter along with the commission, but the source for the revised poem is currently lost.

Musical sources:*Manuscripts:*

A Autograph fair copy, HUL 1040. February 1929. **A** served as the typesetter's copy for **B**.

Contemporary editions:

B First edition in *Nuori Siion*. 1929. (Helsinki: Suomen lutherilainen evankeliumiyhdistys).

C Second edition in *Siionin kannel*. 1939.

D Third edition. Helsinki: Otava. 1948.

Posthumous editions:

E In *Koska meillä on joulu*. 1983. Helsinki: Fazer.

F In *Joulun aikaan: 150 laulua sekakuorolle*. 1998. Warner Chappel Music.

G JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

Sibelius wrote only the poem's first verse in **A**. In **B**, all verses appear printed. In **C**, Jaakkola's poem was replaced with the Finnish translation (by?) of Betty Ehrenborg's poem (originally in Swedish). Translator remains presently unknown. In **D**, the work appeared with the two texts: one in Finnish by V. I. Forsman and one in Swedish by Hjalmar Krokfors. In **C** and **D**, the rhythms of the melody were altered in order to fit the text better to music (the rhythms in **D** differ from those in **C**). **E** and **F** follow basically **D**. Tempo instruction *Elastico* added in **F**. JSW (**G**) follows **B**.

The Sun upon the Lake Is Low, JS 199 No. 2

The Sun upon the lake is low,

Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832)

Composed in 1913.

Text source:

Sir Walter Scott's poem was sent to Sibelius in a letter by Horatio Parker. The poem in Parker's handwriting is in NA, SFA, file box 55.

Musical sources:*Manuscripts:*

A Draft. HUL 1013/3/2. 1913.

B* Autograph fair copy, served as the engraver's copy, lost.

Contemporary editions:

C First edition in *The Progressive Music Series, Book 4*. 1916. Boston, New York, Chicago: Silver, Burdett, and Company.
The print of **C** appears as a separate leaf in NL.

Posthumous editions:

D JSW VII/1. 2012.

Description of the source chain:

The draft (**A**) corresponds to the first edition (**C**) with only one difference: in **A**, the third-to-last note for tenor is *g* instead of *a*.

Finlandia-hymni, from Op. 26
(Finlandia hymn)

Oi, Suomi, katso, sinun päiväs koittaa,
Veikko Antero Koskenniemi (1885–1962)
Arranged in 1948.

Text source:

The original poem by V. A. Koskenniemi (printed in *Latuja lumessa*, 1940) was altered significantly for the arrangement probably the poet himself. However, the altered poem written on a typewriter (currently in NA, SFA, file box 55) differs from the published song text. Thus, it is probable that Sibelius made further changes to the poem, when arranging.

Musical sources:

Manuscripts:

A Sketches. HUL 0845. Two different beginnings. 1948.

B Autograph fair copy. HUL 0844. Music in A, major. 1948.

C Draft intended as a fair copy at the time of its writing. HUL 1780. Music in F major. 1948.

D* Autograph fair copy, lost. Served as the typesetter's copy for **E**.

Contemporary editions:

E First edition. 1949. Helsinki: Fazer.

F Second edition in *Fazerin sekakuorosarja 12*. 1953. Helsinki: Fazer (printed from the same plates as **E**, but texts typeset anew).

Posthumous editions:

G In *Laulukannel: Opintoaineisto ikääntyvien kuorolaulua harjoitteleville opintokerhoille*. 1987. Helsinki: Kansallinen sivistysliitto.

H In *Sekakuorolauluja II*. 1989. Helsinki: Sulasol.

I In *Suomi 75 soi!* 1991. Helsinki: Sulasol.

J In *Peijakas: lauluja Oulun yliopiston ylioppilaskunnan sekakuoro Cassiopeian matkan varrelta*. 1995. Oulu: Cassiopeia. (Reprint in 2009).

K *Laulun lahjoja*. Helsinki: Akateeminen Laulu: Suomen Laulu, 1999

- L** In *Eliksiiri*. Helsinki: Audite, Metsoforte, POL, WiOL, EOL.
M In *Festival songbook for open singing... : 7th nordic-batic choral festival*. 2012. Helsinki: Finlands svenska sång- och musikförbund,
N JSW VII/1. 2012.

NB! *Finlandia-hymni* appears in countless collections, thus the list provided here is in all likelihood incomplete. In addition, there are countless reprints of **F**. The editions listed here include translations of the text in Swedish, English, German, Norwegian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Faroese, and Greenlandic. Few editions provide also Finnish text by Wäinö Sola (see Section 4.2.5).

Parallel version (male choir):

- pA** First edition (Sola's text). 1939. No publisher's information (printed in Wikstedtin kivipaino, Helsinki).
pB Second edition (Koskenniemi's text). 1940. Helsinki: Laulu-miehet.
pBh *Handexemplar* in a private possession. Photocopy in SibMus.
pC Proofs for the third edition (**pD**). HUL 1818.
pD Third edition (Koskenniemi's text). 1942. B&H.
pDh *Handexemplar* in a private possession. Photocopy SibMus and YL.

Description of the source chain:

No changes have taken place in the source chain of the mixed-choir version. In JSW, both mixed-choir versions (**B** and **E**) are printed. In the *Handexemplar* of the second edition of the male-choir version (**pBh**), some rhythms are indicated to be altered, but the indications are not in Sibelius's handwriting. The ending of the male-choir version is altered by Sibelius (a full chord instead of a unison). For details, see JSW VII/2 (forthcoming).

Appendix II: Abbreviations

B&H	Publishers Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig
Coll	Signum used for private archives in the National Library of Finland
HUL	Signum used for Sibelius musical manuscript in the National Library of Finland (formerly the Helsinki University Library) Sibelius collection. Detailed information on HUL sources can be found in Kilpeläinen (1991)
JSW	Jean Sibelius Works, the complete critical edition, Helsinki.
KEH	publishers K. E. Holm, Helsinki
KVS	Kansanvalistusseura, Helsinki (KVS foundation, an adult education organisation)
MM	the male-voice choir Muntra Musikanter, Helsinki
NA	the National Archives of Finland, Helsinki
NL	the National Library of Finland, Helsinki
SFA	Sibelius Family Archive in the National Archives of Finland
SFV	Svenska Folkskolans Vänner, Helsinki (an educational organisation)
SibMus	the Sibelius Museum, Turku
SKS	Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, Helsinki (Finnish Literature Society)
SLEY	Suomen luterilainen evankeliumiyhdistys, Helsinki (the Lutheran Evangelical Association of Finland)
SLS	Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, Helsinki (the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland)
YL	The male-voice choir Ylioppilaskunnan laulajat, Helsinki
ÅA	Åbo Akademi, Turku
Ö.	Signum used for Sibelius musical manuscripts added at the National Library of Finland Sibelius collection after the compilation of Kilpeläinen's catalogue (see above)

Appendix III: Scores for *Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar*

Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar

Version 1

Tan - ke, se, hur fo - geln svin - gar Un - der mol - net lätt och fri Äf - ven

Tan - ke, se, hur fo - geln svin - gar Un - der mol - net lätt och fri

5 du har di - na vin - gar Och din rymd att fly - ga i Och din rymd att fly - ga i

Äf - ven du har di - na vin - gar din rymd att fly - ga i

11 Kla - ga ej att du vid gru - set som en lätt som fo - geln

11 Kla - ga ej Kla - ga ej som en fån - ge binds än - nu lätt som fo - geln

fån - ge att du bind[s] än - nu som fo - geln

16 snabb som lju - set fri är du

16 mer än bå - da fri är du Mer än bå - da fri Är det

lätt, som lju - set snabb och mer än mer än bå - da fri är du

22

gladt på jor-den hvi - la Bland dess fröj - der glad och - så Är det sor - ligt, i - la

22

Är det gladt på jor-den hvi - la Bland dess fröj - der glad och-så Är det sorg-ligt i - la

27

i - la Bort till hög - re verl-dar då Bort till hög - re verl - dar då.

27

Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar

Version 2

Tan - ke, se, hur fo - geln svin - gar Un - der mol - net lätt och fri Äf - ven

Tan - ke, se, hur fo - geln svin - gar mol - net lätt och fri Äf - ven

5 du har äf - ven di - na vin - gar Och din rymd att fly - ga i Och din rymd att fly - ga i

5 du har äf - ven di - na din rymd att fly - ga i

gru - set lätt som fo - geln snabb som

11 Kla - ga ej att du vid som en fån - ge binds än - nu som fo - geln lätt och

11 Kla - ga ej som en fån - ge att du binds än - nu som fo - geln lätt som

lju - set

16 lju - set snabb och mer än bå - da fri är du Är det gladt på jor - den, hvi - la, bland dess

16 Är det gladt på jor - den, hvi - la

21

fröj - der glad och - så Är det sor - ligt, i - la i - la Bort till hög - re verl - dar

21

fröj - der glad och-så och är det

Detailed description: This block contains two systems of musical notation for measures 21 through 25. The top system (measures 21-25) features a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody consists of eighth and quarter notes, with lyrics: "fröj - der glad och - så Är det sor - ligt, i - la i - la Bort till hög - re verl - dar". The bottom system (measures 21-25) features a bass clef and the same key signature. The accompaniment consists of eighth and quarter notes, with lyrics: "fröj - der glad och-så och är det".

26

då Bort till hög - re verl - dar då

26

Detailed description: This block contains two systems of musical notation for measures 26 and 27. The top system (measures 26-27) features a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody consists of quarter and eighth notes, with lyrics: "då Bort till hög - re verl - dar då". The bottom system (measures 26-27) features a bass clef and the same key signature. The accompaniment consists of quarter and eighth notes, with lyrics: "då Bort till hög - re verl - dar då".

Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar

Version 3/literal

The musical score is written in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It consists of four systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The lyrics are in Swedish and describe a bird's flight and freedom.

System 1:
Vocal: Tan - ke, se, hur fo - geln mol - net lätt och fri Äf - ven
Piano: Tan - ke, se, hur fo - geln svin - gar Un - der mol - net lätt och fri Äf - ven

System 2:
Vocal: du har di - na
du har äf - ven di - na vin - gar Och din rymd att fly - ga i Och din rymd att fly - ga i
Piano: du har äf - ven di - na din rymd att fly - ga i

System 3:
Vocal: gru - set lätt som fo - geln snabb som
Kla - ga ej att du vid som en fån - ge binds än - nu fo - geln lätt och
Piano: Kla - ga ej som en fån - ge att du binds än - nu som fo - geln lätt som

System 4:
Vocal: lju - set
lju - set snabb och mer än bá - da fri är du Är det gladt på jor - den, hvi - la, bland dess
Piano: Är det gladt på jor - den, hvi - la

21

fröj - der glad och - så Bort till
Är det sor - ligt, i - la i - la Bort till hög - re verl - dar

21

fröj - der glad och-så och är det

Detailed description: This block contains the first system of a musical score, measures 21 through 25. It features a treble and bass staff in G major. The melody in the treble staff is primarily eighth and sixteenth notes, with some dotted rhythms. The bass staff provides a steady accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes. The lyrics are written below the treble staff.

26

då Bort till hög - re verl - dar då

26

Detailed description: This block contains the second system of the musical score, measures 26 and 27. It continues the melody and accompaniment from the previous system. The treble staff ends with a double bar line. The bass staff continues with a few more notes before also ending with a double bar line. The lyrics are written below the treble staff.

Tanke, se, hur fågeln svingar

Version 3/interpreted

The musical score is written for voice and piano. It consists of four systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are in Swedish and describe a bird's flight and freedom.

Tan - ke, se, hur fo - geln svin - gar Un - der mol - net lätt och fri Äf - ven
Tan - ke, se, hur fo - geln svin - gar Un - der mol - net lätt och fri Äf - ven

du har di - na
du har äf - ven di - na vin - gar Och din rymd att fly - ga i Och din rymd att fly - ga i
du har äf - ven di - na din rymd att fly - ga i

gru - set lätt som fo - geln snabb som
Kla - ga ej att du vid som en fån - ge binds än - nu fo - geln lätt och
Kla - ga ej som en fån - ge att du binds än - nu som fo - geln lätt som

lju - set Är det gladt på jor - den
lju - set snabb och mer än bå - da fri är du Är det gladt på jor - den, hvi - la bland dess
Är det gladt på jor - den, hvi - la

21

fröj - - - der glad och - så Är det Bort till sor - ligt, i - la i - la Bort till hög - re verl - dar

21

bland dess fröj - der glad också och är det

26

då Bort till hög - re verl - dar då

26

Appendix IV: Comments on the Transcriptions in Chapter 14

The transcriptions retain the original layout; in other words, system breaks appear in the transcription as in the original manuscript. In cases of possible misunderstandings, I have added a stave number in square brackets before the stave. In case of multiple readings (on top of each other), I have transcribed the chronologically final reading. Marks in square brackets or those written in dotted lines are my additions.

Example 14.2: In the passage visible in the example, no key signatures appear, but Sibelius has written on stave 2 (not in the example) four sharps, and at the beginning of stave 3 one natural (d).

Example 14.4b: No key signatures appear, but Sibelius has indicated the key with the verbal note *Gissmoll* (G# minor). The clef is written on the first three staves.

Example 14.6a: The clef appears only at the beginning of stave 7.

Example 14.7: Sibelius began to write using every other stave. The empty staves have been excluded from the example. The stave numbers are provided in square brackets.

Example 14.8: No key signatures appear on the manuscript. I have deduced the key based on the musical material on the page, thus the key signature in the example must be taken with a pinch of salt.

Example 14.9: Clefs and key signatures appear only on the first system. Sibelius first wrote chords on the same stave as the melody, then moved the chords to the lower stave later on. Chords on the upper stave are excluded from the example.

Example 14.10a: Clefs and key signatures appear only on stave 1, bar lines on the first three staves. The passage was written originally on staves 9–10 and the emendation at the end of stave 10 appears on stave 11. The emendation is inserted in its ‘correct place’. To avoid misunderstandings, the emendation is indicated in the example with a horizontal line.

Example 14.13: Clefs and key signatures appear only on the first stave. Although Sibelius has changed the note values on the second system (using longer time values), not all the rhythms on the lower stave of the second system apply the changed way of writing. For the sake of clarity, the rhythms on the lower stave of the second system are changed to correspond with those on the upper stave.

Example 14.14: Clef and key signature appear only on the first stave.

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