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JEAN SIBELIUS, SYMPHONY NO. 3

MANUSCRIPT STUDY AND ANALYSIS
Timo Virtanen
Jean Sibelius, symphony no 3. Manuscript Study and Analysis

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ABSTRACT

This study is divided into two parts. In the first part, the compositional process of Jean Sibelius’s Third Symphony is discussed from the perspective of manuscript study. This study has revealed that the compositional process was long and intricate, and several works, completed either before or even years after the Symphony, were intermingled in the process. At the beginning of the compositional work, Sibelius does not seem to have had a clear idea of the Symphony or its movements as a whole. Nothing in the manuscripts indicates that he was intentionally building up broad passages and sections from small motives. On the contrary, Sibelius seems to have constructed the work by bringing together ideas which he had written in his sketch collections over many years and which originally did not share common roots. His central task seems to have been to build up a unified whole of the separate and originally rather fragmentary elements. Sibelius’s manuscripts reveal that the composer made unsuccessful attempts to combine different ideas before he finally arrived at combinations which he found acceptable. The manuscript study, together with some observations presented in literature earlier and future research, may clarify the picture of Sibelius’s composing strategy, which the composer himself referred to as creating a picture from fragments of a mosaic.

The second part of the study presents an analytical view focusing on questions of harmony and voice-leading structure, and form discussed from the perspective of Schenkerian theory, while the thematic and other aspects having to do with the formal design are of more marginal interest here. Although the form of the Third has often been described as the most classical of all Sibelius symphonies, many passages in the work have been regarded as problematic, or even unanalyzable. The apparent “classical” clarity of the music may be a result of certain features of the thematic disposition, whilst a study of the interaction between tonal structure and formal design in the work may open up new perspectives on the questions of form. Since Sibelius’s music stylistically is situated between the classic-romantic tonal tradition and the new trends of the early 20th century, the applicability of the Schenkerian approach forms a central methodological question. In order to understand the characteristics of the tonal structure in Sibelius’s music and the ways of departing from the tonality of the common-practice period in Sibelius’s works, the particular features in his music have to be mirrored against the background of tonal conventions. Schenkerian theory opens up a possibility to elucidate these relations.

The Epilogue sheds light on the possible programmatic background of Sibelius’s Third Symphony. In 1905 Sibelius was planning an oratorio on a libretto written by Jalmari Finne and based on the Finnish national epic, the Kalevala, and some characteristics of the Symphony display interesting parallels with the oratorio libretto.
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During the preparation of this book I have felt myself privileged to have received so much advice and feedback from so many colleagues, and outstanding Sibelius experts. I would like to thank my supervisors, Prof. Lauri Suurpää for his exhaustive and accurate reading of my text at various stages, and Prof. Veijo Murto and Prof. Ilkka Oramo for their valuable comments and suggestions. I also would like to thank my fellow scholars in the post-graduate seminars, especially Mr. Juhani Alesaro and Mr. Risto Väisänen for the many interesting discussions. I owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Väisänen for also having been my teacher. His profound insight into different fields of music and research has been a very important source of motivation during my years of study. I am also grateful to him for guiding me to study Sibelius’s music and his manuscripts.

I would like to thank my colleagues in the Sibelius critical edition project, Dr. Kari Kilpeläinen for his incisive comments and suggestions concerning the manuscript study, and Mr. Jukka Tilikainen and Mrs. Tuija Wicklund for the many inspiring discussions concerning Sibelius's manuscripts. Also linked with the project as the first editor-in-chief, Prof. Fabian Dahlström has provided me with important information concerning the various Sibelius sources.

The credit for the discovery of the “Marjatta” fragments and references to the oratorio in correspondence by Sibelius and others belongs to Mr. Markku Hartikainen, whom I would like to thank for helping me to find the relevant sources and for the exhilarating conversations about the “Marjatta.”

I am grateful to Prof. James Hepokoski and Prof. Joseph C. Kraus for commenting on the manuscript of this book in detail. I had an opportunity to discuss my analysis with Prof. Edward Laufer, the meetings with whom I remember with gratitude. Prof. Jim Samson and Prof. Tomi Mäkelä became acquainted with some chapters of this study and their views were received with thanks. The language in this book was checked by Prof. Glenda Dawn Goss, who also made useful comments concerning the content of the book, and Mr. Keith Bosley, whose expertise in the field of the Kalevala opened new perspectives. Many thanks also to Mr. Andrew Lightfoot for a final check of some parts of the text.

I would like to thank archivist Petri Tuovinen (Helsinki University Library), who has helped me a lot with Sibelius manuscripts, and Mr. Bernd Schuff (Archives of Robert Lienau Musikverlag, Frankfurt) for collecting information about the Third Symphony materials. I am also grateful to Mr. Arto Sivonen for planning the visual design of the book.

The owners of Sibelius's rights kindly gave me permission to include manuscript facsimiles in my book. My research and the publication of this book were supported financially by the Emil Aaltonen Foundation, the Finnish Academy, and the Sibelius Academy Foundation.

In conclusion I would like to thank my dear wife Leena and my two wonderful sons, Lassi and Olli. They all patiently accompanied me during the years of the preparation of this study. I dedicate this book to the memory of my father, Erkki Virtanen (1920–2000).
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In the transcriptions of the manuscripts, the layout of the staff notation on the original manuscript pages has been retained as far as possible. Sometimes empty staves have been excluded, however. The original layout of staves has been indicated by using numbers in square brackets ([1], [2], etc.) at the beginning of each staff, whenever it appears necessary (for instance, when empty staves within a draft have been excluded). Where the layout, handwriting and so forth of a certain manuscript have been regarded as illuminating, facsimile(s) of the manuscript page(s) has been given as an Appendix. Facsimiles have also been given in the case of extensive (orchestral) drafts or in cases where the original manuscript is clear enough to serve the purposes of the discussion.

In the transcriptions, the following principles have been followed:

- Original stem directions have been retained. No stems (or bar lines, etc.) have been added. Downward stems have been placed as in the printed music text in general, at the left side of the note head (instead of the right side, as typical of Sibelius).
- Missing clefs have been added at the beginning of each example (for instance, staves 1 and 2) in square brackets [ ]. The same clefs are implied on the following staves, if not indicated otherwise.
- Accidentals, dots (in dotted note values), etc. have been added in square brackets, if they are unquestionably missing in the manuscript.
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Sibelius’s “Most Unfortunate Child”

The 3rd Symphony was a disappointment for the audience, because everybody expected it to be like the 2nd [Symphony]. I mentioned this to Gustav Mahler, when he was here [in Finland], and he also said that “with each new symphony you lose those [listeners] you have gained with the previous ones.”

In the cycle of Sibelius’s symphonies, the Third Symphony, Op. 52, seems to have remained in the shadow of its sister works. It has been—perhaps together with the Sixth Symphony—the least performed, the least recorded and the least studied of all the Sibelius symphonies. After its fairly successful first performances, the Third Symphony did not continue to be equally well-received. The English writer Rosa Newmarch and the American critic Olin Downes, both generally known

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1 Sibelius’s comment from January 8, 1943, as documented by Jussi Jalas (National Archives of Finland, Sibelius Family Archive, file box 1): “III sinfonia oli yleisölle pettymys, sillä kaikki odottivat samanlaista kuin II. Mainitsin tästä Gustav Mahlerille hänen täällä käydessään, ja hänkin totesi, että ’jokaisella uudella sinfoniailla menettää ne, joka edellisillä on saanut.’”

2 In fact, according to contemporary commentators, already the first performances of the symphony in September 25 and 27, 1907, in Helsinki, divided the audience between those who greeted the new work with satisfaction and those who did not "understand" it. The conductor Robert Kajanus wrote in the Finnish culture journal Päivä in October 24, 1904, that “[... the Suite [from the incidental music to Hjalmar Procopé’s play Belshazzar’s Feast] immediately captivated the audience, but the larger works, the [Third] Symphony and Pohjola’s Daughter, were left half incomprehensible.” ("[...] sviitti tuota pikaa valloitti yleisön, mutta nuo suuremmat sävellykset, sinfonia ja Pohjolan tytär jäivät puolittrain ymmärtämättä.”) Also Ilmari Krohn noted in his article in the music journal Säveletär in late year of 1907 that "[...] only few understood it [the Third Symphony] on the first listening.” ("[...] harvat sen ensi kuulemalla käsittivät.”).
as keen advocates for Sibelius’s music, found the work much weaker than the other symphonies, and in the literature we even read rather disparaging comments about the work.3

The “problems” of the symphony, as viewed by the commentators, have their counterpart also in the notions of numerous performers. Questions of tempi, of the slow movement’s characterization, and the peculiar third movement have been raised by the composer’s own comments as documented by the Finnish conductor and Sibelius’s son-in-law Jussi Jalas, as well as in Jalas’s own, the conductor Simon Parmet’s, and more recently, Alan Montgomery’s and David Pickett’s writings.4

Why has the Third Symphony been, or become, a “Cinderella”—as Jalas put it—among Sibelius’s symphonies? 5 I shall try to sketch out some answers here, drawing my conclusions from opinions and conceptions presented in the literature.

First, the Third Symphony seems to have been difficult to define from a stylistic viewpoint. The first two symphonies have quite easily fallen into the category of “national romanticism,” and the Fourth has been seen as reflecting the expressionistic, modernistic wave.6 The Third Symphony is one of those works composed in the first decade of the 20th century that articulate a stylistic change in Sibelius’s music, and, indeed, is at the core of this ongoing stylistic process. The difficulties in describing and defining the stylistic features of the Third Symphony have led to attempts to search for definitions by comparing the work either with the first two symphonies or with the Fourth: some writers and commentators—like M. Stuart Collins—have situated the Third stylistically nearer its predecessors; others—like Erik Furuhjelm, Parmet, and Bengt von Törne—have regarded it as anticipating its successor.7

Probably the stylistic characterization most often connected with the Third Symphony is “classicistic.”8 According to several writers, in this symphony Sibelius turned back to classical

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3 The opinions are cited in Levas 1960, and Goss 1995. Indeed, the symphony was a disappointment for many who generally appreciated Sibelius’s works. Levas (1960, 79) cites a review in the Herald Tribune in January 1908, after the premiere of the Third Symphony in the USA: “In all, one has to regret that Sibelius has not filled the unusual expectations he has created [with his earlier works].” Downes used more colourful expressions. According to him, the Third Symphony was “neither fish, flesh, fowl nor good red herring.” Surely, one of the most insulting reviews was written by Harold Rogers and published in 1952 in the Christian Science Monitor: “It was interesting to hear [Sibelius’s Third Symphony] if only to note once again how badly a composer can write”; Downes’s and Rogers’s reviews are cited in Goss 1995, pp. 54 and 48, respectively.

4 Jalas and Parmet discuss the problems of conducting the Third Symphony in more detail than with almost any other Sibelius symphony, and a large number of the comments by the composer himself, as noted by Jalas, concern performing the Third Symphony. See Jalas 1988, 63–65; Parmet 1955, 35–51; Montgomery 1977; and Pickett 1995; cf. also Tovey 1935, 124–125.

5 Jalas himself (1988, 63) gives a simple answer to the question: the second movement of the symphony has often been played too fast. Jalas implies that a genuine symphony must include a genuine slow movement.

6 See, for instance, Murtomäki 1993, 79–80, and 85–86.

7 Collins 1973, 132; Furuhjelm 1916, 211; Parmet 1955, 35 and 52–53; von Törne 1955, 73. The same feature can be seen in the case of the Symphonic Fantasy Pohjola’s Daughter, Op. 49: some writers (see, for instance, Howell 1989, 229) situate it stylistically as a continuation of Sibelius’s youthful symphonies; others see it in connection with the Third and even the Fourth Symphony (Tawaststjerna 1991, 67–68). Unlike the Third Symphony, the Symphonic Fantasy has usually been mentioned as one of Sibelius’s greatest achievements, however. In the case of the other “problematic” symphony, the Sixth, this kind of comparison has not been as conspicuous as in the case of the Third: the Sixth has been seen more as a unique, autonomous work.

8 The list of the writers sharing this view is very long, but in order to restrict it to those who have broadly discussed the stylistic question in the Third Symphony, see Howell 1989, 23; and Murtomäki 1993, 79–84.
idioms. Writers have referred to “Haydnesque” or “Mozartian” features in the Third Symphony. It seems that the impression of “classicism” (or “neo-classicism,” as Tim Howell puts it) is mostly based on certain formal features, especially the formal design of the first movement, which has been described as “clear-cut,” the orchestration that has been heard as lighter and more transparent than in the preceding two symphonies, and the overall mood of the Third Symphony. On the other hand, some writers have also claimed the opposite: especially the formal and tonal complexities of the third movement would stylistically not look back to classicism but mean a beginning for Sibelius’s profoundly new and highly individual and “modernistic” achievements. Since the Third Symphony seems to elude any clear definitions of stylistic features—perhaps because it contains so many stylistic references—it may also have been seen as problematic, ambiguous, or not focused.

A second possible explanation, related to the first, for disregarding the Third Symphony might be that, by comparison with the First, Second, and Fourth Symphonies, its expressive qualities have been by far the most difficult to grasp. The First Symphony has been interpreted as an openly heroic-tragic work, the Second as a more lyrical, but still dramatic and triumphant manifesto. The pessimistic Fourth clearly reflects deep sufferings, and brings to mind images of collapse or death. But what about the Third? In the first movement the writers have usually heard some kind of pastoral imagery. The second movement has been characterized as an idyllic slow movement built upon a simple folk-song-like theme. And the “problematic” third movement has been understood as a scherzo leading to a finale, which does not fill the listener’s expectations, but is merely a somehow forced and repetitive triumph that sounds thin and groundless. Even though some writers have noticed in the Symphony a continuous striving, or a process, towards the final hymn, the work

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9 Howell 1989, 27; Abraham 1947, 22.
10 For instance, Gray discusses each of these characteristics of the Third Symphony.
11 Tawaststjerna and Murtomäki refer to Busoni and his idea of “junge Klassizität” in connection with Sibelius’s Third Symphony. Busoni’s highly poetical and idealistic visions and descriptions of “young classicism”—as put in his writing from the year 1920—do not, in my view, actually clarify the stylistic trends in Sibelius’s symphony, however. See Tawaststjerna 1991, 24, and 80; Murtomäki 1993, 79–80. For further discussion, see Beaumont 1995, 18–19.
12 Interestingly, according to Krohn’s contemporary view (Krohn 1907, 25), the audiences of the first performances of the symphony already had difficulty in coming to terms with the expressive qualities, or the “contents,” of the work: “[... As a barrier to ‘understanding’ the Third Symphony] there was not its appearance, which was acknowledged as lucid and clear, but the contents, the wordless speech of the tones.” (“[...] Eikä esteenä ollut suinkaan sen ilmausmuoto, joka tunnustettiin kuulakkaan kirkkaaksi, vaan sisälyssä, sävelten sanaton lausunta.”) According to Collins (1973, 179), “its [the first movement’s] simplicity is deceptive and this helps to explain why the movement (and the symphony as a whole) has failed to achieve popularity on the one hand, and why its essence has rarely been demonstrated by scholars on the other: moreover in contrast to the First and Second Symphonies, it substitutes elegance for rhetoric and poetry for passion.”
13 Kajanus and Krohn interpreted the Second Symphony as a nationalistic or patriotic work reflecting the time of the Russian oppression in Finland. See Jalas 1988, 43, and Krohn 1945, 207–208.
14 As Howell (1989, 40) puts it: “Likewise, the Finale section, with its relentless emphasis on a chorale-like ‘big tune’, has the same exaggerated feel [...].” Downes was also negative towards the form and dramaturgy of the last movement, especially the ending “with an effect of incompleteness and the need of a capstone for the total edifice.” Downes 1956, 25; cited in Goss 1995, 48.
seems to lack a clear, all-governing narrative idea—even though the music might evoke occasional
descriptive impressions or associations.\textsuperscript{15}

As a third point, one line in the criticism of the Third Symphony has been focused on the
compositional or "technical" qualities of the work. For instance, Howell has regarded the Third
Symphony merely as a transitional or "experimental" work between the Second and the Fourth
Symphonies.\textsuperscript{16} He gives quite a harsh verdict—the effect of which, however, lies more in the rhetorical
gestures than on the actual argumentation—of its third movement:

\begin{quote}
This lack of continuity, an essential feature in a process of thematic synthesis, coupled
with evidence suggesting that such motivic correspondences in Sibelius are the
surface articulation of a harmonic\textsuperscript{3}onal scheme, provide some of the reasons why
this movement lacks the coherent, organic development which creates the successful
examples of formal compression involving the fusion of two movements.\textsuperscript{17}
\end{quote}

As in Howell's case, the third movement of the symphony, in particular, or "the problem of the
form of the last movement," as Veijo Murtomäki puts it, has caused a lot of fingerpointing among
the writers.\textsuperscript{18} But not even the second movement has been left without any share in these kinds of
judgments. According to Gray, the movement is extremely simple, "consisting as it does in little
else but the ringing of the changes upon a single theme by shifting it up and down on to different
degrees of the diatonic scale."\textsuperscript{19} Abraham evaluates it as "one the weakest movements in the whole
of Sibelius's symphonies."\textsuperscript{20}

The present study is an attempt to shed light on a work that has been seen by many commentators
as transitional, problematic, or even a second-rate product in the cycle of Sibelius's symphonies—the
work that, according to Downes, Sibelius himself called his "most unfortunate child."\textsuperscript{21} I shall
attempt to sketch a picture of the genesis of Sibelius's Third Symphony, how it came to be what it is,
what can be added to previous scholars' views of the work, and which aspects in their writings might
be at least reconsidered. I shall examine the Third Symphony's background and its position among
Sibelius's works composed during the first decade of the 20th century by tracing its roots, the genesis,
and the compositional process. In order to grasp the "problems" of the work itself, I shall examine

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{15} According to Murtomäki (1993, 79), "Sibelius's Third Symphony is on many levels an answer to Busoni's expectations
[expressed in the \textit{Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik der Tonkunst}]. Whereas the First and Second Symphonies obviously con-
tained national-patriotic sentiment and the psychological rhetoric of late Romanticism, it is difficult to detect program-
matic or poetic intentions in the Third Symphony." On the "teleological" characteristics of the third movement, see, for
instance, Collins 1973, 189–195. Krohn has even presented a programmatic interpretation of the symphony. See Krohn
1945, especially pp. 305–306 (cf. also Chapter 14 of this study).
\item\textsuperscript{16} Howell 1989, 22, 39, and 42.
\item\textsuperscript{17} Howell 1989, 42 (emphasis in the original).
\item\textsuperscript{18} Murtomäki 1993, 60.
\item\textsuperscript{19} Gray 1931, 139.
\item\textsuperscript{20} Abraham 1947, 23.
\item\textsuperscript{21} Cited in Goss 1995, 48. Sibelius had great expectations of the Symphony. In March 16, 1907, he wrote to his wife, Aino
(NA, SFA, file box 96): "That symphony is going to one of the best things I have done. You know, it will be more brilliant,
as they say, (passages and the like) than my other [symphonies or works]." ("Tuo sinfonia lupaa nulla jorain parasta mitä
olen tehnyt. Ymmärrätkö että se tulee enemmän n.s. brillantiksi (passager o.l.) kun [sic] minun muut.")
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
analytically the formal and structural features from a little-considered viewpoint in connection with the Third Symphony: the harmony and voice-leading structure from the Schenkerian perspective.

The study concentrates on two main issues: first, it contains a study of the extensive manuscript material for the symphony; second, it presents an analytical view of the work. As an epilogue, based on these two discussions as well as on biographical documentation, I shall draw conclusions concerning the possible programmatic background ideas in the work.

1.2 Background and Basics of the Present Study

1.2.1 Previous Manuscript Studies of Sibelius’s Works

Although Sibelius’s musical manuscripts and unpublished works awakened some interest among scholars already during the composer’s lifetime and in the years following his death, manuscript studies are a new branch in Sibelius research. The real pioneer in such studies, as well as in Sibelius research as a whole, was Erik Tawaststjerna, whose extensive Sibelius biography contains discussion of various Sibelius documents ranging from the composer’s diary and letters to his musical manuscripts. Tawaststjerna’s work shows a profound awareness of these sources, especially considering that during the time of his writing the materials were not even organized, nor were they easy for scholars to obtain. Besides Tawaststjerna, Jalas also seems to have been quite well aware of the composer’s manuscripts: on many of the Sibelius manuscripts in Helsinki University Library there are many identifying annotations on the sketches and drafts in the hand of Jalas.

In 1982, the Sibelius heirs donated a large number of Sibelius manuscripts—around 1900 manuscript units—to Helsinki University Library. This donation gave a strong impulse to sketch studies of Sibelius’s music. The manuscript material was organized and catalogued by Kari Kilpeläinen, whose pioneering work, *The Jean Sibelius Musical Manuscripts in Helsinki University Library*, was published in 1991. In addition to the catalogue, Kilpeläinen has written a study of Sibelius’s manuscript sources, *Tutkielmia Jean Sibeliuksen käskirjoituksista* (“Studies of Jean Sibelius manuscripts”), containing, for instance, an examination of the sketches for and the compositional process of Sibelius’s Seventh Symphony (Kilpeläinen 1992).

Already in 1987, before the publication of Kilpeläinen’s catalogue, Nors S. Josephson published an article on the sketches for the Fourth Symphony, and in 1990 Howell compared the 1915

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22 I use the term “manuscript study” to cover the studies of sketches and other types of musical manuscripts. For further definitions, see Chapter 2.

23 Tawaststjerna discusses, for instance, sketches for *Kullervo*, Op. 7, and for the other symphonies with the only exception of the Third.

24 For other pioneering studies on Sibelius’s musical manuscripts, most of them preceding Tawaststjerna’s biography, see Erik Furuhjelm’s discussion of Sibelius’s youthful, unpublished chamber music (in Furuhjelm 1916), Nils-Erik Ringbom’s study of the two versions of *En saga* (1956), John Rosas’s surveys of the early chamber music works (1961) and *Adolstnet* (1976), and Fabian Dahlström’s article on the autograph score of the First Symphony (1978). More from a practical musician’s point of view, the conductor Paavo Berglund wrote his comparative study of the printed score and the manuscript of the Seventh Symphony (1970). After Tawaststjerna, Sibelius’s letters and also the diary have been studied by Dahlström (2003a), Goss (ed., 1997), and Hartikainen (2003).
version of the Fifth Symphony with the final score. But only after the Kilpeläinen catalogue was published, did the Sibelius manuscripts attracted wider international interest. In his book on the Fifth Symphony (1993), James Hepokoski discusses the compositional process of the work in the light of Sibelius's sketches. More recently Hepokoski has written about sketches also in his article on the Sixth Symphony (2001). Timothy L. Jackson included observations of sketches for several Sibelius works, among them the Third Symphony, in his articles published in 1995–2001.

Also recently, Jukka Tiilikainen has published articles on the manuscripts of Sibelius's songs (1998, 2003) as well as on the Violin Concerto (2004). The author of the present study has published articles on the Symphonic Fantasy Pohjola's Daughter, Op. 49 (2001), as well as the Third Symphony (2003). Since 1996 the study of musical manuscripts, including sketch material, has been an integral part of the complete critical edition of Sibelius's works.

1.2.2 The Third Symphony as a Subject for Manuscript Study
Along with manuscripts for the Seventh Symphony, Op. 105, the Violin Concerto, Op. 47, and the Symphonic Fantasy Pohjola's Daughter, Op. 49, the manuscript material for the Third Symphony is among the most extensive to have been preserved. The total number of manuscript pages containing sketches and drafts for the Third Symphony is ca. 160–200, depending on how a "sketch/draft for the Third Symphony" is defined (see the discussion in Chapters 2 and 8). Although Timothy Jackson refers to some of the sketches and drafts for the Third Symphony in his writings (see especially Jackson 1998), and although the manuscript material has been available to scholars for over two decades, the manuscript material for the Third Symphony—like those for most of the other works by Sibelius—has remained terra incognita.

As studies by Tawaststjerna, Kilpeläinen and Hepokoski, as well as my own study on Pohjola's Daughter, have shown, the genesis and the compositional process of a work by Sibelius can be very intricate. The works discussed did not emerge from a concentrated and straightforward compositional process or a coherent collection of compositional ideas, but rather resulted from several simultaneous creative processes. The musical materials for the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Symphonies as well as the tone poem Tapiola were originally stewing in the same pot, and during the compositional processes of the symphonies, Sibelius seems to have stirred the contents of the cauldron, so to speak, searching and choosing different ingredients for each of these works. The same was evident in the compositional process for Pohjola's Daughter into which several other works were interwoven. It is therefore not at all surprising that in a sketch study of the Third Symphony, connections between this symphony and other works arise as one of the central issues. By illustrating Sibelius's compositional procedures, the backgrounds of and relationships between his works, such a study may even shed light on the nature of Sibelius's creativity and his oeuvre on a larger scale.


1.2.3 Analytical Studies of Sibelius’s Works

For decades, analytical studies of Sibelius’s music and compositional technique focused on form (examined from a rather schematic point of view), and on motivic-thematic content and design. Only recently have such issues as modality versus tonality (Kaleel Skeirik 1997, Juhani Alesaro 1998 and 2003) or harmonic and voice-leading structure (in relation to form and discussed from a Schenkerian point of view) been more thoroughly examined. The more recent, Schenkerian-based trend in Sibelius research can be seen in Howell’s (not exactly Schenkerian) study on Sibelius’s symphonies and tone poems (1989), Murptomäki’s book on the entire symphony cycle and his articles on En saga (1990) and Skogsrået (2001), Jackson’s articles (1995, 2001), Skeirik’s book on the first movement of the Sixth Symphony (1997), Edward Laufer’s articles on the Fourth and the Seventh Symphonies (1999 and 2001 respectively), Lauri Suurpää’s articles on two Sibelius songs (2003) and the first movement of the First Symphony (2002), as well as Joseph C. Kraus’s articles on Sibelius’s First Symphony vis-à-vis Tchaikovsky’s Fifth (1998), and on thematic and metrical aspects of the Second, Third, and Fourth Symphonies (2003).

Owing to Sibelius’s position between tonal tradition, modal factors, and post-tonal trends at the beginning of the 20th century, and his highly individual way of treating and deviating from traditional models in his music, most writers approaching Sibelius’s music from the Schenkerian viewpoint have encountered many challenges in applying Schenker’s theory in its “original” or “purest” form. This has led some scholars to present their deformations, enlargements, or supplements to the theory. As one, and perhaps the most striking, example, Skeirik has introduced the concept of “modal Ursatz” in describing structural features in the first movement of Sibelius’s Sixth Symphony.

Many of Laufer’s and Jackson’s analyses of Sibelius’s works also show, at least in some respects, stepping outside the borderline of traditional Schenkerian theory — or to put it in another way, these authors test the flexibility of the Schenkerian approach by asking where the borderlines of this approach and, indeed, of tonality are. As mentioned, in the present study, Sibelius’s music is discussed from the Schenkerian point of view, and, as will be seen, some of the questions above appear fundamental also in the analytical part of the study. Kraus’s observations and statements concerning the application of Schenkerian theory to Sibelius’s music serve well as a closing thought here:

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27 See, for instance, Cecil Gray 1931; Eino Roiha 1941; Krohn 1942, 1945; Salmenhaara 1970; Oramo 1978; and Jalas 1988.
28 It was, however, Olavi Ingman who first took questions of tonality into account in his writings in the 1960s. Ingman presents a Schenkerian-oriented perspective in his article on form in Sibelius’s symphonies in 1965 (without any Schenkerian analytical graphs or the like); see Ingman 1965.
29 According to Skeirik, in this movement, the traditional bass-arpeggiation in the bass of the fundamental structure can be understood to have been replaced with a I–VII–I progression in the bass, giving support to corresponding chords in the natural minor (or Dorian mode). See Skeirik 1997, especially pp. 4–5.
30 In his writings Laufer has, for instance, analyzed and specified typically Sibelian harmonic and voice-leading procedures, such as anticipation, oblique relationship and elision. For further discussion on applications of the Schenkerian theory in the case of Sibelius’s music, see Olli Väisälä’s extensive review of Sibelius Studies, especially his discussion on Jackson’s and Laufer’s articles in this anthology (Väisälä 2002).
Those of us who have applied the technique of Schenkerian analysis to passages from the Sibelius symphonies have sometimes experienced discomfort, since Schenker's paradigms of "classical" diatonic tonality do not always easily correspond with the patterns found in Sibelius's music. Nevertheless, a Schenkerian approach can still be useful for establishing how Sibelius might refer to a traditional tonal stratagem, but "deform" it in some modernist way, as a means of creating a dialogue with the past that also establishes his own modernist credentials.  

1.2.4 Analytical Studies of the Third Symphony

In the literature, the Third Symphony has usually been discussed as one of a group of Sibelius's works, such as the whole cycle of symphonies. The only analytical study I am aware of that concentrates exclusively on the Third Symphony and discusses the work in detail and in its entirety—i.e., each of the movements—is Outi Jyrhämä's master's thesis (1981). As in the case of many other studies on Sibelius's works, Jyrhämä's analytical interest is focused on the motivic and thematic design of the work, and especially the thematic transformation processes. Writings discussing especially these aspects of the Third Symphony have not been published until recently.

The other traditional field of interest, form, has been discussed mainly in connection with broad surveys of Sibelius's works. Although issues (or "problems") of form in the Third Symphony were discussed or at least referred to by some of the early commentators, the first actual analytical interpretations of the form were presented by Ilmari Krohn and Eino Roiha in their books on the whole cycle of the symphonies. Both Krohn's and Roiha's analytical view of the form is based on Krohn's theory of a hierarchy of rhythmical units, while questions of tonality are often passed by. Discussion concerning questions of tonality in the Third Symphony are included especially in Howell's, Murтомäki's, Jackson's, and Les Black's writings.

1.3 Contents of the Present Study

1.3.1 The Two-part Division

As discussed earlier, the present volume is divided into two parts: a manuscript study and an analysis. Reasons for having this kind of two-part division call for some comment. In the following pages, I shall discuss the basis and the methodological points of departure of combining manuscript study with analysis.

31 Kraus 2003, 208.
32 The Esconian musicologist Leo Normet also wrote an article on the Symphony in the 1960s. The article was published in Finnish in 1967 (see Normet 1967). But as the title of the article implies—"Marginal notes on Sibelius's 3rd Symphony"—it is not a large-scale study, however (not to underestimate the relevance or value of the observations presented in it).
33 See, for instance Ryynänen (1988) and Kraus (2003). Neither of these concentrates solely on the Third Symphony.
34 Krohn 1942, esp. pp. 89–113; Roiha 1941.
35 See Howell 1989, 21–42; Murtomäki 1993, 59–84; Jackson 1998, 247–278; and Black 2003. In Kraus's Schenkerian-orientated article (2003) the Third Symphony is primarily discussed from the point of view of the metrical structures (on aspects of meter, see also Kallio 2003). Already Ingman (1965) discussed the form of the movements of the symphony from the point of view of tonality.
Especially in the last few decades, the relationship between sketch study and analysis has been discussed in the literature. In 1978, Douglas Johnson stirred the anthill with his article “Beethoven Scholars and Beethoven’s Sketches,” after the publication of which several scholars expressed their views on the subject. At the core of the problem is the question of the relationship between a sketch and a final, completed work: can we base analytical conclusions concerning the final work on the information gathered from a sketch study? In one, most obvious, sense the answer might be quite simply no: a composition and the sketches for it are different matters. But our answer also depends on our view of the nature and basics of musical analysis and the results of the analytical process itself. If we see analysis as searching for or explaining something that might be regarded as dealing with factual information, producing “common knowledge,” as Johnson puts it, we should perhaps keep the final work and the sketch material for that work separate. If we, on the other hand, understand analysis as dealing with interpretation, then we can perhaps also accept that many kinds of background information, experiences, and expectations quite naturally have their impact on the analytical process. If we have studied or even seen a composer’s handwriting in his sketches, or his autograph of a certain work, it may—consciously or subconsciously—influence the way we regard and interpret the musical work itself. As Philip Gossett has put it:

> Each analysis will focus on different aspects or qualities, and none can hope to “explain” exhaustively even a relatively simple work. Whether or not we wish to invoke for a specific analysis information garnered from the sketches, they affect our more general understanding of the work and the questions we ask about related works.

Especially Schenker and some of his followers have emphasized the importance of sketch and autograph studies in examining analytically the music of the “masters.” The following two quotations from Free Composition, from the Chapter entitled The Background, illuminate Schenker’s view:

> [1] [...] a thoroughgoing study of the sketches of the masters is most necessary. These sketches reveal musical coherence in the process of evolution.

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37 Or, as Johnson puts it (1978, 13): “Are there problems in the complete works that can be elucidated by the sketches?”

38 Johnson discusses this viewpoint as follows: “The results [of using sketches as an aid for analysis] thus far are disappointing. Is there a single important analytical insight derived from the sketches which has become common knowledge among musicians?” (ibid., p. 13, italics added). Both important analytical insight and common knowledge seem to imply some kind of music-analytical information that would be generally accepted and established as “facts” among musicians. In the negative attitude towards combining sketch studies and analysis there can even be heard moralistic or puristic tones, which may also be directed to the supposed intentions of those who build such combinations into their writings: when an analyst has problems with analysis, he can try to solve the problems in an unfair manner, by “taking another look at the sketches,” as Johnson puts it (1978, 13).

39 Gossett 1974, 261; cited in Johnson 1978. See also the discussion in Kinderman 1987, especially pp. xvi and xvii, and Hefling 1991, 446 and 451–455. One might claim that as a result in an examination combining music analysis and sketch study a scholar automatically tries to prove that the composer’s final solutions were the most successful ones. There have also been opposite conclusions, or at least conclusions questioning the final solutions, however. In his essay on the finale of Beethoven’s Second Symphony (1982), Nicholas Marston writes that in the final version of the movement, Beethoven found a successful solution, but in some respects only—in other respects an earlier version might be regarded as more successful. Here, by evaluating the composer’s solutions, Marston, of course, also takes a step into the realm of criticism.
[2] I have often stressed that information of the greatest significance regarding the principles of art, the creation of musical coherence, the individual style of notation, etc., is to be derived from autographs as well as from sketches.  

In his two articles combining analysis and sketch studies, Carl Schachter has plausibly and convincingly shown the possibilities in combining sketch studies with “analytical insights.” He refers to Johnson’s article and expresses a practical and straightforward view concerning the sketch study/analysis problem:

Finding confirmation for one’s ideas is a large and highly important part of the analytical process and ought not to be dismissed as of negligible value. [...] Of course, one can analyze music without recourse to sketches. But where sketches are available, it would be foolish to ignore them.

The two-part division of the present study does not reflect any separatist attitude concerning the above questions: the division is primarily based on the two different layers of discussion chosen for this study. Study of the sketches gives us especially valuable information about the genesis and the compositional processes of the Third Symphony. Of course, no examination of the compositional processes and procedures would be possible without at least a rough analytical insight into the final work, but in the present case, the actual and detailed analytical examination of the finished work is placed in the second part of the study, where, when it seems reasonable and illuminating, information gathered from the sketches has been presented parallel to the analytical notions.

1.3.2 The Chapters in Outline

As explained earlier, the focus of Part I lies on the genesis and the compositional process of the Third Symphony. In Sections 2.1 and 2.2 I define the terminology and general background for discussion of Sibelius’s musical manuscripts for the symphony. In Chapter 3 the genesis of the symphony is examined in the light of such biographical sources as diary entries and letters (Section 3.1), and Section 3.2 includes an overall survey of the manuscript materials preserved in Helsinki University Library. In the following Chapters (4–6) the genesis and compositional process of the work is discussed from the viewpoint of musical manuscripts by examining the manuscripts for the Third Symphony movement by movement. Chapters 7 and 8 form a conclusion for the first part of this study, discussing the relationship between some works completed in the years 1901–1912, and questions of definitions arising from the sketch study and issues of the “organic thematic process” in the symphony.

Part II opens with a general view of the analytical issues and problems, which forms the starting point for the discussion (Chapter 9). Chapters 10–12 present analytical interpretations of the three movements of the symphony from a Schenkerian viewpoint of harmony and voice-leading. Finally, after the conclusions made in Chapter 13, a view of a possible programmatic background in relation to features of the symphony is considered in the Epilogue, Chapter 14.

41 Schachter 1982, 18.
PART 1
MANUSCRIPT STUDY
2.1 On Terminology

In the literature, scholars have employed a wide variety of terms to describe musical manuscripts. Some writers have made distinctions among the different types of manuscripts, autographs, drafts, and sketches, whereas others simply use the word “sketch” when talking about any of the different kinds of manuscripts preceding the finished score.¹ In the present study, terminology has been restricted to the following basic terms and meanings:²

**Musical manuscript:** a general term covering the different types of sketches, drafts, and fair copies written by the composer, and also fair copies written by others, especially if they contain markings in the composer’s hand.

**Sketch:** usually a relatively short, fragmentary unit, featuring, for instance, a single thematic idea (especially in a thematic memorandum as defined further below). Typically, a sketch is written on one or two staves, without giving any clear picture of the instrumentation or the registral setting as a whole.

**Draft:** a musical manuscript, which either a) features a longer unit of the whole work (for example, a passage or a section) or b) gives a more or less clear picture of the instrumentation. In the latter

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¹ As examples of ramified and highly illustrative manuscript specifications, see Cooper 1990 and Somfai 1996.
² When discussing the manuscript material for Sibelius’s Third Symphony as well as for other works in this study, the classification numbers (labeled HUL, after the repository for the manuscript material, Helsinki University Library) given in Kilpeläinen 1991 have been used.
case, the draft may represent a rather short passage. The term *continuity draft* is used in connection with especially long drafts, showing, for instance, the musical continuum of a large section (such as exposition or development) or several sections.

A distinction between a sketch and a draft is not always easy to draw and certain manuscripts can contain features of both. Therefore, these terms should be taken as a guide, and especially in more complicated cases, the quality of a particular manuscript is always described below in more detail.

**2.2 Problems in Identifying and Defining the Chronology of Sibelius’s Manuscripts**

In his article “Sketch Studies” (1982), Joseph Kerman discusses three main areas about which sketch studies can open new perspectives. First, the sketches can give chronological or other types of background information, such as when a work was composed, what kinds of compositional plans the composer had in mind, and the like. Second, the sketches can reveal features of the “compositional processes” (Kerman writes the words with quotation marks): how the music was put together, and in what order, how the themes were developed to their final shape, and so forth. Third, and as discussed earlier, the most disputable area, sketch studies may be connected to an analytical view of the work.

In Part I of the present study the discussion focuses on the first two types of information described by Kerman. In Sibelius’s case in particular, the following observations, problems, and questions concerning identifying and defining the chronology of manuscripts must be taken into account before the examination of the sketches.

Part of the information a scholar gathers in studying musical manuscripts can be called factual, above all, information about the physical qualities of a source: the types of paper, paper marks and water marks, pencil and ink colours, the layout of the music on the manuscript pages, and so forth. Based on these physical qualities, the manuscripts can be compared to each other, and different classifications and even conclusions can be made. Beyond that point in sketch studies, virtually everything is more or less interpretative or deals with probabilities.

For one thing—and most importantly—we can never be sure whether all of the manuscript material for a certain work, or for a passage within a work, has been preserved. For instance, even though it might be tempting to conclude that a section or passage that has been extensively sketched has been exceptionally troublesome for the composer, we cannot draw that kind of conclusion: after all, we do not know how many or what kinds of musical manuscripts have been lost or destroyed. Besides, a large number of sketches does not necessarily imply that the compositional process was

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3 For instance, within a draft there can be diverse "branches" of sketches.

4 I shall use the word "genesis" for the creation history as it has been told in biographical documents and "compositional process" for the evolving of a composition as it appears in the light of the musical sources, i.e., the different types of manuscript material.
difficult—a certain section or passage may have been especially important or significant for a variety of reasons. 5

Another essential question applies to identifying the sketches that are supposed to have been meant for a particular work. If we talk about "a sketch for the Third Symphony," we imply or believe that Sibelius had this particular symphony in mind when creating the sketch. However, as we shall see, this seems not always to have been the case. Sibelius may have sketched relatively extensive passages that ended up in the symphony, but it is not at all certain—or even probable—that the passage was initially meant for the work we know as the Third Symphony. In some cases, Sibelius first planned to use musical material that ended up in the Third Symphony in other works. 6 Also another manner of making decisions concerning the musical material is very typical of Sibelius: he may originally have intended to include certain material in the Symphony, but later changed his mind, and the material may have ended up in a different work. 7 Further, it is often difficult to decide exactly when musical material in a sketch or draft bears enough of a likeness, or a relationship to, for instance, a theme from the Third Symphony that we really can regard the material as a sketch or draft for that theme. Sometimes the observations are open to further interpretations and discussion (and will inevitably remain so, I suppose).

In Sibelius's case, it is also usually very difficult, occasionally even impossible, to date precisely the musical manuscripts for a certain work. 8 Occasionally the composer dated a manuscript page; other times sketches for different works on one and the same page, a letter draft, list of expenses, income, or debts may give some hint of the date. 9 Even though dating the sketches or even putting them in chronological order can be very problematic, one can, without being too audacious or optimistic, draw conclusions about the different stages of the compositional process and give justifications for a hypothesis about the chronological layers of the manuscript material. It is, on the one hand, often

5 Tiilikainen presents important observations on Sibelius's song sketches in his article on the subject (2003). Tiilikainen points out that "[the] Sibelius manuscript sources do not include a uniform set of musical memoranda that reveal the compositional process in totality. There are two reasons for this. First, not all of the manuscripts have survived. [...] Second, even if all of the manuscripts for some works had survived, we cannot expect to find all the details of composition in them." (Tiilikainen 2003, 39). See also Cooper's discussion of Beethoven's sketches, especially in the chapter "Types and Relationships of Sketches" (Cooper 1990).

6 As has been mentioned earlier, observations about this type of exchange of musical material have been presented by Tawaststjerna (1996), Kilpeläinen (1992), and Hepokoski (1993), as well as in my studies on the Symphonic Fantasy, Pohjola's Daughter, Op. 49 (Virtanen 2001).

7 It is also possible that Sibelius notated musical material without any clear idea of a particular work.

8 Basing his view on paper types and colours of pencils and inks used by Sibelius during different periods of his life, Kilpeläinen has given an approximate date for some of the sketches in his catalogue of Sibelius manuscripts in Helsinki University Library. Both of Kilpeläinen's main publications (1991, 1992) contain important information on Sibelius's manuscripts, but since the dating of the manuscripts is sometimes rather loose, the present discussion cannot always profit much from it: if, for instance, Kilpeläinen's dating for a manuscript gives the time-span 1905–1907 (as in the case of HUL 0267), the years cover probably a half or more of the period of time during which the Third Symphony was composed.

9 To be precise, even a date written by the composer himself on a manuscript page does not necessarily tell the (whole) truth about the date when the music on the page was written. The composer may, for one reason or another, have written a wrong date on the page, or the date may even not bear any connection with the music in question: even though written, for example, with the same pencil, the date and the music may have been written on different occasions, and the difference in time may be considerable. During his most creative periods, Sibelius presumably saved many of his sketches and could return years later to earlier musical ideas. In this connection, a date on a manuscript page can derive from a later year. For Sibelius's habit of returning to his earlier musical sources, see, for instance von Törne 1945, 91, and the discussion below.
not very difficult to decide whether a sketch represents an early or a late stage in the compositional process of the work. We can quite reasonably state that, for example, a fragmentary sketch written in pencil and showing a thematic idea that underwent several transformations before it found its final shape is probably earlier than a more elaborate draft written in ink. Yet on the other hand, we cannot blindly rely on an idea of a linear compositional process, progressing step by step forward: a composer can go astray and try again by searching for a new path, or after several unsuccessful attempts return to an earlier thought.\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{10} As a good example of the composer's absent-mindedness or side-steps, see Lockwood's notions on the illuminating bars of Beethoven's Piano Sonata, Op. 26, in Lockwood 1970. Tiilikainen 1998 is a throughout study of the intricate compositional process of Sibelius's song *Dolce far niente*, Op. 61, No. 6.
3.1 The Genesis of the Third Symphony According to Biographical Sources

Sibelius biographies give slightly different dates for the composition of the Third Symphony. According to Tawaststjerna, the work was composed in the years 1904–1907, while Abraham, Furuholmen, and Krohn give the years 1905–1907.1 What is sure and precise is the date of the first performance of the work on September 25, 1907, in Helsinki, but as discussed below, even this date seems not to have been the end of the compositional decisions made and entered into the score.

According to a letter sent by Sibelius to his patron Axel Carpelan on September 21, 1904, the composer had begun work on the symphony in that month.2 In the same letter he writes: “In spite of everything there is a lot of major in life. The 3rd [Symphony] goes in C major!”3 As in the case of the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh symphonies, which were partly planned and material for which was sketched simultaneously, it is possible that Sibelius may already have had ideas for the new symphony when composing the preceding one(s).4 As we will see, Sibelius really had sketched musical materials which ended up in the Third Symphony before September 1904, but it is not

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1 According to Dahlström, Sibelius began the work on the Symphony in September 1904, and the work was finished probably in September 1907. Dahlström also refers to the Kilpeläinen catalogue (Kilpeläinen 1992) and states that the composer used thematic material deriving from the years 1900–1902 in the composition. See Dahlström 2003b, 243. In a broadcast interview, given by Sibelius near his 83rd birthday, on Finland’s Independence Day, December 6, 1948, the composer claims to have composed the Third Symphony in Paris. As we can see, only a very small part of this statement can be true. Sibelius did spend time in Paris during the years that the Third Symphony was composed (he also visited Berlin and other European cities), but the symphony as a whole was certainly not composed there.

2 “I have begun my Third Symphony!” (“Min tredje Sinfonia har jag påbörja!”) Sibelius’s letter can be found at the National Archives of Finland, Sibelius’s Family Archives, file box 120. The letter is also cited in Tawaststjerna 1991, 15.

3 Ibid.: “Men oaktadt allt finnes det dock mycket dur i livet. Den III går i Cdur!”

known whether these materials were intended to be used in a symphony or in some other type of composition. In the light of sketch study, the latter assumption seems more likely.

Even though Sibelius seems to have been full of enthusiasm for his new symphony in September 1904, the work progressed slowly. During the years 1904–1907 he composed or revised several large works simultaneously, among them the Violin Concerto, Op. 47 (1905), the Symphonic Fantasy Pohjolan tytär (Pohjola’s Daughter), Op. 49 (1906), incidental music to two plays, namely, Pelléas och Mélisande (Pelléas and Mélisande), Op. 46 (1905, text by Maurice Maeterlinck) and Belszazars gästabud (Belshazzar’s Feast), Op. 51 (1906, text by Hjalmar Procopé), and the ballade Vapautettu kuningatar (The Captive Queen), Op. 48 (1906, text by Paavo Cajander). In addition, Sibelius was working on two works which were ultimately left unfinished, the oratorio “Marjatta” (in 1905, text by Jalmari Finne) and a symphonic poem, or a symphony, called “Luonnotar” (in 1905–1906) in the correspondence between the composer and his wife, Aino.

The most productive period in the composition of the symphony seems to have started in late 1906. The first performance was initially planned for Spring 1907 in London, but Sibelius did not complete the work in time. During the spring of 1907 Sibelius was working diligently on the symphony, and probably finished the first two movements in the summer. He was able to send the two movements to his publisher Robert Lienau, while still working on the third, which caused him trouble during the autumn. Sibelius completed the score only a few days before the first performance, and the third movement was sent to Lienau only afterwards. Lienau had the two first

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5 The list of works composed during these years is impressive, but viewed in the light of the agreement that Sibelius signed with the publisher Robert Lienau in June 1905 (NA, SFA, file box 46), not impressive enough: according to this document, the composer should have produced four large (orchestral) works yearly. Sibelius either overestimated his creativity or for some other reason promised Lienau too much. He could not keep his agreement even in the year 1905, although he was allowed to include two previously composed works, the Violin Concerto and the incidental music to Pelléas et Mélisande to the list of the works required in the agreement.

6 Since neither the oratorio nor the early symphonic work based on the Kalevala Luonnotar legend ever came true, their titles are not italicized but given in quotation marks. The planned “Luonnotar” of the years 1905–1906 has no direct connection and is not to be confused with the tone poem Luonnotar, Op. 70, for soprano and orchestra from the year 1913. As we will see, even though many other compositional projects interrupted Sibelius’s work on the symphony, it seems likely that the symphony was developing in Sibelius’s mind while he was busy with other works, and composing the other works also produced material and ideas for the symphony.

7 Sibelius’s letter to Carpelan, dated November 3, 1906 (NA, SFA, file box 120): “On April 17 [1907] I am invited by the Philharmonic Society in London to conduct my new Symphony (3rd) which should already be printed then.” (“Den 17 April är jag inbjuden af Philharmonic Society I London att dirigera min nya sinfoni (III) som skulle då vara färdigtryckt.”)

8 According to Dahlström (2003b, 244), the engraving of the two first movements was begun in May. However, Sibelius wrote to Robert Lienau on July 1, 1907 (NA, Erik Tawaststjerna Archive, file box 38): “My new symphony is now finished at last. That is, I still have to work on the last movement.” (“Meine neue Sinfonie ist nun endlich fertig. D. h. a dem letzten Satz muss ich noch etwas arbeiten.”)

9 The engraver’s copy (Stichvorlage) made by an unknown copyist (Robert Lienau Archives, Frankfurt) contains the dates (of arrival of the first two movements), August 7 and 22, probably added at Lienau. According to a type-written manuscript by Martti Pajanne (NA, SFA, file box 1), “[the Philharmonic Society Orchestra’s first violin player] Carl Lindelöf tells that the Finale of the 3rd Symphony, beginning from the march theme, appeared ready copied only in the last rehearsal.” (“Carl Lindelöf kertoo III sinfonian finaalin, siinä olevasta marssi teemasta alkaen, ilmestyneen valmiiksi kopiointuna varsa viimeiseen harjoitukseen.”) Sibelius’s letter to Robert Lienau, dated October 4, 1907 (HUL 1992: 34): “The third movement score comes after a couple of days.” (“Das [sic] Partitur zu Satz III kommt nach Paar [sic] Tagen.”)
movements engraved already in September, but the third movement caused further trouble after the composer sent it to the publisher.\footnote{According Robert Lienau's letter to Sibelius, dated October 26, 1907 (NA, SFA, file box 46), proofs for the third movement were sent to Sibelius on October 19, 1907.}

It is not known whether Sibelius made revisions to the score after the first performance, as he did in the case of the First and the Second Symphonies and many other works. But as late as April, 1908, after several performances of the work, the publisher seems not to have been sure about the third movement’s final form:

\textit{Of the 3rd Symphony you have left then here [in Berlin?] your score and your parts, which you used in London [in a concert in February]. In these there are now lots of corrections, new performance instructions and also abridgements, for instance, at the beginning of the third movement. Should these changes be incorporated in all copies and also be made to the plates, or can the symphony remain as it is (taking into account, of course, those corrections, which you sent to me first)?}

Sibelius’s answer seems to imply that he did not want extensive changes to be made at this point, even though he had at one time planned for them:

\textit{In Symphony III everything shall be as I have changed it in the London score and parts. Only the abbreviation in the 3rd movement is left out. Therefore, the beginning of the 3rd movement remains as it was.\footnote{Robert Lienau’s letter to Sibelius, dated April 24, 1908 (NA, SFA, file box 46): “Von der 3. Sinfonie haben Sie mir damals Ihre Partitur und Ihre Orchesterstimmen, die Sie in London benutzten haben, hier gelassen. In diesen befinden sich nun eine Menge Korrekturen, neue Vortragsbezeichnungen und auch Kürzungen, z. B. am Anfang des dritten Satzes. Sollen diese Änderungen in alle Exemplare eingetragen und auch in den Platten angebracht werden, oder kann die Sinfonie so bleiben, wie sie jetzt steht (natürlich unter Berücksichtigung der Korrekturen, welche Sie mir z. Z. zuerst geschickt haben)?”}}

Neither Sibelius’s autographs nor the engraver’s copy made by an unknown copyist and restored in the archives of the Publishers Robert Lienau in Frankfurt have shed more light on the issues referred to in the correspondence between the composer and the publisher.

\section*{3.2 The Musical Manuscripts for the Third Symphony in Helsinki University Library}

Practically all musical manuscripts known for the Third Symphony are preserved in Helsinki University Library, as is the major corpus of Sibelius’s musical manuscripts. Manuscripts for the Third Symphony have been saved in 66 manuscript units (indicated with HUL codes), and the total number of manuscript pages containing music directly related to the Third Symphony is ca. 315. Of course, the number of manuscript pages alone does not tell everything about the extent of material sketched for the work, since some of the pages are tightly filled with material that ended up in the

\footnote{Sibelius’s letter to Lienau, dated on April 29, 1908 (cited in Dahlström 2003b, 244): “In der Sinfonie III soll alles so sein wie ich in d. Londoner Partitur und Stimmen geändert habe. Nur die Verkürzung [sic] in [sic] 3ten Satze bleibt weg. Die [sic] Anfang des 3te [sic] Satz bleibt also so wie die war [...]” Unfortunately, the manuscripts do not offer further information on the changes.}
symphony, while other pages contain only very short ideas or tiny fragments on one or two staves. The number of manuscripts also crucially depends on how “a sketch for the Third Symphony” is defined. This question will be discussed below.

As an overview of the whole, the musical manuscripts for the Third Symphony, as for many other works by Sibelius, can be divided into the following categories according to their general physical and musical characteristics (see also the Appendix):

A Thematic memos: usually short and fragmentary melodic ideas, typically written (very often in pencil) in notated or implied treble clef on a manuscript page containing ideas of a similar type (memorandum). The ideas in a memorandum may have been (and usually were) spread among works completed in different years or were not used in any known composition. Sibelius often marked the ideas that seemed most suitable for further elaboration with strong, and often coloured, pencil strokes in the left margin of the manuscript page or sometimes in the middle of a staff.

B Melodic sketches or drafts: usually fairly short passages on one staff, or on two staves with the melodic line crossing from one staff to another; sometimes also longer continuity drafts featuring only a single melodic line.

C Sketches or drafts featuring melody with accompaniment or harmonic background: very often a setting with a melodic line (and possibly some chordal accompaniment) written on the upper staff and the bass (and chords) on the lower staff, but most often a sketch or a draft containing only a single melodic line, sometimes crossing from the upper staff to the lower and with only occasional notation concerning the bass and the harmonies. The registral design of the music may still have changed considerably after this type of sketch.

D Sketches or drafts on more than two staves, without any or exact references (or with only occasional references) to instrumentation: registral design as well as the setting for instruments or instrument groups may be implied but is not yet fixed in its final form.

E Orchestral (full score) drafts: drafts in an orchestral score format, but not always containing all the orchestral details or the full instrumentation.

F Fair copies.

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13 This division is, of course, not the only possible in the case of the manuscripts for the symphony. The manuscript categories presented by Holoman (1975), Cooper (1990) or Somfai (1996) in their studies on Berlioz’s, Beethoven’s, and Bartók’s musical manuscripts, respectively, might be applicable to Sibelius’s manuscripts as well.

14 Tawaststjerna’s, Kilpeläinen’s and Hepokoski’s investigations of Sibelius’s Symphonies V–VII and Tapiola serve as good examples here. See Tawaststjerna 1993, Kilpeläinen 1992, as well as Hepokoski 1993, and 2001.

15 This kind of sketch or draft might also be included in category B: as a matter of fact, they are melodic sketches or drafts, and the main difference—and often the only actual difference—between this kind of sketch and draft and those representing category B lies in the layout of staves.

16 To my knowledge, Sibelius never notated a figured-bass numbering in connection with his bass lines.

17 Interestingly, in at least one case Sibelius seems to have written at the bottom of an orchestral score draft an additional pair of “cue staves.” In manuscript HUL 0172, an orchestral score draft for the recapitulation and the coda of Pohjola’s Daughter, Sibelius notated the music in its main features (a continuity draft) on two staves below the actual orchestral score draft. The two-stave draft continues without interruptions through the manuscript pages, while the orchestral realization of the music is partly fragmentary: this shows, I think, that Sibelius first wrote the “cue staves,” and then “projected” the orchestral setting from the already existing musical framework. This kind of compositional procedure (or a notational practice maintained for some other reason) has also been found in some of Beethoven’s manuscripts, and the concept “cue staff” derives from manuscript studies of Beethoven’s works (see Lockwood 1970, 45).
Of course, there may be changes or shifts from one type to another within a given manuscript unit, page, or even a single sketch or draft. Occasionally, a sketch or a draft representing type B changes into type C. In these cases, the predominant type is given first with the “secondary” feature given in brackets, for instance: B(C). Keeping in mind the difficulty of arranging Sibelius’s manuscripts in chronological order, generally speaking, the classification presented above can also be regarded as following the evolution of the musical material from the first ideas written down in a melodic/thematic memorandum to the final shape, the fair copy, of the work.\(^\text{18}\)

To judge from the preserved manuscript material for the symphony, the first movement was the most extensively sketched. The types of musical manuscripts for this movement vary from thematic ideas (representing manuscript type A) to different kinds of continuity drafts (types B–D), while the manuscripts for the second movement probably represent only both the earliest (types A and B, with one example of type C) and the latest stages of the compositional process (type E). With some exceptions the sketches for the third movement are quite elaborate drafts that already give a picture of the planned orchestral setting (types D and E). In addition to the different kinds of sketches and drafts, the manuscript material also contains fair copies of the movements (one of them being a fair copy of the first movement made by an unknown copyist), and a complete fair copy of a complete early version of the second movement.\(^\text{19}\)

Within the limits of the present study it is not possible to discuss in detail all the musical manuscripts for the Third Symphony. Therefore the discussion in this study concentrates on those manuscripts which have been regarded as revealing the most characteristic or interesting features in the compositional process of the work. These features are the following:

1. the earliest materials which ended up in the Third Symphony,
2. the substitution of material during the compositional process,
3. materials which were evolving in connection with the Third Symphony, but which ended up in other works,
4. other kinds of major changes made in the compositional plans, especially concerning formal and tonal design, thematic material, orchestration, and the like.

In addition to this focus, as a supplementary view of the manuscript material in its entirety, a complete catalogue of the manuscripts for the Third Symphony has been compiled as an appendix. Both Jalas and Kilpeläinen have identified the lion’s share of the sketches for the Third Symphony, and Jalas’s annotations on the manuscript pages often provide a valuable aid for students of Sibelius’s manuscripts. Neither Jalas nor Kilpeläinen has, quite naturally, focused on the manuscripts of the

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\(^{18}\) Although defining the “final shape” may sometimes be very problematic in Sibelius’s case. See, for instance Tuija Wicklund’s Introduction to the critical edition of *Skogsrået*, Op. 15 (Jean Sibelius Works, Series 1, Volume 9, forthcoming).

\(^{19}\) Not belonging to the actual manuscripts but still an interesting source, Sibelius’s *Handexemplar* of the Lienau score (HUL 1789) contains pencilled metronome markings in the composer’s hand.
Third Symphony, and neither Jalas's annotations nor Kilpeläinen's catalogue gives an entirely complete picture of the manuscript material for the symphony. However, as a whole, their remarkable work provides the basis of the present manuscript study.

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In the manuscripts preserved in Helsinki University Library there are also considerable gaps in the information given by Jalas: for instance, probably because Cassazione, Op. 6, remained unpublished and relatively unknown for decades, Jalas has not identified any of the sketches or drafts for that work. Also the number of musical manuscripts for Cassazione in Kilpeläinen 1991 is too small.
4.1 An Overview

As has been mentioned, the musical manuscripts preserved for the first movement of the Third Symphony are the largest in number and also the most varied of all the movements. The variety of the manuscripts ranges from preliminary, fragmentary sketches to fair copies. They include a fair copy of the entire movement in the hand of August Österberg (HUL 0226) and Sibelius’s incomplete autograph fair copy (from m. 25 onwards) with copyist’s (probably Österberg’s) markings, but also containing numerous changes made by the composer (HUL 0229).¹ There are also several pages of a score fragment that represent an earlier version of the movement, approximately corresponding to mm. 1–32, and 29–43 (HUL 0232).² In addition to the manuscripts containing the whole first movement, there are continuity-draft manuscripts showing quite extended sections, such as mm. 1–36, the entire exposition, or even larger units.

The disposition of the following discussion (the division into sections) is largely based on the focuses of the manuscript material itself, i.e., the main features and central areas of the manuscript material discerned in the manuscript study—for instance, the observation that some passages in the music have been more extensively sketched than others—have resulted in the following disposition. In order to facilitate the discussion, sonata-form terminology will be used. In the following paragraphs the term “exposition” refers to mm. 1–85, “development” to mm. 86–163, “recapitulation” to mm.

¹ The fair-copies are not identical in every detail with the printed score, but they can be regarded as representing the same version. Österberg, who played the trumpet in the Helsinki Philharmonic Society Orchestra in 1893–1901, was one of Sibelius’s main copyists.

² To be precise, the manuscript consists of six folios (three of them, 2–4, paginated by the composer), the first three of them looking almost like fair copy and the latter three rather being orchestral drafts. The manuscript unit also contains one folio (p. 7) which does not form a direct continuation to the previous ones.
164–249, and “coda” to mm. 250–276 of the finished first movement. In the second part of the study, sectioning and further questions of form will be discussed broadly.

4.2 Opening (mm. 1–17)

Sibelius's optimistic words in the letter to Axel Carpelan of September 21, 1904 (cited in Section 3.1), might lead one to think of the brisk opening of the first movement of the symphony, but the sketches for the work reveal that the opening of the first movement attained its final shape at a relatively late stage. Only in the year of the work's completion did Sibelius make his final decisions concerning the opening. In HUL 0249/3, he marked the beginning of the opening theme in ink with strong diagonal lines, the word Soll as well as the date, January 10, 1907, all in pencil (Example 4-1). The German word soll or the words soll sein appear quite frequently in Sibelius's sketches, probably implying that at some stage of the compositional process Sibelius became convinced of the material's worth and meant to develop it further or, indeed, preserve it as it was.

Example 4-1. HUL 0249/3, staves 17–22.

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3 I follow Kilpeläinen's practice of indicating the page number in the manuscript with a number given after the slash (see Kilpeläinen 1991 and 1992). HUL 0249/3 thus means the third page in the manuscript 0249. In cases where the manuscript contains notation on one page only (even though the manuscript may consist of several folios), no slash or page number has been given. In most cases the pagination has been created by Kilpeläinen. Only occasionally did Sibelius himself write page numbers in his manuscripts. Such manuscripts are typically fair copies, score drafts or extensive continuity drafts.

4 Besser is another German word Sibelius used to indicate the worth of his musical ideas. He may have been familiar with Beethoven's sketching as documented in Nottebohm's investigations. In order to underline ideas he found significant, Beethoven had used the same German word in his sketches as well as the corresponding French word meilleur (see, for instance, Nottebohm 1970 [1887], 117 and 130; for other verbal annotations, see Cooper 1990, 101). Sibelius also used the French word in some of his manuscripts.
As can be seen, the opening theme is not entirely in its final shape in HUL 0249: it is written an octave higher than it appears in the Symphony (in the cellos) and, as in many other sketches at this stage of the compositional process, lower voices below the melodic line seem also to be planned. However, compared to the other sketches on the same page, Sibelius seems to have found the decisive clue for the continuation after the opening measures. He obtained the final proportions of the opening by omitting repetitions of measures and phrases, and also the final registral scope, even if the beginning, as already mentioned, is written an octave higher than in the final version. On the other hand, the final metric structure (see the durations of the notes and the placement of the bar lines) was not yet determined.5

The sketch of January 10, 1907, can be used as a reference point in trying to date the different versions of the symphony’s beginning as found in the sketches. Of course, the comparison between the version of HUL 0249 and the other sketches does not produce information that could be regarded as definitive—as discussed earlier, the compositional process may not necessarily have been linear. In the case of the opening material, it is, indeed, difficult to follow the progress: a sketch that in some respects seems to be more “advanced” and therefore later than HUL 0249 may in other respects appear preliminary.

The large number and the characteristics of sketches for the opening of the movement seems to imply that beginning the symphony was troublesome for Sibelius. It is possible, and even probable, that ideas for the final opening thematic material already existed before January 1907, but Sibelius seems not to have been very sure about their use. As can be seen in HUL 0254/1 (Example 4-2, Facsimile I), the opening theme was initially planned as a continuation of a chorale-like passage that was finally placed in the second movement of the symphony, mm. 84–90. Again, Sibelius has marked the opening material with strong diagonal strokes in pencil, this time with the Italian word comincio, “beginning.”6 Obviously, at this stage Sibelius was beginning to associate the material with the opening of a work, whatever this work might have been.7

5 The final placement of the bar lines seems to have been established first in the score draft of manuscript HUL 0232, where Sibelius originally wrote the bar lines as in Example 4-1, and then crossed out these lines and drew the final bar lines instead. For a discussion on the metrical implications of the bar lines’ placement, see Kallio 2003, 213–214.
6 Comincio, or comincia, is another annotation that had been used by Beethoven. See, for instance, Nottebohm 1970 [1887], 167.
7 HUL 1660/3 contains a similar kind of a draft, where the opening theme in its final form is seamlessly preceded by the chorale-like passage.
Example 4-2. HUL 0254/1, staves 1–4.

To go back even further into the history of the opening, in HUL 0260 Sibelius has written the final opening idea above, and also partly over, another thematic idea, which could be called the "fifth motive," because of the characteristic rising fifths (C–G and Ab–Eb) at the beginning (Example 4-3, Facsimile II). The replaced "fifth motive" opening was already from the outset followed by material that can also be heard in the final version of the Third Symphony’s first movement (see mm. 3ff. on the middle staff in Example 4-3). Thus, the continuation seems to have been in place even before the beginning, and perhaps in this very sketch the final opening material of the movement found its way to its final position.

Example 4-3. HUL 0260/1, staves 5–7.

The “fifth motive” written in ink that had to give up its place to the final opening material written in pencil in HUL 0260 appears many times in the sketches for the movement. The highly interesting two-page draft HUL 0256 (Example 4-4a) begins with the “fifth motive” (mm. 1–4), and continues with the familiar Third Symphony material. On staves 15 and 16 (staves 3 and 4 in Example 4-4b) the continuation for the draft on staves 13 and 14 is crossed out. What can be seen under the cross-hatching, on staff 4 in the Example, is the idea called the “incantation motive” by Tawaststjerna, which ended up in the Symphonic Fantasy Pohjola’s Daughter, Op. 49, completed in 1906 (Example 4-4c). The approved continuation is written on the last two staves in the Example (staves 17–18 on the manuscript page).
Example 4.4a. HUL 0256/1, staves 1–6.

Example 4.4b. HUL 0256/1, staves 13–18.


Vc., Cb.
The measures, which again outline the final music in the first movement of the Third Symphony, lead on the following page (p. 2), on staves 1 and 2, to a new note-repetition idea, and a triadic, fanfare-like ascending passage (see [a] and [b] in Example 4-4d). On staves 5 and 6 (staves 3 and 4 are empty) the "fifth motive" is repeated, and first on staff 7 and again on staves 13, 14, and 15 (see staves 7, 8, and 9 in Example 4-4d), a new thematic idea appears. This idea finally found its way into the second movement of the D-minor String Quartet, *Voces intimae*, Op. 56 in 1909 (see Example 4-4e). Thus, HUL 0256 contains ideas that ended up in three different works, and what is more, all of these ideas were at one time planned as parts of one and the same melodic continuum, like links in a chain. The material that ended up in the Third Symphony movement also retained its order in the finished work. It is as if the fragments that finally settled down in other works were interpolated into the Third Symphony material.

*Example 4-4d. HUL 0256/2, staves 1–2, 5–6, and 11–16.*
Example 4-4e. String Quartet in D minor, Op. 56 (1909), second movement, mm. 1–9.

In HUL 0300/2 the “fifth motive” shows its connection to another work completed about the same time as the D-minor String Quartet. The motive appears together with fragments of the funeral march *In memoriam*, Op. 59, also completed in 1909—one of these fragments can be seen on staves 3 and 4 (Example 4-5a, cf. also Example 4-5b). Of course, the connection between the “fifth motive” and the sketches for the funeral march is not “organic” in the same way as the thematic connections in the previous examples, but here the “fifth motive” is cast in C# minor, the key of *In memoriam*. The “fifth motive” also bears another interesting association: the rising fifths with their continuation may be heard as anticipating the slow movement theme of the Fourth Symphony, also in C# minor (heard for the first time in mm. 39–42). This sketch does not have any direct connection with the musical material that ended up in the Third Symphony, but it shows interesting links between the compositional processes of the Third Symphony and the funeral march, and possibly even the Fourth Symphony.

Example 4-5a. HUL 0300/2, staves 11–14.

Example 4-5b. *In memoriam*, Op. 59 (1909), mm. 4–6.

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8 That Sibelius had sketched musical material that ended up in *In memoriam* already years before he actually composed and finished the work, is also evident from the biographical notes, and from a number of sketches written by the year 1904 containing material for the work. Material for *In memoriam* appears often in connection with sketches for *Cassatione*, and the idea heard in mm. 29–32 in the Funeral March is labeled *Memento mori* in HUL 1593 (see Example 7-2a and Facsimile XIV).
4.3 Measures 17–39

In the main, measures 17–28 seem to have attained their final form earlier (and probably also more easily) than did either the opening measures or the fanfare-like culmination of the first half of the exposition (mm. 29–39). Possibly the first sketch for the musical material that evolved to the “bucolic theme,” as Tawaststjerna calls the thematic idea heard in mm. 17–18 onwards in the final score, can be found in manuscript HUL 1570/2 (Example 4-6). Especially mm. 2–5 of this C-major melody clearly foreshadow the “bucolic theme’s” opening phrase. On the first page of the same manuscript appears the name and the date Kervo 3 IV 1902, and even though the musical ideas on the first and the second pages do not show any clear connections—the first page is notated in ink, and the second in pencil—it is likely that both sketches derive from approximately the same time.

Example 4-6. HUL 1570/2, staves 3–6, and 8–9.

HUL 1567/2 (Example 4-7a) is especially interesting, showing the origins of the dotted rhythm and sixteenth-note idea heard in mm. 22–24 in the final score together with ideas for the thematic idea in the minor (beginning in m. 40 in the final score). The three sketched versions on this page are probably cast in D³ major or B³ minor (for reasons explained below), and are therefore not likely

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9 Kervo, Finnish Kerava, was a village (nowadays a town) north of Helsinki where Sibelius lived with his family in the years 1899–1902.

10 The other sketches on the two pages of this manuscript have not been identified; i.e., there is no information that might give further hints of the date of page 2. On page 3 there is a key plan for a four-movement work (F major – A minor – D³ major – F major), with a two-measure fragment from the Violin Concerto’s slow-movement theme in D³ major.
to be directly connected with the Third Symphony.\textsuperscript{11} It can be seen how the beginning of this thematic idea evolves from the half-note/quarter-note opening to the motion in eighth notes, closer and closer to the final shape. The descending triadic intervals sketched in the first version, on staff 1, mm. 5–8, also occurs in many of the later sketches, and may be an ancestor of the final fanfare-like idea in the horns (cf. Example 4-9, HUL 0224/3, staff 15). The last six or seven measures of the first version (staves 1–4) show an early stage of the material that possibly evolved into the minor passage beginning in m. 40 in the final score (see the comparison in Example 4-7b).

\textit{Example 4-7a. HUL 156712, staves 1–7.}

\textsuperscript{11} I have not found any information on whether Sibelius at some stage of the compositional process planned to use some other key than C major as the tonic key in the first movement of the Third Symphony. Page 1 of this manuscript contains sketches for \textit{Cassazione}. Both pages of the manuscript have been written in a similar pencil.
Interestingly, the phrase beginning on staff 3 in HUL 1567/2 ended up in the first movement of *Kyllikki* (“three lyrical pieces for piano,” Op. 41, 1904; see Examples 4-7a and 4-8). The final key of the opening measures of *Kyllikki*, B♭ minor, has already been fixed here. It seems that after the measures anticipating the thematic idea of the minor passage (the last three measures on staff 1 in Example 4-7a), the latter part of the phrase was later cut as a separate idea and became the opening phrase of *Kyllikki*. As can be seen on staves 5 and 7, Sibelius also planned to place the “*Kyllikki* phrase” as a continuation of the eighth-note scale idea which was finally developed into the dotted rhythm and sixteenth-note passage in the first movement of the symphony.\(^\text{12}\)

\[\text{Example 4-8. Kyllikki, Op. 41 (1904), first movement, mm. 1–5.}\]

In the final score of the Third Symphony, the thematic material of the minor passage derives from the preceding fanfare-like passage.\(^\text{13}\) What is also interesting in HUL 1567 (Example 4-7a) is the connection between the thematic idea of m. 22 (in the violins in the final score) and the seed of the thematic idea of the minor passage. As can be seen, the repeated second G₅–F (mm. 1–2) can be related to the opening figure D₇–C–D₃ of the idea leading to B₅ minor (mm. 8–9).

\(^\text{12}\) It is, of course, possible that the *Kyllikki* opening beginning on staff 3 was not meant as a continuation for staves 1 and 2; yet Sibelius built connections between the eighth-note material and the *Kyllikki* opening material on staves 5 and 7, so it is likely that the *Kyllikki* material beginning on staff 3 really continues the melodic line beginning on staff 1.

\(^\text{13}\) See the oboes, clarinets, and horns in mm. 29–30, cf. the cellos in mm. 41–42. This connection has been mentioned, for instance, by Ryynänen (1988, 125).
HUL 0224/3 contains a continuity draft corresponding approximately to mm. 1–33 in the final score (although this section was expanded to 67 measures in the 4/4 or alla breve time of the draft; see Example 4-9). In the manuscript, the music corresponding to mm. 16–28 in the final version leads to a passage characterized first by quarter-note repetitions (see [a] in the Example) and then by broken C-major chords, which, in turn, introduce the fanfare-like music. As can be seen, the fanfare itself differs at this stage of the compositional process from its final shape. It outlines an ascending broken chord C–E–G ([b] in the Example), and in the following four measures the lower voice features the descending tetrachord idea seen already in the first two measures of this sketch (and also the final work; see [c] in the Example). The ascending broken chords leading to the “horn fanfare” (see staves 11 and 13 in the Example) probably transformed into the broken triplet chords of the final version, mm. 30–31.

Example 4-9. HUL 0224/3, staves 11–18.

14 The quarter-note repetition idea can also be found in a corresponding connection in HUL 0267/1.
In HUL 0249/1 (Example 4-10), the fanfare-like idea is missing altogether, and the minor passage—beginning in the minor mode of the tonic key—directly derives from the music corresponding to mm. 25–27 of the final version. This kind of arrival in the minor passage is typical among the sketched versions only in one respect: the passage is tightly bound to the music preceding it. Further strategies for arriving at the minor passage are discussed below.

Example 4-10. HUL 0249/1, staves 5–8.

4.4 The Minor Passage (mm. 40–54)

Distinguishing the minor passage, mm. 40–54, as a clearly definable formal unit does not seem to have been Sibelius's initial idea. In most of the sketches for this passage, the change from the preceding music to the minor passage happens seamlessly and gradually, without any clear sense of a new theme arriving. In order to create this kind of continuum, Sibelius clearly shows the derivation of the minor passage from the fanfare-like ideas. Nor does there seem to have been a very clear idea of the key of the "minor theme." In some of the sketches, the key of the beginning or the "main body" of the minor passage is cast either in A minor or in C minor. As examples of the passage beginning in the first of these keys HUL 0250/3 and HUL 0264 could be mentioned, for instance, and of the latter, HUL 0249/1 (see Example 4-10 above).15

In HUL 0264, Sibelius has written in pencil what is probably one of the earliest sketches for the minor passage material (Example 4-11). The thematic statement is first heard in A minor, but soon turns to E minor, which is probably meant to be reinforced with a cadence (staff 4). On staff 8 (staff 5 in the Example), the notated melody implies E minor, and the statement is followed by the sixteenth-note material that follows the statement in the final score.

15 To be precise, neither A minor nor C minor are necessarily established as keys in this connection. In the orchestral draft HUL 0232, F and E are heard as the bass notes of the corresponding "A-minor episode," not A. The role of C minor in HUL 0249/1 is left open.
Only in one sketch does Sibelius seem to have made a clear division point between the preceding music and the music of the minor passage: in HUL 0261/1, the music stops abruptly for two measures at the open fifth C–G, separated by rests, and the minor passage—in the final key, B minor—begins in the manner of a new and contrasting thematic statement (see Example 4-12).
In HUL 0225/102 (Example 4-13) Sibelius seems to have found the final solution for the transition to the minor passage, which removes the abruptness of the transition in HUL 0261/1. Interestingly, he probably notated this sketch later than some of the orchestral drafts—for example, HUL 0232—where the final solution has not yet been found.

Example 4-13. HUL 0225/102, staves 1–2, and 5.

In the sketches, the minor passage itself conveys little of the static character or the time-scale heard in the final version. Originally, the passage seems to have been an episode for simply passing through. HUL 0266/1–2 is one of the numerous continuity drafts for the first movement's exposition and illustrates the transitory quality of the minor passage (Example 4-14a). Along with other interesting features, on page two, the sixteenth-note gust leads to a turn where a new motive is introduced. This syncopated idea eventually found its way in a modified form into the first movement of the Second Orchestral Suite, Scènes historiques, Op. 66, subtitled Die Jagd, in 1912 (see Example 4-14b).

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16 HUL 0225 is a sketchbook that contains sketches from a time-span of several years, from around 1905 to 1909, from Pelléas et Mélisande to In memoriam, representing especially interesting sketches for such works as Pohjola's Daughter, the German songs, Op. 50, and Night Ride and Sunrise, Op. 55. Because the sketchbook has red covers, I shall call it the “red sketchbook.” In Example 4-13 the line from staff 2 to staff 5 shows that Sibelius decided to continue after staves 1 and 2 with the idea written on staff 5. Die hälfte probably refers to the instrumental realization—Sibelius seems to have the half of some string instruments (most likely cellos) in mind.

17 This serves as a good example of the difficulties of putting musical manuscripts in chronological order on the basis of their “physical” qualities. Written in pencil, HUL 0225/102, looks more preliminary than HUL 0232. The musical content itself, however, shows that the order of the manuscripts in the compositional process was probably the reverse. Of course, HUL 0225/120 also contains references to orchestration: the sketch clearly implies instrumentation for the strings (first and second violins, violas, and cellos).

18 Similarly, on manuscript page HUL 0204/4, the minor passage originally seems to have led to the opening ideas of Die Jagd, but Sibelius has crossed out this continuation and instead notated a new sketch that closely resembles his final continuation in the Third Symphony.
Example 4-14a. HUL 0266/1, and HUL 0266/2, staves 1–4.

Example 4-14b. Scènes historiques II, Op. 66 (1912), Die Jagd, mm. 1–10.
In HUL 0272/1, Example 4-15a, the same syncopated motive, now enlarged with fanfare-like openings, has another idea characterized by syncopations, beginning on staves 3 and 4, as its counterpart. This idea is found in *Cassazione*, Op. 6, for small orchestra, the first version of which was completed in 1904.¹⁹

Example 4-15a. HUL 0272/1, staves 1–6.


4.5 The End of the Exposition (mm. 54–85)

The sixteenth-note passage material (from m. 54 onward in the final score) may, perhaps surprisingly, represent the first movement’s earliest material. In HUL 0450/6, this material can be seen in

¹⁹ There is no direct connection between the syncopated motive of *Cassazione* and the material which ended up in the Third Symphony’s first movement, and Example 4-14a (like Example 4-5a) is included mainly in order to illustrate one of the several different manners in which the compositional processes of different works may have been interwoven and how the sketches may reveal chain-like connections between works. As we shall see later, the relationship between *Cassazione* and the symphony’s second movement is very close.
connection with ideas for the Violin Concerto, the first version of which was completed in 1902 (Example 4-16, Facsimile III). Here, the figuration is notated in quarter notes, or in eighth notes lacking beams, and Sibelius’s marking in Swedish, Dubbelt fortare! (“Twice as fast!”), at the top of the page (and in the sketch), may imply that already at this point he had the idea of the sixteenth-note motion.

Example 4-16. 0450/6, staves 6–9.

Another possible predecessor for the sixteenth-note passage may be found in HUL 0199/2 (Example 4-17). Here, the ideas which ended up in the piano piece Ständchen, Op. 58 No. 9, have been notated in an implied G minor, and the passage beginning on staff 5 and continuing on staff 9 may be regarded as foreshadowing the outline of the sixteenth-note passage (see [a] in the Example). The last three measures of the draft show a connection with the material of Pohjola’s Daughter: the “incantation motive” appears in the bass staff (see [b] in the Example).

Example 4-17. HUL 0199/2, staves 5–6, and 9–10.
In several sketches, probably made after HUL 0450 (Example 4-16), the sixteenth-note material also appears as a separate idea that does not clearly refer to any known work (for example, in HUL 1607). The idea seems to have found its way into the first movement of the Third Symphony at a relatively late stage of the compositional process, and the possibilities of its contrapuntal connection to different thematic ideas in the movement seem to have interested the composer greatly.

Many of the continuity drafts for the first movement contain the conclusion of the exposition near its final shape. The most significant deviations from the familiar conclusion can be seen in drafts, where the beginning of the development is preceded by an episode built upon ideas that ended up in the coda of the entire movement in the final version (see mm. 250ff.). So, for instance, in HUL 0250/3 (Example 4-18), the sixteenth-note passage leads to the arrival of the dominant six-three chord (corresponding to m. 72 in the final score), but what follows is a rather extensive episode built on repetitions of the coda material (not in its final shape, however; see Example 4-18). The transition to what might be suspected as the development begins only after this episode.


4.6 Development (mm. 85-164)

Despite the large number of surviving musical manuscripts, the sketches do not reveal much about the compositional process for the first movement’s development section. Although drawing far-reaching conclusions from the number of the sketches is always risky, in this case the extensive sketch material for the section, together with the characteristics and the variety of the material, might imply that the composition of the development section was problematic. On the other hand, in the case of short fragments, it is often difficult to know whether the sketched material was meant for the development or for some other passage.
Many of the sketches and drafts for the development section feature either chains of the sixteenth-note figuration in different harmonic contexts or contrapuntal juxtaposition of the opening theme of the movement with the sixteenth-note figuration; the latter can be found in the final score towards the end of the development and at the beginning of the recapitulation, mm. 155–166.

HUL 0210/2 shows what is probably one of the earliest drafts for this kind of developmental material. Example 4-19 shows staves 4 and 5 of HUL 0210/2 (see also Facsimile IV). What is of special interest here are Sibelius’s markings Durchführung and Rept (probably short for Repetition or Rekapitulation) written above staff 4, possibly featuring some kind of chordal reduction. The pitches in the “reduction” are not all clear, but the first of the two chords (written below Durch) appears to be E major, while the second (written below Rept) is probably a sonority of open octaves and fifths, C–G (i.e., associating with the tonic opening of the recapitulation). The “reduction” has been emphasized with strong pencil lines.

Example 4-19. HUL 0210/2, staves 4–5.

A large number of drafts can be found for the first part of the development (up to m. 130), and especially for the musical material that ended up in mm. 99–120. In many of the drafts, Sibelius seems to have sought suitable goals for the modulatory passages. For instance, in the continuity draft, HUL 0253/1, the course of the music corresponding to mm. 99–114 in the printed score is quite similar to the final version, but then the direction changes, and the music corresponding to that in m. 126 in the printed score begins with a D-major chord, not a G♭-major chord.

HUL 0258/1–2 contains a continuity draft for nearly the whole first part of the development. Written in ink, it starts with m. 99 and leads to m. 131. The flow of the music, notated for the most part only as a two-voice melody-bass framework on a pair of staves, corresponds closely to the printed score. What differs from the final version is the goal of the passage; instead of leading to B♭ in the bass in m. 131, the A♮ on the last eighth note of m. 130 resolves to G, the dominant of the main key of the movement. However, Sibelius crossed out this solution with a pencil. On the margin of the music corresponding to mm. 126–129 in the printed score he added the Swedish word lättare (“lighter”). In spite of this annotation, the final texture is very close to this draft.

There is only one draft for the latter part of the development (mm. 131–164). The orchestral

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20 Page 1 of this manuscript contains sketches and drafts for material that ended up in Pohjola’s Daughter. There seems not to be any clear connection between the two pages: page 1 is written in ink, page 2 in pencil.
draft HUL 0233/1–3, the folios in question having an original pagination V, VI, and VII, contains measures 136–180 quite close to their final shape. This draft thus shows also the transition to the recapitulation as well as the beginning of the recapitulation. Interestingly, in the latter part of the development Sibelius notated the continuous sixteenth-note figuration (beginning in the violas in m. 131 in the final score and duplicated in the first violins from m. 153 onwards) in ink, while the woodwind parts (and the sustained notes in the horns) have been drafted in pencil and contain many changes. This probably means that in this passage Sibelius first fixed the continuous accompanying figuration, and only after that adjusted the actual thematic process that leads seamlessly to the recapitulation of the movement's opening theme.  

4.7 Recapitulation and Coda (mm. 164–273)

Compared to the sections discussed above, the manuscript material for the recapitulation and the coda of the first movement is rather limited. It is as if Sibelius, perhaps owing to the relatively literal way of recapitulating the musical material heard in the exposition, was more decisive about the content and design of the recapitulation than he was when composing the exposition and development. There are no sketches or tentative drafts whatever for the entire first part of the recapitulation (mm. 164–201, however, manuscript HUL 0233/1–3 contains mm. 164–180, as discussed above), nor have any manuscripts been saved for the minor passage (mm. 202–216), even though the orchestral setting of this passage differs from that of the corresponding passage in the exposition. However, there are drafts for the end of the recapitulation as well as for the coda.

As we have seen (Section 4.5), the coda material was first planned to be part of the end of the exposition. A comparison of pages 1 and 3 of HUL 0250 (see Example 4-18) shows similar types of design, where the material for the coda follows the arrival of the dominant six-three sonority of m. 67 or m. 69 in the printed score. Because of the tonal context (dominant at the end of the exposition), the coda material is heard at the dominant level, beginning with B, the third of the dominant triad. The chorale-like melody itself has not yet attained its final form, but as a whole, this early draft for the coda material comes close to the final coda. The interpolated dance-like phrases in the strings heard in mm. 258 and 261 in the final version can already be seen here.

HUL 0237/1a is one of the few continuity drafts for the latter part of the recapitulation, and the only draft representing the actual, final coda of the movement (Example 4-20). The draft features music corresponding to that from about m. 231 until the end of the movement in the final version (Example 4-20 shows a passage from m. 242 on). The chorale of the coda differs slightly from both the previous manuscript discussed above and the final version, and the concluding measures show interesting occurrences of the descending fourth progression heard at the opening of the whole movement. At the conclusion, the notes of this progression are F–E–D–C, in the last two measures reduced to the fourth F–C. Thus, the corresponding bass notes supporting the plagal cadence IV–I in the last two measures of the movement in the final version seem to have been derived from the fourth motive heard at the beginning of the movement.

21 This order (and not the reverse) is the most probable, because Sibelius also notated the bar lines in ink.

22 In the last measures of the draft, on the upper staff, another repeated fourth can be seen, and even at the "original" level, G–C. The chord progression in the draft remains, however, somewhat obscure: the G is held in the upper staff, while the bass features the fourth F–C. The chord progression implied here is certainly not self-evidently IV–I.
Sibelius's sketches, drafts and score fragments for the first movement can be understood as illustrating various aspects of the compositional process. The majority of the manuscripts is centered around the musical material of the exposition and the development; and in particular the first half of the latter formal section (mm. 85–130 in the final score). The exposition especially seems to have undergone many radical changes during the compositional process. As mentioned, the small number of the manuscripts for the recapitulation may result from the design of the recapitulation itself: because it is an almost literal repetition of the exposition, it was probably not necessary for Sibelius to make extensive drafts for that section. It is also possible, of course, that not all the material has survived.

Sibelius possibly sketched musical material that ended up in the first movement of the Third Symphony as early as in 1902–1903, when he was composing the first version of the Violin Concerto. The sketches reveal that some material for the first movement also evolved in connection with Kyllikki, probably before Sibelius wrote his letter to Axel Carpelan (quoted in Section 3.1) in September 1904. Interestingly, neither of these early materials foreshadows any central thematic ideas of the movement—such as the opening, or the minor passage—but are rather associated with transitional, or sequential, chain-like passages in the final movement.
In fact, the opening ideas of the movement seem to have been established as late as 1907 (see Example 4-1). Before that Sibelius built several alternative openings for the Symphony (see Examples from 4-2 to 4-4a). One of these alternatives derived from the rejected “Luonnotar” of the year 1905–1906, whose material finally ended up in the second movement of the Third Symphony (the chorale-like idea, see Example 4-2).

As can be seen, Sibelius gathered musical materials that found their way into the first movement from different strata in his musical manuscript resources, and materials which had connections with the compositional process of the Symphony might also be later scattered among several other works. Thus, musical ideas that once seemed to have been planned for the Symphony settled down in the D-minor String Quartet, or in Scènes historiques II, years after completion of the Third Symphony—in the latter case, even after the completion of the Fourth.
5.1 The Early Complete Version

As mentioned earlier, the number of sketches preserved for the second movement is astonishingly small by comparison with the other two movements of the Third Symphony. In Helsinki University Library there is, however, both a fair copy of the final version (HUL 0226) and a complete draft of an early version of the movement (HUL 0230), originally apparently also intended as a fair copy. In addition to these complete scores, there are also separate orchestral score fragments (single pages) representing the movement’s early stages (HUL 0237).

The early complete draft (HUL 0230) can indeed be regarded as a fair copy: it is neatly written and looks finished. The manuscript includes rehearsal numbers, and as a clear sign of its completeness, it also contains copyist’s markings, namely, numbers of measures counted between rehearsal numbers. The first pages of the manuscript contain only a few signs of revision, but towards the end of the movement, especially in the restatement of the A section, more and more sketched instrumental parts and measures can be seen—and most of the sketched additions in pencil ended up in the final version.

In its main lines, the early complete draft of the movement found in HUL 0230 does not differ much from the final printed version. However, the number of measures in the draft is 195, whereas the final version consists of 197 measures. The reason for this difference—in itself quite small—is

1 These markings imply that Sibelius had given the score to a copyist, who was supposed to copy the parts from the score. The numberings helped the copyist to count the rests for each instrument. Interestingly, these copyist’s markings stop at rehearsal number 4, so that the last marking, written in the measure preceding rehearsal number 4, tells the number of measures (twelve) between numbers 3 and 4.

2 Sibelius’s fair copies—usually the final autographs in the sequence of the sources—often include sketched parts and sometimes even traces of extensive revisions made to the score during the last stages of the compositional process, crossed-out or cut-off pages, and so forth.
not found in some single passage or group of measures, but is the result of several minor changes made in the movement after the draft was completed. For instance, in the draft, the number of measures from the beginning of the movement to rehearsal number 7 (Tempo I) is exactly the same as in the final version, but the inner proportions are not identical. In the draft, the melody phrases in the clarinets at the beginning of the movement begin after only one measure of the accompanying pattern introduced in the low strings—without the pedal tones in the horns and the timpani. On the other hand, the passage corresponding to mm. 76–92 in the early version is three measures longer than in the printed score, the difference being in the Tranquillo measures (although the draft lacks this indication), which is twice as long as in the final version and where the longer durations and rests split the sequential units into separate phrases (Example 5-1).

As illustrated in Facsimile V, the conclusion of the movement in the draft (corresponding to mm. 190–197 in the final version) is more straightforward than in the final version: the final cadence is achieved after only one attempt and chorale-like phrase in the woodwinds. Sibelius later added repetition signs in the final measures together with the annotation 2da volta (above the flute staff), probably indicating that he had the final solution for the conclusion in mind.

5.2 Sketches and Drafts

As has been mentioned, the actual sketch material for the second movement is relatively sparse. In addition to the two fair copies, there are only thirteen manuscripts containing musical material probably intended for this symphony movement. However, if the manuscripts for “Luonnotar”/Pohjola’s Daughter and for the first movement of the symphony with the woodwind chorale material that finally ended up in the second movement of the symphony are taken into account, the number of manuscripts increases significantly.

In the following, the sketches for the second movement are discussed in three parts, this division being again based on the focuses of the sketch and draft material itself: 1) sketches for the main

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Example 5-1. HUL 0230/11–12.

As illustrated in Facsimile V, the conclusion of the movement in the draft (corresponding to mm. 190–197 in the final version) is more straightforward than in the final version: the final cadence is achieved after only one attempt and chorale-like phrase in the woodwinds. Sibelius later added repetition signs in the final measures together with the annotation 2da volta (above the flute staff), probably indicating that he had the final solution for the conclusion in mind.

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In the following, the sketches for the second movement are discussed in three parts, this division being again based on the focuses of the sketch and draft material itself: 1) sketches for the main

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3 If the final version of the second movement is sparingly orchestrated, the draft is even more so. The strings predominate almost throughout, and many of the woodwind figurations that accompany the melody in the strings in the final version are still missing.

4 An almost final rhythmical shape of mm. 88–89 has been sketched in pencil on the upper horn staff.
the thematic material (heard as a whole for the first time in the flutes and clarinets in mm. 13–37 in the final version); 2) sketches and drafts for the “woodwind chorale” (corresponding to mm. 84–90 in the final version); and 3) draft for the “A₃-major passage” (corresponding to mm. 130–155 in the final version).

5.3 The Main Thematic Material

Probably one of the earliest sketches for the main thematic material of the movement can be found in HUL 1538/2. The manuscript contains a memorandum of thematic ideas—most of which did not end up in any work—and the fragment containing the second-movement theme consists of nine measures, written in 6/4 meter, the key being A minor.⁵ As can be seen, the melody is already very close to its final shape (Example 5-2, see also Facsimile VI).

Example 5-2. Early sketch for the main thematic material of the second movement; HUL 1538/2, staves 3–4.

In addition to HUL 1538/2, the second-movement theme appears in the manuscripts twice in A minor (HUL 0266/3 and HUL 1569/2), once in G minor (HUL 0268), and three times in C minor (HUL 0270, HUL 0272/2, and HUL 0274).⁶ Each of the C-minor drafts also contains material that ended up in Cassazione and thus could not have been written later than 1904. What is more, HUL 0272/1–2 contains the same material referring to Die Jagd of Scènes historiques II discussed in connection with the exposition of the first movement (see Section 4.4, and Example 4-15a).

HUL 0270/2 contains a continuity draft written in pencil on a pair of staves, the lower staff having been used only for occasional sketching of the bass line, however (Example 5-3). The draft is written in the final 6/4 meter, and in m. 4, where the main thematic idea of the movement is introduced after three measures of sustained G in octaves (foreshadowing the final version), there can also be seen a reference to the planned instrumentation: Ob written above the pair of staves probably refers to the oboe as the instrument to play the melody. On staves 7 and 8, as the continuation of the slow movement material there has been written a passage containing the “syncopated idea” of Cassazione (see Chapter 4, Example 4-14b) with accompanying figures that ended up in mm. 16–18

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⁵ According to Kilpeläinen (1992, 46), this manuscript was written between 1900 and 1902 (ca.). The thematic idea written above the Third Symphony’s second movement theme refers to Act III, No. 12 (Largamente), of the incidental music, Svanehvit, Op. 54, completed in 1908, and the fragments below it (staves 5 and 6, also annotated with Obs! [Observera! = NB!] ) foreshadow the musical material of Cassazione.

⁶ Based on the stages of development of the musical material in these manuscripts, this seems also to be the chronological order of the keys.
of *Cassazione* (see the part with upward stems on staff 7, mm. 3–4 in Example 5-3). On staves 9 and 10 this passage leads to a new passage characterized by a quarter-note repetition idea (see the two last measures of Example 5-3), which also ended up in *Cassazione*, the passage from m. 260 onwards.

Example 5-3. Early draft for the main thematic material of the second movement; HUL 0270J2, staves 1–4, and 7–10.

Of the two drafts in C minor, HUL 0274 is especially noteworthy. Like HUL 0270 (Example 5-3), this one-page draft has been written on a pair of staves (thus belonging to the manuscript category C), the lower staff showing only occasional sketching for the bass line or accompanying chords (Example 5-4). Here, the syncopated idea of *Cassazione* is situated in connection with the main theme from the second movement of the symphony. Interestingly, the second-movement theme does not appear here in the 6/4 meter, but in 4/4 or 2/2 time, dressed in a funeral-march-like character, and featuring the changes of mode, from C minor to C major (see staves 5 and 6). Both the syncopated idea and the note-repetition idea of *Cassazione* (cf. Example 5-3) appear here nearer their final forms, while the Third Symphony material also seems more articulated than in HUL 0270. Thus, HUL 0274 appears to be the later of the two drafts in C minor, but the changed meter and the different character seem to differentiate it from the final version of the Third Symphony.  

7 It is indeed difficult to determine which of the two drafts in C minor is earlier. HUL 0270 has been written in pencil, and HUL 0274 in ink. The rougher handwriting in HUL 0270 might imply that it was written earlier than HUL 0274, but, on the other hand, the music in HUL 0270 is in the 6/4 meter of the final Third Symphony movement—the meter being wrong (or not the final one) from the viewpoint of the music connected to *Cassazione*, however.
5.4 The "Woodwind Chorale"

As mentioned, Sibelius planned to use the "woodwind chorale" material first in "Luonnotar," and then in the first movement of the Third Symphony (see Example 4-2). The chorale appears in connection with the first of these works until the final stage: it is included still in the incomplete fair copy of "Luonnotar" (HUL 1063; see also Virtanen 2001) written in the early summer of 1906, but was soon thereafter omitted from Pohjola's Daughter, which was largely based on the material of "Luonnotar."

In the sketches and drafts for "Luonnotar," the chorale material precedes the same melodic turn (corresponding to mm. 240–242 in Pohjola's Daughter). Probably the earliest sketches for the chorale material—or, to be more precise, the sequential passage of the chorale—may be associated with still another work. On page 4 of HUL 0300, which consists mainly of sketches and drafts for musical material that finally ended up in In memoriam (this manuscript also having been discussed earlier owing to the appearance of the "fifth motive" on page 1), there can be found a sequential passage that might be associated with the chorale material (Example 5-5).8

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8 The sequential passage illustrated in Example 5-5 did not end up in In memoriam, however. This kind of melodic sequence as such is not, of course, a highly unique or individual one, and, what is more, the melodic shaping (for instance, the rhythm) of the idea notated in HUL 0300/4 differs from the actual chorale melody. However, what is of interest here and what makes the connection with the Third Symphony chorale material after all possible in my view is that in Sibelius's manuscripts, this kind of melodic sequence is not very typical. There is also the context: as we have seen, the "fifth motive" and other material originally planned for In memoriam appear at least in indirect connection with the Third Symphony material.
Example 5-5. Sketch associated with the sequential passage of the "woodwind chorale"; HUL 0300/4, staff 1.

In HUL 0218/2, the association with the chorale material is much clearer (Example 5-6). The melody foreshadowing the chorale of the second movement of the symphony is notated (from m. 3 onwards) as a continuation of the "quarter-note repetition idea" that occurred in connection with the sketches for the first movement (see Chapter 4, Example 4-4d, and Example 4-8). The main features of the chorale passage—including the series of seventh chords in the sequence—are already in place. What makes one suspect that this sketch is an early one—in spite of the connection of the "quarter-note-repetition idea" probably being earlier than the chorale idea as appearing in the manuscripts of "Luonnotar"—is the shape of the chorale melody itself: it is far from being fully developed (compare also with the chorale version of "Luonnotar").

Example 5-6. Draft associated with the "woodwind chorale"; HUL 0218/2, staves 1–4.

As we have seen (see Chapter 4, Example 4-2, HUL 0254/1), in the early plans for the first movement of the Third Symphony, the chorale passage preceded the actual opening material of this movement. It is, of course, possible, that the chorale passage that was crossed out on staves 1 and 2 and the opening material on staves 3 and 4, marked with strong pencil strokes and the word comincio, do not belong to the same stage in the compositional process, i.e., there would not be any actual connection between the drafts for the chorale of the second movement and the beginning (comincio) of the first movement, but the same ink and pencil used in this manuscript, the same type of handwriting, and the fact that the comincio has clearly been separated from the preceding music with the pencil lines implies that the music on staves 3 and 4 was originally meant as a continuation of the music on the first two staves of the page. In Sibelius's manuscripts different handwritings can sometimes be seen on a single page, depending on pens or pencils he used, or on the type of the sketch itself—preliminary and fragmentary sketches are often unclearly written than, for instance, orchestral drafts.

9 In Sibelius's manuscripts different handwritings can sometimes be seen on a single page, depending on pens or pencils he used, or on the type of the sketch itself—preliminary and fragmentary sketches are more often unclearly written than, for instance, orchestral drafts.
3–5 (probably moving to the pitch a₁ of the chord in mm. 4 and 5) in connection with the chorale material also clearly belongs to the material intended for the first movement.

5.5 The Draft for the A₄-Major Passage

The only actual sketch or draft found for the A₄-major passage is HUL 0273—the other manuscripts showing this passage are the fair copies of the early stage and final version of the movement. This draft contains music corresponding to mm. 130–155 in the final score (in order to facilitate the comparison between this manuscript and the final score, some of the corresponding measures in the final version have been indicated in brackets). It is written in pencil on two staves, without bar lines and the eighth notes only occasionally have beams (see Example 5-7 and Facsimile VII).

At first glance, it appears to be a preliminary draft, but a closer look shows that it actually contains the whole framework, all the substantial features of the passage, and even very detailed markings concerning agogic features, changes of tempi, and dynamics—even though most of these markings were not to be the final ones. The main difference from the final version can be seen on staves 3 and 4 of this manuscript page: Sibelius decided to leave out from the final version the phrase written on these staves, and showed a connection from the end of the first two staves to the beginning of staves 5 and 6. There is not yet a clear idea of the stop on the diminished seventh chord (with pedal A₄ in the bass) found in mm. 136–138 in the final score, but the final order of the following phrases seems to be in place. The phrase corresponding to measures 139–143 is marked with E [major?] in the left margin (music corresponding to mm. 141–142, probably written first in parenthesis, and later annotated with the German word Soll). The phrase corresponding to mm. 144–145 is written next to that on staves 6 and 7 (but occurring in a different melodic shape). And finally, the last phase of this passage, corresponding to mm. 146–155, marked with as dur [?, A₄ major]. The return to the main theme (and the beginning of A¹ section) after the oboe solo (mm. 153–155 in the final score) is marked with Thème [sic], probably indicating that the repetition of the theme of the A section was planned to begin here.

10 Instead of notating bar lines, Sibelius marked some of the metrical units (=measures) with shorter pencil strokes.
11 The reference to E (major) probably means that Sibelius had decided to transpose the melodic phrase that begins “in E₄ major” (with pitches F and G) a minor second upwards (thus, beginning with pitch G♯ as in m. 139 in the final score).
5.6 Conclusions

It is always hazardous to draw conclusions based on sketches, but in the case of the Third Symphony's second movement, the small number of sketches and the type of the manuscript material are very illuminating. Considering that whole sections of the movement are built on repetitions of the main thematic idea and that the movement is relatively sparingly orchestrated, it is possible that Sibelius
did not need any thorough or detailed sketching when he was giving shape to the movement.\textsuperscript{12} It is also possible that the first version of the movement (HUL 0230) served as a kind of draft for the whole, and that Sibelius immediately began to make changes to this “basic” or “complete” draft after he had written it down. On the other hand, this kind of procedure would seem to have been quite exceptional for Sibelius; after all we do not know whether other types of sketches and drafts have been destroyed or lost.

Sibelius had probably composed the main thematic material for the second movement already years before he started the actual work on his Third Symphony. He planned to use the same material in connection with material that ended up in \textit{Cassazione}.

It seems probable that the first sketch containing the melodic idea for the main theme of the second movement was written as early as 1901, while he was composing his Second Symphony. The chorale material also seems to have wandered from one planned composition to another. As we have seen, before the chorale material found its way to its final place, it was first planned to be used in the “Luonnotar” \textit{Pohjola’s Daughter} until the early summer of 1906, after which it turned up in connection with the musical material in the first movement of the Third Symphony.

\textsuperscript{12} Sibelius’s “shorthand” in HUL 0237/1 and 2 would seem to support this assumption. Here Sibelius did not bother to notate the music in its entirety, but labelled measures of the main theme with letters from a to g, and referred later in the draft to these letters when there would be a repetition of the theme or a certain part of it. There is no more interesting parallel to the Third Symphony movement than the fair-copies of the orchestral score and the arrangement for voice and piano of the tone-poem \textit{Luonnotar}, Op. 70, for soprano and orchestra (these manuscripts containing evidence of revisions—several pages cut off and measures crossed out—which Sibelius made after the first performance of the work, however). Similarly, the formal design of this tone poem is labeled with repetitions of sections without more complex developmental passages.

\textsuperscript{13} On the other hand, the connection with \textit{Cassazione} might lead to another kind of hypothesis. Since Sibelius never seems to have been satisfied with \textit{Cassazione} and also wanted to withdraw its second version, it could be that he planned to use material from that work in his Third Symphony. As a matter of fact, he did reuse material from \textit{Cassazione} in one of his later works, namely in the \textit{Epilogue} of the incidental music to Shakespeare’s \textit{The Tempest} (\textit{Stormen}, Op. 109, the revised version that Sibelius made for the performances in Helsinki in 1927). The characteristics and quality of the sketches and drafts, however, make this hypothesis less likely.
CHAPTER 6

MUSICAL MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE THIRD MOVEMENT

6.1 An Overview

As discussed earlier (see Section 3.1), Sibelius completed the third movement last of the Third Symphony movements. When making the finishing touches he was probably in a hurry, and also made revisions to the score after the first performances. The manuscript material that has survived for this movement is quite extensive, but not as many-sided as that for the first movement. Therefore, the different stages of the compositional process of the third movement do not appear as illustrative as in the manuscripts for the first.

Manuscripts for the third movement may be found in 19 manuscript units, the number of the manuscript pages containing sketches for the movement being over 70.1 These manuscripts include the autograph fair copy of the entire movement (48 pages). Most of the manuscripts are orchestral drafts, and very often fragmentary, obviously showing concentration on the details of the orchestral setting of the music. There are also several continuity drafts, but the number of preliminary sketches (types A and B) is small.

As in the case of the first two movements, the disposition in the following discussion is based on the manuscript material itself. The manuscripts preserved for the movement especially illustrate the main features in the compositional process of the opening (mm. 1–41), the minor key episodes (mm. 42–70 and 112–159) and the developmental section (mm. 160–245) as well as the hymn section (mm. 246ff.).

6.2 Opening (mm. 1–41)

As with the first movement, Sibelius originally seems to have planned an entirely different way to begin the last movement. In HUL 0231/20 and HUL 0238 he opened the movement with a broad theme that ended up in Scènes historiques II, as its second movement, called Minnelied.2 As can be seen in the last three measures in Facsimile VIII, at this stage of the compositional process Sibelius

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1 In addition to the sketches, drafts, and other types of musical manuscripts, Sibelius referred to the hymn theme with a music sample in his letter to Oscar Parviainen from the year 1927 (Hartikainen 1999, 40–41).

had already included the melodic fragments from the second movement in the context of the third movement.³

Possibly one of the earliest sketches for the material of the familiar final opening of the movement can be found in the “red sketchbook”, HUL 0225/44 (Example 6-la). The melody sketched on staff 1 of the page, and marked with strong pencil lines typical of Sibelius, is associated with the oboe, cello, and double-bass phrases in mm. 1–8 of the final third movement. Interestingly, on the same page, on staff 6, there is a fragment of the “fifth motive” discussed earlier in connection with the first movement (see Chapter 4, and Example 4-3). The endings of the melodic phrases (see the brackets in Example 6-la) in the sketch also are associated with the melodic phrase heard later in the clarinet, in mm. 15–17 in the final score (see Example 6-lb).⁴

Example 6-la. HUL 0225/44, staves 1–8.

³ The fact that Sibelius still in June 1906 tried to include the Minnelied music in his "Luonnotar"/"Pohjola's Daughter" implies that HUL 0231/20 and HUL 0238 were probably written in July 1906 at the earliest. Since the manuscripts are relatively detailed orchestral score drafts and feature the citations of the second movement familiar from the final version, and the design as whole, in spite of the striking Minnelied opening, closely relates to the final opening of the Third Symphony movement, it seems likely that HUL 0231/20 and HUL 0238 represent quite a late stage in the compositional process. Thus, it seems that Sibelius wanted to keep the Minnelied music in his compositional plans for the Third Symphony until a late stage of the compositional process—exactly as he did in the case of "Luonnotar"/"Pohjola's Daughter.⁴

⁴ Even though in the sketch Sibelius seems to have written the characteristic rhythm (short–long) and the leap of a fourth (corresponding to the fifth in the melodic phrase of mm. 15–17) of the phrase endings for two separate parts or voices (the lower part being written with downward stems), it seems probable that the phrase-ending idea is already present in the sketch.
The melodic phrase of mm. 15–17 in the final score, characterized by the descending diminished seventh and fifth leaps, appears in a fragment—possibly a written-down improvisation—for the piano that can be found in HUL 0269/1, staves 7–12 (Example 6-2, see also Facsimile IX). Here, the opening idea seen in HUL 0225/44 (cf. Example 6-1) occurs in 6/4 meter and in B major, followed by the “diminished seventh/fifth motive.” The third movement material has also been further sketched, to the point corresponding to m. 25 of the final score. The key of the drafts in HUL 0269/1 differs from the final key of the movement, but it does not seem likely that the manuscript would chronologically precede the sketch found in HUL 0225/44 (Ex. 6-1a). The pencil notation in HUL 0225/44 appears to be more provisional, and since Sibelius often notated his preliminary sketches in C major or A minor, the key itself is not very illuminating. On the other hand, the key of HUL 0269/1, B major, may have some connection to the second movement of the Third Symphony, written in the relative G♯ minor.

5 The opening of the piece has been written twice on the manuscript page. The supposed pianistic quality of these drafts is based on the broken chords (m. 2) and the “right-hand” octaves. However, some of the chords are too wide to be played without arpeggiation, and it is therefore also possible that Sibelius had some other kind of instrumental (orchestral?) realization in mind.

6 HUL 1525/1 contains an early sketch for the “diminished seventh/fifth motive.”
HUL 0269/2 shows another draft in B major, which is related to the opening of the third movement (Example 6-3). In this draft, written in pencil and featuring a two-staff design, Sibelius seems to have opened the movement (or, perhaps, some other composition) with the hymn-like theme (cf. mm. 246 ff. in the final symphony movement). On staves 3 and 4, the hymn is followed by the quotation from the second movement (in B minor). Later on, on staves 11–16, we can see material that ended up in the final opening section of the movement and appeared already in HUL 0225/44 (see Example 6-1)—for instance, the “diminished seventh/fifth motive” (staff 11) and the phrase-ending idea heard in mm. 22–24 of the final score (see [a] on staff 13). In addition to this material, familiar from the final work, on staff 16 there can also be seen, surprisingly, a dance-like idea in the relative G# minor, the final key of the second movement. This idea occurs in Sibelius’s sketches as early as the very first years of the century. On manuscript page HUL 1570/2, deriving from Sibelius’s “Kerava period” and discussed earlier in connection with the sketches for the first movement (see Example 4-6), this idea is in A minor.

Example 6-3. HUL 0269/2, staves 1–4, and 11–16.

In Sibelius’s manuscripts, the phrase ending with the “diminished seventh/fifth motive” also appears in connection with material for Valse triste, Op. 44 No. 1 (from the incidental music to Arvid Järnefelt’s play Kuolema, Death, 1904). The two-page draft HUL 0849 begins with music associated with the Third Symphony movement, but in B♭ major (Example 6-4). On staves 13 and 14 of the page, the phrases which ended up in Valse triste appear as a continuation of the melodic line (see [a] in Example 6-4, and also Facsimile X).
Example 6-4. HUL 084911, staves 5–16 (staves 7 and 10 blank).

6.3 The Minor Key Episodes (mm. 42–70 and 112–160) and the Developmental Section (mm. 160–245)

The musical manuscripts do not show any clear derivation of the musical material of the two episodes in minor keys—such as the triadic figuration or the thematic ideas heard for the first time in mm. 55–57 (flutes and clarinets), and in mm. 61–63 (first in the violas and cellos, then in the flutes and clarinets). These episodes, the first in A minor (mm. 42[or 51]–70), and the second in F minor (mm. 112–159) in the final score, are usually included only in extensive continuity drafts. Only two or three drafts concentrate on the material of the minor key episodes. In the “red sketchbook,”
HUL 0225, on page 48, the last two staves of the page as well as the first two staves of the following page (49) contain sketches for ideas in A minor, the “diminished seventh/fifth motive” appearing also in connection with these (see Example 6-5, page 48, staves 5–8). This manuscript page also interestingly contains sketches for the hymn theme of the movement (staves 1 and 2), and for the dotted-rhythm idea of the first movement (staves 3 and 4; cf. mm. 229–233 of the first movement). On staves 5 and 6, there is a sketch containing a contrapuntal setting based on the “diminished seventh/fifth motive” and an ascending triplet figure (Example 6-5). This kind of contrapuntal texture can be found in mm. 171–183 of the third movement.

Example 6-5. HUL 0225/48.

Even though the developmental section of the third movement is one of the most complicated passages in the symphony (discussed further in Chapter 12), the number of sketches preserved for this section is surprisingly small (for instance, by comparison with the sketches and drafts for the development section of the first movement). The surviving drafts are extensive continuity drafts showing the music relatively near to its final shape. Some of the continuity drafts also show the transitions from the preceding minor episode to the developmental section or from the developmental section to the following hymn section.
Perhaps the most significant difference between the transition to the developmental section as seen in the drafts and in the final version is the appearance of the "diminished seventh/fifth motive" at the fortissimo climax in the draft HUL 0240/4 (Facsimile XI). Here, the ascent to the high point, corresponding to mm. 156–160 in the final version (see mm. 4–6 on the Facsimile page), takes only two measures and begins with an A♯-major chord, thus having both a different tonal and harmonic context from the final version (these measures are discussed in detail in Chapter 12).

The main body of the developmental section is close to its final shape in the two continuity drafts that contain material for this section (HUL 0239 and 0242). The music of the developmental section has been written in pencil in both manuscripts, and what is more, HUL 0239 and HUL 0242 evidently originally formed a single continuity draft: the latter (HUL 0242) ends with a measure corresponding to m. 185 of the final score, and the former (HUL 0239) continues from that point on. Put together, these two drafts cover mm. 60–243 of the third movement.

6.4 The Hymn Section

The first sketches known for the hymn theme are not fixed in the final key. The early version containing melodic phrases of the hymn connected with opening material of the third movement, HUL 0269/2 (see Example 6-3 above) was in B major. Probably the earliest sketch for the hymn theme, found in HUL 1618/1, was written in B♭ major (Example 6-6). Based on the shape of the hymn melody itself, this version is probably earlier than the B-major version: in the later version, the turn to relative minor—in this case, G minor, at the end of the first pair of staves and at the beginning of the third pair—has been omitted. Interestingly, the beginning of the B♭-major theme is accompanied by a B♭-major six-three chord.

Example 6-6. HUL 1618/1.
In one of Sibelius's sketch-books, HUL 1635, which bears the annotation Jean Sibelius | Helsingfors | 1907 inside its back cover, there can be found an exceptional continuity draft for the hymn section on pp. 2 and 3. Already notated in the final key, a single-staff melodic line probably features the melodic continuum of the whole section. The handwriting in this draft is very small and partly illegible, so that many of the details remain obscure, but in the main lines one can see interesting differences compared to the final version of the hymn section, such as the changing tempo indications, Largo (?) and Adagio on staves 3 and 4 on page 3, which do not exist in the final score.

The Adagio interruption still exists in the interesting orchestral draft of HUL 0231 (Facsimile XII). This draft consists of 19 paginated folios of musical continuum drafted in ink (between folios 9 and 10 there is one folio upside down, containing music for the opening section of the third movement). The six-measure Adagio interruption—the corresponding place in the final score being somewhere between measures 307 and 311—is actually a single phrase orchestrated for two oboes. In this draft, very much like in the final score, Sibelius has notated only viola and cello at the beginning of the hymn section. Occasionally other strings and horns as well as woodwinds and timpani join the group of sketched parts. Towards the end of the draft (and the movement?), after the Adagio interruption, the string parts are missing altogether. This does not, of course, imply that strings would have nothing to play after that point, but Sibelius seems to have planned the music on the basis of woodwind, horn, and occasional trumpet and trombone sounds, so that after the hymn’s string opening, the orchestral emphasis gradually moved to the wind instruments.

6.5 Conclusions

Significantly, there are one-staff and two-stave drafts only for the hymn section of the movement. The lack of manuscripts showing the earliest evolutionary stages—especially the lack of "elementary" sketches for the thematic material of the movement—as well as the kinds of continuity drafts typical of the first movement suggests that some, perhaps even many, of the third movement sketches and drafts have been lost. It is also possible that if Sibelius had to compose the third movement in haste, it may have led him to notate orchestral drafts already at a relatively early stage of the compositional process. The orchestral drafts themselves are often quite incomplete and fragmentary: even though written in ink, they contain many crossings out, corrections, and signs of "preliminary" working on the musical material and design.

As in the case of the first movement, Sibelius planned several different beginnings for the third before reaching its final solution. As a striking example, we have seen HUL 0231/20 and HUL 0238, in which Sibelius began the movement with the Minnelied theme, also notating quotations from the second movement. These quotations are heard in the published final movement. Part of the third movement material seems to have been derived from a "piano piece" or "improvisation" in B major, found in manuscript HUL 0269/1 (Example 6-2). Also the hymn material first appears in Bb major and B major before it was anchored in its final key. As a whole, the opening section of the third movement (mm. 1–41) has been preserved as several different drafts—as with the opening of the first movement, Sibelius seems to have changed his mind many times before he found the final shape for the beginning.

The manuscripts for the third movement do not clarify whether Sibelius originally planned a
“Scherzo” and a “Finale” as separate movements (as he did in the case of the first two movements in the first version of his Fifth Symphony)—and thus, to give his Third Symphony a traditional four-movement form. The earliest sketches and drafts for the hymn material have not been preserved as written on the same manuscript pages, or are not even included in the same manuscript units with the sketches and drafts for the first sections of the third movement. This might indicate that the hymn section originated separately from the other third movement material. As with the first movement, at the beginning of the compositional process, Sibelius seems to have had no clear picture of the whole in his mind. On the other hand, the process of an “idea crystallizing from chaos,” understood here as an cumulative thematic process towards the hymn, seems to have been a leading thread already from the early continuity drafts and orchestral score drafts on.8

7 The musical manuscripts reveal neither the kinds of cuts planned at the beginning of the movement nor the kinds of changes that were made to the score in the spring of 1908, when Lienau eagerly awaited Sibelius’s last thoughts about the symphony (see Section 3.1).

8 According to Tawaststjerna, Sibelius spoke about “crystallization of the idea from chaos” in connection with the third movement (Tawaststjerna 1991, 78). Tawaststjerna does not mention any source for this information. The original (i.e. Tawaststjerna’s) sentence in Swedish is “tankens utkristallisering ur kaos.” Layton’s translation, “the crystallization of ideas from chaos,” replaces the singular (“the idea”) of the original Swedish with the plural (“ideas”); Layton 1986, 66.
CHAPTER 7

A NETWORK OF COMPOSITIONS

CREATED IN 1902–1912

The manuscript study reveals that many works were mingled with the compositional process of the Third Symphony. The manuscripts contain a network of references to many other works completed either before or even long after the Third Symphony. In my earlier study on Pohjola’s Daughter, I discussed some of the relationships among this work, the unfinished orchestral work “Luonnotar,” and the Third Symphony. Now it appears that many other works, such as Valse triste, Kyllikki, Cassazione, In memoriam, the D-minor String Quartet (Voces intimae), and the Second Orchestral Suite, Scènes historiquest, also have direct or indirect connections with the compositional process of the Third Symphony. The manuscript study also reveals that even if Sibelius himself may have believed he began the work on his Third Symphony in September 1904, he had actually already begun work on the material used in the symphony earlier, at the latest, in connection with the compositional process of Cassazione, the first version of which was performed in February 1904. Similarly, he had worked on material that ended up in his D-minor String Quartet or Scènes historiquest II already years before, when composing the Third Symphony.

It seems that in the beginning the identity of a work was not at all clearly defined. In producing and working out the musical material there seem to have been two different kinds of process. First, for a long period Sibelius apparently notated fragments that had no common roots, but whose unifying elements he later recognized or realized, began building bridges between them and created a continuum among the different and heterogeneous elements. Second, Sibelius sometimes seems to have just started to write down long, continuous passages of music, which he gradually realized had elements that did not belong together and had to be separated into different works.

Both of these processes have allowed us to trace connections or common origins among several works. In the discussion above, we have found many of these relationships between works composed in 1902–1912. The network is even more multidimensional if we take into account other manuscripts not directly connected with the Third Symphony. Even though the following observations do

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1 For parallel observations in Beethoven’s case, see, for instance, Mies 1925, 141.
not have direct connections with the Third Symphony, they may shed light on Sibelius's manner of working on several compositions simultaneously, and open deeper perspectives on his way of planning new works.²

As we have seen, *Cassazione*, was a work very closely related to the Third Symphony, and especially to its second movement. *Cassazione* seems to have been an interesting meeting point for many other works as well; that is, musical material that ended up in *Cassazione* was sketched in connection with materials that ended up in several other works.

To begin with what are probably the earliest connections, HUL 0471 shows that Sibelius planned to use material that ended up in *Cassazione* in connection with material that ended up in the second movement of the Violin Concerto (see Facsimile XIII). HUL 0471/1 opens with the Violin Concerto's second movement theme, notated here in A major. This draft is written on two staves, in ink, and the first page of the manuscript features the theme of the Violin Concerto. After a cadence on the A-major tonic at the end of the first page, on page 2, staves 5 and 6 (both staves 1–4 and 5–8, probably featuring different continuations for page 1, have later been crossed out), the bass descends a half step to G#, and a new theme, which later found its way to *Cassazione* (from m. 48 onwards, see Example 7-1) is introduced. Unlike in *Cassazione*, in HUL 0471 the new key at this point is C# minor, the music being built harmonically on the dominant of this key (see also the G# octaves in measures 6 and 12 after the change of key signature, the first of which is emphasized with fž). This turn is also harmonically very close to that in mm. 45–53 in *Cassazione*.

Example 7-1. *Cassazione* (final version), mm. 48–53

Musical material for *Cassazione* occurs also in connection with material for the Dance Intermezzo No. 2, *Pan und Echo*, Op. 53 (1906, HUL 0472/4), and *In memoriam* (HUL 1585, HUL 1593, and HUL 1611).³ The draft found in HUL 1593 is especially striking owing to the words *Memento mori* written above the idea which ended up in *In memoriam* (mm. 29–32, Example 7-2a, see also Facsimile XIV).⁴ The *Memento mori* idea is immediately followed by a trill idea familiar from mm. 127–129 and 133ff. of *Cassazione*, and on the staves below, thematic material that ended up in mm. 211–218 and 233–240 of the same work (see Example 7-2b).

² "Composing an *oeuvre*"—a characterization used by Murtoäksi in personal communication—refers to a composer's way of working with musical material which finally splinters and ends up in several different works. This implies that the composer did not necessarily have a strong sense of "identity" of a certain work at the beginning of the process, but the "identity" was clarified gradually during the compositional process. Thus, the composer actually composed several works simultaneously, and at least in their genesis the works have common boundaries. A parallel feature in Beethoven's creativity has been discussed already by Nottebohm (1887) and Mies (1925, esp. pp. 111–118).

³ The earliest musical material for *Cassazione* even derives from ideas which Sibelius originally planned to include in his First Symphony (this will be also discussed in the forthcoming edition of the First Symphony, *Jean Sibelius Works*, Series 1, Volume 2).

⁴ It has been claimed that Sibelius got the idea of composing *In memoriam* after Eugen Schauman shot the Russian governor general, Nikolai Bobrikov, in June 1904, when Finland was still part of Russia. The original idea was to compose a requiem for the man who killed the feared and hated oppressor and then committed suicide. The sketches for *Cassazione*, like HUL 1593, reveal that Sibelius had sketched music that ended up in *In memoriam* already by January of that year (the first version of *Cassazione* was premièred on February 8, 1904, in the same concert with the first version of the Violin Concerto).
Example 7-2a. HUL 1593, staves 1–6.

Memento mori

Example 7-2b. Excerpts from In memoriam and Cassazione (cf. Ex. 7-2a)

In memoriam, mm. 29–32.

Cassazione, mm. 127–129 and 133–134.

Cassazione, mm. 211–218 and 233–240.
On manuscript page HUL 1580/2 (Example 7-3a, Facsimile XV) can be seen a connection between the opening theme of the first movement of the Violin Concerto and one of the thematic passages that finally found its way into Pohjola's Daughter. The Violin Concerto fragment is probably in C# minor, while the material referring to Pohjola's Daughter (staves 10 and 11; cf. Example 7-3b) is in E minor, and there seems to be no direct musical continuum between these two sketches. However, the handwriting clearly reveals that these sketches were probably written in tandem, and the instrumental writing of the thematic idea for Pohjola's Daughter seems to imply that there is a (solo) violin part in question. The same type of “solo violin writing” connected with the same thematic material of Pohjola's Daughter (in E minor) can also be seen on manuscript page 1604b.

Example 7-3a. HUL 1580/2, staves 6–11.

Example 7-3b. Pohjola's Daughter, mm. 9–12.

1 Each of the multiple stops can be played on the violin. It should be noted that the key of the opening theme from the Violin Concerto is C# minor. In the final version, the key relationship between the two first movements of the concerto (D minor–B♭ major) corresponds to that of manuscripts HUL 1580/2 and HUL 0471/1 (C# minor–A major, see Facsimile XV).
CHAPTER 8

THE COMPOSITIONAL PROCESS OF

THE THIRD SYMPHONY IN THE LIGHT OF

THE MUSICAL MANUSCRIPTS

Owing to the manifold—direct or indirect—connections between Sibelius’s works as discussed in the previous chapters, the study of the manuscripts for the Third Symphony raises a question that may sound paradoxical: what is actually meant by “a sketch for the Third Symphony?” A narrow definition could perhaps be: “a manuscript in which material for the actual, final work is notated.” If this definition is accepted, then some of the sketches presented above, in fact, do not directly concern the Third Symphony. But if the definition is formulated as: “a manuscript that at some stage of the compositional process of the Third Symphony or some other work had direct or relevant connections with the material finally used in the symphony,” then the picture of the manuscript material for the Third Symphony appears as a complex network. At the same time, the nature of the compositional process of the work and possibly also our conception of the musical thinking of Sibelius as a symphonic composer may gain new dimensions.

Perhaps Sibelius was after all not a creator who cultivated his symphonies from a few small motivic cells to large symphonic constructions. Rather, in the compositional process there may be a question of choosing and connecting the right components; a question of building a large-scale continuum from thematic material that was compiled on Sibelius’s manuscript pages over many years, material that was initially not intended to be used in a single, specific work, in this instance, the Third Symphony, and that originally was neither homogeneous nor coherent.1

1 Howell has a very different view in his study of the two versions of the Fifth Symphony: “If ever a visual image depicting ‘symphonic’ or ‘organic’ when applied to Sibelius’s compositional technique were necessary, then a glance at any page of sketches would convincingly provide it.” (Howell 1995, 74). Also Levas discusses these issues briefly in his memoirs of Sibelius as follows: “Cecil Gray and after him many other writers have explained that Sibelius first presents his motives as small pieces, and then, as the work progresses, compiles them as an actual theme. Once in the autumn-winter of 1950, when this issue came into discussion, Sibelius stated quite categorically: ‘It is not at all true. I do not build my themes from fragments.’” (Levas 1960, 243). On the other hand, on the same page of Levas’s book, there is another statement by Sibelius that certainly does not tell the whole truth: “Once at first [during Levas’s work as Sibelius’s secretary], I asked whether he often had to consider which instrument he had to use in certain connections. ‘Never,’ Sibelius answered without a single moment of hesitation.” The study of Sibelius’s manuscripts reveal that there were probably many moments of hesitation in his compositional work, and changes in orchestration were not at all rare. Sibelius’s comments—or the way they have been documented—have to be taken cautiously.
In the light of sketch studies, Sibelius does not seem to have had a clear view of the work as a whole at the outset of the compositional process of the Third Symphony. At least where the thematic content of the work is concerned, he seems to have made his final decisions only after a series of unsuccessful attempts. He explored his fragmentary material, tried to find out the common or unifying features of different ideas, and then became aware of these features and built connections between the ideas.²

Interestingly, from a motivic-analytical perspective, Outi Jyrhämä has presented a parallel view of the Third Symphony: "[...] the connecting of motives of different origins through motivic variation is a structural principle governing the whole Symphony."³ And in his article on the first movement of Sibelius's Fourth Symphony, Edward Laufer refers to Levas's account cited above and, from the Schenkerian perspective, beautifully frames the following conclusion which also very closely corresponds with the conclusions reached in the present study of the Third Symphony:

The point may be emphasized: the themes are not built out of small fragments. Rather, different themes may be associated by their having fragments in common; that is, certain components recur in the various themes. This does not mean that all the themes are somehow the same. Like brothers and sisters in the same family, they have certain features in common—yet each theme is different and individual.⁴

The metaphor of assembling mosaic pieces from heaven's floor written by Sibelius in his diary in April 1915—and actually cited for the first time in a letter as early as in 1905—may also point in this direction.⁵ During the compositional process Sibelius had to discover for himself which fragments belonged together, and in what order, and what kind of picture, what kind of whole lay behind the puzzle of the mosaic pieces. In his often cited discussion with Gustav Mahler in 1907, that is, in the year of completion of the Third Symphony, Sibelius declared his admiration for the symphonic composition as "the profound logic that created an inner connection between all motives."⁶ Could this declaration also be understood so that, rather than creating large organisms from small motivic cells, the "profound logic" manifests itself in building unity from a rich variety of ideas?

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² Cf. Mahler's words about scholars studying Beethoven's sketches (documented by Natalie Bauer-Lechner and translated by Stephen E. Hefling): "[...] Or they [the scholars] say that the completed work signifies such progress beyond the sketched draft; meanwhile, they have no notion of what entirely different things could have come from such a first inkling in his hands!" (Hefling 1997, 170).
³ Jyrhämä 1981, 31 (["... eri alkuperää olevien aiheiden motiivisen muuntelun kautta tapahtuva yhdistäminen on koko sinfoniaa hallitseva rakenneperiaate."].)
⁴ Laufer 1999, 141.
⁵ Jalmari Finne's letter to Anna Sarlin dated on June 28, 1905 (microfilm; NA, Finne Archive, PR 170): "[...] Sibelius spoke extremely beautifully about music. Among other things he said: 'For me, music is a beautiful mosaic, which God has put together, he takes all the pieces in his hand, throws them into the world, and we have to rebuild the picture.' ([...] Sibelius puhui erinomaisen kauniisti musiikista. Muun muassa sanoi hän: 'musiikki on minulle kaunis mosaiikki, jonka Jumala on pannut kokoon, hän ottaa kaikki kappaleet käsineenä, heittää ne maailmaan ja meidän on niistä pantava tuo kuva uudelleen kokoon.')"
⁶ Sibelius's discussion with Mahler was first documented in Ekman 1935, 185.
PART II
ANALYSIS
As discussed in Section 1.2.3, Sibelius was one of the composers, whose works are stylistically situated at a turning point between the tonal tradition of the classic-romantic period and the post-tonal trends of the early 20th century. Obviously, this affects the features in the tonal organisation and harmony in his music. But in addition, this historical/stylistic position is also mirrored in Sibelius’s way of applying traditional forms, diverging from them and finding new, individual solutions in his compositions.

One of the greatest difficulties encountered in analyzing form in Sibelius’s compositions is surely to find a way of describing the unique characteristics of the music. Even in those cases where the form, when observed superficially, seems to follow classical—or *Formenlehre*—principles, there may be episodes or passages whose formal function or position in the harmonic and voice-leading context and hierarchy is ambiguous. The Third Symphony is in many respects such a case.

Donald Francis Tovey’s words on the Third Symphony’s third movement, according to which the movement represents a “form invented by Sibelius,” do not, in fact, manage to tell much about Sibelius’s invention or inventiveness.\(^1\) Even though the form in several works by Sibelius really might be “invented by Sibelius,” the most profitable way of understanding the inventions is to regard them in the context of the formal principles which were established during the classic-romantic period and compare them with these. Sibelius studied and knew these principles thoroughly, also in a *Formenlehre* sense, as he studied and knew thoroughly the principles of classical harmony and voice-leading.\(^2\) This does not mean that form in Sibelius’s compositions should be squared with the traditional models, but the classic-romantic tradition should certainly be seen in the background.

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1 Tovey 1972 [1935], 125.
2 As interesting documents of this, the manuscripts in Helsinki University Library and in the National Archives of Finland contain notes concerning musical forms and an analysis of the first movement of Beethoven’s *Eroica* Symphony (HUL 0419) as well as exercises in harmony and counterpoint dating from Sibelius’s years of study.
This perspective does not lessen the value of Sibelius's most individual and visionary inventions of form.3

The above statement very much matches with what was earlier said about tonal organisation and harmony in Sibelius's music: even though the tonal thinking in Sibelius's music diverges in many respects from common-practice tonality, for instance by incorporating modal elements, traditional tonality is the background of Sibelius's individual style.4

As mentioned in the Introduction, analyses discussing the formal strategies in Sibelius's symphonies have typically concentrated on thematic aspects. Without losing sight of these aspects, questions concerning form are discussed in the present study especially from the perspective of harmony and voice-leading—i.e., from a Schenkerian perspective. For Schenker and his followers, harmony and voice-leading have been the deciding factors in defining form in tonal music.5 Yet Schenkerian theorists have also described other factors which organize the unfolding of the music besides the voice-leading. The notion of "design" has appeared prominently in Schenkerian research, and David Beach has made a distinction between the terms "formal design," "tonal design," and "structure."6 "Formal design" refers to the formal disposition based on thematic material, textures and so on, while "tonal design" means the layout of different key-areas. "Structure" is understood as covering harmony and voice-leading in the Schenkerian sense. Since these definitions have also proved to be highly illustrative in Sibelius's music, Beach's terminology has been adopted in the following discussion.

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3 See also James Hepokoski’s discussion on Formenlehre structures and "deformations" of those structures (Hepokoski 1993, 5–7, and 20–23).
4 See Joseph C. Kraus's view cited in the Introduction, Section 1.2.3.
5 For Schenker's view on the relation between harmony, voice-leading, and form, see Schenker 1979, 128–145. The fundamental role of harmony and voice-leading in examining form is reflected in William Rothstein's distinction between "inner" and "outer" form, the former meaning the harmony and voice-leading structure, and the latter representing the "thematic aspect of a piece." (Rothstein 1989, 104).
6 Beach 1993.
10.1 An Overview

The sonata form in the first movement of the Third Symphony has generally been regarded as the most classical in all of Sibelius's symphonies.¹ According to Jussi Jalas “there is nothing [in the first movement] that would deviate from it [the classical sonata form], and the different themes are easily recognisable.”² Yet the movement bears several features that cannot easily be called traditional or conventional. Already in the sectional division, or the formal design of the movement, there are significant deviations from classical models. First of all, there are no clear border-lines between the formal units that have usually been called sections (exposition, development, and recapitulation) or themes—it is, for instance, not easy to define exactly where the development section begins, and also the recapitulation’s exact point of departure is open to interpretation. The thematic units are not clearly formal entities defined by closing cadences, and the transitions from one passage to another are in most cases seamless—the most striking exception being, perhaps, the clearly marked turn before the B-minor passage in the exposition (mm. 34–40, and E minor in the recapitulation, mm. 202–216), usually called the second or the subsidiary theme of the movement. From the point of view of harmony and voice leading, there are the same kinds of ambiguities. There seem to be no clear, form-defining cadences, no underlined or unequivocal arrivals for dominants and tonics.³

¹ See, for instance, Abraham 1947, 22; Gray 1931, 139; Jalas 1988, 59; and Murtomäki 1993, 80. See also the discussion in the Introduction, Section 1.1.
² Jalas (1988, 59): “Siinä ei ole mitään, mikä tästä poikkeaisi, ja eri teemat ovat helposti tunnistettavissa.”
³ To be sure, these kinds of formal features can be found in many classic-romantic sonata-form movements before Sibelius, for instance, in Beethoven’s and Brahms’s works, and one could easily expect such features to be found more generally in the music of late and post-romantic composers. Some of the features described above are also found in the first movements of the First and the Second Symphonies. However, I think that there is at least a certain difference of degree in the formal outline in the Third Symphony by comparison with the two earlier symphonies by Sibelius, especially on the level of large sections, but also on the level of thematic units. See, for instance, the transition from the exposition to the development in the first movement of the First (mm. 166–170) and the Second Symphony (mm. 117–118), as well as the beginning of the recapitulation (m. 262) in the latter—even though the latter cases are also not entirely obvious. In many respects, the Third Symphony might even be regarded as the “least classical” of Sibelius’s first three symphonies.
As mentioned in the Introduction (Section 1.2.3), analyses discussing the formal strategies in Sibelius's symphonies have typically concentrated on thematic aspects. In this study, the form is discussed from the perspective of harmony and voice-leading—i.e., from a Schenkerian perspective. According to Schenker, the sonata form, like most other forms during the tonal era, is basically built on tension between tonic and dominant. The first part of the essentially binary form contains the exposition and development sections. It consists of an interrupted progression I–V, while the second part, the recapitulation, is a closed harmonic entity based on a I–V–I progression. The bass motions correspond to these harmonic progressions. The upper voice descends during the first part of the interrupted structure from the third or the fifth of the tonic chord to $\tilde{3}$, and during the latter part the fundamental line descent is led further to the tonic ($\tilde{1}$).

Example 10-1 (a and b) shows an overview of the first movement of Sibelius's Third Symphony.

Example 10-1 a and b. First movement, voice-leading sketch (overview).

From a Schenkerian perspective, probably the most striking feature is the absence of bass-arpeggiation (Bassbrechung) in the fundamental structure; i.e., the bass motion does not follow the conventional I–V–I progression. Instead, the bass progression is based on a lower neighbor-note figure C–B || C–B–C, which gives consonant support first to the interrupted upper-voice $\tilde{3}$–$\tilde{2}$ progression in the exposition (the development being built on a prolongation of D in the upper voice.
and B in the bass) and the 3–2–1 progression in the recapitulation. The harmonic progression still represents the traditional tonic-dominant progression, the dominant chord not being in the root position, but in the first inversion, however. In the following, the sections of the form are discussed in more detail.

10.2 Exposition

10.2.1 First Group (mm. 1–39)

Analytically the most challenging features of the exposition are probably the unforeseeable appearance of the tonally remote B-minor chord along with the contrasting thematic idea in m. 40, and the passage following the B-minor episode (mm. 54ff.) and leading to the entrenchment of the dominant six-three chord at the end of the exposition (mm. 67ff.). Even though the unison opening and its continuation until m. 16 might at first appear simple and straightforward, the harmonic and voice-leading structure of this passage is actually not at all self-evident. It is, for instance, not entirely easy to define the underlying chord-progression of the opening passage in mm. 1–10. As shown in Example 10-2, the most likely chord-progression in these measures is I–II–I. The pitch A that gets an emphasis in m. 3 is interpreted as the upper neighbor of the fifth, G, of the tonic chord. As can be seen, this neighbor-note figure appears in different levels of the structure during the opening. The strong metric position of the pitch A in m. 3 underlines the significance of this point. According to Murromäki (1993, 62), the pitch A (and the A minor chord) “is to have an important function both on the level of melodic figuration and of the tonal structure during the course of the symphony.”

Les Black also emphasizes the importance of C–B progressions in the movement (see Black 2003). In his analysis of the first movement of Sibelius’s Sixth Symphony, Kaleel Skeirik has the same kind of interpretation of the bass progression in that movement: in the D dorian/minor key movement, the bass of the fundamental structure is built upon the neighbor-note figure D–C–D and, consequently, the chord progression I–VII–I. In his thorough study, Skeirik shows the possible medieval origins of this kind of fundamental structure that is based on the neighbor-note figure in the bass, and calls it a “modal Ur­satz” (see Skeirik 1997, 4–5). In his unpublished analysis of the same Sixth Symphony movement, Edward Laufer emphasizes the role of the bass note C in the movement, but still understands the bass progression as representing the traditional bass-­arpeggiation (D–A–D). In my view, and more clearly than in the case of the Sixth Symphony movement, the deep-level bass progression of the tone poem Luonnotar, Op. 70, for soprano and orchestra, is built upon the neighbor-note figure F–E–F supporting the upper-voice descent A–G–F (the actual descent taking place in mm. 187–189).

As a reference point for the opening we could also compare the corresponding measures in the recapitulation, where measures 167–171 (corresponding to measures 3–8) are harmonized with a II degree triad, with the note C retained in the bass. Also in a draft for the opening in manuscript HUL 0250/3, Sibelius has written a D-minor chord, with the bass note C sustained throughout the opening of the movement (cf. also Chapter 4, Example 4-1, HUL 0249/3).

Edward Laufer emphasizes the role of the bass note C in the movement, but still understands the bass progression as representing the traditional bass-­arpeggiation (D–A–D). In my view, and more clearly than in the case of the Sixth Symphony movement, the deep-level bass progression of the tone poem Luonnotar, Op. 70, for soprano and orchestra, is built upon the neighbor-note figure F–E–F supporting the upper-voice descent A–G–F (the actual descent taking place in mm. 187–189).

This may be one of the reasons for the change that Sibelius made to the metric structure of the opening (see the discussion in Section 4.2). Actually, it is not easy to determine the hierarchy of emphases created by the metric structure: which A—the one in m. 2 or in m. 3—is more emphatic? From the beginning on, one may get the impression that the main emphasis in the measures lay on the third beat (as discussed in Section 4.2, Sibelius also originally notated the sixteenth-note groups on the first beats of the measures). However, the bar lines would seem to imply another kind of metric emphasis. In m. 8, the bassoons and the horns seem to support the third-beat emphasis, but two measures later the emphasis lies on the first beat.

Both Howell and Murromäki have noticed the emphasis given to the A (minor chord) in the opening measures (see Howell 1989, 23, and Murromäki 1993, 62). The next significant appearance of the A-minor chord is labeled with the juxtaposition of the C-major and A-minor chord in mm. 29–34. The pitch A gets a more important role in the third movement, where the first of the b episodes (mm. 42–70) is built on an A-minor chord. Also the key of the second movement, the minor of the VI (GI minor), can be and has been regarded in relation to the VI degree of the tonic key of the symphony (for discussion on key relations and tonal plan in the Symphony, see Murromäki 1993, esp. pp. 72–78).
The opening measures are tightly bound to the tonic C-major chord, and the II and IV are only neighboring sonorities for the tonic. Also the continuation, mm. 18–37, centers around the tonic chord with neighboring harmonies. The first significant chromatic steps outside the diatonic C major scale, F♯ and D♭, respectively, are heard already in m. 15, where they lead to G and E, the fifth and the third of the tonic chord. The same progression is heard in mm. 27–29, where the diminished seventh chord introduces the *forte* tonic chord of m. 29 (this time D♭ is notated enharmonically as E♭).

In spite of the steadfast character of the opening, measures 1–24 do not actually contain any determined progression or create an impression of growth. In contrast, there is a clear tendency to build up something from m. 25 onwards. The effectiveness of the *crescendo* in mm. 25–28 is largely based on the melodic ascent in the first violins and violas (accompanied by the horns), the sixteenth-note motion and the tension of the (common-tone) diminished seventh chord resolving to the tonic chord (mm. 27–28). But there are also subtle changes in the melodic and metric process taking place in these measures (see Example 10-3). Measure 25 can be interpreted as forming its own melodic/metric unit, bound to the pitch d1. Measure 26 starts as if a repetition of this unit a step higher, but it is enlarged with two quarter-notes in the following measure, and with the sixteenth-note groups featuring the third e1–g1; it also contains chromatic elements, namely b♭ in the melodic

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8 Since the chromatic passing tone G♯ in m. 14 is not emphasized or featured with supporting harmony, it has not been regarded as a very significant chromatic step or extension outside the diatonic C-major scale, even though it might have a role in underlining the pitch A (see also above).

9 Sibelius’s original *fa* indications have been retained in mm. 5–6 and 8–9 in the Example. In the autograph score (HUL 0229) Sibelius has marked consistently *fa* instead of *sf* printed in the first edition of the score. The latter indication was probably a standard usage of the publishing house: in the *Stichvorlage* it can clearly be seen, how a Lienau editor crossed out the original markings and replaced them with new ones in pencil. This and other notational differences between the autograph and the first edition, will be discussed in the forthcoming JSW edition of the Third Symphony (*Jean Sibelius Works*, Series I, volume 4).
line and C in the accompanying harmony.\textsuperscript{10} This unit contains the original model (m. 25) plus the enlargement of it on a third higher (altogether one and a half measures). The melodic/metric unit is built upon the diminished seventh chord, and consists of three members, the sequentially rising figures beginning with pitches $b^1$ (m. 27, third quarter-note), $a^1$ (m. 28, first beat), and $c^2$ (m. 28, third beat).\textsuperscript{11} Thus, the melodic/metric shaping in these measures represents a tendency of growth from a "one-member unit" to a "three-member unit," marvelously supporting the overall impression of rising to a high-point in these measures.

The following culmination of the first group, mm. 29–37, contains melodically and metrically the same kind of process, but in reverse order. Measures 29–31 form a three-measure unit on the tonic chord, mm. 32 and 33 a two-measure unit (VI chord), while mm. 34 and 35 create an impression of condensation, or focusing, to a "single unison tonic"—even though m. 34 also elliptically begins the powerful ascent C–D–E. Thus, the broadening progression of mm. 25–28 is followed by the condensing progression in mm. 29–34, and this suspenseful course of events serves to highlight the three-note ascent in the trumpets and trombones.

\textbf{Example 10-3. Melodic and metric processes in mm. 25–34.}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Even though the harmony changes after the bar-line in m. 27, these quarter notes can be understood as belonging to the same melodic/metric unit: they extend the tonic chord dimension a third higher, to the third G–B, and the following unit begins with an entirely new chord, the common-tone diminished seventh chord discussed above. Compare mm. 26 and 27 also with the corresponding measure 190 in the recapitulation, where the harmonic change is less evident: in the horns and the cellos there is no C, but C and the C-major-based chord is heard throughout. This difference between exposition and recapitulation may not, of course, be intentional (i.e., Sibelius may have forgotten to add the sharps in the horns and the cellos in m. 190), but the reading in the printed score is in accordance with every other source.
  \item The bassoons underline the beginning of the new melodic/metric unit here. Cf. also the first horn part, which can be understood as underlining the model described above.
\end{itemize}
Almost throughout the whole first group, the tonic chord has reigned with autocracy, and the tonic C has been kept in the bass during nearly the whole main key section—the only notable exceptions being the II in mm. 5–7, and mm. 31 and 32, where the bass descends to A via the passing note B. This A is followed by a sudden leap back to tonic C. The bass line is interrupted abruptly, whereas the continuation of the descending line would lead to G, the note which is also implied in mm. 34–37, as shown in Example 10-2. Simultaneously, in the upper voice, the upper neighbor-note figure G–A is equally interrupted, the return to G being merely implied in m. 34, and C heard instead.

The main note of the fundamental line becomes apparent in m. 36 where the trumpets and trombones ascend to E, 3. Before that point, G, 5, has appeared as a powerful rival to E, most clearly from m. 16 onwards. In m. 35 the hitherto luminous G fades away, whereas E is lifted up, the main note demonstrated in a most effective manner.

Immediately after the winner of the rivalry between G and E is announced, the upper voice takes one step further in m. 38, to F, which soon turns out to be the fifth of the B-minor chord. Even though the moment is rather unexpected, the pitch F is not surprising as such: as some commentators have noted, it recalls the appearances of the same pitch earlier in the exposition, especially that in m. 15. What is surprising here is that F does not act as it has done before; that is, it does not lead to G. From the viewpoint of voice-leading, this is certainly the reason why the entry of the B-minor passage creates an impression of interrupted motion, or stiffening.

10.2.2 Second Theme in B Minor?
The first group did not contain any compact or long-lined thematic entities. Rather, it could be described as a cumulative process, where separate phrases and passages are linked together, and the overall intensity gradually grows by means of increasing textural density, registral broadening and fuller orchestration. The sudden appearance of the dusky, elegiac song on a static B-minor chord at m. 40, after a glorious full orchestra forte declaring the tonic C major, is surely one of the most fascinating moments in the movement. The passage in the minor begins abruptly, without

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12 As a matter of fact, in manuscript HUL 0224/3 (see Example 4-8) the descent in the bass continues to G.
13 The progression G–A–C is foreshadowed in the first three measures of the movement, where the descending fourth C–G is followed by the emphasized A, and A leads again (via the passing tone B) to C. The role of A as an implied neighbor-note of G in mm. 1–3 has been discussed earlier in this Chapter.
14 See Collins 1973, 167, and Murtomäki 1993, 72. F# might, of course, be understood as referring to the Lydian scale.
15 This moment may bring to mind a few somewhat similar examples in the sonata form movements in the classic-romantic era, both in major and in minor keys; see, for instance, the first movements of Mozart's Piano Sonatas in F major (K 332), and B major (K. 570); Beethoven's Piano Sonata in D major (Op. 10 no. 3); Schubert's C-major String Quintet (D 956); and Brahms's D-major Symphony (Op. 73). In each of these cases, the first group (or the main theme) is followed by a sudden turn (not an actual transition), and a new thematic idea heard in a "key" other than the usual secondary key, the dominant. According to Murtomäki (1993, 80), in Sibelius's Third Symphony "the suddenness of the entry of the second theme key area [B minor] is reminiscent of Beethoven (the Fifth Symphony) and Schubert (e.g. the first movement of the "Unfinished" Symphony)." In some of these cases, the new thematic idea is introduced in a passage that harmonically turns out to be modulatory, i.e., a transition. Sometimes, the term "transition theme" has been used in connection with these kinds of cases. In Sibelius's Third Symphony, the minor-key passage itself is harmonically motionless, and the actual modulatory activity begins with the sixteenth-note motion—unless we regard the transition as beginning already in the measures preceding the minor-key passage.
any transitional preparation or stabilizing cadence, after the first part of the exposition anchored firmly in the main key, and the tonic note, C, having been heard almost constantly in the bass. The enigmatic turn to a remote minor key has been discussed by several scholars. Most of them have called the minor passage as the second or subsidiary theme and understood the key of this theme as B minor, and many have also commented on the highly exceptional key relationship between the main key and the key of this theme, the minor of the VII degree. It has also been noted that the proper dominant key does appear at the end of the exposition. In the following, I shall present two different readings of the minor passage's role in the harmonic and voice-leading structure of the exposition, the first of which is based on a view already discussed in the Sibelius literature at least implicitly by several writers. These readings may also bring new aspects to the interpretation of the form.

One possible interpretation of the tonal structure of the exposition, mm. 1–85, is shown in Example 10-4, which presents different middleground levels. Here the bass note of the B-minor chord is interpreted as anticipating the bass of the dominant six-three chord at the end of the exposition (mm. 67ff). C is heard as the bass note again in mm. 55 and 63–67 (as well as implied in m. 61), but these bass notes do not have any structural connection with the initial C in the bass.

Example 10-4. Exposition, voice-leading sketch (an overview, first reading).

The interpretation of the exposition discussed above may be affirmed by the relation between the formal design and the tonal design. The clear turning-point in the exposition is supported by the harmonic and voice-leading structure: in this reading the bass of the B-minor chord belongs to a new phase in the structure; as an anticipation it is directly connected to the dominant chord. The exposition is divided into two parts almost equal in length: first, the tonic section with the tonic C prolonged in the bass, and second, the section preparing and affirming the dominant with the note B in the bass.

16 See, for instance, Tawaststjerna’s, Howell’s and Murromäki’s discussions. Tawaststjerna 1991, 82; Howell 1989, 23–24; Murromäki 1993, 72–74. The idea of "three-key exposition" has been discussed, for instance, in Webster 1978.
17 See, for instance, Howell 1989, 23–24, and Ex. 7; Murromäki 1993, 73; Black 2003, 233.
18 This interpretation comes close to the readings in Howell 1989, 23–24, and Murromäki 1993, 74.
In Example 10-5 I suggest another possible reading of the tonal structure of the exposition. Here, the bass note of the B-minor chord is not interpreted as an anticipation of the B supporting the dominant six-three chord. Rather, the fifth of the B-minor chord, F♯, is understood as an anticipation of the F♯ belonging to the four-two chord that resolves to the dominant six-three chord in m. 67. Therefore, the bass note C heard in mm. 55 and 61, and as the bass note of the four-two chord, rather than the bass note B of the minor key passage, is decisive from the perspective of the voice-leading structure.

Example 10-5. Exposition, voice-leading sketch (an overview, second reading).

In both readings the B-minor chord is a contrapuntal element; it does not take part in the voice-leading at the deepest level, the goal of which is the dominant. In the latter reading, the relation between the bass note B of the B-minor chord and the B of the dominant six-three chord is merely associative, not structural—the association, of course, being very significant. The bass note C that governed the first group returns along with the sixteenth-note gust (mm. 54ff.) that recalls the energetic motion interrupted before the minor passage. Moreover, the measures where the four-two chord resolves to the dominant six-three chord bear thematic reminiscences of mm. 20–24. These connections to, or associations with, the music heard during the first group may also be understood as retrospectively weakening the impression of a self-sufficient second theme in mm. 40–54.

In the second interpretation, the relation between the formal design and tonal structure appears more complex than in the first interpretation. From the viewpoint of the voice-leading structure, the exposition can be interpreted as a continuous process rather than a clear-cut two-phase whole, where the phases would correspond to the first and the second group in the traditional sonata form—and in this case, with the second group beginning in a peculiar key. According to the second interpretation, the B-minor chord is structurally only an aside from the more fundamental motion in the voice-leading context. However, this may also be one of the reasons behind its enchantment, its almost motionless character: it is like a revelation, apart from the reality, or the underlying tensions that create structure.

19 Of course, this is also the case in the first interpretation. However, understanding the bass of the B-minor chord as anticipating the dominant six-three chord rather than being included in the tonic prolongation area would very likely lead to a different view of the form.
The character of the B-minor passage differs drastically from the preceding C-major first group. In that sense, and on the level of thematic and formal design, it may be justified to call the B-minor passage the second theme. However, there are several factors that obscure the role of the passage in the context of the movement. The sudden turn to B minor and the equally sudden turn away from it make the independence, and the thematic quality, of the B-minor episode questionable. As several commentators have pointed out, the passage is also thematically closely related to the preceding culmination of the first group. The B-minor passage begins, so to speak, as a negative picture of what was heard before, a dark or mysterious side of the bright and glorious music of the first group.

The first group was harmonically built on a static tonic chord, with the tonic C in the bass almost throughout. Also the B-minor passage is harmonically very static and consists only of the B-minor chord, with vague dominant implications in that key. The passage ends almost as abruptly as it began. Even though there is a V–I progression in m. 54, there is no clear cadence, and the closure of the passage crumbles away along with the beginning of the sixteenth-note gust. The energetic sixteenth-note motion of the following unison passage is associated with the sixteenth-note activity that was abruptly interrupted after m. 33, so that a connection may be understood between these points, or a continuum that is only temporarily obscured during the static B-minor passage. Dramatically, the B-minor episode—and the measures leading to it—create a feeling of something that interrupts the musical flow, a vision that enchants for a moment and suddenly disappears, something that does not belong to the musical reality that precedes and follows it, and might thus be even called parenthetical. After the interruption, the directed motion returns and the music searches for its “correct” way to continue further.

Also the registral setting of the B-minor passage may be regarded as significant. The Kophton E is established in the two-line octave. The B-minor passage is situated in the lower register, the melody moving around the pitch d¹. Along with the sixteenth-note gust, the original register is conquered again, and E in the original register finally leads to D, this time in the same register (m. 67/85).

Even if Sibelius’s early plans as represented in the manuscript pages differ in many ways from the final version of the exposition, the character of the minor passage presented there is inspiring and also shows an interesting parallel, especially to the second of the two analytical interpretations just discussed: both in the drafts and in the second analysis, the flow of the music passes through the minor passage that is not stabilized as a key (see Chapter 4, Exx. 4-10 and 4-14a, which are

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20 See, for instance, Howell 1983, 27, and Rynänen 1988, 125. The melodic figuration with its syncopated rhythms in the woodwinds and horns in mm. 29–33 and perhaps also the repeated sixteenth-note accompanying pattern foreshadow the melody in the cellos and the equally repetitive accompaniment in the second violins and the violas in m. 40ff. As we have seen, the motivic-thematic connections became evident in the drafts, where the minor-key passage music follows and is derived seamlessly from the previous music (see, for instance, Examples 4-10 and 4-14a).

21 Howell (1989, 28) comes close to this view when he writes: “the semiquaver figuration of bar 19ff. and that of 55ff. help link the two stages of transition in terms of underlying textural associations.” Howell calls the B-minor passage the “second subject,” but as can be seen, the transition happens in two stages, and the transitory activity continues after the “second subject,” from m. 54 onwards.

22 Both Ingman and Mutromäki emphasize the connection between the B-minor chord and the dominant six-three chord of the conclusion of the exposition, and call the former an “apparent key.” As Mutromäki states (1993, 72): “B minor must be taken as merely apparent, the mediant iii degree of G.” See also Ingman 1965, 27.
not the only examples of this among the manuscripts). In the manuscripts, its position in the formal design as a second theme seems at least questionable—as it is also from the viewpoint of the tonal structure in the final work. In the final version, formal and tonal design and the harmonic and voice-leading structure interact in a complex and multidimensional way that stimulates many questions.

10.2.3 The End of the Exposition (mm. 54–85)

The unison passage in the strings following the static B-minor passage (mm. 54ff.) has the hallmarks of a true modulatory transition. The F# heard during the B-minor passage already strongly implied a change of key, but the sixteenth-note passage shuffles the deck again.

The passage beginning in m. 54 is far from unambiguous. The harmonic rhythm, as well as the relationships between the harmonic events, is surely open to different interpretations. However, some of the main lines in this passage may be regarded as clearly defined. First of all, in Example 10-6, I have shown a connection between the C-major chord of the first group and the occurrence of the implied C-major chord in m. 61, and finally, the dominant four-two chord resolving to the dominant six-three chord in m. 67. The C-major chord of m. 55 would seem to be situated amid the sixteenth-note passage, but in fact it means a first clear articulative event in the passage. After the C-major chord, the phrase beginning with the sixteenth notes in m. 54 seems at first to be repeated on a G-minor chord in m. 56.

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23 It may be noteworthy, that in HUL 0234 (an orchestral draft) and HUL 0250, p. 3 (a continuity draft of the whole exposition), Sibelius retained the C-major key signature throughout the minor passage (thus using accidentals for the F# and C#), and notated the one-sharp key signature first in m. 61. This feature is still to be seen at as late stage as in the autograph fair copy HUL 0229, where Sibelius notated the one-sharp key signature both in its final place (m. 40) and in m. 61.
After m. 56 a sequential ascent and a striving towards the dominant arrived at in m. 67 begin. The
After m. 56 a sequential ascent and a striving towards the dominant arrived at in m. 67 begin. The goal of the sequential ascent in mm. 56–61 is the implied C-major chord on the first beat of m. 61; this chord, even if not unequivocally present on the surface, implicitly derives from the underlying voice-leading progression shown in Example 10-7.24

**Example 10-7. Underlying voice-leading progression in mm. 59–61.**

![Example 10-7. Underlying voice-leading progression in mm. 59–61.](image)

mm. 59-61 from:

![mm. 59-61 from:](image)

The voice-leading structure of the sequential ascent can also be interpreted differently (see Example 10-8). If the lowest notes of the broken chords in mm. 59–60 are understood as decisive, then there would be an ascending inner-voice progression D–E–F♯–G–A, while the bass line would feature a third descent C–B–A in mm. 55–59. As a consequence of this, there would be no implied C-major chord at the first beat in m. 61, but the bass note would rather be A, and the C of m. 67 would derive from this.25

**Example 10-8. Alternative reading for mm. 55–67.**

![Example 10-8. Alternative reading for mm. 55–67.](image)

24 The harmonic situation at the first beat of that measure is interestingly obscure, or "open": first at beat two the bassoons and the horns make the half-diminished seventh chord audible. In fact, this chord continues the underlying 5–6 motion of the previous measures, as illustrated in Example 10-7b.

25 I am indebted to Lauri Suurpää for pointing out this alternative.
Measures 61–67 are, again, built upon a single chord, the half-diminished seventh chord F♯–A–C–E, and the note D that appears in mm. 62 and 65 reinforces the dominant function of these measures. In mm. 63–65 C appears as the lowest note (see the second bassoon and the fourth horn) and it is heard as a bass note again in m. 67. It is this C—appearing now as the bass note of a four-two chord—that is resolved to the bass-note B of the dominant six-three chord in the same measure, while in the upper register the (middle-voice) ascent reaches the note g².

Reaching D, scale degree 2, in the upper voice does not happen simultaneously with the descent in the bass to B of the dominant six-three chord (see Example 10-6). D in the upper voice is affirmed gradually, first in mm. 77–78 with the support of its upper neighbor, E⁵, and more strongly in mm. 81–85, where the third B–D between the bass and the upper voice appears as the goal of the descending and ascending lines. In connection with the diverging lines, the simultaneously appearing semitone motions, C♯ to D and C⁴ to B, creating a startling dissonance, emphasize this point. Example 10-9 shows the underlying diatonic version of mm. 81–85, from which the actual chromatic lines may be understood as deriving.

Example 10-9. Underlying diatonic progressions of mm. 81–85.

Delivering the appearance of the structural upper voice note until the end of the exposition recalls the way in which the main note E was presented at the end of the first group; the same thing happens at the beginning of the recapitulation as well as at the end of the movement: the upper voice follows the bass after the delay of a substantial number of measures.

It is notable, of course, that the dominant chord does not appear in the root position but in the first inversion. Therefore, at a deep level, D in the upper voice is not supported by G reached by arpeggiation in the bass, but the bass note is the lower neighbor of the tonic. At a deep level, this neighbor, B, also leads back to the tonic at the beginning of the recapitulation, m. 164.

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26 In mm. 67–69 also the echoes of the thematic ideas heard in mm. 20ff. can be interpreted as supporting the impression of a continuum from the tonic C-major first group to the point where the dominant six-three chord is achieved through the four-two chord (m. 67). The implied C-major chord in m. 61—if this implication is accepted—could perhaps be understood as an example of a "tonic reference in non-tonic key area," as discussed by Naphali Wagner (1987).

27 The diminished seventh chord F♯–A–C–E⁴ in m. 77 also refers to the similar chords heard in mm. 15 and 27–28 in a different context, while the sonority in mm. 74–77, being combined with the bass note B, may create a fleeting impression of a dominant (ninth) chord in E minor—this impression, in turn, associating with the emphatic dominants of E minor later in the development, in mm. 153–161 and 202–216.

28 Interestingly, in HUL 0254/2 Sibelius originally notated a half-note C♯ on the first beat and a half-note C⁴ on the second beat in the bass, but changed the measure to the present reading on the same manuscript page.

29 Les Black, however, calls the arrival at the G-major chord an "authentic cadence in G" (see Black 2003, 232).
10.3 Development

Earlier comments questioning the apparent "classical" clarity of the form of the first movement are supported by the writers' opinions concerning the beginning of the development: while most of the writers still seem to think that a formal border-line exists, the opinions on its location do not coincide. Krohn (1942, 89, 104) places the beginning of the development in m. 99; Roiha (1941, 72–73, 110), Howell (1989, Exx. 7 and 11), and Black (2003, 232) in m. 93; Jalas (1988, 124) in m. 85; Ingman (1965, 27), Normet (1967, 80), and Murtomäki (1993, 63) in m. 81.30

The beginning point of the development is open to various interpretations, and defining an exact border-line between the exposition and the development may be regarded as purposeless: dramaturgically, mm. 79ff. are intended to create an impression of a seamless passing from one section to another. However, the possible alternatives are not infinite, and they have been listed by the writers above. My view is closest to that of Jalas. Measures 81–84 feature a shadow-like counterpart of mm. 72–76—in the violins and the violas a free inversion, and in the cellos and double-basses a chromatic variant—and may be understood as belonging thematically to the same "subject matter." In m. 85, the structural note of the upper voice (D, scale degree 2) and the bass note (B) are introduced by the semitone progressions C–D and C–B, and from the following measure on, the first violins introduce new, hesitant phrases. What is more, m. 85 corresponds to m. 249, the measure preceding the outset of the coda.31

Example 10-10 presents an overview of the development section. As in classical sonata form, the section is built upon the prolongation of the dominant chord reached at the end of the exposition. In this particular case, however, the dominant chord is not in root position, but as a six-three chord.32 The development may be divided into two parts. The first part covers mm. 86–130, and the second mm. 131–164. While the first part is fluctuating in character, the second part consists of a straightforward and goal-directed sequential progression and leads to the restatement of the bass note B.33

30 In his examples, Howell gives the measure number 94, but the graphs themselves reveal that the measure he means is 93. Neither Normet nor Murtomäki utters an opinion directly, but their views can be deduced from their descriptions of the last measures of the exposition.
31 Compare mm. 80–85 with the pizzicato passages in mm. 242–249.
32 Howell too has interpreted the development based on the prolongation of B in the bass. However, his conclusion drawn from this feature sounds obscure (Howell 1989, 32): "The classical (Schenkerian) concept of 'dominant prolongation' is recognised as a principle, but in practice, the Development section realises it in a Neo-Classical manner."
33 Collins (1973, 171) discusses a similar kind of two-part division.
After the dominant six-three chord at the end of the exposition and the beginning of the development, in mm. 93–100 the music first moves towards a Bb-major chord. The bass reaches the third of the Bb-major chord in m. 93. Simultaneously, the upper voice (flute part) ascends to Bb. Thus, the turn to the Bb-major direction is built upon a voice exchange between the bass and the upper voice. This kind of voice-exchange procedure was introduced already in mm. 87–91 between pitches B and D.

The Bb-major chord may be interpreted as deriving from a chromatic transformation of the bass note B into Bb, and the voice-exchange procedure underlines the connection between the starting point of the development, the dominant six-three chord, and the Bb-major chord. The strange unison C# in mm. 97–98 that interrupts the diatonic voice-leading between mm. 96 and 99 is, in turn, a chromatic substitute of the expected (or “intended”) C. This implied note C continues to Bb in the bass in m. 100. The bass note Bb is not very strongly marked in that measure, but certainly it is the pitch that can be understood as descending to Ab in m. 101.

The progression in the following measures leads to a root-position G-major chord in m. 104 that may be regarded as beginning a new passage in the development section. The chord built on the bass note Ab in mm. 101–102 is a major chord, with the sonority of m. 101 basically consisting of suspended notes F, D#, Bb, and G.

During the following measures, until m. 118, the root-position G-major chord is prolonged. The D#-seventh chord of mm. 105–107 can be understood as a neighboring chord, and the G-major chord returns in m. 108. Also the following passage, mm. 108–118, is largely based on the G/C# (D#) axis. First, the bass descends from G to C# in mm. 108–110, and from m. 110 onwards there is a sequential ascent by minor thirds, C#–E–G, i.e., back to the starting-point, G, that is reached in m. 118.

As can be seen in Ex. 10-10, the bass note G and the root-position G-major chord built on this note get a significant role during the first half of the development, and it would be possible to interpret the root-position chord appearing in m. 104 as having the role of the dominant that ends

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34 Black shares this view; see Black 2003, 235. Even though Black shows this “chromatic voice-exchange in the transition to the development,” and even though the Bb-major chord is prolonged until m. 100, he still understands the development to begin in m. 93.

35 Interestingly, in manuscript HUL 0235 the third C#–E is notated in the strings. Thus, the pitches in this measure form a diminished triad built on C#.
the first section of this sonata-form movement but appearing after a delay in the development. However, as we shall see, the bass note B later resumes its role as the structurally primary bass note that governs the whole development section at a deep level. Therefore, I read the root-position G-major chord in m. 104 (as well as in m. 108) as subordinate to the dominant six-three chord that appears at the end of the exposition.

A remarkable feature in the first part of the development section is the intervention of the pitch C# on different occasions and in different functions. First, in mm. 97–98, the C# in the bass interrupts for a moment and also obscures the bass progression from D to Bb. At the second instance, in mm. 105–107, the Db (enharmonically C#) seventh chord and the playful arabesques in the woodwinds appear pasted over the more long-range process starting from the G-major chord. At the third instance, C# gets an even more important role as the starting-point of the sequential ascent in m. 110.

The second part of the development section, mm. 131–164, consists of a sequential ascent. The passage begins with the dominant seventh chord built on the bass note Bb, and the sequence as a whole covers an octave ascent that is completed in m. 151. The sequential model in mm. 131–151 is illustrated in Example 10-11. The sequential passage prolongs the bass note Bb, but what is more significant in the scope of the whole development, and in the movement as a whole, is the return of the bass note B in m. 153. The chord built on this bass note is first the dominant seventh chord that one would expect to resolve into an E-minor chord. This expectation is not fulfilled, however. In m. 162 the D# and F# are interchanged with D and F, and the music turns back to the tonic C major.

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36 This is how Muuramäki (1993, 74) seems to read the G-major chord.
37 Not to forget the striking appearance of C# against C in m. 84. Perhaps, C# might be described as a "problem" to be solved. The tritone axis between the G-major chord and C# may be associated with the same kind of juxtaposition in the Symphonic Fantasy, Pohjola's Daughter. In that work, however, the development section begins with B (the tonic key being B major), and there is, in my view, a striving towards the dominant, F, during the development, the dominant remaining unattained, however. For a description of the harmonic design in Pohjola's Daughter, see Virtanen 2001.
38 The sonority in m. 131 is first a Bb-major triad, but at the end of the measure the dissonant pitches B in the timpani and A4 appear in the cellos and double basses. These dissonances probably derive from the continuous sixteenth-note figure played by the violas. The upper line of the figure is centered on the note Bb, and the line is featured with the neighbor-note figure Bb–C–Bb–A (see Example 10-11). The dissonant B and A4 are like "frozen" neighbor-notes, which are strangely extended during mm. 131–133/134.
39 After the "E♭-minor phrase" (with the thematic idea heard in the bassoon) in mm. 135–139 the next repeated phrase is heard as referring to C# minor in mm. 146–150 (in the oboe) – still another appearance of the "C# problem" in the development, perhaps.
10.4 Recapitulation and Coda

The structural tonic bass note C is reached together with the restatement of the opening theme in m. 164. However, the impression of reaching a goal, or beginning a new formal section at that point, is obscured by the continuous ascending sequential sixteenth-note figure in the first violins and the weakness of the arrival at the tonic chord in m. 165, after the six-four suspension of the previous measure.\textsuperscript{40} Also in the following measures the several passing-tone and suspension-like dissonances disturb the feeling of arrival, and the tonic C-major chord has to wait for its final clarification until m. 172. Here the tonic chord is preceded by a crescendo and the dominant chord on the third beat of the previous measure—even though the dominant chord is not very strongly marked. It is also emphasized with the forceful, robust pizzicati in the cellos in the measure of the tonic chord arrival. The thematic recapitulation, the “formal design,” and the structure go hand in hand. Yet the foreground figurations effectively weaken the impression of a clear border-line in m. 164, and the tonic chord is stabilized on the surface only gradually (see the middleground graph, Example 10-12).

\textsuperscript{40} One could say that the tonic sonority is heard too late: thematically the recapitulation begins already in the previous measure. This is a reminiscence of mm. 9–10 of the movement rather than m. 1—that certainly would be harmonized with a tonic chord.
Example 10-12. Beginning of the recapitulation, voice-leading sketch.
Introducing and establishing the main note 3 (E) differs from the procedure heard in the exposition. In the exposition, the main note is made obvious only in m. 36, after the fortissimo climax of the full orchestra. Before that point in the exposition, the fifth of the tonic chord (G) governed the top voice. In the recapitulation, the juxtaposition of G and E is no longer a conspicuous feature. Already during the passage leading to the recapitulation, as well as at the beginning of the recapitulation, E, rather than G, is emphasized on several occasions (see Example 10-13). The stepwise ascent in the woodwind from m. 162 on starts with E in the flutes and the ascent continues up to another E, an octave higher, in m. 166. At the surface, the ascent continues up to G in m. 167, but E returns in the same measure and initiates a descent to C (3–2–1) that is completed in m. 173 in the same three-line octave. Moreover, E is heard once more as the peak tone in m. 173. It should also be noticed that, unlike in the exposition, the main note is not heard emphatically in its original register, i.e., in the two-line octave, at the beginning of the recapitulation, but the fundamental line descent is understood to be situated in that register, as discussed below.

Example 10-13. Reaching of the Kopfron at the beginning of the recapitulation.

The role of E as the main note of the fundamental line is underlined further in mm. 172–180, where a 3–2–1 descent is repeated (see Example 10-14). The measures labeled with the accented eighth notes draw the line E (mm. 172–174)–D (mm. 176–179)–C (m. 180).

Example 10-14. 3–2–1 descent in mm. 172–180.

As a whole, the passage from m. 172 until m. 190 follows the corresponding passage of the exposition quite closely. From m. 190 on, the course of the music changes, and the syncopated/broken chord statement (mm. 193–197) is heard at a subdominant level, the tonic C remaining in the bass throughout, however.

The phrase structure of the crescendo ascent (mm. 189–192) interestingly differs from the

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41 Notice also the change in the surface figuration on the third beat in m. 166.
corresponding passage in the exposition discussed earlier. First of all, the meter changes to 3/2, and the sequential passage is enlarged with one three-beat measure (m. 192). The third beat in m. 190 has been given a special emphasis by the rinforzando in the violins, violas, and cellos, and by placing the forzato entry of the woodwind at this point. In the exposition the emphasis had been given to the new diminished seventh chord (see the third beat in m. 27, Example 10–3; in the recapitulation the corresponding place would be the beginning of m. 191).

In the recapitulation, the culminating measures before the turn to the minor passage (mm. 193–201) prolong a six-four sonority built on the bass-note C. The whole tritone range of the ascent corresponding with that in the exposition (C–D–E–F) is recalled in these measures: the note B heard in the woodwind fills the tritone progression F–G–A–B (the main attention in mm. 201–204 probably focusing on the descending four-note progression in the strings, however).

In the E-minor passage (mm. 202–216), the bass note is regarded as B throughout the passage (see Example 10-12). Therefore, the passage is not built on a root-position chord as in the exposition. This makes the passage tonally even less stable than the corresponding passage in the exposition. Also the character and the instrumentation of the minor passage differ drastically from that in the exposition: the shadowy dolce tone of the exposition has been replaced with a passionate forte and menacing timpani rolls. In m. 209, E appears as the lowest voice in the double basses, but at the deeper levels it is not interpreted as the structural bass note. To explain the low E, we can use the Schenkerian term “addition of root” (Anwürfen): it is there for the sake of sonority, so to speak, in order to create richness and depth in the orchestral sound, but it does not reverse the significant role of the bass note B in the structural whole.\footnote{More technically said, an inner-voice note has been placed below the real bass tone. In Sibelius’s music we could, perhaps, even make a distinction between active or structural and inactive or apparent bass tones. Active bass tones are structural bass-line members, whereas inactive bass tones do not take part in the actual linear motions. The inactive bass tones can be, and often are, octave doublings of some of the upper voices, but sometimes the origin of an inactive bass tone can also be very complex, as is, for example, the case of the low A\textsubscript{5} in the cellos and double basses in mm. 131–133. For another example, see mm. 124–125, where the low A\textsubscript{5} do not have a role of a real bass note. In fact, they derive from a octave transfer of the continuation of the first violin part: the high B\textsubscript{5} leads to A, but in a “wrong” register, i.e., in the bass register. Consequently, I do not believe that there would be a true and structurally based voice-leading connection between the A\textsubscript{5} in these measures and the A\textsubscript{5} of mm. 131–133. As has been stated before, both of these low-register tones are inactive, or apparent, bass tones.}

In m. 216 B is understood as leading once more to C. The reading of the bass progression differs here from that of the corresponding measure 54 in the exposition, where the bass note B of the B minor chord is prolonged through the sixteenth-note gust. Here, the bass note C is at first only implied, but there are several reasons for inferring it. First, there is certainly a feeling of a resolution in m. 216. The most likely chords at the third beat of m. 216 would be E minor and C major. The timpani has repeated the half-note figure B–C throughout the E minor passage, and if the figure were repeated also in m. 216, the timpani note at the third beat would be C. This implication, connected with the fact that the sixteenth-note figure simultaneously features the broken C-major chord (G–E–C), makes this reading plausible. The bass note C would belong to most of the chords during the sixteenth-note passage, most importantly to the C-minor chord in m. 218, and the C major seventh chord at the fourth quarter note of m. 222. As can be seen in Example 10-12, the
structure of mm. 216–222 has been interpreted as differing significantly from the corresponding passage in the exposition. Interestingly, the differences in the instrumentation, i.e., the entries of the strings, seem to go hand in hand with the changed structure of the passage.

The bass note B returns after the sixteenth-note passage in m. 223, even though not very strongly marked, in the timpani only. However, it is this B that leads to the first cadence to the tonic in the recapitulation in m. 229. As we have seen, almost all of the changes made in recapitulation when compared to the exposition involve the bass motion B–C so crucial to the whole movement. Also in m. 229 the C is heard after (the middleground) B as the bass note, and here, again, Sibelius has made a significant change: instead of the six-three chord heard in the corresponding place in the exposition (m. 67), we now hear a root-position tonic chord as the resolution for the dominant six-three chord.

Perhaps the most fundamental questions about the deep-level structure at the end of the movement concern the structural hierarchy of the two arrivals at the tonic, namely in m. 229 and m. 250. If the procedure of the exposition were repeated also in the recapitulation, then the tonic of the Ursatz would be reached in the bass, in m. 229. However, the repetition of the dance-like idea three times in the bassoons and strings in mm. 229–232 connect these crucial measures with the following, rather confusing passage (mm. 233–241), which restate the woodwind arabesques heard in the development (mm. 105–107, and 126–130) and create a restless, forward-driving tension. Therefore, perhaps there is no clear impression of an arrival, no clear sense of solidity in these measures yet.

Harmonically the passage between mm. 233 and 249 belongs to the most complex in the whole movement. Example 10-15 sheds light on this passage. In m. 234, the fifth of the tonic chord, G, in the middle voice ascends to A in the horn parts (see the lower staff in the Example). From this A, in turn, there begins a whole-tone descent connected with the sequential passage, and the note A returns once more in m. 239.

Despite its apparent simplicity, the pizzicato passage of mm. 242–249 is ambivalent. At the first glance, the bass note A would perhaps seem to move first to Bb in m. 245, then further to B in m. 249. The ending point is clear, but the B♭ in m. 245 is a dissonance, and points towards A (which, in turn, does not support a consonant harmony, either, in m. 246).
Example 10-15. Latter part of the recapitulation and the coda, voice-leading sketch.
As Example 10-16a shows, the *pizzicato* passage is built upon a repeated chord progression, where the most consonant points are the root-position major chords on A, E, B, and F♯, that is, a chain of descending fourths. The end of this passage breaks this regular pattern by introducing C, instead of C♯, in the bass in m. 248. Example 10-16b is an attempt to show the pizzicato passage from a voice-leading perspective. Basically, the passage consists of a 3–5 descent in the upper voice, while the bass ascends from A to B. 2 in the upper voice and B in the bass are reached in mm. 248–249 in connection with a voice-exchange progression.

*Example 10-16a and b. Two aspects of the pizzicato passage (mm. 242–249); a) chord-sequence pattern, b) voice-leading framework.*

As illustrated in Examples 10-12, the arrival at the tonic in m. 229 has not been interpreted as the decisive arrival, but as an anticipation of the final tonic appearing in m. 250. The rest at the

43 The measures in question, of course, are associated with mm. 81–85, where a similar chord-progression is heard. In m. 84, C and C♯ are juxtaposed in a striking manner. The implied but not realized C♯ of mm. 248–249 also may recall the opposite situation in the development, where C♯ appears on unexpected occasions, also once instead of C, namely in mm. 97 and 98. C♯ (or D,) has also appeared as the bass note in mm. 105, 110, and 238, in some of the turning-points in the movement. For further discussion on mm. 242–249, see Black 2003, 237.
(D) in connection with that—and its resolution to the tonic in the following measure support this interpretation. There is also an unequivocal feeling of a dramaturgically crucial moment, the final arrival, the beginning of the tonic prolongation, and the coda at this point. The beginning of the chorale-like episode in the wind instruments begins with the unison E–D–C descent recalling the structural 3–2–1 descent, also drawing an association with the three-note unison ascent in mm. 34–37 of the exposition, where the E was manifested as the main note of the structural line. Even though the tonic chord is not at all strongly marked in m. 250, the implied resolution of the diminished seventh chord certainly makes the tonic present at this point. The following coda features, typically, a prolongation of the tonic reached in m. 250. The tonic chord gets its final, and more sonorous affirmation in the final measures of the movement.
11.1 An Overview

Many writers have regarded the second movement as the simplest of the Third Symphony. Yet what has been said about the first movement is also valid here: despite its apparent simplicity, scholars have come to varying conclusions concerning the form of the movement. Almost all of the formal interpretations have been based on thematic points of view. Opinions about its form fall roughly into five categories: (1) strophic form (Tanzberger); (2) rondo (Vignal, Tawaststjerna); (3) variation form or variation principle (Roiha, Krohn, Ringbom, Normet); (4) sonata form (Parmet, Jalas). Erkki Salmenhaara regarded the form of the movement as a combination of two of the previous categories, namely rondo and variation form. In addition to these "traditional" formal categories (or their combinations), James Hepokoski has discussed the movement as representing the "rotational principle":

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1 See, for instance, Gray 1931, 139, and Layton 1965, 40. Gray's description of the movement is very characteristic: "the second movement is [in comparison with the first], if possible, even simpler and more straightforward, consisting as it does in little else but the ringing of the changes upon a single theme by shifting it up and down on to different degrees of the diatonic scale." The "simplicity" of the movement has also clearly been regarded as a weakness, and Abraham (1947, 23) even calls the second movement as "one of the weakest movements in the whole of Sibelius's symphonies."

2 Four of these categories have been presented earlier in Tawaststjerna 1991, 84.

3 Tanzberger 1962, 92–94; Vignal 1965, 95; and Tawaststjerna 1991, 84. Murtonmäki apparently shares Tawaststjerna's view, but does not mention the rondo principle; see Murtonmäki 1993, 81. Elsewhere (ibid., p. 70) he calls the form of the second movement a "binary form," however.

4 Roiha 1941, 50–51; Krohn 1942, 92–93; Ringbom, 1948, 94; and Normet 1967, 82–85. Normet discusses the distinction between the variation form and the set of variations, and concludes that the movement represents the latter.

5 Parmet 1955, 46; Jalas 1988, 124.

6 Salmenhaara 1984, 233. As a sixth category, we might perhaps add the opinions, according to which the movement is naively simple and consists only of repetitions of a single theme; see Gray (cited above).
Of particular interest are instances when Sibelius encourages the rotational principle to take over an entire extended section or movement. The second movement of the Third Symphony, swaying repetitively through its phrase-successions, seems paradigmatic here (along with its rotational finale), as does each half of the important symphonic poem Night Ride and Sunrise (1909).7

While the repetitive, cyclical or variation characteristics in the formal design of the second movement are quite obvious, the following interpretation of the overall form, as shown in Example 11-1, is largely based on the harmonic and voice-leading structure of the movement.

Example 11-1. Second movement, voice-leading sketch (overview).

The first section, A, which itself consists of two subsections almost equal in length (a1, mm. 1–37, and a2, mm. 37–75), closes in m. 75 with a strong cadence in the main key of the movement, G# minor. The A section is followed by a bridge to the B section. This bridge is harmonically built on the prolongation of the C#-minor chord (IV in G# minor), representing a neighbor-note figure (5–6–5) in the upper voice, and leading to the dominant in m. 93.8 The B section begins in G# minor, with a restatement of the opening theme material, but the harmonic situation is unsettled: on the surface the tonic chord is not stable or clearly articulated, and after ten measures, the music wanders to B minor (m. 103). Thus, in spite of the return of the main thematic material in mm. 94–118, the section is not comparable to the A sections, and at a deeper level the section is built on a process towards the dominant chord in m. 154. That is why I do not regard the return of the main thematic material of the movement in m. 94 as a sign of beginning a real repetition of the A section, as do, for instance, Tawaststjerna and Krohn.

Since the A section ends in the main key, not in the mediant (or, perhaps, dominant) key, I

8 I do not use the word "bridge" in the meaning of a modulatory transition (which it is not in this case), but simply in a meaning of a passage or an episode situated between two large sections—perhaps, the German word Übergang might also be used here. The prolongation of IV leading to V at the end of this bridge creates a feeling of an expectation, and the bridge clearly is a passing-through episode "joining" the two sections together.
do not regard the middle section as a development section comparable to those found in classic-romantic sonata form movements, even though the modulations, the transitional character, and the dominant ending of the B section might give some justification to this kind of interpretation. The major-mode passage, *Un pochettino con moto*, (mm. 130–154) does not form an independent, closed formal entity, but articulates the upper voice descent to 2 via 8. Unlike A, the A' section does not consist of two subsections, but forms a single unit.

The form of the movement is far from being obvious, and it is not difficult to understand the ideas of rondo or variation principles in the second movement. However, I regard the repetition of the main thematic material in mm. 94–118 as too fragmentary and, what is more important, the section is harmonically so different from the A section that interpreting this passage as a repeat of a rondo refrain is problematic. Even though the thematic statements seem to be in a constant change (or are not repeated literally) in the course of the movement, regarding the movement as representing a variation form—a set of variations—is very questionable in many respects, as is calling the form sonata. At least in these cases, we would have to use the terms rondo, variation, and sonata form in a very broad sense.

11.2 A Section

Example 11-2 is a foreground graph of the A section. Like the opening section of the first movement, the A section of the second movement features long, static chords—in this movement tonic and mediant degrees, G# minor and B major chords. The cadences closing the subsections a¹ and a² occur in a short space of time and the middleground upper-line descents from 5 to 1 happen in an almost concealed manner.

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9 Perhaps, Hepokoski's idea of a rotational form might be understood in some respects as parallel with the interpretation of the form presented in this study. The A (or A') section might be regarded as consisting of two rotations (a and a'), and the movement as a whole of three large rotational sections, A¹, A², and A³, thus, A² corresponding to the B section in the present reading.
Example 11-2. A section, voice-leading sketch.
In mm. 19 and 27 (as well as in mm. 57 and 65) there are fascinating forebodings of the cadences that close the two subsections. The six-four chords heard on the strong beats of these measures might imply cadential progressions already situated in these measures, but the cadential expectation created by the six-four chords is not fulfilled. Instead, each time the six-four chord is followed by a sudden turn to the mediant, B major chord. The sequentially repeated phrases (mm. 22–25 and 29–32, as well as the corresponding measures in subsection a) extend the feeling of expectation, until the third attempt to reach the cadential conclusion, mm. 35–36 (73–74), brings the music to its goal.

From the perspective of harmony and voice leading, the two subsections differ from each other only slightly. Perhaps the most significant differences in a, compared to a, are the ostinato bass (the familiar descending upper tetrachord of the minor scale) in mm. 37–47, the brief—almost Schubertian—change of mode, from G minor to G major, in mm. 51–53, and the more clearly articulated cadence (and the upper-voice-line descent) in mm. 72–75.

The structural descent is foreshadowed in mm. 10–13, where there is a sudden, local cadential turn to the mediant B-major chord, representing the upper-voice descent to 3 via 4, and after the one-and-a-half measure B-major-chord prolongation, an equally sudden turn (the unison pizzicati in strings) back to the G tonic. Thus, the local upper-voice descent happens in two phases, first from 5 to 3, and then, after a rest on 3, further from 3 to 1. This manner of the upper-voice line descent may also foreshadow the descent later in the B section of the movement: as has been mentioned, the 5 is prolonged during the A-major (=G#-major) passage in mm. 128–150. Also the final descent in the movement, in mm. 190–197, stops first at 3 (in m. 193), and continues in the last two measures of the movement from 3 to 1.

11.3 The Bridge Passage and the B Section

The bridge passage, mm. 75–93 (see Example 11-3), consists of two thematic elements: the sighing phrases of the divided cellos (mm. 75–83) and the woodwind chorale (mm. 84–90) that derives from the single woodwind phrase heard for the first time in mm. 11–12. The first of these elements articulates the C#-minor chord, while the latter contains a sequential descent. The repetition of the sighing phrase in the cellos (mm. 91–94) concludes the bridge passage and leads to the dominant chord in the main key.

The B section begins in G, but the underlying harmonic structure in mm. 94–102 is problematic. At the first glance, the F in the bass would look like a neighbor-note to G, but the Fs are emphasized both by their strong metrical placement and their own lower neighbor, Gb, whereas the tonic G appears each time on a weak beat, and without supporting the tonal articulation of the melody. Thus, the B-major six-four chords on the bass note F in mm. 95 and 96 weaken the tonal stability of the beginning of this passage. The ambivalence is centered on the foreground between the bass notes F and F, and it is not easy to define whether the Fs would be structurally connected to the former or the latter of these notes: one could read a third-progression from G to F, but Es also might be understood as the lower neighbor to F. Not even the arpeggiated pizzicato G-minor chord in the cellos and violas in mm. 96–99 really manages to strengthen the impression of a stable G-minor harmony here, but the strange, circulating bass figure alienates the music from harmonic stability.
Example 11-3. The bridge passage and the B section, voice-leading sketch.
metrical solution" of these measures (of course, the parallel fifths between G♯−D♭ and F♯−C♭ in this hypothetical model cannot be called a standard solution from the viewpoint of voice-leading). In this solution, I think, the strongmetrical position of the G♯s in the bass would very much clarify the chordal hierarchy of this passage, and clearly give the F♯s the role of lower neighbor to G♯.

Example 11-4. Hypothetical version of mm. 93–97.

The continuation lifts the music up to a B-minor level (mm. 103ff.), which is finally stabilized with a cadence in m. 118. Since the B-minor episode is quite an extensive restatement of the main thematic material of the movement, it would be possible to regard the B-minor chord as getting a significant role at a deeper level. The consequences of this view are discussed later in this chapter. The following pizzicato passage (from m. 118 to m. 129) is harmonically rather complicated (Example 11-3). However, the deep middleground level is relatively clear: the upper voice note connected with the B-minor chord is D (not present in the actual highest voice, the flute part, in m. 118, but in the first violin part, which also carries the upper voice line to the following Un pochettino con moto passage) and the tenth B−D built between the bass and the upper voice is chromatically changed to B♭−D♭ in m. 128 (foreshadowed already in m. 125, where the bass line ends with B♭ and D is changed to D♭ in the second violin and viola parts). This tenth leads to the A♭-major chord notes A♭ and C in m. 128. Two measures later, the dissonant major seventh, G, is added to the A♭-major chord, thus requiring continuation to a consonant chord, in this case F minor in m. 131.

Also nearer the surface, mm. 118–128 are based on a chain of parallel tenth progressions between the bass and the upper voice (see Example 11-5). Measure 125 is problematic, however. In this measure, the parallel tenth motion is interrupted: the bass note E that would continue the parallel tenth progression together with the upper voice G, is missing. From m. 126 onwards, the parallel tenth motion continues.\(^\text{12}\)

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\(^\text{11}\) Perhaps it would be possible to understand an implied E in the bass in m. 125. This E, then, would move to F in the following measure, thus carrying on the parallel tenth progression uninterrupted.

\(^\text{12}\) The parallel tenth motion, like the musical material itself in mm. 118–115, derives from the woodwind chorale of mm. 84–90.
The major mode passage—A♯ minor—understood as the enharmonic equivalent of G♯ from m. 130 onwards is characterized by arabesques in the woodwinds, tonic pedals (mm. 135–139, 141–143, and 145ff.), sudden stops on diminished seventh chords (mm. 136, 140, and 145), and phrase endings on dominant seventh chords (of A♯-major) emphasized with fermatas (mm. 137–138 and 142–143). The third ending emphasized with a fermata (m. 145) is followed by a restatement of the arabesques heard in the flutes in mm. 130–131. Therefore it seems reasonable to regard m. 145 as a dividing point within the A♯-major episode (see also Example 11-3).

The dominant seventh chords heard in mm. 137–138 and 142–143 may be understood as foreshadowing the goal of the motion of the B section, the dominant seventh chord in m. 154. The chord is anticipated already from m. 150 onwards, but the dominant has been interpreted as arriving only in m. 154, since in the previous measures the A♯ pedal in the bass weakens the dominant, and the solo oboe brings the scale degree 2 in the top voice.

The roles of the interrupting diminished seventh chords are by no means unambiguous. However, as illustrated in Example 11-3, the A♯-major episode seems to have been built on a descending whole-tone progression in the top-voice. From m. 130 to m. 145 this progression covers a span of an octave, F♯ and D being only implied in the top-voice, not heard in the uppermost register. As can be seen, in this progression, every second chord is a diminished seventh chord. The diminished seventh chords can be understood as passing chords in the progression articulating an interval cycle of major thirds (C–G♯–E–C in the upper voice). Thus, in spite of the seemingly unexpected harmonic turns in the episode, and the strangely dissonant mirror-like motions of the woodwind arabesques, there is a quite regular and consistent harmonic progression in the middleground.

The A♯-major passage, which may appear merely as a playful and uncomplicated episode, contains an interesting network of centrifugal tendencies in the woodwind phrases, after which the repeated dominant seventh chords, so to speak, attempt to restore order, to bring back the concentration on the key of A♯. At the same time, the Un pochettino con moto episode plays a significant role in the

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13 Technically they do not anticipate this dominant, however.
14 By centrifugal tendencies is meant that most of the woodwind phrases seem to be disconnected with or diverging from the prevailing A♯-major harmony of the passage.
movement as a whole: it leads to the goal of the entire middle section, the dominant, that prepares the return of G♭ minor and the beginning of the A¹ section.

As mentioned, the passage beginning in m. 103 and leading to a B-minor cadence in m. 118 might be given a more significant role at the deeper level, even more significant than for the major-mode episode. If the B-major chord is understood as primary by comparison with the A♭-major in mm. 130ff., then the deep-level bass-progression in the B section would form an arpeggiation of the tonic-chord pitches G♭–B–D♭, supporting the chord-progression I–III♭–V, and the A♭-major episode would derive from a 5–6 motion connected to the prolonged B in the bass, as illustrated in Example 11–6.15

Example 11–6. B section, alternative reading; voice-leading sketch.

11.4 A¹ Section

As mentioned before, from the viewpoint of harmony and voice-leading, the A¹ section does not contain significant differences compared to the first A section (see example 11-1). The main interest is focused on the concluding measures, where the fundamental structure of the movement is completed.

At the conclusion of the movement, the dominant-tonic cadence is heard three times, in mm. 190, 193, and 197 (Example 11–7). The first of these is overlapped by the beginning of the woodwind-chorale phrase (m. 190), and even though ♯ is present in the first violins in m. 189, there is a gap between C♯ and A♭ in the actual cadence in m. 190.16 In the second “ending” that begins directly with a dominant six-four chord, the final tonic chord is in third position (♯ in the upper voice, thus filling the gap of the previous ending), and therefore it is not a strong cadential goal. Besides, the beginning of the woodwind chorale phrase, even though it does not overlap the cadence as abruptly

15 I am indebted to Veijo Murtomäki and Lauri Suurpää for pointing out this interpretation of the deep-level voice-leading structure.

16 In addition to this “gap,” the dominant chord is lacking the leading-tone (F♯).
this time as it did three measures earlier, soon steals the main attention. The third attempt fulfils that what was lacking in the two previous cadences. For the first time in the movement, the 3–2–1 descent completes the fundamental line literally at the surface and the written-out *ritardando*—the whole measure 196 features the dominant—strengthens the impression of finality created by this cadence.

*Example 11-7. Measures 190–197, voice-leading sketch.*

17 This procedure ("attempting three times and at last succeeding") reminds one of the procedures described earlier, when discussing the cadential expectations of the six-four chords in the A section.
12.1 Form: Problems and Views

Many scholars have considered the form of the third movement as the most unconventional and the most challenging of the Third Symphony movements. Nevertheless, the movement has also been regarded as deriving from traditional models: most often it has been understood as a combination of scherzo and finale, the latter beginning with the hymn-like theme in the strings in b. 246. Sharing this point of view, Michael Talbot has related the movement to a finale type he calls the “summative finale.” According to Talbot “summative conveys the idea that such a finale aims to sum up the cycle as a whole. […] it [a summative finale] is most often unconventional in form, its structure exhibiting hybrid features.” A finale movement representing this type often is extensive and “weighty” by its character, but Talbot also mentions an exceptional case:

To show that a summative finale need not occupy very many bars or minutes and is compatible with a classicizing (if not downright classical) aesthetic, one need only take the example of Sibelius’s Third Symphony […] This is a three-movement symphony: the finale begins as a scherzo and ends as a hymn-like apotheosis in concise variation form, thus conflating, as it were, the third and fourth movements of the Classical symphony.

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1 Abraham (1947, 24) claims that “analysis of the first part [of the third movement] is extraordinarily difficult—indeed, almost impossible.”

2 See for instance, Vestdijk 1962, 155; Jalas 1988, 61; Howell 1989, 39; Tawaststjerna 1991, 86; Murtomäki 1993, 60; and Kraus 2003, 195. Interestingly, the idea of a combination of scherzo and finale was expressed as early as a week after the first performances of the Symphony, on October 3, 1907, in a letter from Axel Carpelan to Sibelius (NA, SFA, file box 18): “I found the third movement completely beautiful; both the scherzo and the finale form a natural, organic whole of a captivating power.” (“jag tyckte tredje satsen fulländat skön; såväl scherzor som finalen bilda en osökt, organiskt helt af en betagande kraft.”)

3 Talbot 2001, 50.

4 Ibid., 102–103.
Talbot's idea of a summative finale has its counterpart in James Hepokoski's interpretation of the teleological characteristics of the movement. The teleological process is realized within a rotational form. According to Hepokoski, "the entire finale [i.e., the third movement] of the Third Symphony is overtaken by the reiterative principle." At the same time, Hepokoski understands the third movement as a "fusion of movements: "in the Third Symphony [...] the third and the fourth movements are fused into a rotational scherzo and finale combination, with the finale also serving as a replacement 'recapitulation'."

The "scherzo" has usually been regarded as representing a rondo form, where the refrains encompass mm. 1–41 and 86–111, and two minor-key episodes (mm. 42–87 and 112–159) have been placed between these refrains and the section beginning in m. 160. The thematic characteristics and the tonally unsettled nature of the section beginning in m. 160 have given reasons for opinions, according to which the third movement, covering both the "scherzo" and the "finale," can be referred to a single sonata-form movement.

Murtomäki discusses in detail the rondo-like and sonata-form-like features of the movement, but concludes:

Interpreting the form in terms of the tradition of either rondo or sonata form yields equally unsatisfactory results. The only certain thing after all is that the movement is in a binary form.

Some writers have emphasized the highly individual features of the movement, without trying to make it to fit traditional classic-romantic models. As Tovey writes: "The finale is in a form invented by Sibelius." Collins divides the movement into three sections (mm. 1–159, 160–245, and 246–375) but does not draw further conclusions concerning the form, or interpret it in terms of traditional categories of form:

But although the first of these sections is an exposition and the second is a development, this movement has nothing in common with sonata forms; neither is it a mixture of scherzo and finale elements: its character and nature are peculiarly unique and indivisibly coherent.

5 Hepokoski 1993, 24.
6 Ibid., 29. Kraus (2003) also discusses the form of the third movement in terms of the rotational principle.
7 For Krohn and his close follower Roiha (who published his form-analytical study on Sibelius's symphonies before Krohn), the form of the movement simply represented the "second rondo form" (ABABA), modified by replacing the last A section with a development and extended by a coda (see Krohn 1942, 93; and Roiha 1941, 55–56).
8 Even though Jalas, Tawaststjerna, and Normet do not use directly mention sonata form in connection with their discussion of the "scherzo," they use the terms referring to that in their writings—in Jalas's view the order is exposition, recapitulation, and development. See Jalas 1988, 124; Tawaststjerna 1991, 86; and Normet 1995, 148. Tanzberger (1962, 94–97) interprets the movement as representing Bar form.
9 Murtomäki 1993, 61. Murtomäki refers to the "scherzo" and the "finale" sections of the movement.
10 Tovey 1972 (1935), 125.
11 Collins 1973, 183.
As can be seen, Collins does not even accept the idea of scherzo-finales in connection with the movement. Collins’s skepticism towards the idea of a “mixture of scherzo and finale elements” in the third movement is noteworthy and well-based: in spite of the lively tempo and the 6/8 meter and certain other scherzo-like characteristics, correspondences with the classic-romantic scherzo type (the scherzo–trio–scherzo form) are not as evident as usually claimed, even if the “trio” (mm. 42–85) would be understood as repeated (in mm. 112–159).\textsuperscript{12} Collins emphasizes the teleological nature of the movement: the hymn section is the goal of thematic and tonal processes, as well as the goal of a process based on the relation between different tempi in the movement.\textsuperscript{13}

Collins’s view concerning the coherence of the movement is actually the opposite of Howell’s (cited in the Introduction). As Howell’s judgment shows, the third movement also has been regarded as problematic in a negative sense: Sibelius’s highly individual solution of form has not been seen as successful. From a stylistic point of view, Howell writes:

\textit{Serious questions arise in connection with this final movement of the Third Symphony. Is it an organic two-movements-in-one structure, prefiguring the Fifth? If so, is this formal compression a ‘Romantic’ trend and therefore an unhappy stylistic anomaly within the prevailing ‘Classical’ balance of the rest of the piece?}\textsuperscript{14}

Murtomäki states that “the interpretation of the concluding movement as a combination of a Scherzo and a Finale is not likely to provoke opposition these days[...].” However, predecessors of the exceptional form of the movement can be seen in those romantic symphony finales that embody hymn-like sections or end with hymn-like codas.\textsuperscript{15} Therefore, calling the third movement of Sibelius’s Third Symphony “a combination of a Scherzo and a Finale” is, perhaps, not the only possibility and may at least stimulate discussion even now.

\textsuperscript{12} Neither can the third movement easily be compared with the scherzos in Sibelius’s preceding symphonies—the third movement of the Second Symphony certainly can be understood as a typical scherzo (with a repeated trio), even though Sibelius did not give that title to the movement. However, the breakthrough of the main theme of the finale at the end of the third movement, as well as the \textit{attacca} combining of the last two movements in the Second Symphony, bears some likeness to the growth of the hymn theme and reaching the hymn section (mm. 246ff) in the Third Symphony.
\textsuperscript{13} Cf. also Kraus 2003, 195–198.
\textsuperscript{14} Howell 1989, 22. What is problematic in Howell’s argument in my opinion, is that he does not consider whether the stylistic definitions ‘Classical’ and ‘Romantic’ he uses are really valid. Howell has based his verdict on his own assumptions (formal compression represents a “Romantic trend”; in the symphony as a whole some kind of a “Classical balance” prevails, and as a result there is a “stylistic anomaly”) rather than on any clear arguments formulated on the basis of his analyses. As has been discussed earlier, it seems most likely, that some writers appreciate the Third Symphony only as an experimental and transitional work between the romantic Second Symphony and the “modernistic” Fourth Symphony. The individual and independent qualities of the work have not attracted wide interest. See also Kraus’s “answer” to Howell concerning Howell’s view of lack of thematic continuity in the movement (Kraus 2003, 197–198).
\textsuperscript{15} Murtomäki 1993, 60. When discussing the break through of the “hymn” in the “Finale,” Murtomäki mentions such works as Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, Mendelssohn’s “Scottish” Symphony, and Brahms’s First Symphony (ibid., 68).
12.2 Voice-leading Structure and Form: an Overview

Admitting the closeness of my reading to Collins's, but basing my view, again, on harmony and voice-leading, I shall discuss the movement as dividing into three sections: A (mm. 1–159), the developmental B section (mm. 160–245) and the hymn section (mm. 246 onwards). The A section is characterized by the bass note C heard almost throughout, whereas the B section is tonally unstable and ambivalent—truly developmental. The hymn section is tonally stable, and the two deviations to the mediant E minor chord (mm. 290 and 322) do not obscure the overall governing of the tonic C major.

As shown in Example 12-1, the third movement lacks a traditional background structure based on the tonic-dominant axis. In this respect, this movement is even more remote from the conventions of sonata form than the first movement, where the tonic-dominant tension still exists, even if not in any conventional manner. Both the A section and the hymn section consist harmonically of stable or motionless key areas (C major, A minor and F minor in the A section; C major and E minor in the hymn section), while the relatively short developmental B section is harmonically quite complex.

Example 12-1. Third movement, mm. 1–246, form and voice-leading sketch (overview).

16 These sections are, of course, divided into several subsections, but, as in the case of the second movement, I do not regard them as independent enough, from the harmonic perspective, to take them into account at the largest level of the form (like those, who for instance regard the movement as representing a rondo form). I do not think that it is merely a question of labels given to the units of the formal design: the opinions emphasizing the form as being built in several subsections—as, for instance, rondo form is—may also imply a different view of the whole than does the present reading which emphasizes broader lines and continuums in the music. The difference between an analysis emphasizing thematic elements, on the one hand, and harmony and voice-leading on the other becomes evident here.
12.3 A Section

The A section consists of four subsections, or episodes, $a^1$ (mm. 1–41), $b^1$ (A-minor episode, mm. 42–70 with a transition to the following passage, mm. 70–85), $a^2$ (mm. 86–111, consisting of material heard in $a^1$, but in a contracted form), and $b^2$ (F-minor episode, mm. 112–159).\(^{17}\)

As Jackson (1998, 249–252) has pointed out, the beginning of the third movement is closely related to the end of the preceding movement: G$\flat$ (A$\flat$) at the end of the second movement may be interpreted as leading to the unison G opening the third movement, as if it were the $\flat$VI in C major.\(^{18}\) The harmonic situation is not entirely self-evident at the outset of the third movement: does the movement begin with the tonic or the dominant? In Example 12-2, I have shown the latter of these alternatives.\(^{19}\) In m. 4 the dominant resolves to the tonic, but only vaguely. A stronger cadence, featuring the chord progression $V_I^{\frac{4}{3}}$, is heard in mm. 13–14.

Example 12-2. A section, voice-leading sketch.

One of the most fascinating features of the A section is that although the tonic is established in the first measures of the movement and heard as a pedal tone in the bass during most of this section, there still is a feeling of expectation, and striving for a fulfillment of the tonic throughout the section. In the $a^1$ episode this is partly a result of the fragmentary character of the phrases in the woodwind, cellos and double basses, partly by the ambiguous tonal situation caused by the unison opening G.\(^{20}\)

After nearly 40 measures of hesitation that begin the movement—in spite of the underlying tonic chord—the first step the music takes forward from the stability that had prevailed until that

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\(^{17}\) The $a^1$ passage is only a partial, abbreviated restatement of $a^1$, while $b^2$ repeats the material of $b^1$ within a broader space.

\(^{18}\) This also may be understood as creating a kind of attacca connection between the movements.

\(^{19}\) This is how also Jackson understands the opening of the movement (see Jackson 1998, 252). Interestingly, in HUL 024672 Sibelius has notated a tonic chord in a root position in m. 1, instead of the octave G.

\(^{20}\) See also Collins 1973, 189–190; and Ryynänen 1988, 39 (cited in English in Murromäki 1993, 67).
point, is the turn to A minor in mm. 41–42. The arrival at the A-minor chord in m. 42 is a sudden
turn, almost a slip, without any clear cadential stabilization of the new key: the bass suddenly
descends to A, and the texture and the mood of the music changes. At a deeper level A minor is not
an independent key, but the VI in C major that derives from a neighbor-note figure. The pedal C
returns to the bass in m. 48, and the structural significance of the low A played by the double-basses
in mm. 42–43 is questioned.

As can be seen in Example 12-2, the A-minor episode is situated within a long-range voice­
leading progression, in which C is sustained as the actual bass note at a deeper level throughout,
even though A appears as the lowest note (here again we might, perhaps, use the term “addition of
a root”). The upper-voice line features a descending octave line from e to e in mm. 28–99, built
as follows: first, the flutes introduce the high E supported by the tonic chord, and D supported by
the dominant diminished seventh chord in mm. 28–29 and 32–33. In m. 36, D leads to C which
is sustained in the upper voice throughout the A-minor episode. Four measures after Più allegro, m.
73, a sequential descent from B (following the C of the A-minor passage) to G begins. The A of mm.
77–85—lifted to the upper register in the flute part in m. 85—resolves to A, the upper neighbor of
G, in m. 86, and G returns in m. 90. Thereafter, the descending octave line to E is completed—after
another neighboring A in m. 97—in mm. 98–99.21

Like the A-minor episode, the following F-minor episode is not stabilized with a cadence. At
the deeper level, C is retained in the bass also throughout this episode. The As and Fs in mm. 118–
123 and 138 are merely foreground phenomena (F might be called an “added root”), whereas C,
returning in the bass in m. 150 and sustained in the timpani part already earlier, is the underlying
bass note. The main note E is sustained in the upper voice until m. 112, where it leads to the
neighbor-note F. On the surface, A gets a more prominent role, and the F-minor triad is arpeggiated
further to C in m. 150. C is reached more strongly through an ascending motion A–B–C in mm.
159–160. On a broader level, there is a fourth-progression from G (m. 76) to the C in m. 160.

The powerful turn in mm. 156–160 towards the developmental B section is harmonically tense.
After the F-minor six-four chord heard from m. 150 onwards, surely the chord to be expected to
follow that chord would be the dominant of F minor. In m. 157, the Bs and Ds (in the horns and
the bassoons) really seem to fulfill that expectation, and Fs, enharmonically E, in the violins on the
first beat of the following measure would seem to belong to the dominant chord. However, already
the G in the second beat of m. 158 disturbs the dominant association, and on the second beat of
the following measure, the harmonic situation is ambiguous: which is going to be the next step, or
the resolution of the progression? The B-major chord, or the dominant of E minor might be one of
the alternatives, but the A-major chord, in the first inversion, is powerfully cried out in , and the
second, developmental section of the movement begins with C sustained in the bass.

21 The descending octave-line progresses in three phases is in accordance with the C-major chord: first, from E to C, then
to C to G, and finally from G to E. On the surface, there is a motivic parallel between the fourth C–G and the fourth A–E
in mm. 97–99.
12.4 B Section (Developmental Section)

The second, B section of the movement contains the most complex measures in the whole symphony. Example 12-3 shows an interpretation of the main lines in the voice-leading structure of this section. The section begins with C in the bass—the bass note sustained through the previous section. After m. 196, the most “chaotic” phase of the developmental section is left behind, and the music starts to “build up” itself—it is as if the music would begin to find a way out of a jungle.

This way starts with B that is first implied as the bass note (in connection with the G#-minor six-three chord). In m. 201 B is finally heard as the lowest note. This B moves to A, in connection with the F#-minor six-three chord, in m. 203. After this point the music settles down to a C#-minor six-three chord, in mm. 210–214. The following steps towards the tonic C major are the A-minor chord, in mm. 217–221, and, finally, in m. 224, the E-major chord that would initially seem to function as the dominant of A minor. This chord miraculously changes to the C-major six-three chord in m. 227.

Example 12-3a and b. B section, voice-leading sketch.

Ex. 12-3a.
Ex. 12-3b.
The A\textsubscript{b} that occurs as the lowest note of the A\textsubscript{b}-major chord at the beginning of the developmental section in m. 160 has been interpreted as an inner-voice note (see Example 12-3b). In m. 164, the seventh, G\textsubscript{b}, is added to the A\textsubscript{b}-major chord, and the dominant seventh chord resolves to a D\textsubscript{b}-major chord in m. 169, this cadence having only local significance, however.\textsuperscript{22} The (inner-voice) A\textsubscript{b} returns as the lowest voice in m. 173, this time supporting an F-minor chord, thus featuring a 5–6 progression between the preceding A\textsubscript{b}-major chord and this sonority. A\textsubscript{b} is also the starting-point for a chromatically ascending lowest-voice line beginning in m. 173 (see Example 12-3b). In mm. 174–175 A\textsubscript{b}, chromatically transformed into A, leads to B\textsubscript{b} that supports a B\textsubscript{b}-minor chord, and in the following measure, B further to C that supports a C-minor chord. Until this point, the lowest-voice ascent has filled a space of a third.

The ascending line continues via C\textsubscript{#} to D in m. 180. The chord that this D supports is a diminished seventh chord whose root is B, which, in turn, leads to a C-minor six-three chord in the same measure. After this point the music starts oscillating mostly between this C-minor six-three chord and a B\textsubscript{b}-minor six-three chord: the C-minor chord in m. 180 is immediately followed by a turn to a B\textsubscript{b}-minor chord in the following measure.

The hierarchy between the C-minor chord and the B\textsubscript{b}-minor chord (also in relation to the D\textsubscript{b}-major chord in m. 169) is far from obvious. The B\textsubscript{b}-minor implication governs measures 181–187. The diminished seventh chord in mm. 184–187 can be understood as a dominant to the B\textsubscript{b}-minor (six-three) chord that is heard as the resolution in m. 187. However, after this point, the music continues to ascend further to a C-minor six-three chord that is reached—prepared again by a diminished seventh chord—in m. 191. It seems plausible to interpret this C-minor chord as the local goal here, since the music takes a new course after it, and the following tonal implications are far less obvious than those explained until this point.

From the viewpoint of the harmonic and voice-leading structure, the passage following measure 191 (ten or so measures) is one of the most complex, if not the most complex, in the whole symphony (Ex. 12-3b). The diminished seventh/fifth motive heard in the cellos and bassoons in m. 191 seems to imply a new arrival at a B\textsubscript{b}-minor chord, but the surrounding texture does not support this implication. Therefore, this turn has not been interpreted as equally emphatic to those heard in the previous cases (for instance, mm. 176 and 187). As shown in Example 12-3b, the underlying bass and chord progression, however, contains an implied bass note D\textsubscript{b} as the bass note of an implied B\textsubscript{b}-minor chord (m. 191), and the bass-line continues via C\textsubscript{#} (m. 192, supporting an A\textsubscript{b}-minor six-three chord) to A (m. 194, supporting an F\textsubscript{#}-minor six-three chord), thus creating a four-note whole-tone descent. The bass-progression continues via G\textsubscript{#} (m. 194, in the horns) to G\textsubscript{b} or, enharmonically, F\textsubscript{#}, supporting a G\textsubscript{b}-minor/D\textsubscript{b}-minor six-three chord in m. 195), and finally via F (m. 195, in the horns) to E\textsubscript{b} (m. 196, in the violas, supporting a C-minor six-three chord), thus featuring two minor thirds after the whole-tone descent, and filling the descending line from E\textsubscript{b} an octave downwards, the top-voice note being G in both of these points.

The descending bass-line continues in the following measures from the E\textsubscript{b} reached in m. 196 to D\textsubscript{b} in the same measure and to an implied C\textsubscript{#} (enharmonically, B) in m. 197. This C\textsubscript{#}/B is prolonged during measures 197–202 and moves finally to A in m. 203. Here, again we can notice a whole-

\textsuperscript{22} The Ab has not been interpreted as strong enough to be able to deny the position of C as the structural bass note, which has dominated the bass throughout the movement until this point. In two orchestral (continuity) drafts in manuscripts HUL 0240/4 and 0242/10, the role of C as a continuing bass note seems more evident than in the final score.
tone progression from E\(\sharp\) (m. 196) to A (m. 203) in the bass. As shown in Example 12-3, not all of the bass tones are heard in the real bass register, but the bass line has been broken through several register transfers. For instance, and most clearly, in mm. 195–197, the bass line from E\(\sharp\) to C\(\flat\)/B is carried by the violas, the double basses and the first violins, and the first piëzzato tone, A, in the double basses continues a line from the C\(\flat\)/B heard in the first violins.

From the beginning of the developmental section on, the first-inversion chords have had a significant role in the harmony and voice-leading structure. The chordal progression heard beginning with the C-minor six-three chord of m. 191 and continuing to the point of arrival on the F\(\sharp\)-minor six-three chord in m. 203 features a kind of faux-bourdon motion, a progression of parallel six-three chords. This progression is heavily obscured by the metrical and registral displacements of the (bass) notes belonging to this chordal framework (see also Example 12-3b). This kind of technique is by no means rare elsewhere in the symphony, or in Sibelius's music more generally, but here the complexity of the texture makes the framework difficult to decipher.

Measures 206–209 prolong the F\(\sharp\)-minor six-three chord arrived at in m. 203, as shown in Example 12-3b, and the descending line in the bass continues to E via G\# and F\(\flat\) at the end of m. 209 and in m. 210. The bass note E supports a C\(\flat\)-minor six-three chord. This chord is interpreted structurally as a significant point. On the one hand, it continues the progression of six-three chords heard in the previous passage and marks the goal of the descending motion. On the other hand, it breaks the descending series of the whole-tone-related harmonies begun in m. 196 and brings the pitch E to the bass. \(^{23}\) The next first-inversion chord is the C-major six-three chord in m. 227, likewise supported by E in the bass. From the point of view of the formal design, however, the measures featuring the C\(\flat\)-minor chord do not, of course, mean any kind of a landmark in the musical flow, nor do they mean any thematically significant turn.

The bass-note E of the C\(\flat\)-minor chord begins a new descent to the bass note A supporting a minor triad that is achieved in m. 217. The role of this A-minor chord is interesting. Even though it appears to be a point of arrival and is relatively firmly grounded as a root-position chord, and even though the dominant chord built on E in mm. 224–226 might emphasize the role of the A-minor chord, this chord still plays a transitory role in the overall voice-leading. The goal of the passage as a whole is a C-major six-three chord achieved in m. 227: the bass note E creates a strong connection between the C\(\flat\)-minor six-three chord and the C-major chord. The C-major chord, in the first inversion, also carries on the series of the six-three chord progression so crucial in the whole "developmental" section. Therefore, it is more plausible to take the bass note E as the point of arrival than A (of the F\(\sharp\)-minor six-three chord and the A-minor chord).

Once the C-major six-three chord is reached after the reassessment of the E-based chord in mm. 224–226, it is prolonged throughout the end of the developmental section. \(^{24}\) In mm. 245–246 the bass note of this chord, E, moves via D to C, the root of the C-major tonic chord. Retrospectively, E turns out to be structurally a very significant note also at the deepest level. In this reading it is actually a top-voice note, the main note of the fundamental line placed in the bass register.

\(^{23}\) By comparison with the preceding F\(\sharp\)-minor six-three chord, the bass note A of which is only heard momentarily at the beginning of m. 203, E is sustained in the bass through measures 210–214, and the deep E in the double basses is registrally the lowest point in the movement thus far. Also the timpani rolls on the pitch E in mm. 213–214 may be understood as emphasizing the arrival to this note in the bass.

\(^{24}\) By "reassessment" I mean that G\(\flat\), which leads to A of an A-minor chord (m. 224), is enharmonically reinterpreted as A\(\flat\) that leads to G of the C-major chord (m. 226).
Transferring E from the upper voice to the bass is realized in mm. 225–229 in an almost tangible way. First, the pitch e\textsuperscript{2} is heard in the first violins and the first oboe in mm. 224 and 225. Then, the bassoons and the horns transport the pitch e\textsuperscript{1} through arpeggiation of the C-major chord to the lower registers, where this originally top-voice note merges with the bass note E played by cellos and double basses.\textsuperscript{25}

The final steps of the fundamental line take place in the bass in mm. 244–246.\textsuperscript{26} The fundamental line descends via D (\textsuperscript{2}) to C (\textsuperscript{1}), and the background voice-leading structure is closed in m. 246. What follows is the concluding hymn section of this extraordinary finale.\textsuperscript{27} Strikingly, there is no strong dominant at the final “cadence,” indeed, not a dominant chord at all. The only factors referring to the dominant here are the D in the bass and, possibly, the repeated G in the oboe part. However, the feeling of arrival, a resolution—a cadential progression associated with the conventional dominant/tonic progression—is strong. In fact, it is probable that most listeners would find this point as the destination of the whole movement. What follows is establishing the final situation, celebrating the tonic that has finally been reached. Therefore the structural line descent is also understood to take place here, but in a most exceptional way: in the bass and without proper harmonic support.\textsuperscript{28}

Murtonmäki has presented a different reading for this section that he calls the ‘development.’\textsuperscript{29} In his overview of the bass-line in the third movement, Murtonmäki first gives a significant role to the D\textsubscript{7}-major chord of m. 169, then the B\textsubscript{b}-minor chord (possibly m. 176) in the harmonic structure and understands the former as the starting-point for the section. In Murtonmäki’s reading the B\textsubscript{b}-minor chord initiates a very large-scale whole-tone progression of six-three chords that is completed only in the last section of the movement. Murtonmäki’s reading might lead one to suspect a connection between the D\textsubscript{7}-major chord and the B\textsubscript{b}-minor (six-three) chords heard during the ‘development,’ and to regard the D\textsubscript{7} as prolonged in the bass throughout mm. 169–196. Considering the emphasis that the B\textsubscript{b}-minor (six-three) chord gets during the first half of the developmental section, it would be entirely plausible to interpret the section from m. 169 onwards as being built on an underlying D\textsubscript{7} in the bass. In this case, this D\textsubscript{7} would, then, lead to B in m. 197. This reading is shown in Example 12-4.

\textsuperscript{25} Strikingly, this happens simultaneously with the anticipation of the hymn theme in the violas (m. 229).

\textsuperscript{26} This is also how Jackson understands the structural line descent. See Jackson 1998, 252–253; and 2001, 322. For another example of fundamental-line descents in the bass in Sibelius’s compositions, see Kraus’s analysis on the finale of the First Symphony (Kraus 1998, 150) and Suurpää’s analysis of the song Den första kyssen, Op. 37 No. 1 (Suurpää 2003, 283–286). Cf. also Edward Laufer’s analysis on the first movement of the Fourth Symphony, where \textdagger the fundamental line appears in a low register (not exactly in the bass, however; Laufer 1999). Eric Wen discusses appearances of bass-line articulations of the \textit{Ullinie} in detail (Wen 1999).

\textsuperscript{27} The situation resembles mm. 249–251 of the first movement, where a unison 3–2–1 descent leads to the coda of the movement.

\textsuperscript{28} In the printed Lienau score the \textit{crescendo} hairpin in the cellos and double basses continues to the end of m. 245, thus clearly leading to and giving emphasis to the arrival at the tonic C and the \textit{fin} in b. 246. In the autograph score HUL 0229, however, the hairpin ends before the descent E–D in m. 245, thus pointing the goal of the \textit{crescendo} to this descent (whereafter \textit{fin} the following measure would, perhaps, have more the meaning of accentuation). Still in the engraver’s copy of the score, written by an unknown copyist, the length of the hairpin is close to that noted by Sibelius, and it is easy to see that the publisher’s editor or the engraver pencilled in its continuation to the end of m. 245. In Sibelius’s manuscripts the length and placement of hairpins are not always accurate, but here the handwritten notation might be understood as reflecting the importance of the event in the voice-leading structure. Further information will be offered in the forthcoming edition of the Third Symphony (\textit{Jean Sibelius Works}, Series I, Volume 4).

\textsuperscript{29} Murtonmäki 1993, 78.
As mentioned earlier (see Section 6.5), Sibelius called the third movement of the Third Symphony “crystallization of the idea from chaos.” As several writers have pointed out, by this metaphor Sibelius may have meant the thematic process, the accumulation of the descending third leaps into the hymn theme of the concluding section, but as we can see, the “crystallization” (or transfiguration) process happens also in the tonal structure.\(^\text{30}\) As Collins writes:

\[\text{[...] the C major tonality which is established here is a tonal achievement and not simply a tonal return. It fulfills the establishment of C major suggested at the beginning of the movement, and resolves the tonal ambivalence [...]}\]\(^\text{31}\)

From its hesitant and expectant beginning onwards, the movement can be regarded as a journey towards the final C-major chord telos reached at the beginning of the hymn section.

### 12.5 Hymn Section

The concluding section of the third movement, the hymn section, is thematically very coherent: the hymn-theme material extends over the whole section, and there are no contrasting thematic ideas or statements. Perhaps, for this reason, as Muromäki has pointed out, not many scholars have “taken a firm stand in respect of the way the Finale [i.e., the hymn section] and its theme are constructed.”\(^\text{32}\) Normet discusses the “second half” of the third movement (the hymn section) as consisting of three “stanzas, from which the coda grows out,” the “coda” meaning the passage beginning at the \textit{Più energico} measure 340. Normet refers only to the opening measures of the first two “stanzas” (mm. 246 and 290), but does not define the beginning of the third.\(^\text{33}\) Jalas, who regards the section as the development section of the third movement, divides the section into four passages, which begin at mm. 246, 291, 323, and 352.\(^\text{34}\) In connection with his discussion on the hymn section, Tawaststjerna

\(^\text{30}\) Many writers have interpreted this as meaning the cumulative thematic process happening in the course of the movement and culminating with the outburst of the hymn-like theme of the concluding section.

\(^\text{31}\) Collins 1973, 190.

\(^\text{32}\) Muromäki 1993, 70.

\(^\text{33}\) Normet 1967, 86, and 89–90.

\(^\text{34}\) Jalas 1988, 124.
writes about “three waves,” but does not define these “waves” more precisely. Murtonmäki discusses especially the form of the section in detail from a thematic point of view. According to him, “the Finale is divided into halves,” and “the midway” or the “dividing line” of the section “is reached at rehearsal number 16.” Murtonmäki also divides the section into four “phases,” which begin at mm. 248, 275, 307 and 340.

It may be noteworthy that the opening phrases of the section are not repeated as such later on in the section, and the two very first opening measures (mm. 246–247) are not repeated at all. The closest recurrences of the opening phrases (beginning with the pitch E in the top voice and thus corresponding to mm. 248 onwards) are heard beginning at mm. 279 (with C in the bass), 307 (within a melodic span beginning at m. 301 in the horns) and 344.

Another possible way to regard the form of the hymn section is based on rhythmic activity, or “density” of the texture. From the beginning on, there is a tendency towards a more and more dense texture. In m. 290 the eighth-note activity (or ostinato) starts in the accompanying cellos and this activity spreads out until m. 319, where triplets are introduced. After three measures, the triplet activity overtops the accompanying strings, and prevails until the end of the section. This textural point of view might lead one to interpret the form of the hymn section as a three-phase whole (“opening phase–eighth-note phase–triplet phase”).

Harmonically the most important form-defining factors are the two cadences to E minor (mm. 289–290 and 321–322, cadences emphasized by the changes in the orchestral texture and the rhythmic density). Both of the E-minor cadences are followed by a short episode: the first covers ten measures (mm. 290–299), while the latter is, depending on how we define the end of this episode, a few measures longer (beginning at m. 322 and ending possibly at m. 332).

At a deep level of the voice-leading structure, the hymn section as a whole is harmonically built on a tonic prolongation that follows the structural “cadence,” or the structural line descent in the bass in mm. 245–246 (shown in Example 12-4). Therefore, in Schenkerian terms, the section might be understood as a coda. That is, the hymn section does not open new paths in the harmonic and voice-leading structure, but establishes the tonal situation that has been achieved (see Example 12-5).

Example 12-5. Hymn section, voice-leading sketch.

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35 Tawaststjerna 1991, 89.
36 See Murtonmäki 1993, 70–72.
37 Ibid.
38 Might this idea have been behind Tawaststjerna’s view of the form quoted above?
39 In Schenkerian terms, a coda is a section that follows the structural cadence, and represents a prolongation of the final tonic. As Schenker writes: “With the arrival of i the work is at an end. Whatever follows this can only be a reinforcement of the close—a coda—no matter what its extent or purpose may be.” (Schenker 1979, 129). In the last movement of Sibelius’s Third Symphony the hymn section is extensive and emphatic indeed. Regarding this section as a “finale,” as many scholars have done, would, of course, underline the significance of the section in the symphony as a whole. The emphatic “finale character” of the hymn section might also have an explanation in possible programmatic references in the symphony (more on this issue in Chapter 14).
The role of the underlying tonic is reflected nearer the surface through the almost regularly recurring C's in the bass. After the opening measure of the hymn section (m. 246), most of the significant phrase-endings lead to C in the bass (and the tonic chord), for instance, in mm. 259, 267, 275 and 286, as well as in mm. 300, 318, 333, 340 and 344. Quite concretely, everything feels to be harmonically within the gravitational field of the tonic, deviating from it for a moment, most importantly in the E-minor cadences, but soon returning to it.

In the middleground, the two cadences in E minor are the most significant harmonic deviations from the tonic, but they do not really undermine the underlying tonal stability of the hymn section. The “E-minorness” of the episodes beginning at m. 290 and m. 322 is a very ephemeral feature: after the cadence, A₄, enharmonically G#, together with the bass note, E, refers to A minor, and each of the phrases ends (mm. 292, 294 and 298 as well as the corresponding measures from m. 322 onwards) on a C-major six-three chord.⁴⁰ Thus, the tonic chord defines the episode more than does the mediant chord, even though the E-minor cadence is, of course, a strong gesture. What is more, the episode does not contain new thematic ideas, but continues to repeat the main thematic material of the hymn section. All these factors, combined with the fact that the “E-minor episodes” really are short and momentary, significantly diminish their role as independent formal entities.⁴¹

From m. 344 on, C is fixed in the bass. This final C and the top-voice note E are reached through a wedge-like diverging motion between the bass and the top voice (mm. 341–344). As Leo Normet has pointed out, from the beginning of the hymn section on, the hymn theme “itself turns around its point of gravitation, the third E [of the C-major chord].”⁴² Indeed, the pitch E, the Kopfton of the third (and the first) movement, appears as the most emphatic tonic-chord pitch in the hymn section. In the hymn section there is no structural-line descent from E to C, even though some of the E–D–C motions in the bass—for instance, in mm. 299–300—clearly recall the fundamental-line descent of mm. 245–246.⁴³ The somewhat concealed V–I progression (with an implied 3–2–1 descent; see the second trumpet) in mm. 369–371 over the solid tonic C does not manage to overshadow the power of the the fundamental-line descent in the bass that leads to the outburst of the victorious hymn.

⁴⁰ To mention another detail, throughout the hymn section there is a constant juxtaposition of the Lydian fourth scale degree, F♯, and the C-major scale tone, F, the first disappearing only in the last two pages of the score. F can also be understood as a link between the Lydian-flavored C major and E minor. It could, of course mean a link between the tonic C major and the dominant G major, but the mediant E minor has taken the place of the more typical secondary key. Sir Colin Davis has pointed out this feature: “The finale of the Third Symphony is especially interesting, because the music is a hunt. I have a suspicion that it is a hunt to get the F♯ out of the way.” See Davis’s interview in Grimley 2004, 232. For a discussion on the “Lydian C major” and the role of the tritone C–F♯ in this Symphony, see also Pike 1978, 98–106.

⁴¹ Even the words “passage” and “episode” may sound too strong in connection with the fleeting moments, when the E-minor cadences, E in the bass, and the new orchestral texture create an impression of a new phase in the musical flow. Perhaps another type of a description, like “a temporary change of the centre of gravity,” might be used.

⁴² Normet 1967, 89.

⁴³ And the majestic downward broken tonic chord G–E–C of the last four measures of the section recalls the corresponding motion in mm. 274–275 (in the low strings) and 339–340 (in the low strings and the fourth horn).
If the discussion on “formal strategies” in Sibelius’s symphonies and other works is confined to thematic disposition, the resulting view of the form is surely narrow and oversimplified in many respects. For instance, if the B-minor passage in the exposition of the first movement of Sibelius’s Third Symphony is simply called the “second theme” only because of the contrasting character of the passage by comparison with the preceding first group, and without any further consideration of the broader harmonic and voice-leading structure, the view of the form probably loses something of the network of tensions and references the music creates. Talking about the “apparent-key” nature of the B minor may already tell something about the function of the passage from the perspective of the underlying tonal structure. But still more is needed in order to create a picture of the connections and relations of different tonal elements in the music: nuanced music requires nuanced examination, and in the examination of tonal music there should certainly be a special emphasis on the word tonal.

The problems encountered in the discussion are, of course, partly terminological. For example, in the Third Symphony the passage beginning at m. 40 and ending possibly around m. 54 in the first movement can justifiably be called the “second theme.” But from another point of view, it may rather be regarded as an “episode” or perhaps even a “transition”. We also might argue whether this passage is “in B minor” or not. While discussing form in Sibelius’s music we are not seldom in a situation where the use of single, conventional definitions does not allow us to ascertain the different layers and factors of the overall organization. However, as discussed earlier (Chapter 9), the ambiguities can be understood only against the background of such conventions.

1 Provided, of course, that the fundamental premises are plausible. An example of an untenable conclusion drawn from an untenable interpretation of a harmonic situation is the so-called E-major second theme in *Pohjola’s Daughter* (mm. 57ff.). Far-reaching conclusions about tritonal key-relations (between B♭ major and E major) have been drawn only because of the change of key signature in m. 57. In spite of this change there is practically no reason to talk about E major here—as admittedly, an E-major seventh chord is heard in m. 61 (for further discussion on this issue, see Virtanen 2001, 170).
David Beach's distinction between formal design, tonal design, and structure offers one way of attaining more nuanced interpretations of the various elements of musical organization. Using Beach's terms, from the perspective of formal and tonal design, the passage beginning at m. 40 in the first movement's exposition may acquire a meaning different from that obtained from the viewpoint of structure—at least some aspects are certainly contrasting. Likewise, interpretation of the form of the second movement depends significantly on how we understand the section beginning around mm. 93–95. Does a repetition of an A section begin here? How should we assess the restatement of the main thematic ideas (mm. 95ff.)—probably a repetition from the perspective of formal design—in connection with the harmonic situation that reiterates the tonic key G♭ minor—from the perspective of the tonal design—but in an ambiguous and strange manner? And the way we regard the minor key passages (mm. 42–70, and 112–159) in the third movement from the perspective of the harmony and voice-leading structure may open new perspectives on the whole question of the “scherzo-finale” form of the movement. Refering to these kinds of questions, Carl Schachter has crystallized something of the essence of musical analysis:

As our perceptions of the music change—as we hear a downbeat beginning rather than an upbeat, a prolonged G rather than B minor, an extended development rather than a true recapitulation, the music itself changes as if in dialogue with us.²

Some of the most unusual characteristics in formal and tonal design, thematic elaboration and voice-leading structure may give reason for wondering about possible poetic ideas behind the Symphony, or creating poetic interpretations based on unconventional features. We might, for instance, try to describe the expressive associations created by the turn to the B-minor passage, or the coda of the first movement, the A♯-major passage of the second movement, or the obscure developmental section of the third movement leading to the transfigured C major hymn through the fundamental-line descent in the bass. Speculation about poetic ideas or narrative tensions in music does not have to be purely speculative, but may be prompted by musical factors. As Edward Laufer states of Sibelius's Fourth Symphony:

If one interprets the first movement of the Fourth Symphony as symbolizing a struggle to victory, from darkness to light, from nothingness to life, or from turmoil to serenity (somehow all the same poetic idea), then this idea is not really an extra-musical symbol: it is intrinsically part of the compositional idea[...]³

The following Epilogue of the present study is devoted to possible poetic and programmatic ideas, and narrative tensions behind the Third Symphony.

³ Laufer 1999, 138. See also Lauri Suurpää's detailed discussion of the relationships between the narrative structure of text and tonal structure of music (Suurpää 1997, esp. 3–21)
CHAPTER 14

EPILOGUE: SIBELIUS’S “RESURRECTION SYMPHONY?”

14.1 Programmatic Background Ideas in Sibelius’s Works in the First Decade of the 20th Century

As discussed in Chapters 4–8, by its genesis the Third Symphony was in no way an isolated or independent work, but its musical material and compositional process were interwoven with those of several other works, completed both before the Third Symphony, like Cassazione and Pohjola’s Daughter, and after it, like D-minor String Quartet (Voces intimae) and the Orchestral Suite Scènes historiques II. Likewise, the manuscripts of Cassazione and Pohjola’s Daughter, in turn, reveal connections with several other works: Cassazione has roots in common with the funeral march In memoriam, and behind Pohjola’s Daughter there were also many different plans, among them the large-scale oratorio “Marjatta.”

In the beginning of the 1890s—after his years of study in Berlin and Vienna—Sibelius seems to have been strongly influenced by Liszt’s views on programmatic music. Two letters from 1893 and 1894 have often been cited to illustrate his attitude towards absolute and programmatic music:

[1] I believe that music alone, that is, absolute music, cannot satisfy. It does awaken feelings and states of mind, but something unsatisfactory is always left to our soul, you always ask ‘why this.’ Music is like a wife, she has to become pregnant from a man. This man is Poësis. The tones reach their true power first when they are led by a poetic meaning.

[2] I believe that I am actually a music-painter and a poet. I mean that the musical view of Liszt [sic] is closest to me. That symphonic poem (I meant ‘poet’ in that sense).1

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In accordance with these views, almost every one of Sibelius's central orchestral works from the 1890's, from *Kullervo* (1892) and *En saga* (first version, 1892) on, were given a descriptive or programmatic title, the First Symphony (1899) being the first exception. According to Levas and Jalas, in his later years Sibelius wanted to emphasize that his symphonies are to be regarded as absolute music, and sometimes the ideal of absolute music also seems to have extended to his other orchestral works, including the symphonic poems. However, Sibelius's comments concerning programmatic music seem to have been inconsistent and controversial even in his later years, when he was generally liable to deny programmatic aspects in his music, as the following comment, noted down by Jalas on December 31, 1943, indicates:

*I was asked from Sweden whether Pohjola's Daughter may be [performed] under the title Nordens kvinna [The Lady offrom the North]. I said that you cannot do it, because the subject is from the Kalevala (actually Pohja's Maiden)[. This is difficult to understand for those who do not know the subject. Perhaps there should be a small programme printed [in the programme leaf?], although it [Pohjola's Daughter] is, as a matter of fact, absolute music.*

Sibelius's symphonic works have, indeed, occasionally been discussed from a programmatic point of view. Ilmari Krohn has suggested detailed programmatic interpretations of Sibelius's symphonic works. In his book, *Der Stimmungsgehalt*, Krohn even gives programmatic labels to many of the thematic ideas in the symphonies in a way that brings to mind the Leitmotiv catalogues made for Wagner's music dramas. Tawaststjerna also discussed at least the possibility of programmatic background ideas to some of the symphonies. The First, Second and Fourth Symphonies have awakened perhaps the strongest programmatic associations in the minds of commentators.

As in his discussion of the First Symphony, Tawaststjerna also refers to Sibelius's sketches from the time of the composition of the Second Symphony (see also footnote 3 above). In connection with sketches for the Second Symphony Sibelius wrote a vision based on the legend of Don Juan and the “Stone Guest,” or Death (HUL 0145/2). Tawaststjerna also mentions a sketch for a slow movement motive (HUL 1537, corresponding to the idea heard for the first time in mm. 98–100 in the final score; see also Facsimile XVII) that Sibelius seems to have labeled *Christus.* Tawaststjerna’s observations seem to imply that the symphony, and especially the slow movement, might touch on

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2 Tawaststjerna (1994, 98–99), however, discusses Sibelius's references to literature written into the sketches for the First Symphony. His conclusion concerning the possible programmatic background of the symphony—as well as the discussion on absolute and programmatic music more generally—is careful and diplomatic. These issues are discussed further in the Introduction to the forthcoming edition of the First Symphony (*Jean Sibelius Works*, Series I, Volume 2).

3 See, for instance, Levas 1957, 210, and Jalas 1988, 43.

4 Jalas's note (NA, SFA, file box 1): "Ruotsista kysyttiin, saako Pohjolan tytärtä [esittää] nimellä Nordens kvinna. Sanoin, ettei sitä saa tehdä, koska aihe on Kalevalasta (oik. Pohjan Neito)[..] Tätä on vaikea ymmärtää sellaisen, joka ei tunne aihera. Pitäisi ehkä olla pieni ohjelma painettuna vaikka se olis aikaisemmin absoluuttista musiikkia." The programme text, adapted from the *Kalevala*, has been printed in the score of *Pohjola’s Daughter* (published by Lienau).

5 For more recent writings, see, for instance, Jackson 2001 and 2003.

6 See, for instance, Jalas 1988.

7 Tawaststjerna 1994, 153.
some kind of religious-mythical ideas, perhaps concerning fate, death, and the hereafter. Sibelius himself called the symphony "a soul’s confession." 8

In 1905–1906 Sibelius was planning or working on large-scale compositions based on themes from the Kalevala. An oratorio called "Marjatta" and a symphonic poem or a symphony, called "Luonnotar" in Sibelius’s correspondence, were, however, never completed. Some musical material for Pohjola’s Daughter probably originated from these unsuccessful plans. As discussed elsewhere (Virtanen 2001), these three Kalevala legends—Marjatta, Luonnotar, and Pohjola’s Daughter—also share certain features in common on a narrative level: they are all per aspera ad astra stories, or legends depicting hard struggles and ending with far-reaching visions. In addition, the Luonnotar and Marjatta poems suggest wider associations. The Luonnotar poem is a Finnish national myth associated with descriptions of the creation of the world as found in the myths of different cultures around the world. 9 The Marjatta poem in turn mirrors descriptions of Christ’s birth as told in biblical legends based on the New Testament.

Perhaps the supposed religious ideas behind the Second Symphony were not unmatched in Sibelius’s output, but they may characterize some of his other works composed during the first decade of the 20th century as well. Interestingly, Krohn interprets the Third Symphony as reflecting religious ideas. The key words in his explanation of the “Stimmungsgehalt” of this symphony are nature, man and God, man’s search for inner peace, and a new life. Krohn’s title for the symphony is Gottes Nahen zum Menschen, and for the movements of the symphony I) Das Nahen Gottes in der Natur, II) Zwiegespräch mit dem Gewissen, and III) Neues Leben. Krohn’s ideas have usually not been regarded very seriously. From the point of view of the following discussion, however, his basic assumption of the religious characteristics of the Third Symphony seems understandable. 10 But the programmatic point of reference might be more specific and literal, and unquestionably familiar to Sibelius during the time of composition of the symphony: the Marjatta legend.

14.2 Plans for the “Marjatta” Oratorio

The text for the "Marjatta" oratorio was written by Jalmari Finne (1874–1938). The idea of a work

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8 Jalas’s note dated December 31, 1943 (NA, SFA, file box 1). In the preface to his edition of the Second Symphony, Kari Kilpeläinen mentions that during the composition of the symphony, Sibelius heard a performance of Liszt’s oratorio Christus in Berlin, and the work made a strong impact on him. See Kilpeläinen (ed.) 2000, viii.

9 For Sibelius’s use of the Luonnotar poem in the tone-poem Luonnotar, Op. 70, see Hepokoski 1996.

10 In his memoirs Krohn claims that Sibelius himself did not deny the appositeness of Krohn’s interpretations; on the contrary (Krohn 1951, 138): “Sibelius thanked him especially warmly for the interpretation of his 3rd Symphony.” (“Eriryisen lämpimästi Sibelius kiitti III sinfoniansa tulkinnasta.”) Even Jalas (1988, 63) confesses that “Ilmari Krohn, whose personal fantasies have prompted many opinions, closes in on just this aspect [Jalas: ‘some kind of a religious-contemplative state of soul’] in the whole work [the Third Symphony], and even Sibelius—the opponent of all kinds of programmatic explanations—did not reject it; on the contrary.” (“Ilmari Krohn, jonka henkilökohtaisista kuvitelmista on monia mielipiteitä, tavoittaa juuri tämän puolen koko teoksessa, eikä Sibeliuskaan—kaiken ohjelmallisen selityksen vastustaja—sitä torjunut, painvastoin.”) On the other hand, Jalas wrote down the following words of Sibelius on September 21, 1946 (NA, SFA, file box 1): “When Krohn visited me owing to his work [Der Stimmungsgehalt], I was very polite to him, and I fear that he got overenthusiastic. However, all the time I underlined that he absolutely has to mention that the explanations are his own, not mine.” (“Kun Krohn kävi luonani teoksensa johdosta, olin hänelle kovin heinä, ja pelkään, että hän innosui liikaa. Koko ajan kuitenkin alleviivasin sitä, että hänen on ehdottomasti mainittava, että selitykset olivat hänen omaa, eivät minun.”)
based on the Marjatta legend set to music by Sibelius probably originated in 1902.¹¹ At that time Finne had already planned some of the “Marjatta” text. Sibelius also had shown interest in the subject earlier. However, the actual work on the oratorio did not begin before 1905.

The decision to begin the oratorio project was made on June 27, 1905, when Finne visited Sibelius at Ainola. Soon after, Finne sent the first samples of text to Sibelius. For performances of the oratorio abroad, Finne had also translated the beginning of the libretto into German. A preliminary version of the libretto was completed in the middle of August, but Finne probably made some changes after that. In his letter to Sibelius, dated August 27, Finne writes: “I have been thinking about that ‘burial’ and I believe I have found what you want to bring forward, that form between the lyric and the epic.”¹²

According to both Finne’s and Sibelius’s correspondence, Sibelius began to compose the “Marjatta” oratorio in the summer of 1905 with great enthusiasm, but, as Finne reported, problems soon occurred: “In addition to all the difficulties [Finne had written about working on the libretto simultaneously in two languages, Finnish and German], music is for Sibelius so absolute that I always have to adjust because he does not care much about the text.”¹³ As Finne’s earlier cited letter to Sibelius from August 27 implies, the composer also made demands on the librettist concerning the text.

The highpoint in drafting the oratorio seems to have come in August 1905. According to a letter by Finne, dated August 15: “Sibelius has put all other works aside and is now preparing this [the oratorio] and I believe that he is now creating the greatest work in his life, and he believes the same. We must not talk about this to others, said Sibelius, so that the newspapers do not get the thing into their hands.”¹⁴ Sibelius planned to complete the oratorio during the following autumn and also have it performed in Helsinki in November. On August 20 he wrote to Axel Carpelan: “I am preparing a great work. I hope to get it finished in three months. One should not write on the subject of my great work (in quasi oratorio style) in a letter.”¹⁵

Sibelius’s enthusiasm in composing the oratorio seems to have faded during the autumn of 1905. He was invited to conduct some of his works on November 27 in Heidelberg, and after accepting this invitation he suddenly began to plan a new orchestral work for that concert. In a letter to the publisher Robert Lienau, dated October 23, 1905, Sibelius writes: “I am now working hard for Heidelberg. [It is going to be] A large symphonic poem. If only I can complete it.”¹⁶

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¹² Finne’s letter to Sibelius, dated August 27, 1905 (HUL, Coll. 206.11): “Olen mietiskelly tuota ‘hautausta’ ja luulen löytäneeni sen, mitä te tahdotte saada esiin, tuon välimuodon lyyrillisen ja eepillisen välillä.”

¹³ Finne’s letter to Eliel Aspelin-Haapiala, dated July 17, 1905 (FLS Lit. Arch., Eliel Aspelin-Haapiala letter collection 95); also cited in Hartikainen 1999, 20: “Kaiken vaikeuden lisäksi on musiikki Sibeliukselle niin absoluuttista, että minä saan aina mukautua siihen, ei hän paljoa väliä tekstistä.” Finne’s words could explain why there are only two musical manuscripts where Sibelius refers to the “Marjatta” text (both of them for Pohjola’s Daughter, see Virtanen 2001), supposing that Sibelius really planned his oratorio as “absolute music,” without “caring much about the text.”

¹⁴ Finne’s letter to Anna Sarlin, dated August 15, 1905 (microfilm; NA, Finne Archive, PR 170); also cited in Hartikainen 1999, 21: “Sibelius on järjestänyt muut työt ja laitelee nyt tätä ja minä uskon hänen luovan elämäänsä suurimman teoksen, samaa uskoa hänkin. Vielä ei pidä tätä puhua muille, Sibelius kielsi, jotta sanomalehdet eivät saa juttua käsitänkään.”


Sibelius’s correspondence with his wife, the new symphonic poem would have been based on the Luonnotar myth from the *Kalevala*.

At the beginning of October, Axel Carpelan was still confident and encouraging about the oratorio: “‘Mariatta and Christus’ [sic] is going to be a milestone in our music.” But Sibelius did not complete any new work for the Heidelberg concert, nor did he continue working on the oratorio. However, he did continue working on the composition called “Luonnotar” still in the winter and in the spring of 1906, and began to make a fair copy of the score in June, but suddenly, he changed his plans and hastily composed the Symphonic Fantasy *Pohjola’s Daughter*. It seems evident that the composer created the new Symphonic Fantasy from the material of “Luonnotar.”

The Third Symphony too began to grow partly out of the ruins of “Luonnotar.” As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the chorale-like material of the second movement of the Third Symphony first appeared in the sketches for “Luonnotar” and also in the incomplete fair copy of the “Luonnotar” score from May–June of 1906. Furthermore, Sibelius planned to open the third movement of the symphony with the *Minnelied* material (which, as has been explained, finally ended up in the Second Orchestral Suite, *Scènes historiques*).

The chain of connections leads back to the “Marjatta” oratorio: at least the opening of *Pohjola’s Daughter* probably sprang from the “Marjatta” music. It is not known whether material other than the opening measures originally planned for “Marjatta” found its way into “Luonnotar” or whether any oratorio material found its way into the Third Symphony. This kind of connection would not, however, be very surprising: the Symphony did not grow in isolation—on the contrary, it shared roots with several other works. And even though there were no direct clues in the musical material of the Third Symphony leading back to the “Marjatta” oratorio, there still may be a “spiritual” relation or connection between these works.

### 14.3 Libretto of the “Marjatta” Oratorio

The libretto of the “Marjatta” oratorio was based on the last, 50th poem (“runo”) of the *Kalevala*, as well as on some of the poems from the collection called the *Kanteletar*. The young maiden, Marjatta, corresponds to Christ’s mother, Mary, and the title of the oratorio appears in Sibelius’s correspondence also as “Marjatta ja Kristus” (“Marjatta and Christ”).

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17. Axel Carpelan’s letter to Sibelius, probably beginning of October, 1905 (NA, SFA, file box 18): “‘Mariatta och Christus’ bör bli en märksten i vår tonkonst.”
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Both books are based on Finnish oral tradition, which they handle in different ways. The *Kalevala* epic is a reinvention of early history, culminating in a virgin birth which brings the pagan era to an end; the heroine of the final canto is Marjatta, and her son is not named. The *Kanteletar*, a companion volume of lyrics and ballads, reflects a true picture in which paganism and Christianity coexisted for centuries: its “Ballad of the Virgin Mary” (“Neitsyt Maarian virsi”) is a sequence of Christian legends beginning with the Virgin Birth and ending with the Resurrection and the harrowing of Hell (in that order). I am indebted to Keith Bosley for the precise formulation concerning the relation between the *Kalevala* and the *Kanteletar* legends. English translations of the *Kalevala* deviate from each other in various details. For the following Sections, I have consulted Friberg’s and Bosley’s translations (see Friberg 1988 and Bosley 1989).
Jalmari Finne’s sketches and libretto versions for “Marjatta” have been preserved in the archives of the Finnish Literature Society, in the National Archives of Finland, and in Helsinki University Library. Markku Hartikainen, who has reconstructed a libretto from the fragmentary material, has stated that at the most intensive stage of the writing process, in August 1905, the libretto included 265 lines of poetry in *Kalevala* meter. According to Hartikainen, the libretto contains the following three parts:

I **Kristuksen syntymä** (“The birth of Christ,” 64 lines),
II **Hautaus** (“Burial,” 116 lines) and
III **Ylösnouseminen** (“Resurrection,” 85 lines).23

By its character, the first part of the oratorio would have been epic or narrative, whereas the second and the third parts would have been more theatrical.

Finne adapted the Marjatta legend of Finnish folk poetry quite freely. For instance, he excluded the *Kalevala’s* and the *Kanteletar’s* tragic depictions of Marjatta’s loneliness during her pregnancy and her rejection by her family. In the original *Kalevala* legend, as in the Bible, Marjatta gives birth to a son in a stable. This scene does not exist in Finne’s libretto, nor does Christ’s death or Väinämöinen’s submission in front of the newborn child at the end of the *Kalevala* legend. On the other hand, parts II and III are largely based on Finne’s and Sibelius’s ideas, and not closely on verses from the *Kalevala* or the *Kanteletar*.24

The first part of Finne’s oratorio text depicts Marjatta going into the woods, herding sheep. In the woods—dim and mysterious in the libretto—she hears a call, finds a strange berry, a cowberry, and after eating it becomes pregnant. She gives birth to a boy, and finally finds a wise old man, Virokannas, to baptize the child. The old man declares him “king of Karelia, the guardian of all power.” The first part ends in a celebratory and ceremonial atmosphere.

The text of the second part is built as an ABA design. In the first A section, the dead Christ is carried to be buried, accompanied by alternating male and female choruses and short solo interruptions (one of the women/one of the men). The B section consists of Marjatta’s extensive lamentation, and the antiphonal setting of the first section is repeated in the A1 section.

The third part consists of two sections: it begins in a mournful, yet hopeful and expectant atmosphere, and with prayers, and turns into a triumph at the moment of Christ’s resurrection. The libretto ends with a triumphal final chorus: “The Creator [=Christ] has arisen from death/Awakened from sleeping.”

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23 Hartikainen 1999, 50.
24 The closest correspondences for these parts of the “Marjatta” text can be found in the *Kanteletar*, book three, sixth poem. Some of this poem is parallel to the 50th canto of the *Kalevala*, but the Marjatta legend as told in the *Kanteletar* also contains depiction of the crucifixion and the death, the burial, and the resurrection of Christ.
In January 1907, one and a half years after the oratorio had faded in Sibelius’s mind, Finne wrote to a friend:

> When I was with Sibelius, I could follow the birth of some musical ideas quite closely. I mean that time when we discussed “Marjatta.” I had the burial of Jesus in spring rain in the evening, my idea took him to hear the burier’s sorrowful song and Marjatta’s wailful lament through the rain. I saw the painting, he heard it through, but if I had not described that rainy dusk, perhaps he would not have heard the song as so melancholy as it becomes when heard through the rain.  

According to Finne, the images and atmospheres depicted in the “Marjatta” text and in the discussions around the work, led Sibelius to “hear” the scenes of the oratorio. Even if he would not have sketched out musical material for the oratorio extensively, he may have had reminiscences from mental images inspired by “Marjatta” in his mind when planning the Third Symphony. This possible “spiritual” relationship or connection between “Marjatta” and the Third Symphony will be discussed in the following Sections.

### 14.4 Overall Form of the Third Symphony and the “Marjatta” Libretto

The tripartite form of the Third Symphony can be understood as corresponding to the three parts of the “Marjatta” libretto. The form and characteristics of the single movements can be related to the libretto as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THIRD SYMPHONY</th>
<th>“MARJATTA”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FIRST MOVEMENT</strong></td>
<td><strong>FIRST PART: THE BIRTH OF CHRIST</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposition</td>
<td>Marjatta goes into the woods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First group</td>
<td>Marjatta, nature sounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B minor episode</td>
<td>“Through the woods there goes a call”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of the exposition</td>
<td>Marjatta continues deeper into the woods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>Marjatta finds the berry, her pregnancy and loneliness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recapitulation</td>
<td>Christ’s birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coda</td>
<td>Christ crowned King of Karelia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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26 The correspondence between the three movements of the Symphony and the three parts of the oratorio has also been referred to in Hartikainen 1999.
SECOND MOVEMENT

**Section A**
Funeral procession (male and female choruses)

**Section B**
Marjatta’s lament, nature sounds

**Section A**

SECOND PART: FUNERAL

THIRD MOVEMENT

**Allegro section**
Expectation of Christ’s resurrection, culminating with sunrise and resurrection

**Hymn section**
Final chorus, “the Creator has arisen from death.”

It is to be emphasized that there is no evidence whatever deriving from the composer himself to support connecting the Symphony with the Marjatta legend. However, Sibelius did not seem to have denied religious ideas in connection with the symphony, when these were suggested by Krohn (see Section 14.1), and as will be discussed later, it has even been documented that he himself had religious associations in connection with the work. But it also has to be admitted that several features in the Symphony’s form may be regarded as contradicting the form and content of the “Marjatta” libretto. For instance, the sonata form of the first movement does not actually seem to support the programmatic idea as described above: How should the idea of recapitulation be understood from a programmatic point of view? Why is the minor passage recapitulated? After all, it seems quite clear that the Sibelius’s primary interest was to create a symphony, not a series of three symphonic poems (or fantasias) based on the Marjatta legend. Still, the most obvious parallels with the Third Symphony and the “Marjatta” libretto are striking and certainly worth further examination.

14.5 Features of Tonal Structure and Thematic Design in the Symphony vis-à-vis the “Marjatta” Libretto

Some of the features of the tonal design both in the scope of the entire Symphony and within the individual movements, and even some characteristic features of the deep-level voice-leading structure, can be interpreted as reflecting the narrative background idea presented above. To begin with one of the most striking, the juxtaposition between the tonic C major of the first group and

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27 As has been mentioned, Krohn interprets the symphony as associated with religious ideas.
28 Also the difference between the characters of the opening of *Pohjola’s Daughter* and the Third Symphony is difficult to explain: if Sibelius really first planned to open the “Marjatta” oratorio with the opening ideas of *Pohjola’s Daughter*, how would the gloomy atmosphere have transformed into the brisk character of the Third Symphony’s opening?
the B-minor chord that begins the transitory passage in the first movement of the symphony may be understood as corresponding to the change of mood when Marjatta hears the strange and mysterious sound from the deep “blue woodland” and, filled with enchantment, begins to wander towards its source (stanzas 6–8 in Finne’s libretto):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finnish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marjatta korea kuopus</td>
<td>Marjatta, the fairy maiden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meni matkoa vähäisen.</td>
<td>Walked a little further.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuunteli. Sävel solahti</td>
<td>Listened. A tone slid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylistä sinervän salon.</td>
<td>From the lap of the blue woodland.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finnish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Läpi metsän kutsu käypi,</td>
<td>Through the woods there goes a call,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kautta korven sointu soipi,</td>
<td>Through the woods there sounds a chord,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Läpi metsän heijapuisen</td>
<td>Through the woods of swaying trees,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kautta korven kuusamisen.</td>
<td>Through the woods filled with honeysuckles.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finnish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lumoissa läheni lapsi,</td>
<td>Spellbound the child went closer,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohi kutsua kuleksi,</td>
<td>Walked towards the call,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syvälle salon sisähän, […]</td>
<td>Deep into the woodland, […]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After the tonally stable first group, the dusky B-minor passage may be associated with the mystical side of nature, the unreal call inducing Marjatta to leave the safe path and lead her to find the fateful berry. The *misterioso* character at the end of the exposition and the beginning of the development (around mm. 81–93) might refer to the moment of finding and eating the berry, whereafter the development would, perhaps, correspond to Marjatta’s pregnancy (as illustrated in Section 14.4).

The overall tonal design of the Symphony’s three movements is C major–G# minor–C major. The key of the central movement (that would correspond to the second part, the “Funeral,” of the “Marjatta” oratorio), the minor key of VI degree of C major, might be associated with the mournful atmosphere of the second part of the oratorio. As discussed earlier (see Chapter 12), the connection between the G# ending of the second movement to the G beginning the third movement may be understood as creating a rather seamless transition from the previous movement to the latter—a kind of attacca effect. The connection between the movements is also made obvious through the reminiscences from the second movement in mm. 27–39 of the third movement. Similarly, the second and the third parts of the “Marjatta” libretto are bound together: the third part directly follows the funeral scene. In the Symphony’s third movement there is a juxtaposition of the tonic C-major statements and the shadowy A-minor and F-minor episodes. This juxtaposition between “bright” (C-major statements) and “shadowy” might be interpreted as the passing of time, days and nights, as described in the “Marjatta” libretto.

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29 As mentioned, it is not easy find a correspondence for the restatement of the minor passage in the recapitulation in the “Marjatta” libretto. But it should be noted, however, that the character of this passage in the recapitulation is very different from that in the exposition. Perhaps Marjatta’s search for the origin of the strange call (the B-minor episode in the exposition) might be understood as having its counterpart in the description of her destiny as a mother of a fatherless child (the E-minor episode in the recapitulation), leading to the search for the wise old man who finally baptizes the child (the passage following the minor episode in the recapitulation) and the “coronation” (the coda).

30 Murtomäki has noted correspondences between the harmonic schemes in the A section theme of the second movement of the Third Symphony (mm. 13–37) and the main thematic material of the funeral march *In memoriam* (mm. 5–13). The main key of the latter work is G# minor, but C# minor (mm. 9–13) also has an important role in the passage.
Also the growth of the hymn theme in the third movement of the symphony may be regarded as having its parallel in the Marjatta libretto. The idea and expectation of resurrection runs through the second and third parts of Finne's text, crystallizing at the end of the second part with the words "Rise, Creator, from death", sung first by Marjatta and thereafter, by the whole chorus. The "Rise, Creator" idea returns and culminates at the moment of resurrection, in the "Finale Chorus": "The Creator has arisen from death." Since the "Rise, Creator" idea is present already in the second part of the libretto, there is no exact "thematic" correspondence to this idea in the Third Symphony. But in its outlines, the "thematic process," and the "crystallization of an idea" may be seen as a significant parallel between the Marjatta libretto and the symphony's third movement, and the finale chorus of the "Marjatta" libretto can be easily understood as corresponding to the hymn section of the Symphony's third movement.

As discussed in Chapter 12, the two first sections of the third movement may create an impression of expectation for a tonal fulfilment. Even though C is heard as a stable, pedal-like bass note almost throughout the first section, the tonic chord does not sound firm or deeply-rooted. This impression is also supported by the fragmentary character of the thematic ideas heard during the section. The final, stable tonic C major of the third movement is reached in a striking and very special way. After the developmental B section, simultaneously with the overall settling down of the music, the kopfton of the movement (3)—initially introduced, as usual, in the upper voice—appears in the bass (m. 224). Consequently, also the definitive structural descent of the fundamental line is situated in the deepest register (mm. 245–246). 2 of the structural descent is not supported by a dominant chord, but the descent itself creates a powerful impression of an arrival to a stable harmonic situation.

The transfer of the kopfton from the top voice to the bass, and the structural descent in the deep register, may be interpreted as having a correspondence in the Marjatta libretto, where, after a long expectation and many prayers, the sun takes the form of an eagle and descends from the sky to earth and Christ's grave. The grave opens, and the Creator rises from death. In the Third Symphony it is as if after a long expectation, the most powerful action—the main note of the fundamental line and the structural line descent—lands in the deepest register and there fulfills the expectation of the arrival at the tonic. This fulfillment is followed by the hymn-like apotheosis. Might the miraculous moment in the Marjatta libretto have inspired Sibelius to create one of the most miraculous moments in the Third Symphony?


In addition to the overall tonal design and harmonic structures described above, features in the musical characterization of the Third Symphony may be interpreted as referring to religious topics

31 Sibelius himself seems to have been enthusiastic about this event in the libretto. Sibelius's enthusiasm has been referred to twice in Finne's correspondence. Still in 1907, two years after the actual "Marjatta" plans, Finne wrote the following recollection in a letter: "In the resurrection of Jesus the sun flies as a large eagle on to Jesus's grave and after shining for three days opens the grave. Sibelius exclaimed: 'two of the greatest ideas in the world together: the sun and Jesus.'" ("Jesuksen ylösnousemissä lentää aurinko suurena kockana Jesuksen haudalle ja paistettuaan kolme päivää päivää aukasee haudan. Sibelius huudahdi: 'kaksi maailman suurinta idea yhdessä: aurinko ja Jesus.'" Finne's letter to Helmi Setälä, dated January 20, 1907 (microfilm; NA, Finne Archive, PR 173; also cited in Hartikainen 1999, 22).
and ideas. First of all, none of Sibelius's symphonies contains as many passages which are so clearly characterized by hymn and/or chorale-like tunes and textures as the Third Symphony. Some of the other symphonies have hymn episodes with a character that might be called devout, but the number of passages referring to a hymn or chorale topos in the Third Symphony are unique among Sibelius’s symphonies. The most evident examples of the passages are listed and described here:

1) conclusion of the first movement, mm. 250–276: a noble, hymn-like coda with an "Amen" closure (IV–I)—possibly a reference to the end of the first part of the "Marjatta" libretto ("Christ’s baptism and crowning");
2) chorale-like phrases in the second movement, mm. 11–12, 49–50, and mm. 84–90 and 190–195—possibly a reference to the sacral funeral atmosphere of the movement;
3) devout phrases played by the divided cellos in the second movement, mm. 75–83—possibly corresponding to Marjatta’s lament over the dead body of her son;
4) hymn fragments in the third movement, mm. 116–130 (horns) and 231–244 (violas), leading to
5) the hymn-like concluding section (from m. 246 on)—expectation and hope of Christ’s resurrection in the third part of the Marjatta libretto and finally, opening of the grave and resurrection.  

Sibelius did not cite any known chorale melodies in the Third Symphony (nor in his other symphonies) directly. However, there is a certain likeness between the hymn phrases heard in mm. 116–130 of the third movement and the praise hymn Soi kiitokseksi Luojan ("We Praise Thee, Our Creator") from Sibelius’s Cantata for the University Graduation Ceremonies of 1897 (Kantaatti tohtorin- ja maisterinvihkijäisissä 31 [30] päivänä toukokuuta 1897, JS 106, songs for mixed choir from this cantata published as Op. 23). The original key of this hymn is F minor, and the phrases corresponding to those in the Third Symphony feature a chord-progression IV–1 in A, major, exactly as in the Symphony (see Example 14-1a and b). Soi kiitokseksi Luojan was included in the Finnish chorale-book in 1923. 

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32 Axel Carpelan immediately recognized the prayer-like expression in the second movement when hearing the first performances of the Symphony. In his letter to Sibelius (NA, SFA, file box 18), dated October 3, 1907, about a week after the latter of the two performances in Helsinki, Carpelan wrote: "I just want to mention that the second movement now made a entirely wonderful impact, like a child’s prayer […]" (Jag vill blott nämna, att den andra satsen nu värkade alldeles underbart, som en barnens bönn […]"). Carpelan compares the movement with the Allegretto of Beethoven’s Seventh Symphony—a movement with a funeral march character—but prefers Sibelius’s symphony movement. Jalas may have had a point in underlining the role of the second movement: in a performance, a slow tempo may support the religious atmosphere as well as the funebre character of the movement (see Jalas 1988, 63).

33 According to Jalas (note dated January 8, 1943, NA, SFA, file box 1), Sibelius himself gave the following performance instruction: "The concluding march of the Finale must not be too fast; a religious atmosphere." ("Finaalin loppumarssi ei saa olla liian nopea: uskonnollinen tunnelma.") In his letter to the painter Oscar Parviainen, dated January 4, 1927, Sibelius calls the Finale hymn tune as "Prayer to God" (Bönen till Gud); the letter is cited in Hartikainen 1999, 41.

34 Murtonäki hears a similar reference to the patriotic hymn Kuullos Pyhä vala in the Second Symphony Scherzo, mm. 94–101 (woodwind; see Murtonäki 2003, 336). This hymn is also included in the Finnish chorale-book. For further discussion, see also Hyökki 2003, 20–21.
Example 14-la and b. The Choral hymn Soi kiiotekesi Luojan (excerpt), from the Cantata for the University Graduation Ceremonies of 1897 (JS 106), and mm. 116–123 from the third movement of the Third Symphony.

In addition to the chorale-like passages, several other characteristics in Sibelius’s music suggest interesting parallels with the “Marjatta” libretto. First of all, and as mentioned in the first part of the present study, the character of the A sections of the second movement can be interpreted as a combination of a lullaby and a funeral march. As was shown in Example 5-4, HUL 0274 (see Chapter 5), one of the early drafts for the movement in C minor clearly features the funeral-march character. It is as if in the second movement of the Third Symphony Sibelius merged the mother’s affection for her son, her grief, the sorrow of the people, and the solemn procession and ceremony. 35

Many commentators have also pointed out the pastoral character, the nature imagery of the Third Symphony, and, as mentioned earlier, Krohn’s programmatic interpretation of the symphony combining religious ideas with depiction of nature. 36 In the first movement (Das Nahen Gottes in der Natur, as Krohn titled it), he labels the thematic ideas as Waldwebenmotiv, Singvogelmotiv, Insektenmotiv, etc. Vestdijk too writes about “bird motives” when discussing the Third Symphony. 37 Jalas has documented Sibelius’s comments about bird-song-like gestures in the symphony as follows:

35 In the final version, the measures with hemiola cross-rhythms (for the first time, mm. 29–32) might be understood as exemplifying the juxtaposition between the lullaby character in triple meter and the funeral march character in duple meter. Cf. Murtomäki’s notions of the parallels between the symphony movement and the funeral march In memoriam, Op. 59, mentioned in footnote 31.
36 For writings discussing the pastoral character of the Symphony, see, for instance, Parmet 1955, and Jalas 1988.
37 Vestdijk 1962, 155.
[1] The Finale after rehearsal number 8 is to be played “like a song of a thrush, not a garden warbler.” ([June 18, 1940])

[2] The thrush song place in the Finale must not be sentimental, but rhythmically very clear. (August 10, 1940)

One of Krohn’s bird-song motives is the “cuckoo” motive in the third movement of the Symphony. In his example, Krohn refers to the flute parts in mm. 73 and 74. The more likely reference would be the downward major third leaps from m. 77 onwards, and again in mm. 109–116.

The cuckoo is mentioned in the original Kalevala poem, and in the “Marjatta” libretto, in the second part of the oratorio, the cuckoo has an important role:

ERÄS MIES:  ONE OF THE MEN:
Kuulkaatte! Tuolla kääki! Listen! There [is] a cuckoo!
Kevätsatehen sisästä From within of the spring rain
Helähti heleää sointu! Sounded a bright chord!

MIEHET:  ALL MEN:
Pyhä lintu! Toivon lintu! Holy bird! Bird of hope!
Kuku huoleemme iloksi! Sing our worry into joy!

In the Third Symphony, the cuckoo’s singing is heard in the third movement, not in the second, but the “cuckoo third” can be interpreted as an element of hope and future faith in the symphony movement: as many commentators have noted, it is this third motive that gives the impulse for the hymn-melody phrases in mm. 116–130, and finally for the triumphal hymn of the Symphony.

14.7 Night Ride and Sunrise

The third movement of the Third Symphony—a lively Allegro in 6/8 meter followed by a broad hymn section—has a counterpart in another work composed in the first years of the 20th century. The tone poem Night Ride and Sunrise, Op. 55 (1908) also consists of an extensive Allegro section (mm. 1–389) with galloping rhythms in 6/8 meter (or 24/16=C, with triplets) followed by a Largo (mm. 404ff.) that culminates in a hymn on the wind instruments (mm. 427ff.). Furthermore, Night Ride and Sunrise is another example of a work that has been associated with sacral ideas in Sibelius’s

38 Jalas notes (NA, SFA, file box 1): [1] “Finaali 8:n jälkeen soittettava ’niinkuin rastaan laulu, ei lövsångarin (lehtokertun)’.” [2] “Finaalin ’rastaanlauulupaikka’ […] ei saa olla sentimentaali, mutta rytmillisesti hyvin selvä.” It is difficult to conclude just what might be associated with the “thrush song” in the passage in question. In HUL 02542, a continuity draft featuring the first movement’s exposition and the beginning of the development, Sibelius has annotated the Swedish word Tranor (“Cranes”) above the idea heard in the bassoons and horns in mm. 61–63 of the final work. In the “Marjatta” libretto there is no mention of cranes, however.

39 See, for instance, Parmet 1955, 48–50, and Ryynänen 1988, 39–42. Even though the “cuckoo motive” is not present in the second movement of the Symphony, the “woodwind arabesques” of the A major episode might be interpreted as referring to bird-song.
The underlying idea of a journey from darkness to light, from the shadows of death to transfiguration or resurrection to new life may be seen as relating to the topics of the "Marjatta" legend.

The "Christus sketch" (HUL 1537) and the influence of Liszt’s Christus oratorio have been connected to Sibelius’s Second Symphony (see Section 14.1). Sibelius heard Liszt’s oratorio and wrote the “Christus sketch” on his journey to Italy during the winter and spring of 1900–1901. The Second Symphony was perhaps the main work during that time, but he had several other plans, too: early sketches for Pohjola’s Daughter were notated in Italy, and according to Ekman, Sibelius wrote the first thematic idea for Night Ride and Sunrise in 1901 in Rome, i.e., seven years before the completion of the work. This first sketch for Night Ride and Sunrise may actually have been preserved. The manuscript HUL 1548 contains the opening idea of the work in C major, the date April 1, 1901, and the annotation Forum Romanum | Månsken ([Moonlight], see Facsimile XVI, cf. Example 14-2).

Example 14-2. Night Ride and Sunrise, mm. 1–4.

In fact, during his sojourn in Italy Sibelius also wrote another sketch, the musical material of which ended up in Night Ride and Sunrise. This sketch, featuring the opening of the “hymn” in the tone poem (rehearsal number 41 onwards), was written immediately above the annotation Christus in HUL 1537 (Facsimile XVII). Below this annotation Sibelius notated the thematic idea that can be heard in the slow movement of the Second Symphony (for the first time in mm. 98–101). Both Jalas and Tawaststjerna discuss the annotation as being connected with the Second Symphony. At first glance, this would seem to be the most obvious way to connect the verbal reference and the musical sketch: Christus would be written above the sketch as a kind of title. There is another possibility, however.

The hymn idea of Night Ride and Sunrise notated above the annotation Christus opens with

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40 It is not known whether Sibelius had any explicit programmatic idea behind the tone-poem. When discussing this work, Levas only refers to Sibelius’s impressions during a night journey at the turn of the century (Levas 1960, 55–56). The “religious atmosphere” of the tone poem was detected by Sibelius’s contemporaries. Georg Boldemann wrote to Arvid Järnefelt in December, 1912 (FLS Lit. Arch., Arvid Järnefelt letter archive 509:12:12): “The sunrise following the ‘night ride’ is deeply impressive in its religious atmosphere.” (“Der Sonnenaufgang nach dem prachtvollen ‘Nächtlicher Ritt’ ist in seiner religiösen Stimmung tief ergreifend.”). I am indebted to Mr. Hartikainen for this information.

41 Ekman 1935, 197; Levas 1960, 54–55.

42 According to Kilpeläinen (1992, 125), “as far as we know, Sibelius told Ekman that the motive for the main theme of Night Ride and Sunrise (1908) germinated as early as 1901 in Rome. No such manuscript has been found, however.” (“Sibelius on tiettävästi lausunut Ekmanille, että motiivi Öisen ratsastuksen ja auringonnousun (1908) päteemaan syntyi jo v. 1901 Roomassa. Tällaista käsikirjoitusta ei kuitenkaan ole löytynyt.”)

an ascending three-note progression $g^1-a^1-c^2$ (Facsimile XVII, cf. Example 14-3). In his book on Gustav Mahler, Constantin Floros discusses the use of this kind of progression as "symbol of the cross" in the works of 19th-century composers, such as Schumann, Mendelssohn, Liszt, and Mahler.\textsuperscript{44} Floros points out that Liszt called the three-note motive, ascending major second and minor third, deriving from the opening of the medieval sequence \textit{Crux fidelis}, as the "tonal symbol of the cross" (\textit{das tonische Symbol des Kreuzes}).\textsuperscript{45} There is no information as to whether Sibelius was familiar with the Lisztian idea of the "tonal symbol of the cross" or its use in the works of Liszt and other composers. Considering the very characteristic hymn in \textit{Night Ride and Sunrise} opening with the three-note idea, this seems entirely possible.\textsuperscript{46} Consequently, it is entirely possible that the annotation \textit{Christus} of HUL 1537 refers to the fragment notated above the annotation rather than the fragment below it.\textsuperscript{47}

\textbf{Example 14-3. The "Sunrise hymn" in Night Ride and Sunrise, mm. 427–438.}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{example14-3.png}
\end{figure}

In the Third Symphony there are no characteristic occurrences of the three-note idea comparable to those in \textit{Night Ride and Sunrise}.\textsuperscript{48} However, it seems that there may be a certain spiritual connection between the planned "Marjatta" oratorio, the Third Symphony, and the symphonic poem \textit{Night Ride and Sunrise}. The oratorio libretto was based on the elementary mysteries of the Christian faith, the mysteries of Christ's birth from a virgin, his death, and resurrection. It is possible that the Third Symphony bears reminiscences of this libretto and the mysteries behind it. The poetical idea of the symphonic poem also can be interpreted as a wandering from the shadows towards the light,

\textsuperscript{44} Floros 1977, 243–245, 256–259, and 407.  
\textsuperscript{45} In the same connection, Floros also refers to \textit{Dresdener Amen} figure (Floros 1977, 257). Another example of a "tonal symbol" deriving from a medieval chant, and surely an example better known than \textit{das tonische Symbol des Kreuzes}, is the beginning of the \textit{Dies irae} sequence melody.  
\textsuperscript{46} In addition to HUL 1537, there is other evidence for the hypothesis that Sibelius really planned the chorale material already years before the composition of the symphonic poem. In HUL 1632, the musical material of the 1901 sketch is connected with the chorale material, thus showing the close relationship between the sketch which might be the actual "Christus sketch" and the "Sunrise hymn" of the tone poem.  
\textsuperscript{47} If the validity of making conclusions concerning verbal annotations and musical sketches is accepted at all—a third possibility might be that the annotation refers to both fragments, or even to several fragments on the same manuscript, as a general idea associated with the musical material at that time.  
\textsuperscript{48} However, the progression G–A–C heard in different registers during the orchestral tutti in the first movement of the Symphony, mm. 29–34 (see, for instance, trombone part), and the parallel passage in the recapitulation might be mentioned in this connection.
redemption, and resurrection—towards new life. Perhaps Sibelius saw a connection between the sunrise of the symphonic poem, the outburst of the finale hymn of the Third Symphony, and the enthusiastic vision of resurrection in “Marjatta”, where the sun, transfigured as an eagle, descends on Christ's grave, opens it, and releases the Creator from death.
APPENDIX
COMPLETE CATALOGUE OF MUSICAL MANUSCRIPTS OF
SIBELIUS’S THIRD SYMPHONY

GUIDE TO THE CATALOGUE

1. Manuscript categories

In the catalogue, manuscripts have been divided into two categories:

I. Manuscripts directly related to the Third Symphony,
II. Manuscripts indirectly related to the Third Symphony.

In the first category are the manuscripts which contain musical material that was probably originally intended for the Symphony and also ended up in the final work. These manuscripts clearly and consistently outline the musical flow of passages having correspondence in the final score. It is to be noted that the sketches in this category may even contain musical material referring to other works than the Third Symphony, but the predominant property of the sketches belonging to category I is the close relationship with the musical material of the Symphony. References to other works are reported under the heading “Remarks.”

Manuscripts belonging to the second category are basically sketches for works other than the Third Symphony. However, these manuscripts also contain musical material that ended up in the Symphony. The work, the musical material of which is primarily present in the manuscript, is mentioned whenever possible.

2. Manuscript types

Manuscripts have been divided into six types as follows (see also Chapter 2):

A Thematic memos;
B Melodic sketches or drafts;
C Sketches or drafts featuring a melodic line with accompaniment or harmony;
D Sketches or drafts on more than two staves, without any or precise references to
   instrumentation;
E Orchestral (full score) drafts;
F Fair copies.

There may occur change of the manuscript type within the manuscript unit. In these cases, except the predominant manuscript type, the “secondary” type is given in brackets, for instance: B(C).
3. The Order of the Manuscripts

The order of manuscripts within the two categories is based on the numerical order of the signums in the Kilpeläinen catalogue (1991). Thus, the order of manuscripts is not chronological, but is based on other specific features (type, length, etc.) of manuscripts. As the catalogue signums given by Kilpeläinen (1991) are generally known as "HUL" codes, this abbreviation has been used. It is recommended to consult the Kilpeläinen catalogue for additional information on the manuscripts.

4. The Contents of the Catalogue

The catalogue is an overview to the manuscript material and the different manuscript types. It is not an exhaustive study of the material features of the manuscripts (papers, inks and pencils, etc.) but gives, as concisely as possible, the information that has been regarded as relevant when discussing the musical content of the manuscripts and the compositional process of the Symphony.

4.1 The Columns

Under the column heading "HUL/p(p).", the manuscript signum according to Kilpeläinen (1991) and the page on which the sketch or draft is to be found, has been given.

- The column "Type" refers to the manuscript types (A-F) discussed above.
- Under the heading "Measures" the number of measures in the sketch or the draft have been given. Empty measures (indicated by bar lines and sometimes implying repetition of the previous measure or measures), as well as measures which are crossed out, have been counted in the number of measures. If the measure lines are missing in the manuscript, the number of measures has been approximated on the basis of the meter in the corresponding passage of the final work. If the meter in the sketch or draft differs from that in the final score, in has been given in square brackets (for instance, [6/4]).
- Sometimes it is not possible to define the exact correspondence between the musical material or the passage seen in the manuscript and the final work. When this correspondence can be defined, however, this has been given in the column "Corresponding measures in the final work." When the correspondence is not direct and unambiguous, the measure(s) have been given in parentheses ( ).
- The column "Example/Facsimile; key (if different from the final one); remarks" refers to the Example and the Facsimile in the present study. This column also contains other information about the manuscript, such as the key of the passage (if different from that in the final work), significant references to other works in the manuscript, etc.

5. References and abbreviations

Works bearing an opus number have been referred to with that number:

Op. 6  Cassazione, 1904/1905
Op. 41  Kylikki (Drei lyrische Stücke für Klavier), 1904
APPENDIX 145

Op. 43 Symphony No. 2, D major, 1902
Op. 44/2 Valse triste, from incidental music to Arvid Järnefelt’s play Kuolema (Death), Op. 44, 1904
Op. 47 Violin Concerto, D minor
Op. 49 Pohjolan tytär (Pohjola’s Daughter), 1906

Op. 51 No. 2b Den judiska flickans sång, from the incidental music to Hjalmar Procopé’s play Belshazzar’s Feast, 1906
Op. 53 Pan und Echo, 1906
Op. 56 String Quartet, D minor (Voces intimae), 1909
Op. 59 In memoriam
Op. 63 Symphony No. 4, A minor, 1911
Op. 66/1 Die Jagd, first movement of Scènes historiques II, 1912
Op. 66/II Minnelied, second movement of Op. 66

Musical materials, and passages within movements have been referred to with the following abbreviations (on the basis of the discussion in Parts I and II of this study; references to the first appearance of these materials only):

**First movement**

The main sections of the movement (exposition, development, recapitulation) have been referred to with abbreviations (exp., dev., recap.)

Op. th. Thematic material of the opening (mm. 1–17, strings)
D.-rh. The “dotted-rhythm” idea/passage (mm. 20–26, the first violins)
M.-k. pass. The minor-key passage (mm. 40–54)
16th fig. The “sixteenth-note figuration” (mm. 54ff., strings)
WW. idea The “woodwind idea” (mm. 61–67, also in horns)

**Second Movement**

M. th. The main thematic material of the movement (mm. 4–37, woodwind)

**Third Movement**

H. th. The “hymn theme” (mm. 246ff., strings)

**Other abbreviations**

HUL Helsinki University Library
m(m). measure(s)
mvt movement
p(p). page(s)
st. staff/staves
Musical manuscripts of the Third Symphony

I Manuscripts directly related to the Third Symphony

FIRST MOVEMENT

<table>
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<tr>
<th>HUL/ p(p.)</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Corresponding measures in final movement</th>
<th>Example/Facsimile; remarks; key (if not C major)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0204/ 4</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>ca. 20</td>
<td>40–ca. 59</td>
<td>Draft containing material that ended up in Op. 66/1; st. 1: idea that ended up in Op. 53; pp. 1–3, 5–7: drafts for Op. 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0210/ 2</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 30</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ex. 4-19/Facsimile IV, p. 1: draft for Op. 49</td>
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<tr>
<td>0224/ 3</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
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<td>0225/ 11</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>48</td>
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<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 10</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Op. th. + WW, idea</td>
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<td>92</td>
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<td>1–8</td>
<td>M.-k. pass. beginning in C minor</td>
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<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25–(40)</td>
<td>M.-k. pass. beginning in C minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>ca. 25</td>
<td>25–(49)</td>
<td>Ex. 4-13 (and other fragments)</td>
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<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>M.-k. pass. beginning in E minor (?)</td>
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<td>102</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>ca. 33</td>
<td>29–(49)</td>
<td>D.-rh. pass.</td>
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<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29–(33)</td>
<td>17 measures bass-line (?) only; in mm. 16–17 the op. th.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(25–)</td>
<td>Contrapuntal settings of the 16th fig., d.-rh. idea, and the op. th., probably for the dev.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0229/ 1–20</td>
<td>F (E)</td>
<td>ca. 254</td>
<td>25–276</td>
<td>Orchestral fragment (early version); paginated 3–22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0232/ 1–3</td>
<td>E (F)</td>
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<td>1–28 (29–32)</td>
<td>Paginated 2–3</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(29–33)</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>(17+?) 5</td>
<td>127–129</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>(126–)</td>
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<tr>
<td>0234/ 1</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>53–62</td>
<td>Two drafts for the dev.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>229–?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>ca. 80</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>96–100</td>
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<td>HUL/ p(p)</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Measures</td>
<td>Corresponding measures in final movement</td>
<td>Example/Facsimile; remarks; key (if not C major)</td>
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<tr>
<td>0236</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>273–276</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0237/ 1a</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>ca. 60</td>
<td>231–concl.</td>
<td>Ex. 4-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>231–241</td>
<td>Two-staff draft featuring horn parts only</td>
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<td>0247/ 1</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>ca. 40</td>
<td>1–17</td>
<td>Rhythm at the opening ( \frac{3}{4} ) (alla breve?) 16th fig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Drafts (four?) for the op. th., beginning with the W.W. idea (with tempo indication Allegro moderato); one fragment annotated Commencio and showing the final op. th.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0248</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 90</td>
<td>1–13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0249/ 1</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>25–?</td>
<td>Ex. 4-10; two fragments (9 and 10 measures) showing a transition to the m.-k. pass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 40</td>
<td>85–?</td>
<td>Drafts (two?) for the dev.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1–17, 60–67</td>
<td>Ex. 4-1; three drafts for the op. th. (11, 7, and 16 measures), draft for mm. 60–67 (13 measures)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0250/ 1</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 130</td>
<td>1–(75)</td>
<td>Continuity draft for the exp.; tempo indication Allegro Molto; including an idea that ended up in Op. 66/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>B, C</td>
<td>ca. 58</td>
<td>1–</td>
<td>Three drafts for the op. th. (ca. 7, ca. 20, and 15 measures); sketch for the W.W. idea and 16th fig. (6 measures)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 110</td>
<td>1–?</td>
<td>Ex. 4-18; continuity draft for the exp.; metronome marking ( J = 126 )</td>
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<tr>
<td>0251</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 16</td>
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<td>16th fig.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>B (C)</td>
<td>ca. 30</td>
<td>1–(12)</td>
<td>Two drafts for the op. th. (ca. 18 and 12 measures)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1–19</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1–(12)</td>
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<td>0253/ 1</td>
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<td>ca. 35</td>
<td>99–?</td>
<td>Two drafts for the dev. (18 and ca. 17 measures)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2–3</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca 46</td>
<td>105–?</td>
<td>Two drafts for the dev. (12 and ca. 34 measures)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Sketch probably for the dev.; p. 5; sketch for Op. 49</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 24</td>
<td>(120–?)</td>
<td>Draft possibly showing the transition to the latter part of the dev.; p. 7, st. 8; sketch for Op. 63 (Fourth Symphony), IV mvt?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0254/ 1–2</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 100</td>
<td>1–</td>
<td>Ex. 4-2/Facsimile 1; continuity draft for the exp. and the beginning of the dev., cont. on p. 3 (19 measures, mm. 85–99)</td>
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<td>HUL/ p(p.)</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Measures</td>
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<td>Example/Facsimile; remarks; key (if not C major)</td>
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<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 C</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>(105–?)</td>
<td>Two drafts (32 and 19 measures) for the end of the exp. and the beginning of the dev. (see also p. 1–2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0255/ 1 C</td>
<td>ca. 55</td>
<td>61–; 1–</td>
<td>Draft for the end of the exp. (10 measures), several fragmentary sketches featuring the op. th.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 C</td>
<td>ca. 15</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Three (four?) fragmentary sketches for the op. th. and WW. idea.</td>
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<tr>
<td>0256/ 1–2 B (C)</td>
<td>ca. 112</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ex. 4-4a; continuity draft for the exp., including the “note-repetition idea”</td>
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<tr>
<td>0257/ 1 B, C</td>
<td>ca. 47</td>
<td>1–16, (72–)</td>
<td>Four sketches for the end of the exp. or coda (3, 6, 7, and 3 measures), draft for the op. th. (ca. 28 measures) and the opening of the dev.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2–3 C, B</td>
<td>ca. 44</td>
<td>1–19</td>
<td>Draft for the op. th. (p. 2: 28 measures; p. 3: 2 measures), p. 2: a sketch (5 measures) and a draft (ca. 9 measures) for the dev.</td>
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<tr>
<td>0258/ 1–3 B, C</td>
<td>ca. 76</td>
<td>99–(168)</td>
<td>Continuity draft (ca. 55 measures) and fragmentary sketches featuring material for the dev. and the beginning of recap.</td>
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<tr>
<td>0259/ 1 B (C)</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>Draft containing the “note-repetition idea”; annotation (in Swedish): Transponeras B (“to be transposed to B”)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 A</td>
<td>ca. 17</td>
<td>(250–270)</td>
<td>Sketch for the coda material; F major?</td>
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<tr>
<td>0260 B</td>
<td>ca. 36</td>
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<td>Ex. 4-3/Facsimile II; draft for the first group, also containing the “note-repetition idea”</td>
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<tr>
<td>0261/ 1 D (B)</td>
<td>ca. 15</td>
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<td>Ex. 4-12</td>
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<tr>
<td>0262 C</td>
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<td>Two fragmentary (ca. 3 measures each) sketches featuring the 16th fig.</td>
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<tr>
<td>0263/ 1–2 B (C)</td>
<td>ca. 12</td>
<td>1–</td>
<td>Fragmentary sketches featuring the op. th. and the 16th fig.; p. 1: sketch for Op. 51, No. 2b</td>
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<tr>
<td>0264 B</td>
<td>ca. 23</td>
<td>40–</td>
<td>Ex. 4-11</td>
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<tr>
<td>0265 C</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(111–?)</td>
<td>Fragmentary sketch for the dev.</td>
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<tr>
<td>0266/ 1–2 B (C)</td>
<td>ca. 33</td>
<td>40–</td>
<td>Ex. 4-14a</td>
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<td>0267/ 1 C</td>
<td>ca. 61</td>
<td>1–?</td>
<td>Continuity draft for the first group, also containing the “note-repetition idea”</td>
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<tr>
<td>1586/ 2 A</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19–20</td>
<td>Two fragmentary sketches featuring the d.-rh. idea and the “bucolic theme” (woodwinds, m. 19–20)</td>
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### APPENDIX

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<tr>
<th>HUL/ p(p).</th>
<th>Type</th>
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<th>Example/Facsimile; remarks; key (if not C major)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1607/ 1-2</td>
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<td>ca. 26</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>16th fig. (dev.?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1622/ 3</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 32</td>
<td>1-26</td>
<td>Rhythm at the opening J J J</td>
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<tr>
<td>1660/ 3</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 23</td>
<td>Fragmentary sketches featuring the WW. idea (ca. 17 measures) and the first group material corresponding mm. 29ff. in the final work (6 measures)</td>
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#### SECOND MOVEMENT

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<th>Type</th>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Corresponding measures in final movement</th>
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<tr>
<td>0226/ 1-31 (53-84)</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>Paginated 1-20, 22-29</td>
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<tr>
<td>0230/ 1-34</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>Ex. 5-1/ Facsimile V; early version of the movement (paginated 1-34)</td>
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<tr>
<td>0237/ 1-3</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>41-94</td>
<td>Paginated 1-3; some measures written in &quot;shorthand notation&quot; (a, b, c, etc.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>ca. 10</td>
<td>13-21?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>A (B)</td>
<td>ca. 60</td>
<td>15-95</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>0266/ 3</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>ca. 11</td>
<td>Draft for the m. th.; A minor</td>
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<tr>
<td>0268</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sketch for the m. th.; G minor (?)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>0270/ 2</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>ca. 68</td>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Ex. 5-3; m. th. followed by material for Op. 6; C Minor</td>
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<tr>
<td>0272/ 2</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sketch for the m. th.; p. 1-2: material that ended up in Op. 6 and Op. 66/I; C minor/major (Ex. 4-15a)</td>
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<tr>
<td>0273</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 30-36</td>
<td>130-155</td>
<td>Ex. 5-7/ Facsimile VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0274/ 2</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>58 [4/4]</td>
<td>Ex. 5-4/ draft containing m. th. material, and material that ended up in Op. 6; C minor; p. 1: draft for Op. 6 and orchestral sketch for Op. 66/I</td>
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<tr>
<td>1538/ 2</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ex. 5-2/ Facsimile V; A minor</td>
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<td>1569/ 2</td>
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<td>Draft for the m. th.; A minor</td>
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## THIRD MOVEMENT

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<th>HUL/ p(p.)</th>
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<th>Corresponding measures in final movement</th>
<th>Example/Facsimile; remarks; key (if not C major)</th>
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<tr>
<td>0225/ 44</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(3–4, 7–8)</td>
<td>Ex. 6-1a; sketch containing the “fifth motive” in C minor</td>
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<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 5</td>
<td>255–260?</td>
<td>Ex. 6-5; st. 1–2: Fragment of the h. th.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 6</td>
<td>173–?</td>
<td>Ex. 6-5; st. 5–6: “diminished seventh/fifth motive”</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>48–49</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>ca. 10</td>
<td>51–?</td>
<td>Ex. 6-5; m. pass. material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>263–269</td>
<td>Fair copy containing many emendations; without copyist's markings; paginated I–48</td>
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<tr>
<td>0226/ 1–48 (85–133)</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Orchestral fragment, paginated 29 and 13</td>
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<tr>
<td>0227</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>229–243</td>
<td>Orchestral fragment, paginated 45–46 (p. 45 also 20)</td>
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<tr>
<td>0228/ 1–2</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>342–351</td>
<td>Facsimile XII (pp. 9–10); Orchestral draft, paginated 1–19</td>
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<tr>
<td>0231/ 1–20</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>ca. 199</td>
<td>246–</td>
<td>Movement beginning with material that ended up in Op. 66/II</td>
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<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6–25</td>
<td>Facsimile VIII (p. 1); movement beginning with material that ended up in Op. 66/II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>14 (3/2)</td>
<td>1–</td>
<td></td>
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<td>0238/ 1–3</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>26 (3/2)</td>
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<td>0239/ 1–6</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>186–242</td>
<td>Continuation for HUL 0242/11–12</td>
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<tr>
<td>0240/ 1–2</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>ca. 22</td>
<td>41–59</td>
<td>See also HUL 0241/1–8</td>
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<td>3–4</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>142–161</td>
<td>Facsimile XI (p. 4)</td>
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<tr>
<td>0241/ 1–8</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>60–140</td>
<td>Continuation for HUL 0240/1–2?</td>
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<tr>
<td>0242/ 1–10</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>60–164</td>
<td>Continuation for HUL 0246/2–4?</td>
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<td>11–12</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>164–185</td>
<td>See also HUL 0239</td>
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<td>0243/ 1–2</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>13–37</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>162</td>
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<td>0245</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1–12</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>0246/ 1</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18–40</td>
<td>Staves 1–8: draft for mm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2–4</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1–59</td>
<td>See also HUL 0246/2–4</td>
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<tr>
<td>0269/ 2</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>ca. 95 (2/2!)</td>
<td>246–?, ca. 3–39</td>
<td>Ex. 6–3; h. th. and opening material; B major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0271/ 1</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 60–70</td>
<td>197–247</td>
<td>Draft for the hymn section</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>ca. 81 (2/2?)</td>
<td>(266–?)</td>
<td>Ex. 6–6; B3 major</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1618/ 1</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>ca. 30 (2/4?)</td>
<td>246–</td>
<td>Draft for the hymn section (entire?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1635/ 2–4</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>246–</td>
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II Manuscripts indirectly related to the Third Symphony

### FIRST MOVEMENT

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<th>HUL/</th>
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<th>Type</th>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Corresponding measures in final movement</th>
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<td>0199/2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>B (C)</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>Ex. 4-17; draft containing material for Ständchen, Op. 58 No. 9, and an idea for Op. 49; G minor?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0207</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>“dotted-rhythm idea” connected with material that ended up in Op. 49</td>
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<tr>
<td>0272/1</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 55</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ex. 4-15a; draft containing material for Opp. 6 and 66/1; C major–C minor</td>
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<td>0450/6</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ex. 4-16/Facsimile III; pp. 2–7: drafts for Op. 47; p. 1 dated Tärminne. October, 1902, p. 2 dated 23 Sept. [1902]</td>
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<tr>
<td>1567/2</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>21 [4/4];</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ex. 4-7a; four fragments (9, 4, 4, and 4 measures) combining the “dotted-rhythm idea” with the opening idea of Op. 41; p. 1: draft for Op. 6; D♭ major</td>
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<tr>
<td>1570/2</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>8 [4/4]</td>
<td>18–20</td>
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<td>Ex. 4-6</td>
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### SECOND MOVEMENT

Sketches and drafts of the “chorale passage” (mm. 84–90 in the final score) can be found in several manuscripts of Op. 49: HUL 0163, 0173, 0204, 0208, 0215, and 0221.

<table>
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<td>0218/2</td>
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<td>Ex. 5-6; “note repetition idea” and chorale material; p. 1: sketches for Op. 6 and Op. 49; C major</td>
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<td>0300/4</td>
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<td>[4/4]</td>
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<td>Ex. 5-5; chorale material connected with material for Op. 59; pp. 1–6: sketches and drafts for Op. 59, see also Ex. 4-5b; C♭ minor</td>
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## THIRD MOVEMENT

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<th>Type</th>
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<tr>
<td>0225/ 44</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>4 [6/4]</td>
<td>Ex. 6-1a; sketch for the opening material; on the same page fragments featuring the “fifth motive”</td>
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<tr>
<td>0269/ 1</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 50; ğ−6/4</td>
<td>Ex. 6-2/Facsimile IX; “piano piece,” material that ended up in the beginning of the movement; B major</td>
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<tr>
<td>0849/ 1−2</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>ca. 55 [3/4]</td>
<td>Ex. 6-4/Facsimile X (p. 1); &quot;Diminished seventh/fifth motive&quot; connected with material for Op. 44/2</td>
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FACSIMILES
Factimile I. HUL 0254/1.
Facsimile II. HUL 0260.
Facsimile III. HUL 0450/6.
Facsimile IV. HUL 0210/2.
Facsimile VI. HUL 1538/2.
Facsimile VII. HUL 0273.
Facsimile VIII. HUL 0238/1.
Facsimile IX. HUL 0269/1.
Facsimile X. HUL 084911.
Facsimile XI. HUL 0240/4.
Facsimile XII. HUL 0231/9-10
Facsimile XIII. HUL 0471/1-2.
Facsimile XIV. HUL 1593/1.
Facsimile XV. HUL 1580/2.
Facsimile XVI. HUL 1548/2.
Facsimile XVII. HUL 153711.
Abbreviations

- *Proceedings 1990* = *Proceedings from the First International Jean Sibelius Conference.*


- *SibF II* = *Sibelius Forum II. Proceedings from the Third International Jean Sibelius Conference.*


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<td>NA</td>
<td>National Archives of Finland (Helsinki)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NA, SFA</td>
<td>National Archives of Finland, Sibelius Family Archive</td>
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***


- Kajanus, Robert. 1907. “Sibeliuksen viime sävellykset [Sibelius’s Latest Compositions].” *Päivä* No. 3 (October 24, 1907).


- Tovey, Donald Francis. 1972 [1935]. *Essays in Musical Analysis II*. London: Oxford University Press.


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• Carpelan, Axel. Letters to Jean Sibelius. NA, SFA, file box 18.


• Finne, Jalmari. Letters to Anna Sarlin. Microfilm; NA, Jalmari Finne Archive, PR 170.
  — Letters to Helmi Setälä. Microfilm; NA, Jalmari Finne Archive, PR 173.
  — Letters to Jean Sibelius. HUL, Sibelius Archive, Coll. 206.11.

• Jalas, Jussi. Notes from discussions with Sibelius (from the years 1939–1957). NA, SFA, file box 1.

• Lienau, Robert. Letters to Jean Sibelius. NA, SFA, file box 46.

• Pajanne, Martti. A manuscript describing Sibelius as a conductor. NA, SFA, file box 1.

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