

Jean Sibelius in the 1930s. Photograph by Fred Runeberg. Reproduced courtesy of Kristian Runeberg and the Sibelius Museum.

THE SIBELIUS COMPANION

Edited by
Glenda Dawn Goss



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Yet the orchestra lay at the heart of his most brilliant conceptions, and his experiences as a conductor, whether in Helsinki's Swedish Theater, with Robert Kajanus's* orchestra, or with the numerous foreign orchestras he conducted as a guest in Göteborg, Berlin, Riga, St. Petersburg, Liverpool, London, New York, and elsewhere enriched his musical imagination immeasurably. In conversations and in his diary Sibelius emphasized the importance of working with an orchestra. He called such experiences "orchestral baths" and, when composition gave him problems, chided himself for having been away from the orchestra too long.

Along with these sonic experiences, there was the important task of finding time to be alone. Although he sometimes complained about his *Alleingefühl*, these were the times when Sibelius experienced life most deeply and when his work advanced significantly. He achieved this isolation at Ainola, his rural, lakeside home, but he claimed he could also find it in such large cities as Berlin, London, or Paris (although not in Helsinki, which was not large during Sibelius's lifetime and which contained far too many social distractions). When he was at home, the testimony of his family indicates that he hit his creative stride in the evening. Whether responding to habits formed during his adolescent rebellion or forced by the necessity of trying to find quiet in a household with five small children, Sibelius worked long into the night (and slept well into the day). Even then, his creative life suffered its ups and downs (like the waves, he once observed). He complained of being unable to concentrate. He labored arduously one day and discarded its fruits the next. He found himself worried by life's urgent, banal necessities and by the petty concerns with which all humans are beset. Although the diary reveals these and other frustrations, more than any other documents it is the composer's music manuscripts, with their jottings, their numerous revisions, their colored pencil deletions and emendations, that disclose most eloquently the extraordinary labor that attended the birth and growth of his compositions and that chart the stages through which his major works progressed.

11

Sibelius's Seventh Symphony: An Introduction to the Manuscript and Printed Sources

Kari Kilpeläinen

Translated and revised by James Hepokoski

For the most part the origins of Sibelius's Seventh Symphony, op. 105 (1924), have been shrouded in mystery.¹ Sibelius himself made few comments about the work, and although much sketch material survives, commentators have restricted their attention to the completed score. Thus, its elaborate early compositional history, during which the work assumed a variety of provisional shapes, has remained unknown. Similarly, no attention has been paid to the symphony's history between the time of its completion in manuscript and its actual publication.

We are now in a position, however, to shed new light both on the birth of the Seventh Symphony and on the correction and checking procedures during the period of its publication.² This is because the Helsinki University Library (hereafter referred to by its acronym as HUL) has for some time had in its possession a large collection of Sibelius manuscripts, the most remarkable portion of which was donated by the composer's heirs. The collection includes many different types of manuscripts, ranging from the earliest sketches to the published works, some of which contain Sibelius's subsequent markings. It is important to stress here not only the quantity of this material, but also its quality. Until recently the originally disorganized and uncatalogued collection was difficult to use, but the necessary organizational work has now been done, and all of the materials have been arranged and assigned catalogue numbers.³ A new era of Sibelius scholarship has been opened.

The HUL collection contains an abundance of material relating to the Seventh Symphony,⁴ which was first planned as a multimovement work but was eventually completed as a one-movement symphony. This material comprises numerous early sketches (dozens of folios and bifolios, catalogued as HUL 0348/2, 0360–0404, which may be supplemented, as will be seen, with a crucial sketchbook in the National Archives of Finland [Kansallisarkisto]); nine longer drafts

or fragments thereof (HUL 0355, 0355/2, 0355/3, 0356–0359, 0386–0387, the last two of which are apparently early drafts of later discarded movements); the autograph score itself (HUL 0349), which served as the *Stichvorlage* for the publisher Wilhelm Hansen of Copenhagen, along with several “early” pages removed from that score and provided with revised replacements (HUL 0350–0354); one set of proofs for the orchestral score (HUL 1794); and one printed edition with minor corrections and a few metronome markings in Sibelius’s hand (HUL 1793).

It is the purpose here to provide a chronological overview of this material. Interpreting the picture that emerges from the sketches, however, must be done cautiously. It is likely, for instance, that the HUL collection does not include every sketch that Sibelius made for the symphony, and from time to time we shall be obliged to fill in the gaps through speculation. Moreover, it may be that the collection contains additional preparatory sketches once considered for the Seventh Symphony, but never developed further; these have had to be classified as “unidentifiable” sketches. We should also recognize, of course, that many of the composer’s most important decisions about the work’s genesis are undocumentable—and are hence destined to remain secrets. Put together from sketches and other related sources, the picture presented here is only one interpretation of the available information.

EARLY MOTIVIC SKETCHES

Work on the Principal “Adagio Theme”

Although Sibelius first mentioned the possibility of a Seventh Symphony in a diary entry on December 18, 1917 (“I have Symphonies VI and VII in my head”),⁵ some of the material that wound up in the Seventh Symphony existed even earlier. On HUL 0390, dating from late 1914 or early 1915—the time of the initial sketches for the Fifth Symphony⁶—Sibelius assembled several short, often unbarred (and often unclear) melodies into a rudimentary table for a possible future work. Here most of the melodies are accompanied by Roman numerals from I to IV—suggestions for movement numbers. While many of these themes or motives are unrecognizable, some anticipate those from Sibelius’s later works. One is shown in Example 11.1. Beside this theme is a black pencil movement number III, and next to that, probably added later, is a red pencil movement number II. This motive would seem to be one of the first shapes of those ideas belonging to the Seventh Symphony’s “Adagio family”—those themes that would eventually appear in the slow opening section of the symphony. In fact, the idea in Example 11.1 may be their principal ancestor. This motive appears twice on the HUL 0390 folio. In Example 11.1 it implies either C minor or E-flat major, but its other appearance is written a fifth or augmented fifth higher (depending on the implied key signature)—probably in G-sharp minor or B major (Example 11.1).

Example 11.1



This melodic shape also appears (in B major) in another central document of the 1914–1915 period: the National Archives sketchbook that Tawaststjerna had examined to determine the genesis of the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies.⁷ Another, even more significant, theme from 1914–1915 that is manifestly related may also be found in the National Archives sketchbook. This is the important 7/4 theme (Example 11.2), first intended for the projected *Lento* (and later the *Adagio*) movement of the Fifth Symphony—a movement that Sibelius eventually excluded from his plans for that work.⁸ Even though this 7/4 theme would never be used in the Fifth Symphony, as originally planned, after numerous later reshaping it would eventually be transformed and incorporated into the central trombone theme of the Seventh (first heard 7 mm. after rehearsal letter C).⁹

Example 11.2



To return to the early sketch HUL 0390: In addition to the melodic shape shown in Example 11.1 we find here another important idea, labeled *II Larghetto* (Example 11.3). This melody is an early version of what would become the motive first sounded in the flutes in the final version of the Seventh, m. 8 (5 mm. before A). As with the idea transcribed in Example 11.1, this too appears twice, although the second appearance is written a third lower. On different, later pages, this *larghetto* idea surfaces in different melodic variants, although its basic rhythm—at least at this point—is always kept constant. One such variant may be found on the bifolio HUL 0363, transcribed in Example 11.4.

Example 11.3



Example 11.4



Curiously, the characteristic rhythmic stamp of these *larghetto* variants had actually originated much earlier. Their rhythmic model (Example 11.5) is to be found in a different, later portion of the National Archives sketchbook (p. 23) that was devoted to a theme table for a projected Sixth Symphony: at this point

Example 11.5 was to be the theme of its second movement.¹⁰ The intervals of this theme, of course, would ultimately wind up as a crucial feature of the middle movement of the Fifth Symphony, and, as has been demonstrated, they would also form the core of the principal theme of the Fifth's finale.¹¹ The larger point for us is to see the otherwise concealed interconnection between the *largo* idea proper—as found in m. 8 of the Seventh Symphony, for instance—and its related variants in the Fifth. Finally, it should be added that although Sibelius did abandon the characteristic rhythmic stamp for the *largo* theme proper as it appears in the Seventh Symphony, that rhythm does emphatically appear shortly thereafter (for example, 3 mm. after C, where the function of this rhythm, among other things, is to form the broad, preparatory ascent up to the trombone theme itself). Example 11.5 from the National Archives sketchbook, page 23, was originally planned for the Sixth Symphony:

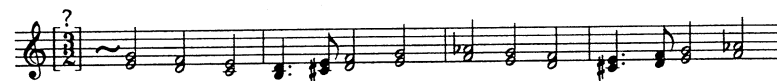
Example 11.5



There is thus a close relationship between the early examples of what we now classify as Seventh Symphony sketches (although Sibelius, of course, did not think of them as such at the time) and the ideas found in the 1914–1915 National Archives sketchbook, a document associated primarily with the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies. But the interconnections and thematic exchanges between works go much further than this. As an example, two of the motives that would eventually be used in the Sixth Symphony were also considered (in a later sketchbook, HUL 0395) for the never-completed multimovement symphonic poem, *Kuutar* (“[Feminine] Moon Spirit”). One of these themes is marked with a “I” and is thus assigned to the first movement (*Talvi*, “Winter”); the other is marked with a “IV,” indicating the finale (*Hongatar ja tuuli*, “[Feminine] Pine Spirit and the Wind”).¹² All of these things were originally part of the creative planning that surrounded the conception of the Fifth Symphony—far and away the main concern of the National Archives sketchbook.

Finally, it should be added that elements of a third member of the Seventh Symphony's *Adagio* family appear on another early sketch (HUL 0366). Here it exists in connection with the Fifth Symphony finale theme, the “Swan Hymn.”¹³ This important third member—shown in Example 11.6—is a simple stepwise descent followed immediately by a stepwise re-ascent, with the whole reiterated in a sequence a step higher.

Example 11.6



Its final version—written in quarter notes—is to be found in the Seventh Symphony, beginning 2 mm. after letter A. On the same page one finds further variants of the dotted rhythm *largo* motive shown in Example 11.4.

The Adagio Material in the Later 1910s: The “D major Period”

In the extensive sketchbook HUL 0395—the same one that contains the projected theme table for *Kuutar*—is a D major appearance of the principal *Adagio* motive.

Example 11.7

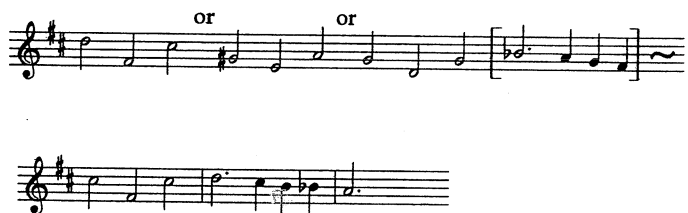


By this point, the theme's opening two measures have acquired both their 3/2 meter and their characteristic contour, one that would consistently reappear (with minor variants) as their defining feature, even though subsequent continuations would differ. Here the three initial descending notes are followed by an upward leap and immediate stepwise descent—a shape somewhat similar to that of the motive's original forms.¹⁴ The particular contour shown in Example 11.7, although always functioning as the incipit to a much longer, expansive continuation, may be considered the generative idea for the eventual Seventh Symphony. In the final work, it is first heard as part of the intensification *en route* to the trombone theme. Its embedded appearance in the second violins at rehearsal letter B is of crucial importance, and it is also part of the continuation of the trombone theme (5 mm., trombone, and 4 mm., oboe, horn before D), itself a variant of the *Adagio* motive.

HUL 0395 also contains some closely related D major variants: One of these contains a half-rest instead of the initial f-sharp.¹ Some related sketches from HUL 0395, shown in Example 11.8, seem to have given rise to what would become the continuation of the trombone theme (see the printed score, mm. 3–4 after D, and the passage from 2 mm. before to 6 mm. after E). The HUL 0395 sketchbook also contains examples of ascending scales, which may foreshadow the opening of the eventual Seventh Symphony. Further on in the same sketchbook, starting from page 24, the *Adagio* material is the basis for a sketch of two

lines. The second melodic voice, however, is hardly independent; rather it exists primarily to indicate the harmony, and before long the texture thins out once again to unaccompanied melodies. On page 29 one finds a theme table that includes *Kuutar* motives.

Example 11.8



This table also contains a variant of the *Adagio* theme in D major that now bears the movement name *Tähtölä* ("Where the Stars Dwell").¹⁵ It would seem that at some point Sibelius was thinking of this D major *Adagio* idea as part of the never-completed *Kuutar* ("Moon Spirit") plan. One might further speculate that Sibelius's "private," starry-vault connotations for this idea might have tacitly survived in the opening of the eventual Seventh Symphony.

Later in the 1910s Sibelius sketched longer, D major melodic lines based on the same *Adagio* material. In these more extended sketches, each about 30 to 36 measures long, one also finds the suggestions of at least some additional harmonic voices. One of these longer sketches, from HUL 0364, is shown in Example 11.9 (in which, for the sake of clarity, the scattered "extra" voices have been omitted.)¹⁶ By this point in the sketches—at least considered retrospectively—it is clear that Sibelius was centering on what would become the climactic moment of the opening *Adagio*: the first full unfurling of the "trombone theme" (although its eventual instrumentation is by no means implied in the sketch) and its subsequent continuation. Thus, Example 11.9, HUL 0364, throughout a step higher than the final version, may be compared with the passage of the printed score that extends from 7 mm. after C—the "trombone theme"—to 6 mm. after E). Given our knowledge of prior sketches, mm. 7 and 8 here (cf. mm. 4–5 before D) are particularly significant, and one of Sibelius's main compositional "problems" seems to have been to find material to lead into them. In any event, we might also notice that the opening of Example 11.9—the beginning of the theme itself—would undergo much further reshaping, while the continuation—from Example 11.9, m. 7 onward—is close to that of the final version.

In any event, it is clear that in the latter half of the 1910s Sibelius was much preoccupied with this theme and was consciously developing it in D major. It is difficult to be certain, however, that he had decided upon an eventual home for this theme, or even in what kind of work it would appear. This seems to be the case for the periods both before and after the *Kuutar* project.

Example 11.9

The *Adagio* Material in the Early 1920s: "The C Major Period"

Although prior to the 1920s Sibelius's principal attention seems to have been fixed on the differing forms of the *Adagio* theme and its melodic continuations, the later sketches show a shift of attention to its contrapuntal voices and consequent harmonization. On several manuscripts from this period one finds a variety of sketches—only they are no longer in D, but rather in C major. At times the secondary voices move in identical rhythms with the theme, either in parallel or in contrary motion. At other times the *Adagio* theme functions as a kind of cantus firmus that gives rise to more rapid contrapuntal figuration above or below it; or the contrapuntal voice may imitate the theme itself. Clearly, these sketches

give the unmistakable impression that although Sibelius was strongly attracted to this *Adagio* idea, he was still uncertain about how it was to be used.

In addition to his search for contrapuntal voices, Sibelius was also concerned with other things. After all, he had produced this long melody to be the source for the rest of the music—prefaces, continuations, and so on. It was natural, then, that he would now move toward the production of longer, conceptual sketches. On one folio (HUL 0369, which also bears the written page number 3), there is a 30-measure, C major melody based on the *Adagio* motive with a few additional contrapuntal voices.¹⁷ Supplementing this, there are about 35 more measures, probably its continuation, on a related, though separate bifolio (HUL 0370, whose pages are numbered 5 and 6. The presumably related sketches that would have been pages 1, 2, and 4 are missing). In this fragmentary version, the *Adagio* material is expanded near its end through the use of different material. Here we find the first known form of the music eventually to be found between rehearsal letters F and G as well as the polyphony after G in the printed score. This type of sketch recalls the same sort of procedure found in a draft of the second movement of the Fifth Symphony (HUL 0334), on which Sibelius planned the measure-to-measure continuity of the entire movement by writing it exclusively as a melodic line.

Along with the melodic sketches, the multivoiced sketches were also beginning to change in the early 1920s. In these fuller sketches the C major *Adagio* music was now written on two staves, its length often expanded to more than thirty measures. At the beginning, or more frequently, at the top of such sketches, Sibelius usually wrote the word, *Adagio*, although one page is marked *Adagio di molto*. In addition he sometimes indicated a relevant movement number—invariably “II”—within the work. Multivoice sketches may be found on HUL 0361, 0362, 0381, and 0396. The opening of one of the shorter sketches, transcribed from HUL 0361, is shown in Example 11.10.

When compared with the sketch shown in Example 11.9, that of Example 11.10 seems closer to the eventual “trombone theme” found 7 mm. after C (although with its canceled B natural in m. 2, its opening two bars also recall the contour of the sketch in Example 11.6). On HUL 0361, the music of Example 11.10 proceeds for sixteen more measures. These measures begin with material similar to that in the printed score, mm. 1–8 before E. The next six measures differ from the music at E, mm. 1–6, but the sketch’s final two measures are recognizable as an early version of mm. 7–8 after E. Apart from any such close comparisons, the crucial point is this: At this stage of composition Sibelius was considering the *Adagio* theme to be a basic block of a multimovement work. And, most likely, this block was to be the second movement of a projected three- or (even more likely) four-movement Seventh Symphony. We shall return to this issue of the “multimovement” Seventh Symphony shortly.

Example 11.10

Other Motives (c. 1915–1920)

Up to this point we have been concerned only with the motives that generated the *Adagio* theme, but these are not the only ones in the Seventh Symphony that date from the mid-1910s. On the other side of the early theme table for the Fifth Symphony in HUL 0390, we find some melodic sketches that include the same kinds of sextuplets that would later occur in the Seventh Symphony (as, for example, following letter N and preceding the *Allegro molto moderato*). We also find an ascending arpeggio motive that seems clearly to foreshadow aspects of the scherzo-like material characteristic of the *Allegro molto moderato* (which begins on p. 40, 13 mm. after N).¹⁸ This arpeggio motive also occurs on two other pages, both apparently written at about the same time: The latter bears the date “8/IV 15,” that is, April 8, 1915.¹⁹ Example 11.11 shows one of the arpeggio lines from HUL 0384. (In addition, one may find some related pencil sketches accompanied by titles or texts whose references, for the most part, are unclear—for example, *Blommornas dans* [“The Flowers’ Dance”].)

Example 11.11



Still another musical idea from the symphony for which early sketches may be identified is that surrounding and following the *Vivacissimo* at letter J. The earliest appearance of these rapid quarter-note sextuplets, shown in Example 11.12, is in the same large sketchbook in which the *Adagio* motive is first found in D major (HUL 0395, p. 30). The important point is that this motive emerges in connection with the *Adagio* sketches. From about the same time one may also find another version, shown in Example 11.13 (HUL 0399). At this point, its context was a planned vocal work, since alongside one reads the cryptic words “Plejjaderna stråla” (“The Shining of the Pleiades”). Curiously, HUL 0395 also contains a catalogue of projected works (p. 17) that includes the title “Pleiades”—and this title is circled. Moreover, this is the same sketchbook (related to the *Kuutar* project) in which the *Adagio* theme, as mentioned earlier, was identified as *Tähtölä*, or “Where the Stars Dwell.” Again, all of this might suggest that some of the material that wound up in the Seventh Symphony might have had “mystical, winter night sky” connotations for Sibelius, just as the finale of the Fifth Symphony had evoked the majestic flight of migrating swans, and *Tapiola* would evoke the rugged Finnish forest.²⁰

Example 11.12



Example 11.13



How Sibelius developed these motives further in his mind is not known. It does seem clear that he tried them out, however provisionally, on several different projects before they ended up in the Seventh Symphony. By the 1920s, they reappear in the preparatory sketches for the Seventh Symphony, and it is only at this point that we may say that they were now doubtless part of that projected composition. But it cannot be determined for which portion—or even for which movement—Sibelius first intended them, for at this time the Seventh was being planned as a multmovement structure.

DRAFTS

Initial Plans for a Three-Movement Seventh Symphony (1918)

Historians have known for some time that some of Sibelius's earliest thoughts concerning a Seventh Symphony envisioned it as unfolding in three movements. The source for this is the composer's famous letter to his friend Axel Carpelan* on May 20, 1918—a time when he was still a year away from completing the final version of the Fifth Symphony. Here he discussed his plans for a revision of the Fifth (one whose specifics he never carried out) and went on to disclose his plans for a Sixth and a Seventh Symphony. As for the Seventh, it was to be characterized by “joy of life and vitality, with *appassionato* sections added, in 3 movements, of which the last is a ‘Hellenic rondo.’” Particularly because this seems so far removed from the eventual version, it should be mentioned that further on in the letter Sibelius added, “I may change my plans for it as my musical thoughts develop.”²¹

Apart from the 1918 letter we know little about these early plans. The scattered references in his diary to work on the Seventh Symphony are not specific, although we learn that Sibelius was working on the first movement in June 1918 and during the spring of 1919. Much of Sibelius's early sketch work seems roughly to be from this same period, although our datings cannot be precise. Still, as Tawaststjerna had concluded by 1978, “it is difficult to determine just how far the compositional work had progressed” in the late 1910s. And in any case, it is evident that Sibelius had “not yet attained his vision” of the piece.²² In his principal discussion of the Seventh Symphony in 1988, Tawaststjerna, doubtless with the 1918 letter in mind, took for granted that the Seventh “was originally conceived in [Sibelius's] imagination as a three-movement work.” And yet even here he sounded a note of caution:

We do not know, however, whether [Sibelius] actually worked on the originally planned movements of this project. No currently available evidence seems to indicate this. It is more likely that his vision of a three-movement Seventh Symphony had already changed to that of a single movement after he had returned from his [early 1923] trip abroad [to Italy and Sweden] and had started to transform his imagination into music.²³

Nevertheless, Tawaststjerna maintained that “Sibelius's Seventh Symphony, clearly, was originally based on a multi-movement conception,” and he argued further that traces of the 1918 three-movement plan may be found in the final version: “*Adagio* (first movement)—*Vivacissimo* (second movement)—transitional musical bridge, *Adagio—Allegro [molto] moderato* (third movement, ‘Hellenic rondo’).”²⁴ As it turns out, this claim seems far more uncertain after a closer examination of the relevant evidence. Following a review of some of the early drafts, we shall return to this issue.

Drafts for a Four-Movement Seventh Symphony

Curiously, the manuscript evidence from the early 1920s suggests the planning of not a three-, but a four-movement structure. Two important bifolios within the HUL material, HUL 0386 and 0387, show that in the early 1920s Sibelius still conceived the Seventh Symphony as a multmovement work as his previous symphonies had been. It is evident that Sibelius's much-reworked *Adagio* theme was now being planned for the second (that is, a slow) movement. Yet, as he was working with that theme, it is also clear that he was thinking about three other, totally separate movements, although reconstructing these movements from the existing documents is not easy.

First Movement: We know little about this music. Our only source is the first page of the bifolio HUL 0386, on which one may find a few melodic sketches—later crossed out—that seem intended for the first movement of a planned multmovement Seventh Symphony: The movement position is inferable from the written “I” in green pencil at the beginning. These sketches begin with a motive (Example 11.14) that resembles one found in the earlier theme table (HUL 0390, where it had also been marked with a “I”, as was the so-called *Talvi* [Winter] motive). In its continuation on HUL 0386 Sibelius also uses the familiar scherzo-like motive shown earlier in Example 11.12.

Example 11.14



Second Movement: On the last page of the bifolio HUL 0386 (p. 4) one finds—neatly written first on one, then on two staves—a polyphonic sketch (c. 150 mm.) of the second, or *Adagio*, movement, in C major. This does not begin with any preliminary material, as does the final version of the Seventh Symphony; rather, it opens directly with another variant of one of the themes sketched earlier. This variant is shown in Example 11.15 (cf. Example 11.6; and cf. the final score, mm. 2–3 after A, then skipping forward, from 2 mm. before to 4 mm. after B). Sibelius continued this idea in different ways on a few slips of paper pasted onto the lower part of the page. There we find the measure number 130, and the draft continues onto the lower part of page 1 (the page also containing the sketches for the first movement). On page 1, the end of the movement (probably sketched later?) consists almost exclusively of melodies alone. And at the end Sibelius again uses the original form of the *larghetto* motive (as shown, for instance, in Example 11.3—although, of course, that motive had long since lost its original label).

Example 11.15



Third Movement (?): On the center pages of the same bifolio (HUL 0386, pp. 2–3) is a complete melodic draft in G minor (bearing a key signature of two flats) and 2/4 time, which was intended to account for the indicated “226” measures. Sibelius apparently discarded this draft at once—or so it seems, since numerous typical markings are missing from it. Its beginning is shown in Example 11.16. Since this draft lacks an unequivocal identifying label, it is unclear whether he planned this as part of the Seventh Symphony at all. Still, given its location within what would surely seem to be a “Seventh Symphony” bifolio (that is, its close proximity to the *Adagio* draft and to the sketches given the movement number “I”), it is reasonable to suppose that it was being considered as part of a projected Seventh Symphony. If so, it would doubtless have been a draft for a third movement. (It should be pointed out, however, that it is different from all other known sketches for the work, and there are no motives here that correspond clearly to anything in the final version).

Example 11.16



Finale: Apart from the *Adagio*, this is the movement of the early, multmovement Seventh about which we have the most information. This c. 450-measure draft—with only a few chords or contrapuntal voices here and there—was written on a separate, single (and quite large) bifolio, HUL 0387. That it was intended as a finale is clear from the Roman numeral “IV” at its opening. Many portions are either unclear or illegible, and certain readings have been crossed out. Sibelius also wrote measure numbers here and there, and by the end of the

second page the movement's length has already extended to about 300 measures, about two-thirds of its total.

This separate movement is largely in G minor, which recalls both the key signature for the supposed third movement and some of the sketches for what may be the first movement. All of this suggests that if we are indeed dealing with a four-movement Seventh Symphony plan here, that symphony was centered around G minor as a tonic, with a second, *Adagio* movement in the major subdominant, C major. (Thus, the four movements may have been planned to follow the sequence, g-C-g-g.) Notwithstanding its G minor tonic, the finale draft begins with a C minor motive (Example 11.17), one that had also been sketched much earlier, during 1915–1917. The continuation also includes material found in the eventual one-movement Seventh Symphony. To these also belong the previously mentioned, generally more rapid motives dealt with above (Examples 11.11–13). The *Adagio* theme and its continuation are not present in this finale draft: They are reserved for the second movement alone.

Example 11.17



On the inside of this finale bifolio (HUL 0387) there is an additional page pasted between the original leaves. The writing on the added page's verso seems to indicate that Sibelius was simultaneously considering the possibility of two works that might have been related to each other: "I serien (i form af en symfoni)" [First Suite [?] in the Form of a Symphony], which was planned to have four movements ("I, II, III, IV"); and "II serien," which would also have four movements ("V, VI, VII [corrected to 'VIII'], [and the original] VIII"). Although the evidence is far from conclusive, it may be that Sibelius, however fleetingly, was considering what would become the Sixth and Seventh Symphonies as orchestral suites.

It might be helpful at this point to return to the issue of Tawaststjerna's "underlying three-movement" argument regarding the final form of the Seventh Symphony. On the basis of the present study, it would seem that however much we may wish to perceive any three-movement structure within the final version, the single-movement form is not the mere remains of an earlier multimovement project in which the various sections have been bridged over. Indeed, nothing in the sketches suggests that the multimovement form had at some point been a three-movement form.

To the extent that one might be inclined to see the final form as a coalescing of some of the original movements, one might rather suggest that it was the original second (the *Adagio*) and fourth movements that were fused. The eventual Seventh Symphony might be considered as the second, C major, movement of the original G minor plan into which Sibelius transferred several motives and themes once intended for the other movements—especially those for the fourth

movement. But since the thematic draft of the fourth movement is less clear and less developed than that of the second, any such fusion could not be considered a partnership of equally developed ideas. It was the original second movement—or at least certain portions thereof—that served as the anchoring element of the final version.

This is worth pursuing. Why did Sibelius abandon the multimovement form? We cannot know the answer for certain, but in light of the available sketches and drafts, this need not strike us as a strange decision, for the *Adagio* material remained as the constant throughout the entire compositional process, as its heart. The plans for the other movements—and, in particular, for the first and third—were notably undeveloped. But the *Adagio* was basic, and Sibelius seems to have come to realize that its substance was developing out of proportion. This need for expansion could be addressed only by making fit the central material of the entire work.

Once the composer came to realize this, there remained only two possibilities: He could either disassemble the *Adagio* in order to make separate movements out of it, or he could produce a single-movement form based on it. But to disassemble the *Adagio* would have been senseless, for then the whole *Adagio* would have lost its weight; moreover, all the compositional work accomplished thus far would have been wasted. It would also have been difficult to produce a different character for the differing movements had they been based on essentially the same material. The other possibility, distributing the additional ideas within a single movement—which Sibelius seems eventually to have done—was precisely the strategy that would avoid these problems. And indeed, such a solution had the additional advantage of resulting in a tighter form.

It is also possible that Sibelius noticed that some of the material originally intended for the other movements was related to that of the *Adagio*, or that the *Adagio* could be profitably used alongside. This too may have influenced his decision to write a single-movement form. The material for the originally planned third movement, however—if, indeed, that is what the draft on HUL 0386 was intended to be—was totally different in character. It was surely for this reason that Sibelius dispensed with it altogether.

It should be noted that nothing in the existing sketches indicates that Sibelius was conceiving any of the movements as a rondo, much less anything like a "Hellenic rondo." On some of the separate sketch leaves Sibelius noted down different, consecutive sections of the work—in effect, formal units. Here the themes are named only by their keys, for example, "Thema C dur." But one may also find such markings as "mellansp[el] Ass dur," "cres." ("episode [?], A-flat major, crescendo"), or "Scerzo" [sic], and so on (as on HUL 0360). Notwithstanding the brief reference to a "mellansp[el]," there is no specific (or clearer) word anywhere about a rondo. In sum, Sibelius's early vision of the work in 1918—written in his letter to Carpelan—was quite different from that of its final form. The plan to include a "Hellenic rondo" seems never to have been realized, at least not within the Seventh Symphony. It is nonetheless true, however, that certain sections of the work have often been analyzed as a rondo.²⁵

[Photograph: HUL 0359, p. 1]



Sibelius's Sketchbook, Courtesy of the Helsinki University Library, (MS 0359, pp.1-2) and the Sibelius Estate.

There is no indication in any of these sketches that Sibelius was concerned with calculations regarding the "golden section." This has been the topic of some discussion in Finland since the publication of Simon Parmet's study of Sibelius's symphonies, in which it was mentioned that the composer's son-in-law, the conductor Jussi Jalas,* was convinced that the principle of the golden section lay at the heart not only of the Seventh Symphony but of many other works as well. Indeed, the claim was even buttressed with hearsay evidence from the composer himself. As Parmet reported:

On one occasion Sibelius had told Jalas that a *Sectio Aurea* prevailed in all his symphonies. When Jalas asked what he meant by this, Sibelius replied: "That is my secret!" It is this secret which Jalas now feels that he has discovered.²⁶

For our part, we might only say that although no evidence of golden section concerns is to be found in the sketches, the measure numbers marked in some of the drafts would indicate that Sibelius did keep a watchful eye on the dimensions of the various sections. More specific evidence for golden section planning simply is not here, and this is also true of the sketches for his other works.

The Initial Draft of the Single-Movement Form

It is not known when Sibelius decided to transform the multimovement work into a single-movement form. Tawaststjerna is probably correct when he suggests that the decision was made during Sibelius's trip abroad in early 1923, a trip that followed closely on the heels of the Helsinki premiere of the Sixth Symphony (February 19, 1923) and included the composer conducting in Rome (March 18, featuring the Second Symphony, not the Sixth) and Göteborg (April 10 and 11—the first concert on which both the relatively recent Fifth and the "new" Sixth were performed).

The first draft of the single-movement version forms the largest part of another sketchbook (HUL 0359): Its first two pages are reproduced in Plates 1 and 2. To judge from the paper and other evidence, Sibelius did in fact write it in 1923. And indeed, it was during that summer that he began his final period of composition on the Seventh Symphony—the period that would lead to the work's completion at the beginning of March 1924.²⁷ At this time the largest part of the work as we know it was drafted. Perhaps surprisingly, at the beginning Sibelius's plans were clear, but the further he progressed into the work, the more uncertain and fragmentary the drafts became, as the composer sought to polish—or even rethink—some of the details. Some parts of the one-movement draft consist only of melodies or preparatory sketches; it is often difficult to determine to which point of the final music the sketch corresponds or how the music might continue. Although the overall ordering of the work is generally the same as that of the final version, several passages do differ. The very beginning of the draft, shown in the illustration from Sibelius's sketchbook (p. 254–55), displays some of the differences. When compared with the opening of the

printed version, we find here, for instance, a presumably slower note motion, a slightly different barring and disposition of interior rhythms, the lack of an opening timpani stroke, and more initial emphasis on the minor mode (notice the E-flat in m. 2).

The symphony's conclusion—a portion that was to give Sibelius difficulty—is undecipherable, but on p. 20 there is a final cadence that may be the first version of the end as we know it today. (As will be elaborated below, Sibelius drafted several different endings.) Sibelius jotted down measure numbers here and there in HUL 0359, and we may again take this as evidence of an overview of the whole. In addition, since one may find scattered instrumental indications, it is clear that he was also planning the orchestration. Broadly considered, however, there are surprisingly few instrumental markings in any of the sketches that precede the orchestral draft.

The Principal Orchestral Draft

Although the composition had been for the most part completely elaborated on HUL 0359, the first draft for the single-movement version, Sibelius now developed it further in a later orchestral pencil draft (HUL 0355, a set of fourteen bifolios covered by two outside folios, the whole then bound together). Much of this draft—its opening measures, for instance—is similar to the eventually published version. Still, one may observe a few important differences. One occurs shortly into the piece, in the passage eventually printed as mm. 2–22 after letter A. Here the draft contains only seven measures, the early portion of which recycles yet one more time the ideas heard in the three immediately preceding measures (from 2 mm. before to 1 m. after A). Moreover, at this point in the draft (p. 3), Sibelius indicated the need for a correction by writing a reminder to himself, in Swedish, *längre* ("longer"), and he altered the passage by lengthening it on a separate page (HUL 0356) and referring to the new compositional patch on the draft proper.²⁸

Several other variants may be noted in this draft. Not only are the orchestration and the barring often different, but the draft is also filled with corrections, changes, cross-outs, and so on, and some of its readings are no longer recoverable. Most important, in HUL 0355 the work's conclusion is completely missing: The music ends on the draft's page 58, about at the point of rehearsal letter X in the printed score (printed score, p. 67).

What seems to have been one of the originally planned endings (*Poco presante*)—one that was later discarded—survives on the separate draft fragment HUL 0358. In addition, there exists another discarded ending drafted on four pages (HUL 0355/2–3): The music for this ending begins at the printed score's rehearsal letter Z (*Largamente*, p. 73). These separate orchestral endings, while still "drafts," may stem from a slightly later compositional stage. This is suggested by the page numbers—94, 95, and 97—of other drafts situated on the same papers as the endings. The numbers refer to the corresponding pages of the autograph score. It appears that although Sibelius had already written out the

autograph score, he was still struggling with its ending.²⁹ In any event, the music between letters X and Y is still totally missing from the orchestral draft stage of composition.³⁰

THE AUTOGRAPH SCORE AND RELATED MATERIALS

The Manuscript Materials

As Sibelius wrote out the fair copy of the autograph score (HUL 0349),³¹ he made several changes and corrections in the music. Although most of these changes were small—ties, dynamics, and so on along with a few crossed-out measures and added and removed voices—some of them were so substantial that he was obliged to remove and replace, either partly or wholly, some of the pages he had already written. It may be that there are more replacement pages in the autograph score than we can currently ascertain. In any event, the following removed pages—originally part of the autograph—still exist in the HUL collection:

HUL 0350, originally manuscript page 42 (printed score, p. 29/8–12 [that is, p. 29, mm. 8–12]). This includes woodwind parts not found in the final version; there are no parts for the basses and timpani.

HUL 0351, originally manuscript page 82 (pp. 60/6–7 and 61/1–4). Only a photograph of this exists in the HUL collection; on its reverse is the indication, “The original given to Tanzberger 1959.”³² The flute and oboe parts differ; the timpani is silent throughout these measures.

HUL 0352, originally manuscript page 90 (page 68/2–4, Adagio). This page is incomplete. It bears only a portion of the string lines, in a version that differs slightly from the final form.

HUL 0354, originally manuscript pages 98–102 (from page 74, m. 5 to the end of the work). This original conclusion is one of the most important documents concerning the Seventh Symphony, and it deserves a separate, full-length treatment. The measures corresponding to the passage from page 74, m. 6 to page 75, m. 1 differ notably from that of the final version. There is nothing here that resembles the eventual *Affettuoso* music before *Ö*. Instead, the music continues with six measures of largely sequential figuration related to the music printed on page 74, mm. 6–7. This leads directly into a substantially different, ten-measure conclusion that begins in 12/8, *Poco pressante*, the opening measure of which is shown in Example 11.18. Beginning *piano*, this cross-syncopated texture swells to a *poco forte* within six measures, drops and swells again to a *forte*, *allargando*, in a seventh, and concludes with three powerful, chordal measures of C major, *Adagio molto*, for the full orchestra, *fortissimo*, in the first two measures of which the descending, downbeat motive 2–1 (the two-note incipit of the “trombone theme”) plays an important role. (The related, concluding 7–8 gesture of the last two measures of the final version is nowhere to be found).

Example 11.18

The image shows a musical score for three instruments: Violins 1 and 2 (Vln 1, 2), Viola (Va), and Cello (Celli). The score is for the beginning of the 'Poco pressante' section. The time signature is 12/8. The music starts with a piano (p) dynamic. The tempo is marked 'Poco pressante'. The score shows the first few measures of the piece, with the violins and cellos playing a cross-syncopated texture that swells to a poco forte within six measures.

HUL 0353, also originally manuscript pages 98–102 (the second ending of the work). Like the above document, this also begins at page 74, m. 5 (printed score), but it begins to differ from the final version significantly later at page 74, m. 11 (the second measure of the *Affettuoso*, which is slightly longer here). By this point the *Poco pressante* idea has been entirely abandoned, and as a whole, this ending is much nearer the final version than was the version on HUL 0354: The crucial bassoon-horn entrance, for example, eventually printed at page 74, m. 12 is present here—doubled by violas and cellos—and most of the main events of the subsequent continuation correspond in their general outline to those of the final version. These pages also include sketches, corrections, and other markings that point toward the final ending.

The Title of the Work

Among the most provocative aspects of the Seventh Symphony are the various titles that Sibelius gave it as he approached its completion. The autograph score has two title pages. On the earlier of them we find the original title, *Fantasia sinfonica, N=1*, as well as the composer's signature and the opus number. At some later point Sibelius crossed out this title with a blue pencil and wrote above it *Symphonie N=7 in einem Satze*. Even later, he crossed out in pencil the last three words, *in einem Satze* (in one movement), and replaced them with the word *continua*.³³ On the later title page the title appears in pencil as *Sinfonia VII continua* along with (a subtitle?) *Fantasia sinfonica I*, which was separately crossed out (although at some later point both titles were also erased together). Probably much later (in his “old man's” handwriting), Sibelius wrote *Sinfonia 7* on both title pages.

At the point of the work's completion, on March 2, 1924, Sibelius jotted into his diary what remained to be done: “‘Fantasia sinfonica’—later the VII Symphony—finished in the evening. [Now] to the copyist.”³⁴ At issue here was not the copying of the score proper, but rather the extraction of the orchestral parts for the premiere, planned for Stockholm at the end of the month, on March 24, 1924. The copyist—Kusti Aerila—is known to us from a still extant receipt that he sent to Sibelius on March 12, 1924: “For the copying of 39 orchestral parts for the music of *Fantasia sinfonica I* Op. 105 . . . 2184 Finnish Marks.”³⁵

In the parts written out by Aerila—which are still available³⁶—the name of the piece was still *Fantasia sinfonica No. 1*. Sibelius also made some small corrections on the parts and added things in pencil here and there; some of the performers also marked down the relevant performing dates on this material. A few of the parts were written by copyists other than Aerila, probably because some subsequent performances must have required an orchestra larger than that used at the premiere. Among the other copyists was Paul Voigt, the copyist whom Sibelius was to use for the Eighth Symphony.

At the Stockholm premiere, and even in the subsequent Copenhagen performances the following autumn, the work was performed from manuscript parts under the title of *Fantasia sinfonica*.³⁷ The title eventually accepted, Symphony no. 7, seems to have been decided once and for all only several months after the Copenhagen performances in late September and early October—several months after the point, that is, when Sibelius seems to have handed over his manuscript to the Danish publisher Wilhelm Hansen.³⁸ That the autograph score was also the *Stichvorlage* Hansen used is clear from various clues in the manuscript itself. These include the indications “Part Stik Peters Format” (that is, the score was being engraved in the so-called “Peters format,” c. 30 x 23 cm, which is smaller than the standard folio size); “Stemmer Autografi [Peters Format]” (this indicates that the orchestral parts—*stemmer*—are not to be engraved, but copied instead by hand, in standard “Peters Format” size, and then photoduplicated); and the numbers 18658 (the plate number) and 18658a (the copyist’s number of the orchestral material). One may also see the engraver’s numbers—the engraver’s plan of producing each page of the score.³⁹ In the upper corner of the first page of music is written (probably by the publisher) the work’s formal title, *Symphonie Nr 7 / In einem Satze*.

Although the precise date of the official title change is not known, it is worth remarking that on February 25, 1925—rather late in the engraving process—one of Sibelius’s letters to Hansen not only refers to the change but may also have occasioned it. By this date, the composer was planning some upcoming September concerts in England, and the plan was (he writes) “to have the new *Fantasia sinfonica* performed.” (Even at this late date his initial reference to the music was with its old title—presumably still its working title?) What was needed now was to “speed up its printing” at Hansen’s—and immediately following this request, Sibelius wrote laconically, “Best if its name is *Symphonie No 7 (in einem Satze)*.”⁴⁰ Lacking additional evidence, our best estimate would be that Sibelius decided to change the title once and for all in late February 1925. By May 1925, Hansen was able to inform the composer that the score was now completely engraved (and by this point, of course, it bore the new title).⁴¹

What had been the appeal of the earlier titles—and especially that of *Fantasia sinfonica*? The attraction of the later Sibelius to the freedom of the genre of the fantasy/*fantasia* has been much noted in the recent literature on the composer,⁴² and, indeed, it seems to be a central feature of the composer’s thinking in the 1910s and 1920s. The concept of *fantasia* is deeply relevant to the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Symphonies, along with *Tapiola*. For this reason Tawaststjerna

wrote that in the Seventh Symphony Sibelius “was finally realizing his idea of a single-movement symphony, a ‘Fantasia sinfonica,’ which had [long] been in his mind, even in his [list of] new symphonic projects following the completion of the Fourth Symphony. . . . It is not impossible that the last two ‘symphonies’ of Scriabin had provided an added impulse for the long-planned ‘Fantasia sinfonica.’ ”⁴³ As Tawaststjerna perceived, the idea of a single movement was indeed realized, but as we have seen, the work could hardly be said to have been initially conceived as a single-movement structure. Instead, that concept seems to have been a by-product of the compositional process. In this sense, the music itself existed before its title.

It is also worth remarking that at the autograph score stage of composition Sibelius normally added the Roman numeral “I” after the title *Fantasia sinfonica*. Quite apart from the issue of how final that title might have been considered at any given point, the “I” suggests that Sibelius was probably planning a second work—or even several—along this line. In January 1924 he wrote cryptically in his diary that he was now thinking about two pieces. Clearly, one was the Seventh Symphony—but what was the other?⁴⁴ Perhaps it was a *Fantasia sinfonica II*, although that specific title does not crop up anywhere. It could be that this hypothetical “second symphonic fantasy” was never actually composed, or it could be that it was completed and given another name. If the latter premise is correct, one would think that it would have to have been *Tapiola*. But there is, of course, another possibility. This is the Eighth Symphony, for which he was gathering material in the same period.⁴⁵

Proofs

As mentioned above, on May 11, 1925, Hansen informed Sibelius that the score had been engraved. Proofs of this “Symphony No. 7” were printed shortly thereafter to check for engraving errors. But normally one set of proofs alone would not suffice. Even after the engraver had finished the initially requested corrections, third and even fourth proofs were sometimes made before all parties were satisfied. And even after all these efforts some mistakes still remained—characteristically, mistakes that the composer noticed only after the printed edition had been released and it was too late to remedy them.

The proofreading process for the Seventh Symphony was probably similar to that for some of his other compositions published by Hansen. After the engraving, the first proofs were sent directly to a certain “Julia A. Burt” in New York. Her task seems to have been to compare the proofs either to Sibelius’s manuscript score itself or to a copy of it, and to correct all of the errors that she could find. This may strike present-day readers as curious. Why would Hansen need an American as a corrector of the work at this stage of production? Why not send it first to Sibelius himself? Or, if the publishers needed someone to help the composer, would it not have been more efficient to have used someone Danish or Finnish? As it turns out, the answers to these things involve economic and legal—not aesthetic—matters. It appears that Hansen could obtain an American

copyright only if the process included an American somewhere along the line. Without this safeguard, the composition would have been unprotected in the United States and could have been freely duplicated and published. Thus, the publisher was eager to have printed on the first page of the Seventh Symphony, "Edited and revised by Julia A. Burt, New York"—as had also been done with the Fifth Symphony and other works.⁴⁶

Following the initial receipt of the material, Burt's normal practice with Sibelius's works was to send the corrected proofs back to Denmark for the engraver, who immediately altered the plates and produced second proofs, which were again sent off to Burt for further corrections.⁴⁷ Upon the return of this second set, Hansen normally sent the proofs directly to Sibelius. The composer made his own corrections and returned the material to Hansen; the engraver's task was then to incorporate alterations made both by Burt and Sibelius. Any later proofs would be sent directly to Sibelius.⁴⁸

So far as we know, only one set of proofs for the Seventh Symphony survives (HUL 1794). Indeed, even this is somewhat surprising, and it is certainly atypical of other Sibelius works published by Hansen. Normally, as a matter of course the publishers destroyed all the proofs returned to them.⁴⁹ One set of Seventh Symphony proofs survives because, early on, the set wound up permanently in Sibelius's hands. How or why this might have happened is not known. The surviving proofs actually comprise the second proofs, as may be seen from the order number "II" the publisher wrote in pencil in front of the *Korrektur* ("Proof") stamp; corrections both by Burt and by Sibelius are visible. Following the *Korrektur* stamp one may read the dates on which the proofs were sent to Sibelius and on which the material was returned to the publisher: July 2, 1925 and October 1, 1925. In addition, a "T" has been written next to the dates, probably signifying that this was the first version Sibelius himself had examined.

Although this "second" set of proofs contains many corrections, none was of major compositional importance. For the most part, the corrections involved the locating of incorrect accidentals, individual pitches, or dynamic markings. The only alterations that might be considered significant are those where Sibelius had indicated "divided strings" in the manuscript, but had written out a shared line only in a few of the string parts. In the proofs he fleshed out the notation to include music on all of the relevant staves. One such passage occurs on the first page of the printed score.⁵⁰ It is not clear whether such a correction at the proof stage may actually be considered a "change" in instrumentation.

The Printed Score

It is uncertain when the printed version of the Seventh Symphony first appeared (Wilhelm Hansen edition No. 2426, miniature score 2426 B or b), but it was probably toward the end of 1925.⁵¹ Shortly thereafter several reprints were issued, in both the "Peters" and the miniature score formats. The same plates, or photographic reductions thereof, were used for all. On most the original plate number is visible; on some the "reprint" status is explicitly noted.

It was Sibelius's custom to make a few subsequent pencil entries into his printed scores—for example, metronome markings. In the case of his own copy of the printed version of the Seventh Symphony (HUL 1793) his signature (an authorization?) appears on the title page. The composer made only two small corrections in the music itself. These had appeared in the manuscript but were missed in correcting the proofs. A third entry is the metronome marking, "66," which Sibelius added in pencil to the beginning, after the printed word *Adagio*.

It would seem that establishing proper tempos was a troubling matter for Sibelius—especially in his later years, when he was constantly asked about them. In addition to his private markings of some personal copies of the printed scores, in the early 1940s a leaflet was published by Breitkopf & Härtel on which are given "the specific tempos of the composer himself" for the symphonies. This information was subsequently published in the Finnish journal *Musiikkitieto* in 1943; the basic tempo information was then translated into English and appeared in *Music & Letters* in 1950.⁵² Curiously, in this list, the *Adagio* tempo at the opening of the Seventh Symphony is given as "76"—ten beats faster than Sibelius's pencil entry into his own score. In the Breitkopf & Härtel leaflet Sibelius provided metronome indications for ten other passages in the work, although we may also read there the specific caution that the "metronome markings, of course, show the tempo only approximately."

To bring this publication story up to the present day: At the end of the 1960s—over a decade after Sibelius's death—the conductor Paavo Berglund discovered so many differences between the printed score and the orchestral material that he consulted the autograph to determine the proper readings. He found numerous small discrepancies with the printed score, which he listed in the pamphlet *A Comparative Study of the Printed Score and the Manuscript of the Seventh Symphony of Sibelius* (see note 9). The new, "revised edition" of 1980 is based on Berglund's work.⁵³ Because the corrections were simply handwritten onto the original image of the score, it is a simple matter to spot them.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The above is by no means a complete picture of the compositional and publication history of the Seventh Symphony. Nevertheless, this information does clarify certain things. One of the most important is that the Seventh Symphony's roots go back to the same period—and even to the same material—as the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies. All of these works were built from what Sibelius referred to as "mosaic tiles," the various forms of the motives and themes conceived as he was first planning the Fifth Symphony in late 1914 and early 1915. As shown above, the material originally considered for this work eventually wound up in the Sixth and Seventh Symphonies as well.⁵⁴ This was possible because many of the motives and themes from that period were related to each other. Although the various motives eventually became different themes in different works, they nevertheless all sprang from the same original source.

In his Sibelius biography Erik Tawaststjerna called attention to this "overflowing of thematic ideas" in the mid-1910s. Tawaststjerna believed, however, that "many melodic inventions that were excellent in themselves were abandoned, among others, the [original] *Adagio* theme [once planned] for the Fifth Symphony" (that is, our Example 11.2 above), which "to judge from the large number of sketches for it. . . was one of Sibelius's favorite themes."⁵⁵ But one of the conclusions of this study is that this is not really so: As we have noted, in the end the family of *Adagio* motives would play a central role in the Seventh Symphony. Further research into Sibelius's abundant themes from the mid-1910s may well uncover links and connections to still other works.

The process by which the Seventh Symphony achieved its final form was anything but simple. At various times portions of its material were considered for very different works and projects: the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies; perhaps the once planned Second Violin Concerto, as well as several other never completed projects, including the tone poem *Kuutar*, the hitherto unknown *Pleiades*, the larger whole to which *Blommornas dans* was to belong, and perhaps still others. Yet at this point in his career, this was normal procedure for Sibelius. Just as he was brimming with melodic ideas, so he was also brimming with compositional plans. Thus, when writing to Axel Carpelan on May 20, 1918, Sibelius mentioned that he "was planning other orchestral works" in addition to the new symphonies that he had mentioned.⁵⁶ Although we seem to have no further information about these, among the HUL sketches for unidentified pieces from the later 1910s and early 1920s, there are a few titles that might be possibilities. These include "Symphonische Dialogen," "Eine symphonische Dichtung," "Symphonische Skizze," "Triptychon," and "Patria, drei Tonstücke für Orchester" (HUL 1689, 0395/5, 1697, 1698). It is not impossible that some of the Seventh Symphony material stems from ideas originally linked with these works.

At the very least, we may conclude that Sibelius seems to have permitted his Seventh Symphony to ripen for a period of at least six years before setting it down in final form—all the while working on other projects. And if we date all of this from the first conception of the material, this ripening process lasted about eight or nine years. In addition to the long time required, the sheer quantity of sketches that remain attests to the difficulty Sibelius had in bringing this symphony to life. Even the final creative period brought its problems. As we have seen, composing the ending was particularly difficult: at the draft stage the conclusion was the only part left unsettled, and in the autograph score stage only the third version of the ending proved to be acceptable.⁵⁷

In light of all this, one may understand more clearly Sibelius's remark about the gradual slowing down of the pace of his work. Tawaststjerna is doubtless correct when he concludes that "it did not necessarily have to do with Sibelius's aging, but rather that he was planning more complicated symphonic structures and it took time to polish them."⁵⁸ What is most visible in the sketches is this: the constant reworking of the *Adagio* motive into new and different shapes; the potential governing force of the motive; and, finally, the total surrender to the

material itself. And this process ultimately led to a completely new symphonic form within Sibelius's oeuvre.

Although this study is not concerned with analysis, it should be clear that an awareness of the sketch process is manifestly relevant to analytical questions. A study of the printed score alone—along with, perhaps, a study of published analyses—will not suffice. To touch on merely one example: Common to most analyses is the contention that the central trombone theme is a basic element of the form. That the appearances of the trombone theme are structurally important is obvious enough. What is interesting is to investigate what *kind* of trombone theme is selected for this important work. And here one may clearly see that it was one of the variants of the principal *Adagio* theme.

So much might seem self-evident. But after examining the sketches for the Seventh Symphony, one develops another analytical point of view, one that is more attentive to the ways in which what had been originally sketched as the opening melody was eventually inlaid into the final version. In my view, in the final score it is the long melodic line, which often shifts from one instrumental voice or group of voices to another, that is the most fundamental structural element. The additional voices would thus seem structurally to be subordinate, contrapuntal voices. Considering the "trombone theme," for example: The melody begins in the trombone, 7 mm. after C; its seventh measure (13 mm. after C) is doubled by—among other things—the first oboe and first horn, which then pick up the melodic thread; this thread is passed at letter D to the first flute, thence to both flutes and oboes, and so on. The contrapuntal voices written against the melody can thus strike us as a kind of "living tissue" surrounding the more central melodic core.

This concept of a continuous melody that threads its way through the various voices—one might recall Schoenberg's notion of *Hauptstimme*—may, in its own way, explain the music's continuity. And if that grand melodic line is construed as continually evolving, developing, or continuously spun out, it will necessarily be difficult for any listener to be certain which is the main, second, or final theme, what is an episode, and so on.

We thus come to the end of our overview of the source material for Sibelius's Seventh Symphony and the possibilities it offers for future scholarship. Further research into this material will doubtless continue to clarify the symphony's genesis. At the very least, we may be certain that the sheer quantity of sketch and draft material will provide work for many scholars to come. Hopefully, this study can serve as a starting point for source studies of Sibelius's compositions in general.

NOTES

1. Although the picture is still incomplete, the principal sources of this information exist only in Finnish. The main published discussion is in ETF 5. See also Erkki Salmehaara, *Jean Sibelius* (Helsinki: Tammi, 1984), 364. Since the original publication of this chapter (1990), a further analytical discussion of the Seventh Symphony as well as a

response to some of the sketch material presented in this chapter have appeared in Veijo Murtomäki, *Symphonic Unity: The Development of Formal Thinking in the Symphonies of Sibelius*, *Studia Musicologica Universitatis Helsingiensis* 5 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Department of Musicology, 1993), 242–80.

2. This chapter is a revised and edited version of an article entitled “Jean Sibeliuksen 7. sinfonian musiikillisista lähteistä ja teoksen synnystä niiden valossa” (The Musical Sources for Jean Sibelius's 7th Symphony and the Birth of the Work as Seen in their Light) that originally appeared in *Musiikki* 1 (1990): 39–72. The author gratefully acknowledges *Musiikki* for allowing the reprinting of the material, which has been translated and substantially revised here by James Hepokoski.

3. The results are available in Kari Kilpeläinen, *The Jean Sibelius Musical Manuscripts at Helsinki University Library: A Complete Catalogue* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1991).

4. This is not the case with the Sixth Symphony, for which the HUL collection contains only a few brief sketches. At least for the present, the origins of the Sixth Symphony are likely to remain unclear.

5. ETF 4: 230.

6. According to ETF 4: 50, Sibelius's initial thematic plans for the Fifth Symphony were made in the summer of 1914. See also the account of the Fifth's origins in James Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press), 31–57.

7. The relevant material here appears on page 31 of the sketchbook. This is a separate sketchbook—not part of the HUL collection—and it is currently located in Helsinki in the National Archives of Finland. Its importance for the understanding of Sibelius's later works cannot be overestimated. This is a forty-page sketchbook dating for the most part from the latter part of 1914 and the first half of 1915 (its last three pages date from summer 1916), and its cover reads “Index 19 17/I 15 [. . .].”

8. Various versions of this “7/4” theme appear in the National Archives Sketchbook, on pages 5, 9, and 12; that on page 12 is the clearest. See also the transcriptions in ETF 4: 56–57 and 60 as well as the eighth plate following page 176 (which reproduces the important page 12 of the sketchbook). Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5*, 34, provides a transcription of the entire theme table for the Fifth Symphony (including the 7/4 theme) that is found on the sketchbook's page 12.

9. The printed score references here and elsewhere correspond to any of the Hansen reprints, including the “Revised edition (1980),” edited by Paavo Berglund on the basis of the autograph score. For a discussion of the variants in this revised score, see Paavo Berglund, *A Comparative Study of the Printed Score and the Manuscript of the Seventh Symphony of Sibelius*, *Acta Musica V*, Studies Published by Sibelius Museum (Turku: Sibelius Museum, 1970). Cf. also below.

10. See also ETF 4: 62–63 as well as the thirteenth plate after page 176.

11. This whole issue is discussed in Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5*, 39–40, 70–80, *passim*.

12. In addition, there is an early form of the Fifth Symphony's first finale theme—but cf. Example 11.5 and note 11 above—which at this point was the continuation of the rising form of the *Hongatar ja tuuli* motive. Later in the sketch Sibelius would separate this with a double line. Sibelius's *Kuutar*-project is mentioned in ETF 5: 11–12. Murtomäki, *Symphonic Unity*, 228, suggests (doubtless on the basis of its title) that *Hongatar ja tuuli* was one “of the working titles” for what eventually became *Tapiola*, although some of the material might also have wound up in the incidental music for *The Tempest*.

13. See Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5*, 36–37. Tawaststjerna usually referred to this theme—the second theme of the finale—as the *keinuva teema*, the “Swinging Theme”: for example, in ETF 4: 53–54.

14. A nearly identical motive appears on the final page (40) of the National Archives sketchbook. On the previous page is a date, “19 19/ VIII 16,” which suggests that this form of the motive is from the latter part of 1916. Cf. the dating of the sketchbook, note 7 above.

15. In ETF 5: 12 this is mistakenly considered an unknown theme.

16. We might also mention the Seventh Symphony sketches on HUL 0362—a bifolio of particular interest because it also contains a melodic fragment that Sibelius later considered for his Eighth Symphony. This latter melody is discussed in Kari Kilpeläinen, “Vielä hieman Sibeliuksen 8. sinfoniasta” [“A Little More about Sibelius's Eighth Symphony”], *Synkooppi*, Op. 32 (1989): 32.

17. The opening 14 measures of this version of the melody have been transcribed in Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5*, 38, on which, however, the manuscript number has been misprinted as 0359; the proper source is HUL 0369.

18. In the first version of the *Adagio* motive there is also an ascending arpeggio, but the present arpeggio motive seems not to have been derived from it.

19. HUL 0383 and 0384. The theme also appears in the National Archives sketchbook, page 36, where the sketch collection is marked with the movement number “IV,” belonging either to the projected Fifth or Sixth Symphony.

20. On this concept of late Sibelian nature mysticism, see Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5*, 26–27; and Hepokoski, “Sibelius,” in *The Symphony*, ed. D. Kern Holoman, Nineteenth-Century (New York: Schirmer Books, forthcoming in 1996).

21. ETF 4: 289–90. For the material on the Fifth Symphony contained in this letter, see Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5*, 54–55. Cf. also the discussion of the letter in Harold E. Johnson, *Jean Sibelius* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), 192–94, although much of Johnson's subsequent discussion of the Seventh Symphony is now out of date.

22. ETF 4: 295, 328–29.

23. ETF 5: 194.

24. ETF 5: 194–203; and ETF 4: 289–90.

25. A review of prior analyses is provided in Murtomäki, *Symphonic Unity*, 242–46.

26. Simon Parmet, *The Symphonies of Sibelius: A Study in Musical Appreciation*, trans. Kingsley A. Hart (London: Cassell, 1959), 130. Since Parmet, however, was essentially arguing that Jalas came to his conclusion after examining Parmet's diagram for the Seventh Symphony (reproduced on p. 129), his citation of Jalas and Sibelius was hardly disinterested. In any event, Jalas himself again alluded briefly to the general golden section argument regarding Sibelius in his *Kirjoituksia Sibeliuksen sinfoniaista: Sinfonian eettinen pakko* [Writings about Sibelius's Symphonies: The Symphonies' Ethical Force], 8–9. The issue has never been studied in a rigorous way, but it emerged once again in Murtomäki, *Symphonic Unity* [1993], 246, who mentioned that if one accepts Parmet's analytical subdivision of the Seventh—one featuring (in Parmet's words, p. 128) “two almost identically similar ‘corner-stones,’ one at either end of the work” (the 33 mm. of the “trombone theme” beginning 7 mm. after C and the final 50 mm. of the symphony)—then one may notice that “the [real-time] durations [in minutes] of the different sections follow fairly closely the Fibonacci series (1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21 etc.)” Murtomäki went on to conclude, “Whether Sibelius really did consciously plan the durations. . . like this remains, of course, the composer's own secret, but there is nothing to stop [one] from accepting it as a hypothesis.”

27. ETF 5: 144, 146, 165, 167.

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28. Another separate leaf, HUL 0357, is a similar patch for a later part of this orchestral draft.

29. Thus the hypothetical order of revision would be: (1) writing out the autograph score (after drafting the work); (2) reconsideration and removal of its ending, if there was one at all; (3) (re)drafting the ending on these separate (draft-) pages; and (4) rewriting and reinserting the ending of the autograph score. This procedure might have been applied to other pages from the autograph score as well, but it seems unlikely, since autograph- and draft-evidence for such activity no longer exists. As a general rule, Sibelius retained the material that he removed from his autograph scores.

30. For many of his other works Sibelius wrote a "playable" ink draft that was often very close to the corresponding final version (although in some instances this ink draft was actually intended to be the final version). This stage is missing from the Seventh Symphony documents, and some indications suggest that it may never have existed. These indications include the separate sketch pages of the two early, discarded endings for the piece. Moreover, some of the rehearsal letters that appear at the end of the orchestral draft are written with the same pencil as the rehearsal letters in the final autograph.

31. Sibelius covered the autograph score (HUL 0349) in cardboard, on which the originally written title (for a much earlier work) is crossed out but still visible: "Snöfrid/Comp. 1893" [sic!]. In general, Sibelius wrote the autograph score in ink. This is also the case with most of its small corrections. Although one may find a few pencil corrections in the autograph score, these were probably added after the individual orchestral parts had been professionally copied. (For example, on the last page the indication *Poco allargando* is crossed out, although it does appear in the corresponding place on the orchestral parts. [See also Berglund, *A Comparative Study*, 32.] One passage in the autograph score contains a correction in a copyist's hand; this appears on a separate slip pasted into the score, and it probably represents a correction that had originally been made in the orchestral parts themselves.

32. Ernst Tanzberger had studied the whole of Sibelius's published output in the 1950s and early 1960s. In 1962 he published his widely noted, Alfred Lorenz-oriented analyses of the composer's works under the title, *Jean Sibelius: Eine Monographie* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1962).

33. The title *Sinfonia continua* may also be found in some of Sibelius's letters from 1924. See ETF 5: 181.

34. ETF 5: 167.

35. "Nuottien kopioimisesta *Fantasia sinfonica I* Op. 105 39 kpl orkesteristemmoja [. . .] Smk 2184." The document is preserved in the National Archives of Finland in the uncatalogued Sibelius collection "mappi 26" ["file 26"].

36. At the time the original version of this essay was written, July 4, 1989, this material was in the hands of the publisher Wilhelm Hansen, Copenhagen.

37. To be more precise: On the concert program of the premiere, reproduced in Parment, *The Symphonies*, 123, the work's title contained a grammatical blunder. It was listed as "Fantasia sinfonico [sic], c-dur, op. 105." The program was conducted by Sibelius, and the new work was preceded by his First Symphony and the Violin Concerto (with Julius Ruthström as soloist).

38. According to a newspaper article published by Harold E. Johnson ("Sibeliuksen seitsemäs sinfonia ja 'Fantasia sinfonica'" [Sibelius's Seventh Symphony and the "Fantasia sinfonica"], *Helsingin Sanomat*, September 22, 1957), Sibelius signed the relevant contract with Hansen on October 7, 1924. The publisher seems to have begun work at once. Other information (Wilhelm Hansen's "Stikke bog"—the "Engraver's book") suggests that Hansen began producing the orchestral material immediately—that

is, in October—and that work on the score itself began in November. (Undated letter to the author from Fabian Dallström, c. February 1990). Harold E. Johnson, *Jean Sibelius* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), 194, speculated that the title *Fantasia sinfonica* was merely "a sort of trial balloon" that Sibelius was content to change into "symphony" once the Swedish critics "appeared willing to regard it as a fusion or overlapping of several symphony movements into one."

39. Cf. Berglund, *A Comparative Study*, 3: "Numbers exactly correlating [to] the page numbers in the printed score are to be found throughout the manuscript and I believe them to have been written by someone other than the composer."

40. ETF 5: 208.

41. Ibid.

42. See especially Murtoimäki, "Symphonic Fantasy and the Problem of Interpreting the Form [of the Seventh Symphony]," in *Symphonic Unity*, pp. 242–46; Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5*, 21–23, 39–41, 57; and Hepokoski, "Sibelius," in D. Kern Holoman, ed., *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony*. [Cf. likewise Chapter 7 in this volume.—Ed.]

43. ETF 5: 194–96.

44. Ibid., 165. Tawaststjerna also speculates about some of the considerably earlier *Kuutar* material.

45. Cf. note 16 above.

46. Personal conversation, July 4, 1989, with Anita Dyrbye, representing the publishers Hansen. [For more on the matter of international copyright, see also the discussion in Chapter 13 in this volume.—Ed.]

47. If it were a smaller work that was being prepared, however—such as a solo song—the publishers normally sent it not to Burt, but directly to Sibelius.

48. At least, this was the procedure followed for the Overture to *The Tempest*; the third proofs for this piece contain markings made only by Sibelius. These proofs are now located in the Sibelius Academy, part of a bequest by Jussi Jalas.

49. Information given to the author April 17, 1989, by Fabian Dahlström and July 4, 1989, by Anita Dyrbye.

50. In mm. 1–3, four lower *divisi* staves—the bottom staff of the parts for violins 1 and 2, viola, and cello—were unwritten. On the proofs Sibelius copied onto each of these staves the music of the staff immediately above it. The final score incorporates these additions.

51. Harold E. Johnson ("Sibeliuksen," see note 38 above) claimed that the year of publication was 1925. In the Library of Congress Catalogue the publishing date is indicated as December 10, 1925. The latter date was not entered before 1939, however, when the Library of Congress actually received a score of the work (Library of Congress Manuscript, *Jean Sibelius, Book 1, Separate Copyright Entries and Renewals 1909–1950*, Washington, D.C., 62).

52. See the anonymous "Metronomimerkinnät Sibeliuksen Sinfonioihin" ("Metronome Markings for Sibelius's Symphonies"), *Musiikkitieto* (1943): 12; and David Cherniavsky, "Sibelius's Tempo Corrections," *Music & Letters* 31 (1950): 53–55. For another discussion of these tempos with regard to the Fifth Symphony and other matters, see Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5*, Chapter 6.

53. In addition to his work on the Seventh Symphony, Berglund also played a role in the new, corrected editions of the Fifth and Sixth Symphonies. It should be added that Berglund neither officially "approves" nor endorses any of these editions, which still contain several mistakes. Apparently, at the time of his work on these symphonies, not all of the required material for checking was available. Moreover, during the time in which

the new editions were being prepared Berglund was unable to finish all of the corrections properly: the publishers, it seems, redundantly kept sending him the same selection of pages to correct. At some point the conductor lost patience with the procedure and abandoned the work. Telephone communication to the author from Berglund, November 17, 1988.

54. For another discussion of this period and the sources of themes for the late works, see Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5*, Chapter 4. Hepokoski also notes that a prominent theme of *Tapiola* is to be found in the National Archives sketchbook—a theme that was apparently originally considered for the Fifth Symphony.

55. ETF 4: 75, 60.

56. *Ibid.*, 290.

57. This was not the first time that Sibelius had wrestled with a work's conclusion. The quartet in D minor, *Voces intimae*, op. 56, from 1909 provides another instance of a problematic ending. In the manuscript—the *Stichvorlage* (now owned by Zimmerman in Frankfurt)—the ending is totally different from the version found in the published edition. It appears that Sibelius decided on the change in the middle of the publishing process, doubtless at the proof stage. The manuscripts of certain other works—the Violin Concerto, for instance—also suggest compositional difficulties with the ending. Still, with the Seventh Symphony the problem seems to have been more acute than ever before.

58. ETF 5: 166.

V

Sibelius in the Concert Hall and in Scholarship