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JANE F. FULCHER

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For My Husband,  
Robert Muchembled

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## CHAPTER 18

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## MODALITIES OF NATIONAL IDENTITY: SIBELIUS BUILDS A FIRST SYMPHONY

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JAMES HEPOKOSKI

The language in which we are speaking is his before it is mine. How different are the words *home, Christ, ale, master*, on his lips and on mine! I cannot speak or write these words without unrest of spirit. His language, so familiar and so foreign, will always be for me an acquired speech. I have not made or accepted its words. My voice holds them at bay. My soul frets in the shadow of his language.

—James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*

In Finland the 1890s were years of passionate national awakening, language-culture strife, and crystallizing self-definition. For most of the century the country had existed as an autonomous grand duchy of tsarist Russia, with Swedish (the language of Finland's rulers before 1809) as the official language of government, education, and most of the arts. As the century proceeded, however, a fervent Finnish-language movement among a circle of intellectuals and ethnographers was gaining legitimacy and cultural *éclat*. This ever-expanding circle was devoted to a preservationist recovery and stabilization of the strikingly different language of the majority of Finns, particularly those outside the major cities. A disputatiously partisan controversy over language, Finnish versus Swedish, merged readily not only with compelling issues of self-identity and ethnic assertion but also with

an often ambiguous politics of resistance to an often harsh Russian rule. (A declaration of independence would not occur until late 1917, in the immediate wake of the Bolshevik revolution.) All of this was coming to a boil in the accelerated urban modernization of the 1890s, when writers, artists, intellectuals, and musicians rose to the fore to spearhead what would come to be regarded as a golden age of Finnish-language nationalist art.<sup>1</sup>

During this time the young Jean Sibelius was beginning his career as a composer. Originally a Swedish-speaking Finn from Tavastehus (the town's Swedish name, now more commonly known by its Finnish equivalent, Hämeenlinna) and educated musically also in Helsingfors (Helsinki), Berlin, and Vienna, he was steeping himself in things Finnish and taking on the task of devising an individualized, nationalist style that was also powered by a brashly flaunted, new-generation musical modernism. Toward that end and in resonance with the highly charged currents in his country he sought to forge a politically engaged music, a site of national memory and identity. By the last years of the decade this music was to be directed toward a twofold audience. On the one hand, such a work as the seemingly abstract First Symphony of 1899 was addressed within the country, to Finns, as a proclamatory act of national pride, the sort of product that anthropologist Michael Herzfeld has characterized as a signifier of "cultural intimacy" within an ethnic group or a mode of strategically engineered "self-recognition" or "practical essentialism."<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the symphony was also to be addressed to a diverse spectrum of non-Finns in the larger, European marketplace of artistic authority in a career-building bid for personal and cultural acknowledgment, longed-for artistic prestige, and national legitimacy. The conflicting interests at play in any such state of affairs are complex, not easily untangled.

I wish to suggest a few aspects of this broader situation as it pertains to one of Sibelius's primary first-period cultural projects—that of symphonically constructing the impression of a core Finnishness evocative of a preindustrial Karelianist culture. This was the culture whose collected narrative fragments, woven together and published in the Finnish folk epic *Kalevala*, were taken to embody one of the most reliable touchstones of a primitivist, rugged authenticity of difference.<sup>3</sup> While my remarks focus on specific details of Sibelius's music and career, my immediate interest is to use them as an illustration of trends also to be found around that time in other ethnic areas concerned with matters of musical and cultural legitimacy. Of particular interest is the way that those trends played out in the realm of an institutionalized art music (the production and distribution of symphonies, chamber music, tone poems, operas, and the like) whose prestige norms and criteria for assessment had been forged far outside of those more remote areas themselves. In short, much of what I deal with in the case of Sibelius is transferable to those other European composers of the period who also foregrounded folkloric elements in their music. In what follows I am proposing a methodological model generalizable to the study of other art-music inflections of nationalism in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century music.

## FOLK RECITATION AND SYMPHONY: THE CHASM

We might start with the elementary observation that there is a vast gap in sound and *Sitz im Leben* [function within a life situation]—a historical chasm or rupture—between the Finnish-revered originary culture (the posited authentic source, runic recitation patterns from the eastern and southeastern regions of Karelia and Ingria, most of which today are parts of Russia) and elite-urban European art. Figure 18.1 sketches the situation at hand, while examples 18.1 and 18.2 suggest the stark differences between the two worlds in question. In example 18.1 I have transcribed the initial six statement-and-response cycles heard on the 1905 wax-cylinder recording of oral-culture Kalevalaic recitation (“Tulen synty” [The Birth of Fire]) delivered by the rune singer Pedri (Petri) Shemeikka at the request of field ethnographer and composer Armas Launis, whose later-published studies of this and other folk repertoires would come to be foundational.<sup>4</sup> This was the same Shemeikka whom Sibelius, much impressed, had met, heard, and transcribed in Korpiselkä (Karelia) thirteen years earlier, in the summer of 1892.<sup>5</sup>

Shemeikka’s melodic recitation pattern is only one variant of hundreds of similar, highly recognizable formulas typically heard in Karelian folk communities of that day for the telling of extended, textually unstable fragments of traditional but disconnected tales from the *Kalevala*. (The F-minor signature and transcription locate only the pitches heard in the recording. Needless to say, within the originary culture this notation, much less a four-flatted F minor, had no role to play.) The primitive-voice quality and unlettered, coarse-grained character of that world—the raw stuff of ethnographic research—is impossible to convey in any rough transcription. For this reason it is instructive (indeed, essential) to consult modern transfers of early recordings of the practice. Shemeikka’s 1905 cylinder is among the earliest, and extracts of it are also available on the Internet.<sup>6</sup> Equally vital to its initial context is the pagan-sacred aspect of ritually resuscitating once again the community memory of a seemingly timeless text. This *Kalevala* fragment was being ceremonially reanimated here, as it had been among generations of ancestors. For our purposes, though, as well as Sibelius’s (capturing the intervallic sound and mood of the repeated formula), the verbal details of the folk fragment being delivered are not crucial features. (As Anneli Asplund has noted, Shemeikka’s text consists of “a series of charms used to heal burns or put out fires”; “The old man of the air blasts out his lightning. The fire from it penetrates the earth and reaches down as far as Manala, the underworld. Iron stallions are born.”)<sup>7</sup>

The six hypnotically reiterative two-bar rounds in example 1 (in this notational translation,  $6 \times 2$  measures) occupy only the first thirty-three seconds of the recording. Ten similar back-and-forth recitations complete its total length of 1 minute 28 seconds, even as we realize that these sixteen recorded lines represent only a small slice of what would have been a much more extended recitation in actual practice—that obsessive, quasi-infinite sameness of the circular delivery, considered by the leaders of the Finnish-language movement from the mid-and late-nineteenth century onward to embody an elemental, premodern Finnishness or cultural essence.

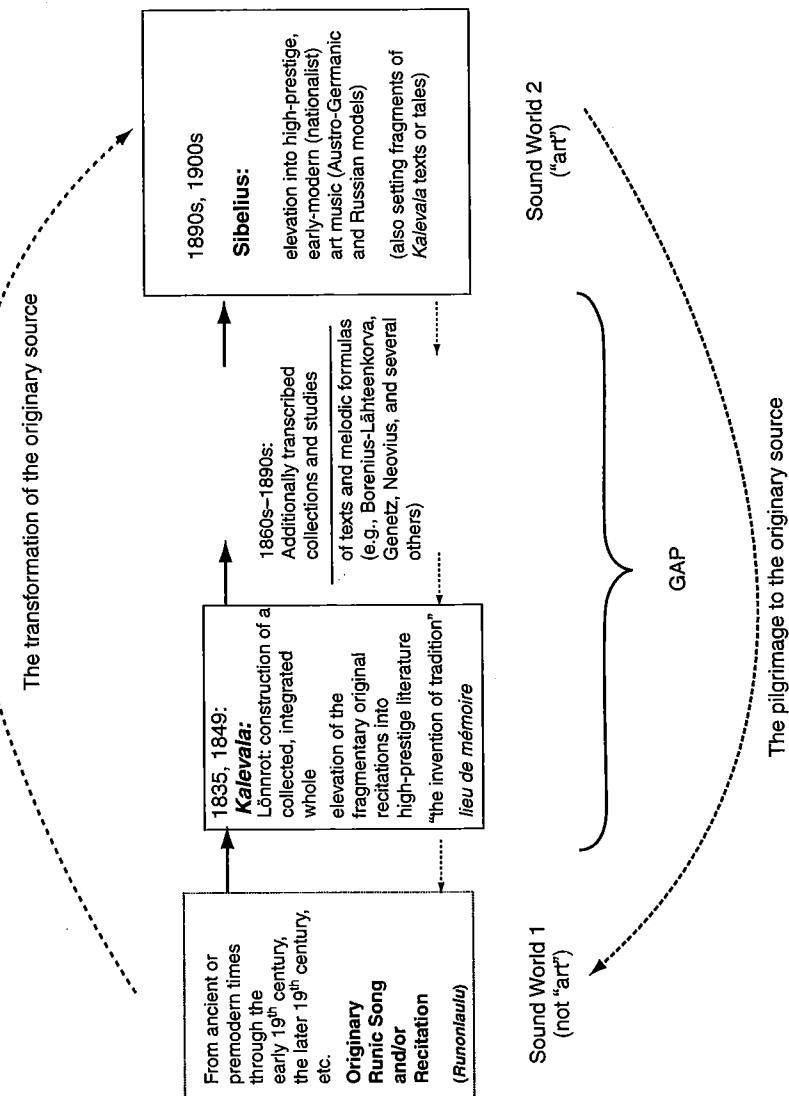


Figure 18.1. Encounter and return: From folk-source to art music.



## Example 18.2.1. Continued

Musical score for Example 18.2.1, Continued, showing measures 117 to 127. The score includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Horns (Cor.), Trumpets (Timp.), Arpa, Violins (Viol.), and Violas (Vcllo). Dynamics include *dim.*, *poco cresc.*, and *con sord.*. Measure numbers 117, 121, 125, and 127 are circled.

connotations of this enchantment of presence are political and ideological, something to be felt and shared in a generalized way as the music passes by, comes forth, and recedes in linear time. It is worth our trouble to stop the music—to throw it onto the examination table—to observe how Sibelius staged these effects.

Here the secondary-theme strategy was to unfurl an enhanced ethnic disclosure in two distinct stages: (1) a preparatory backward drift in conceptual time—a

## Example 18.2.2. Continued

Musical score for Example 18.2.2, Continued, showing measures 129 to 137. The score includes parts for Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Horns (Cor.), Trumpets (Timp.), Violins (Viol.), and Violas (Vcllo). Dynamics include *pp*, *poco ritenuto*, *a tempo*, and *espress.*. Measure numbers 129, 130, 134, and 137 are circled.

collective-memory corridor leading the participatory listener back toward evocations of a presumably mysterious or magical antiquity, followed by (2) “contact” with the presumed root-source proper (“There it is!”), suggesting that the generating past or at least a decipherable simulacrum of it has been successfully accessed and recovered, made audible once again through the deictic potentialities of modern symphonic art. The initial secondary-theme module (m. 108, led into with introductory, modal-chord oscillations in mm. 100–107) can be heard within the

## Example 18.2.3. Continued

139 Fl. Ob. Cl. Fag. Timp. Viol.

141 Solo *mp*

143 *Poco a poco più stretto e crescendo.* *mp* *dim.* *mp*

146 *Poco a poco più stretto e crescendo.* *H<sup>mp</sup>*

language context of standard symphonic practice as seeking to suggest a now-deep(er) reaching into the mysterious, cradle-rocking folk-soul of the Finnish past. That module is also the vehicle by means of which an even more foundational, harder-to-recover, and yet truer past can be activated and enabled to appear (m. 130). Throughout, Sibelius's mission was one of monumentalization: both to dramatize the appearance of any such folk-inflected music and massively to inflate its

expressive significance through the grand gestures and colors accessible through the symphonic idiom. Let us consider each of the two spaces in turn.

Merged into by m. 103 (the process had started in m. 100), the first phase, the corridor, establishes a space of maximal difference from the music that has preceded it (much of which, as we shall see, had also been shot through with Finnish identifiers). Toward that end, the composer sought to arrest the choppy, forward-charging plunge of the primary theme and transition in order suddenly (pre-cinematically) to dissolve into a starkly contrasting, more immobile space: the opening up of a wide-angle, sonic tableau. Tonal-diatonic and chromatic-modern practices now give way to static modal oscillation. This coloristic harmony suggests an entry into a different expressive world, the premodern otherness of the invariant national soul, now called upon to occupy the secondary-theme zone of the exposition. The music around letter E (m. 108) is harmonically articulated through the tonic-subdominant oscillations of a static C-sharp dorian in harp and strings. The letter-E theme in the flutes is a transformation of the double-pentachord module from the introduction, mm. 17–20, another Finnish identifier that is discussed toward the end of this chapter.

But this light-staccato passage—recasting the clarinet introduction—turns out to be only the initiatory module within a multimodular S-space. The “off-tonic” C-sharp dorian has not yet settled on the proper (or at least eventual) pitch level for secondary-theme space. Once the modal past is touched around letter E, its persistent staccato chattering unlocks a second, deeper stage of fantasy revelation, which begins at m. 130, two bars before G (anticipated in the oboe in m. 129). We have been brought to a place of access, and the past can now flow into it. This is the moment of contact, the purer allusion to ritualized Kalevalaic recitation: the back-and-forth statement-and-response patterns of semantically parallel paired lines. In this portion of the secondary-thematic zone, now slipping onto the proper modal key, B minor (though over a pedal dominant), we are invited to experience an intimation of the real thing, an epiphany from the mythically reconstructed Finnish past, self-consciously staged as a commemoration of ancient times now being accommodated to the new-world promptings of the urban-modern symphony.

Consider the woodwind melodic material in mm. 130–46. Here Sibelius presents us with a second static sound-image: a B-aeolian or natural-minor melody (though harmonized with the  $\sharp 7$  of the harmonic minor scale) hovering over a pulsing dominant pedal that, in the richly textured backdrop strings, supports oscillations between a dominant-seventh chord and its neighboring  $\frac{6}{4}$  position. What we experience is a back-and-forth shifting of harmonic colors evoking a recurring Kalevalaic-recitation cycle of timeless alternation, to which we have now gained access. In the interlocked exchanges between the flutes/clarinets and the oboe it is easy to perceive the allusion to the ancient practice of interlinear, semantic parallelism between successions of paired lines, in this case even preserving the characteristic endings of the flutes' and clarinets' statement on  $\hat{2}$  (mm. 135–36 and 141–42) and the oboe's response on  $\hat{1}$  (mm. 138–39 and 144–45).

Within this modern context, that summoned, epiphanic moment can be drawn forth only fleetingly before it recedes, like a revered but ephemeral vision, to rejoin

(m. 146) an already initiated variant of the earlier chattering, although now over the attained F-sharp pedal, transformed into V of B minor (which eventually resolves, peremptorily, almost as a gratuitous nod toward European-art obligation, onto the B-tonic at m. 166, the point of essential expositional closure [EEC]). It is as if, in the center of that secondary-theme space, a privileged curtain has been opened, one in which a more fully revealed, authentic Kalevalaic past is momentarily made more directly available through the prestige power of art music's claims, as well as being honorifically memorialized as part of the fixed letter of a symphony.

In such passages the composer asks his listeners to identify a self-evidently symphonic passage with the mood and spirit of premodern runic recitation, an identification offered here as a quasi-intuitive connection, a deep-rooted cultural affinity.<sup>9</sup> But the gap in sound and intention between these two sound-worlds is huge. In figure 18.1 the dotted arrow at the bottom, leading leftward to the originary source, suggests the pointing involved in Sibelius's 1899 musical allusion—a pointing under urban-modern conditions to what was being mythologized as a far-distant, once-timeless, and heroic past, though one now slipping ever further away, foreordained by the relentless rationality of an ever-advancing modernity to melt into extinction: a conceptual pilgrimage to a posited germinal source, to what was once a primeval totality of shared-community, face-to-face relations.<sup>10</sup> The complementary dotted arrow at the top suggests its subsequent appropriation, modernist transformation, and careerist elevation into the high-prestige, technological world of the late-century, urban-European symphony, thus completing a trajectory of departure and return: over the yawning chasm into a purportedly truth-telling past and back again on different terms.

## NATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS: RECOVERING A VANISHING PAST AND THE DRIVE FOR RECOGNITION

In 1899 what made this conceptual journey possible was a preceding series of literary and musical collections fueled by political, folkloric, and preservationist concerns, each of which sought to transcribe the fluidity and fragmentariness of the recited originals into the fixity of print and musical notation. Any such selection and arrangement of texts, along with their translation into the modality of written script, substantially altered much that had been fundamental within the nonfixed, mutable runic sources. Elias Lönnrot's selection, editing, integration, and topical arrangement of scattered oral fragments into the 1835 and 1849 versions of the *Kalevala*—along with material of his own devising—constitute a classic exemplar of what Eric Hobsbawm famously called "the invention of tradition" among nineteenth-century cultures and nations seeking politically to engineer

commemorations of a now-idealized past.<sup>11</sup> This was a monument to Finland's folk past, a high-prestige, now-literary place for present and future generations to visit within what was now, ever more clearly with each decade, an urban-modernizing age (an age of progress in the building of a "modern nation") on its way, eventually, to erasing the remaining traces and traditions of peasant or folk cultures, whose backward residues remained stubbornly only as fading glimmers within retreating geographical peripheries.

The *Kalevala* was a historicist project of recovery and preservation that operated on different social-class terms from those that had produced the original recitations in the first place. And yet Lönnrot's book of legends and heroes would soon be mythicized as immortalizing a unique, shared place of origin. To borrow the more general terms of Anthony D. Smith, historian of nationalism(s), the *Kalevala* provided Finns with a tangible "sacred center" serving as a "ready-made ethnic base" and treasure-house of age-old communal traditions for those Finnish-language speakers who wished to accept it as a spiritual home and the essential site that made possible their community's "rediscovery of the 'inner self' that is one of the chief ends of ethnic historicism."<sup>12</sup> As Smith put it in 1991, now addressing this specific situation:

Here was the ideal self-definition and exemplar for a regenerated Finland in its heroic struggle against Swedish cultural and Russian political domination at the end of the nineteenth century. The recovery of an ancient but apparently "lost" period of Finnish history and culture restored to Finns ["the Finnish intelligentsia and later . . . the people"] that sense of community and dignity necessary for a small and relatively poor and despised society struggling to reassert its place through a "high" culture.<sup>13</sup>

In subsequent decades, additional poetry transcriptions and cultural and linguistic studies (such as those by the folklorist Arvid Genetz, who was also one of young Sibelius's teachers in Tavastehus/Hämeenlinna)<sup>14</sup> and music transcriptions of the hundreds of variants within the recitation-formula families (especially those in 1877 and following years by Axel August Borenius-Lähteenkorva, along with performance reports by such figures as Adolf Neovius) provided further stages in the production of these now-stable monuments to the past.<sup>15</sup> Sibelius's personal encounters in late 1891 with the Ingrian rune singer Larin Paraske—cited affirmatively in all biographical accounts—provides an additional binding ingredient in the legitimation myth of this generational laying-on-of-hands. In the early 1890s the high-art master-to-be came face to face, for the first time, with what those in his nationalist circle of artists and intellectuals were asserting to be the real thing and touched the core of what he had come to regard as an enduring, culture-defining truth that could continue to persist as the cornerstone of a now-awakening national soul.

Sibelius's personal encounters aside—there were a few others, including the important 1892 Karelian visit in Korpiselkä with Shemeikka<sup>16</sup>—what we see in figure 18.1 is a succession of negotiations (the smaller back-and-forth arrows in the center) bridging the gap between an eroding past and an advancing present that is



grasping to preserve it, if only as a translated memory trace circulating within a different mode of communication. In the First Symphony and elsewhere Sibelius regularly wrote passages that point over the gap. Within Finland they were addressed, presumably, to his "in-the-know" listeners' cultural regard for the ordinary source-style, now musically reprocessed and theatricalized into a present-day, urban-modernist discourse. In such situations concerns of identity and uniqueness of origin are also animated by complex and conflicting impulses of loss. Even while there is no wish to restore the social conditions of a vanishing, premodern past, the point of any such "cultural nationalism" (to use John Hutchinson's term) is to ensure that a cherished past not be forgotten—or, more to the point, to teach and encourage chosen populations to revere and remember that selectively crafted past in an ineradicable age of progressive modernism. It is to be remembered both as an exalted "founding myth" and as a source of high-minded "moral regeneration of the historic community," a process capable of uniting a people "by returning to the creative life-principle of the nation," thus fulfilling a presumed "national destiny."<sup>17</sup>

Even though the details of the Finnish case are particularly salient, involving the conscious and labored construction of a full-blown folk epic, this mode of intellectualized, artistic preservation was hardly unique to Finland. It was a nineteenth- (and twentieth-) century nationalist phenomenon common to many other cultures as well. This deeply rooted drive to uncover and preserve seemingly lost or rapidly vanishing ethnic traditions has been much examined and interpreted in a number of different ways. There is a double consciousness at work here: a melancholic indulgence in one's irreversible exile from the idealized past of one's ethnic predecessors coupled with a keen embrace of technological advancement for one's nation and its full entry into the modernizing world.

The dual-aspect phenomenon is a familiar one. In a 2001 study of nostalgia, for instance ("nostos—return home, and *algia*—longing... a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed... a romance with one's own fantasy"), Svetlana Boym identified this familiar tendency as "reflective nostalgia" (as opposed to a more activist "restorative nostalgia," which seeks politically to reinstate the past). "Nostalgia, like progress, is dependent on the modern conception of unrepeatable and irreversible time." Reflective nostalgia blends together such "long-distance" factors as "anxiety about the vanishing past," "the meditation on history and passage of time," "individual and cultural memory," and the "savor[ing of] details and memorial signs, perpetually deferring homecoming itself."<sup>18</sup> While politically embracing an increasingly disenchanting, technological world rushing toward an international and hopefully prosperous future, the cultural imperative is repeatedly and sentimentally to recall and thereby retain a disappearing folk-world that might, through the alchemy of art, become momentarily re-enchanted.

The historical situation also resonates aptly with Pierre Nora's similarly recent, sharply intensified concept of the *lieu de mémoire*, or site of (cultural) memory:

*Lieux de mémoire* exist because there are no longer any *milieux de mémoire*, settings in which memory is a real part of everyday experience.... *Lieux de*

*mémoire* are fundamentally vestiges, the ultimate embodiments of a commemorative consciousness that survives in a history which, having renounced memory, cries out for it... These bastions buttress our identities, but if what they defended were not threatened, there would be no need for them... Moments of history are plucked out of the flow of history, then returned to it—no longer quite alive but not yet entirely dead, like shells left on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded... These *lieux* have washed up from a sea of memory in which we no longer dwell.<sup>19</sup>

From a slightly different perspective, Sibelius's 1899 symphonic transformation involved a related set of negotiations (figure 18.2). Here the local composer—represented by the rectangular box on the left—confronts the world of urban-European elite class and status, motivated by the drive for recognition among artistic representatives of what Milan Kundera calls "small nations" (or at least outlying nations distant from the radiating power-centers of aesthetic style, consecratory languages, and conferrals of legitimacy).<sup>20</sup> If one resides in such a cultural periphery, the initial problem is one of being noticed at all within a potentially humiliating game of insider and outsider, a deadly serious contest whose status-positions are defined on elusive and protean concepts of self and other, membership and non-membership, inclusion and exclusion. To be noticed as existing it was necessary to participate in the genre-game of the greater power, and one had to play it well and engagingly, drawing attention to oneself through the ratification power of its high-prestige luster.

Figure 18.2 illustrates some of the negotiations in play within figure 18.1's right-most box (its Sibelius box). The central point in this small-nation quest for recogni-

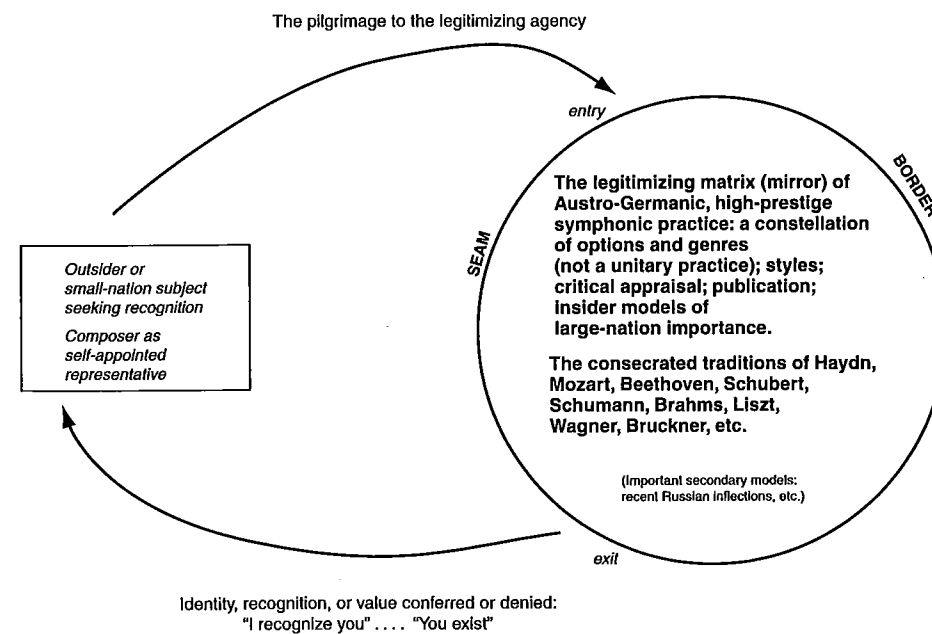


Figure 18.2. Outsider discourse in quest of legitimation.

tion is the obligatory embedding of that pursuit within a matrix of the large nation's discourse. In this case Sibelius's symphony sought inclusion within the high-prestige discourse norms of the late-nineteenth-century Austro-Germanic symphony (the large circle at the right) with its own well-policed fields of expectations and traditions, including stringent criteria for assessment and limits on permissible degrees of variability and experiment. This decision was made shortly after his breakthrough contract with Leipzig's Breitkopf & Härtel in 1898, along with some initial performances of his music in Germany and, most of all, in preparation for the Helsinki Philharmonic's large-scale northern-European tour in summer 1900.<sup>21</sup> Sibelius was now making a bid to emerge from the parochially local sphere hoping to compete in earnest for the prestige of recognition in the larger-European arena. Yet, following the insider-authenticity demands of figure 18.1, he was also obliged to build an idiosyncratic, Finnish-inflected symphony that, paradoxically, was also to serve as his principal attraction and mark of distinctiveness in larger-European markets. To be sure, for Sibelius in the 1890s, the situation was somewhat more complicated. Recent Russian compositions—such as those of Tchaikovsky and Borodin—were also important nationalist models for some of his harmonic, modal, and orchestrational strategies. Nonetheless, those nearby practices were themselves negotiations between Russian constructions of self and nation and the more fundamental Austro-Germanic discourse within which they were enabled. For all of these composers the symphony was a genre to be approached as the repository of a venerated “truth language,” a high-prestige musical vehicle equipped with the power to consecrate small-nation cultural legitimacy simply by taking serious notice of it (“I recognize you; you exist”).<sup>22</sup>

The process illustrated in figure 18.2, then, is a negotiation between insider small-nation interests and outsider large-nation consecratory power—very much to the essence of the First Symphony. Here the pilgrimage is to the legitimizing agency of expected symphonic practice. In figure 18.1 the balancing pilgrimage—backward in time—had been to the legitimizing or supposedly truth-telling folk source. In short, we have two different pilgrimages: two complementary moves seeking to gain access to utterly different modes of truth language. It is not without interest to observe that for the Swedish-speaking Sibelius, both truth languages (the Karelian runic recitation of the *Kalevala* myths, delivered in various dialects of Finnish, and the Austro-Germanic high-art language of music) were learned languages. In the period 1888–1893 the young Sibelius was urgently trying to absorb and master them both—to bring them together—but both were external to the cultural and linguistic place from which he had started. In short, both were educationally approached.

The large circle with a bold outline in figure 18.2 is also meant to imply the seam or protective border surrounding the consecrated traditions—an initial hurdle (or default of exclusion) separating Sibelius away as an outsider, yet enticing him to enter and prove his worth if he could meet the established terms of the enclosed practice. The hoped-for result was the manufacturing of an esteemed product, a “classic,” to be reheard again and again in the formal rites of concert programming and performance: the ritual repetition of a national, now-unchangeable *lieu de*

*mémoire*, a ceremony of spiritual identity mediated through the prestige of established symphonic tradition and inviting silent contemplation and reverential self-identification from the earnest listener.

From an only slightly adjusted perspective, the process in figure 18.2 resonates productively with the traditional belief that to have the right to exist—to matter at all, or at least to feel assured that one matters—is to be confirmed in that right, and thus legitimized, by outside observers that are culturally granted the power to bestow it. Some interpretations would go further to insist that this longing for external recognition lies at the heart of personal and cultural identity formation. On the recent terms, for instance, of Jacques Lacan and Slavoj Žižek, nothing less than one's personal awareness of one's existence is predicated on the fantasy of believing oneself to be the object of the Other's desire—being gazed upon by the Other (as in a mirror), thereby being able to assure oneself that one is worthy of that Other's longing gaze.<sup>23</sup> Within musical nationalism, broadly considered, one such mirror mechanism of self-legitimation can be the external genre of the symphony as a self-created fantasy projection—one that imagines that the authority-bearing language of a valorizing Other is looking back at you (as an object of desire), accepting you, and reassuring you that you are who you wish yourself to be. Thus, within figure 18.2, Sibelius could be interpreted as crossing the bold-border seam to manufacture a symphony, predicated largely in “their” language, that serves to look back both at himself as a unique creator and at his own nationally awakening culture, a fantasy-gaze of the Other, a reflecting fantasy, mirror-like, that offers to an insider, small-nation culture an image of how it longs to be seen by outside others with the power to consecrate: “I *do* recognize you. You *do* exist.”

## STRATEGIC TRIANGULATION: MUSICAL NEGOTIATIONS AMONG TRUTH LANGUAGES

The figure 18.2 situation is complicated further in that by the 1890s the Austro-Germanic constellation of symphonic traditions had split into opposing factions: a traditionalist base (Brahms and much conservatory practice) confronted by a schismatic and politicized modernism (the chromaticism, coloristic orchestration, and poetically generated formal deformations viewed as progressive in a post-Lisztian, post-Wagnerian world). This brings us to figure 18.3, a more complete way of conceptualizing Sibelius's symphonic choices as ongoing acts of negotiation. I refer to this as Sibelius's strategic triangulation among three negotiated sites, each of which points toward different modes of authenticity and truth-language claims.

Sibelius's symphonic music interweaves differing harmonic and tonal practices on multiple levels, the local, the intermediate, and the long-range. Perhaps too crudely, we might construe the melodic or harmonic components of the three nodes as (from

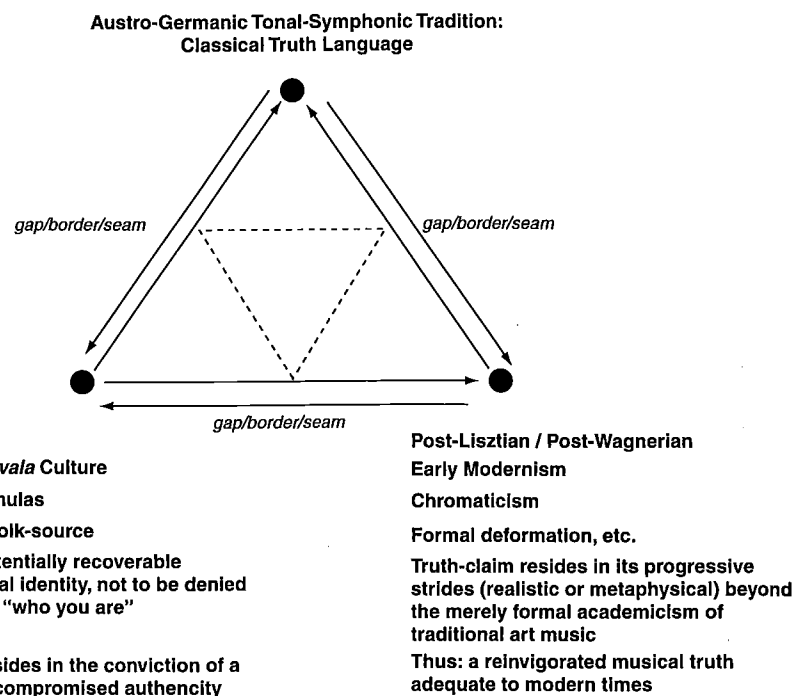


Figure 18.3. Strategic triangulation: Three negotiated sites of authenticity/truth/identity.

the top, moving clockwise): first, the *diatonic-traditional* (the "classical" tonal-symphonic tradition); second, the *chromatic-progressive* (the harmonic-practice markers of the emerging, new-generational early modernism); and third, the *modal-antique* (the originary *Kalevala* folk-culture, ideologically mythicized as a wellspring of cultural identity and difference). Sibelius's music typically shuttles among these constellated nodes, in a process of regular negotiation among them, juxtaposing and overlaying them for structural and expressive purposes deemed appropriate to the symphonic moment at hand. This is why any single analytical system, such as Schenkerian analysis, which is adequate only to hierarchical voice-leading procedures within only one node of the triangulation—the traditional practice at the top—is reductive and inadequate. Sibelius's many forays into a more fully chromatic modernism at the lower right, for instance—replete with Tristan chord and diminished-seventh-chord arrivals, real-transposition sequences, octatonic- and hexatonic-system deployments—call for a complementary dialogue with such alternative analytical methods as neo-Riemannianism or transformation theory. Our analytical styles should be flexible and triangulated, not locked into a unitary practice.

But of course more than harmony is in play. Each musical site (each node of the triangle) participates in a wider musical nexus of ideological traditions, genres, and implications. Figure 18.3 suggests how Sibelius's music (like the First Symphony) may be considered from a broader cultural perspective—not as a reified object but as an ongoing process of negotiated motion, a performative display of multiple

dialogues and exchanges. Such a work as the First Symphony dwells not on any one of the three black-dot nodes of this triangle but rather in the interstices or corridors that connect them, the back-and-forth motion-vectors that constitute its sides—navigating in, around, and through the connective passageways. In turn this suggests that the dotted-line triangle in the center is a more precise suggestion of the real triangulation at work—a triangulation not among merely the black-dot nodes as static categories but rather among the corridor gaps, seams, and borders, a strategic triangulation among negotiated processes.<sup>24</sup> Correspondingly, we might be advised to direct our own interpretive gazes toward the larger totality of the triangulated discourse network as a whole, the instabilities and gaps of the pulsating thing-in-motion.

For the listener or analyst the question is how we might appropriately enter into this thing-in-motion, which can appear different to each of us depending on our own cultural and intellectual positions, on how closely we individually identify with the cultural interests advocated by each of the three power-nodes of the triangle. Under such circumstances it becomes tempting to read ourselves and our own agendas into Sibelius's work and thereby to project onto it our own evaluations. Committed patriots, for instance, might be drawn fervently to the "spiritual-solidarity" thrust of the lower-left node—to the resonances of its ardent national inflection, to the inner pull of its claims on behalf of a presumably authentic expression of singularity and indelible difference in contact with the supposedly stable and eternal taproot of the true Finnish self ("Yes! It is truly *I*—it is *we*—who are recognized and constructed by this music!").

By contrast, academic analysis and criticism, invested overwhelmingly in reaffirming the prestige of established Austro-Germanic practice as the primary criterion of value, has often been discomfited by some of the nationalistic elements of the triangulation (the lower-left node), has often regarded them as parochial limitations, aesthetic embarrassments, or outright deficiencies. Against such dismissals the only counter within the academic system is a frankly recuperative strategy on traditionalist terms, an attempt to demonstrate the "real" value of Sibelius to the skeptic by arguing that the composer does indeed deserve to pass officially sanctioned analytical muster through the production of orthodox legitimizing procedures: intense Schenkerian graphs, motivic developing-variation charts, formal-process overviews, and so on.

From time to time it is invigorating to step back from all of this—to step back from the urge to reduce one's own view to that of any one of the three power-nodes and their agendas—and instead to grasp the larger totality of the triangulated discourse network as a whole, the instabilities and gaps of the pulsating thing-in-motion. And behind it all, the entire set of processes, at the turn of the century, was being placed in the service of the historical construction of a national identity. But all such identities are problematic: the blank void at the triangle's center, longing to be nourished with real content. The empty center: an appeal for recognition that welds an insider discourse of imagined communal kinship and solidarity for Finns to an exotic outsider discourse for others.

## BUILDING A FIRST SYMPHONY: MUSIC AS NATIONALIST IDEOLOGY

Figure 18.4 completes our overview by illustrating a familiar teleological plan—an archetypal musical plot—favored as an interior trajectory within individual pieces by many later-nineteenth-century nationalist composers. Here the musical linearity opens itself to political interpretation, inviting listeners to imagine the overcoming of external obstacles through struggle or resistance. When we consider a set of first performances of a work—that toward which the composer obviously prepares it—it is crucial to observe that the whole process, of necessity, is literally to be unfolded in the present—the present, that is, of those initial performances and audiences. At least initially, the work seeks to speak to that world as it stands at that moment. Thus a reasonable assumption is that the presented span of the symphonic discourse, from start to finish, is temporally focalized (to use Gérard Genette's term) in the here and now—in the case of Sibelius's First Symphony, from the point of view of Finnish audiences at the turn of the century.<sup>25</sup> (I set aside here the conceptual problems of performances in later decades or other places, ones that do not share Finland's preoccupations of that era.) Under those conditions the work's contents are to be perceived from a specific point of view, that of the participants' present-day situation, the audience's now-time. From this stable vantage point, a sonically iridescent temporal fulcrum, it becomes possible, while still holding confidently to the anchor of the present, the point of focalization, to survey musical allusions to the past (and thus to perceive them as past) as well as anticipated projections into an as-yet-unrealized future.

Once this has been grasped, it becomes clear why a composer might stage the whole discourse of a nationalist work to drive toward an ecstatically affirmative outcome at the end. When this happens, such a *telos* proclaims that the music has successfully completed a representational trajectory from "then" to "now," a historical journey from obscurity to recognition ("Here we are! We have arrived!"). What is metaphorically represented in such cases is the long-awaited emergence into history of a nation and with it the promise of its projection into a confident, modern future. (Smetana's *Vltava*, Tchaikovsky's Second Symphony and 1812 Overture, Dvořák's Eighth Symphony, Sibelius's *Finlandia*, and numerous other works provide familiar realizations.)<sup>26</sup> Under the terms of this standardized plot format, music-time (the linear progress of the piece from moment to moment, its aesthetic time-axis) is readily homologous to historical time—moving toward "us," so to speak, moving from the fantasy of our past to the fantasy of our urban-modern present. The forward-vectored musical unfolding of the piece—within a symphony the four-movement whole—is to be construed as an analogue of a culture's image of its own chronological history, the forging of a national soul, a musical enactment of proud awakening and assertion. Structure and process march inexorably toward the staging of a culminating, heroic self-realization, achieved at the climactic end of the

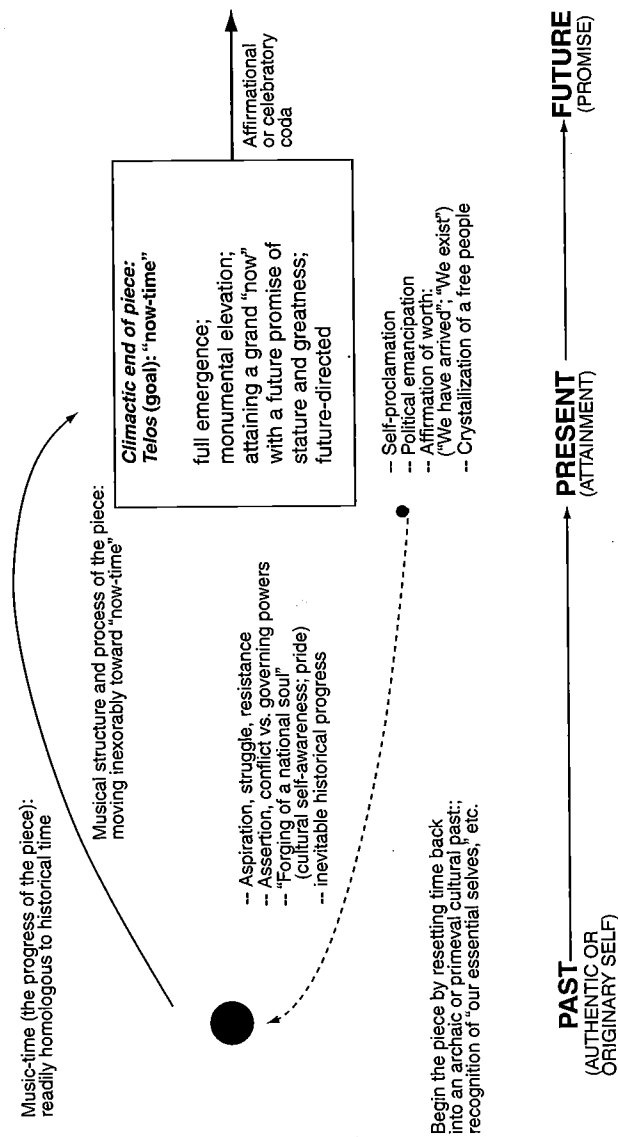


Figure 18.4. One Characteristic Symphonic-Nationalist Plot: Self-Realization of a People; Emergence into History and the Future.

piece (as the arched upper arrow suggests)—a grand, liberated “now,” a *telos* emancipated into historical reality in the finale and striding confidently, often in a major-mode, triumphant coda, into a bright future. The expressive carrier for all of this is that of the metaphor of the symphony—“their” prestige genre—conquered and completed and thus earned through struggle as “our” prestige genre as well, a sign of self-proclaimed, sophisticated accomplishment.

Sibelians will recognize the plot as precisely that of the D-major Second Symphony of 1901–02—another touchstone realization. But the E-minor First Symphony of 1899, its Karelianist counterpart and predecessor, denies its listeners the generic affirmative *telos* at the end. However unmistakably its internal struggles toward musical and cultural emancipation were staged, the First Symphony ends catastrophically in a ruthlessly smothering E minor. Especially in those politically strained times for Finland, the First Symphony’s connotation was one of an overwhelming injustice still enforced from outside—the lid still on—while fierce resentment and unstoppable resistance continue to boil below, awaiting their day. This negative variant of the stereotypical plot may be unique. The First is perhaps the only overtly nationalistic, late-nineteenth-century symphony that projects a narrative of failure purposely kept from attaining the normatively positive *telos*. Instead, it lionizes the grimly persistent, clenched fist of resistance. It loses this first four-movement battle but resolutely gears up for the next one. In the Second Symphony the same plot would be revisited and brought to the more traditionally victorious, utopian outcome. The First and Second Symphonies are interconnected, companion works, negative and positive, opposite faces of the same narrative coin.<sup>27</sup>

Along the bottom of figure 18.4 we see that this standard nationalist plot carries the music from a presumed source-past, with which it must connect at the opening, through musical and historical time to a proclaimed present (attaining the point of temporal focalization as *telos*), and finally into what is usually a projection into the future at the end. This means that the composer typically begins such a piece by resetting time back into an archaic or primeval cultural past, grasping and transforming a presumed ancient source of folk authenticity (as in figure 18.1), a procedure that invites the insiders’ recognition of “our essential selves.” Hence the backward-moving dotted-line arrow, with the large black dot suggesting the opening measures of the piece, which is often an introduction or folk-soul preface before the main structure of the work gets underway. We are confronted with a temporal paradox in the opening bars of such a work. As the music moves forward in chronological, linear time, insider-listeners are asked to drift backward into the past, to recognize and secure an initial contact with a preindustrial folk source that they believe, as a binding myth, that they share as enduring features in the modernizing present.<sup>28</sup>

The opening of the First Symphony provides us with an illustration of this—and of figures 18.1 through 18.3 as well. The relevant music is shown in example 18.3, and at least for the purposes of this chapter I set aside the important issues both of the slow introduction’s possible indebtedness to prestigious models in

Example 18.3. Sibelius, Symphony no. 1 in E Minor, op. 39/i, mm. 1–58

Tchaikovsky and others—which deepens crucial questions of intertextuality and modeling in obvious ways—and of the recently published evidence that during the earlier stages of labor on the symphony’s composition Sibelius might not always have planned for there to be an introduction at all. (With regard to this latter issue, at least from the 1899 public premiere of the original work onward, the First Symphony seems always to have been performed—and then published—with a slow introduction.)<sup>29</sup>

The first sounds that we hear are those of the introductory *Andante, ma non troppo* preceding the onset of the *Allegro energico* sonata-form proper. In this

Example 18.3.1. Continued

11 Cl.  
Timp.  
Viol.  
25 Cl.  
Viol.  
35 Fag.  
Cor. III IV.  
Viol.  
pian.  
mf

16 17 21  
pp morendo pp piano  
pp morendo  
Allegro energico. (♩ = 100)  
ppp morendo  
mf sempre  
poco forte  
Allegro energico. (♩ = 100)  
mf

preparatory musical “frame” we are presented with a solitary instrumental voice (the solo clarinet) exploring still-empty space in allusively modal formulations.<sup>30</sup> The initial melody is governed largely by the modal-minor, “Finnish” pentachord (the central folk element that Sibelius had emphasized three years earlier in a lecture on Finnish-nationalist aesthetics given in 1896 at what was then the Imperial

Example 18.3.2. Continued

42 Fl.  
Ob.  
Cl.  
Fag.  
Cor.  
Tuba.  
Timp.  
Viol.  
51 Fl.  
Ob.  
Cl.  
Fag.  
Cor.  
Timp.  
Viol.  
55  
A

49  
f marcato  
f marcato  
f marcato  
f marcato  
dim. molto  
dim. molto  
f marcato  
meno f  
meno f  
meno f  
meno f  
f marcato  
f marcato  
f marcato  
f marcato  
pizz.  
mf  
pizz.  
mf

Alexander University of Finland in Helsingfors/Helsinki).<sup>31</sup> All of this is to suggest a drifting back into a seamlessly whole folk-past (a Kalevalaic-recitation world of cultural memory—perhaps also imbued, as Ilmari Krohn suggested in 1945, with the melancholy flavor of a primordial Karelian singer of *itkukvirsiä*, or laments).<sup>32</sup> That distant and mystified past is now being grasped and brought—negotiated—over a substantial gap of time and sonority into the modern symphonic world of urban high-prestige art.



Apart from the sprouting of the modal pentachords at different pitch levels, several other signifiers are evocative here. The *alla breve* barlines are notationally present but barely perceived aurally: The clarinet solo is played, cadenza-like, in the largely free, nonrationalized space of a remote, lonely timelessness. Even the notational image of the clarinet on the page, isolated with the timpani on the otherwise empty staves of a full orchestral score, visually conveys this idealized solitariness, the faraway, Karelian voice translated from outside into the clarinet timbre and advancing toward the modern orchestra and its demands. For the audience participating in this performance ritual, the analogue is the visual presence of the large but silent orchestra—the consecratory group—assembled onto the stage, waiting to take up its own modern, high-art duties when given the go-ahead. The process is initiated by an almost-inaudible B-natural, *pianissimo* timpani roll in mm. 1–16. Here the fantasy curtain of the past is drawn open, a backdrop sound impulse dying away, *morendo*, in m. 16, leaving the clarinet even more isolated—a national voice, a historicized myth of authenticity, soon to be brought into engagement and put at risk in the urban-modern symphony to follow.

While the Finnish-pentachord signifiers of the introduction are self-explanatory, one might call attention to mm. 17–20 and its double-pentachord formation around e natural: a minor pentachord both below and above the axis of e natural (though the entire modular complex in mm. 17–20 may also be construed locally as A dorian if we regard the lowest pitch as the final). The appearance here of the double pentachord as an evocation of primeval Finnishness is no accident. Sibelius had noted the possibility of just such a complementary lower pentachord in his 1896 folk- and art-music lecture as a typically Finnish configuration that, properly treated by the modern composer, would imply a modal harmonization.<sup>33</sup>

Measures 1–21 play themselves out in melodic shapes bounded by the E-minor, B-minor, and A-minor modal pentachords. As the introductory solo voice is brought closer to the symphonic process proper, mm. 21–29 return to the opening melodic figure, now outlining the G-minor pentachord and in the process completing an extended series of descending fifths that had begun back in m. 1.<sup>34</sup> Measures 25–29 call for a triple *pianissimo* with a dissolving fade-out, *morendo*—an initial premise whose purer isolation recedes into near inaudibility even as the primeval world toward which it had pointed is now suddenly thrown into the world of the modern symphony with the Picardy-third effect of the G-B tremolo dyad at the Allegro energico—where the gears finally clench. A border is crossed; a seam negotiated; a conceptual line stepped over. The shimmering G-B-natural dyad is the sudden flipping of a switch, an alarm, an electrifying call to action.

The composer thus seeks to create the impression of launching a translated, Kalevalaic voice of the mythicized past into the contemporary-European symphonic process—a call to self-realization, now put onto the one-way tracks of the modern four-movement symphony. The potential metaphors multiply in different registers of connotation. First, the vector of musical-linear time suggests that of historical time toward a desired present still far down the road. Second, the much-noted E-minor/G-major conflict at the heart of the first movement, along with its

high-pressure orchestral eruptions, suggests the staging of a technical struggle between the archaic and the symphonic materials, a recovered ancient self, politically and culturally under threat of erasure, plunging and navigating bar by bar through the sea of alien norms rigorously demanded by the modern symphonic process. Third, the symphonic unfolding suggests an image of the stormy, flamboyant Sibelius himself as careerist, seeking to conquer the resistant genre of the symphony phrase by phrase with explosive determination. Fourth, the E-minor/G-major conflict and symphonic process are also understandable as tonal metaphors of emancipatory struggle in the then-enveloping context of Finnish-Russian politics (and so on, surely in additional metaphorical registers as well). Throughout it all, Sibelius takes pains to ensure that his constructed Finnish musical identifiers remain positionally omnipresent: outlines of the Finnish pentachord, along with frequent returns to what I have called the  $\hat{3} - \hat{2} - \hat{1}$  “Finnish ideogram” and that recurring  $\hat{5} - \hat{5} - \hat{6}$  or  $\hat{6} - \hat{6} - \hat{5}$  motion over a pedal bass, so typical of Sibelius’s music of this period, the mechanism, borrowed from Russian practice, that here generates the G-major/E-minor conflict.<sup>35</sup>

The primary theme beginning in m. 33 is not unrelated to the Ur-melody of the introduction—an initial long note released into a more mobile descent. But its impact here is more aggressively clipped, more unsettled. Still, the primary theme at m. 33 can be read as a deformation of the originally relaxed or timeless clarinet theme, whose initial melodic identity is thrown into strain under different conditions, an ancient self subjected to the stress of modern times. Notice, for instance, that the Kalevalaic statement-response pattern (the telltale parallelism of Finnish epic recitation) is readily discernible (m. 33, violin 1, is freely imitated by violas and cellos, m. 34; the second statement, m. 37, is freely imitated below in m. 38), but now that signifier is rendered deformational, its parallelisms telescoped, its contours and rhythmic flow distorted under the high pressure of the Allegro-energico duties of a symphony proper. Two statements, two responses—and immediately after the third statement begins (m. 41), Sibelius interrupts it, explodes it into conflict in m. 42.

What we can hear in such music—and in the subsequent, secondary-theme music reproduced in example 18.2 earlier in this chapter—are differing registers of negotiation over the gap between the dissolving past and the then-politicized urban-modern, internationally enticed present, or, more precisely, registers of performative negotiation among at least three different worlds of musical sound: that of a presumed originary past as a source of self-recognition, that of traditional Austro-Germanic symphonic practice (here inflected in the direction of the antique), and that of the new-generational liberated norms of modern-urban chromatic and formal practice. Like other nationalistic works by other national composers, what we encounter is a strategic triangulation among different modes of musical sound, each of which bears its own ideological claims of authenticity, power, and truth-telling. The strongest analyses of—or commentaries on—such works will be those that keep the tense uncertainties and problematics of these gaps, borders, negotiations, and triangulations uppermost in mind.

## NOTES

An earlier version of this chapter appeared in *Musurgia* 14 (2007): 27–47.

1. One of the most useful introductions to these cultural issues, as well as to the artistic and musical tone of Finland at this time—central to any consideration of nationalism in this area—may be found in Glenda Dawn Goss, *Jean Sibelius and Finland's Awakening* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

2. Michael Herzfeld, *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State*, 2d ed. (New York: Routledge, 2005). Herzfeld associates the concept of cultural intimacy not merely with self-recognition per se but rather with the phenomenon of “rueful self-recognition,” or “the recognition of those aspects of a cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality” (3). “These are self-stereotypes that insiders express ostensibly at their own collective expense” (3), and they play out in the grip of a persistent tension between the affectionate embrace of traits of cultural embarrassment and prideful self-assertion. The result, on these terms, is the strategic production and acceptance of a “practical essentialism” (26–33) for the sake of self-preservation: a willing self-stereotyping played out on various levels of social grouping from the local to the national. The whole, in Herzfeld’s terms, is predicated on a complex, processual phenomenon of “social poetics” (26).

3. For some relatively recent English-language overviews of the specific quest for a sense of Finnishness via Karelianism with specific respect to music (along with additional bibliography), see William A. Wilson, “Sibelius, the *Kalevala*, and Karelianism,” in Glenda Dawn Goss, ed., *The Sibelius Companion* (New York: Greenwood, 1996), 43–60; Goss, “A Backdrop for Young Sibelius: The Intellectual Genesis of the *Kullervo* Symphony,” *19th-Century Music* 27 (2003), 48–73; Goss, *Jean Sibelius and Finland's Awakening*; and Matti Huttunen, “The National Composer and the Idea of Finnishness: Sibelius and the Formation of Finnish Musical Style,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Sibelius*, ed. Daniel M. Grimley, 7–21 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

4. See, for example, Armas Launis, “Über Art, Entstehung, und Verbreitung der Estnisch-Finnischen Runenmelodien” (diss., Alexander Universität, Helsingfors, 1910; printed by the Finnischen Literatur Gesellschaft, 1910) (rpt., rev., same title, Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne, 1913), esp. iii–vii on previously transcribed sources and collections. Also invaluable is Launis’s related collection of transcriptions, *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä*, Neljas Jakso, ser. 4, *Runosävelmiä: II, Karjalan Runosävelmät* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1930), which provides hundreds of recitation melodies identified by location, the date of the original transcription or collection, and the original collector.

5. Sibelius described his July or August encounter with Shemeikka—and with other Karelian folk idioms—in a brief written report dated Nov. 11, 1892. This document was recently published in a French translation (by Anja Fantapié) as Sibelius, “Compte rendu du voyage d’étude du signataire en Carélie à l’été 1892,” *Musurgia* 14 (2007): 179–80. (Some details of it are cited in n. 16, this chapter.) See also Veijo Murtomäki’s discussion in “Sibelius and Finnish-Karelian Folk Music,” *Finnish Music Quarterly* 3 (2005): 32–37. As Murtomäki notes, in tableau 1 of the original music for *Karelia* (1893), “A Karelian Home: News of War” [Karjalan koti; Sanoma sodasta], Sibelius harmonized a 5/4 melody (for two runic singers) that he had transcribed from his 1892 encounter with Shemeikka. A larger version of Murtomäki’s essay, with the differing title “The Influence of Karelian Runo Singing and Kantele Playing on Sibelius’s Music,” will appear in Timothy L.

Jackson, ed., *Sibelius in the Old and New World: Aspects of His Music, Its Interpretation and Reception* (New York: Lang, 2010). A monumental statue of Shemeikka as one of the most authentic singers of the *Kalevala* was erected in the Karelian town of Sortavala (then Finland, now Russia) in 1935 and can be viewed at <http://heninen.net/sortavala/karta/patsas/english.htm>.

6. *The Kalevala Heritage: Archive Recordings of Ancient Finnish Songs*, Ondine, ODE 849-2 (1995). Extracts from this 1905 recording (and others) may be heard at <http://www.amazon.com/Kalevala-Heritage-Archive-Recordings-Ancient/dp/B00000378I>. One should of course also realize that the recording situation (Armas’s necessary placing of Shemeikka directly in front of the large recording horn, the commercial product of a modernist and foreign technology) was also a factor in the sound that has come down to us on the cylinder.

7. From the notes to *The Kalevala Heritage*, 28. Shemeikka’s version of the “Tulen syntä” text is not the same as that collected and included by Elias Lönnröt in the “official” *Kalevala*, Runo 47 [Poem 47]—which was also the text set by Sibelius in his own work, *Tulen syntä*, op. 32, for baritone, male chorus, and orchestra (1902, rev. 1910). A roughly similar but still differing set of charms, and so on, may be found in the *Kalevala*, Runo 48: 301–66.

8. In addition, his tonic-pitch upbeat to m. 1, vocalized but untexted, is also idiosyncratic, giving the impression of an initial push into the text. Also notable is Shemeikka’s decision to repeat the text of each line (the text of m. 1 is repeated in the m. 2 complement and so on). More often, the statement and the response consist of two different, interrelated lines of text. Discussions of Kalevalaic recitation formulas are not difficult to locate, but for quick overviews in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., ed. Stanley Sadie. (London: Macmillan, 2001), see Ilkka Kolehmainen, “Finland: [II] Traditional Music,” 8: 862–65; and James Hepokoski, “Sibelius, Jean,” 23: 321–22.

9. On the claim of a Finnish “spontaneous,” intuitive response—not a literal or studied response—to the spirit of the *Kalevala* as conveyed in the music of Sibelius from the 1890s, see Huttunen, “The National Composer and the Idea of Finnishness” (n. 3 this chapter), esp. 4–5.

10. The concept is not without resonances with what, some three decades later, the anti-rationalist Heidegger, in *Being and Time*, would identify as a striving for *Eigentlichkeit* [authenticity] within *Dasein*. The critical rejection of such claims is perhaps found most vehemently in Theodor W. Adorno, *The Jargon of Authenticity*, trans. Knut Tarnowski and Frederic Will (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1973). Cf. Max Paddison, *Adorno's Aesthetics of Music* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 54: “This notion of ‘community’ is ideological, according to Adorno, because to project a conception of the idealized community of the pre-industrial world on to modern industrialized society serves to conceal and mystify the true character of human relations in the modern world.” Such a belief in invariance and the eternal in one’s past is ideological, in Adorno’s view, since it ignores the historicity of the construction of such a myth. Herzfeld (see n. 2) has an entirely different view of this.

11. Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, 1–14 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

12. Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1991), for example, 16–18, 67, 93 (“rescue,” 18; “[Social spaces that] also provide individuals with



'sacred centres,' objects of spiritual and historical pilgrimage, that reveal the uniqueness of their nation's 'moral geography,' 16; "ready-made ethnic base," 67; "rediscovery of the 'inner self,'" 93. Cf. also the more recent Anthony D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant, and Republic* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2008), which lays out essentially the same points.

13. Smith, *National Identity*, 67. Cf. Ernest Gellner's well-known, more tartly cynical view of modern nationalism in general—one that Smith contests here and there—in *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983). Gellner argues (e.g., 55–57) that most modern nationalisms (those of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) were essentially enthusiasms promoted by elite groups of intellectuals—top-down, not bottom-up movements:

It is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round. Admittedly, nationalism uses the pre-existing, historically inherited proliferation of cultures or cultural wealth, though it uses them very selectively, and it most often transforms them radically. . . . The cultural shreds and patches used by nationalism are often arbitrary historical inventions. Any old shred and patch would have served as well. . . . The basic deception and self-deception practised by nationalism is this: nationalism is, essentially, the general imposition of a high culture on society, where previously low cultures had taken up the lives of the majority, and in some cases of the totality, of the population. . . . But this is the very opposite of what nationalism affirms and what nationalists fervently believe. Nationalism usually conquers in the name of a putative folk culture. Its symbolism is drawn from the healthy, pristine, vigorous life of the peasants, of the *Volk*, the *narod*.

14. Murtomäki, "Sibelius and Finnish-Karelian Folk Music," 32.

15. Murtomäki, "Sibelius and Finnish-Karelian Folk Music," 32, reports that Borenius was "the first systematic collector of Finnish-Karelian folk melodies. . . [and his] catch was till 1895 almost 800 tunes." One might also note that in Launis's extensive collection of recitation melodies, *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä*; Neljas Jakso, ser. 4, *Runosävelmiä*: II, *Karjalan Runosävelmät* (see n. 4 this chapter), he observed noted the following on p. i of the "Vorwort": "Der bedeutendste Teil der in dieser Publikation vereinigten Melodien ist von Inspektor A. Lähteenkorva (Borenius) zusammengebracht worden. Ohne seine langjährige, emsige Arbeit in dem bezüglich seiner Melodien recht wenig erforschten Gebiet von Russisch-Karelien wäre die Kenntnis von unserem Runengesang in mancher Hinsicht mangelhaft."

16. In Sibelius's late-1892 report of his visit to Karelia (see n. 5 this chapter), apart from his single transcription of "the oldest melody that he heard" from Sheimekka (which he also regarded as the "source" of all the others), he transcribed three other melodies from other performers: two more *Kalevala* melodies and one lament. He also reported having heard dozens of variants of laments, *Kalevala* recitations, and kantele melodies. The next few years would find him continuing his explorations of the folk idiom and folksong transcription in still other ways: folksong arrangements, 1895 transcriptions for the *Kalevala*, and so on. (See also the discussion in Murtomäki, "Sibelius and Finnish-Karelian Folk Music," 34).

17. John Hutchinson, *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism* (New York: HarperCollins, 1987), excerpted as "Cultural Nationalism and Moral Regeneration" in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds., *Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press 1994), 122–31 (quotations from 123–24). A persistent question among scholars of

nationalism is whether it is inevitably a negative, even reactionary or antimodernist force in history, as, for example, Gellner and others have suggested. (See n. 13 this chapter.) Opposing this view, Hutchinson distinguishes between a potentially negative "political nationalism" and what he regards as a more constructive, if moralizing, "cultural nationalism of historians and artists," which typically played "a much more positive role in the modernization process" (127–28). It was Hutchinson's view that particularly appealed to Daniel M. Grimley in his recent study of Norwegian nationalism, *Grieg: Music, Landscape, and Norwegian Identity* (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, 2006).

18. Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xiii, 13, 19, 41, 49–51.

19. Pierre Nora, "General Introduction: Between Memory and History," in Nora, director and ed., *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer, Engl. ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 3 vols., vol. 1, 1–20 (quotations from 1, 6, 7). An earlier (and more frequently cited) translation of a somewhat different version of Nora's essay appeared as "Between Memory and History: *Les lieux de mémoire*," trans. Marc Roudebush, *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 7–25.

20. Milan Kundera, "Die Weltliteratur," in *Le Rideau* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), 43–74 (e.g., 45, 47: "les petites nations"). The essay is also available in English, trans. Linda Asher, in Kundera, *The Curtain* (New York: HarperCollins, 2006), 29–56.

21. Note, however, that the First Symphony was initially published in Helsinki by Fazer and Westerlund, though (as mentioned in the 2001 *New Grove* article on Sibelius, vol. 23, 327), "again with links to Breitkopf (who acquired the rights to this music in 1905)."

22. The concept of "truth language" is borrowed and adapted from Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (New York: Verso, 1991), for example, 12–19 and 36. Anderson writes here of the prestige and importance of the sacred truth languages of the past—for example, "Church Latin, Qur'anic Arabic, or Examination Chinese" (14)—which were initially considered to be "emanations of reality, not randomly fabricated representations of it" (14). The process of the print-culture dissemination of sacred (or "truth") ideas in more local vernaculars—in effect the breaking up of the once-invincible authority and exclusiveness of the original truth languages—is a central feature of the modernity of the past several centuries and is of course implicated in the "imagined communities" of nationalism. Within mid- and late-nineteenth-century musical culture in western Europe, the "language" of Austro-Germanic musical syntax and genres was making similar, virtually exclusionary claims about its appropriateness in approaching the seriousness of metaphysical or transcendental truth.

The concept of "the power to consecrate" is central to the art sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, elaborated, for example, in the essays "The Field of Cultural Production," "The Production of Belief," and "The Market of Symbolic Goods," in Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, ed. Randal Johnson, 29–73, 74–111 (esp. 76–81), 112–41 (esp. 120–25) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), and Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 121–23, 159–61, 166–73, 223–27.

23. See, for example, "The Seven Veils of Fantasy," in Žižek, *The Plague of Fantasies* (New York: Verso, 1997), 3–44 (esp. 8–10).

24. While the concept of negotiated or "performative" identity (or "hybridity") along borders or seams is hardly unique to any writer (it is a commonplace among postcolonial theorists), the present discussion is most immediately in dialogue with ideas set forth in Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994; rpt., 2005).

25. Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 189–94.

26. I have also discussed this much-adopted nationalist plot in “Beethoven Reception: The Symphonic Tradition,” in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-century Music*, ed. Jim Samson, 442–43 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

27. As if to make this point as clearly as possible, Sibelius brings the final bars of the Second Symphony’s second movement back, with explicit echoes, to the conclusion of the First’s finale—only now to break free of the shackles in the Second’s subsequent two movements.

28. The paradox of simultaneously forward and backward motion on two different conceptual levels—one kind of narrative anachrony—has been influentially explored in Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, especially in ch. 1, “Order,” 33–85, in which anachrony is defined as “all forms of discordance between the two temporal orders of story and narrative” (40). More specifically, the motion back to (or specific allusion to) an earlier, culture-grounding time might be understood as one type of analepsis (or flashback), in which the reference is secured at the outset as an essential token of national authenticity or generative contact with a culturally validating, timeless truth language.

29. My concern in this chapter is with the final, published version of the symphony—the one that has been publicly presented to audiences since its earliest appearances. The story of its genesis and sketching, however, is an engaging one indeed. By far the most thorough introduction to the compositional and publication history of the First Symphony appears at the beginning of its new critical edition: Timo Virtanen, “Introduction,” in *Jean Sibelius, Symphonie no. 1 in E Minor, op. 39*, ed. Timo Virtanen, ser. 1 (Orchestral Works), vol. 2 of *Jean Sibelius: Complete Works* (Paris: Breitkopf and Härtel, 2008), ix–xviii. In that comprehensive introduction Virtanen lays out evidence, at least partially locatable in sketches and the other manuscript documents (x–xi), that the slow introduction might not have been part of Sibelius’s original conception of the work—that at an early stage the composer might have considered starting the symphony directly with music similar to the current Allegro energico. It is difficult to reconstruct these pre-premiere plans with absolute certainty, though, and newspaper reviews of the Apr. 26, 1899, Helsinki premiere of the symphony’s original version did take note of the opening clarinet solo (see x–xi). As Virtanen also notes, Sibelius revised the work further in early 1900 in preparation for the trip of “the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra . . . to the Paris World Exhibition” shortly thereafter. Still, “even if the work ‘took its final form’ during the Spring of 1900, it does not mean that Sibelius did not make further, possibly minor, revisions later” (xi). The work was eventually published by Germany’s Breitkopf & Härtel “during the summer of 1902” (xiv).

30. Virtanen, “Introduction” (xii), notes that there is at least a possibility (but in my view a remote one) that in the still pre-publication version performed in Helsinki in July 1900, shortly before the Paris tour, Sibelius might have experimented with “giv[ing] the solo of the first movement introduction to the English horn” since that instrument was mentioned (perhaps inaccurately?) in a local *Hufvudstadsbladet* review by Alarik Uggla. While it is difficult to assess the accuracy of this newspaper remark, if at any point Sibelius had directed the opening solo to be played by an English horn, it might well have conjured up—at least in his mind—such earlier works such as the *Kalevala*-based *The Swan of Tuonela*, not to mention precedents in Berlioz (e.g., *Symphonie fantastique*), Wagner (*Tristan und Isolde*), and many others.

31. The lecture (in Swedish) was titled “Some Reflections on Folk Music and Its Influence on the Development of Art Music.” A French translation by Anja Fantapié has recently been published as “Quelques considérations sur la musique populaire et son influence sur l’art des sons,” *Musurgia* 14 (2007), 181–88. See also the summary, for example, in Murtomäki, “Sibelius and Finnish-Karelian Folk Music,” 35–36, or in my own *New Grove* entry, “Sibelius,” 23: 324.

32. See, for example, Erik Tawaststjerna, *Sibelius*, vol. 1, 1865–1905, trans. Robert Layton (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 211. Cf. the Finnish-language 2d ed. of vol. 1 of Tawaststjerna’s *Jean Sibelius* (Helsinki: Otava, 1989), 309–10, which reiterates the point with reference to the descending “sigh motif” that dominates the theme’s “mood . . . not far from the Karelian world.” (The reference in Tawaststjerna’s Finnish volume is to Ilmari Krohn, *Die Stimmungsgehalt der Symphonien von Jean Sibelius*, vol. 1 (Helsinki, 1945), 37. The singer of laments was traditionally a woman, an *itkijänainen* (as translated in the Finnish edition of Tawaststjerna, *Jean Sibelius*, vol. 2, 144).

33. “Quelques considérations” (see n. 31 this chapter), 185–86.

34. The descent of fifths: B (m. 1), E (7, 10, 18, 20), A (17), D (21), G (29)—as if the originary signifier falls by fifths into the symphony proper.

35. Several of these analytical issues and terms are examined in my essay “Sibelius,” in *The Nineteenth-century Symphony*, ed. D. Kern Holoman, 417–49 (New York: Schirmer, 1997). Richard Taruskin has investigated the sinuous, inner-voice ♯–♮–♯ motion and its converse as a characteristically nineteenth-century Russian-“orientalist” device in Glinka, Balakirev, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakov, Tchaikovsky, and related composers. Taruskin reads the gesture topically, as usually suggesting a voluptuous escape into an exotic “*nega*, a prime attribute of the Orient as imagined by Russians. . . . [It] is usually translated as ‘sweet bliss,’ but it really connotes a gratified desire, a tender lassitude. . . . In opera and song, *nega* often simply denotes S-E-X à la russe, desired or achieved.” See Taruskin, “‘Entoiling the Falconet’: Russian Musical Orientalism in Context,” in *The Exotic in Western Music*, ed. Jonathan Bellman, 194–217 (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998) (quotation on 202). Much of this discussion is carried over into Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), vol. 3, 392–405.

While Taruskin’s connotations are often apt within certain strains of Russian music, it is perhaps preferable to read the gesture proper (which may also be found in Schumann, as in no. 17, “Wie aus der Ferne,” of the *Davidsbündlertänze*, op. 6) as suggesting a delicious slippage away from the tonal clarity of normative Western harmonic practice, a drifting off into another, dreamlike realm, of which the explicitness of a languorous orientalist eroticism à la russe was only one potential analogue. Sibelius makes frequent use of this Russian device in the 1890s and early 1900s, though rarely, if ever, as a signifier connoting sexuality. Rather, he reconstrued it in his own way, more likely regarding the harmonically exotic move as a coloristic, often sternly asserted “northern” identifier—thus implicitly nodding also toward Russian practice—a harmonic hue that, when deployed as a primary harmonic tint, as here, could give the impression of an escape from the sharp tonal focus of European-academic harmonic traditions.