The Battle over Sibelius

Barry Wiener

For many musicologists and theorists, the works of Jean Sibelius fit poorly into the dominant historical paradigms for twentieth-century music. In response, some scholars have attempted to rearticulate the question of Sibelius's historical position by "[re]defin[ing] . . . the reception framework."[1] James Hepokoski situated Sibelius within the clash between first and second-generation modernists during the twentieth century's second decade,[2] a historical crisis elucidated by Carl Dahlhaus.[3] Similarly, Tomi Mäkelä has described Sibelius's music as a fusion of conservative and progressive elements, asserting that he preserved old artistic values while modifying the manner in which he expressed them.[4] In this essay, I propose an amendment to Hepokoski's useful paradigm revision. Interrogating the music criticism of Cecil Gray and Constant Lambert, I attempt to demonstrate that their controversial anointing of Sibelius as one of the twentieth century's central figures is linked directly to their advocacy of Ferruccio Busoni's "Young Classicality," a set of concepts formulated in response to the crisis of modernism described by Dahlhaus. I explain how Gray and Lambert encountered these ideas at second hand through their association with Busoni's protégé, Bernard van Dieren, a resident of London. In addition, I show that the "postmodern traits" that contemporary musicians have perceived in Sibelius's music can be described instead as manifestations of early twentieth-century ultramodernism, a movement with which I associate Busoni's most radical ideas about the future of music.

The National and The Universal

The music of Jean Sibelius was introduced to audiences in Europe and America during the first and second decades of the twentieth century. Sibelius gained his greatest early successes in the English-speaking countries. The reception of Sibelius's music in Great Britain and America concentrated on its national character, using the fanciful contemporary language of race. Paul Rosenfeld's purple prose, in his book *Musical Portraits*, is typical: "For Sibelius is essentially the Norseman. . . . [H]is music with its viking blows and wild, crying accents, its harsh and uncouth speech, sets us . . . in the very midst of the stark men and grave, savage women for whom the sagas were made."[5] Reviewing the Second Symphony, Olin Downes wrote, "[T]hrough Sibelius, who thinks in 3–2 time and speaks with the voice of the early gods, a nation becomes articulate."[6]

David M. Schiller has pointed to parallels between Downes's use of racial terminology in his descriptions of the music of Sibelius and the Jewish composer Ernest Bloch (1880–1959).[7] Schiller comments, "[T]hese belief systems [about race, nationality, and artistic expression] function[ed] as ideologies–widely disseminated, widely shared, easily accepted. The discomfort we now feel in reading Downes's racialized account of Bloch's music and mission is a measure of our distance from these pre-postmodern ideologies."[8]

In Germany, Walter Niemann's brief 1917 monograph[9] presented a perspective on Sibelius similar to those offered by contemporaneous commentators in the English-speaking world. Niemann described the music of Sibelius as an impressionistic evocation of the climate and landscape of Finland, which the composer best expressed in his tone poems. Niemann gave minimal attention to Sibelius's symphonies, and ignored his stylistic metamorphosis over the course of his career. He expanded on his characterization of Sibelius as a nationalist and impressionist by accusing the composer of an inability to construct large-scale forms:

"In Sibelius's symphonies, rhapsodic and episodic, recitative, balladic and epic thoughts quickly follow each other in an often ineffective loose connection of harmonic elaboration and arrangement within the whole. The slightly torn and dismembered overall impression causes a separation and juxtaposition according to an often certainly present, but concealed program . . . a struggle for the replication of Tchaikovsky's 'Pathétique' in Finnish dialect."[10]

For Niemann, Sibelius was not worthy of being compared to the great German masters. He was, instead, a sort of better Tchaikovsky. Although Niemann suggested that Sibelius owed a debt to Tchaikovsky's Fifth and Sixth symphonies, he also noted that the Finnish composer's music is, in contrast, "restrained in expression, less decorative, less gaudy and sentimental, and less differentiated."[11] When discussing the tone poem *En saga*, op. 9 (1892/1902), Niemann suggested similarities between Sibelius's formal strategies and those of Liszt, another composer supposedly inferior to the great German masters:

"The form of this exciting Nordic night and fantasy piece, this truly symphonic prelude to Ibsen's 'The Vikings at Helgeland,' is the free one of the Lisztian symphonic poem."[12]

In one case, the tone poem *Finlandia*, op. 26 (1899/1900), Niemann compared Sibelius to Beethoven. He asserted that the main adagio theme had a Beethovenian expressivity ("das mit Beethovenschem Ethos durchtränkte Gesangsthema"). In addition, Niemann described *Finlandia* in terms that granted the composer a constructive ability supposedly absent from the symphonies. Whereas the symphonies lacked "monumentality and unity of form, organic and logical internal development and design,"[13] *Finlandia* was "fashioned [like] a monumental fresco."[14] For Niemann, the concluding hymnal peroration of *Finlandia* symbolized a battle against Finland's Russian overlords that would lead to the "dawn of freedom,"[15] evoking Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. Writing during World War I, Niemann apparently evaluated the quality of Sibelius's music more favorably when he perceived its political subtext to be aligned with Germany's military goals.

Creating a New Critical Paradigm

The Nazi expulsion of Jewish, Socialist, and modernist artists from Germany provoked an immediate outcry in the American and British press. Olin Downes, chief architect of Sibelius's American reputation as a representative of "Nordic" art, was compelled to articulate a response to the delegitimizing of the racial ideology that he had promoted for decades. On 19 March 1933, Downes published an article condemning Nazi policy:

"Nationalism in art is a creative force. It is the inspired expression of heredity and environment, of race and soil. . . . When the true spirit of a nation speaks, it is not necessary to advertise it by wavings of the flag. . . . The attitude of the Nazis in Germany is an unfortunate illustration of national vanity and self-deception."[16]

During the following years, Downes continued to write articles for *The New York Times* in which he condemned the Nazis' racist ideology. In an article about Ernest Bloch's new *Sacred Service* (1933), Downes singled out the Jewish composers Schoenberg and Bloch along with Sibelius as significant figures in contemporary music. Downes portrayed Sibelius and Bloch as kindred spirits:

"Against the anti-romanticists, neoclassicists, expressionists in the musical art, may be placed such figures as Vaughan Williams, a great tonal poet of his race; Jean Sibelius, and Ernest Bloch. Bloch's music has a racial intensity and humanity and a passion and dramatic accent which place him in a lonely position of his own. Sibelius is more introspective and architectonic. But both these men have written primarily with expressive and communicative purpose."[17]

In an article hailing Schoenberg's arrival in America, Downes noted that Sibelius was an admirer of the latter: "Schoenberg . . . counts among those who deeply esteem his mastery composers as far distant as the young Ernst Toch[18] and the elderly Sibelius."[19]

Downes returned to the subject of the Nazi perversion of art when he previewed an all-Mendelssohn concert:

"[A] concert devoted to the works of Mendelssohn . . . serves to remind us of the genius of the composer of a race now proscribed and persecuted in Germany. But this matter, as tragic as it is ridiculous, is an error certain to be disowned before many years have passed – a madness that can only be cured by the relentless progress of events."[20]

The Nazis' racial policies made it difficult for critics to employ the cultural paradigms of the past. It became necessary to create a new language for discussion of the arts. Downes was acutely aware of the new trends:

"This new criticism dispenses once and for all with the romantic and subjective type of 'criticism.' It approaches the subject of music . . . from a more scientific standpoint. . . . 'Fairy stories and rhapsodizings about musical compositions have had their day.'"[21]

Downes defended his own cultural perspective against his detractors, singling out his interpretation of the early works of Sibelius:

"A voice, gently admonitory, raises itself from the pages of a recent program book of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, warning readers that the conclusions of 'early commentators' who found the Second Symphony of Jean Sibelius expressive of northern nature, legend, revolution . . . should be taken with a grain of salt. . . . '[W]e' were among the erroneous 'early commentators.' What is worse, we are unregenerate. . . . [W]e persist in discovering the elemental northern and magnificently ancestral thing in Sibelius's compositions, at least in the early symphonies and symphonic poems."

Downes concluded, however, by tacitly admitting defeat. He appealed to reception theory, freely admitting the subjective nature of his commentary: "[T]he ultimate significance of an art work is determined not only by what its creator intended, or by that of which he was conscious when he produced it, but also by the meanings and the values discovered in it by many individuals and generations."[22]

With Germany's turn to fascism, the anti-nationalist perspective on music history offered by the British composer-critics Cecil Gray[23] (1895–1951) and Constant Lambert (1905–1951) took on a relevance that it might not have had otherwise. The ideas of Gray and Lambert were grounded in their admiration for the Triestine composer-pianist Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924). Busoni had strenuously opposed the ideology of cultural nationalism. He wrote, "Everybody, today, must belong definitely to some country. Liszt and I are left alone."[24] In *A Survey of Contemporary Music* (1924), Gray took a similar approach to the question of race and music: "[N]ationality is a purely spiritual thing. . . . [W]henever two artists give expression to the same order of ideas or emotions, their utterances will inevitably resemble each other, however far apart their racial origins and traditions may happen to be."[25] Although Gray mixed elements of the older racial discourse together with his modernist analysis in *A Survey of Contemporary Music*, he did so to pinpoint affinities of mood and circumstance, rather than national essences:

"In the art of both Finnish and Hungarian composers there is the same profound melancholy and despair which is not that of individuals, but of an exiled and oppressed race. . . . [I]t would be a mistake to regard him [Sibelius] merely as the mouthpiece of a nation, the artistic representative of a race."[26]

In *Predicaments, or Music and the Future* (1936), Gray went even further in his repudiation of musical nationalism. Paradoxically, he categorized "musical nationalism" as a *transnational* technique that can be manipulated at will: "The truth is that once a composer is capable of expressing himself in one distinctively national idiom, he can do so equally well in any other; once he has mastered one he has mastered all."[27] Gray belittled the conventional discourse of his day about racial and national expression in music, using Ralph Vaughan Williams's book *National Music*[28] to illustrate the absurdity of these ideas. Gray cast doubt on the distinctiveness of national musical styles, singling out music by Sibelius. Comparing a theme from Sibelius's *En saga* with a similar idea from Albeniz's *Ibéria,* he remarked, "[W]e find that the rugged grandeur of the north and the languorous sensuality of the south are based upon the same formula, which is also that of so much barbaric splendour of the east. It is no doubt equally to be found in the folk-music of the Far West. They have all the same tomato flavor, in fact."[29]

Gray concluded his discussion of musical nationalism in *Predicaments* by condemning its contemporary manifestations:

"[A]ll the highest creative manifestations of the present time are unmistakably orientated in the direction of internationalism and cosmopolitanism. . . . [T]he fact that the most distinguished representatives of this tendency are outlawed or persecuted on account of it . . . is immaterial. . . . Dr. Goebbels may insist that the art of the future in Germany is to be national or nothing; if that is the only choice, then it will be the second alternative that will ensue: there will be nothing–nothing that is, of any value."[30]

In *Music Ho!* (1934/36), Constant Lambert expressed similar attitudes.[31] He criticized contemporary cultural nationalism as an artificial phenomenon that did not reflect the reality of modern life. In addition, he attacked the artistic products of fascism:

"[A]t the present there is more petty nationalism than ever combined with a less genuine basis for national feeling. . . . No one . . . can fail to distinguish between the liberal spirit of nationalism that inspired political figures like Mazzini and musical figures like Mussorgsky, and the retrograde spirit of nationalism that inspires the petty dictators and juntas of gangsters . . . that are becoming our leaders today."[32]

Lambert dismissed the racial arguments presented on behalf of Sibelius's music: "We can listen to Sibelius's Seventh Symphony without any evocation of Finland, the twentieth century, or our own personal emotions."[33] He also mocked the

many critics (including, by inference, his friend, Cecil Gray) who linked Sibelius's artistic individuality to the geography of Finland:

"It is curious how certain critics, more noteworthy for geographical knowledge than for nervous sensibility, have ascribed the undoubted coldness of this work [the Fourth Symphony] to the inclement climatic conditions that prevail in Sibelius's home country. The chilly atmosphere of the fourth symphony is something more than a Christmas-card nip in the air: it is a bitter and heroic resignation of the spirit with nothing in it of external theatricality or maudlin emotionalism."[34]

Sibelius's Change of Style and the New Criticism

After Sibelius altered his style and compositional technique in the Fourth Symphony (1911), it became difficult to describe him as primarily a "national" composer. Henry Krehbiel (1854–1923) sounded the alarm in 1914:

"[T]o me his [Sibelius's] nationalism . . . presents the most admirable and amiable side of his artistic character. . . . [H]is latter day products have not given unadulterated joy except to the futurists who belong to the brotherhood of cubists who have already claimed him for their own. It was not thus when first we heard 'Finlandia' and the first symphony."[35]

In contrast to the older Krehbiel, Olin Downes embraced Sibelius's change of style. In the 1930s, he shifted gears, at least to some degree, denigrating the early works of Sibelius and stressing the significance of his later music:

"With the tone-poem, 'En Saga,' and the Violin Concerto, the [Second] symphony stands as the culminating point of Sibelius's earlier period. But these works are far from the heights and depths of Sibelius's mature creations."[36] "[The Fourth] symphony, as also the Sixth and the Seventh, are works still ahead of their time. They are the purest, the most absolute kind of symphonic music written today."[37]

Like Krehbiel and Downes, Constant Lambert characterized Sibelius's artistic evolution as straddling the previous era of musical nationalism and the current era of internationalism:

"One cannot erase the results of nationalism any more than one can erase the results of Romanticism. . . . When we look at Sibelius's *Finlandia*, and then at his Seventh Symphony, we may well agree . . . that art must be parochial in the beginning to become cosmopolitan in the end."[38]

All of the critics perceived Sibelius as difficult to classify. While they realized that he had rejected the rhetoric and techniques of late Romanticism midway through his career, it was also clear that he stood apart from the younger generation of modernists. As proponents of modernism, Gray and Lambert attempted to position Sibelius relative to the central figures of the post-World War I musical avant-garde. Gray belittled Sibelius's most eminent contemporary, Richard Strauss. He asserted, "Strauss never was a revolutionary artist or an innovator. . . . His sudden and dramatic conversion to the aims and ideals of the romantic faith was due to circumstances and to environment rather than to natural inclination or inward conviction."[39] Both Gray and Lambert juxtaposed Sibelius instead with Schoenberg and Bartók, considered both as great artists and as key figures illustrating the problematic of the development of musical language.[40] In his autobiography, *Musical Chairs* (1948), Gray wrote,

"Sibelius was recognized, yesterday, by a large section of the musical world, as being the greatest composer of his generation; Bartók is today almost universally recognized as being the first of his."[41] "The early and late Bartók, the middle-period Schönberg, these represent for me . . . the greatest summits to which the art of music attained during the years in which the respective works were written."[42]

Unlike Downes,[43] Gray and Lambert did not consider Sibelius to be an isolated figure. They perceived his music through the prism of their admiration for Busoni and his protégé, the Dutch composer Bernard van Dieren (1887–1936), whose music Gray had promoted for many years despite the hostility of the British music establishment.[44] Van Dieren's career was irreparably damaged by the health problems that marred most of his adult life and eventually killed him. Two letters by Busoni, addressed to Emil Hertzka (1869–1932), director of Universal Edition, sum up van Dieren's tragedy. In the first, dated 20 November 1919, Busoni wrote, "It is certain that van Dieren . . . is a man from whom much can still be expected, and who is worthy of your attention."[45] Six weeks later, Busoni wrote again about the thirty-two-year-old van Dieren: "Thank

you for your kind interest in van Dieren. While you were deliberating over his case he hovered between life and death, with a disquieting tendency to the latter."[46]

Gray reserved a pivotal position for van Dieren within his historical dialectic. He connected van Dieren to Schoenberg, Bartók, Sibelius, and Busoni, who he admired more as a theorist of new music than as a composer: "Van Dieren is first and foremost a melodist; with the exception of Bartók and possibly to a certain extent Schönberg, there is no other composer living who has such a gift for creating sustained, flowing melodic lines."[47] Gray reserved for van Dieren the final chapter devoted to an individual composer in *A Survey of Contemporary Music*.[48] He concluded the chapter by asserting that van Dieren had realized Busoni's prescription for the future of music, embodied in the concept of "Young Classicality": "Van Dieren, it seems to me, fulfills Busoni's prediction of the advent of a *Junge Klassizität* [Young Classicality]. . . . [He] achieves that which Busoni has always been attempting but has never yet achieved. Busoni is to be regarded as a forerunner, one sent to prepare the way for the new Classicism, of which van Dieren is perhaps only the first representative."[49] In *Predicaments*, Gray contended that van Dieren was to play as central a role as Sibelius in the future evolution of European music:

"It is . . . probably something more than a mere coincidence that Busoni, in his youth, was a close friend of Sibelius, and, in his maturity, of Bernard van Dieren, in whose work also one finds an embodiment and realization of the ideals and prognostications of Busoni. . . . [I]t is probable that his [van Dieren's] work will exercise a more stimulating and beneficial influence upon the coming generation than is likely to be exercised by that of any other composer of the present time, with the possible exception of Sibelius."[50]

Reconciling the Music of Sibelius with Busoni's "Ideals and Prognostications"

According to Tamara Levitz, Busoni did not conceive "Young Classicality" "purely as a compositional category . . . but rather as an historically-oriented aesthetic ideal for music of the present and future."[51] He used the slogan "Young Classicality" to embody his belief that composers should carefully synthesize the accomplishments of the musical past with the revolutionary developments of the most recent period.[52] Busoni opposed the "reconquest of serenity"[53] to the "hysteria" of expressionism.[54] He rejected the emotional turbulence of Beethoven and the German Romantics. Mozart, Mendelssohn, and Berlioz served as his models for a new classicism.[55] Influenced by the contrapuntal theories of Bernhard Ziehn and Wilhelm Middelschulte, the "Gothics of Chicago," Busoni posited that melody should be the primary element of music, and that polyphony should generate harmony.[56] He also argued that all dissonances should be permissible, but that consonances should not be avoided, as in the music of Schoenberg and his followers. In a 1922 open letter, Busoni attempted to clarify his views:

"[N]ew harmony could only arise naturally from the foundation of an extremely cultivated polyphony and establish a right for its appearance. . . . This system does not exclude the possibility of retaining the traditional harmonic changes where they are in place, and where they would evoke contrast."[57]

Bernard van Dieren served as an intellectual mentor to Cecil Gray and Constant Lambert, conveying to them his own interpretation of Busoni's musical philosophy. The writings of both men can be analyzed as attempts to interpret contemporary music according to Busoni's/van Dieren's strictures.[58] In the van Dieren chapter of *A Survey of Contemporary Music*, Gray quotes Busoni's prescription for "Young Classicality" in the original German: "Die Meisterung, die Sichtung und Ausbeutung aller Errungenschaften vorausgegangener Experimente: ihrer Hineintragung in festen und schönen Formen. . . . [D]ie universale Polyphonie als letzte Konsequenz der Melodik, als Erzeugerin der Harmonie und als Trägerin der Idee."[59]

In *Predicaments*, Gray systematically critiqued the music of Sibelius. He considered each of Busoni's categories in turn, including the consolidation of avant-garde experimentation, the use of melody and polyphony to generate harmony, and the creation of a new "classical" language that avoided literary reference or pictorialism:

"His [Sibelius's] work is thus of importance in foreshadowing Busoni's condition that the new classicism will consist . . . in the consolidation of all that has proved to be of enduring value in the experimentations of recent years, and its embodiment in solid forms."[60]

"Sibelius is also a significant portent for the future, as conceived by Busoni, in that melody is in his work the sovereign element, 'the determiner of all developments, the bearer of the idea, and begetter of the harmony.'"[61]

"[I]n all his later work one finds a continually increasing distaste for anything in the nature of pictorial illustration or literary description–anything which, in the words of Busoni, lies outside the nature of music; also 'the elimination of mere sensuousness, the renunciation of subjectivity, and the reconquest of serenity.'"[62]

Gray realized that some central characteristics of Sibelius's later works did not accord with Busoni's dicta, particularly his ideas about the primacy of melody and polyphony.[63] Nevertheless, Gray connected the "sobriety and restraint"[64] of Sibelius's later idiom to Busoni's vision of a new classicism.[65]

Gray also analyzed van Dieren's music with reference to Busoni's criteria. He asserted that it displayed the very characteristics of "Young Classicality" that were absent from the later music of Sibelius: "[H]is work fulfills the provision that the new classicism will consist in the abandonment of thematic construction in favour of pure melody. . . . [E]verything in his music derives directly from the melodic line. . . . [T]he texture of his music is above all polyphonic."[66] Given van Dieren's influence on Gray, the latter's historical analysis (including his advocacy of Sibelius) can be perceived as an elaborate justification for van Dieren's music.

Gray's interpretation of Busoni's ideas is, not surprisingly, colored by his own prejudices. In his Sibelius monograph, he declared that musical experimentation had reached its limit and denigrated microtonal music, a subject dear to Busoni: "There is obviously nothing further to be done . . . short of the adoption of third or quarter tones, and there is no reason to believe that any fruitful development of this kind will take place in our day, if ever."[67] In *Predicaments*, Gray appeared to conflate "Young Classicality" with neoclassicism:

"The significance of his [Busoni's] historic role as the prophet and pioneer of a new classicism in music cannot be questioned. For it need hardly be pointed out that the above proclamation [the open letter about *Junge Klassizität*] anticipated by several years the first so-called neo-classical works and theories of Stravinsky and others."[68]

Gray nevertheless explicitly rejected neoclassicism as artistically ersatz, in contrast to the organic nature of Busoni's "Young Classicality." Echoing Lambert's deconstruction of neoclassicism in *Music Ho!*, Gray carefully distinguished between the two concepts:

"Every consideration in fact, points to the conclusion that we are on the eve of some kind of classical revival. . . . [I]f ever it does make its appearance, it will not in any way resemble the present neo-classicism, which is only classic in outward appearance, and inwardly betrays the fact that it is all a product of exhausted, renegade revolutionaries . . . and of time-serving opportunists."[69]

In *Music Ho!*, Lambert expressed a perspective towards contemporary developments that paralleled Gray's presentation of Busoni's musical philosophy, as transmitted by van Dieren. He condemned artistic formulas[70] as well as synthetic, deliberately artificial evocations of the past. Like Gray, Lambert celebrated the music of Sibelius, Busoni, and van Dieren, the iconic figures who had avoided these pitfalls: "What we require from the composer is . . . an expression of musical personality free from deliberate pastiche . . . or from mechanical revolution. . . . The composers, such as Sibelius, Busoni, and Van Dieren, who in different ways represent this spiritual freedom rarely, if ever, form a school and are not usually the most outwardly advanced in style."[71]

Lambert praised van Dieren's *Sonetto VII of Edmund Spenser's Amoretti*, together with Sibelius's Seventh Symphony and Alban Berg's *Lyric Suite*, as "three of the masterpieces of our time."[72] He also praised van Dieren for his realization of the Busonian principles of melody and polyphony, using language almost identical to Gray's later description, in *Predicaments*, of the same phenomena in van Dieren's music: "In his [van Dieren's] later work . . . the chords are not used specifically as such, but are the result of a melodic counterpoint of fascinating complexity. The approach to each chord is so unusual that the most familiar combinations of notes take on an entirely new meaning."[73]

In the October 1936 preface to the second edition of *Music Ho!*, Lambert freely acknowledged van Dieren's influence on his thinking: "[I]t is distressing to have to record the deaths of two of the greatest musicians of our day, Alban Berg and Bernard van Dieren. Their loss is doubly felt, for not only were they great artists but they belonged to that intermediate generation to which *the younger composer naturally looks for spiritual guidance*."[74] [my italics]

Byron Adams has suggested that British admiration for Sibelius was motivated by a nationalist and racist agenda.[75] He ignores the influence of van Dieren (and, implicitly, Busoni) on Gray and Lambert, and fails to mention that the concepts of scientific racism had come under attack within the Anglo-American academic world by the mid-1930s.[76] Adams misrepresents the two critics' enthusiasm for French[77] and Italian music[78] as well. Following Busoni's lead, Gray singled out Berlioz as a figure "of particular significance" for contemporary composers, and linked his greatness to the "essentially Latin classicality of his genius."[79] In contrast, both Gray and Lambert displayed a reserved attitude towards the music of their British contemporaries.[80]

Gray and Lambert were not alone in positioning Busoni as the great prophet of new music. Olin Downes's 1933 review of Edward Dent's biography of Busoni ends with a quotation from Dent's concluding paraphrase of Busoni's words: "Music was infinite; its past was as nothing to its future."[81] In the same issue of *The New York Times*, Downes described Sibelius as an avant-gardist in terms that parallel the narrative constructed by Gray in *A Survey of Contemporary Music*[82] and *Predicaments*:

"Sibelius . . . has anticipated rather than followed the modern idea which dispenses with excessive coloring and emphasizes line, simplicity and transparency of style. Before 'The Six' and Stravinsky of the aftermath of 'Sacre du printemps,' or Prokofieff, or very much of Hindemith or the late Schoenberg–before all these apostles of austerity and linear development had impressed their ideas on the public, Sibelius had written his Fourth symphony."[83]

Lambert employed language almost identical to that of Downes when he described Sibelius in *Music Ho!*: "[W]e can see that his solitary position is really due to his having been in advance of the anarchists."[84]

The Beethoven Problem

The use by Gray and Lambert of Busoni's intellectual model for the future of music has occasioned little previous comment. Scholarly discussion has focused instead on their denigration of the post-Beethoven nineteenth-century German symphonic repertoire, along with their promotion of Sibelius's achievements in the genre of the symphony. Here again, Busoni served them as a source of key ideas. The basis for Busoni's conception of "Young Classicality" was his rejection of the German cults of Beethoven and Wagner. In 1920, Busoni wrote to his student Philipp Jarnach, "Then came the fatal popularization of the 'Ninth' symphony, confusing the issues and bringing forth no fruit. The followers of Wagner signify an unbroken regression. But where do we go from here? To Young Classicality, but not 'back'."[85] Of Beethoven, he commented, "The Germans have ascribed to Beethoven German attributes which he does not possess. Therefore I believe that the Germans are now at the furthest remove from a just assessment of Beethoven."[86] In a letter to Hans Reinhart, Busoni clarified his views about Wagner: "[W]hile Wagner's *scores* are a guiding light and instruction to musicians, Wagner *on the stage* is–in my own (entirely personal) opinion–a composer for non-musicians, fundamentally untruthful and actually boring."[87]

As a young man, Busoni had been a protégé of Brahms. He had reservations about Brahms's music, however, and objected when Brahms was labeled Beethoven's successor:

"Even then (1898) the German world I sought out was so saturated with the cult of Beethoven . . . that they placed their trust in Brahms as someone who would offer variety while still maintaining the Beethovenian line. . . . Both [Brahms and Wagner] wanted to be descendants of Beethoven, because that would have given them legitimacy in the eyes of the public. In reality the stillness [of Brahms] came from Schumann, and the loudness [of Wagner] from Meyerbeer."[88]

Busoni provided additional details about his views on the history of the symphony: "Brahms, Bruckner, Mahler, were all filled with the monomania of writing their own nine symphonies; notwithstanding the fact that in art it is not the line you take but the gift you possess which is the deciding factor, however much you may wish they were the same thing."[89]

In their books, both Gray and Lambert presented an outline of the history of the nineteenth-century symphony that expands on Busoni's views. They created a historical narrative in which Beethoven and Sibelius play pivotal roles, but they did not link the two composers in the manner that recent commentators have claimed. In *A Survey of Contemporary Music*, Gray employed Beethoven's music as the baseline for evaluation of the achievements of later composers in a manner still familiar today, for example, in comparisons of the string quartets of Bartók and Elliott Carter with those of Beethoven. For example, Gray compares the works of Beethoven and Delius for chorus and orchestra, asserting, "In my opinion Delius stands

unsurpassed by any composer since Beethoven in this medium."[90] About Bartók, Gray writes, "[W]ithout implying any comparison of relative stature, it can be said that Bartók's mentality throughout all his work is closely akin to that of Beethoven, and the affinity becomes more striking with each successive work."[91] Conversely, Gray condemns Brahms for failing to properly apply Beethoven's logical procedures in the construction of his symphonies: "Brahms seldom succeeds in conceiving themes sufficiently contrasted to generate the action. . . . The ground-plan is always admirably laid out, but he seldom succeeds in linking together the various constituent sections of his building."[92]

Gray brackets Sibelius with Mussorgsky and Borodin rather than the classical masters.[93] He notes Sibelius's use of a relatively conventional idiom, together with "striking and novel conception[s],"[94] describing Sibelius's avant-garde tendency as "his elliptical mode of thought . . . his habit of presenting us with his conclusions, without initiating us into the processes or leading us successively through the different stages by which he arrived at them."[95] While Gray made no effort to link Sibelius to Beethoven in *A Survey of Contemporary Music*, his historical perspective changed during the following years. In his Sibelius monograph, Gray portrayed the Finnish composer as the great representative of the classical tradition: "Sibelius . . . alone in modern times, has preserved inviolate the purity and integrity of the true symphonic style."[96] As a modernist critic, Gray emphasized the significance of Sibelius's Fourth Symphony and its successors: "In all his later work one finds . . . a refinement and intricacy of form which are only paralleled in the art of the great classics."[97] Gray justified his opinions by presenting an analysis of music history that echoed Busoni's ideas, declaring that the Germans had been unable to write true symphonies during the past hundred years: "He [Brahms] was not a symphonist by natural aptitude or inclination, in fact, and on the whole this is true of all the most eminent German composers of the nineteenth century and of modern times."[98]

Gray tied his criticism of Brahms, and of German music in general, to an attack on German racist aesthetics. He targeted Walter Niemann's denigration of Sibelius's ability to create true symphonic forms:

"The truth is, therefore, that the Germans are in reality the last people in the world who have the right . . . to claim that they alone possess the secret of musical construction on a large scale. It is the one thing of which, as a race, they are fundamentally incapable, and this makes their patronizing attitude towards the symphonies of Sibelius particularly laughable. Attention has already been drawn . . . to the dictum of Herr Niemann to the effect that Sibelius's employment of short-winded, Nordic, national, thematic material prevents him from attaining to the 'monumentality and concentration of form, the organic and logical inner development and proportion' which are the hall-mark of 'the true symphonic creations of the West'–by which, of course, is meant Germany."[99]

Gray's criticism of Niemann's description of the characteristically German symphonic idiom ("monumentality and concentration of form . . . organic and logical inner development and proportion") encodes a veiled reference to Busoni's attack on German "breadth and depth" in *The New Aesthetic*: "The 'Apostles of the Ninth Symphony' have devised the notion of 'depth' in music. It is still current at face-value, especially in Germanic lands. . . . *Depth* becomes *breadth*, and the attempt is made to attain it through *weight*; it then discovers itself . . . by a preference for a *deep register*, and . . . by the insinuation of a second, mysterious notion, usually of a literary sort."[100]

In *Music Ho!*, Lambert entitled his discussion of the Sibelius symphonies "The Symphonic Problem." Lambert followed Gray's lead in linking an attack on German music after Beethoven to his affirmation of Sibelius's achievements. He presented an analysis of the history of the symphony similar to Gray's, but his arguments were more complex and more detailed. Recalling Busoni's comments about the "regression" of German music after Beethoven, Lambert claimed that the genre of the symphony was in crisis: "The classical symphony in the nineteenth century, far from marking a development of the Beethoven tradition, marks a definite decline." He condemned the "mingling of academic procedure with undigested nationalism or maudlin sentiment, or both."[101] In a subtle attack on Niemann's motives for comparing Sibelius to the presumably "inferior" Liszt, Lambert turned the tables by proclaiming that Liszt was one of the greatest masters of form of the Romantic period: "[I]n his thirteen symphonic poems Liszt achieves a unity of expression and form which may be sought for in vain in the symphonies of the period."[102]

Lambert emphasized that Sibelius's importance within the history of music was due specifically to his accomplishments as a symphonist. For Lambert, Sibelius was unique among the great composers of the period in his devotion to the genre of the symphony, which had been abandoned by his greatest contemporaries. Lambert interpreted the music of Sibelius from a modernist perspective, focusing on the Fourth and Seventh Symphonies.[103] Conversely, he criticized the image of Sibelius created by popularizers of the latter's music and bemoaned the renown accorded *Finlandia*.[104]

Like Gray, Lambert attacked the German presumption that Sibelius was incapable of constructing a convincing large-scale musical narrative, although he did not address this prejudice directly. He emphasized Sibelius's "astonishing sense of form,"[105] comparing him to Beethoven[106] and outlining the structure of each of the seven symphonies in turn.[107] By devaluing the German symphonic tradition and associating Sibelius with Beethoven, Gray and Lambert sought, paradoxically, to legitimize his music within the dominant Germanic musico-historical paradigm of their day.

Sibelius, the Nazis, and the Beethoven Problem

During the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, Germans employed culture as a weapon in the service of their political objective, German hegemony in Europe. Both German music and musical historiography were expected to serve the national agenda.[108] Conversely, German musicians consistently belittled, and often vilified, composers of French culture such as Liszt, Berlioz, and Meyerbeer,[109] while patronizing composers from Eastern, Northern, and Southern Europe.

In response to these attitudes, Busoni crafted an alternative historical narrative as a counterpart to his pan-European aesthetic. Hans Pfitzner's attack on Busoni in his pamphlet *Futuristengefahr: bei Gelegenheit von Busonis Ästhetik* [The Danger of Futurism: On the Occasion of Busoni's Aesthetic] (1917) was symptomatic of conservative German attitudes towards Busoni's progressive, cosmopolitan ideas. Pfitzner attacked both Busoni's compositional philosophy and his conception of music history as a threat to German culture and society.[110]

Like Busoni, Sibelius was a victim of German cultural prejudice. Throughout most of his career, German musicians and scholars judged his music to be the inferior product of a peripheral "Nordic" culture. Fighting against German attitudes, Gray and Lambert employed Busoni's new narrative for their own purposes, modifying it to create a historical model within which Sibelius's music could play a central role.

During the very years that Gray and Lambert were publishing their books, the Nazis imposed a new cultural paradigm on Germany, in which Scandinavia was awarded increased importance. The inhabitants of the Nordic countries, together with the Germans, were now to be considered racially and culturally superior to other Europeans. Not surprisingly, Beethoven, the iconic German composer, became a central figure in the Nazi discourse about Nordic art.[111] For example, pianist Elly Ney made the following comments in 1938 at a Beethoven festival for the Hitler Youth: "Beethoven for the Hitler Youth! Lively young Germans, you are being carried away by the fire of enthusiasm. . . . How beautiful it is for the participating German musicians to bring you closer to Beethoven. . . . Heroism is the essence of Nordic art."[112]

Tragically, Busoni's ideas about music and culture had now been transformed into a life and death matter. In 1934, refugee conductor Otto Klemperer[113] denounced the Nazis' appropriation of Beethoven in terms that recall Busoni's cosmopolitan interpretation of the composer: "Wagner wanted the world to believe that he and Beethoven were members of the same musical family. But that is not true. At the musical level, Beethoven was Mozart's son, and that line came to an end with Beethoven."[114] In *Down Among the Dead Men* (1935), Bernard van Dieren suggested that Busoni would have been compelled to flee from the Nazis: "[O]ne shudders to contemplate what would have happened had he lived long enough to see Germany veer to a régime of fanatic reaction surpassing the rigid formalism of the pre-War [World War I] period."[115]

The Nazis transformed the manner in which Sibelius was treated in Germany. No longer a marginal figure, he was now considered a member of the artistic elite. This did not indicate, however, that German performers, audiences, or writers had changed their attitudes towards his music. While American journalist Lucien Price combined racial theorizing with enthusiasm for Sibelius's symphonies in his book *We Northmen* (1936),[116] the Nazis did not promote Sibelius as Beethoven's heir. On the contrary, when Nazi journalists and scholars discussed Sibelius's music, they replicated Niemann's views. In an open letter commemorating the seventieth birthday of Sibelius, Helmut Thierfelder portrayed the composer as a Nordic impressionist who expressed the racial spirit of the Finns and depicted the Finnish landscape in his music.[117] When Price interviewed Sibelius in the summer of 1935, he responded to such critiques with resentment and frustration: "If a writer about music, or about my music, finds, let us say, landscape feeling in it, well and good: let him say so. But let it be understood that one does not come at the true inwardness of music through analysis, and that in what the analyst writes he speaks not for the composer but for himself."[118] Timothy L. Jackson has presented evidence that Sibelius approved Thierfelder's open letter before its publication.[119] The comments reported by Price nevertheless suggest that he continued to be justly skeptical of German attitudes towards his music.

Herbert F. Peyser of *The New York Times* published reports on the lack of interest in Sibelius's music in Germany and Austria during the 1930s, both before and after the Nazi takeover. In March 1933, Peyser wrote, "The average Berlin concertgoer knows almost as much about the music of Jan Sibelius as he does about the other side of the moon. And the presumably cultivated musician is in the same boat with the average concertgoer. . . . Today nobody performs his music–neither [Wilhelm] Furtwängler, [Bruno] Walter, [Fritz] Busch nor anyone else–and nobody asks to have it performed."

Peyser indicated that Sibelius was well aware of the hostility and ignorance that his music confronted in Germany:

"For Sibelius harbors no illusions about Berlin and is skeptical about a judgment which, with respect to himself, he knows to be unschooled. And well he might be! The reviews which the [Fourth] symphony provoked were abysmal and ignorant enough to have made the angels weep. . . . [Conductor Werner Janssen] had intended producing another Sibelius symphony at his April concert, but was admonished that 'no more Sibelius was wanted.'"[120]

Five days after Peyser's article was printed, passage of the Enabling Act[121] gave Hitler dictatorial powers in Germany. Once the Nazis targeted Sibelius as an eminent composer racially suitable for promotion by the Reich, there was a sudden upsurge of interest in his music by performers. In December 1935, Peyser described the evolving political situation:

"It now remains to be seen whether this equivocal response [concert reviews that Peyser described as "peculiar"] will persuade any other conductor to feed the indifferent Viennese another morsel or two of Sibelius. Possibly Furtwaengler may be so minded. He has lately busied himself with the Seventh symphony of the old berserker of Järvenpää and has played it for better or worse to Berlin audiences. This does not signify that the Germans have suddenly seen a great light, developed understanding and overcome their old aversion to Sibelius, but simply that the composer, as one becomingly Nordic, fits in with the Nazi ideology and so deserves cultivation."[122]

Additional witnesses confirm Peyser's accounts of German indifference and hostility to Sibelius's music under the Nazi regime. In the March 1935 issue of *The Musical Times*, a young student, G. D. [Geoffrey] Skelton (1916-1998), later an eminent scholar of German music, depicted widespread ignorance of the almost seventy-year-old composer:

"To the question 'Who is the greatest living composer?' a German would probably reply 'Richard Strauss,' and an Englishman probably 'Sibelius.' Yet in Germany Sibelius, even among the more serious students of music, is almost unknown: and to the Englishman's answer the few Germans who do know him would certainly show surprise."[123]

The accuracy of Bengt de Törne's 1937 book about Sibelius has recently been called into question.[124] In his preface, de Törne thanks Cecil Gray for his assistance.[125] Given the association between the two men, the similarity of their views is not surprising. De Törne's book is notable for its elaboration of most of the themes of American and British Sibelius hagiography, including the defense of Sibelius's formal techniques against German criticism. For example, de Törne attempts to promote Sibelius's reputation by connecting his forms to the classical tradition of Mozart and Beethoven:

"But Sibelius' admiration for Mozart and the classical school goes beyond this. An analysis of the form of his work will show it to be a direct continuation of the symphonic architecture elaborated in Central Europe in the second part of the eighteenth century."[126]

In de Törne's book, Sibelius repeatedly takes veiled swipes at the German conception of his symphonies as impressionistic, poorly structured works, lacking "monumentality and unity of form, organic and logical internal development and design":[127] "'You see how Kajanus builds up my [Fourth] symphony,' he proceeded. 'He actually makes you feel the construction of the work like a huge building.'" De Törne appropriates Walter Niemann's terminology in order to associate Sibelius's symphonic structures with Beethoven's formal strategies:

"Kajanus conducted the *Eroica* at a symphony concert in Helsingfors. It was an exceptionally fine performance, every detail, however carefully worked out, being subordinate to the grand architectural conception. . . . [Sibelius] emphasized the *monumental unity* of the interpretation and concluded: 'I wish all the young people had heard it!'"[128] [my italics]

De Törne strikes back at Niemann's intentionally demeaning comparison of Sibelius's symphonies to Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique* Symphony. He ingeniously reconciles Tchaikovsky's influence on Sibelius with the latter's classicizing tendencies:

"Nothing could be more alien to the mind of Sibelius, even in his early period, than the spirit which dominates the *Symphonie Pathétique*. For although endowed by nature with a temperament of truly volcanic intensity he is never absorbed by any situation or episode to the detriment of the whole. Thus he declares himself an adept of the line initiated by Beethoven, who of all composers is the most typical symphonist, though the ardour of his temperament would seem to exclude any possibility of epic perspectives."[129]

At the height of World War II, Sibelius reacted bitterly to the manner in which his music was presented in Germany. In an October 1943 diary entry, he appears to perceive himself as having been co-opted by people with hostile artistic intentions:

"I heard the Europe Concert from Germany this evening. All of the composers were represented with their best works – me with *Finlandia*. . . . The reviewers here – just as in Sweden and Germany – have their doubts when my symphonies are performed. It's different in the English-speaking world."[130]

While Sibelius bemoaned the Germans' lack of appreciation for his concept of "the symphonic,"[131] he failed to note that *Finlandia*, Niemann's "monumental," "Beethovenian" anti-Russian "fresco," served as a useful propaganda piece for the Nazis during their invasion of the Soviet Union.[132] As Niemann had realized during World War I, it was possible for the Germans to interpret the political subtext of Sibelius's music as supportive of their military objectives.

Sibelius and the Interviewers: Directing the Discourse

During the 1930s, Sibelius had repeated opportunities to control his image. He entertained a steady stream of visitors to his home, including journalists for major American and European newspapers, and writers who published books about his music. In interviews, Sibelius addressed both aesthetic and political issues, repeatedly revealing a sophisticated internationalist perspective. His political and artistic outlook had many parallels with that of his friend Busoni. Sibelius asserted that Mozart and Mendelssohn are "the two greatest geniuses of the orchestra."[133] He praised Verdi, and criticized both Wagner and the Wagner cult. He told Walter Legge, "Wagner's music is for my taste too rich, too exotic, too heavily perfumed."[134] To Lucien Price, Sibelius remarked, "With Wagner . . . music was also largely literary. . . . With me, music is music and nothing else. Each art must speak its own language."[135] Cecil Gray presented Sibelius's rejection of Wagner in its most drastic formulation: "Wagner, in particular, means, and always has meant, precisely nothing to Sibelius; for him, indeed, the art of Wagner is simply not music at all."[136]

In 1935, Harry Rogers Pratt[137] interviewed Sibelius for *The New York Times.* Pratt presented a cosmopolitan perspective on Sibelius's music that contradicted the dominant nationalist and racial interpretation of his works:

"For years writers have played up the fallacy that the music of Sibelius is somber and gloomy in the extreme, full of morbid introspection, shot through with Nordic inhibitions crying out, with Oswald, for a glimpse of the sun. . . . [The symphonies of Sibelius] stand as perfect examples of pure music, analogous to pure mathematics, to be sensed and understood only by those who understand or intuitively grasp the language of pure music."[138]

In response to Pratt's queries, Sibelius echoed Lambert's assertions in *Music Ho!* about contemporary musical internationalism:

"But one cannot escape expressing one's self in a national idiom. . . . A whole empire of reasons, causes and facts are involved in the idiom, yet fundamentally the music itself is international. . . . If a composer feels a universal truth, a common note is sounded and there is a response from all peoples. Yes, music will always be what it is now–international–and more so in the future, because the whole world is coming closer together, with a better understanding among nations, through the annihilation of distances, through the radio, through cooperation in the fields of art, science and industry. Nothing can stop the progress of the world in this direction."[139]

Sibelius's rejection of *Blut und Boden* nationalism reads like a refutation of contemporary Nazi encomia of his works, published by authors such as Helmut Thierfelder and Günther Thaer.[140]

Like Gray and Lambert, Pratt outlined a musico-historical narrative linking the symphonies of Sibelius to those of Beethoven, enabling him to claim Sibelius as a master of the highest rank: "Both men, in their later development, although a

hundred years apart in time, have held to the same conception of the scope and genius of music." Pratt simultaneously belittled early, accessible pieces like *Finlandia*:

"Sibelius took up the symphony where Beethoven left it, and has carried it forward into the twentieth century by right of direct succession. This will be clearer in a few years when the new tonal perspectives of Sibelius ring more clearly in our ears and when, it must be confessed, the 'Valse Triste' and 'Finlandia' have been interred in the grave beside 'The Mount of Olives'[141] and 'The Battle of Vittoria,'[142] where they belong."[143]

In his conversation with Pratt, Sibelius expressed distaste for Wagner in terms similar to those that he used when speaking to Lucien Price: "As for the music dramas of Wagner, that is another story. He dislikes literary music and believes–I judge from what he left unsaid–that rather than uniting the arts of music and drama Wagner has wrecked both of them."[144]

During the interwar period, critical admirers of Sibelius continued to couple his music with that of the iconically Jewish composer Ernest Bloch. Sibelius voiced enthusiasm for Bloch's music as well. In 1936, Olin Downes wrote about his praise for both Bloch and Arnold Schoenberg: "Yet Sibelius has peered earnestly and appreciatively into the pages of ultra-moderns like Schoenberg. He is an intense admirer of the piano quintet of Ernest Bloch."[145] In *The Musical Times*, Walter Legge quoted Sibelius as saying, "I cannot account for the general neglect of Bloch. He is a greatly gifted man whose music is both modern in the best sense and within the grasp of the contemporary musical mind."[146]

Sibelius expressed at least conditional praise for Schoenberg on numerous occasions, not merely when he spoke to Downes. When interviewed by Walter Legge, he characterized "the later Schoenberg" as a recondite musical theorist and/or philosopher, while describing Alban Berg as Schoenberg's "best work."[147] The inference to be drawn from Sibelius's careful phraseology is that he found Schoenberg's earlier music to be of greater interest.[148] Cecil Gray documented Sibelius's thoughts on the matter more fully in *Predicaments*: "The music of Schoenberg and his followers . . . is not sympathetic to me personally, but I freely recognize that such high aims, such sincerity, and such incontestably great gifts can only result in gain, in some valuable addition to the sum of music."[149] Sibelius made similar comments to Harry Rogers Pratt: "His [Sibelius's] kindliness is not a pose of good taste but rather a willingness to admit, with extreme catholicity, that some good comes out of any and every experiment, no matter how unsound some experiments may be."[150] Sibelius's remarks about Schoenberg are indicative, not of musical or political conservatism, but of a modernist, cosmopolitan outlook.[151] Except for Sibelius and Busoni, none of the composers of the generation of the 1860s voiced approval for the atonal music of Schoenberg, perceiving his style to be alien to their musical values. In addition, Sibelius's appreciation, even if conditional, for the music of Jewish composers and atonalists would hardly have been acceptable to the political right or the Nazis.

Given the Nazis' cultivation of Sibelius, it is striking that there was a sudden change of tone in his public comments about other composers during the late 1930s. *TIME* magazine's 1937 feature article noted,

"About other people's music Sibelius talks a great deal. But he was embarrassed by the wide publicity given his disparagement of Wagner [in Bengt de Törne's book], and has begun to hedge a little in his public statements. 'Wagner, a genius . . . yo, yo, a great genius,' he conceded airily to a recent interviewer. . . . About the music of Stravinsky he is unenthusiastic, finds extreme Modernist Schönberg 'unsympathetic.'"[152]

The article did not elaborate on the difficulties that Sibelius had suddenly encountered when he expressed ideas about Wagner that he had repeated for many years.

In a 1938 *New York Times* interview, Sibelius told a startled Carleton Smith,[153] "Wagner is one from [of] the greatest geniuses in music. He is a phenomenon." Smith commented, "This was strange coming from a man who had told me the last time I saw him that he did not like Wagnerian music, that it was too literary and too much derived from non-musical sources. It was clear, however, that Sibelius now feels his dislike for Wagner's music has been overstated. Here, as elsewhere, he wishes to keep a middle course."[154] From a purely musical standpoint, Sibelius's attempt to mollify critics of his views of Wagner paralleled Busoni's conciliatory response to Pfitzner's *Futuristengefahr* twenty year earlier.[155] Given the transformed international situation, however, Sibelius's comments were intended to merge the aesthetic and the political in deference to new geopolitical realities.

By the late 1930s, Sibelius had become an artistic celebrity in both Great Britain and the United States, described as one of the world's two greatest composers, along with Richard Strauss. Strauss was considered the most prominent composer in Germany, Sibelius the leading musical figure in the Nordic countries. Not coincidentally, the two men were linked together

in the mass media. In 1938, an article in *TIME* magazine noted, "But Herr Doktor Richard Strauss is not only Germany's No. 1 composer. As one of the two most eminent composers in the world today (the other is Finland's Jean Sibelius), he is Naziland's No. 1 cultural exhibit."[156] On the day prior to publication of the *TIME* article, *The New York Times* printed Carleton Smith's interview with Sibelius, in which Strauss was the only one of Sibelius's contemporaries to be mentioned. Under the heading, "Praise for Strauss," Smith quoted Sibelius as saying, "Strauss is actual.[157] I, not. He, modern. My music, abstract *** for all times, all places."[158] In 1941, Smith revealed that Sibelius had expressed a more ambiguous attitude towards Strauss's music than the *Times* article had indicated: "His [Strauss's] music has very many clothes, very fine fabrics, bright colors. But I find clothes go out of style."[159] Sibelius's critique of Strauss[160] echoed Gray's evaluation of the German composer in *A Survey of Contemporary Music* as an inauthentic modernist,[161] rather than reflecting a musically conservative aesthetic compatible with his political affiliations.

During World War II, Sibelius gave interviews to American and German journalists that seemed to reflect incompatible versions of reality. In these interviews, Sibelius made few substantive comments about music as he attempted to navigate his way through a difficult political situation. When Paul Sjöblom interviewed him for *Musical America* in 1940, Sibelius professed an interest in the music of Shostakovich as well as the plight of Jewish refugees from Nazism, including Schoenberg and musicologist Alfred Einstein. He also discussed the Winter War of 1939–40 between the Soviet Union and Finland, in which his nephew had been killed. Sibelius expressed a skeptical perspective towards international politics: "I have seen many revolutions in my time, all hailed of course as the hope of tomorrow. My disillusionments conspire to make me think of the future in no better terms than of the not very happy past."[162] Towards the end of the article, Sjöblom noted Sibelius's reticence in expressing his real opinions: "[O]ver his whole being lies a paradoxical veil of restraint." Frustrated, Sjöblom concluded that Sibelius was an "enigma."[163]

Two years later, in 1942, SS war reporter Anton Kloss interviewed Sibelius for *Deutsche Zeitung im Osten*, a Nazi publication. When he spoke to Kloss, Sibelius expressed attitudes radically different from those documented by British and American journalists. He declared, "I love this land [Germany] . . . whose people have so much understanding for art and music,"[164] a statement that contradicts numerous earlier comments about German musicians and their incomprehension of his works. More significantly, the Kloss interview closes with Sibelius's salute to the Nazi war effort: "I wish you from my heart a speedy victory. I am not worried that you will be able to achieve it."[165] Sibelius's anti-Russian political agenda underlies his remarks in both the Sjöblom and Kloss interviews. Kloss, however, attributes comments to Sibelius distinguished by their stilted language and use of clichés, suggesting that he was reading from a script.[166]

By the time that Eliot Elisofon interviewed Sibelius for *TIME* on 9 October 1944,[167] the Nazis were losing the war. Sibelius's comments to Elisofon represent a complete *volte-face* relative to his statements in the Kloss interview. When he spoke to Elisofon, Sibelius reiterated the praise for Shostakovich that he had previously expressed to Sjöblom. In addition, he made seemingly evasive comments about jazz[168] that could be interpreted in a positive sense:

"Sibelius told me he listens frequently to the radio and so keeps in touch with current music. 'I heard the Leningrad Symphony and I feel Shostakovich has very great talent,' he said. . . . When asked about Negro music, he said, 'They give everything, they open their hearts.' I said, 'What about jazz?' He said, 'If I were only younger!'"

Shostakovich's "Leningrad" Symphony, op. 60 (1941), became associated internationally with the Soviet Union's defensive war against the German invaders,[169] and, in particular, with the defense of Leningrad against the lengthy siege by the German and Finnish armies.[170] Due to its political connotations, the Symphony became very popular in the United States during World War II. In retrospect, Sibelius's mention of the work to Elisofon appears to have been an attempt to establish his anti-Fascist credentials for the American interviewer.[171]

Sibelius, Busoni, and the New Music

In *Nineteenth-Century Music*, Carl Dahlhaus discussed the mid-career rejection of modernist innovation by composers born during the 1850s and 60s.[172] Dahlhaus described how Strauss and Reger discarded the progressive elements of their style in the years immediately prior to World War I, due to their refusal to abandon tonality. While Strauss and Reger retreated from modernism, other composers, including Busoni, Nielsen, and Sibelius, adopted and retained some elements of modernist discourse.[173] Tomi Mäkelä has suggested that a true comprehension of Sibelius's technical and aesthetic compromise requires

an abandonment of "the chronology of styles and tendencies."[174] Mäkelä echoes Lambert's evaluation of Sibelius's historical position: "[Sibelius's Fourth Symphony] obstinately refuses to be fitted into any category, ancient or modern."[175]

Mäkelä refers to postmodern discourse in order to situate the complex mixture of "conservative" and "progressive" elements within Sibelius's style, but finds the concept of "traditionalist modernity" to be peculiarly appropriate as a description of his compositional procedures.[176] Far from being a historiographical innovation, the concept of "traditionalist modernity" can in fact be parsed as a restatement of Busoni's "Young Classicality."

Several scholars have explored the musical relationship between Busoni and Sibelius. Antony Beaumont has dismissed the suggestion that Busoni's "Young Classicality" had any effect on Sibelius's style.[177] Mäkelä, however, posits that Busoni had some influence on his ideas about classicism.[178] Similarly, Chris Walton has noted parallels between Sibelius's *Scaramouche* incidental music, op. 71 (1913), and Busoni's opera *Arlecchino*, op. 50 (1914–16).[179] More significantly, both Busoni and Sibelius experimented with modality and tonally ambiguous structures, although they ultimately retreated from atonality. Erinn E. Knyt has pointed to similarities between Busoni's harmonic procedures in the opening section of the 1910 *Fantasia contrappuntistica* and Sibelius's contrast between modality and major/minor harmony in the 1911 Fourth Symphony: "This mixture of modality, bitonality, experimental scales, and organization around a tritone within a more conventional formal framework [in the *Fantasia contrappuntistica*] is too similar to Sibelius's approach in the fourth symphony to ignore."[180] Busoni did not consider his rejection of atonality an abandonment of the avant-garde. During his final years, he continued to pursue his interests in the use of alternative scales, microtonal music, and electronic music.[181]

I would like to propose that elements of the later music of Busoni and Sibelius be reconceptualized as part of the early history of musical ultramodernism.[182] The distinction between musical modernism and ultramodernism is an oft-debated topic. According to Gayle Murchison, ultramodernists "sought to redefine music as sound and experiment." They "invented new instruments and explored microtonality."[183] In contrast, musical modernists sometimes employed Classical and Baroque forms. Pinpointing modernism's links to tradition, Murchison singles out Aaron Copland's assertion that it was "possible to compose atonal or polytonal music, to use polyrhythms and unconventional forms, yet not be an ultramodernist."[184]

I offer the following summary of differences between musical modernism and ultramodernism: modernists such as Schoenberg, Berg, Webern, and Bartók were concerned with pitch manipulation, and, frequently, with atonality. The modernists did not abandon classical forms or the concept of directed motion. In contrast, ultramodernists such as Varèse, Ives, and Cowell were concerned with musical space and time, rhythmic experimentation, electronic music, microtones, and the use of new instruments. The ultramodernists had little interest in Schoenbergian atonality. In the article "Expressionism and American Music," Elliott Carter asserted, "Until around 1930, and even after, it is hard to escape the impression that the Viennese music left very little impact on most of the ultramoderns."[185]

Busoni's *Sketch of a New Aesthetic of Music* (1907/1916) was perhaps the first important document of musical ultramodernism. For Busoni, the most important characteristic of music is its "immateriality."[186] Busoni discusses microtones,[187] electronic music,[188] modality,[189] and the creation of free forms, a concept that he illustrates by citing transitional passages in older music, including the introduction to the fugue of Beethoven's "Hammerklavier" Sonata, op. 106.[190] Busoni never repudiated the principles that he enunciated in the *Sketch*. On the contrary, the seemingly incompatible concepts that he articulated in the doctrine of "Young Classicality" were intended, at least in part, to serve a heuristic function as a corrective for the younger generation of composers. Busoni feared that he had opened a Pandora's box by publishing the *Sketch*. In 1922, he wrote,

"I know . . . that I have occasioned a great deal of misunderstanding through my little book *A New Aesthetic of Music*. I retract no sentence which stands there, but against certain interpretations . . . I must defend myself. . . . Far from advising against every effective resource being taken up in the workshop of our possibilities, I only desire that it shall be applied aesthetically and intelligently."[191]

By promulgating two seemingly disparate ideological agendas, Busoni tried to create a delicate balance between his commitment to the musical past and his vision of the future. Few musicians were fully able to follow Busoni's reasoning. Despite, or even because of, their modernist orientation, Cecil Gray and Constant Lambert conveyed an interpretation of "Young Classicality" oriented towards its most traditional elements, and compounded their bias by dismissing Busoni's ideas about microtonality as well.[192]

For political reasons, Gray and Lambert felt compelled to examine Sibelius's works primarily in terms of their relationship to Classical form. When the two critics discussed the other parameters of his music, they described phenomena that recall Busoni's *Sketch*. For example, in *A Survey of Contemporary Music*, Gray identifies Sibelius's "primitivism" with his "elimination of unessentials" and his "elliptical mode of thought."[193] Gray's description of Sibelius's narrative structures evokes Busoni's discussion of the "*Ur-Musik*" of transitions. Gray also touches on the sound of Sibelius's music, considering it as an independent parameter, distinguished by its "austerity" and "restraint."[194]

Lambert's comments about form, color, time, and space in the works of Sibelius can be interpreted as an ultramodernist perspective on the music. Lambert echoes Gray in his description of Sibelius's "elliptical compactness of form."[195] He treats the sound of Sibelius's music as an independent element of compositional structure: "Like the colour in a Cézanne landscape, Sibelius's orchestration is an integral part of the form. One might almost describe it as having a kind of aural perspective, supplying a contrapuntal element that is sometimes lacking in the music itself." In addition, Lambert points to Sibelius's handling of musical space: "[A] vertical section taken through the orchestration often reveals a spacing of instruments more remarkable than anything to be found in the impressionist school."[196] After examining the parameter of musical space, Lambert proceeds to that of musical time:

"Sibelius's symphonies rarely contain any chords which, examined by themselves, cannot be found in the works of Grieg or Tchaikovsky. Yet through the manner of their presentation these chords are made to take on an entirely new meaning. Their importance is due, not to their momentary sound in space, but to their *placing in time*."[197] [my italics]

Lambert's description of the elements of Sibelius's musical vocabulary constitutes a survey of precisely those characteristics that Walter Niemann subsumed under the rubrics of impressionism and narrative disruption,[198] and seemingly undercuts his carefully reasoned analyses of Sibelius's dynamic, highly integrated symphonic structures.

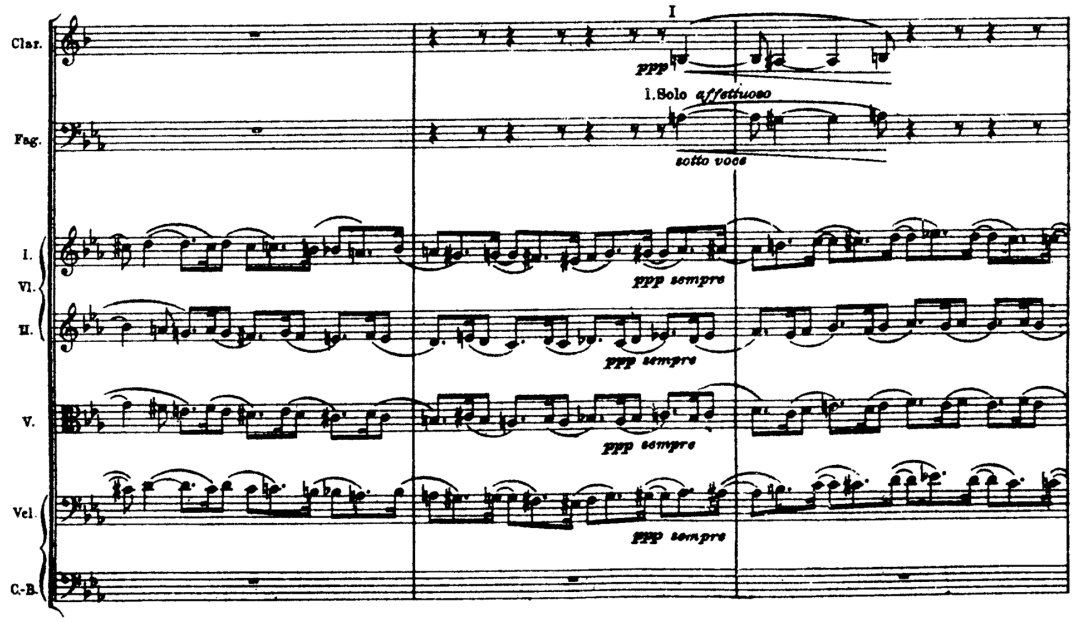
Recent scholarship about Sibelius has discarded the defensive focus on formal organization central to the historically oriented dialectic of Gray and Lambert. Instead, many scholars have attempted to articulate the structural implications of the sonic substance of the music, a discussion that Lambert seemingly inaugurated in the interstices of his main argument. These writers make no pretense of attempting to comprehend Sibelius's oeuvre in toto, focusing instead on his later works, specifically the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Symphonies, *Tapiola*, op. 112, and the incidental music for *The Tempest*, op. 109.[199] Julian Anderson has described Sibelius's music in terms reminiscent of Lambert: "Repeatedly in Sibelius's music, we encounter a bold and experimental attitude towards time, timbre, musical texture and form which transcends the late Romanticism of his origins."[200] James Hepokoski has focused on the same phenomena, including Sibelius's interest in "such static things as harmonic near-immobility and the slowly transforming sound-sheet . . . elemental, circular repetition . . . ostinatos and pedals."[201] He adds, "At times Sibelius's works strike us as proto-minimalist sound-sheets, whose actively moving timbre surfaces are undergirded by a more fundamental, deep-current slow motion."[202] Israeli scholar Ron Weidberg and I have both addressed Sibelius's use of timbre, texture, and register as structural elements in Sibelius's Fifth Symphony,[203] while Blair Johnston treated these issues more broadly in his paper, "Sound-Quality Modulation in Sibelius's Orchestral Works," at the 2017 Society of Music Theory annual meeting in Arlington, Virginia [USA].

Both Anderson and Hepokoski portray Sibelius as an anomalous figure, situated uneasily within the early twentieth-century conflict between first-generation modernism and high modernism,[204] who anticipated compositional techniques that did not become common currency until many years after the end of his career. They ignore Sibelius's stylistic commonalities with other composers who transcended the conservative-progressive quarrels of early twentieth-century music in order to create works in which sound itself generates structure. In contrast to Anderson and Hepokoski, I suggest that Sibelius melded first-generation modernist concepts about harmony and form with musical ideas that can be linked to *ultramodernism*. He rejected the high modernist focus on pitch structures in order to investigate the properties of sound itself, together with those of musical time and space.[205] Lambert seems to have tried to express this idea by linking Sibelius's disinterest in atonality to his manipulation of *sonic* structures: "Whereas most modern music is concerned mainly with vocabulary [i.e., 'the crisis of tonality'], Sibelius is concerned with content."[206] Scholars find Sibelius's mixture of conservative and progressive, old and new, difficult to conceptualize, precisely because it evades the discourse of high modernism.

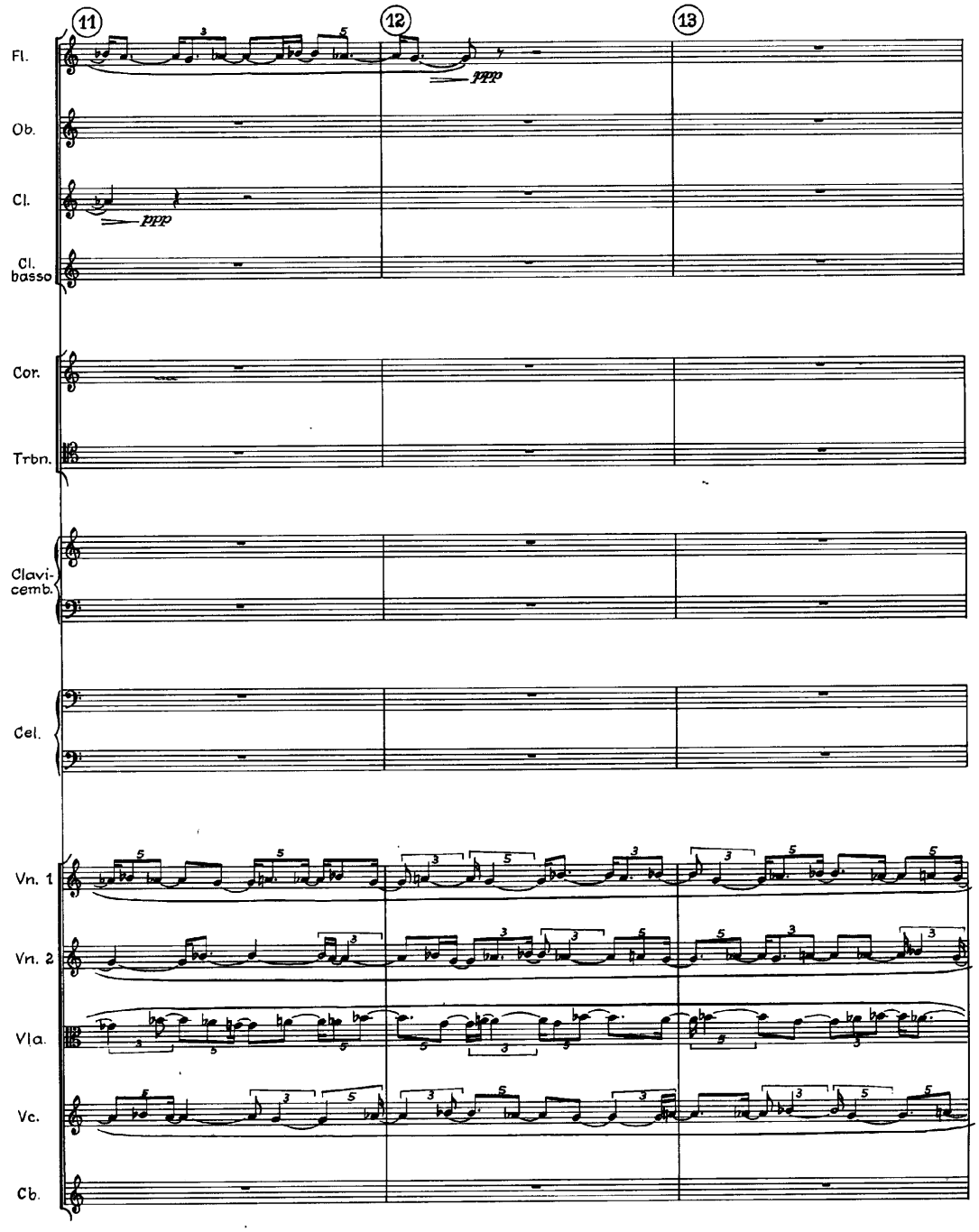
Sibelius's nascent "ultramodernism" is the basis for comparisons that many scholars have drawn between his music and techniques of the post-World War II European avant-garde, notably György Ligeti's timbral, textural, and spatial procedures.[207] A juxtaposition of the first movement of Sibelius's Symphony No. 5 and the first movement of Ligeti's Chamber Concerto (1969–70)[208] illustrates similarities between the two composers' thematic ideas as well as their methods of development. In both movements, a contrapuntal texture consisting of *sotto voce* slow-moving, rhythmically differentiated

twisting shapes (see Exx. 1a and b) gives way to scurrying string figures, accompanied by slower and more audible thematic fragments derived from the same initial ideas (see Exx. 2a and b). In each case, the string figures resolve into trills (written out by Sibelius) that are followed by eerie sustained chords, in which Eb2 is the lowest pitch (not shown).

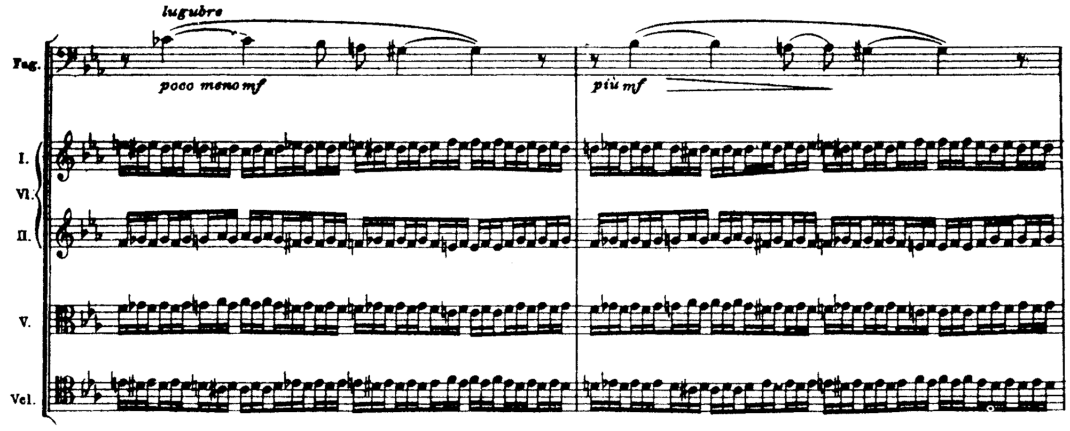
Example 1a Rhythmically contrasted string figures, in Jean Sibelius, Symphony No. 5, op. 82 (revised version, 1919), I, mm. 75–77. © 1921 Wilhelm Hansen Ed., Copenhagen. Reprinted by kind permission of Edition Wilhelm Hansen A/S København.



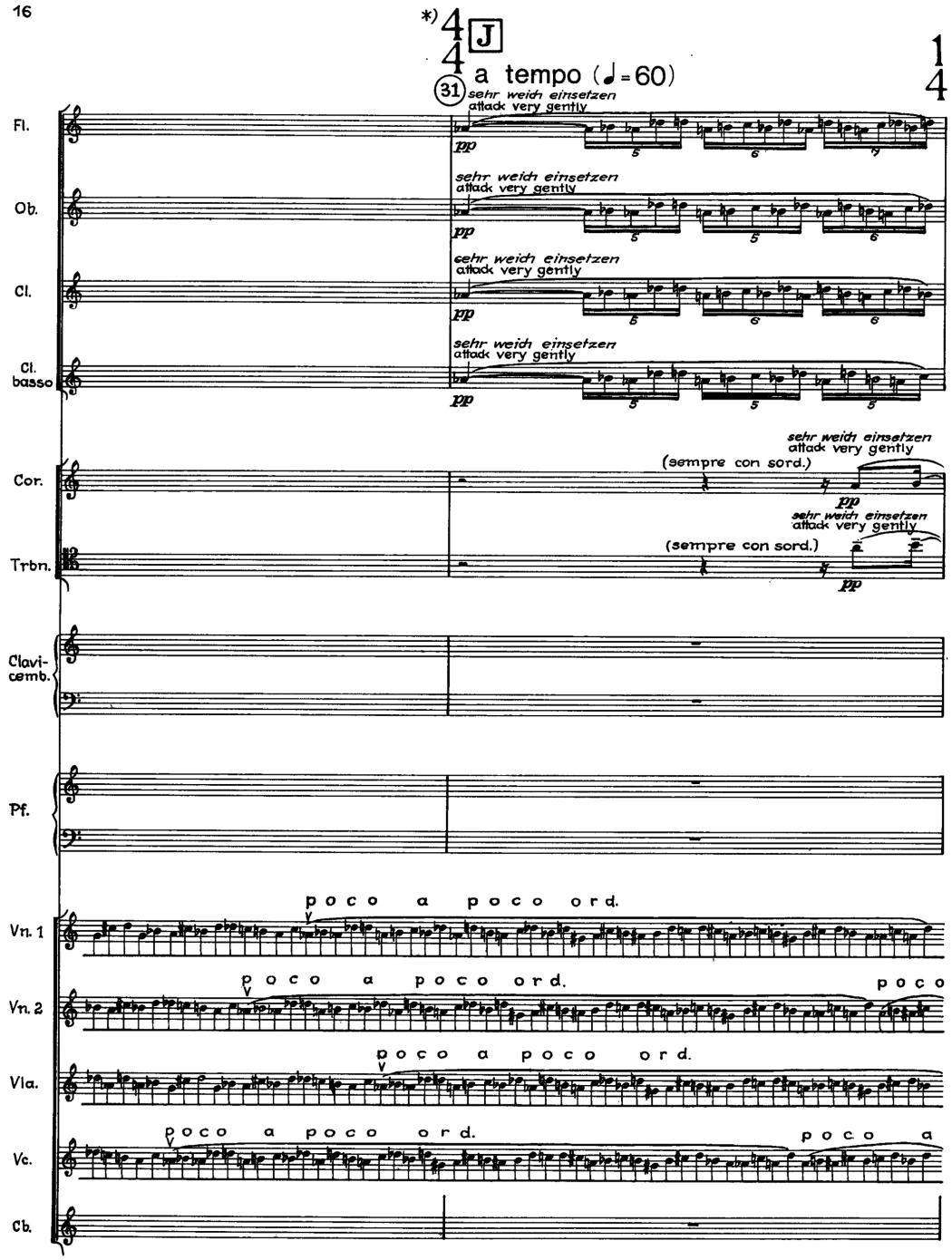
Example 1b Micropolyphonic string texture, in György Ligeti, Chamber Concerto for 13 Instrumentalists (1969–70), I, mm. 11–13. György Ligeti, KAMMERKONZERT. Copyright © 1974 Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany. Copyright © renewed. All Rights Reserved. Used by permission of European American Music Distributors Company, sole U.S. and Canadian agent for Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany.



Example 2a Triplet string patterns in contrary motion, accompanied by chromatic wind figures, in Jean Sibelius, Symphony No. 5, op. 82 (revised version, 1919), I, mm. 83–84. © 1921 Wilhelm Hansen Ed., Copenhagen. Reprinted by kind permission of Edition Wilhelm Hansen A/S København.



Example 2b Micropolyphonic string texture, accompanied by slower wind and brass interjections, in György Ligeti, Chamber Concerto for 13 Instrumentalists (1969–70), I, m. 31. György Ligeti, KAMMERKONZERT. Copyright © 1974 Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany. Copyright © renewed. All Rights Reserved. Used by permission of European American Music Distributors Company, sole U.S. and Canadian agent for Schott Music GmbH & Co. KG, Mainz, Germany.



*) Anmerkung für den Dirigenten: Abwarten bis alle Streicher zum legato angelangt sind, dann folgt unmittelbar der Einsatz J .

*) *Conductor: wait until all strings have begun playing legato, then give the entrance for* J *immediately.*

Discussing the Sibelius passage, Eero Tarasti has commented skeptically on the historiographical appropriation of his music by members of the 1960s avant-garde:

"Has [Erkki] Salmenhaara[209] unknowingly projected Ligetian field technique onto Sibelius in order to see the latter as a representative of a certain avant-garde movement? If organicity were the same as Ligeti's field technique, that would place Sibelius within the panorama of the new music of the twentieth century. The listener experiences such fields as stasis, a limbo from which there is no exit. This situation undeniably occurs in Sibelius's Fifth Symphony, especially at score letters J and K."[210]

Tarasti concludes his discussion by recapitulating Lambert's assertion that Sibelius displayed his originality in handling the "content" of music (i.e., the parameters of texture, timbre, and musical time), rather than in reformulating his harmonic language:

"It is essential to this line of reasoning to speak about music as *shapes* or *Gestalts* but not as grammar. Some composers, such as Arnold Schoenberg, have concentrated on reforming musical grammars. Other composers, by contrast, have made their main contributions at the level of gestalt, that is, made innovations even when the grammar remained the same. Debussy, Stravinsky, and Sibelius seem to belong to this line."[211]

Tarasti's ideas echo those of the Finnish composer, Magnus Lindberg, who articulated a similar conclusion about Sibelius's historical significance in a 1993 interview: "His [Sibelius's] language was certainly not modern, but his thinking, as to form and the treatment of the material, was in advance of his time."[212] Lindberg singled out Sibelius's handling of timbre for special attention:

"His harmonies, though tonal, have a very sonorous quality that can be described as almost 'spectral.' With Sibelius, there is a use of sonority that is, ultimately, close to what appeared much later in the work of Gérard Grisey or Tristan Murail, who were very interested in the music of Sibelius ten years ago. . . . [A]t the time, the Seventh Symphony in particular was the subject of a real cult!"[213]

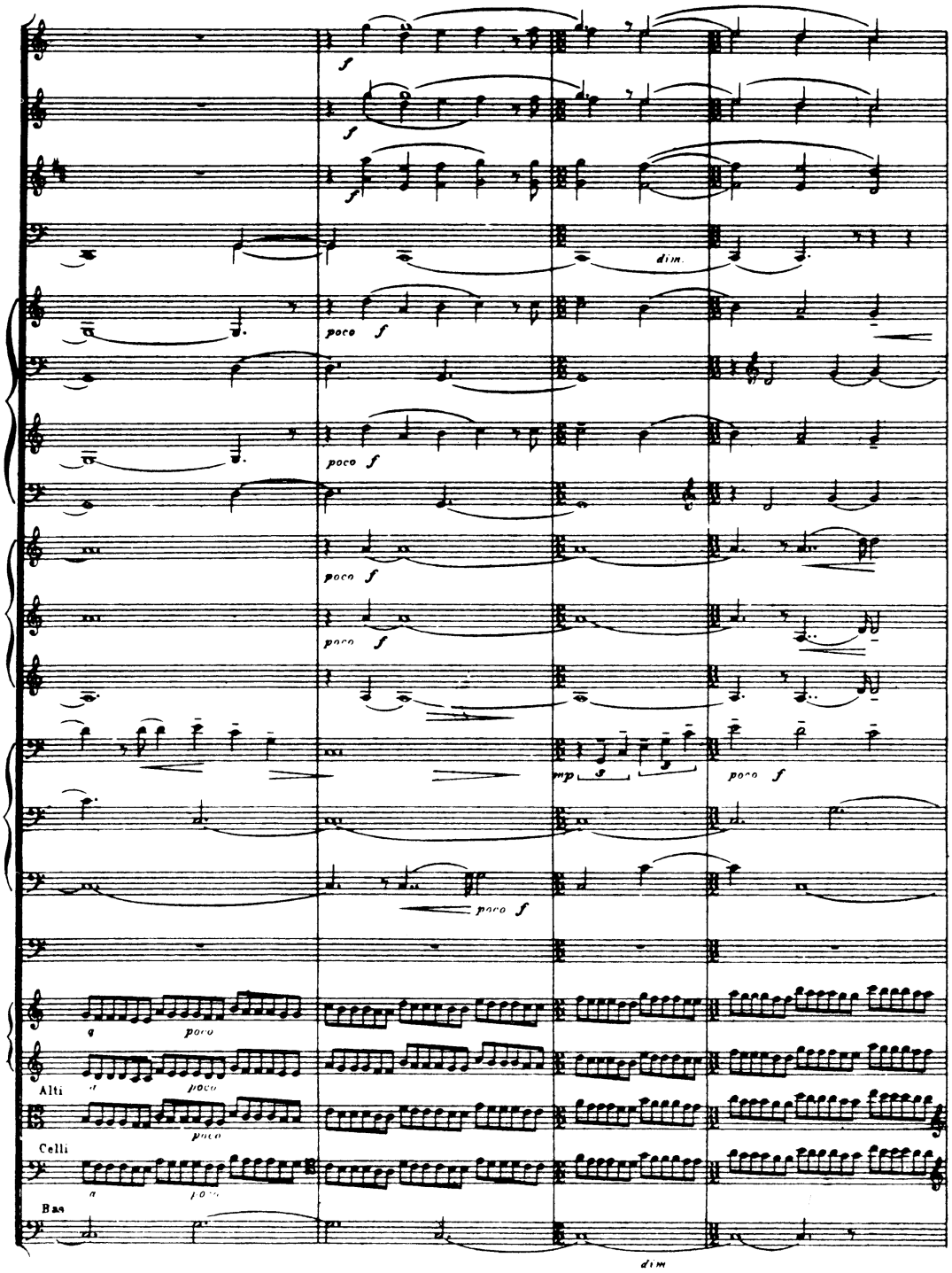
The Substance of Sound

Despite the striking resemblances between passages in Ligeti's Chamber Concerto and Sibelius's Symphony No. 5, the Hungarian composer is not known to have taken an interest in Sibelius's music. The stylistic and technical correspondences between the two pieces appear to be due to a common allegiance to "ultramodernist" ideas about timbre and texture. Like Ligeti's Chamber Concerto, the music of Per Nørgård (b. 1932) displays parallels to Sibelius's compositional procedures.[214] Unlike Ligeti, however, Nørgård has freely acknowledged a long-standing interest in Sibelius's developmental processes and timbral techniques:

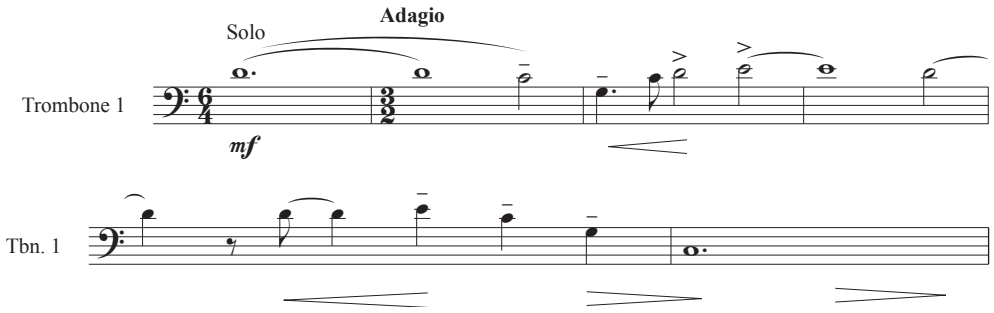
"I have done a structural analysis of the Fifth Symphony, and the special desire for concentration of the material around 1960 led to my discovery of the infinity series[215]. . . undoubtedly stimulated largely by my experiences with, and studies of, Sibelius's later symphonies, *Tapiola* and other works. . . . People now understand that Sibelius's music embodies, among other things, a unique handling of sonorities. When I heard Morton Feldman talk about orchestral sound in 1986 at Middelburg in the Netherlands, he mentioned Sibelius several times. . . . We can make the preliminary observation that there are powerful anticipations of 'minimal music'. . . as well as 'spectral music,' in Sibelius's music."[216]

Both Sibelius and Nørgård employ the harmonic series as a thematic device and structural tool. At the climax of Symphony No. 7, Sibelius presents the harmonic series on C, from the C2 sustained by the basses and bassoons (see Ex. 3a) to the first violins' fortissimo oscillating F#6/G6 pattern (not shown). Only Bb, the seventh partial, is omitted. The solo trombone theme is itself a variant of the harmonic series (see Ex. 3b), while the counterpoint played by the winds, centered on G5 and E5, reinforces the upper partials (see Ex. 3a).[217]

Example 3a The winds reinforce the upper partials of the harmonic series based on C, in Jean Sibelius, Symphony No. 7, op. 105 (1924), mm. 479–482. © 1925 Wilhelm Hansen, Copenhagen. Reprinted by kind permission of Edition Wilhelm Hansen A/S København.

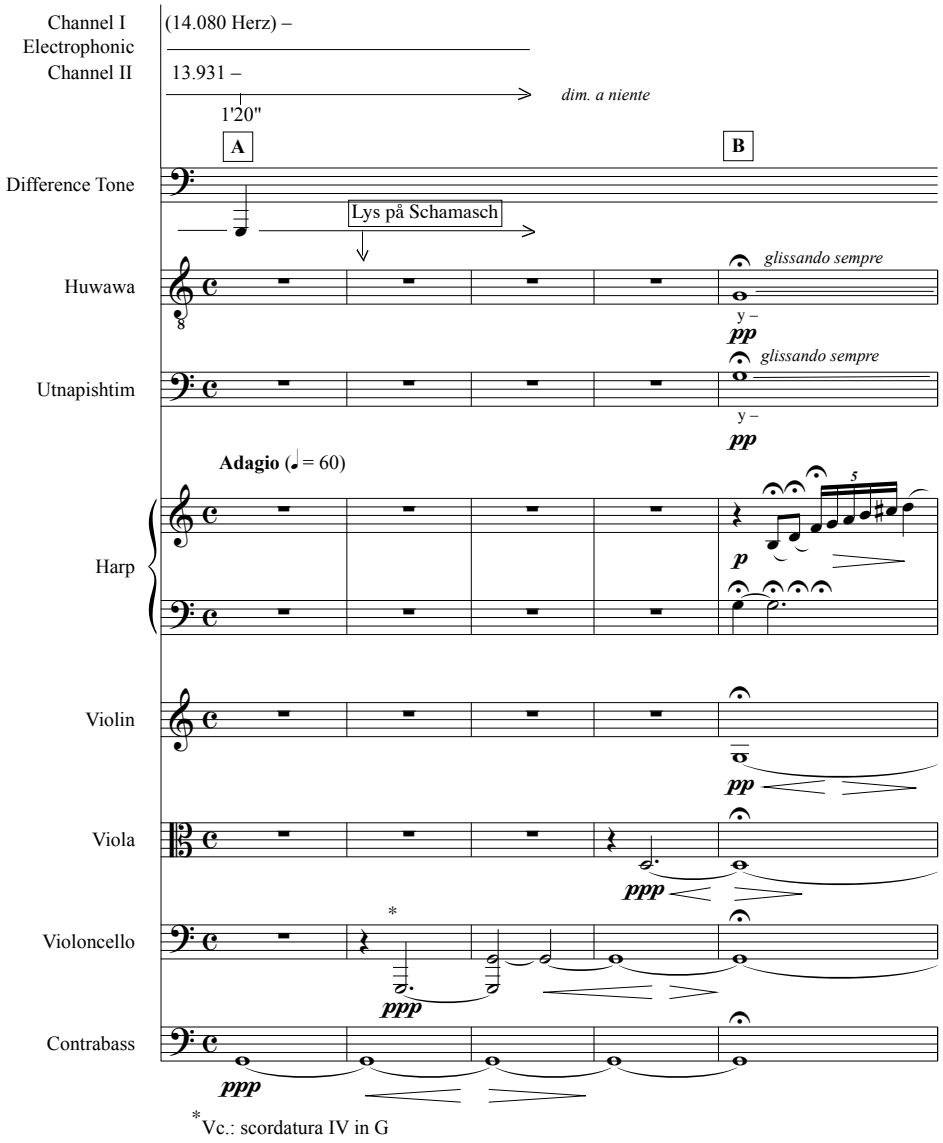


Example 3b Trombone theme, in Jean Sibelius, Symphony No. 7, op. 105 (1924), trombone solo only, mm. 475–480. © 1925 Wilhelm Hansen, Copenhagen. Reprinted by kind permission of Edition Wilhelm Hansen A/S København.



Nørgård uses the harmonic series both as a thematic idea and structural device in the opera *Gilgamesh* (1972). The work opens with electronic sounds, followed by the unfolding of the harmonic series on G1, which symbolizes the creation of the world (see Ex. 4). The initial G1 has a unique timbral richness, produced by the unison of an electronically generated difference tone with the contrabass and cello. To obtain this effect, Nørgård tunes down the fourth string of the cello by a perfect fourth, from C2 to G1.

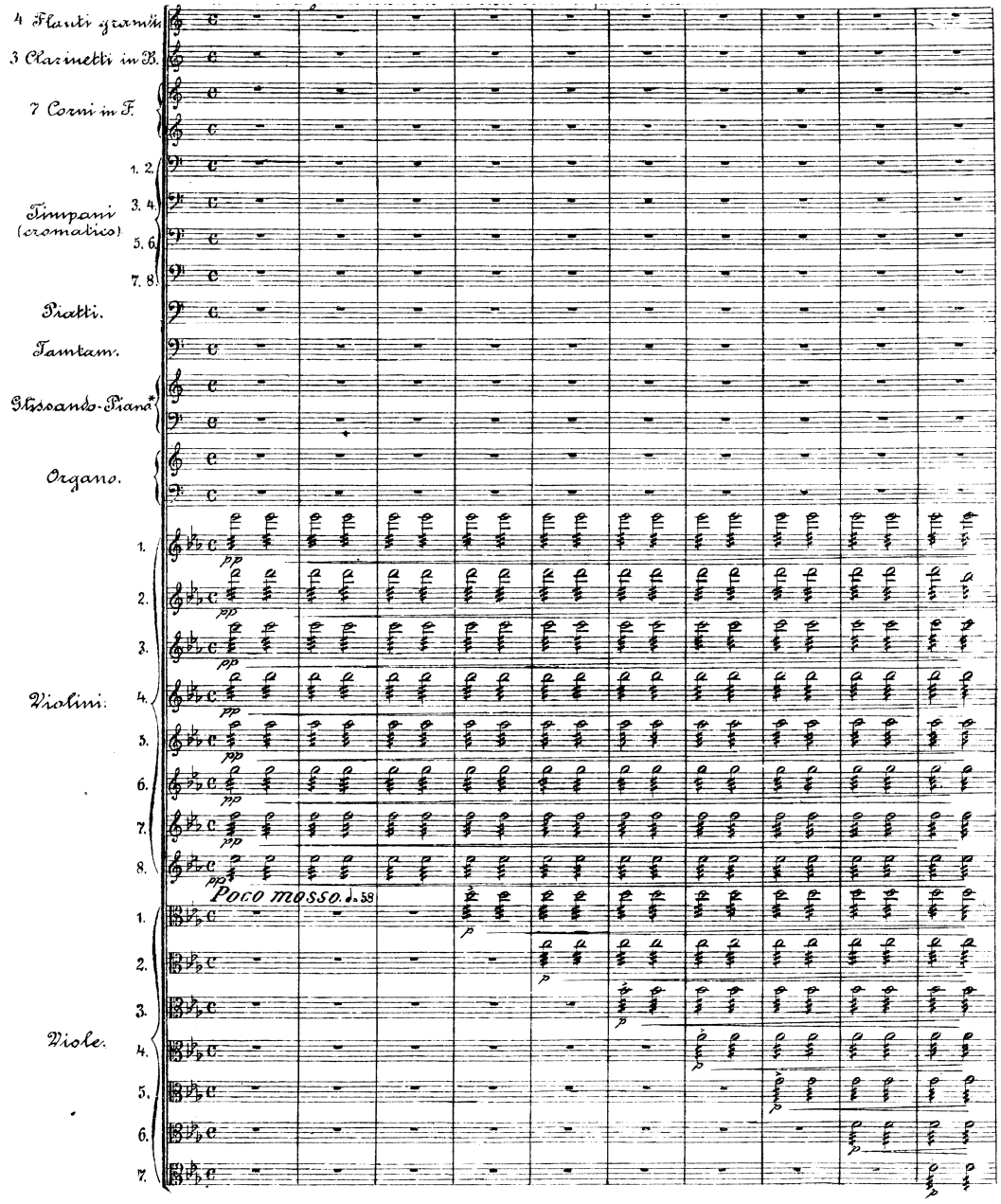
Example 4 The unfolding of the harmonic series symbolizes the creation of the world, in Per Nørgård, *Gilgamesh* (1972), Night 1, letters A–B. Copyright © Edition Wilhelm Hansen A/S København. Reprinted by kind permission.



The harmonic series serves throughout the opera as a symbol of nature. Nørgård employs it for Gilgamesh's companion Enkido, for the Creation Symphony on the sixth day of this "opera in six days and seven nights," and for the rebirth of Gilgamesh at the opera's conclusion.[218]

Nørgård has identified one of Sibelius's younger contemporaries, the Danish composer Rued Langgaard (1893–1952),[219] as an additional precursor figure for composers of the 1960s. Nørgård noted affinities between Ligeti's works and Langgaard's *Sfærernes Musik* [The Music of the Spheres] (1918) (see Ex. 5), written at the same time that Sibelius was composing his late symphonies.[220] Like Sibelius, Langgaard rejected atonality and created sound blocks that can be described (using Tarasti's characterization of Sibelius's music) as static, slowly changing sound fields.[221] The parallels between Sibelius and Langgaard reflect the emergence of a specifically Scandinavian variant of modernism in the years around 1920.[222]

Example 5 Divisi strings play a shimmering diatonic cluster, in Rud Immanuel Langgaard, *Sfærernes Musik* [The Music of the Spheres] for Soli, Chorus and Orchestra (1918), mm. 1–10. © 1919 Wilhelm Hansen, Leipzig. All Rights reserved. Reprinted by kind permission of Edition Wilhelm Hansen A/S København.



Sibelius's admirers are not the only commentators to perceive connections between music of the early twentieth century and techniques of the post-World War II avant-garde. Elliott Carter compared the American ultramodernists to the European post-serialists, including Ligeti:

"By 1912, [Charles] Ives was writing large tone-clusters for divided strings in his orchestral music, especially in the *Fourth of July*. . . . The strings divided into tone-clusters, which seems to have been one of Ives's discoveries, did not come into wide usage until very recently in the works of Xenakis, Ligeti, Penderecki, and Cerha."[223]

Like Sibelius and Langgaard, Ives combined traditional tonality with the use of sound-objects, albeit in a different manner. When Sibelius wrote his final symphonies and tone poems during the late 1910s and 1920s, he was not, after all, unique in his fusion of conservative and radical techniques.

Over the course of Sibelius's life, critics described his music in a multitude of often contradictory ways. Sibelius was variously labeled a Romantic, a modernist, a nationalist, an internationalist, an impressionist, and, even, the antithesis of an impressionist.[224] More recently, he has been depicted as a postmodernist. Sibelius has been portrayed as a follower (depending upon the musical or political agenda of the critic in question) of Tchaikovsky, Liszt, or Beethoven, but also as a precursor of Ligeti and Tristan Murail. Some differences in the evaluation of his music resulted from changes in his style, while others were prompted by political considerations.

Sibelius spent most of his career attempting to refute repeated German assertions that he was both a nationalist and an impressionist, because of the pejorative character of the designation and his perception that it represented a deliberate misunderstanding of his musical intentions. Ironically, these two categories have become a focus of contemporary research into Sibelius's music by his admirers, partially because they elucidate, at least in part, specific attributes of his work.

Paradigm shifts in critical discourse, such as the triumph of modernist perspectives during the early 1930s, have played a significant role in the shifting debate over Sibelius's musical identity. The most important factor in the battle over Sibelius, however, has been the inability of commentators to fit him neatly into the dominant categories of musico-historical thought.

In this essay, I have attempted to shed light on one of the most perplexing episodes in Sibelius's reception history, explaining the motivations behind the seemingly mystifying arguments offered on his behalf by Cecil Gray and Constant Lambert during the 1930s, when Europe was in political turmoil. By tracing their polemic to its origins, I have been able to connect the controversy over Sibelius to Ferruccio Busoni's speculations about the future of music during the years immediately before and after World War I. I have demonstrated that for Busoni, Sibelius, Gray, and Lambert, the musical could not be separated from the political. At the same time, Busoni defined musical problems that called forth purely musical solutions. Basing my account on Busoni's varied responses to the musical issues that confronted him, I have proposed a new intellectual model for the understanding of his compositional evolution and for that of Sibelius, who shared many of his musical values. I offer my hypothesis as a contribution to the never-ending battle over Sibelius.

---

[1] James Hepokoski, *Sibelius: Symphony No. 5* (Cambridge [UK]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), x.
[2] Ibid., 7–9.
[3] Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 335–336.
[4] Tomi Mäkelä, "The Wings of a Butterfly: Sibelius and the Problems of Musical Modernity," in *Jean Sibelius and His World*, ed. Daniel M. Grimley (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 89–124, especially 94.
[5] Paul Rosenfeld, *Musical Portraits: Interpretations of Twenty Modern Composers* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1920), 247–248.
[6] Olin Downes, "The Sibelius Second," *The Boston Post*, 1 January 1909, reprinted in *Olin Downes on Music; a Selection from his Writings During the Half-Century 1906 to 1955*, ed. Irene Downes (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), 12–14.

[7] David M. Schiller, *Bloch, Schoenberg, and Bernstein: Assimilating Jewish Music* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 26. In the March 1917 issue of the *Musical Observer*, Downes published an article about Bloch, entitled "Ernest Bloch, the Swiss Composer, on the Influence of Race in Composition." See Schiller, 27.
[8] Schiller, 30.
[9] Walter Niemann, *Jean Sibelius* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1917).
[10] Ibid., 48–49.
[11] Ibid., 24.
[12] Ibid., 27.
[13] "Monumentalität und Geschlossenheit der Form, organische und logische innere Entwicklung und Gestaltung." Ibid., 47–48.
[14] Ibid., 36.
[15] "[A]ls es zum Schluß zum triumphierenden Hymnus gesteigert in den Bläsern in vollem Glanze aufsteigt, um was einst der Kampf gehen wird: ums Morgenrot der Freiheit." Ibid.
[16] Downes, "Racial Spirit vs. Chauvinism in Art: Hitlerism and Politics in Music Contrasted with Honor Extended Toscanini by the Town of Baireuth," *The New York Times*, 19 March 1933: X5. See also David Josephson, "The Exile of European Music: Documentation of Upheaval and Immigration in *The New York Times*," in *Driven into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999), 92–152, especially 94–95.
[17] Downes, "BLOCH'S ARTISTIC CREED: His 'Sacred Service' a Universal Prayer For a Finer Era," *The New York Times*, 18 March 1934: X5.
[18] The Austrian-Jewish composer Ernst Toch (1887–1964) fled Germany when Hitler took power in 1933. After brief sojourns in Paris and London, he settled in the United States. See Anja Oechsler, "Ernst Toch," *Grove Music Online*, http:////www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000028037, accessed 14 October 2018.
[19] Downes, "SCHOENBERG'S IMPENDING VISIT: The Possible Effects of His Sojourn Here on One of the Great Figures in Modern Music, *The New York Times*, 22 October 1933: X6.
[20] Downes, "MENDELSSOHN TODAY: Contemporary Trends Tend to Restore His Popularity With Public," *The New York Times*, 14 January 1934: X6.
[21] Downes, "THE NEW CRITICISM; Its Purpose in Music Field -- Analysis and Exposition to Supplant the Subjective," *The New York Times*, 30 July 1933: X4.
[22] Downes, "SIBELIUS 'READINGS'; Gentle Admonition to 'Early Erroneous Commentators' on the Symphonies," *The New York Times*, 24 October 1937: X7.
[23] For a recent evaluation of Gray's criticism, see Séamas de Barra, "Chosen Causes: Writings on Music by Bernard van Dieren, Peter Warlock and Cecil Gray," in *British Musical Criticism and Intellectual Thought: 1850–1950*, ed. Jeremy Dibble and Julian Horton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), 235–254.
[24] Ferruccio Busoni, letter to Gerda Busoni, 19 April 1919, in Ferruccio Busoni, *Letters to His Wife*, trans. Rosamond Ley (London: E. Arnold, 1938), 262. Similarly, a year later, Busoni wrote to Gisela Selden-Goth, "I urge you to write your essay against nationalism." Ferruccio Busoni, letter to Gisella Selden-Goth, undated [4 August 1920], in *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters,* trans. and ed. Antony Beaumont (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 317; Tamara Levitz, *Teaching New Classicality*: *Ferruccio Busoni's Master Class in Composition* (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 65.
[25] Cecil Gray, *A Survey of Contemporary Music* (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1924), 75.
[26] Ibid., 192.
[27] Cecil Gray, *Predicaments*, *or Music and the Future; An Essay in Constructive Criticism* (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1936), 127.
[28] Ibid., 110–139. On Hubert Parry's similar ideas, see Byron Adams, "Thor's Hammer," in *Jean Sibelius and His World*, 125–157, especially 136.
[29] Gray, *Predicaments*, 133.
[30] Ibid., 138–139; see also 102.
[31] See Christopher Mark, "Constant Lambert: A Critic for Today? A Commentary on *Music Ho!*," in *British Musical Criticism and Intellectual Thought*, 278–303.
[32] Constant Lambert, *Music Ho!: A Study of Music in Decline* (New York: October House Inc., 1967), 161.
[33] Ibid., 197.
[34] Ibid., 273. For a description of the "geographic" qualities of Sibelius's music, see Gray, *A Survey*, 191.
[35] H. E. Krehbiel, "NATIONAL ART AT MUSIC FESTIVALS: Coming of Composer Sibelius Gives Rise to Train of Reflections," *New York Tribune*, 7 June 1914: B4.

[36] Downes, "SIBELIUS AT SEVENTY: Entire World Pays Homage to Genius of Finland's Great Composer," *The New York Times*, 8 December 1935: X9.
[37] Downes, "Sibelius, the Solitary Dreamer of the North, Newly Revealed in a Koussevitzky Interpretation," *The New York Times*, 9 April 1933: N2.
[38] Lambert, 126. Gray described Bartók similarly: "[H]is whole artistic development is a progress from nationalism to complete individuality–or universality, if one prefers it." Gray, *A Survey*, 199.
[39] Gray, *A Survey*, 46–47.
[40] "[W]e are not here directly concerned so much with the purely aesthetic value of the music of the composers discussed, as with the relatively unimportant minor question of tendency, direction, and so on–although it is, of course, very difficult sometimes to separate the two things." Gray, *Predicaments*, 283.
[41] Gray, *Musical Chairs, or Between Two Stools*, with an afterword by Pauline Gray (London: The Hogarth Press, 1985), 179.
[42] Ibid., 183.
[43] "[T]hat consistency is the result of the complete originality and independence that Sibelius has shown of all the schools, the cliques and the mutual admiration societies of the composers of Europe." Downes, "SIBELIUS PROGRAM AT CARNEGIE HALL: Koussevitzky Conducts Boston Symphony in Compositions by Finnish Master," *The New York Times*, 12 January 1941: 43.
[44] See Hywel Davies, "Bernard van Dieren, Philip Heseltine and Cecil Gray: A Significant Affiliation," *Music & Letters* 69, no. 1 (January 1988): 30–48; De Barra, "Chosen Causes."
[45] Busoni, letter to Emil Hertzka, 20 November 1919, in *Ferruccio Busoni: Selected Letters* [hereafter, *Selected Letters*], 298.
[46] Busoni, letter to Emil Hertzka, 5 January 1920, in Busoni, *Selected Letters*, 303.
[47] Gray, *A Survey*, 234–235.
[48] In *A Survey of Contemporary Music*, Gray devotes separate chapters to Richard Strauss, Delius, Elgar, Debussy, Ravel, Stravinsky, Scriabin, Schoenberg, Sibelius, Bartók, Busoni, and van Dieren.
[49] Gray, *A Survey*, 237–238.
[50] Gray, *Predicaments*, 282, 285.
[51] Levitz, 75.
[52] Busoni, "Young Classicism," in Ferruccio Busoni, *The Essence of Music and Other Papers* [hereafter, *Essence*], trans. Rosamond Ley (London: Rockliff, 1957), 19–23, especially 20; "What is Happening at the Present Time," in Busoni, *Essence*, 41–45; "Concerning Harmony," in Busoni, *Essence*, 24–27.
[53] Busoni, "Young Classicism," 21.
[54] Busoni, "Concerning Harmony," 25–26.
[55] Busoni, letter to Philipp Jarnach, 2 December 1919, in Busoni, *Selected Letters*, 301; Busoni, letter to Jarnach, 22 March 1920, in Busoni, *Selected Letters*, 307; Busoni, letter to Jarnach, 7 June 1920, in Busoni, *Selected Letters*, 311; Levitz, 77–79.
[56] "Rather than emphasize the theoretical principle of tonal function, Busoni encouraged his students to concentrate on the composing out of individual voices and voice-leading between chords within a looser tonal framework." Levitz, 202–203.
[57] Busoni, "Concerning Harmony," 26–27.
[58] In an undated poem, van Dieren gently mocked Gray for his intellectual dependence: "The East wind has fled, / Van Dieren is dead: / And what will poor Cecil do now, poor thing? / He gathered ideas / From Bernard, one fears, / Who has left him to think for himself, poor thing!" See Davies, 35.
[59] "The mastery, the sifting and the turning to account of all the gains of previous experiments and their inclusion in strong and beautiful forms. . . . Universal polyphony as consequence of melody, as begetter of harmony and as carrier of the idea." Gray, *A Survey*, 237; Busoni, "Young Classicism," 20–21.
[60] Gray, *Predicaments*, 279.
[61] Ibid., 279–280.
[62] Ibid., 282.
[63] Ibid., 280–281.
[64] Gray, *Sibelius*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 200.
[65] Gray, *Predicaments*, 282.
[66] Ibid., 284.
[67] Gray, *Sibelius*, 196–197.
[68] Gray, *Predicaments*, 224.
[69] Ibid., 216.
[70] "The Schönberg method unaccompanied by the morbid fire of his best works is frankly dull and pedantic. . . . Its monotonous inversions and mathematical contortions of ordinary procedure are as academic as the worst Kapellmeister music of the old school." Lambert, *Music Ho!*, 251.
[71] Ibid., 243.

[72] Ibid., 231.
[73] Ibid., 278.
[74] Ibid., 28.
[75] Adams fails to define terms clearly in his discussion of scientific racism. He opposes the "Nordic" to the "Teutonic": "Deliciously, according to the tenets of eugenics and scientific racism fashionable at the time, the Nordic genius Sibelius racially outflanked composers who hailed from the adulterated Alpine and Teutonic races." Adams simultaneously conflates the two concepts, however, attributing Sibelius's success to generalized assumptions about the "superiority of white males from Northern climes." See Adams, 146–147.
[76] "[T]here exists what one can only characterize as a Nordic myth, ascribing to this 'Nordic race' most of the great advances of mankind in recorded history. . . . These contentions appear to be based on nothing more serious than self-interest and wish-fulfillment." Julian S. Huxley, A. C. Haddon and A. M. Carr-Saunders, *We Europeans: A Survey of 'Racial' Problems* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935). 275–276. For a discussion of the genesis of *We Europeans*, see Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars* (Cambridge [UK]: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 279–310. See also Julian Huxley, "Scientific Pitfalls of Racialism," *The Yale Review*, n.s., XXIV, no. 3 (March 1935): 668–682.
[77] For Lambert's views on Debussy and Satie, see *Music Ho!*, 35–49, 115–125.
[78] See Gray, *Musical Chairs*, 52–53, for an account of his introduction to the music of Bellini.
[79] Gray, *Predicaments*, 257–258.
[80] In *A Survey*, Gray denigrates Stanford, Parry, Bantock, and Holst as imitators of continental models. He has qualified praise for Vaughan Williams and Bax (see Gray, *A Survey*, 251–253), and devotes individual chapters to Elgar and Delius.
[81] Downes, "A FRUSTRATED GENIUS: Dent's Biography of Busoni Reveals Great Mind Thwarted by Environment," *The New York Times*, 9 April 1933: X5; see Edward J. Dent, *Ferruccio Busoni: A Biography* (London: Eulenburg Books, 1974), 312.
[82] "The famous 'elimination of unessentials' . . . is actually achieved by Sibelius. Despite the comparative simplicity and conventionality of his idiom, he is in spirit one of the most daring of the 'moderns'." Gray, *A Survey*, 189.
[83] Downes, "Sibelius, the Solitary Dreamer of the North, Newly Revealed in a Koussevitzky Interpretation."
[84] Lambert, 276.
[85] Busoni, letter to Philipp Jarnach, 22 March 1920, in Busoni, *Selected Letters*, 307.
[86] Busoni, diary entry, 27 September 1914, in Busoni, *Selected Letters*, 186.
[87] Busoni, letter to Hans Reinhart, 15 April 1917, in Busoni, *Selected Letters*, 258.
[88] Busoni, "Unsentimentaler Rückblick," *Die Gartenlaube* 35 (28 August 1924): 688–689, quoted in Levitz, 68.
[89] Busoni, "What Did Beethoven Give Us," in Busoni, *Essence*, 129–133, especially 131.
[90] Gray, *A Survey*, 67.
[91] Ibid., 201.
[92] Ibid., 86.
[93] Gray, *A Survey*, 187.
[94] Ibid., 189.
[95] Ibid., 190.
[96] Gray, *Sibelius*, 189.
[97] Ibid., 197.
[98] Ibid., 190.
[99] Ibid., 191–192.
[100] Ferruccio Busoni, *Sketch of A New Esthetic of Music*, trans. Theodore Baker (New York: G. Schirmer, 1911), 40.
[101] Lambert, 268.
[102] Ibid., 267.
[103] "I consider the fourth and seventh symphonies [of Sibelius] to be two of the most astonishing creative efforts of our time." Ibid., 276.
[104] Ibid., 258.
[105] Ibid., 263.
[106] "[N]ot only is Sibelius the most important symphonic writer since Beethoven, but he may even be described as the only writer since Beethoven who has definitely advanced what, after all, is the most complete formal expression of the musical spirit." Ibid., 264.
[107] Ibid., 270–274.
[108] "That statements concerning music could immediately arouse national implications was a central feature of the arts in early twentieth-century Germany." Marc A. Weiner, *Undertones of Insurrection: Music, Politics and the Social Sphere in the Modern German Narrative* (Lincoln [NE]; London: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 40. See also Pamela M. Potter,

Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler`s Reich (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Pamela M. Potter and Celia Applegate, eds., *Music & German National Identity* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002). On Beethoven, see David B. Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870–1989* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Esteban Buch, *Beethoven's Ninth: A Political History* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[109] "Berlioz and Liszt are held by Busoni–and unfortunately by a great many others–to be great composers." Hans Pfitzner, in *Futuristengefahr*, quoted in Weiner, 39.

[110] See Weiner, 33–71.

[111] See Dennis, 142–174.

[112] Ibid., 155.

[113] Otto Klemperer (1885–1973), German conductor of Jewish descent. He conducted the German premiere of Sibelius's Seventh Symphony at Wiesbaden in 1926. See Peter Heyworth, *Otto Klemperer, His Life and Times: Vol. 1, 1885–1933* (1983; reis. with corrections, Cambridge [UK]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 226; Mäkelä, *Jean Sibelius*, trans. Steven Lindberg (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2011), 58.

[114] Buch, 206. Klemperer introduced Busoni to the score of *Così fan tutte* in 1918. See Heyworth, 124.

[115] Bernard van Dieren, *Down Among the Dead Men and Other Essays* (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1935), 37.

[116] In *We Northmen*, Price presented his personal ideology of Nordic art, one that had some commonalities with Nazi aesthetics. Nevertheless, he expressed disdain for the Nazis as well as admiration for Jewish composers. See Lucien Price, *We Northmen* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1936), 238, 340–341, 354–366.

[117] Helmut Thierfelder, "An Jean Sibelius: Finnlands großem Sohne zum 70. Geburtstag," *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* 62, no. 49 (December 1935): 759. Thanks to Prof. Timothy L. Jackson (University of North Texas) for providing the text and translation of this document.

[118] Price, 359. Price's interview with Sibelius was first published as "Portrait of Sibelius at Järvenpää," *The Yale Review*, n.s., XXIV, no. 2 (December 1935): 356–369, and then reprinted in *We Northmen.*

[119] Timothy L. Jackson, "Thierfelder's 1935 Open Letter to Sibelius and Adorno's Critique–Some Preliminary Observations," Sibelius Academy Yearbook *Säteitä 2010*: 19–42. For another perspective, see Ilkka Oramo, "Helmuth Thierfelder's 1935 Open Letter to Jean Sibelius," accessed 11 July 2015, https://relatedrocks.wordpress.com/2014/03/31/helmuth-thierfelders-1935-open-letter-to-jean-sibelius/.

[120] Herbert F. Peyser, "JANSSEN'S SIBELIUS IN BERLIN: The Fourth Symphony, Played by American Guest-Conductor, Leaves Audience, Orchestra and Press Bewildered," *The New York Times*, 19 March 1933: X5.

[121] Heinrich August Winkler, *Germany: The Long Road West, Vol. 2: 1933–1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 13–14.

[122] Herbert F. Peyser, "SIBELIUS–REVEALED TO VIENNA," *The New York Times*, 22 December 1935: X9.

[123] G. D. Skelton, "Musical Fashions in Germany," *The Musical Times* 76, no. 1105 (March 1935): 220-221.

[124] See Tomi Mäkelä, "Sibelius and Germany: *Wahrhaftigkeit* beyond *Allnatur*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Sibelius*, ed. Daniel M. Grimley (Cambridge [UK]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 169–181, especially 181.

[125] "Mr. Cecil Gray, whose kindness and help have meant so much to me." Bengt de Törne, *Sibelius: A Close-Up* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937), 7.

[126] Ibid., 49.

[127] See note 13.

[128] De Törne, 16–17.

[129] Ibid., 82.

[130] Timothy L. Jackson, "Sibelius the Political," in *Sibelius in the Old and New World: Aspects of His Music, Its Interpretation, and Reception*, ed. T. L. Jackson, Veijo Murtomäki, Colin Davis, and Timo Virtanen (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 69–123, especially 99.

[131] Jackson, "Sibelius the Political," 98.

[132] Abby E. Anderton, "Music among the Ruins: Classical Music, Propaganda, and the American Cultural Agenda in West Berlin (1945–1949)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2012), 41.

[133] De Törne, 47.

[134] Walter Legge, "Conversations with Sibelius," *The Musical Times* 76, no. 1105 (March 1935): 218–220.

[135] Price, 359.

[136] Gray, *Sibelius*, 58.

[137] Pratt was a professor of music and drama at the University of Virginia from 1923 to 1954.

[138] Harry Rogers Pratt, "HARDY FINLAND SPEAKS THROUGH SIBELIUS: Her Great Composer, Now Seventy, Has Done More Than All the Rest of His People to Make His Nation Known," *The New York Times*, 8 December 1935: SM10.

[139] Ibid.
[140] See Günther Thaer, "Musik und Landschaft: Jean Sibelius – Ein Künder seines Volkes," *Völkischer Beobachter*, 10 December 1935: 5.
[141] Beethoven, *Christus am Ölberge*, op. 85.
[142] Beethoven, *Wellingtons Sieg oder die Schlacht bei Vittoria*, op. 91.
[143] Pratt, "HARDY FINLAND SPEAKS THROUGH SIBELIUS." See note 104.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Olin Downes, "WITH SIBELIUS IN HIS REALM OF SAGAS: A Portrait of Finland's Symphonist and a Talk With Him," *The New York Times*, 20 September 1936: SM9.
[146] Legge, 219.
[147] Legge, 218–219. According to Santeri Levas, "Up to a point . . . he [Sibelius] put Berg at the head of the Schoenberg school. But it was not long before he gave it as his opinion that Berg's significance as a creative composer would be transient." Santeri Levas, *Sibelius: A Personal Portrait* (Lewisberg [PA]: Bucknell University Press, 1973, ©1972), 74.
[148] For Sibelius's comments on Schoenberg's Kammersymphonie, op. 9, and String Quartet No. 2, op. 10, see Erik W. Tawaststjerna, *Sibelius Vol. II: 1904–1914* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 262.
[149] Gray, *Predicaments*, 59.
[150] Pratt, "HARDY FINLAND SPEAKS THROUGH SIBELIUS."
[151] Mäkelä, *Jean Sibelius*, 250–255.
[152] "Finland's King," *TIME* 30, no. 23 (6 December 1937): 39.
[153] Robert Carleton Smith (1908–1984), not musicologist Carleton Sprague Smith. Smith's papers are divided between the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign University Library and the Lilly Library at Indiana University, which holds materials for the Sibelius interview.
[154] Carl[e]ton Smith, "SIBELIUS LIKES MUSIC BY SIBELIUS: He Talks About Composers and Their Works," *The New York Times*, 24 July 1938: 128. In a fuller account of the interview, published in 1941, Smith also quoted Sibelius as saying, "No! No! Wagner not for Sibelius. . . . But for others, very good. I find too heavy, too long. Besides, I hate Wagner cult. Once in Bayreuth, I get inside cab and there was sign: ON JULY 7, I883, WAGNER SAT HERE. I get out and walk." Carleton Smith, "SIBELIUS: CLOSE-UP OF A GENIUS," *The American Mercury* LII, no. 206 (February 1941): 144–150, especially 146. Thanks to Prof. Veijo Murtomäki (Sibelius Academy) for providing a copy of this article. Ironically, Wagner died on 13 February 1883, five months before he allegedly sat in the cab.
[155] Ferruccio Busoni, "Open Letter to Hans Pfitzner," in Busoni, *Essence*, 17–19.
[156] "Bad Boy," *TIME* 32, no. 4, 25 July 1938: 34.
[157] Perhaps Sibelius meant that Strauss's style was *au courant*.
[158] Carl[e]ton Smith, "SIBELIUS LIKES MUSIC BY SIBELIUS."
[159] Carleton Smith, "SIBELIUS: CLOSE-UP OF A GENIUS," 146.
[160] Walter Legge quoted Sibelius as expressing similar sentiments: "Strauss . . . had prodigious gifts. I am afraid that the fire no longer burns with its old intensity, but he is a great composer. Yet for all his preoccupation with passion and abnormality he has a cold heart." Legge, 218.
[161] Gray, *A Survey*, 46–48. See note 39.
[162] Paul Sjöblom, "An Interview with Sibelius: The Finnish Old Master Talks of Music and War," *Musical America* 60, no. 19 (10 December 1940): 11, 34, especially 34.
[163] Sjöblom, 34.
[164] Jackson, "Sibelius and the SS," 16.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Tomi Mäkelä points to Sibelius's deletion of pro-German sentiments from a 1940 letter draft. See Mäkelä, "Sibelius and Germany: *Wahrhaftigkeit* beyond *Allnatur*," 172.
[167] "Sibelius Revisited," *TIME* 44, no. 17, 23 October 1944: 62.
[168] Sibelius discussed jazz in a 1931 interview as well. See Martti Turunen, "Kaksi tuntia mestarin puheilla" [Two hours of the master's words], *Suomen Musiikkilehti* 9, no. 1 (January 1931): 2.
[169] Raoul J. Granqvist notes that Shostakovich's *Leningrad* Symphony is an explicitly anti-German work. See Raoul J. Granqvist, "Elisofons möte med Jean Sibelius: nationalism och jazz" [Elisofon's Meeting with Jean Sibelius: Nationalism and Jazz], *Nya Argus* 105, no. 4 (2012): 89–92, especially 90.
[170] Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 131–133.
[171] In 1945, Sibelius drafted a letter to Dmitri Kabalevsky that expressed similar pro-Soviet sentiments. See Mäkelä, *Jean Sibelius,* 394.
[172] Dahlhaus, 335–336, cited in Hepokoski, 7–9. See note 3.
[173] Mäkelä, *Jean Sibelius*, 35–37.

[174] Mäkelä, "The Wings of a Butterfly," 95.
[175] Lambert, 260. See also Mäkelä, *Jean Sibelius*, 39–40.
[176] Mäkelä, "The Wings of a Butterfly," 95–96.
[177] Antony Beaumont, "Sibelius and Busoni," in *Proceedings from the First International Jean Sibelius Conference in Helsinki, August 1990*, ed. Eero Tarasti (Helsinki: Sibelius Academy, 1995), 14–20, especially 18–19.
[178] Mäkelä, *Jean Sibelius*, 38.
[179] Chris Walton, "Neo-Classical Opera," in *The Cambridge Companion to Twentieth-Century Opera*, ed. Mervyn Cooke (Cambridge [UK]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 105–122, especially 108.
[180] Erinn E. Knyt, *Ferruccio Busoni and His Legacy* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 66.
[181] Busoni, letter to Volkmar Andreae, 15 June 1922, in Busoni, *Selected Letters*, 357–358; Busoni, "Report on the Division of the Whole Tone into Three Parts" (1922), in Busoni, *Essence*, 29–30.
[182] For a discussion of the term "ultramodernism," see Gayle Minetta Murchison, *The American Stravinsky: The Style and Aesthetics of Copland's New American Music, the Early Works, 1921–1938* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2012), 3–4.
[183] Ibid., 16.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Elliott Carter, "Expressionism and American Music" (1965/72), in *Elliott Carter: Collected Essays and Lectures, 1937–1995*, ed. Jonathan W. Bernard (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1997), 72–83, especially 75.
[186] Busoni, *Sketch*, 5.
[187] Ibid., 30–32.
[188] Ibid., 33.
[189] Ibid., 29–30.
[190] Ibid., 8.
[191] Busoni, "Concerning Harmony," 27.
[192] Lambert, 263; Gray, *Sibelius*, 196–197; Gray, *Predicaments*, 226. See note 67.
[193] Gray, *A Survey*, 189–190. See notes 82 and 95.
[194] Ibid., 190.
[195] Lambert, 260.
[196] Lambert, 262–263.
[197] Ibid., 263.
[198] See note 10.
[199] Julian Anderson, "Sibelius and Contemporary Music," in *The Cambridge Companion to Sibelius*, 196–216, especially 197.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Hepokoski, 20.
[202] Ibid., 28.
[203] Ron Weidberg, "Sonic Design in Jean Sibelius's Orchestral Music," in *Sibelius Forum II*, ed. Matti Huttunen, Kari Kilpeläinen, and Veijo Murtomäki (Helsinki: Sibelius Academy, 2003), 216–226; Weidberg, "Comparing the 1915 and 1919 Versions of Sibelius's Fifth Symphony: From Sonic Experimentalism to Functional Synthesis," in *Sibelius in the Old and New World*, 239–267; Barry Wiener, "Dahlhaus' Paradigm and Sibelius Reception," in *Jean Sibelius' Legacy: Research on his 150th Anniversary*, ed. Daniel Grimley, Tim Howell, Veijo Murtomäki, and Timo Virtanen (Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 129–146.
[204] Hepokoski, x. See also Dahlhaus, 335–336. Hepokoski employs the term "liberal-bourgeois" modernism, rather than "first-generation" modernism.
[205] For a detailed investigation of Sibelius's handling of musical time, see Tim Howell, "Sibelius the Progressive," in *Sibelius Studies*, ed. Timothy L. Jackson and Veijo Murtomäki (Cambridge [UK]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 35–57.
[206] Lambert, 263.
[207] Tomi Mäkelä points out, however, that these comparisons present only a partial explanation for Sibelius's compositional intentions. See Mäkelä, "The Wings of a Butterfly," 114.
[208] On Ligeti's Chamber Concerto, see Michael Searby, "Ligeti's Chamber Concerto – Summation or Turning Point?" *Tempo*, n.s., no. 168 (March 1989): 30–34.
[209] Erkki Salmenhaara (1941–2002), Finnish composer and musicologist. He studied composition with Ligeti during the mid-1960s.
[210] Eero Tarasti, *Signs of Music: A Guide to Musical Semiotics* (Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002), 107.
[211] Ibid. See note 197.

[212] Peter Szendy, "Entretien avec Magnus Lindberg," in *Magnus Lindberg: Les cahiers de l'IRCAM: Compositeurs d'aujourd'hui,* 3 (June 1993), ed. Risto Nieminen, http://articles.ircam.fr/textes/Szendy93a/, accessed 16 July 2015.
[213] Ibid.
[214] Anderson, 203–206. See also Per Nørgård, "Om Sibelius - Med Særligt Henblik på Carl Nielsen (Om Sibelius' 'Symfoni Nr. 5' Især)" [About Sibelius - With Special Reference to Carl Nielsen (Especially about Sibelius's Symphony No. 5)] (1965), accessed 7 July 2015, http://www.kb.dk/export/sites/kb_dk/da/nb/dcm/udgivelser/norgard/artikler/OmSibeliusMedSaerligtHenblik.1965.pdf; Hans Gefors, "Make Change Your Choice!: Nørgård and Nordic Melody," in *The Music of Per Nørgård: Fourteen Interpretative Essays,* ed. Anders Beyer (Aldershot, Hants [UK]: Scolar Press, 1996), 35–55, especially 37–39.
[215] On the infinity series, see Erling Kullberg, "Beyond Infinity: On the infinity series – the DNA of hierarchical music," in *The Music of Per Nørgård: Fourteen Interpretative Essays*, 71–93.
[216] Per Nørgård, "NØRGÅRD-SIBELIUS KORRESPONDANCEN (1997)," accessed 14 July 2015, http://www.kb.dk/export/sites/kb_dk/da/nb/dcm/udgivelser/norgard/artikler/NoergaardSibeliusKKorrespondancen.1997.pdf.
[217] Ilkka Oramo has noted "[t]he strange unity of harmony and timbre in Sibelius's Seventh." See Ilkka Oramo, "The Sibelius Problem" (1 October 2007), accessed 10 July 2015, https://relatedrocks.wordpress.com/2007/10/01/the-sibelius-problem/.
[218] On *Gilgamesh*, see Jens Brincker, "Per Nørgård's Music Drama: Failures, Triumphs and New Beginnings," in *The Music of Per Nørgård*, 189–215, especially 199–203.
[219] On Langgaard, see Bendt Viinholt Nielsen, "An Ecstatic Outsider: Rued Langgaard, 1893–1952," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 42, no. 1 (January-March 1995): 36–50.
[220] Per Nørgård and Burkhard Schäfer, "Der Anti-Cage: Der Dänische Komponist Per Nørgård wird Achtzig," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 173, no. 4 (2012): 52–53. On Nørgård's introduction of Ligeti to Langgaard's music, see "How Per Nørgård tricked Ligeti into discovering Rued Langgaard," accessed 7 July 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0OX_4cJyhgI.
[221] See Hepokoski, 28.
[222] See Edward Jurkowski, "Alexander Scriabin's and Igor Stravinsky's Influence upon Early Twentieth-Century Finnish Music: The Octatonic Collection in the Music of Uuno Klami, Aarre Merikanto and Väinö Raitio," *Intersections* 25, nos. 1–2 (2005): 67–85.
[223] Carter, "Expressionism and American Music," 80.
[224] "Sibelius is the one important figure of our times who has been uninfluenced by the Impressionist revolution–even *The Oceanides* though pointillist in orchestration and superficially Impressionist in form reveals on close analysis a construction as firmly knit as any of the symphonies." Lambert, 269.