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Jean Sibelius

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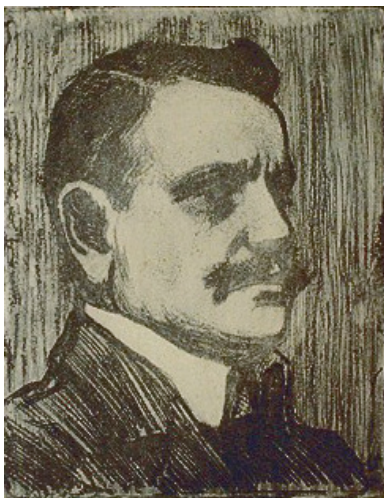
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Lithographies by Eero Järnefelt

Busoni and Sibelius: a complementary friendship

(Ferruccio Tammaro, University of Turin)

Music history is studded with artistic friendships due to an obvious substantial community of interests and characters. Bonds of affection like those between Haydn and Mozart, Schumann and Mendelssohn, Liszt and Wagner are easily understandable. More difficult is interpreting the lifelong friendship that joined Busoni and Sibelius, two artists who at first sight seem to have had had only few things in common.

The two men first met each other in 1888 in Helsinki where the young Busoni, on Riemann's recommendation, was hired by Martin Wegelius as piano teacher at the Music Institute that subsequently, in 1939, would have assumed the name of "Sibelius Akatemia".

The meetings didn't happen in front of the piano because the study of this instrument wasn't on Sibelius' programme, more devoted to the violin. "We were on intimate terms from the first. In spite of his being a teacher and I a pupil, we met almost daily [...] We were drawn together by our common musical interests in general"¹. Busoni indeed did not find it hard to realize

that his colleague's first works already possessed a good personality and independence. After having listened, on 13th April 1889, to the Suite in A major for string trio (JS 186), he narrated: “At that time it struck the attention of mine (and of his capable teacher Csillag). We pricked up the ears when we listened to something that went beyond the simple school exercise”².

As well as Sibelius, significantly other promising artistic personages of the young Finland found themselves united around Busoni: the brothers Armas and Eero Järnefelt and Adolf Paul. Among these students only Armas, born in 1869, was younger than the precocious maestro; the others were, although only a little, older³. They were the “Leskovits” (nickname derived from the Newfoundland dog Lesko which Busoni had brought from Germany), a “Mighty Handful” who assembled, in confirmation of the leader’s broadmindedness, artists later active in different fields; only Armas entered music, instead Eero painting and Paul literature. To each one of them Busoni later dedicated a movement of his *Geharnischte Suite* op. 34 (composed in 1895, revised in 1903 and edited in 1905), almost in memory of those Finnish years. The “Preludium” to Sibelius, the “Kriegstanz” to Paul, the “Grabdenkmal” to Armas and the “Ansturm” to Eero. This “Armoured Formation” surely counterbalanced the shortage of cultural stimuli available to Busoni at the time in Finland: “I had Sibelius and the Jaernefelt brothers for stimulating company”, the maestro wrote to Egon Petri⁴, and he later confirmed to Hans Huber that: “With the ‘schoolboy’ Sibelius and the Jaernefelt brothers we formed a lively artistic coterie.⁵ And this didn’t refuse the happy evenings in Helsinki’s spots. The proximity of age between teacher and students facilitated this concord. We find it also in a late letter from Busoni to his wife. Talking about the trick of playing the piano with the hands in different keys, he explained, this buffoonery “was a thing that we did after the coffee at the Kämp Hotel”⁶, one of the restaurants in which these Finnish “Five” met. And Sibelius remembered:

“He was of a generous nature, cordial and impulsive. He played a good deal to us during our meetings, either the works of his favourite composers or improvisations of his own. He encouraged us, too, to improvise to him and I readily took advantage of his indulgence to defects in

my skill of the piano. When there was no music, Busoni kept out our spirits by relating his experiences in various countries, described with infectious animation and interlarded with excellent character sketches and jokes. He was unsurpassed as a punster.”⁷

This attitude to a moderated fun continued until the years of maturity; Henry Wood testifies:

“I could generally manage Busoni when I had him to myself, but my heart was always in my mouth if he met Sibelius. I never knew where they would get go. They would forget the time of the concert at which they were to appear; they hardly knew the day of the week. One year I was directing the Birmingham Festival and had to commission a friend never to let these two out of the sight. He had quite an exciting time for two or three days following them about from restaurant to restaurant. He told me never knew what time they went to bed or got up in the morning. They were like a couple of irresponsible schoolboys”⁸.

Already in 1898 Sibelius had written to his wife Aino: “I went to Busoni’s for dinner yesterday: he was extremely charming and inscribed a score to me with the dedication: ‘To the Finnish master and my dear friend’ [in German]”⁹. And, after the war, having re-established contact with Germany, Busoni asked him for news about the *Fifth Symphony* and Sibelius answered:

“Over my desk is Eero’s [Järnefelt] portrait of you, and when I received your very welcome letter, it was as if the picture began to speak. It has been silent for so many years now, but has always prompted me to work [...] I am so proud of the interest you show in me!”¹⁰.

And, after the meeting in London in 1921, he wrote to Aino: “Now he is my great admirer and friend, like I hope”¹¹. Further, “When Busoni died, I knew where I stood [...] Busoni was the only person in Germany who was really interested in my music. He was my friend”¹². With this statement expressed to a Swedish critic Sibelius sealed the friendship with a colleague who never missed the opportunity of helping him. And to Ekman: “He displayed an interest in my music that both pleased and flattered me [...] Busoni’s friendship [...] was in general of the kind that expresses itself more in deeds than in words”¹³.

Already in 1890, thinking that Sibelius had to continue his own improvement in Berlin, Busoni recommended his friend to Heinrich von Herzogenberg, teacher in the Hochschule für Musik there:

“Hoping you remember the modest novice I was in 1885 in Leipzig, I recommend to you a young artist among the most gifted I have known during my two years in Finland. This Jean Sibelius is a very talented composer that, according to me, would have every interest to complete his training with you. His Nordic origin has made him mature later than usual, but as a compensation it has allowed him to remain extraordinarily pure and upright for his age”¹⁴.

Once Sibelius had chosen to leave Berlin for Vienna, Busoni did not hesitate to send him a letter of introduction to Brahms where he had written: “True to his northern origin he has developed later than we”¹⁵. Besides, after the young composer had already imposed himself in Helsinki with some works, in a letter of the 25 October 1895 Busoni urged him to contact the Russian editor Beljaev, to begin getting out of his home nest. Later Busoni introduced him to Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig and they indeed became a convinced supporter of his music¹⁶.

Very soon Sibelius became for Busoni one of the modern composers most worthy of introduction and to be valued. Indeed his largeness of mind made him willing to welcome artists with the most disparate bents and those from Finland too. When in 1902 Busoni invited his friend to conduct *En Saga* in

the following November, he added: "I notice with the greatest pleasure your successes in Germany - a fact that I had always anticipated without fear to be wrong"¹⁷. Sibelius announced it to his wife: "Obviously I will say 'yes'. We have also made a toast for you"¹⁸. And in sight of the performance Busoni recommended to his friend retouching that work which in Helsinki had not yet received great success. So Sibelius was at the side of international colleagues as Elgar (excerpts from *The Dream of Gerontius*), Ropartz (excerpts from *Pêcheur d'Islande*), Saint-Saëns (overture from *Les Barbares*), Mihalovich (*Death of Pan*), Th. Ysaÿe (*Piano Concerto*), Delius (*Paris*). After the successful concert Busoni praised, in the "Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung" of November 1902, Sibelius' good qualities as a conductor-composer and he invited his friend to the concerts for the following year. Clearly Busoni regarded his colleague as a good name for his not easy concert organisation in Berlin: "You know, I need strong weapons in my fight against the Berlin critics, and in planning my orchestral concerts. I am very much relying on you"¹⁹. In January 1905 Sibelius again returned to Berlin in preparation for another concert, always propitiated by Busoni, with the *Second Symphony*: "Busoni is totally enamoured of my symphony"²⁰, he remarked. And after a meeting in 1910, Sibelius wrote to Aino: "He has been very loving. He admires me as orchestral composer and I am more than ever 'sure' [in German] of that"²¹; and in his diary he specified: "I was at Busoni's home. He has given me a lot by his admiration for my music. The orchestral music. He suggested I stay in this field"²².

Busoni always insisted that Sibelius travel to Great Britain; he had easily understood that the open receptiveness of the British public could also benefit him: "He wants me to go to England. He says it is very important. We will see."²³. And very soon Sibelius would have realized that his friend was right. Equally Busoni stimulated Sibelius to take into consideration Debussy's *Trois Nocturnes* and some of Schoenberg's works²⁴. However, Busoni, although a great pianist, did not avoid conducting and conducting also Sibelius' music: for example, on 3rd January 1908, he conducted *Pohjola's Daughter* in Berlin then, at the end of March 1913 in Amsterdam, the *Fourth Symphony* (without worrying that this work had, a little before, been refused by Vienna's orchestra), then, on 15th March 1916 in Zürich, he conducted the *Second* (on this occasion

he sent a postcard in Italian from Locarno “Always affectionately and *crescendo*” with his wife Gerda’s addition “The symphony was splendid”), then, on 1st May 1921 in Rome (Augusteo), the *Second* and, on the following 2nd November in Berlin, the German *première* of the *Fifth*. zzz

Nevertheless Sibelius was for Busoni something more than a good composer and that is very noteworthy, because the two colleagues covered substantially different paths. The professional ties between Busoni and another Nordic composer such as Carl Nielsen seem, for example, more logical: the same adhesion to an ideal of “junge Klassizität”, the same interest in contrapuntal textures and, for Bach, the same propensity towards a modernity devoid of extreme subjectivism. In addition, Nielsen would not have excluded, at least from a theoretical point of view, the use of microtones²⁵. Hence, for example, Busoni’s support for the presentation of Nielsen’s *Second Symphony* on 5th November 1903 in Berlin.

Yet Busoni’s Finnish colleague was in higher favour, in particular he cultivated a special liking for Sibelius’ *Second Symphony*. This Finnish Symphony is full of melodic effusiveness, far from the more controlled objectivity typical of Busoni’s (and Nielsen’s) music. It seems that also Busoni, like Toscanini, felt that an Italianate spirit flowed in the veins of this work (mainly composed in Rapallo and in Rome). Even in this aspect we can detect Busoni’s sympathy for Sibelius. He felt the Sibelian anti-intellectualistic naturalness that he missed in himself, in other words that inventive spontaneity in him so often subordinate to his refined and skilled cultural research. For example, his definition of Sibelius as “a Finnish Schubert”²⁶ is a very meaningful a definition albeit in fact not totally correct but justifiable because for Busoni the best value of music consisted just in the melody; so he wrote once to his wife: “Unlike the deep-rooted ideas we must affirm, the melody is constantly being grown, it progresses in linear fashion and has expressive possibility; it is set to reach the universal dominion in the composing art”²⁷.

Obviously Busoni’s admiration for Sibelius never influenced his own works, if not in some isolated cases. For example, as Marc Vignal observed, the “Cortège” from the *Zwei Studien zu ‘Doktor Faust’* is based on a rhythm clearly modelled on that in *Night Ride and Sunrise*.²⁸ Sibelius’s music was for Busoni interesting for his character, contemporaneously “exotic” and

unaffected and therefore “new”. We all know Busoni’s interest in Native American Indian music; also Busoni, as Sibelius, was not dazzled by the White American puissance: “Here the world is really without joy and apparently there’s no way to change”²⁹. In opposition to the bother of the artificial New World civilization, Busoni’s attraction for Indian music was substantially the same in respect of Sibelius. His friend was virgin like the American Indians and, despite this virginity, Sibelius didn’t struggle to enter Europe aping it. In other words, Sibelius was able to preserve his own independence; and that is exactly why, for example, Busoni appreciated the orchestration of Berlioz’s *Faust* adding: “For this is a work with talent. Don’t laugh. I mean it quite seriously. The same also goes – to a lesser extent – for Sibelius’s 1st symphony”³⁰. In addition, one time he also showed keen interest in the “Voces intimae” String Quartet: “I expect beautiful things of it”³¹.

Understanding Sibelius’ reasons for his relationship with Busoni is actually easier. His colleague was for Sibelius what the latter felt one had to be: an artist up to date, fully incorporated in European music, spontaneously open to new experiences. That is why Sibelius felt a sense of awe of his colleague. Presenting him the music for *King Christian II* (the first work edited by Breitkopf), Sibelius wrote: “They are some salon pieces; they are not intended to introduce me abroad. I have the greatest ambition to stand before you as a composer worthy of some estimate”³². Busoni in other words was the personification of Sibelius’ artistic ambitions but they were ambitions to which he didn’t want to fully submit, if that signified betraying himself.

Despite this psychological subordination, Sibelius did not want to follow the way of his colleague. Only in 1912, after composing the dry *Fourth Symphony*, he put aside in piano music the “drawing-room genre” and approached a more objective and barer style with his three *Sonatinas* Op. 67 and the two *Rondinos* Op. 68, not far from the “junge Klassizität” ideal later championed by Busoni. After all, the latter had recently composed his *First Sonata* and, in 1912, he was finishing his *Second* but that was a temporary style. Also because of the break for the war, Sibelius would return, especially in his piano music, to late romantic sonorities; surely Sibelius would have readily approved what Busoni later wrote in his *Schizzo per un’introduzione alla partitura del Dottor Faust* (1921): “Invention and moods are the music

content, form and design the quality”³³, however he continued to pay attention to the ideals of “classicism” in a way totally remote from Busoni’s.

Indeed, as noted by Tawaststjerna³⁴, it is also through Busoni’s views mentioned above that Sibelius expressed this one day to his pupil Bengt von Törne, that the orchestra, having no right pedal like the piano, asks for great attention to prevent sonority emptiness. Busoni wrote this in an article in *Die Musik* of the year 1905, when he pointed out this right pedal was essential in the orchestra³⁵. Nevertheless Sibelius’ estimation was not based on Busoni as a composer. Truly, in the earliest days of his career, in 1894, Sibelius had expressed all his disapproval about Ruggero Leoncavallo’s and Cyrill Kistler’s music, writing: “And such people get to the top while Busoni and others like him don’t get a hearing”³⁶. Nevertheless some time before he had said to Aino that Busoni was not “a really good composer”³⁷ and criticized, together with Brahms’ Quartet op. 111, the Sonate for violin and piano op. 29 saying: “I don’t understand how they manage to get these and works like them published”³⁸. On a different occasion he commented on Busoni: “My overture [JS 145], for example, is better than Busoni’s *Conzertstück* for orchestra [Op. 31a], but not as good as his *Toccata e fuga*”³⁹. Later, after reaching his mature or definitive style, he commented in his diary:

“I studied Busoni’s *Fantasia contrappuntistica*. Why does this great pianist want to compose? It is always interesting listening to an artist at work, but this music! ‘Poor and ugly.’ Without impulse [*fattig och ful. Utan fart*] !!! His *Berceuse élégiaque* finds its legitimacy in the colour and in the background [*färg och kuliss*]. But that is also all!”⁴⁰.

Although straight after he added: “My opinion about Busoni is only temporary”, it is easy to think he would not have changed his idea. Sibelius was fully aware of the impossibility of his becoming a virtuoso and, to him, Busoni instead seemed unsatisfied with being only a virtuoso: he desired to be a composer also, and a composer at the cutting edge. Actually all Busoni’s inventive particularities, like his periodical and rhythmical suspension, his adventurous tonal freedom, his systematic use of counterpoint, his propensity

to experimentalism, were too far from his own style. In addition, Busoni's more intense emotional detachment could not be in tune with an artist submitted to the "moods" [*stämningar*] and to the "compelling vein [*det tvingande*] that goes through the whole"⁴¹. Furthermore Beaumont⁴² properly points out that Busoni preferred working with external themes of the most disparate provenance whereas Sibelius worked with personal ideas; in other words, in composing Busoni favoured the objective developing, Sibelius the subjective inventing.

In the same way Sibelius nourished quite a few doubts about Busoni as conductor. In 1905 He wrote to his editor Lienau: "I would really like that Busoni didn't conduct the *Suite* [from *King Christian II*]. I don't think that he is the man for this job"⁴³; and in 1907, when Busoni was waiting to conduct *Pohjola's Daughter*, Sibelius wrote again to the same recipient: "He is no great conductor and *Pohjola's Daughter* in particular calls for a really good one"⁴⁴.

This is precisely why Sibelius, commenting on Busoni's appreciation for the *Second Symphony*, wrote: "He understands its chaste concentration. In particular, he thinks the second movement the best music in existence. He hasn't said a word about the finale. You realize that Busoni cannot understand its significance"⁴⁵.

The real Busoni unconditionally admired by Sibelius was as concert pianist; he would explain to Törne: "I never go to piano concerts, except when they are given by real geniuses, like my friend Busoni"⁴⁶. In addition, long before after a Busoni's concert, he had told Aino: "Yesterday Busoni played like an angel"⁴⁷ and in his journal he commented: "In Helsinki, Busoni played Bach and Beethoven op. 111 C moll. An unrivalled artist! An unforgettable hour!"⁴⁸. In short, Busoni introduced him to the real Beethoven:

"Busoni played the [Beethoven's] *Sonata in B flat major* (Op. 106). I shall cherish the memory of this performance all my life. Never has the power and the greatness of Mankind seemed more evident and convincing. Beethoven wrote: 'The strength is the moral of the man [to Zmeskall in 1798]'. Such poor worms are the ordinary folks. Golly!"

⁴⁹

Tawaststjerna quite rightly observed⁵⁰ that Busoni had enraptured his friend because he was a ‘creative’ interpreter, in other words a Lisztian interpreter. Precisely for this reason, Sibelius would have later admired another ‘creative’ pianist like Wilhelm Kempff and, instead, would have had little interest in a more objective interpreter like Wilhelm Backhaus.

Thereby the friendship between Busoni and Sibelius was a complementary opposition between instinct and reason, as Sibelius himself later explained to Ekman:

“In one respect we were as unlike each other as possible. Busoni had grown up as an infant prodigy and had spent his youth in hotels in practically every town in Europe. He came in contact with nature for the first time in Finland. In the early stages of our acquaintance he was very much surprised by the great benefits I was able to draw from my communing with nature. Later, he understood me better, although with his very intellectual, reflective attitude he could never surrender unreservedly to natural impressions”⁵¹.

In addition, Erik Tawaststjerna, quoting Busoni’s admiration for Finnish nature expressed in a letter (“Nature is a paradise here. a picture, indescribably beautiful, and I enjoy contemplating it”), rightly comments: “Sibelius did not contemplate nature, he lived in and through it”⁵². Married (from 27 September 1890) to a Finnish-Swedish woman, Busoni found no difficulty in composing works based on Finnish folk themes (*Finnländische Volkweisen* op. 27, 1888-89; *Variations on ‘Kultaselle’*, 1891; *Finnish Ballade* op. 33b n. 6, 1896). Instead Sibelius searched himself and his country without taking advantage of national folksongs (the only exception is the *Six Finnish folksongs* JS 81). Aware of his capabilities, Sibelius never dared write a Piano Concerto; when he was asked in this regard by the editor Hansen, he replied that many composers, including Busoni, had invited him to compose such a type of work, but he always hesitated⁵³. On the contrary, Busoni had no

difficulty in writing a Violin Concerto (op. 35a), as well as opera, another genre approached by Sibelius just once (*The Maiden in the Tower*) and he immediately left it aside.

The friendship between the two colleagues was therefore an “opposites’ conciliation”, a fusion of “diverging affinities”. In 1921, after conducting Sibelius’ *Fifth*, Busoni told their mutual friend Adolf Paul: “Now you are able to listen to something of our times in Helsinki” and a few days later he wrote to him a fully-fledged and moving outburst:

“Once again it has fallen to me to help Sibelius a step forward on his path (even though this ought not to be necessary! But such are the ways of the world!) and I am glad that everything went so well. I hope you have given him your impressions of the occasion (would really like to know what he makes of this act of devotion; he is so complex and difficult to make out, and our relationship remains one-sided).

They are all the same! I know their work but none of them knows mine. I think highly of the *Fifth Symphony*. The *Fourth* is closer to my heart. The *Second* I performed last April [actually 1 May] in Rome. In spite of our affectionate dealings, he never seems quite at ease with me and there is at the same time a childish, ingratiating manner which makes me feel awkward. I met him last in London in February. All the same I am very fond of him”⁵⁴ .

This disclosure reveals once again Busoni’s nobility; Sibelius was close to his heart even if the friend never opened his heart to him; after all Busoni had been hoping to receive for his music an attention equal to that he gave to Sibelius’ works. But the latter, precisely because friend, couldn’t pretend; and so replied to him without abandoning his formalized although always frank approaching: “I thank you from the bottom of my heart. Paul has written, captivated by your performance. Without you the symphony has remained paper and I an apparition from the

forest”⁵⁵. Busoni indeed was right defining their friendship “one-sided”. Sibelius, unlike other most interested colleagues, had never asked him for a few favours; the initiative had always started with Busoni, just because the latter was “very fond of him”.

Sibelius’s *Fifth* was the last work conducted by Busoni, because the worsening of his health would have subsequently prevented from this job. And that short thank-you letter would have been the ultimate connection between the two “Leskovites”. In 1923, while returning from Italy with Aino, Sibelius, while passing through Berlin, would have wanted to say “hello” to his friend but Busoni’s wife, Gerda, told them that her husband was far too ill so he could not meet visitors. When, some time later she rang to say that Ferruccio was a little better and was able to welcome them, it was too late. Sibelius, not realising the seriousness of the situation (Busoni died the following year), missed the opportunity, a withdrawal that – Tawaststjerna says to us⁵⁶ - he would have bitterly regretted for the rest of his life.

Ultimately Sibelius, in spite of the absence of full concord, understood anyway that, thanks to Busoni, he had avoided remaining “eine Erscheinung aus den Wäldern”, i.e. a national oddity, such as well as Mahler, with his haughty style, had seen him. However, Busoni’s familiarity with Sibelius had its psychological relevance. The two years in Helsinki, where Busoni had met his future wife, gave him an indelible imprinting. The biographer Dent informs us that, when Busoni was lying on his death bed, he heard a carriage going down the street and would have sighed: “Horses’ hooves! That reminds me of Helsingfors. Those were wonderful times!”⁵⁷.

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1. KARL EKMAN, Jean Sibelius. Life and Personality of an Artist, transl. Edward Birse, H. Schildt: Helsingfors, 1935, p. 66
 2. “Zürcher Theater-, Konzert- und Fremdenblatt”, XXXVI, n. 26, 8. 4. 1916. FERRUCCIO BUSONI, Lo sguardo lieto. Tutti gli scritti sulla musica e sulle arti, ed. F. D’Amico, Il Saggiatore: Milano, 1977, p. 394
 3. Sibelius was four months older than Busoni. Paul and Eero had been born in 1863.
 4. 13 June 1908 from Vienna, ANTONY BEAUMONT (ed.), Ferruccio Busoni. Selected Letters, Columbia Univ. Press, New York 1987, p. 91
 5. 9 April 1918 from Zürich, BEAUMONT 1987: 271
 6. 9 November 1919 from London, FRIEDRICH SCHNAPP (ed.), Busoni. Briefe an seine

- Frau, Rotapfel, Zürich-Leipzig 1935, p. 358
7. EKMAN 1935: 66-67
 8. HENRY WOOD, *My life of music*, Victor Gollancz, London 1938, pp. 141-42
 9. 11 April 1898 E. TAWASTSTJERNA, Sibelius. 1865-1905, vol. I, transl. by Robert Layton, Faber and Faber, London 1976, p. 200
 10. 23 March 1919, ERIK TAWASTSTJERNA, Sibelius. Volume III: 1914-1957, transl. Robert Layton, Faber and Faber, London 1997, p. 145
 11. To Aino 1. 3. 1921 (1. letter) FERRUCCIO TAMMARO, Jean Sibelius, Eri, Turin 1984, p. 396
 12. HAROLD E. JOHNSON, Sibelius, Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1959, p. 97
 13. EKMAN 1935: 67
 14. MARC VIGNAL, Jean Sibelius, Fayard, Paris 2004, p. 119
 15. EKMAN 1935: 96
 16. Also Beaumont (ANTONY BEAUMONT, "Sibelius and Busoni", Proceedings from The First International Jean Sibelius Conference, Helsinki, August 1990, Ed. Eero Tarasti, Sibelius Academy, Helsinki 1995, p. 16) considers unlikely an only Adolf Paul's intervention in this affair without Busoni's cooperation.
 17. 12 June 1902, VIGNAL 2004: 337
 18. To Aino 20 June 1902, TAMMARO 1984: p. 179
 19. 25 August 1903 ERIK. TAWASTSTJERNA, Sibelius, Volume II 1904-1914, transl. Robert Layton, Faber and Faber, London 1986, 22-23
 20. To Aino 9 January 1905, TAMMARO 1984: 213; TAWASTSTJERNA II: 23
 21. To Aino 17 October 1910, TAMMARO 1984: 271
 22. 16 October 1910, DAHLSTRÖM: 57
 23. To Aino 24 January 1905 TAMMARO 1984: 214
 24. SANTERI LEVAS, Sibelius, a personal Portrait, transl. Percy M. Young, Dent & Sons, London 1972, p. 74 Nevertheless, in accordance with the diary, Sibelius's interest regarding Schennberg's music was entirely spontaneous but this doesn't exclude an unconscious Busoni influence on him.
 25. See DANIEL M. GRIMLEY, Carl Nielsen and the Idea of Modernism, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge 2010, pp. 77-78.
 26. BUSONI, *Lo sguardo lieto*: 394
 27. 22 July 1913, SCHNAPP 1935: 285
 28. VIGNAL 2004: 471. Vignal also notices the background for both was Čajkovskij's "symphonic ballad" *The Voyeroda*.
 29. From Boston, 12 March 1910, ANTONY BEAUMONT (ed.), *Ferruccio Busoni. Selected Letters*, Columbia Univ. Press, New York 1987, p. 151
 30. To Volkmar Andreae from London 14. 10. 1919, BEAUMONT 1987: 293
 31. To Henri Petri from Berlin 10 Setember 1909, BEAUMONT 1987: 101
 32. 22 September 1898 TAMMARO: 121; TAWASTSTJERNA I: 203
 33. FERRUCCIO BUSONI, "Schizzo per un'introduzione alla partitura del Dottor Faust con alcune considerazioni sulle possibilità dell'opera", in *Scritti e pensieri sulla musica*, L. Dallapiccola and Guido M. Gatti (ed.), Ricordi, Milano 1954, p. 84

34. TAWASTSTJERNA II: 25
35. "Dieser 'rechte Fuss' ist auch im Orchester unumgänglich" (FERRUCCIO BUSONI, 'Über Instrumentationslehre', "Die Musik" 1905-06, V, 3, p. 169)
36. 9 August 1894, TAMMARO: 25; TAWASTSTJERNA I: 159
37. 20 November 1890, TAWASTSTJERNA I: 47
38. To Aino 27 January 1891, TAMMARO 1984: 39; TAWASTSTJERNA I: 78
39. To Aino 13 February 1891, TAMMARO 1984:42; TAWASTSTJERNA I: 88-89
40. 3 November 1910, TAMMARO 1984: 24-25; DAHLSTRÖM: 59
41. EKMAN 1935: 232
42. BEAUMONT 1995: 19
43. To Lienau 3 October 1905
44. 29 December 1907, TAWASTSTJERNA II: 84
45. To Aino 9 January 1905, TAMMARO 1984: 213; TAWASTSTJERNA II: 23 More precisely: "He understands the beauty and the rational aspect of this work. He says that particularly the second movement is the best work created. But he didn't say anything about the finale. You understand, he can't grasp the significance of it".
46. BENGT VON TÖRNE, Sibelius: A Close-up, Faber & Faber, London, 1937
47. 22 January 1905 TAWASTSTJERNA II: 25
48. Diary 23 October 1912 DAHLSTRÖM: 155
49. 28 October 1912 DAHLSTRÖM: 155 Also Alfredo Casella, after he listened Busoni playing in Paris the same work, felt a deep emotion: "It was like a shining vision of glory, a Napoleonic epopee glimpsed through a vague fog curtain, a Walhalla image suggested by the intense phantasy of the animator, that has left me an unforgettable impression, with some resemblance to that produced by the wonderful Rembrandt's Omero located in a Musuem in Hague" (ALFREDO CASELLA, "Busoni pianista", in 21 + 26, Augustea, Roma – Milano 1931, p. 134).
50. TAWASTSTJERNA III: 216
51. EKMAN 1935: 66
52. ERIK TAWASTSTJERNA, 'The Two Leskovites', "The Finnish Music Quarterly", 3/1986, p. 3
53. 18 March 1922 TAMMARO 1984: 398; TAWASTSTJERNA III: 216
54. TAWASTSTJERNA III: 212
55. TAWASTSTJERNA III: 212-13
56. TAWASTSTJERNA III: 237
57. EDWARD JOSEPH DENT, Ferruccio Busoni. A Biography, Oxford, London 1933, p. 289

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