

SEBASTIAN SILÉN

Approaching Robert Kajanus’ three last works for violin

The Finnish composer and conductor Robert Kajanus (1856–1933) was one of the key figures in the development of the Finnish musical scene during the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. His role as the founder of the Helsinki Orchestral Society – which eventually became the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra – and as the orchestra’s conductor for half a century assured him great influence. He was also a friend of Jean Sibelius (1865–1957), and an important part of Kajanus’ legacy lies in the first recordings he made of Sibelius’ symphonies.

What is less well known today is that at the end of the nineteenth century Kajanus was considered one of Finland’s most promising composers. Many of his works are short in duration, which may explain why a large part of his production has remained unpublished to this day. Due to Kajanus’ importance in the cultural life of Finland, I became interested in bringing his works for violin to the public’s attention through performances and a recording, but my experience of working with the available manuscripts has raised many questions.

Kajanus’ last three works for violin – *Nocturne*, *Menuet ancien*, and *Spiccato*, the works in focus in this article – have forced me to interpret the available manuscripts in ways that affect how they are performed. The numerous different manuscripts, both for violin and piano and for violin and orchestra, have raised many questions, including the chronology of the available manuscripts, how to interpret the validity of pencilled revisions, whether the versions for violin and piano need match each other exactly, and whether the final version of a work should always be seen as the definitive one. Depending on how these questions are answered, the works can take different forms that differ in both length and musical content. As my performance-oriented project subsequently resulted in an opportunity to participate in an effort to publish Kajanus’ works for violin, I was struck by how the assumptions that underly my interpretation of the manuscripts can in some cases change depending on whether I approach the works as a performer or as a researcher working on a publication.

This article will provide some context and history for Kajanus’ last three works for violin, but will primarily focus on exploring the available manuscripts. They can provide insights into Kajanus’ approach to composing during the last years of his life, and they raise numerous questions about how the works should be performed and published. The three works will be discussed in the order they were composed, starting with *Nocturne*, and followed by *Menuet ancien* and *Spiccato*.

KAJANUS AS A COMPOSER

Robert Kajanus was born in Helsinki on the 2nd of December 1856 to surveyor Georg August Kajanus and Agnes Ottilia Kajanus (previously Flodin). Music played a significant role in his childhood home in Kruununhaka, where both accomplished amateurs as well as professional musicians, including Fredrik Pacius (1809–1891), regularly met for musical soirées. Despite the family's appreciation for music, Robert was expected to pursue a respectable career as a civil servant (Suomalainen 1952, 16–17, 25–26).

Robert Kajanus showed an interest in music at a young age, and he was especially drawn to a violin that hung on a wall of the family's home (Suomalainen 1952, 34–36; Vainio 2002, 35–36).¹ At the age of 12 he began studying music theory and composition with Richard Faltin (1835–1918) and violin playing with the concert master of Helsinki's Theatre Orchestra, Gustaf Niemann (1841–1881). Kajanus had begun his violin studies a year earlier with Adolf Leander (1833–1899) (Vainio 2002, 43).

Richard Faltin was at the time one of the most influential musical figures in Finland. He was a respected composer, organist, conductor, and educator. He was also Fredrik Pacius' successor as the music teacher of the Imperial Alexander University of Finland (later renamed the University of Helsinki), a position that would later come to be held by Kajanus. Faltin came to play an important role in Kajanus' life, as he not only guided his studies and early compositions, but also provided him with a letter of recommendation when Kajanus moved to Leipzig in 1877 (Siltanen 2019, 20).

Kajanus' early compositions suggest an education rooted in the German tradition. The earliest known works are from 1874. Most of the early works are small in scale and were likely intended for use in the home. To give an impression of these early works' style, Vainio (2002, 51) finds connections with Schubert, Haydn, and possibly even Pacius in Kajanus' early Scherzo (Menuetto) from 1874, which is Kajanus' earliest known work for violin and piano.

My own experience of performing and recording Kajanus' works for violin and piano has been informative. Their short duration, and the lack of evidence that they have been performed publicly, suggests that they likely were written for Kajanus' own use, or as composition exercises. If we assume that these works were only intended to be played at home by Kajanus himself, their style can provide a clue about Kajanus' skills as a violinist. They seem to suggest that while Kajanus probably was a decent violinist, his technical proficiency appears to have been limited. Interestingly,

¹ The biographies by Suomalainen and Vainio strongly disagree about the value of the instrument. Suomalainen (1952, 34) claims that the violin was made by the renowned luthier Ruggiero, and that Kajanus' father did not allow Kajanus to use it, while Vainio (2002, 35–36) assumes it was a simple instrument, which according to Kajanus had been bought for three rubles.

both Suomalainen (1952, 45) and Vainio (2002, 43) mention Kajanus' problems with his bow arm, which were caused by his left-handedness, but these early works present roughly similar challenges for both hands. Curiously, Kajanus' first work for violin, the previously mentioned Scherzo (Menuetto) from 1874, presents a passage that includes some limited use of upbow staccato, whereas none of his subsequent early works include any idiomatic writing for the bow arm. With regards to the left arm, the last of Kajanus' early works, *Melodie* from 1877, presents the most demands. These challenges are limited to a section marked to be played on the G string, and a three-octave arpeggio ending on the e³ harmonic. Nonetheless, these works show a natural musicality and a talent for melodic writing. Flodin (1900, 25) has also descriptively commented on Kajanus' musical imagination, calling it "decidedly lyrical".

Kajanus moved to Leipzig in 1877 to pursue studies in violin playing and music theory. He studied with Henry Schradieck (1846–1918), Carl Reinecke (1824–1910), Salomon Jadassohn (1831–1902), and Ernst Richter (1808–1879). Although Kajanus' violin playing was a key reason for moving to Leipzig, he soon forsook these plans due to issues related to his left-handedness (Vainio 2002, 69). He quickly reorganised his studies, and instead primarily focused on music theory, while also continuing to play the violin and taking lessons in conducting (Vainio 2002, 69–70).

Even though Kajanus never became a violinist, it can be noted that his primary violin teachers, Niemann and Schradieck, shared a common lineage. They had both studied with Ferdinand David (1810–1873), who in turn was a close friend – and during their studies, a flatmate – of Pacius (Kuha 2017, 153; Cobbett 2010; Andersson 1932, 15). Pacius and David had both studied with Louis Spohr in Kassel in the beginning of the nineteenth century (Elmgren-Heinonen 1959, 25).

As a composer, Kajanus began gaining recognition when his piano works *Sechs Albumblätter*, Op. 1 and *Lyrische Stücke*, Op. 2 were published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1878 and 1879 (Vainio 2002, 79, 85). It was, however, his orchestral works written during the 1880s that really secured his reputation as a talented composer. These include two Finnish rhapsodies from 1881 and 1886 and the tone poem *Aino* from 1885. These works start to display many new influences, ranging from Finnish mythology and folk-like melodies to Wagner-inspired chromaticism.

Despite his good reputation, Kajanus found himself without work after returning to Finland in 1882 after five years of studies in Leipzig, Paris, and Dresden. After unsuccessfully applying for work at the newly founded Helsinki Music Institute, he took matters into his own hands and instead founded the Helsinki Orchestral Society.² Although Helsinki had enjoyed concerts by small professional ensembles, including the Theatre Orchestra and the Concert Orchestra, Kajanus' thirty-six member orchestra was a significant step forward for Helsinki's cultural life (Ringbom, 1932, 50; Marvia & Vainio 1993, 16–17, 23–25).

² Originally Helsingfors orkesterförening.

After the founding of the Helsinki Orchestral Society, Kajanus' compositional output gradually began to decrease. It is likely that the time he had available for composing was limited. The orchestra became Kajanus' life's work, and took precedence over previously important undertakings. Karl Flodin (1858–1925), who as Kajanus' cousin may have had some inside information about his priorities, has written that Kajanus saw his life's work in a different light after his conducting began taking up his time and attention (Flodin 1900, 24). A semi-persistent myth exists that Kajanus stopped composing in order to make way for Jean Sibelius, but as Matti Vainio (2002, 567–569) has pointed out, Kajanus never really stopped composing, although his output decreased noticeably as numerous other activities took up his time. According to Vainio (2002, 567), Kajanus' total compositional output consists of 213 titles, although some works exist in different versions and many are short in duration. One additional previously unknown work, a small bagatelle for violin and piano, was discovered in the Sibelius Academy's Music Library archive as part of my own research.

Kajanus' composition style has been described as “nationalist in flavour but not sufficiently personal to hold a place in the repertory” (Layton & Dahlström 2001), but while national romantic elements definitely are present in some of Kajanus' most famous works, the style of his output as a whole is hard to pin down, due to it being in a seemingly constant state of change. Another difficulty in evaluating his style is that many of his compositions are largely unknown. So unknown, in fact, that Matti Vainio had to settle for computer-generated audio files while working on his biography in order to get a better picture of how some of Kajanus' music sounds.³

Kajanus' last three works for violin display a compositional style that can best be described as neoclassical, while also illustrating his way of dealing with aspects of modernism without fully embracing it. All three works are far removed from the romantic lushness found in *Air élégiaque*, Op. 10 (1886) and *Berceuse* (1896) which are his earlier works for violin and orchestra. Instead, they give the impression of a composer who was very much aware that the ideals that still existed in the 1890s, many of which he likely personified himself, were becoming obsolete in the quickly modernising world so radically shaken by World War I.

Kajanus' last three works for violin, *Nocturne* from 1929, *Menuet ancien* from 1930, and *Spiccato* from 1931, which exist both as versions for violin and piano, and violin and orchestra, provide a picture of his composition style during the last years of his life. These works stand in contrast with the “nationalistic” music he wrote during the nineteenth century (Suomalainen 1952, 238).

All three works currently only exist as a number of handwritten manuscripts, which show us how Kajanus seems to have worked towards greater tonal ambiguity through different revisions. A general trend is that the earlier drafts display a greater

³ This detail was mentioned in a private conversation with Matti Vainio.

sense of traditionalism, especially when it comes to harmony, while the later versions often move surprisingly between the same key's major and minor modes. This is particularly the case for *Menuet ancien*, for which incomplete manuscripts exist from different stages in the work's development.

There is, however, another aspect to these works' history, which may explain both their relative obscurity and some of the changes that can be seen in the scores. The works were all premiered on the 1st of December 1931, as part of Robert Kajanus' 75th year birthday concert with the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra (the day before his actual birthday). The concert was a significant event for Kajanus, who had at that point conducted the orchestra for almost 50 years. The first half of the concert included three new works by the experienced maestro, *Suite ancienne* for string orchestra, Variations on the Finnish Folk Song "Älä itke äitini" for solo harp, and three works for violin and orchestra, *Nocturne*, *Menuet ancien*, and *Spiccato* (Vainio 2002, 530). The concert also featured Kajanus' *Impromptu* from 1926, and Sibelius' 1st symphony, which was performed during the second half of the concert. The concert's soloists, Elvi Kajanus and Kai Kajanus, were both children of Robert Kajanus, with the former playing the harp and the latter performing the works for violin and orchestra (ibid., 531–532).

The three works for violin were programmed as "Three Pieces for Violin and Orchestra" (Helsinki City Archives, Uc4), but it seems likely that they should be considered individual works. This impression is reinforced by *Menuet ancien*'s dedication to Robert Kajanus' sister Selma Kajanus (1860–1935) on her seventieth birthday. The first of these three works, *Nocturne*, was also subsequently performed separately by Kai Kajanus in 1943 and 1956, without the other two pieces (Marvia & Vainio 1993, 701–702, 729). The relatively short durations of the works, however, makes the grouping understandable.

It is striking how appropriate Karl Flodin's words appear, even though they were written thirty years earlier: "It is granted that such a musical temperament is not suited for the large forms of composition" (Flodin 1900, 26).⁴ All three works are short in duration, but show both Kajanus' skill as a composer as well as his understanding of the changing musical landscape. Vainio (2002, 567–568) has also noted that Kajanus for some reason did not seem comfortable with composing works in sonata form. While we do not know if he avoided the sonata form for technical or ideological reasons, it can be noted that the sonata form was seen in some circles to stand in conflict with Nordic culture.⁵

⁴ Original Swedish text: "Det är gifvet att han med en sådan musikalisk naturell icke är anlagd för de stora formerna i kompositionen."

⁵ For example, the Swedish composer and music critic Wilhelm Peterson-Berger (1867–1942) saw the development of melodic material to be incompatible with the requirements of the Swedish national style, which he considered song-like in nature (Tegen & Jonsson 1992, 49). Similar conversations also took place in Norway, where Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832–1910) questioned whether Edvard Grieg's music set to folk-like texts (*maaltekst*) should be considered more Norwegian than his other works with their newer motives and higher forms (Bjørnson 1900).

The purpose of this article is not to catalogue all the changes that can be found between all the different versions of Kajanus' works. Instead, the aim is to show the *type* of changes that are present, and look for any potential over-arching direction of change. This article also aims to explore the changes from a performer's perspective, with regards to the impact that the changes have on the musical flow. A general question that concerns all three works is whether the piano version and the orchestral version should be seen as exactly the same work, to the point where the piano part should be adapted to the orchestral version whenever discrepancies occur, or whether the versions should be allowed to contain differences. These differences include missing repeats, motives played in different octaves, and pencilled additions that do not exist in the orchestral version.

A MUSICIAN'S PERSPECTIVE

My interest in these works began from an artistic research perspective. I was interested in performing Finnish music by composers whose works pre-dated that of Jean Sibelius (1865–1957), and I was surprised to realise that none of Robert Kajanus' works for violin and piano had been officially published. This, despite the fact that at least until the 1890s he was considered the most influential figure in Finnish musical life (Goss 2012 [2009], 171).

My initial approach to these works was therefore performance-oriented, with the aim of bringing the music to the stage. Only after extensive practice and several performances together with pianist Martin Malmgren did I make contact with the sheet music publisher Fennica Gehrman, who became interested in publishing Kajanus' complete works for violin and piano as part of two collections. Due to my familiarity with the available material I was asked to take a leading role in the publication effort. Due to the peculiarities of the available autographs, the different versions for violin and piano have not only needed to be compared to each other but also to the orchestral version of the same work.

The new editions can be seen as part of a larger effort to make previously unpublished works by Finnish composers available. Recent publications by Fennica Gehrman include the Solo Songs for Voice and Piano by Richard Faltin, and the Collected Works for Voice and Piano by Martin Wegelius, both published in 2015. Other publications include Fredrik Pacius' Second String Quartet and Martin Wegelius' *Roddaren* by the Finnish Musical Heritage Society in 2020.

NOCTURNE

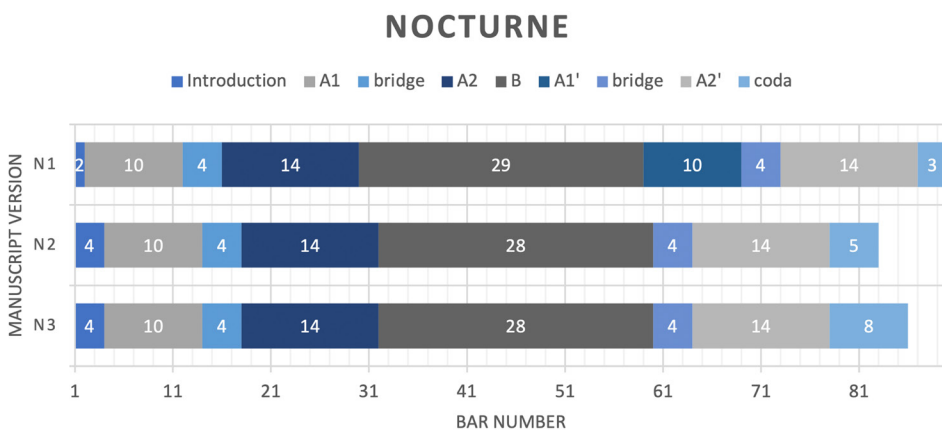
Nocturne has been described as one of Kajanus' most radical works, and it immediately invites the listener into a dark musical landscape (Vainio 2002, 537). The work exists as three different manuscripts for violin and piano in the Helsinki University Library (Coll. 719.1), and as an orchestral score in the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra's Orchestra Library. According to the folder that contains the orchestral score, it previously belonged to Robert Kajanus' son Kai Kajanus, who gave the work's first performance. One of the three versions for violin and piano is currently available for purchase from Music Finland, as a printed copy of the manuscript, but upon closer inspection it seems unlikely that the available version represents Kajanus' final vision of the piece.

All three autographs for violin and piano appear to have been written by Kajanus himself, and are stamped with the words *Musiikin tiedotuskeskus*, the stamp of the Finnish Music Information Centre, and contain the number 1166. For the sake of clarity, let us call the three manuscripts N1, N2, and N3. The N1 manuscript is marked "Nocturne für Violine und Pianoforte". This is the version currently available for purchase and is the cleanest of the three. N2 is an unmarked score where both the piece's title and the composer's name are missing. N3 contains the work's title in capital letters, but also includes the pencilled marking "avskrift", which is a Swedish word for copy. It seems likely that the title was added by someone other than the composer, but the music itself appears to be written by Kajanus. All three manuscripts are written in ink and appear to be clean copies rather than drafts, but all three contain changes and markings in pencil. The pencilled markings appear to be written in the same hand as the main score. N3 is the most cluttered and is generally the hardest manuscript to read, but if the different manuscripts are compared to the orchestral score, which is the version we know that was performed during Kajanus' lifetime, it becomes apparent that N3 is in fact the one that agrees best with the orchestral score, especially when taking into account the markings in pencil. N1 and N2 seem to be earlier iterations of the piece.

NOCTURNE'S MAIN STRUCTURE

The musical structure of the N1 manuscript of *Nocturne* can broadly be described as a ternary form (ABA), where both A sections have been divided into two parts by presenting the same material in both a minor and major key. Calling the sections 'minor' and 'major' is a simplification, and merely serves a descriptive purpose. We can therefore describe the work as an A1A2BA1'A2' coda, where A1 presents the

‘minor’ version of the main theme while A2 is the same theme in a ‘major’ key. The coda in N1 is almost non-existent, and only includes 2 bars that differ from the ending of the first A2 section.



Example 1. A comparison of the three manuscripts (N1, N2, and N3). The bar graph shows the lengths of the main sections in the different versions.⁶

The biggest structural change in the later versions of *Nocturne* is that the A section is not repeated in its entirety in the reprise. The statement of the theme in minor has been removed, leaving us with an A1A2BA2'coda form. The change has a substantial impact on the musical flow, as the transition from the B section back to the A section in the first version is an unexpected *pianissimo* played by the violin without accompaniment after the loudest dynamic of the piece, while the transition in the later versions is a loud *forte* played by the piano, which continues the preceding bars' dramatic character. The removal of the A1 section of the reprise is acknowledged in N1, as the section has been faintly crossed out in pencil.

From a performer's perspective, the alterations create a work of greater structural compactness and integrity. I find something artistically appealing in the fact that the piece never returns to the minor presentation of the main theme (A1) after the very beginning. It turns the 'minor' statement of the theme into a form of introduction. The work gives the impression of slowly moving from a feeling of loss and lack of direction towards greater optimism and momentum, with a cadenza to the home key of B major only being reached at the very end of the A2 section and the coda.

⁶ The additional 29th bar of the B section in N1 is empty.

THE INTRODUCTION AND THE CODA

Another difference between N1 and the other two versions is the very beginning of the work, which plays an important role in setting the mood. N1 contains two bars before the violin enters, while N2 and N3 are identical and contain four bars each. The beginning is illustrative for understanding the type of changes which have been made in all three works. The first two bars in N1 present the main motive, which consists of an ascending minor ninth and a falling minor second. The first bar begins with a crochet rest. The motive is repeated twice, after which the piano takes on an accompanying role to the violin, which enters in bar 3.

In N2 and N3 the introduction consists of four bars, which introduce a semi-chromatic descending line, after the initial presentation of the minor-ninth motive. The added bars effectively create an impression of darkness and gloom which is fitting for a nocturne (see Example 2).

The image displays two systems of musical notation. The first system shows the violin part (N1) and the piano part (N2/N3). The violin part starts with a rest in the first bar, followed by the main motive in the second bar. The piano part starts with a rest in the first bar, followed by a semi-chromatic descending line in the second bar. The second system shows the violin part (N3) and the piano part (N3). The violin part starts with a rest in the first bar, followed by the main motive in the second bar. The piano part starts with a rest in the first bar, followed by a semi-chromatic descending line in the second bar. The tempo is marked 'Molto lento'. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The time signature is 3/4. The piano part features a semi-chromatic descending line in the right hand and a more active bass line. The violin part features a main motive consisting of an ascending minor ninth and a falling minor second.

Example 2. The opening of the piece in autographs N1 and N3. The two opening bars of N1 have been expanded to four bars in N3.⁷

From an aural perspective, the main motive can on the first listening be confusing with regard to time signature and beat hierarchy, but the E natural on the work's first

⁷ The example has been edited, in order to aid in the comparison of the two versions. I have removed a line change that exists in N3 and the two scores have been aligned vertically.

beat of N2 and N3 brings some clarity. It is questionable whether this clarity was actually desired, as the note is played in *pianissimo* by muted cellos in the orchestral version of the piece, which will create an entirely different effect than the piano. In the orchestral version, the main motive is introduced by two clarinets and joined by a bassoon in bar three.

The work's coda is also gradually expanded, as can be seen in Example 3. The first bar of the example is the last bar that all three versions have in common. N1 contains 5 bars after the last shared bar, and N2 has 7 bars, while N3 has 10 bars (with one being squeezed into the last page's margin, and another being a repeat of the second-last bar). The changes are therefore not extensive, but they have a considerable impact on how the piece draws to a close.

Example 3. The ending of *Nocturne* in manuscripts N1, N2, and N3. The ending is gradually expanded in order to bring the work to an organic close.⁸

⁸ The example has been edited in order to aid in the comparison of the three versions. I have removed line changes that exist in N2 and N3, and the three scores have been aligned vertically.

When first studying *Nocturne*, the ending of the piece gave one of strongest indications that the N3 manuscript, despite the marking “avskrift”, in fact was the most complete version of the work.⁹ The way the work draws to a close is more organic in the later versions, whereas it feels somewhat abrupt in N1. The added harmonic material in N2 and N3 helps to avoid a case of parallel fifths between the fourth and fifth last bars in N1. It also makes the arrival at the last dominant seventh chord more prepared, while giving the music time to soften and relax from the preceding *forte* dynamic. The importance of the music relaxing in the final bars seems to have been important, considering that the last seven bars in the N3 manuscript contain the following markings (some of which have been crossed out): *calando, rit., allargando molto, tranquillo, ancora più lento, lunga*, and *perdendo*. In the orchestral version, this information has been condensed to *molto rit., rit.*, and *perdendosi*.

The different versions of *Nocturne* contain numerous other minor changes to both harmonic and melodic material. One change which requires additional comment is an added flurry of notes at the very end of the B section (see Example 4). It is interesting to note that all three versions of these bars for violin and piano include pencilled changes or additions. These markings are difficult to decipher, but begin to make sense when compared to the orchestral score.

The preceding section builds up the intensity and has descriptively been marked *incalzando* in the N3 manuscript and the orchestral score. The intensity reaches its peak on the half-diminished seventh chord in its third inversion built on b natural. The original markings in the N1 manuscript show a sudden octave leap, whereas N3 contains a quick d-minor arpeggio. The revised version successfully increases the drama towards the end of the section, while also making it more idiomatic for the violin. In my experience the changes make the bars easier both musically and technically. It can also be noted that the *poco a poco allargando* marking, which can be seen in the N3 stave of Example 3, has been removed in the orchestral score, and instead an *accelerando* marking has been added two bars later. This same addition has been added in pencil to the N3 manuscript.

⁹ I only gained access to the orchestral score from the Helsinki Philharmonic’s Orchestral Library months after choosing the N3 manuscript as my performance version, based on its musical merits. The orchestral score was invaluable in clarifying many of the markings made in pencil.

The image displays two systems of handwritten musical notation for the final bars of the B section. The top system (N1) features a treble clef with a melodic line and a grand staff with piano accompaniment. It includes dynamic markings such as *f*, *cresc.*, and *riten.*, along with a *riten.* instruction. The bottom system (N3) shows a similar structure but with more extensive annotations, including *poco a poco*, *allarg.*, and *riten.* markings. Both systems conclude with a double bar line and a star symbol.

Example 4. A comparison of the final bars of the B section in the N1 (top) and N3 (bottom) manuscripts.

The gradual changes we see in the manuscripts for Kajanus' *Nocturne* show how the musical ideas were simultaneously both compressed by the removal of the 'minor' repetition of the theme while both the beginning and the end of the work were expanded. I believe this provides a glimpse into Kajanus' diligent way of working. Flodin describes how Kajanus could spend days or weeks on a single bar, not due to a lack of imagination, but in order to find the best possible solution (Flodin 1900, 25).

For the upcoming edition the N3 manuscript will be published, including all its pencilled revisions. Although the exact details pertaining to the revisions are unknown, they appear to have been made by Kajanus himself. This approach, which constitutes a "Fassung letzter Hand", results in an edition that is in general agreement with the orchestral version while containing some minor differences, such as changes in articulation, material in different octaves, and minor changes in melodic material.

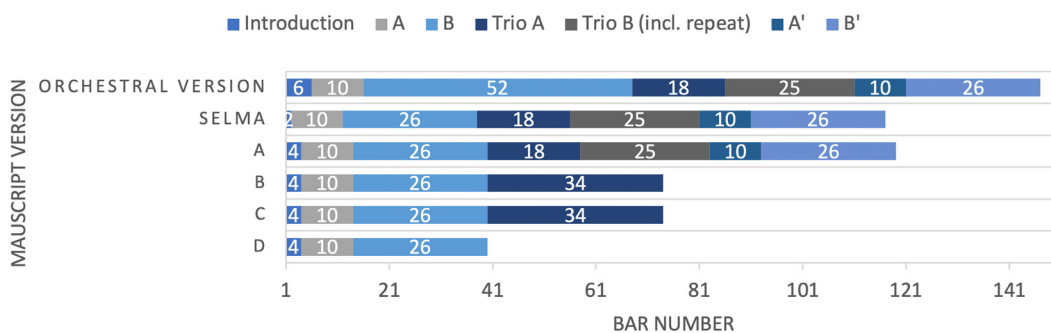
MENUET ANCIEN

Menuet ancien is a surprising miniature in b minor which differs entirely in character from *Nocturne*. The structure of the piece is traditional, but the harmonic language is surprising, and has been described as bringing to mind the music of both Prokofjev and Ravel (Vainio 2002, 539).

In the case of *Menuet ancien*, there are no major questions about the correct version of the piece, since a clean ink copy exists (Coll. 96.7) which, except for the introduction and a missing repeat, is mostly in agreement with the orchestral version (Coll. 719.1). Both versions are found in the National Library in Helsinki and appear to be written by Kajanus himself. The version for violin and piano bears the inscription: “Belongs to Selma Kajanus on her 70th birthday 1930 8/II”,¹⁰ and is contained in a leather cover with the text “S K / 1860–1930”. The ‘Selma’ version also includes a separate violin part. The orchestral score has no indication of a composition date, but can be expected to have been used when the piece was premiered on the 1st of December in 1931.

Despite the two manuscripts’ general agreement, a few discrepancies between the versions for violin and piano, and violin and orchestra, can be found. The biggest structural difference is that the repeat of the second half of the menuet, and its corresponding first-time bar, is missing in the piano version (see the B section of Example 5). Another difference is the introduction, which has been expanded in the orchestral version from two to six bars.

MENUET ANCIEN



Example 5. A comparison of the different manuscripts to *Menuet ancien*. The bar graph shows the different lengths of the main sections in the different versions.

¹⁰ The original Swedish text reads: “Tillhör Selma Kajanus vid 70-års födelsedag 1930 8/II”. Selma had received another piece for violin and piano, called *Menuet Rocooco*, a decade earlier on her 60th birthday (Coll.96.7).

The main point of interest with regards to *Menuet ancien* is that it allows us to follow how Kajanus evolves the work from a relatively simple and traditional dance, as is found in the earlier drafts, into something far more harmonically adventurous. By following this process, we can gain some insight into Kajanus' method of composing.

The earlier drafts of *Menuet ancien* are held at the Sibelius Museum in Turku, and have been marked SmP5716a, SmP5716b, SmP5716c, and SmP5716d. Because the manuscript identification code differs only in the last letter, let us refer to the manuscripts as 'A', 'B', 'C', and 'D'. Manuscript 'A' is a clean ink copy, where the biggest differences to the 'Selma' version can be found in the work's first phrase. 'B' is written in ink, but the trio section is unlike the later versions, and the ending is missing. The score is also filled with changes made in pencil. 'C' is a cleaner version of the previous score, which generally is in greater agreement with the later versions, but the ending of the trio section is still missing. 'D' only contains the first half of the piece and includes a surprising mix of the elements found in the later versions, which suggests that this manuscript is the earliest one, although certain details cast doubt on this assumption.

The most interesting difference between the earlier drafts and the final version of *Menuet ancien* is the use of tonality. In the 'B' and 'C' manuscripts the piece begins traditionally with a four-bar piano introduction in b minor. When the violin enters in bar 5, playing a folk-like melody, the harmony stays unchanged until bar 9, as can be seen in Example 6.¹¹ In the earlier versions of the piece there is therefore absolutely no doubt about its tonality. The home key of b minor is repeated for eight full bars, with none of the following bars presenting any surprises, unless one wants to mention a deceptive cadence in bar 12 that lengthens the phrase from 8 to 10 bars. It is interesting to note that the earlier drafts include versions where both the natural and the harmonic seventh scale degree is used in the violin part, with the former appearing in the earlier drafts and the latter appearing in later ones. The melody also undergoes some minor changes, as can be seen in Example 6.

In the 'A' manuscript (not shown in Example 6) a rather substantial change suddenly appears. The first phrase, with its previously (over-)emphasised b minor, has been changed to 8 bars of B major by using accidentals. This creates an interesting tension between the B major chord and the melody's use of g natural in bars 6 and 7 (the melody is comparable to bars 3 and 4 in the 'Selma' version, as seen in Example 6). This is developed further in the 'Selma' version, where the B major chord is no longer sustained for eight bars, but instead is alternated with a falling figure in the

¹¹ It can be noted that the main motive, with its dotted quaver-semiquaver rhythm, on the first beat of the bar is reminiscent of the rhythm found in the trio section of Kajanus' first known composition for violin, a Scherzo (Menuet) for violin and piano from 1874.

second and fourth bar. The use of the borrowed major tonic from the parallel key in the very first bar, however, causes a harmonic ambiguity which may, at least from an auditory perspective, suggest another interpretation. The combination of B major and e minor, before the key signature has been properly established, could suggest a simpler dominant-to-tonic relationship. The erroneous interpretation is quickly corrected by both the melodic structure and the use of the note c sharp in bar two, but the feeling of uncertainty with regards to the harmony remains.

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the opening of 'Menuet ancien'. The first system is the manuscript 'C', featuring a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#), with the tempo marking 'Allegro moderato'. The second system is the 'Selma' version, also in treble clef and one sharp, with the tempo marking 'Moderato'. The third system is a reduction of the orchestral version, showing multiple staves for various instruments: clarinet (cl.), bassoon (bsn.), violin (vll), and viola (vla). It includes dynamic markings such as *mf*, *p*, and *f*, and performance instructions like 'stacc. pizz.' and 'slr. pizz.'

Example 6. The opening bars of *Menuet ancien* in manuscript 'C', the 'Selma' version, and a reduction of the orchestral version.

As the key of B major gradually seems to be established towards the end of the first phrase, the aforementioned deceptive cadence going from F# major to G major (V#-VI), before returning to B major two bars later, becomes all the more surprising. In the very next phrase, the music momentarily continues in b minor but constantly keeps the tonality unclear. This treatment of the harmony is likely what caused Vainio to write: "This causes a feeling of insecurity, which the listener experiences while hearing the music, because one cannot tell if the melody is in major or minor, or perhaps both at the same time" (Vainio 2002, 539).¹²

¹² Original Finnish sentence: "Tästä johtuu se eräänlainen epävarmuudentunne, jota kuulija kokee osaa kuunnellessaan, koska ei pysty tunnistamaan, kulkeeko melodia duurissa vai mollissa – vai kenties molemmissa yhtäikää."

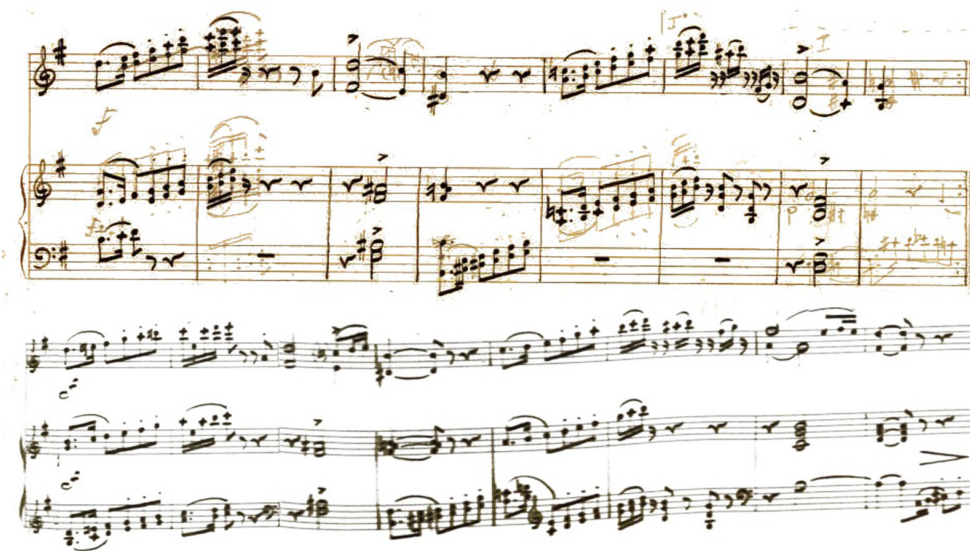
When the main theme returns in the end of the first part of the menuet, the slightly modified main theme is in b minor (see the B section in Example 5). It could be noted that while the two statements of the main theme are varied in all the manuscripts, the theme's presentations are more similar in the early drafts. The second statement has also remained unchanged throughout the different versions, except for the odd 'D' manuscript, while many different versions exist of the melody in the beginning of the piece.

Although repeats are common in a menuet, there are no repeats in the first half of the work in the versions for violin and piano. Only in the 'A' manuscript has a start repeat sign been added in pencil in bar 15, but even this version is missing the expected end repeat sign at the end of the menuet section (although a bracket for the second-time bar exists). The orchestral version, however, repeats the second half of the menuet and includes a corresponding first- and second-time bar. This begs the question of whether the piano version should be adapted to the orchestral version, which we know has been performed, or if these differences are intentional.

If we view the work in the context of the rest of Kajanus' works for violin and piano, it can be noted that a large part of Kajanus' violin works consist of small miniatures which, due to their short duration and simple form, seem stylistically well suited for the intimacy of a living room. Considering that *Menuet ancien* was a birthday gift to Selma Kajanus, and that the available manuscript gives the impression of being a finalised version without any revisions, it seems reasonable to assume that the 'Selma' version represents a finalised vision of the work for violin and piano. Since no manuscript exists that would bring the version for violin and piano into greater agreement with the orchestral version, as is the case for both *Nocturne* and *Spiccato*, it is likely that the differences between the two versions are intentional. My experience of performing *Menuet ancien* with piano is that the repeat feels unnecessary from a musical standpoint.

The second half of *Menuet ancien* is in G major and would usually be called the trio section, although no such term is mentioned in Kajanus' score. It presents a strongly contrasting character which is more lyrical and less angular than the first part, despite the fact that the dotted quaver-semiquaver rhythm, which is used so frequently in the menuet, keeps appearing in the trio as well. In the earlier drafts of the trio section it is indicated that the first half should be repeated, whereas the later versions only repeat an eight-bar section from the second half.

The trio section also contains a type of revision that primarily becomes interesting when viewed in relation to the following *Spiccato*; namely, revision by technical simplification. The 'B' manuscript, which appears to contain the earliest version of the trio section, contains scales in thirds in bar 11–12 and 15–16, which have been removed in subsequent versions where the lower third has been given to the piano (see Example 7). It should be mentioned that bars 3–5 of the trio section, which contain double stops in the final version, have originally been notated as single notes in the 'B' manuscript, with the double stops added in pencil.



Example 7. Bars 3–5 of the trio section in manuscript ‘B’ and the ‘Selma’ version. Note how the violin part originally contained thirds, which have been removed in the later versions. The violin’s lower notes have been given to the piano.

These changes are understandable when considering the character of the dance, where unnecessary technical challenges risk causing an effect of either unnecessary cumbersomeness or a misplaced display of virtuosity. Considering the substantial simplifications that can be found in the following *Spiccato*, however, it begs the question of whether these simplifications could have another explanation.

Taken as a whole, the material for *Menuet ancien* is in many ways the clearest of these three works, in that a clean and unrevised version for violin and piano exists. The earlier drafts provide some insight into how Kajanus developed his ideas through gradual revisions, but they do not substantially change the understanding of the work’s final form. For the upcoming edition, the ‘Selma’ manuscript will serve as the main source for the publication. Information about the differences between the versions for piano and orchestra will be provided, but the piano part will not be adapted to match the orchestral version.

SPICCATO

The last work for violin and orchestra to be premiered on the 1st of December 1931 was the short but dashing *perpetuum mobile* called *Spiccato*. The light-hearted miniature follows in the footsteps of the two previous works in the sense that it often plays around with the listener’s sense of tonality by borrowing chords from the parallel

key, often in combination with chromatic lines in the accompaniment. Compared to the other two works, however, *Spiccato* is tonally more traditional.

The piece exists in five different manuscripts: the Finnish National Library holds an original version for violin and piano, a separate violin part, and a revised version for violin and orchestra, where the violin part has been simplified in the main theme's three appearances; the Sibelius Museum in Turku holds a revised version for violin and piano, and a separate violin part. All the manuscripts appear to have been written by Kajanus himself. The earlier violin part contains numerous changes, and many of the notes have been crossed out in pencil. It is likely, but not guaranteed, that these revisions were made by the composer. From a chronological perspective there is no question as to which version was the final one, or which version was performed during Kajanus' lifetime, but understanding the circumstances surrounding the first, and very likely the only performance of the piece, calls into question whether the final version actually represents Kajanus' vision of the work, or whether the changes were made for other reasons.

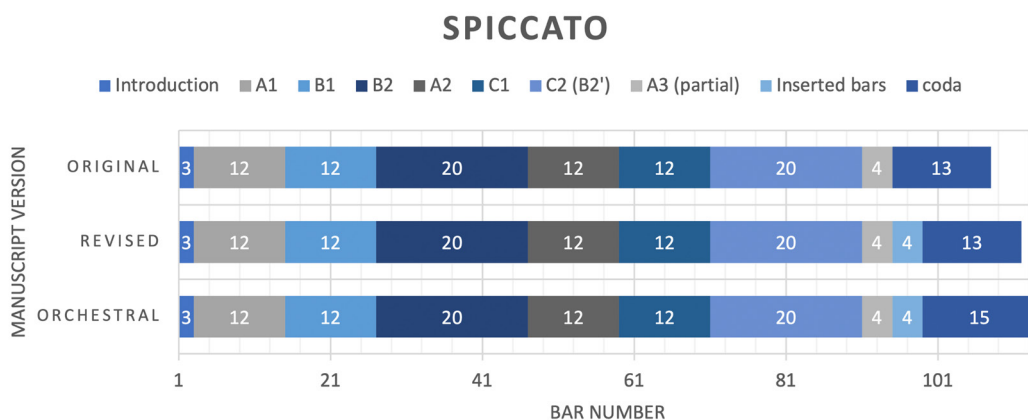
As was mentioned above, the piece was to be performed on Robert Kajanus' 75-year birthday concert, so the date of the first performance could not be moved. Additionally, because the concert was a personal celebration of Kajanus, it seems unlikely that any other violinist could replace his own son Kai, who had been chosen to be the soloist.

In three of the manuscripts, markings can be found which, while inconclusive, mention dates in the middle to late November. These markings, which have been done in pencil, appear to read: "*Kusti 55 17 nov*", on the top of the piano score to the original version for violin and piano; "*kai Radio 24 nov. ringa t. Kaj [?]*", on the second page of the original violin score; and "*15 nov. Kai folk-symf.*" at the top of the revised version. The marking mentioning the radio certainly refers to a radio broadcast of Glazunov's Violin Concerto with Kai Kajanus as soloist with the Finnish Radio Symphony Orchestra on the 24th of November 1931 (cf. *Vaasa 23.11.1931*). While the markings are unclear and their exact meaning is only partially known, they appear to suggest that the piece only took its final form very shortly before the first performance. All the scores are dated to 1931, but sadly no more specific date is given in any of them.¹³

The manuscripts to the original version of the piece indicate that the name *Spiccato* was not the work's original title. In the earliest manuscripts the name *Ronde courante* has been written in ink, but in the violin part the title has been crossed over, and the underlined name *Etude* has been added in pencil. In the piano part to the same version, the name *Spiccato* appears in pencil below the names *Etude* and *Ronde courante*. To those who do not speak French, the original name, *Ronde courante*, may

¹³ The manuscripts for Kajanus' early works for violin and piano contain an exact date, which is written between the century and decade. For example, Kajanus' first known work, the Scherzo (Menuetto) contains the marking R.K. 18 $\frac{22}{XII}$ 74

be misleading, as a *courante* is a well-known Renaissance and Baroque dance in triple meter, while Kajanus' *Ronde courante* is in double meter. Kajanus is presumably instead referring to the French word *courante*, which means 'running'. A 'running rondo' seems like an apt description of the work, but for some reason Kajanus still decided to change the name. Calling the work an etude is a descriptive, although uninspiring title. The name *Spiccato* seems to have been introduced towards the end of the revision process, as the later violin part completely lacks a title, while the title is present in the slightly later piano part.¹⁴ Calling the work *Spiccato* is also a surprising choice of title, as it refers to a specific violin technique rather than a musical form. The original title, *Ronde courante*, is however descriptive for understanding the work's form, as it can best be described as an A1BA2CA3coda form, i.e. a rondo. The B and C sections are substantially longer than the theme, and they can be divided into two parts (see Example 8).



Example 8. A structural comparison of the different manuscripts for *Spiccato*.¹⁵

Except for the simplifications, which will be described in greater detail below, the revised version also contains minor changes in the opening bars, a reworked 'C'-section, four inserted bars after the last partial statement of the main theme, and two added bars three bars before the end. The added bars seem to have been appended late in the process. The four added bars have only been added in pencil to the very bottom of the page of the revised violin part, while they are included in the score of the matching piano version. The two added bars at the end are missing from all the versions for violin and piano, and have only been added to the revised version's

¹⁴ The piano part to the second version can be assumed to be a slightly later revision than the violin part, because the piano part has been indicated with cue notes in the opening bars of the violin part. These cue notes represent the earlier version of these bars, while the piano part itself contains the revised version. These differences can be seen in Example 9. The violin part is also missing some revisions in the end of the piece.

¹⁵ The three introductory bars are more descriptively described as two bars with an upbeat. The whole first bar is, however, written out in all manuscripts, except for in the separate violin parts.

piano score in the form of somewhat oddly placed repeats, which have been added in pencil.¹⁶ Only the orchestral score contains all the revisions in a clean copy.

THE REVISED VERSION

The revision which has been made to the violin part appears to a substantial extent to be a simplification rather than a development of Kajanus' musical ideas. The violin part consists of a main motive that is outlined by the first note of every group of four semiquavers. The melodic importance of these specific notes has been emphasised in pencil in the beginning of the revised violin part. The second and third semiquavers present harmonically relevant notes in the original version, usually by first descending by a larger interval for the second note, before returning by a smaller ascending interval. The fourth note is often melodic (see Example 9).

In the revised violin part, the notes on the second and third semiquavers have been replaced by the open A string in bars 4, 6, 12, and 14, while the fourth semiquaver is the same as the first note of the group. The open A string is compatible with the underlying harmony when considering the organ point which exists in bars 4–6 and 12–14 on the note a, an octave below the violin's open A string. Unfortunately, the revision removes much of the harmonic interest which the earlier version of the violin part contained. The eighth and ninth bars have been simplified by keeping the second and third semiquavers the same, which results in a consistent bowing pattern that in practice is easier to play than the original version.

While the tonal differences between the two versions are easy to observe, the full extent to which the violin part has been simplified may not be obvious to those unfamiliar with string playing. There are two primary technical difficulties in the original version of the main theme. One difficulty concerns the pattern of string changes, which in the original version is relatively irregular. However, it needs to be noted that the exact pattern of string changes depends on the fingerings that are used. It is interesting to observe that in later sections, where the violin part moves in smaller intervals and therefore does not create any complicated bowing patterns, no simplifications have been made.

¹⁶ These repeats are surprising, as the violin stave contains a repeat of the 4th and 5th bar from the end, while the piano has a repeat on the second beat of the 3rd bar from the end, which goes back to the second beat of the 5th bar from the end.

Example 9. A comparison of the first eight bars from the original and the revised version for violin and piano.

Another difficulty arises from the need to perform rapid, and sometimes relatively long, shifts between positions during the short moments between the rapid semi-quavers. In the revised violin part, both difficulties have effectively been removed. The changes result in a bowing pattern that is almost entirely regular, except for on certain individual beats. The seemingly large interval between the melodic notes and open string does not cause any problems, due to the fact that the notes are on adjacent strings and no left finger action is required for playing the open string. The use of the open string also removes the second difficulty, since the shifts can be performed calmly and inaudibly while the open string is being played (see Example 10).

Example 10. O, Original violin part; BP, Bowing Pattern; R, Revised violin part. Comparing the original and revised violin part in bars 3–12 of *Spiccato*.

As can be seen, the bowing patterns are more regular in the revised version than in the original one, especially in bars 6 and 7 of Example 10. The highlighted notes

show cases where rapid inaudible shifts are necessary. The minor semitone shifts are unproblematic, but are included for the sake of completeness.

The changes also suggest that Kajanus expected the work to be played at a brisk tempo, since it seems unlikely that the revisions would have been necessary if the work had been performed at a leisurely pace. This impression is reinforced by an addition to the tempo marking in the orchestral version of the piece. Whereas the tempo in all previous manuscripts has been marked as *Allegro*, the orchestral version, which is the only score that contains all the available changes in a clean copy, is marked *Allegro vivo*. This addition seems to emphasise the expectation of a fast tempo.

If the work still had not taken its final form as late as November 1931, the revisions begin to appear like pragmatic simplifications rather than the fulfilment of Kajanus' artistic ideals. It should be mentioned that while the work cannot be considered extremely difficult from a modern perspective, the original violin part is not easy to perform cleanly at a fast tempo. Considering that Kai Kajanus had played Glazunov's Violin Concerto with the Finnish Radio Symphony Orchestra shortly before the premiere of these works, it is possible that the time available for preparing these new works may have been limited.

We should, however, be cautious about assuming that the changes were made due to the technical weaknesses of the violinist. There are many indicators that Kai Kajanus was a skilled violinist and musician. While kinship may explain his engagement as soloist at his father's birthday concert, it does not satisfactorily explain the fourteen other performances he did with the orchestra, where he did not shy away from technically challenging repertoire (Marvia & Vainio 1993, 785). Nine of these performances as soloist took place after his father's death.

Four letters exist that were sent from Robert Kajanus to his son (Kajanus, Coll. 96.6), the violinist Kai. While the available letters are historically fascinating in their discussions of Jenő Hubay, Carl Flesch, and Otakar Ševčík, they do not provide an explanation for the revisions.

THE DUAL ROLE AS PERFORMER AND RESEARCHER

As this article has shown, there is little question about the chronology of the existing manuscripts for *Spiccato*, nor about which version has been performed. The obvious thing to do from a performance perspective should therefore be to follow the final existing version. However, as a musician I have been unable to shake off the impression that many of the observed revisions are not the result of an evolution of the composer's musical ideas, but rather a practical solution to a strict deadline. For that reason, it is very tempting to create a version of *Spiccato* that generally follows

the final version but removes the simplifications. On the other hand, from an editorial perspective such a mashing together of two separate manuscripts is difficult to defend.

This highlights the cognitive dissonance I have experienced while working on these pieces as both a performer and a researcher. I have simultaneously faced two different and sometimes conflicting realities. As a performer I have dedicated my time to performing and recording these works, which are almost forgotten. In doing so, I have felt a personal responsibility to present the composer's work in the best possible light and to the best of my ability. If the performances of these works feel uninteresting to the listener, it inevitably affects the impression of the composition itself. As a performer I have therefore strongly felt that I need to follow my convictions in order to achieve the best possible performance.

While working on the material for *Spiccato*, I was unable to shake the impression that neither performing the original *Ronde courante* nor the later *Spiccato* would present Kajanus' work in the best possible way. For that reason, I decided to create a 'performance version' that combined the two existing versions, effectively replacing the parts that appear to have been simplified with the original version. When discussing the issues surrounding *Spiccato* with other musicians, they have mostly been very supportive towards my approach.

From an editorial perspective, however, the questions, assumptions, and conclusions change significantly. As these underlying decisions are often left hidden, one aim of this article has been to openly communicate my role, my understanding, and my assumptions.¹⁷ Grier (1996, 142) writes that there simply is no easy answer to how the material should be evaluated. There are many types of editions which serve different purposes, but I consider it important for a performance edition to convey the composer's written score as clearly as possible. While there are numerous assumptions and decisions that underly the creation of an edition, these decisions should not disturb the performer's understanding of the composer's written material. It is therefore common practice to review all the available material, but to use a specific source as the foundation for the edition. Other manuscripts, or even other editions, may inform the process, but the mixing up of different materials is considered a questionable practice.

For the upcoming edition the publishing team have made the decision to publish both the original *Ronde courante* and the later *Spiccato*.¹⁸ This makes sense from an editorial perspective, because the two versions contain considerable differences. These versions will be created using different approaches. The edition of *Ronde courante* will consist of Kajanus' original version, while all pencilled revisions will be ignored. In this way, the original version of the piece can be performed if desired.

¹⁷ As recommended by Brett (1988, 111).

¹⁸ This decision was made in agreement with Fennica Gehrman's publishing manager Jari Eskola and music engraver Jani Kyllönen.

The version of *Spiccato* will instead be a “Fassung letzter Hand”, which will include all markings and revisions. In this way both the original and the final version of the piece will be available to musicians.

I believe that the publication of both versions is the correct solution, but I recognise that if I encountered the two different versions of *Spiccato* as part of a sheet music collection, I would likely come to a different performance solution than after the experience of working with the manuscripts. A clean edition gives the impression of something definite, as if the written score has been handed down unambiguously by the composer. In this case we know that it is not the case. And while forewords and appendixes can begin to shed light on these issues, a clean edition does not convey the full information found in the manuscript, which can be both an advantage and a disadvantage.

CREATING A COMBINED PERFORMANCE EDITION OF *SPICCATO*

For the sake of completeness, I will include a detailed description of how the two versions can be combined. As this section refers to specific bar numbers, it is likely mostly of interest to performers who have the scores available to them. The combined version obviously does not adhere precisely to any available autograph, but it does allow the original version to be performed with the existing orchestral accompaniment. While this combined version is editorially questionable, it is interesting with regards to the ontological nature of the work.

If one compares the two versions of the violin part with the accompaniment that is found in the orchestral score, it becomes clear that the two versions of the main theme are almost entirely interchangeable. I have used the orchestral score as the reference material, since it appears to be the most finalised version of *Spiccato*. Minor differences exist between the violin stave in the revised version for violin and piano, and the orchestral version. The theme is introduced in bars 4–15 (with upbeat) and repeated in bars 48–59 (see Example 8). The only bars where the violin part contains notes that are incompatible with the underlying harmonies are bars 14 and 15. When the same material comes back in bars 58–59, the revised violin part is identical to bars 14–15, whereas the original violin part is different. In bars 58–59 the original violin part’s harmony matches the harmony that is found in the final accompaniment in bars 14–15. This suggests a simple solution. If we replace bars 14–15 in the original violin part with bars 58–59, the two versions become compatible. This allows us to replace the material that appears to have been simplified in bars 4–15 and 48–59.

Additional attention needs to be paid to bars 9–11 and 53–55, where the final violin part has been modified in a way that seems musically warranted. Both versions

are generally compatible with the final version of the accompaniment, although the original violin version's d sharp on the fourth semiquaver in bars 11 and 55 does clash with the accompaniment's E4/3 chord. However, the same harmony exists in the original piano accompaniment, and therefore must be a deliberate passing note. The revised version does provide the main theme with some welcome variation by diverging from the pattern of broken chords, and by carrying forward the scale element first introduced in bar 7. Bar 9 also contains some momentary chromaticism in the violin part. The chromatic material constitutes an important building block in the work's accompaniment. By emphasising the first semiquaver in bars 9–12 and 53–56 in the final violin part, it is also possible to bring out a line containing the notes a", b", c", c#", which creates a natural return to the second iteration of the theme.

In between these bars we have bars 16–47, which are almost identical in the two versions. Minor changes exist in bars 21 and 23, where a b' natural has been changed to a b' sharp. This change does not impact the harmony and requires little comment. Another minor change is also found in bar 36, which primarily seems to avoid a clash between the a' sharp in the original violin part and a b' natural in the accompaniment on the bar's second beat. A similar change can be found in bar 40. In all other bars the material in the violin parts is identical.

In the section following the second return of the main theme, the harmony has been substantially modified in bars 63–68. While the two versions are similar in character, they are not compatible. This necessitates the use of the revised violin part in order for the section to fit the final accompaniment. Bars 72–91 show many similarities to bars 28–47, including minor revisions in bars 80 and 84 that match the changes in bars 36 and 40.

The main theme returns for a partial reprise in bar 92. This section is the most problematic for creating a combined 'performance version' of the piece. In bars 92–94 the original violin part can be used without complications. The problems arise in bars 95–98 because four new bars have been inserted which do not appear in the original violin part. These bars follow the revised pattern of utilising the violin's open A string on the second and third semiquaver of each beat. As the bars are missing from the original version, no material exists for these bars that does not follow the revised pattern. If the revised violin part is used for these bars, while the original violin part is used for the main theme, these bars feel out of place. We have come to expect the pattern outlining of the chords instead of playing the open A string. This creates a dilemma for the performer. If the revised version is used, these bars do not conform to the logic found elsewhere. However, if the logic that is found elsewhere in the piece is followed, and the notes played on the open A string are replaced by harmonically relevant alternatives, we end up with material that was not originally composed by Kajanus. If the use of a combined performance edition is preferred, the decision of how to deal with these bars needs to be left to the performer.

A similar situation is found in bars 110–111, where two additional bars have also been added. Here the solution is easier, since the proceeding bars 108–109 can be repeated without alterations due to the previous bars being repeated in the accompaniment. In my experience, the repeat of bars 108–109 begs the question of whether the violin part could not provide a small amount of variation in order to emphasise the work's final *crescendo*. A slight increase in the range covered by the violin can in my opinion increase the drive towards the final bar of the work. Unfortunately, we only have Kajanus' revised violin part available to us.

The decision to create a performance edition that differs from Kajanus' own final version should not be taken lightly, but the combination of the available manuscripts and an understanding of the circumstances surrounding the first performance suggest that such an edition could at least be presented as a viable alternative. Based on information provided by the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra,¹⁹ it seems likely that the final version of *Spiccato* did not receive any additional performances after the premiere, while *Nocturne* was subsequently performed as a stand-alone work. A version that is of greater interest to both musicians and listeners could hopefully increase the chance of future performances.

RECEPTION AND PERFORMANCE HISTORY

The occasion of Kajanus' 75-year birthday and the birthday concert received a great deal of attention in Finnish newspapers. Due to the celebratory circumstances, many of the articles and reviews primarily hailed Kajanus' life's work and accomplishments, rather than giving a detailed review of the actual concert. The available reviews of the concert itself are overwhelmingly positive. Numerous newspapers mention the grand ovation, the numerous honorary laurel wreaths that Kajanus received, and the many speeches (*Helsingin Sanomat* 02.12.1931, *Vaasa* 02.12.1931, *Viikko-Sanomat* 05.12.1931).

The concert's musical content was also praised by many reviewers. *Helsingin Sanomat* (02.12.1931) mentioned Kajanus' great skill and flexibility in forming his new works. They write that while the works clearly are intended as bagatelles, they contain an abundance of backward-looking modest beauty. Of the three works for violin, the reviewer gives special praise to *Menuet ancien*, calling it wonderfully original. *Hufvudstadsbladet* (02.12.1931) also mentioned the three works, describing *Nocturne* as moving, *Menuet* as old-fashioned and graceful, and *Spiccato* as a perpetuum-mobile-like technical study. They also mention that Kai Kajanus received a well-deserved ovation after the performance.

¹⁹ Concerts of Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra 1882– (see Archival sources).

Svenska pressen (02.12.1931) commented on Kajanus' physical vigour, which was comparable to concerts he had led 15, 20, 30, and 50 years previously. The same newspaper considered Kajanus' interpretation of Sibelius' First Symphony as one of the culminations of Kajanus' career, and it also commented positively on Kajanus' new works. The reviewer specifically enjoyed *Menuet ancien*, but considered the group of pieces – with its rewarding solo part and discreet orchestration – a welcome addition to Finnish violin literature. The concert was also broadcast live on the Finnish Radio.

The three works' subsequent performance history can provide a different perspective on how they were perceived. Only *Nocturne* was performed over the coming decades by the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra, but every performance was part of a celebration in Kajanus' honour. *Nocturne*, *Menuet ancien*, and *Spiccato* were premiered on the 1st of December 1931,²⁰ and *Nocturne* and *Menuet ancien* received a second performance less than two weeks later on the 13th of December 1931. *Nocturne* received additional performances on the 5th of September 1943 at Kajanus' memorial concert, and on the 14th of December 1956, which celebrated Kajanus' 100-year jubilee. Kai Kajanus was the soloist for all these performances.

CONCLUSION

This article has explored Kajanus' last three works for violin. It has showed that Kajanus' composition style at the end of his life had changed significantly from the national romantic idiom his music often is believed to represent. The available manuscripts illustrate the evolution of the works, and shed some light on Kajanus' composing process, as well as his way of dealing with modernism. Since the works are unpublished, the interpretation of the available material can have a large influence on how the works are presented. Furthermore, the article has discussed the dual realities that I have explored, as I have worked on these musical pieces both as a musician preparing them for concerts and recordings, as well as a researcher preparing the scores for publication.

²⁰ There seems to be some confusion about the date of the concert in the dataset provided by the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra, probably due to both Kajanus' birthday (2nd of December) as well as the date of the concert (1st of December) being written on the concert programme.

SOURCES:

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