

Ilmari Krohn and the Early French Contacts of Finnish Musicology: Mobility, Networking and Interaction¹

Helena Tyrväinen

Abstract

Conceived in memory of the late Professor of Musicology of the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre Urve Lippus (1950–2015) and to honour her contribution to music history research, the article analyses transcultural relations and the role of cultural capitals in the discipline during its early phase in the university context.

The focus is on the early French contacts of the founder of institutional Finnish musicology, the University of Helsinki Professor Ilmari Krohn (1867–1960) and his pupils. The analysis of Krohn's mobility, networking and interaction is based on his correspondence and documentation concerning his early congress journeys to London (1891) and to Paris (1900).

Two French correspondents stand out in this early phase of his career as a musicologist: Julien Tiersot in the area of comparative research on traditional music, and Georges Houdard in the field of Gregorian chant and neume notation. By World War I Krohn was quite well-read in French-language musicology. Paris served him also as a base for international networking more generally.

Accomplished musicians, Krohn and his musicology students Armas Launis, Leevi Madetoja and Toivo Haapanen even had an artistic bond with French repertoires. My results contradict the claim that early Finnish musicology was exclusively the domain of German influences.

In an article dedicated to the memory of Urve Lippus, who was for many years Professor of Musicology and director of the discipline at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre, it is appropriate to discuss international cooperation, mobility of scholars, networking, and the changing centres of scholarship. After the re-establishment in 1991 of Estonian national independence in connection with the collapse of the Soviet Union, Urve's international activity became influential in this branch of learning – not only within the national confines but also beyond. At a time when in Finland historical musicology was overshadowed by musical semiotics and ethnomusicology, the international gatherings she and her colleagues organised in Tallinn became important for Finnish music history scholars. When a big research project on Estonian music history was launched by the Estonian

Academy of Music and Theatre, Urve considered that a knowledge of the music history of Finland, as well as of the origins of music history writing in this neighbouring country, would be useful to Estonians. Many Finnish colleagues accepted the invitation to participate in music-history conferences in Tallinn.²

Urve's death is a great loss to musicology, and to me personally. I cooperated with her from around 1995. Our encounters were not exclusively limited to Estonia and Finland: we met and worked in seven different countries and cities. Urve organised a session at three congresses of the International Musicological Society, those of Leuven (2002), Zurich (2007), and Rome (2012).³ I participated in these sessions, starting from the preparatory stages. Urve was interested in my area of specialisation, Finnish-French musi-

¹ I am very grateful to Professor Heikki Laitinen for having read an early version of this article and for giving me some valuable comments. They have enriched my documentation and, hopefully, led me towards a clearer argument with regard to the scholarly aims of this paper.

² Some twenty years ago the visits to the Estonian Academy of Music of Matti Huttunen PhD, who gave seminars based on his thesis *Modernin musiikinhistoriankirjoituksen synty Suomessa (The Beginnings of Modern Music History Writing in Finland)* (Huttunen 1993) had a special significance for our Estonian colleagues.

³ The titles of these three sessions were: "Musical Crossroads in Northeastern Europe" (2002); "Musical Life and Ideas Concerning Music in the Aftermath of the First World War and the Russian Revolution: Reconstructing the Establishment in the Countries around the Baltic Sea" (2007); "The Scope of a Nordic Composer's Identity: National Cultures and Exoticism" (2012).

cal relations, but even more generally in France, including the historical ties between France and Estonia. She read a paper entitled “French music and the formation of Estonian national style” in the symposium “France in Nordic Music – Franco-Nordic Musical Relations in 1900–1939” which I organised in 1999 at the Finnish Institute in Paris (see Fantapié 2000). Some years later (2003) the Estonian-Finnish tie brought her back to a conference in the same place, the issue being the Finnish composer and musicologist Armas Launis. At the Imperial Alexander University (the present University of Helsinki) Launis defended his doctoral thesis entitled *Über Art, Entstehung und Verbreitung der estnisch-finnischen Runenmelodien. Eine Studie aus dem Gebiet der vergleichenden Volksmelodienforschung* (On the type, origin and spreading of the Estonian-Finnish runic melodies: a study into comparative research on folk tunes; Launis 1910), a work completed under the direction of Ilmari Krohn. Launis lived the last decades of his life in France. Urve knew Launis’s musicological work well due to the topic of her own thesis, *Linear Musical Thinking: A Theory of Musical Thinking and the Runic Tradition of Baltic-Finnish Peoples* (Lippus 1995).

Today there is a lively interest in the early phases of musicology in many directions relating to commemorations and reflections on the starting points of the national and international mu-

sicological societies founded on the ruins of the First World War. These societies largely continued or replaced the activity of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft (International Music Society), a corporation of learned world-citizen-musicologists founded in Berlin in 1899 and dissolved in 1914 after the outbreak of the war (Kirnbauer 2017).⁴ This year the French musicological society celebrates its centenary⁵ and the International Musicological Society the ninetieth anniversary of its foundation (see Baumann and Fabris 2017).⁶ The Finnish celebrations started prematurely in 2011 (Pääkkölä 2012), a consequence of the fact that the Finnish department of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft – founded in 1910 by Docent and later Professor at the Imperial Alexander University Ilmari Krohn – and the Finnish Musicological Society were erroneously identified by the organisers of the 2011 events.⁷

The Finnish celebrations inspired an interest in the national history of learning in the discipline, an orientation pursued in recent years particularly by Docent Markus Mantere with his research plan “Emergence of musicology and beginnings of Finnish music historiography”.⁸ According to Mantere, emergence through interaction with Germany was characteristic of the early Finnish musicology, with Ilmari Krohn as its most notable representative. The research paradigm and literature, as well as the interlocutors, he claims,

⁴ Annegret Fauser (2017) discussed the transition from the IMG to the International Musicological Society in her paper “Toward an International Musicology: War, Peace, and the Founding of the IMS”, read at the 20th Congress of the International Musicological Society, Tokyo, March 20, 2017. I am grateful to Professor Fauser for sending me the manuscript of her conference paper.

⁵ The Société française de musicologie will be organising a centenary conference in Paris this year (23–25 November 2017) with the title “Thinking musicology today: objects, methods, and prospects”; my paper “Georges Houdard et Ilmari Krohn, deux pionniers de la musicologie universitaire: amitié au-delà des frontières symboliques et querelles disciplinaires, 1900–1912” will be given at the conference.

⁶ While finalising this article I learn that an important anthology on the early stages and the institutionalisation of the discipline, with its main focus on Central Europe, has recently been published: *Musikwissenschaft 1900–1930. Zur Institutionalisierung und Legitimierung einer jungen akademischen Disziplin* (Auhagen, Hirschmann, Mäkelä 2017). The volume includes, for example, Tomi Mäkelä’s article “Ilmari Krohn und die finnische Musikforschung zwischen apostolischer Mission, Kolonialisierung, Stichmotiven und Wasserlandschaften.”

⁷ The Internationale Musikgesellschaft had some members in Finland as early as in 1900, the result of an initiative of Martin Wegelius. Ilmari Krohn was one of them. In 1902 Krohn called together the first meeting of the IMG Helsinki members. In 1910 he founded a local group (*Ortsgruppe*) of the association, also in Helsinki, chairing it until the dissolution of the IMG in 1914. In 1916–1939 Krohn was President of the Finnish Musicological Society, which he founded (Martti Laitinen 2014: 76).

⁸ In Finland, the Sibelius Academy of the University of the Arts has invested in research into music history on a new basis for some ten years now. Mantere’s undertaking was part of the research project “Rethinking ‘Finnish’ Music History: the Transnational construction of musical life in Finland from the 1870s until the 1920s”, directed by Vesa Kurkela, Professor of Music history in the Faculty of Music Education, Jazz and Folk Music, and financed in 2012–2015 by the Academy of Finland and the Finnish Cultural Foundation.

were adopted from Germany (Mantere 2012a: 43, 45, 50, 53, Mantere 2012b: 43, Mantere 2014: 198, 208, Mantere 2015: 48). This raises the question as to whether Finnish musicology is an exception to the more general tendency already noted by the Finnish historian Professor Matti Klinge in 1968 in his history of the University of Helsinki Student Union. Here he states that the Finnish elites of both language groups, Finnish and Swedish, started in the 1880s and 1890s to turn away from a German orientation towards a French one (Klinge 1968: 108–109). Moreover, the bibliography of Krohn's *Säveloppi* (Krohn 1916: 545–547), for example, indicates that he was quite well-read in French and French-language musicology.⁹ In view of the above it is not clear on what basis Mantere maintains his claim as to the German emergence and stamp of Finnish musicology.¹⁰ A doubt remains as to whether he might have taken the life's work of a late colleague as a closed entity – indeed, as a kind of self-contained 'work' – and whether he might have considered it good to exclude all those elements which seemed irrelevant to it. While he and his research team have emphasised the urgent need to reject any inherently Finnish-national teleology in their procedures,¹¹ I nevertheless wonder whether he does not give undue importance to the notion of nationality (also at stake here is an inherent emphasis on the national endeavour of German-origin scholars) and to the relevance of borders. My aim here is to consider whether a different methodological approach from Mantere's might reveal something more varied concerning the international position of early Finnish musicology. In this article I shall analyse the French contacts that Finnish musicologists maintained at an early stage of the discipline in the university context. An attempt to cover the whole career of a versatile and long-lived savant such as Ilmari Krohn is beyond the scope of my article. Nor do I attempt to distinguish 'typically' or 'essentially' French traits in the Finns' practices. If the research paradigm was brought to Finland

from elsewhere, it will be important to know through what sort of procedures this happened in practice. What bearing at specific moments of the evolution of the discipline might the creative thinking and the individual quest of Finnish scholars have had? What role was played by the Finns' journeys, and by their encounters with colleagues of other nationalities and their correspondence with them? I believe I am working towards Mantere's own goals in suggesting that focusing on cross-border relations is an effective way of avoiding methodological nationalism.

My approach, it is important to stress, is not intended to replace the analysis of academic texts, but rather to help future scholars to define precise research questions to apply to these texts. In this article more generally I will be touching on the special character of Europe's charismatic cultural capitals, their rivalries, and their specific ways of dealing with the peripheries; Paris and France are my case in point.¹² While focusing on the Finns' mobility towards the cultural capitals, the networking that took place in them, and the cross-border interaction in the early phase of the discipline in general, I shall be casting light on the institutional emergence of musicology as a university discipline. Here, whether we take musicology for an international phenomenon or look at it from a narrow Finnish-national perspective, the question of who should be considered a musicologist, and on what grounds, is a challenge to the present-day scholar. Whereas Mantere did not really approach his topic through an observation of the correspondence between contemporaries, it is my opinion that correspondence and other documents relating to people's interaction may offer the present-day scholar an invaluable insight into the perpetual incompleteness of their thinking and into its perennial becoming. Again, unlike Mantere, I do not intend to exclude from the scholarly perspective the eventual relevance to academic and cultural relations of the evolution of international politics. I find it significant

⁹ The French-language writers indicated in his bibliography are: Bernard Carra de Vaux, Jules Combarieu, Antoine Dechevrens, Maurice Emmanuel, François-Joseph Fétis, Maurice Gandillot, François-Auguste Gevaert & Johann C. Vollgraff, Auguste Guillemin, Vincent d'Indy, Jean Georges Kastner, de Lange, Louis Lootens, van Oost, Poncet, Charles-Émile Ruelle, Abbé Auguste Teppe, Julien Tiersot, and Anselme Vinée.

¹⁰ Mantere (2012a: 52–53) emphasises the relevance of correspondence as his source material. It is therefore surprising that the bibliographies of the four articles of his that I have studied only include four letters.

¹¹ For the aims of the project, see: <http://sites.siba.fi/en/web/remu/research-project>.

¹² The relations of Finnish musicologists with other centres would be worth similar investigation.

that Finnish musicological relations with France started to evolve not just at the moment of a convergence in international cooperation in the musicological community, but also during a period when Finland was a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire and France an ally of Russia. Documents reveal that the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–1871 remained a bleeding wound in French–German relations until World War I, to say nothing of the tense climate of the period between the two world wars. The formation of the national musicological societies and the international cooperation during and after World War I did not proceed straightforwardly. The dissolution in 1914 of Internationale Musikgesellschaft due to a German initiative caused a long-lasting confrontation within the musicological community, with the result that in the 1920s musicologists of the Allied nations cultivated international cooperation which excluded the Central Powers of World War I, Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire.¹³ In such a constellation the question of the international positioning of Krohn and the Finnish Musicological Society, which he founded in 1916, appears in a new light.

While an independent essay, this article is one contribution among others to my long-term research on the evolution of Finnish–French musical relations during the years 1880–1940, a period marked by the rise and fall of the Franco-Russian alliance and the gradual fragmentation of the international scene along with mounting nationalism.

The formative phase of Krohn's academic pursuit: international positioning and professional self-profiling

One might expect that the German family background and education of Ilmari Krohn (Helsinki 1867 – Helsinki 1960), often called the founder of Finnish musicology, would have sealed the scholar's worldview. He was born into a family of North-German origin, whose Saint-Petersburg branch assumed Finnish citizenship in the early

19th century. His father Julius Krohn (Viborg 1835 – Viborg 1888) was Professor of Finnish language and literature at the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki (Majamaa 1998/2014). A brood of talented children was born in his marriage with Julie Dannenberg, also of German origin. It included the future writer Aino, spouse of Estonian diplomat, folklorist and linguist Oskar Kallas, and two future professors of the University of Helsinki: a proponent of comparative folklore research Kaarle Krohn (Helsinki 1863 – Sammatti 1933), and the music specialist Ilmari (Kai Laitinen 1999/2017; Apo 2001/2008; Autio 2002). In the 1880s Ilmari Krohn studied piano, harmony and counterpoint in his home country under the direction of German-born Richard Faltin, and in 1886–1890 at the Conservatory of Leipzig the theory of music, composition, piano, organ, chamber music, singing, music history and the aesthetics of music. At the Helsinki Imperial Alexander University in 1885–1886 and 1890–1892, his studies included aesthetics and contemporary literature, general history, philosophy, Finnish language and literature, and botany. He graduated in 1894 (Candidate of Philosophy). His first wife was the Saint-Petersburg German Emilie von Dittmann (1870–1905).¹⁴

Another question that is intertwined with this issue of cultural-geographical orientation concerns the distinctness of his professional specialisation. For Finland, the career of Krohn's older contemporary Martin Wegelius (1846–1906) serves as a good example of the close ties connecting academic learning with the art of music. Wegelius studied aesthetics, philosophy, history, and literature at the Imperial Alexander University and graduated in 1868 (Master of Philosophy) before pursuing his musical studies in Vienna, Leipzig and Munich. He then gained his living through many different occupations in the musical domain. In 1882 he became the founder and director of the Helsinki Music Institute (subsequent Helsinki Conservatory and Sibelius Academy), a composer and a composition teacher, whose students included Jean Sibelius. In 1891–1893 he published

¹³ Fauser pointed out that many considered the dissolution of the IMG illegal, which had consequences for the musicological networks that emerged after World War I. According to Fauser, Breitkopf & Härtel, the publisher of the *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, seems to have been a driving force behind the dissolution, although the newly-elected President of the society Hermann Kretzschmar fronted the deed. Not all German members of the IMG agreed with this procedure (Fauser 2017). See also Kirnbauer 2017.

¹⁴ For a detailed account of Ilmari Krohn's family background and of his education in his home country and Leipzig, see Martti Laitinen 2014.

a learned treatise entitled *Hufvuddragen af den västerländska musikens historia från den kristna tidens början till våra dagar* (Outlines of the history of Western music from the beginning of the Christian time to our days), a work that achieved an important reputation in his home country¹⁵ (Sarjala 1999/2006).

As mentioned above, Ilmari Krohn first had a many-sided practical education in music in Finland and Germany in the 1880s. The German connection did not exclude an interest in other countries and the scholarship they nourished. His excellent language skills¹⁶ helped him become a world-citizen in his own right. When in 1891, at the early age of 24, he participated in the second international folklore congress in London (replacing his elder brother Kaarle, who was unable to use his university's travel grant awarded for this purpose [Krohn 1951: 175–176]), his paper was in French and bore the title "La chanson populaire en Finlande" (Folksong in Finland) (Krohn 1892).¹⁷ Equipped with a knowledge of folklore owing to his family background, inspired by national identity work, and supported financially by the fennoman Savo-Karelian students' union of his university, he had started collecting Finnish traditional tunes five years earlier (cf. Martti Laitinen 2014: 17, 63–65). In his London paper he referred to the views of Julien Tiersot (1857–1936), the author of the imposing *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* (A history of folk song in France) of 1889. In fact, Tiersot was the only scholar he mentioned by name. This detail has gone unnoticed by previous scholars (Martti Laitinen 2014: 43–44; Mantere 2015; Mäkelä 2014: 170).

Whether or not all of the viewpoints in Tiersot's book and Krohn's paper are strictly musicological is another question, at least in our present understanding. Tiersot's erudite history also gave voice to the standpoint of musical creation in its current ideological form. He, like Krohn, was an accomplished musician, and had studied composition at the Paris Conservatoire under Jules Massenet. He construed the changing French relation with folk song from the angle of musical creation in this way: "Our present-day symphonic school has made abundant use of the popular melodies of all countries. Having sought its elements from very far away, it is now starting to utilise those offered by the soil."¹⁸ (Tiersot 1889a: 535) Clearly, Tiersot held this exploitation of the 'natural resources' of his own land desirable.

In Krohn's London paper two years later, the same patriotic-ideological commitment and view of musical creation can be distinguished:

The honourable Mr. J. Tiersot has proved in his *History of popular song in France* that in his home country and, indeed, in the greatest part of Europe the street song is increasingly invalidating the popular song, that is, the true, beautiful popular song, and that only in some isolated provinces have the people conserved the musical heritage of their ancestors, sometimes in a degenerated and corrupted form, but often more or less immaculate and intact in its original beauty.¹⁹ (Krohn 1892: 135)

Krohn analysed the regional forms of the Finnish traditional song before coming to his national-romantic conclusion, which united the traditional

¹⁵ A completed Finnish-language edition of the book was published in 1904, *Länsimaisen musiikin historia pääpiirteissään kristinuskon alkuajoista meidän päiviimme*.

¹⁶ Finnish was his family language. He also knew German, French, Swedish, Russian, Latin, and Spanish. Having reached the age of 60 he even learned Hungarian (Martti Laitinen 2014: 9). Some documents suggest that he also had at least some knowledge of English.

¹⁷ In his travel reports published in the Finnish daily newspaper *Uusi Suometar*, Krohn paid great attention to the question of the evolution of folklore and the transformation it underwent when passing from one culture to another. He regretted the modest role that musical folklore occupied in this congress hosting more than a hundred English and some twenty foreign participants. In one of the four reports (16 October 1891) he published his own conference paper in a Finnish version (Cis [pseudonym of Ilmari Krohn] 1891).

¹⁸ "Notre moderne école symphonique a fait un emploi copieux de mélodies populaires de tous les pays, et commence, après avoir cherché très loin ses éléments, à se servir de ceux que le terroir lui fournit."

¹⁹ "L'honorable Monsieur J. Tiersot a prouvé dans son *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* que dans sa patrie et de même dans la plus grande partie de l'Europe la chanson populaire, c'est-à-dire la vraie, la belle chanson populaire, est de plus en plus anéantie par la chanson de rue, et que seulement dans quelques provinces isolées le peuple a conservé l'héritage musicale de ses ancêtres, quelquefois dégénéré, dépravé, souvent cependant plus ou moins immaculé et intact dans son originelle beauté."

song, the people, and the composer into an organic whole.

Krohn was confident when claiming that, unlike what had happened in many other countries, the street song would not succeed in triumphing over the folk song of his own people. For such an evolution the learned stratum of the Finnish population would bear a great responsibility. The young, learned music of Finland would absorb the spirit of folksong and would give the song in a transformed guise back to the people (see, for example, Tyrväinen 2013: 104–106). Thus would learned music teach the people to appreciate and preserve its property.

Then true art will have a solid foundation for preparing the dangerous and relentless fight against bad taste. By leaning on the living music of the people, and by maintaining a reciprocal contact with it, learned music will gain a victory over its enemy, thereby ceasing to remain a luxury object of the upper classes. It will reach its true goal and attain its calling as a vehicle of a national, human culture.²⁰ (Krohn 1892: 139)

This kind of national-romantic view, which implied a critical stance and an aestheticising view of the traditional tune, and a patronising attitude vis-à-vis the uneducated strata of the population, was widespread in Finland (see e.g., Heikki Laitinen 1986). More generally in Europe, there was considerable concern about the imminent disappearance of “original” folksong. As for Tiersot, his “set of activities was at the same time scientific and political”; he for his part became the “incontestable pope of French folklore studies during the Third Republic” (Campos 2013: 89, 102). Tiersot’s interest in the origin, evolution, and

classification of the traditional tunes (cf. Campos 2013: 96–99), however, might also have particularly inspired Krohn.

Krohn did not submit his German-language doctoral thesis *Über die Art und Entstehung der geistlichen Volksmelodien in Finland* (On the type and origin of the spiritual popular tunes in Finland) until 1899, to be examined in the discipline of Aesthetics of the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki.²¹ The following year he was given the university’s first title of Docent in Music History and Theory. This position did not bring an end to his activity as a practising musician. His main occupation for several years to come was the post of cantor in Tampere (Mantere 2012a: 44). After giving this up, and after becoming in 1918 Extraordinary Professor at his *alma mater*, renamed the University of Helsinki at the time of Finland’s national independence (*Helsingin ... 1918–2000*), he continued to be active as an organist,²² composer and music critic.

Finally, the question as to whether the above-mentioned statements of Tiersot and Krohn are musicological is anachronistic, for institutionally the discipline was then only emerging. For a long time to come its practitioners also remained composers or musicians (see e.g., Fabris 2017: 2). A chair of the History of Music was established at the Paris Conservatoire in 1871. After music had been present at universities in a practical form and as a part of various disciplines for a long time, university professorships were founded first in Vienna in 1861 (Professor “Ordinarius”, that is, full professor in Music History and Aesthetics, Eduard Hanslick), and then in Prague in 1869 (August Wilhelm Ambros), in the still German Straßburg (now French Strasbourg) in 1897 (Gustav Jacobsthal),²³ and at the Paris Sorbonne in 1903 (Romain Rol-

²⁰ “Alors l’art vrai aura un large fondement pour se préparer à la lutte dangereuse et acharnée contre le mauvais goût; en s’appuyant sur la musique populaire vivante et en se maintenant en rapport réciproque avec elle, la musique savante remportera la victoire sur son ennemi et cessera alors d’être un objet de luxe des classes supérieures, en arrivant à son vrai but, à sa vraie mission, d’être un moyen de culture nationale et humaine.”

²¹ Martti Laitinen (2014: 70) has pointed out the surprising fact that in the title of his thesis Krohn spells the name of his home country in the Swedish (and not the German) way, “Finland”. Krohn uses the Swedish spelling of his country’s name not only in the otherwise German-language title, but throughout his thesis. I thank Professor Heikki Laitinen for this observation.

²² Krohn was organist at the Helsinki Kallio Church from 1911 to 1944. I thank Heikki Laitinen for this information.

²³ Jacobsthal had served as *Privatdozent* at his university since 1872 (Goodman [accessed 2017]). In Germany, the next “Ordinarius” professorships in Musicology were established in Berlin in 1904 (Hermann Kretzschmar) and Munich in 1909 (Adolf Sandberger) (Potter [accessed 2017]).

land)²⁴ (Potter [accessed 2017]; Gribenski [accessed 2017]). By international standards Krohn's appointment as a Docent was thus relatively early.

Krohn and Tiersot: correspondence on comparative musicology

Krohn's first contacts with France coincide with the formative phase of his scholarly career. Julien Tiersot, to whom he referred respectfully in his London paper, became an authority in the field of research on French folk song, a renowned musicologist, and in 1909 director of the library of the Paris Conservatoire. Between 1920 and 1923 and again in 1927 he was President of the French musicological society. He had paid attention to Finnish folk song and the art of music most recently in the year of publication of his folk song history. In that year he reported on the concerts of the 1889 Paris Universal Exposition for the journal *Le ménestrel*, also reviewing the successful performances of the Finnish student choir M.M. (Muntra Musikanter). M.M.'s concert programme included arrangements of Finnish traditional songs, besides a largely Scandinavian and German repertoire. Tiersot pronounced approvingly on the folk songs: "But above all, the popular melodies of Finland, a country in which Swedish and Finnish elements coexist in about equal proportion, are full of flavour and originality."²⁵ (Tiersot 1889b, 1889c: 54–55) The same year, Tiersot's reports on the Universal Exposition were published in the form of a book, *Musiques pittoresques: Promenades musicales à l'Exposition de 1889* (Tiersot 1889c).

On June 25 1898 Tiersot wrote a letter to Krohn²⁶ in reply to questions Krohn had addressed to him by letter, apparently concerning his thesis project.²⁷ Tiersot's answer consisted of French variants of a traditional song in music and text and remarks on them. He wrote:

It is a pleasure for me to answer your question by sending you a copy of several versions of the enumerative song you mention in forms that have remained popular in our French provinces. It is true that you will not find among them the music of the Latin song: *Unus deus* etc. I only know its existence through *Barzaz-Breiz*²⁸ (it is mentioned in my book) which gives only its text. However, I have notated the melodies of the same folk song in Brittany, Flanders, and even in Paris.²⁹

Krohn's questioning had led him to investigate phenomena in territories outside Finland, including those of France. Until then he had collected traditional songs not only in Finland (1886, 1890, 1897–1898), but also in Sweden in 1897 (Salmenhaara [accessed 2017]). Besides this, his thesis project involved archival work in Sweden, Denmark and Germany (Heikki Laitinen 2011). On a separate sheet, Tiersot now wrote to Krohn about his observations on eight variants. The information thus concerned comparative research on traditional tunes. Krohn refers to Tiersot's *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France* in his thesis when he states that the origin of sacred songs could be secular (Krohn 1899: 30).

In his letter the Frenchman also told Krohn that he was planning to make a journey to Russia and Denmark and that he hoped to stop by in Finland on that occasion. We are here reminded that mobility associated with international research contacts did not only consist of journeys from the peripheries towards the centres. Tiersot wrote:

I have often made, not only in France but also in Belgium and Holland, presentations on French folk song accompanied by musical auditions (I sing myself). But I might have the opportunity next winter to come to Rus-

²⁴ On Romain Rolland as a musicologist, see Massip 2015.

²⁵ "[...] mais surtout les mélodies populaires de la Finlande, pays où les éléments suédois et finnois se trouvent en proportions à peu près égales, sont pleines de saveur et d'originalité." Of Finnish composers, only the naturalised Finn Fredrik (Friedrich) Pacius, the German-born composer of the Finnish national anthem, was included in the two M.M. Trocadéro concerts (Tyrväinen 1994: 30–31).

²⁶ The archive of Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, SKS), Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 699-33-1.

²⁷ Unfortunately, I have not been able to locate Krohn's letter to Tiersot.

²⁸ Collection of folk tunes of Brittany *Barzaz Breiz* (1839), compiled by Théodore Hersant de la Villemarqué (1805–1895).

²⁹ "Je me fais un plaisir de répondre à vos questions en vous envoyant la copie de plusieurs versions de la chanson énumérative dont vous parlez, telles qu'elles sont restées populaires dans nos provinces françaises. Vous n'y trouverez pas, il est vrai, la musique de la chanson latine: *Unus deus*, etc. dont je ne connais l'existence que par le *Barzaz-Breiz* (cité en note dans mon livre), lequel n'en donne que le texte; mais j'ai noté les mélodies de la même chanson populaire en Bretagne, Flandre, et même à Paris."

sia (to conduct a concert in Saint Petersburg) and to Denmark (Mr. Nierop [Nyrop] has asked me to come to Copenhagen in order to make presentations for the Alliance française); if this happens I should like very much to profit by my presence in your countries by giving as many talks as possible.

Hence, if according to your knowledge I might have a good reception in the Finnish cities, either in the Alliance française or at the Universities, I would be very grateful if you could tell me about this and give me the necessary practical advice.

I would be happy if this granted me the joy of making the acquaintance of a learned colleague whose work I already know [---].³⁰

The mention of Finland, Russia and Denmark in one and the same context suggests that the Franco-Russian alliance was giving wings to Tiersot's plans. This diplomatic and military alliance also invigorated the cultural and musical ties between the two countries.³¹ The Danish origin of Maria (originally Dagmar), wife of Alexander III, strengthened French connections with Denmark. In such a setting Finland would have appeared to France in her imperial Russian context. It is not known whether or not Tiersot's journey actually took place; no proof remains of any stay in Finland in the winter of 1898–1899.³² Moreover, no trace of any further communication between the two remains. The two scholars would have met personally at the latest in July 1900, when an inter-

national congress of Music history was organised in connexion with the Paris Universal Exposition.

Tiersot followed the Finn's work even later. In the last congress of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft, which took place in Paris in 1914 (Congrès International de Musique) thanks to the initiative of Louis Laloy and the President of the ethnographic section G. Lefeuvre, a decision was made to form a committee for research into musical folklore. Tiersot was chosen as President, Lefeuvre as secretary; the other members were Krohn, Johannes Wolf (Germany), "Mrs. Lineff", alias Yevgeniya Edouardovna Linyova, (Russia), and Father Komitas (Soghomon Soghomonian, Armenia).³³ In Tiersot's long article on folk song in the Lavignac encyclopedia (Tiersot 1930), with regard to Finnish research several collections of Krohn are mentioned alongside those of Armas Launis, Selim Palmgren, Ilmari Hannikainen, Toivo Kuula and Erkki Melartin.

Krohn in the international Music history congress of the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition

Krohn's route to the 1900 Paris Music History Congress³⁴ passed through Copenhagen, Berlin, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Straßburg (presently Strasbourg) and Cologne. During this journey he observed different kinds of church services in various cities and became acquainted with the current state of church song, as well as with the efforts to reform it. He met many reputed music researchers and

³⁰ "J'ai fait souvent, non seulement en France, mais aussi en Belgique et en Hollande, des conférences sur la chanson populaire française, accompagnées d'auditions musicales (je chante moi-même). Or, l'hiver prochain, il se pourrait que j'eusse l'occasion de venir en Russie (pour diriger un concert à S^t Pétersbourg) et en Danemark (M. Nierop [Nyrop] m'a demandé de venir faire des conférences à Copenhague pour l'Alliance française); s'il est ainsi, je désirerais beaucoup profiter de ma présence dans vos pays pour y faire le plus de conférences possible.

Si donc il était à votre connaissance que je pusse recevoir bon accueil dans les villes en Finlande, soit à l'Alliance française soit dans les Universités, je vous serais très reconnaissant de vouloir bien m'en faire part, et me donner les indications pratiques nécessaires pour cela.

Je serais heureux si cela me présenterait le plaisir de faire la connaissance d'un savant confrère, dont les travaux me sont bien connus [---]."

(Kristoffer Nyrop was Professor in Roman languages at the University of Copenhagen and Head of the Danish section of Alliance Française. I thank Dr. Claus Røllum-Larsen for this information.)

³¹ On the origins of the musical impact of the Franco-Russian alliance see Tyrväinen 2016.

³² The archive of the Alliance française in Helsinki contains no mention of Tiersot's visit to Finland around the time in question.

³³ *Le ménestrel* 1914a: 199–200; *Le Temps* 1914: 5.

³⁴ I have published previously on Krohn's participation in the 1900 Paris Music History Congress in a non-academic context (Tyrväinen 2011).

theologians, both German and others.³⁵ In Berlin, guided by Oskar Fleischer and Max Seiffert, he got to know the activities of the local group of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft founded a year earlier. Among the talks given at its meetings, that by Oskar Fleischer, Extraordinary Professor at the Berlin Friedrich-Wilhelms-University (now Humboldt University) and founding member and President of the IMG as well as the editor of its publications on the neume notation of Gregorian chant was an important one. Krohn himself spoke about Finnish traditional music (Martti Laitinen 2014: 75–76). There can be no doubt that such gatherings with his German colleagues oriented his musicological thinking.

As Christoph Charle has stated, the cultural capitals are attractive centres of power which maintain an interplay with various forms of culture and structure the symbolic production of one or several cultural areas – in Paris, London and sometimes Rome, indeed, the majority of the cultural areas. By definition, they are cosmopolitan centres in which an authoritative national reasoning is of relatively scarce importance. An age-old rivalry and an urge to act as a display window for their culture, which symbolises their power, is typical of them (Charle 2009: 12–15). On his arrival in Paris, Krohn encountered another kind of a European cultural capital: the home of Revolution and Republic that took pride in being a champion of the rights of oppressed peoples. A capital of a great power, Paris had accumulated a political power which Copenhagen, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Straßburg and Cologne did not possess. The Universal Expositions it hosted reveal its unique determination to profile itself as the patron of the cultures of the globe (see, for example, Smeds 1996: 45–47, 49, 96, 159). In the concert programmes of the Expositions Paris did not only

introduce the pride of French music, its historical and contemporary repertoire, but even invited foreigners to make their music heard before an international audience.³⁶

The first international Congress of Music History that took place between 23 and 28 July 1900 was also part of the programme of the Universal Exposition. It constituted the eighth section of a large-scale Congress on Comparative history that was administrated at French ministerial level. The programme comprised a “historical concert” organised by Tiersot and Charles Bordes (Combarieu 1901: 3, 306–308).³⁷ While Krohn had in Berlin been a guest of the Germans, the interaction he encountered in Paris was of an international nature. “This Congress had an immediate outcome: it permitted musicians who knew one another only by name, or by the virulent criticism they had flung at each other, to enter into cordial relations”,³⁸ stated the adjunct secretary of the Congress (Hellouin 1900).

The organisation committee included several French celebrities. Among the officials were the world-famous composer and member of the Academy of France Camille Saint-Saëns as Honorary President, the music history teacher of the Paris Conservatoire Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray as President, Tiersot as Vice-President, the *maître de conférences* of the École normale supérieure, future Professor of Musicology at the Sorbonne University and future Nobel Literature Prize winner Romain Rolland as General Secretary, and the archivist of Paris Opéra Charles Malherbe as Treasurer. The other members of the Committee were the writer on music and music critic Camille Bellaïge, the composer and one of the founders of the Paris Schola Cantorum (a rival of the Paris Conservatoire) Charles Bordes, the Bach scholar Jules Combarieu, who had studied

³⁵ Martti Laitinen (2014: 75) names Rochus von Liliencron, Friedrich Chrysander, Johann Stosch, Oskar Fleischer, Max Seiffert, the Swede Tobias Norlind, Hugo Riemann, Georg Rietschel, Max Herold, and Wilhelm Löhe. In Copenhagen Krohn familiarised himself with the music of the Jewish congregation.

³⁶ For an important survey of the musical programmes and ideologies during the Paris 1889 Universal Exposition, see Fauser 2005.

³⁷ Finnish voice teacher Anna Sarlin wrote to Krohn in a postcard dated Paris 23 April 1900: “A French musician who is going to perform *sacred* music from different countries here during the exposition asked me to get some *Finnish* [music]. The older the better, the kind they call in French: *cantique*.” (Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 698-11-4) Sarlin’s message might concern the historical concert organised on 28 July as part of the Music History Congress (cf. Combarieu 1901: 306–307). No Finnish music was part of the program.

³⁸ “Ce congrès a eu un résultat immédiat: permettre à des musiciens qui ne se connaissaient que de nom, ou par des critiques virulentes qu’ils s’étaient lancées, d’entrer en relations cordiales.”

under Philipp Spitta in Berlin, the composer and musicologist Maurice Emmanuel, the musicologist Henri Expert, and the renowned composer and director of the Paris Schola Cantorum Vincent d'Indy (Combarieu 1901: 5). Even the mere list of participants at the Paris Congress obliges the present-day scholar to give up any romantic assumption that an encounter of two scholars coming from different countries was in fact a meeting of two nation-subjects defined by the borders of nation states. The participants came from fourteen countries: besides the host country, France, and Finland, also from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Great-Britain, Holland, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Russia, Turkey, Mexico, and Sweden. From the German-speaking area, for example, Guido Adler from Vienna, Gustav Jacobsthal from Straßburg, Adolf Sandberger from Munich, and Hugo Riemann and Hermann Kretzschmar from Leipzig all participated (*ibid.* p. 5–6). Krohn had arrived in the prestigious cosmopolitan centre of European civilization, which merged and at the same time differentiated scholarly views, thereby emanating its influence widely to the surrounding world. The proceedings of the Congress contain information on six speakers who discussed the music of ancient Greece. Three of those working on the Middle Ages (Georges Houdard, Dom Hugo Gaisser, Grassi Landi) dealt with topics around Gregorian chant, an important theme of current interest,³⁹ and two with secular music. In addition, the Congress included sessions named “Modern music” and “Miscellaneous”; the topics were various (*ibid.* 317–318).

In 1900 the Finns were particularly aware of the international political weight of Paris. In Finnish cultural history Finland's participation in the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition appears in relation to the dramatic political incident of the previous year, the February manifesto of Russian Emperor Nicholas II, who had proclaimed that the

autonomy of Finland should be limited. Thus a Universal Exposition organised in the capital city of an allied country was seen as an opportunity to put pressure on the Imperial power. This would happen by drawing the attention of France and the civilised world to the original, high-level culture of the Grand Duchy. The Finnish participation in the 1900 Paris Universal Exposition was a great anti-Russian manifestation (Smeds 1996: 277–279, 328–345).⁴⁰

Just as he had done nine years earlier in London and more recently in Berlin, Ilmari Krohn spoke about Finnish traditional music. Thus his paper was in line with the rest of the Finnish representation that emphasised national originality, even though he was not directly motivated by political considerations. The title of his paper was “De la mesure à 5 temps dans la musique populaire finnoise” (About five-beat measure in Finnish folk music) (Krohn 1901),⁴¹ by which notion he referred to Kalevalaic tunes. His own ‘research question’ concerned the aesthetic merit of the pentameter. He leaned on the notion of the metrical foot stemming from Greek antiquity. In his speculative address he in fact evaluated the usefulness of pentameter folk tunes as material for composers. He considered tunes with the stress on the first and the fourth beats of the bar unsatisfactory: they are repeatedly truncated and therefore restless. He approved of those with the stress on the first and third beats, for they are characterised by constant extension, and thus composure. He pointed out that the melodies of the national epic, the *Kalevala*, are typically written in the former way, with the stress on the first and fourth beats. This, he claimed, was wrong and recommended it be amended by moving the bar line (Krohn 1901). The claim of the different effect and aesthetic value of the two kinds of pentameter remains without any epistemological foundation. Here, we see Krohn working on his speculative

³⁹ The proceedings of the Congress announce the following titles (Combarieu 1901: 317–318). Houdard: “La notation neumatique”, Gaisser: “Observations de la communication de M. Houdard”, Houdard: “La notation neumatique considérée dans son sens extérieur matériel”, Grassi Landi: “Observations relatives à l'interprétation des notes neumatiques du chant grégorien”, Gaisser: “L'origine du ‘Tonus peregrinus’”.

⁴⁰ With regard to the musical side of the Finnish participation see Tyrväinen 1994, 1998.

⁴¹ Krohn's paper was placed in the category “IV Musique moderne”. Besides the volume edited by Jules Combarieu (1901), the papers were published in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 1900/1901 Vol. 2/1.

doctrine of rhythm, which he based on universals and later worked into enormous dimensions.⁴²

Krohn ended his talk with a normative and nationalist remark: “The melodies of the *Kalevala* songs – must always be the natural basis for our national Finnish music.”⁴³ As stated above, a nationalist argument and a focus on traditional songs is by no means indicative of any peripheral self-positioning on the part of Krohn and Finnish musicology. The President of the Congress Louis-Albert Bougault-Ducoudray, a composer, Tiersot’s teacher, and since 1878 music history teacher at the Paris Conservatoire and hence occupant of the first French chair of music history, also dedicated much of his opening address to research on traditional music. He likewise pointed to the potential for identification of the traditional tune when he asserted: “The time has come for artists and scholars to make a complete inventory of the melodic riches that are like divine mineral with which the civilised artist must create a work of art.”⁴⁴ (Bougault-Ducoudray 1901: 11)

Thus Bougault-Ducoudray’s talk, too, highlighted the usefulness of traditional music for learned music. More generally, it included an obliging attitude towards a composer’s work, insisting on his or her renewal and progress. The identity question is here an inseparable part of a composition and a composer’s craft:

Truly, it is an indisputable law that the past contains the seed of the future, and that the most secure way to enrich the musical language by lasting conquests is to implant the new attempts in a profound knowledge of the past⁴⁵ (ibid., p. 9).

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But the history of the past [!] reveals to us the existence of certain neglected galleries, the intelligent exploitation of which would assure new conquests for musical activity. Homophonic music – antique or popular – offers a certain number of modes and rhythms that have not yet been deployed in the language of music. These as yet unused elements of expression are by no means incompatible with the requirements of modern polyphony and orchestration.⁴⁶

The introduction of these new resources of colour into learned music, the use of all melodic scales: *diatonic* or *chromatic*, *antique* or *exotic*, research into the infinite diversity of the rhythmic conceptions and even the art of exteriorising these rhythms in dances whose nature will be more expressive than mechanical – if I am not mistaken, in the 20th century such conquests will be fully accomplished, carefully

⁴² The speculative side of Krohn’s thinking is hereby shown. Matti Huttunen has interpreted the systemising aim of Krohn’s thought in the light of the epistemological trinity of Hegel’s philosophy: reality is of a spiritual character, its character can be speculated upon, and its investigation is holistic and systemising (Huttunen 1999: 16 as quoted by Mantere 2012a: 45). Erkki Salmenhaara writes: “His interest in rhythmic analysis led him to evolve a hierarchy of musical forms from the smallest possible units to works on the scale of the *Ring*.” (Salmenhaara [accessed 2017]) Mäkelä writes (2014: 169): “His work was driven by a theoretical interest in the essence of music, the interpretation of music at all levels of structure and signification.” On Krohn’s own statement (from 1919) regarding his view on rhythm, see Mantere 2012a: 48.

⁴³ It is true that Krohn wrote in his youth some works the subjects of which were drawn from the *Kalevala* (Martti Laitinen 2014: 18, 53). There is not yet enough evidence to state just how much the tunes of the *Kalevala* poetry influenced his musical language. His composer’s production consists mainly of religious music.

⁴⁴ “Il est temps enfin que les artistes & les savants puissent faire l’inventaire complet de ces richesses mélodiques qui sont comme le minerai divin avec lequel l’artiste civilisé doit créer l’œuvre d’art.” – Bougault-Ducoudray did not come forward with any basic distinction concerning the roles of the various countries.

⁴⁵ “C’est en effet une loi incontestable que le passé contient en germe l’avenir, & que le plus sûr moyen d’enrichir la langue musicale de conquêtes durables, c’est de greffer les tentatives nouvelles sur la connaissance approfondi du passé.”

⁴⁶ “Or l’histoire du passé nous révèle l’existence de certaines galeries négligées, dont l’exploitation intelligente assurerait à l’activité musicale des conquêtes nouvelles. La musique homophone, antique ou populaire, dispose d’un certain nombre de modes & de rythmes qui n’ont pas encore été mis en circulation dans la langue musicale. Ces éléments d’expression encore inexploités, ne sont nullement inconciliables avec les exigences de la polyphonie & de l’orchestration modernes.”

prepared as they were in the 19th century by softening the elements and suggesting [new] paths.⁴⁷ (Ibid., p. 9)

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Ascribing to the elements of original expression inherent in folk melodies the value they deserve [and] putting them into circulation in the language of music will not only enrich the composer's palette, furnishing him with new and varied elements of expression; it will establish a closer and closer link between the individual, conscious effort of the civilised artist and the collective, anonymous production that is the indelible mark of a race. It will confirm the collaboration between the humble custodian of the elementary and primordial form of the national spirit and the consummate artist whose brain is armed with all the resources of modern technique.⁴⁸ (Ibid., p. 10)

Interestingly, Bourgault-Ducoudray does not explain to his international audience how his recommended use of “*diatonic or chromatic, antique or exotic*” melodic scales would bring the French composer closer to his people and his “*race*”.⁴⁹ The speaker's suggestion implies the assumption that the French race, as heir to Greco-Roman civilization, had a supremely rich heritage available. Considering that the instructions of Bourgault-Ducoudray and Krohn were aimed at composers, they would logically enrich the “palette” of a French composer more than that of a Finn. Here, we witness a widely-spread French conception called *translatio studii*. According to this mode of thought, cultures evolved following an inescapable path from elementary forms to a flowering which was followed by degeneration. It was commonly considered in France that the home

of the greatest cultural achievements had moved from the East to Greece, from there to Rome and modern Italy, and had reached France in the 16th century (see Tiersot 1889a: I, and e.g., Fauser 2001: 81–83). Bourgault-Ducoudray's idea implies a nationalist assumption of the superiority of the French heritage.

Bourgault-Ducoudray's claim for regeneration was symptomatic of France's concern in the 19th century for the vitality of national music and for the desire to renew it by drawing on the past. The educated class of Finland, on the other hand, was currently at the summit of its national self-esteem (Smeds 1997). Musically speaking it was free from the burden of the past. After all, the Grand Duchy had not produced any prestigious golden age comparable to those of France, and in the 1890s the Finns had witnessed the invigoration of their national art of music. In France, Finland was classified as one the Nordic ‘young nations’, whose music had come to international fame in the 19th century thanks to the Norwegians and the Russians (see, for example, Tiersot 1889a: 535). The Finns were not expected to contend for the highest place among the nations with their music, but they could count on their French hosts' interest.

In Paris, Krohn, who was a deeply religious protestant inspired by ecumenical ideas (Martti Laitinen 2014: 48), and who had collected and studied traditional religious tunes, was surrounded by several Christian men of music and specialists in sacred repertoires. Possibly, the prime significance of the Paris congress lay, for Krohn, in the area of research into religious musical traditions. His Paris journey in the summer of 1900 opened up to him “the wide world of musicology”. He realised the scope of the mission and the labour it required, the “thorough toil”. From then onwards

⁴⁷ “L'introduction dans la musique savante de ces nouvelles ressources du coloris, l'emploi de toutes les échelles mélodiques: *diatoniques* ou *chromatiques*, *antiques* ou *exotiques*, la recherche d'une inépuisable diversité dans les conceptions rythmiques & même l'art d'extérioriser ces rythmes par des danses d'un caractère plutôt expressif que mécanique, telles sont, si je ne me trompe, les conquêtes qui seront pleinement réalisées au XX^e siècle, conquêtes que le XIX^e siècle aura savamment préparées, en assouplissant les éléments & en indiquant les voies.”

⁴⁸ “La mise en valeur des éléments d'expression originaux contenus dans les mélodies populaires, leur mise en circulation dans la langue musicale n'aura pas seulement pour effet d'enrichir la palette du compositeur, en lui fournissant des moyens d'expression nouveaux & variés, elle aura pour conséquence d'établir un lien de plus en plus étroit entre l'effort individuel & conscient de l'artiste civilisé & la production collective & anonyme qui est la marque indélébile du caractère d'une race. Il cimentera la collaboration entre l'humble dépositaire du génie nationale dans sa forme élémentaire & primordiale & l'artiste consommé dont le cerveau est armé de toutes les ressources de la technique moderne.”

⁴⁹ In the period under consideration, the notion of ‘race’ could be used for referring to communities defined on a cultural rather than on a biological basis (Crépon, Cassin, Moatti 2004: 921–922). Krohn uses this notion, for example, in his travel report from London (Cis 1891).

Figure 1. Piano sonata by Ilmari Krohn, composed in memory of his little son, who had died, was displayed at an international exhibition of music manuscripts organised at the museum of the Opéra during the Universal Exposition (Bibliothèque nationale de France, la Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra).

Finland Krohn

EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE

In Memoriam
Sonate en Sol-majeur
pour le piano.
Deuxième partie. Ilmari Krohn, op. 3.

Moderato.

1900

1900 6 vi (24)

he regarded himself as a musicologist. Research into the music of Antiquity and the Middle Ages was what now interested him most (Ranta 1945: 277; Krohn 1951: 26–27).

Krohn was recognised at the Universal Exposition forum also as a composer: manuscripts of music he had composed (the piano sonata *In memoriam* and the song cycle *Lieder eines Wanderburschen*) were displayed along with those of three other Finnish composers⁵⁰ at an international exhibition of music manuscripts at the museum of the Opéra, organised by the Treasurer of the Music History Congress, Charles Malherbe (Berggruen 1900).⁵¹ In a postcard to his brother Krohn reported that he had learned much at the congress and made the acquaintance of some foreigners, but regretted that the discussion had been restricted to the official part.⁵² However, his scrapbook begins, most revealingly, with a French-language press item on the paper he gave in Paris (Krohn s.a.). Hence Paris offered to him, as well as to the other participants, an opportunity to form an up-to-date overview of international research in the discipline, to create networks, and to gain international renown.

In the midst of the turn-of-the-century French-German tension

The surviving correspondence of the Secretary General of the 1900 Paris Congress Romain Rolland bears witness to the fierce patriotic tensions

that prevailed between the French and German parties during the preparatory stages, though these were hidden in the published conclusions of the gathering (Campos 2013: 87–88). The President of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft, Oskar Fleischer wrote to Krohn from Berlin in June 1900 in a tone that reveals the tension in question:

Because of the Paris Congress, the plans for the congress have been dropped and it has been postponed until next autumn. We do not want to give the French any cause whatsoever for complaining that we are setting up in competition, though we know quite well that France will not repay us in the same currency.⁵³

The letter was a reply to an enquiry from Krohn presumably referring to a congress planned for Germany.⁵⁴ Fleischer's confidential tone gives grounds for concluding that he took the Finnish scholar, whose German was excellent, for a man of the German camp.

An enquiry instigated by the *Revue d'histoire et de critique musicales* (*Revue ...* 1901), in which Krohn was invited to participate, reveals in another way that in an international context influential people in Finnish cultural life did not necessarily occupy an innocent position vis-à-vis the French-German rivalry. The editor of the French journal discussed Saint-Saëns's reputation in Germany:

When evaluating the recently-published book by Hugo Riemann [*Geschichte der Musik seit*

⁵⁰ According to the proceedings of the Congress (Combarieu 1901: 309), five Finnish composers were included. This confusing marking might be explained by the fact that excerpts from two works by Krohn were displayed. I have not found manuscripts from more than four Finnish composers (Krohn, Richard Faltin, Erkki Melartin, Oskar Merikanto) in the Bibliothèque-Opéra library where the manuscripts are stored under "Autographes des musiciens contemporains".

⁵¹ The organiser of the exhibition, the Opéra's librarian Charles Malherbe, had sent a specially fabricated sheet of manuscript paper supposedly "to all living composers" with a request for a sample that best represented the art of each (Berggruen 1900).

⁵² Ilmari Krohn wrote to his brother Kaarle: "I think I learned a lot at the congress. But otherwise, I was glad to get out from there again. I managed to give well my presentation and it was received with expressions of preference. But I think that there was more of a real interest in London nine years ago. Here, all discussion was limited to the official part, which could be quite lively at times. I got to know some foreigners a bit more. As for the rest, my journey is as a whole quite successful." (In the original Finnish: "Kongressissa luulen oppineeni paljon. Mutta muuten olin iloinen, kun pääsin taas pois sieltä. Esitelmäni sain hyvin pidetyksi ja otettiin vastaan mieltymyksen osoituksilla. Mutta oikeata harrastusta oli mielestäni paljon enemmän Lontoossa 9 vuotta sitten. Tässä jäi kaikki keskustelu siihen wiralliseen, joka kyllä joskus oli hyvin vilkas. Joihinkuihin ulkomaalaisiin pääsin vähän enemmän tutustumaan. Muuten on matkani kautaltaan hyvin onnistunut." A postcard to Kaarle Krohn dated Berlin 1 August 1900, Krohn family archive, SKS 485-26-19. Martti Laitinen (2014: 77) has paid attention to this postcard.

⁵³ "Der geplante Kongreß ist in Hinsicht auf den Pariser Kongreß fallen gelaßen worden und auf den nächsten Herbst verschoben. Wir wollen den Franzosen keinen Anlaß zu etwaigen Klagen über Konkurrenz geben, obgleich wir recht wohl wissen, daß von Frankreich aus nicht mit gleicher Münz bezahlt wird." (20 June 1900, Berlin, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 694-11-2)

⁵⁴ The First Congress of the IMG was organised in Leipzig on 30 September 1904.

Beethoven (1800–1900)], I said that this notable historian has judged Mr. Camille Saint-Saëns too severely and partially and has not placed him in the right rank. I contacted non-French artists in order to ask if Mr. Riemann's opinion corresponded with the prevalent foreign opinion. I added that if this were the case, the explanation was that Mr. Saint-Saëns's works were not sufficiently known outside our borders. In such a case our publishers were to be blamed for not promoting French masterpieces by publishing very inexpensive editions, differently from what has been done in Germany for Beethoven, Schumann etc. (*Revue ...* 1901: 355)

The editor received such a large number of replies from various countries that he was only able to publish a fraction of them. Krohn's answer was one of the thirteen published ones, alongside those of Max Bruch, Siegfried Wagner and Emil Sjögren. When publishing his response, some basic information regarding his academic and artistic activity were included (*ibid.*, p. 363); Krohn had clearly gained a reputation among French connoisseurs of music history.

Krohn did not fall into the trap set in the borderlands of the two great powers of music, but answered diplomatically. He regretted the scarce renown of Saint-Saëns's works in Finland,⁵⁵ and proceeded by alluding to the Greek theory of art. According to Greek philosophers, he recalled, the true essence of the art of music was to moderate the passions. These were tempered by serene modes and purified by lively ones. If either side reigned above the other, music lost its power and

its influence on the spirit. If serene objectivity reigned alone, the passions might be disregarded; the heart was hardly moved, hence dullness and indifference remained. But in the 19th century subjectivity had taken a too strong a grip of objectivity, and by the latter half of the century passion spoke in music as a sovereign; art was incapable of purifying it. Fortunately, such a tendency had found its adversaries in the person of Johannes Brahms in Germany and Saint-Saëns in France.⁵⁶ The latter provided a classical model on which the young generation of French composers could lean and thereby defend the national music against the victorious cyclone of subjectivism. But Saint-Saëns's music, while it reflected the most sublime sides of the French-national genius through its perfection of form, its finesse of expression, the elevation and grace of its thought, and the sincerity of its passion, also brought these qualities within the reach of other peoples. The peoples needed to complement one another, and the value of a composer like Saint-Saëns must be seen absolutely as international and very precious (*ibid.*, p. 362).

Thus in his answer Krohn tactfully held on to his impartiality; in his summary of Krohn's reply, however, the editor of the *Revue d'histoire et de critique musicales* disregarded the mention of Brahms, writing with bias that Krohn "praises Mr. Camille Saint-Saëns for avoiding the kind of expression full of pathos which is currently fashionable, and for representing the qualities of measure and taste which are traditional in France" (*ibid.*, p. 363). But Krohn also outlined an independent place for Finnish music in the European art of music based on a common Greek heritage. He re-

⁵⁵ Saint-Saëns was not exactly a rarity in the concerts of the Helsinki Orchestral Society, subsequently Helsinki Philharmonic Society Orchestra. It performed *La jeunesse d'Hercule* (30 November 1882), *Danse macabre* (25 October 1883), overture to *Le Déluge* (29 November 1883), Cello Concerto in A minor (16 October 1884), Dance of the Priestesses of Dagon from *Samson et Dalila* (12 February 1885), *Phaéton* (1 April 1886), a piano concerto (22 November 1888), Symphony in A minor (10 April 1890), *Suite algérienne* (15 December 1892), Piano Concerto in C minor (13 February 1896), a cello concerto (8 December 1896), Violin Concerto in B minor (9 March 1899), Piano Concerto in G minor (1 March 1900). This list is probably incomplete, since the author has only listed the most important concerts (Ringbom 1932, more particularly, p. 93).

Saint-Saëns was also included in the concerts of the Helsinki Music Institute. The following works were performed: *Variations on a Theme of Beethoven* (9 October 1883, 24 January and 1 April 1885, 9 March 1898), Septet in E-flat major (1 and 6 November 1884, 13 and 17 March 1893), aria from *Étienne Marcel* (24 February 1885), Piano Concerto in G minor, 1st Movement (19 December 1885), Liszt-Saint-Saëns: *Orpheus* (23 January 1896), a violin concerto (9 May 1887), *Caprice sur les airs de ballet d'Alceste de Gluck* (22 March 1887), *Rhapsodie d'Auvergne* (1 April 1887), *Romance* (8 December 1887), Piano Quartet in B-flat major (16 February 1891 and 29 April 1896), Violin Concerto in A major (29 April 1891 and 3 December 1894), Violin Sonata in D minor (3 November 1893 and 23 October 1895), Violin Concerto in B minor (11 May 1894), *Le Cygne (Le Carnaval des animaux)* (10 April 1895), Cello Sonata in C minor (2 March 1896) (Dahlström 1982).

⁵⁶ During Krohn's time in Leipzig Brahms became his new favourite composer (Martti Laitinen 2014: 22).

served for the Finnish a right to be enriched by French as well as by German music, and also by that of other nations. In his Paris congress paper he had united the Finnish national character with the idea of the metrical foot of Greek poetry very concretely. The Greek heritage now manifested itself as part of the artist's interpretative aesthetic experience and imagination.

We see here how Krohn makes generalisations regarding French and German music through his own artistic experience. We may assume that this personal experiential angle remained a part of his creativity along with his artistic activity. Likewise, "in Krohn's tuition, composition and the theory of music were very close to one another. In his view aesthetics was based not only on intuition but also on theory, and on the other hand theory always contained an aesthetic element."⁵⁷

Consequences of the Paris Congress: Krohn's networking

Krohn maintained contact with many of the participants of the Paris Congress through his correspondence. Not all were musicologists in the exclusive sense of the word. From among his Paris acquaintances Hortence Parent, one of the noted French piano pedagogues of the time, sent to him in 1907 an enquiry concerning Sibelius's piano works while compiling her book *Répertoire encyclopédique du pianiste*.⁵⁸ Krohn was clearly becoming a central Finnish contact person in many international matters concerning music. Among the other congress delegates, we know that Oscar

Cilesotti, from Bassano, Italy, Dom Ugo Gaisser, from Montefiescone and Rome, as well as Georges Houdard and W. Delioux, from the Paris region, all wrote to him.⁵⁹ The subjects of the correspondence were, in particular, Greek, sacred and church music, including Gregorian chant, modes, neume notation and the work of the monks of Solesmes. Many of the replies Krohn received apparently concern deliveries of his own publications.

Dom Hugo Gaisser (1853–1919), a German-born Benedictine priest, a noted scholar of Gregorian and Byzantine chant, and a teacher (later director) at the Pontificio Collegio Atanasiano in Rome (Schiødt [accessed 2017]), advises Krohn in a letter from 1901 to become acquainted with Gregorian chant, for the present, through the publications of Solesmes. He comments critically yet gently on Krohn's reflections: "I find that these explanations would gain in academic value if you deepened their justification either historically or philosophically-aesthetically."⁶⁰ Gaisser ends his long German-language letter to Krohn with Christian words: "I now ask God always to keep you under his merciful protection."⁶¹ Krohn's correspondence shows that a shared analysis of the common roots of the musical practices of Christianity could serve as a cross-border bond between persons representing different churches.⁶²

As far as networking is concerned, Krohn's long correspondence with Frenchman Georges Houdard (1860–1913), a controversial scholar of Gregorian chant (Emerson [accessed 2017]),⁶³ appears by its mere quantity to be the most im-

⁵⁷ Krohn's pupil, Tauno Karila PhD, as quoted by Martti Laitinen (2014: 79). Heikki Laitinen (2011) has listed 24 composition pupils of Krohn.

⁵⁸ A postcard to Ilmari Krohn, 20 February 1907, Paris, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 69-14-1. Parent told Krohn that she was working on a volume on composers who had died before 1907 – she assumed that Sibelius (1865–1957) was already dead. This fragment is symptomatic of Sibelius's invisibility on the French musical scene.

⁵⁹ Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 697-14-1.

⁶⁰ "Nur scheint mir würden dieselben [Ihre Ausführungen] an wissenschaftlichen Werth gewinnen, wenn Sie deren Begründung sei es historisch sei es philosophisch aesthetisch vertiefen würden." (12 September 1901, Montefiescone, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 692-52-1) Gaisser repeats the same advice in his second letter to Krohn dated Rome 1 January 1902 (Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 692-52-2). On that occasion he points out the difference between sacred and secular music in the Middle Ages and even before, adding suggestions for reading and contacts. Since unfortunately Krohn's letter to Gaisser is unknown, it is not possible to judge which of Krohn's publications or considerations his distinguished colleague is commenting upon.

⁶¹ "Nun bitte ich Gott, Er möge Sie stets unter seinem gnädigen Schutze erhalten."

⁶² Mantere (2015: 49) has proposed, with different emphasis, that the Christian ethos of Krohn's scholarship embodies the world view of the Finnish educated part of the population. Heikki Laitinen has noted that after his doctoral thesis, devotional phrases disappear from Krohn's scholarship. I thank him for drawing this to my attention.

⁶³ It is true that Houdard also met some understanding in his home country, as an article from the year following his death reveals (*Le ménestrel* 1914b).

portant consequence of the Paris Congress.⁶⁴ Between 1901 and 1912 Houdard wrote sixteen cordial letters to Krohn, apparently based on a common Christian worldview. He often recalled the pleasant moments he had passed with his Finnish colleague during the Paris Congress. At first the letters concerned in particular research into the music of the Middle Ages and Gregorian chant. Academic treatises and sheet music followed the letters in both directions.

Judging by Houdard's letters to Krohn,⁶⁵ the Finn must have sent him a collection of school songs in Latin, *Carminalia Selecta* compiled by Johan A. Inberg (Helsinki 1900) (Houdard to Krohn, 24 April 1901); Krohn's own "score pour le kantele" (probably his arrangements for the *kantele* comprising some twenty traditional tunes and a chorale, *Säveleitä* [1901]) (GH: IK, 23 January 1902);⁶⁶ his "collection of sacred tunes" (probably *Adventti- ja Joulu-Virsiä* [Hymns of Advent and Christmas] from 1902) (GH: IK, 27 December 1902); his "psalm work" (apparently, *Valittuja Psalmeja* [Selected Psalms], notated in his own particular neume notation, from 1903) (GH: IK, 21 January 1904); a collection "Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä" which he had edited (probably *Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä* [Tunes of the People of Finland], Cycle II, First Booklet, from 1904) (GH: IK, 27 October 1904); "music [mistakenly taken by Houdard for that] of Heikki Klemetti" (*Uusia Hengellisiä Sävelmiä* I [New Sacred

Tunes I, with organ accompaniment, obviously from 1905]) (GH: IK, 15 July 1906);⁶⁷ songs composed by Krohn *Jouluvaloa, Tuomenterttuja* and *Koivun [laulu kevätaamuna]* (GH: IK, 31 December 1906);⁶⁸ Krohn's two "Psalms 25 and 33" (GH: IK, 29 January 1908);⁶⁹ and his "songs in unison" (GH: IK, 2 May 1908).⁷⁰ He received from Houdard, as a gift, the *Liber Gradualis* and *Liber Antiphonarius* compiled by the Solesmes Benedictines, which Houdard too considered to be the most perfect and best collection of "these Antique melodies" (GH: IK, 3 January 1902, 23 January 1902); Houdard's own academic publications on Gregorian music (GH: IK, 27 December 1902);⁷¹ and Peter Wagner's study on neume notation (GH: IK, 8 June 1905).

Houdard's letters to Krohn convey the anxiety of a scholar working in desolation in his French surroundings, an anxiety which even his position of Free Professor (*professeur libre*), which he gained at the University of Sorbonne in 1902,⁷² could not soothe once and for all. In these letters he relentlessly attacked the research of the Benedictines (specifying by name Dom Mocquereau, which Pope Pius X had authorised, and Giulio Bas, who had set out to harmonise their collection (GH: IK, 23 January 1902, 8 June 1905, 22 October 1906, 5 January 1911, 11 January 1912). He also criticised French scholars in the field, Jules Combarieu, Louis Laloy, and Antoine Dechevrens (GH: IK, 3 and 23

⁶⁴ My account is based exclusively on Houdard's letters to Krohn, since unfortunately, I have not been able to locate Krohn's letters to him.

⁶⁵ Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 693-56-1 to 16.

⁶⁶ See Martti Laitinen 2014: 191–192. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Martti Laitinen for helping me identify this and the following works by Ilmari Krohn, mentioned by Houdard in his letters from 1902–1908.

⁶⁷ This collection was in fact compiled by a chorale committee designated by the Church Assembly of Finland. The members of the committee were Ilmari Krohn, Heikki Klemetti, and Mikael Nyberg. The organ accompaniments and the preface were by Klemetti.

⁶⁸ These songs were composed to poems by his second wife, writer Hilja Haahti (1874–1966).

⁶⁹ In fact these works were not sent to Houdard directly by Krohn. Houdard states in his letter to Krohn that he received the delivery via [a publisher of the latter, Finnish Greek-born] Mr. [Alexei] Apostol, who was also a military conductor.

⁷⁰ It is not easy to identify these songs. They might include *Nuorten tervehdys* (1908), and *Juhannuslaulu* (1907). *Ystävälle* (composed in 1904 and printed in 1908), and Psalm 33 (1907/1908) are only partly written in unison.

⁷¹ Houdard promised (GH: IK, 27 December 1902) to send to Krohn an essay, connected with his university teaching, on "Antique music". This essay is "L'évolution de l'art musical et l'art grégorien. Cours libre d'histoire musicale Professeur à la Sorbonne, Leçon d'Ouverture donnée le 15 Avril 1902" (Houdard 1902). In another letter (GH: IK, 21 January 1904) Houdard says he will send Krohn his works "on the History of Gregorian music in the I–XI Centuries" to be published soon, that is, *La Cantilène romaine: étude historique* (Houdard 1905); a promise mentioned in a letter from 8 June 1905 probably concerns the same work. A letter from 5 January 1911 contains a promise to send to Krohn a recently finished treatise on neume notation. This text is the article "La notation musicale dite neumatique" (Houdard 1911).

⁷² Houdard wrote to Krohn on 23 January 1902: "J'ai une nouvelle situation à vous faire connaître. Je vais professer à la Sorbonne (Faculté des Lettres de Paris) un cours de théorie et archéologie musicales. Mes travaux sur le chant grégorien en seront la base."

January 1902, 8 June 1905, 23 September 1906). He rejoiced when noting that Oskar Fleischer, too, was critical of the work of the Benedictines (23 January 1902). He likewise appreciated the theories that Gaisser had presented (3 January 1902). In 1906 he wrote: "Father Gaisser is a grand spirit, he must have noticed a long time ago that his Benedictine brothers are wrong." (22 October 1906).⁷³ In a letter to Krohn in 1901 Gaisser states that Houdard might well have been right on many individual points and duly deserved more respect from his adversaries than he received. He nevertheless regarded that Houdard had taken his interpretative theory of the neumes too far.⁷⁴

Krohn might have been especially interested in the attention Houdard gave to the relevance of the ancient metrical feet in his interpretations of Gregorian chant (e.g., Houdard 1901: 18–23) and in the Frenchman's mensuralistic views concerning the rhythm of neume notation⁷⁵ – views that also roused much opposition. According to Houdard, the essence of the musical rhythm was intrinsically contained in the human being (GH: IK, 25 September 1905). When in 1905 Krohn announced to him that he would write about Houdard's treatise (*La Cantilène romaine, étude historique*; Houdard 1905) for the Finnish music journal *Finsk Musikrevy*, the Frenchman expressed his gratitude: "I also admire the fact that you should have understood my work so well, while such a great number of Frenchmen have not even bothered to read it." For his part, he intended to discuss Krohn's editions in his Sorbonne lectures (GH: IK, 25 September 1905). Houdard agreed when Krohn asked for his help in transcribing some Gregorian melodies of the *Liber Gradualis* for students of church song (GH: IK, 15 July 1906). The year before his death he again expressed his joy over Krohn's sympathetic support and confirmed his willingness to help

him translate Gregorian introits (GH: IK, 11 January 1912).

Houdard also took an interest in the Finnish secular and sacred traditional tunes which Krohn sent him. The correspondence between the two European men of learning highlights the relative significance of their national adherence to aesthetic ideals on one hand and to research into traditional as well as sacred music on the other. Houdard's aesthetic evaluation with regard to Krohn's "collection of sacred tunes" (probably *Adventti- ja Joulu-Virsiä*) reveals his background as a composer educated at the Paris Conservatoire by Jules Massenet:

It is apparent that the very simple musical inspiration of these pieces comes from another source which is unknown to the greatest part of our lands. When hearing them, these works very probably produce an experience of religious calm. Almost all of our catholic psalms are ridiculous. They are vulgar airs composed by vulgar persons, and those rare canticles which have been composed by professional musicians do not have the charming simplicity which characterises yours. An effort has been made in France to bring about a reform of our chants, but nothing has resulted, and with the unleashed religious war raging in the country, one can hardly hope for a future success. (GH: IK, 27 December 1902)

In the name of the ideal of a spiritual, nationally unified society, Houdard and Krohn aimed to offer a high class of music not just to the educated part of the population but to entire peoples.⁷⁶ This aim did not exclude Krohn's extensive fieldwork beyond Finland's borders, in central Europe (in 1900, 1902, 1905, 1908, 1914, 1919, 1923 and 1930) (Salmenhaara [accessed 2017]).

⁷³ "Le Père Gaisser est un esprit large, il doit reconnaître depuis longtemps que ses confrères bénédictins ont tort."

⁷⁴ Gaisser, letter to Krohn, 12 September 1901, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 692-52-1.

⁷⁵ C.-E. Ruelle (1903: 350) wrote concerning Houdard's *La richesse rythmique musicale de l'antiquité: Leçon d'ouverture du cours d'histoire de la musique professé 1902–1903 à la Sorbonne* (Houdard 1903): "All in all, the main merit of this work consists of a very learned analysis of the metrical elements that the ancient Greek poets had at their disposal and a complete picture of the resources that the science of the metres provided them." ("En résumé, le mérite principal de ce travail consiste dans une analyse fort savante des éléments métriques dont disposaient les anciens poètes grecs et dans un tableau complet des ressources que leur procurait la science des mètres.")

⁷⁶ Markus Mantere (2015: 48) writes: "By taking a walk on the wild side of folk music, Finnish composers of classical music could, in a way, authenticate their music as genuinely Finnish, capable of appealing to audiences at large." It is my view that Krohn, for instance, in his capacity as a representative of the educated part of the Finnish population, really believed in his duty to educate the people and was not primarily thinking about his own success among the masses.

Krohn also wrote to Houdard in his capacity as a composer and was rewarded with minute observations on his works. His colleague distinguished the Gregorian and even Wagnerian⁷⁷ inspiration of his music and expressed his enchantment, but on the other hand did not hesitate to point out minor mistakes. Krohn's admiration of Saint-Saëns is proved authentic through his enquiry, addressed to Houdard in 1908, of whether he might succeed in having instruction in orchestration from the famous French composer. Houdard explains to him that Saint-Saëns is quite well-off and appreciates his freedom too much to take students. He advises Krohn to turn to François Gevaërt (31 July 1828 – 24 December 1908), based in Brussels (GH: IK, 2 May 1908). In 1909 Krohn eventually studied privately under Waldemar von Baußnern in Weimar.

The encounter during the Paris 1900 Congress of Music History seems to have remained the only time Krohn and Houdard ever met in person. In many of his letters the Frenchman mentions further meetings to take place in connection with future congresses of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft: those of Basel in 1906, Vienna in 1909, and London in 1911 (GH: IK, 15 July and 23 September 1906, 2 May 1908, 5 January 1911, 11 January 1912). However, problems of health and personal adversities prevented the Frenchman's participation. He wrote in 1902 (GH: IK, 22 January): "All those who (in France) are at the helm of this congress movement hope that I will not participate in future congresses." Houdard was a tormented soul who suffered, besides from his own contested position, from the lack of interest in music research prevalent in France, and from the decline of sacred music in a country where the state and the church were separated in 1905. The long correspondence that ended with Houdard's death in 1913 was one important thread in Krohn's networking, which had its roots in Paris in 1900 during the historical musicological event. It was his most important direct professional contact with France.⁷⁸ Other threads lead from turn-of-the-century Paris across national borders, ram-

ifying and leading to new points of contact while the international "invisible collegium" of musicology continued its work.

The professional versatility and French connections of some of Krohn's students

None of Ilmari Krohn's students made an international career equal to his. Their versatility, together with the fluidity of the constraints of the various musical fields, make it difficult to evaluate their musicological contacts with France. The first doctoral thesis that Krohn supervised at his university was that of Armas Launis (1884–1959), *Über Art, Entstehung und Verbreitung der estnisch-finnischen Runenmelodien. Eine Studie aus dem Gebiet der vergleichenden Volksmelodienforschung* (On the type, origin and spreading of the Estonian-Finnish runic melodies: a study into comparative research on folk tunes), completed in 1910.⁷⁹ The topic of this work thus belongs to the first strong field of Krohn's academic expertise, the comparative study of traditional melodies. This field was also represented by Leevi Madetoja's (1887–1947) master's thesis *Tutkielmia liettualaisista kansansävelmistä* (Studies on Lithuanian folk melodies). For this work Madetoja had, following Krohn's classification method, arranged the contents of a collection published in Krakow in 1900, annotating it with remarks on its music (Salmenhaara 1987: 70). Toivo Haapanen's (1889–1950) thesis *Die Neumenfragmente der Universitätsbibliothek Helsingfors: eine Studie zur ältesten nordischen Musikgeschichte* (Neume fragments in the Helsinki university library: a study on the oldest Nordic music history) (Haapanen 1924a) has for its topic the church music of the Middle Ages and its neume notation, and thus another field of research in which Krohn had been particularly active after his journey of 1900.

All three of the students mentioned above went on to teach musicology at the university: Launis in 1918–1922 as a Docent,⁸⁰ Madetoja in 1926–1947 as a music teacher, and Haapanen in 1925–1946 as a Docent and in 1946–1950 as Ex-

⁷⁷ Houdard wrote to Krohn (31 December 1906): "Your 'Tuomenterttuja' is very inspired. The phrase is spacious and almost Wagnerian." ("Votre 'Tuomenterttuja' est d'une grande inspiration. La phrase est ample et presque Wagnérienne.")

⁷⁸ This conclusion is based on the correspondence stored in the Ilmari Krohn archive of the archive of the Finnish Literature Society.

⁷⁹ Krohn also supervised the doctoral theses of Otto Andersson (1923), Arvo Sotavalta (1923), Martti Hela (1924), and Wilho Siukonen (1935) (Heikki Laitinen 2011).

⁸⁰ In 1918 Launis had at his university the title of Docent in music analysis and research in folk music, but resigned 1922.

traordinary Professor.⁸¹ While the title of 'Docent in music history and theory' did not guarantee a full living to Krohn,⁸² university musicology provided even less of a living to his students. At that time it is not yet possible to distinguish a musicological body that stands out from the rest of the musical professions. All the people mentioned also taught outside the university, had a practical training in music, worked in artistic fields (Launis⁸³ and Madetoja as composers, Haapanen as an orchestral musician and conductor⁸⁴ [Durchman, Havu, Hendell 1933; Taitto 2007/2016]), and wrote for professional and popular journals. All three travelled in France.

In a *curriculum vitae* submitted to the University of Helsinki in 1928, Armas Launis groups his professional journeys into two categories: those related to studies and those associated with research: "Study trips: Berlin 1907–08, Weimar 1909, Paris 1911, Berlin, Munich and Rome 1912, Moscow and Saint Petersburg 1916, Germany and Italy 1920 and 1923–24, France 1925–26. Musicological research: Berlin 1908, Copenhagen 1909, Estonia 1909, Saint Petersburg 1910, Paris 1914." (Tyrväinen 2014 [2015]: 148) What, then, were Launis's "studies" in Paris in 1911? In a postcard to Heikki Klemetti he relates: "Nowadays my studies consist above all in going to opera and to concerts. However, in what concerns the concerts in particular, things are different here from Berlin. There are

rather few good ones, while the opportunity to get acquainted with operas is excellent."⁸⁵ To Ilmari Krohn he wrote: "I have visited opera performances so diligently that hardly anything new remains for me to hear, even though here performances are given in the three opera houses almost every evening. On the other hand, the concerts are few in number. That is why I'm considering leaving for London as early as the beginning of next month. I assume that more orchestral concerts are given there."⁸⁶

Launis's entry on his study trips to France in 1925–1926 concerns *de facto* his stays in Algeria, then part of France. Here too a confusion concerning the various fields of music prevails. In a postcard to Krohn from Algiers Launis writes on 1 December 1925: "We remain here and are not likely to move southward until the turn of the year."⁸⁷ The mention of moving southward could imply that the traveller was planning to undertake a research project in an oasis of the Sahara desert comparable to that of Béla Bartók, who had recently published an important article on the music of Biskra (Bartók 1920). Rather surprisingly, however, another postcard from Algiers dated a year later (14 December 1926) reveals that Launis was also actively pursuing another musical profession: "I am enjoying – – perfect working peace and have accomplished quite a lot during these two months, e.g., a new opera libretto – –."⁸⁸

⁸¹ On the musicology staff of the University in 1918–2000, see *Helsingin yliopiston opettaja- ja virkamiesluettelo 1918–2000* (Helsingin ... 1918–2000). On Madetoja, see Salmenhaara 1997/2016.

⁸² The education Krohn offered to his students was many-sided although the courses in musicology were few in number. During the academic year 1900–1901 he lectured on Haydn, the theory of music, and folk song collecting; in 1901–1902 on the music of ancient Greece and Beethoven's sonatas; in 1902–1903 on Schumann as a composer and aesthetician, the evolution of church song in the Middle Ages, and the origins and evolution of folk song; in 1903–1904 on the history of the evangelical chorale and Bach's *Das wohltemperierte Klavier*, and in 1904–1905 on Finnish folk song. He wrote textbooks to support his teaching (Martti Laitinen 2014: 78–79).

⁸³ With his thesis *Über Art, Entstehung und Verbreitung der estnisch-finnischen Runenmelodien. Eine Studie aus dem Gebiet der vergleichenden Volksmelodienforschung* Launis was, in 1910, the first student to defend a doctoral thesis in the discipline of Musicology at the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki. Besides his university studies he was a student at the Orchestral School of the Helsinki Philharmonic Society 1901–1906 (with, for example, Ilmari Krohn and Jean Sibelius) and at the Berlin Stern Conservatory in 1907 (with Wilhelm Klätte); there he also passed an examination in conducting (with Arno Klettner). In 1908–1909 he studied at the Weimar Conservatory (with Waldemar von Baußnern) (Järvinen 2010).

⁸⁴ Haapanen's practical studies at the Orchestral School of the Helsinki Philharmonic Society first enabled him to become a violinist in the Philharmonic Society Orchestra (subsequently, the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra) in 1912–1917 and later (1929–1950) the Chief Conductor of the Finnish Radio Orchestra, during which time he was also the Head of Music at the Finnish radio (Yleisradio).

⁸⁵ 2 March 1911, National Library of Finland (Kansalliskirjasto, KK), Dept. of manuscripts, Heikki Klemetti archive, received letters, coll. 103-2.

⁸⁶ 19 April 1911, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 695-37-12.

⁸⁷ 1 December 1925, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 695-37-20. Launis stayed in Algeria together with his wife Aino.

⁸⁸ 14 December 1926, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 695-37-22.

In 1928 Launis applied again for a post at the University of Helsinki: that of a part-time music teacher (Tyrväinen 2014 [2015]: 162; Salmenhaara 1987: 248–249). Regardless of the fact that he did not classify his Algerian stays as musicological research trips, he chose for the topic of his trial lecture, “Traits from Arabo-Moorish music”. No documents of Launis’s eventual research in Algeria remain, and I have shown elsewhere that the trial lecture is largely based on a well-known article of Frenchman Jules Rouanet, “La musique arabe dans le Maghreb” (Tyrväinen 2014: 166–170; Rouanet 1922). It is important to bear in mind, however, that the post was not destined to academic research and tuition, though the reports of the invited experts show that the conceptions concerning the required skills were far from established.⁸⁹ In the event Master of Philosophy and composer Leevi Madetoja was chosen instead of Doctor and composer Armas Launis. The title of Madetoja’s trial lecture was “Ohjelmallisuudesta säveltaiteessa” (About the programmatic aspect in the art of music).⁹⁰ In 1930 Launis settled in Nice, where he lived for the rest of his life. During his time in France he concentrated on writing operas and on journalism.

Leevi Madetoja is known as one of Finland’s most notable composers, but he is not normally mentioned in the context of Finnish musicologists. However, his professional profile differs in no unambiguous respect from that of the well-known Finnish musicologists of the time. Alongside his conservatory studies, Madetoja acquired a many-sided university education consisting of the theory and history of music, aesthetics and

contemporary literature (e.g., French and German literature), Finnish language and literature, and Latin and Roman literature. In 1910–1911 he continued his composition studies in Paris, then in autumn 1911 in Vienna, and after the turn of the year, in Berlin in the spring of 1912. But Madetoja conserved a fascination for Paris throughout the rest of his life, and returned there several times with his spouse, writer L. Onerva (1882–1972), who had a profound knowledge of French culture.⁹¹

The literary activity of the learned and refined Madetoja was influential, despite the fact that he did not actually write any books. He wrote for many journals and was music critic of the daily newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* from 1916 to 1932. He had already had his article “Kirje Pariisista” (A letter from Paris) published in the journal *Säveletär* in the autumn of 1910, during his first journey to Paris (Madetoja 1910). Later on he wrote essays on French music and Parisian musical life covering the most recent phenomena (Madetoja 1987 [1989]). In consequence of Madetoja’s long-standing teaching activity at the University of Helsinki and the Helsinki Music Institute (later called the Helsinki Conservatory and Sibelius Academy), his knowledge spread widely in Finnish musical circles.

Toivo Haapanen, in a biographical notice, refers to his “study and research journeys” to Paris in 1924 and 1927 (Durchman, Havu, Hendell 1933). Interestingly, he only travelled to the French capital after completing his doctoral thesis and defending it in public on 28 May 1924. This, however, should not hide the fact that thanks to family ties France and the music of Paris had already become

⁸⁹ Conductor Robert Kajanus, who was now leaving the post, was invited to be one of the two experts. In his statement he wrote that artistic merits should count above all; academic merits should be considered only if the artistic merits of the candidates were equally good.

Ilmari Krohn, the other expert, was of the opinion that the nomination should be considered from the viewpoint of musicological tuition. In case the merits of the candidates were equal, basically, preference should be given to the candidate who had the higher university degree. However, he made remarks on the formal imperfections in Launis’s trial lecture and stated regretfully that the candidate had devoted himself exclusively to the composition of his operas in recent years (Tyrväinen 2014 [2015]: 162–163, 171).

⁹⁰ As the university’s music teacher Kajanus concentrated on conducting the Academic Orchestra. After his time the main duties of the post became the tuition of theoretical subjects and the assessment of the students’ exercises (Lappalainen 1990: 183).

⁹¹ Madetoja graduated in four years from the University of Helsinki (Candidate of Philosophy) and the Helsinki Music Institute. His composition teachers at the Helsinki Music Institute were Armas Järnefelt, Erik Furuhjelm and Jean Sibelius, but his teachers there also included Ilmari Krohn (general musical knowledge and music analysis) and Armas Launis (history of music) (Salmenhaara 1987: 35). Madetoja stayed in Paris from 11 October 1910 to the end of April 1911 and again in March–April 1912; he was also there from 13 September to 14 December 1920, in May–June 1924, and in March 1925. During his first stay, Vincent d’Indy’s ill health seems to have put paid to Madetoja’s plan to take lessons from the French composer (Salmenhaara 1987: 80; Tyrväinen 1997).

a part of Haapanen's life earlier on. His learned sister Tyyni, who married the future University of Helsinki Professor of South-Romanic languages Oiva Johannes Tuulio, had travelled to France before him.⁹² Toivo Haapanen in his capacity as music critic, manifested an exceptionally insightful understanding of French music, including its most recent currents (Tyrväinen 2013: 140–141).

In his doctoral thesis Haapanen analysed the confluences of the manuscripts conserved in the University of Helsinki Library (the present National Library of Finland), dealing not only with the German manuscripts but with those of "the three big Central-European schools of neume writing: German, that of Metz, and French".⁹³ He does not seem to have had any French contacts while doing this work. Haapanen was inspired by the recent research of the Berlin-based Oskar Fleischer, whom Krohn knew personally.⁹⁴ In the preface of his thesis he expresses his gratitude to another German scholar, the University of Berlin Professor Johannes Wolf, for advice concerning research literature which he received in 1921 during a study trip to Berlin. Furthermore, he thanks the Royal Libraries in Stockholm and Copenhagen, the Uppsala university library, Berlin State library, and Leipzig university library for the literature he has had at his disposal (Haapanen 1924a: 9–16).

Haapanen told Krohn in a postcard and a letter from Paris (9 and 29 August 1924) that he worked in the Bibliothèque nationale and Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal and followed the opera performances. He was now getting acquainted with the medieval manuscripts that were conserved in France.⁹⁵ A booklet in French he had written, *La*

musique finlandaise (12 pages), was printed in Paris that year (Haapanen 1924b). In 1934 he was able to announce that he had become a corresponding member of the Société Française de Musicologie (Durchman, Havu, Hendell 1933).

Heikki Klemetti (1876–1953), unlike the three persons just introduced, was not Krohn's student. Only nine years younger than Krohn, he carried out his domestic studies before musicology became a university discipline; starting from 1894, he studied in the Orchestral School of the Helsinki Philharmonic Society and became Master of Philosophy at the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki in 1899.⁹⁶ Klemetti completed his musical studies in Germany, from 1902 in Regensburg with the church music scholar Franz Xaver Haberl, and later in Berlin at the Institut für Kirchenmusik and at the Stern Conservatory (1903–1904, 1905–1906). He taught music history at the Helsinki Music Institute in 1910–1920 and church singing in the Theological Faculty of the University of Helsinki in 1916–1944 (Huttunen 2001). He became a distinguished choirmaster, a colourful music critic, and a music historian. He was also a composer.

Considering Klemetti's early German links it may seem surprising that in the 1930s in Finland he carried on a lively interaction with French musicological and music circles. While Klemetti's foreign correspondence is largely in German, his French contacts do not seem to have been based on any specific pursuit of French culture and language.⁹⁷ In 1932 the Société Française de Musicologie invited him to be a corresponding member, for which he thanked the Society's President (Lionel de La Laurencie) by letter.⁹⁸ Klemetti sent

⁹² Translator, writer and literature scholar Tyyni Haapanen (from 1917 Tallgren and later, Tuulio) told her brother in spring 1914 that she had gone to a lot of concerts. She had "heard beautiful music, old and new, in a concert of the Schola de Saint Louis" (12 May 1914, Paris, Toivo Haapanen archive, SKS 1004-4-1). There, dance-songs from Brittany were performed with dancing children wearing traditional costumes.

⁹³ Haapanen 1924a: 72.

⁹⁴ Haapanen tells Krohn in a postcard from summer 1923 that he has read, among others, "'the last word' in the field of neume research, Oskar Fleischer's work, published this year, on Germanic neumes. -- Among other things, he touches on Nordic neumes, some fragments stored in the Norwegian national archive." Haapanen expected Fleischer's book to give rise to a heated debate in the world of musicology (21 July 1923, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 693-5-3).

⁹⁵ On 29 August 1924 Haapanen explained: "For instance, I need to finish here for my laudatur degree in Art history a little study on the Medieval decoration of books -- -. There is much material here for such a work. To be sure, it is good to get acquainted with parchment bindings preserved in their entirety, even considering the analysis of the Helsinki fragments." (Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 693-5-5)

⁹⁶ At the university, Klemetti majored in Finnish language and literature. His secondary subjects were aesthetics and the history of Finland, Russia and the Nordic countries (Huttunen 2001).

⁹⁷ The few French-language drafts in his archive are translated from Finnish by Swiss-born Dr. Jean-Louis Perret, lecturer at the University of Helsinki.

⁹⁸ Draft letter in French, September 1932, KK, Dept. of manuscripts, collection of Heikki Klemetti, received letters, coll. 103-4.

copies of *Suomen Musiikkilehti*, a journal he edited, to the Bibliothèque nationale,⁹⁹ and President of the Association Française d'Action Artistique Robert Brussel sent him information for inclusion in it.¹⁰⁰ Klemetti also promoted his own compositions. World-famous Frenchman Rhené-Baton, who had appeared as a guest conductor of the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra, was the contact person who helped him when violincellist Léon Kartun played his works on Radio Paris in 1939.¹⁰¹ In 1932 Klemetti proposed providing the Société Française de Musicologie with information on early Finnish musical culture,¹⁰² but the archival sources concerning his French contacts do not contain any information about a musicological discourse, properly speaking. He visited Paris in 1939 as the conductor of the Finlandia Male Chorus.¹⁰³

Conclusions

It has of course not been my aim in the present article to assess the life's work of a versatile savant who advanced, gained new scholarly insights, and finally reached the venerable age of ninety-two. Rather, I have attempted to find a methodological approach that would not give excessive relevance, in our area of study, to the idea of national commitment and borderlines. To be sure, the importance of the national mission of Ilmari Krohn should not be overlooked. He entered upon the stage of international musicology empowered by a nationally-based internationalism and equipped with a folkloristic mindset. Later on he created the structures of Finnish university education in musicology, wrote teaching materials, and invented a Finnish-language terminology for these purposes.

In order to create a context for these facts I have sketched a dynamic international community of music scholars whose activity was transnational and decentralised, and involved travel, gatherings, personal contacts, and correspondence. During the latter years of the Grand Duchy and the early period of national independence Finnish culture felt the pull of the various European cultural centres. My claim is that Finnish musicology was not exclusively oriented towards Germany and German thinking. I hope to have established the fact of this decentralised scene by focusing on a centre of musicology which has not until now been properly scrutinised, at least in Finland. It is not a coincidence that in 1900 Paris became the meeting place of this international community. Far from it: the scholarly gathering that took place in the context of the Universal Exposition is quite representative in its demonstration of how one of the most important European cultural capitals rivalled the other centres in its visibility.¹⁰⁴

Krohn's commitment to musicology coincides with the institutionalisation of musicology as well as with the rise of the international confederation movement within the discipline. The cultural nationalism and the perspective of musical creation that marked the beginnings of his musicological career were compatible with French thought with no great problem. In his case they soon gave way to a more musicological standpoint, more particularly, to questions of comparative musicology. After the 1900 Paris Congress it was the congress and publishing activity of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft that offered Krohn the opportunity to keep up with the latest developments in the international movement, to develop, and to

⁹⁹ Julien Lain, letter on behalf of Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, 16 June 1933, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Letter to Klemetti, Paris, 5 November 1933, KK, Dept. of manuscripts, collection of Heikki Klemetti, received letters, coll. 103-1.

¹⁰¹ Draft letter in French to Rhené-Baton, Kuortane, 4 August 1939, KK, Dept. of manuscripts, collection of Heikki Klemetti, draft letters, coll. 103-4.

¹⁰² Draft letter in French to the President of Société Française de Musicologie [Lionel de La Laurencie], September 1932, *ibid.*

¹⁰³ Florent Schmitt, quoted by *Suomen Musiikkilehti* (1939), wrote an enthusiastic review of this concert for *Le Temps*.

¹⁰⁴ Maria Cáceres Piñuel has proposed that the Internationale Musik- und Theaterwesenausstellung organised in Vienna in 1892 was the first fair "to make scenic arts its theme within the series of International Exhibitions held from 1851 onwards, based on new economic relations between countries within the framework of free trade policy." (Cáceres Piñuel s.a. [accessed 2016])

gain international renown.¹⁰⁵ He was successful in a competition organised for the creation of a system of classification of traditional tunes, which the society launched in 1902; his proposal was published in *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft* (Krohn 1903).¹⁰⁶ Later on his students also participated in the IMG congresses.

The Georges Houdard case I have discussed serves as a reminder of the more general point that the national territories of academia concealed many endeavours and contradictions.¹⁰⁷ The various contesting trajectories that led to increasing specialisation within the discipline might explain the surprising fact that in the voluminous Ilmari Krohn archive, no letter remains from the famous French Bach scholar André Pirro, from 1930 Professor of Musicology at the University of Sorbonne, whose wife Agnès (b. Hjorth) was Finnish (Charle 1986: 175).

My article can give no final answer to the question as to how the barriers that continued to mount between France and Germany influenced the international position of Finnish musicologists. It remains to be clarified on another occasion what the situation of Krohn and his Finnish colleagues was in the years 1921–1927, when the musicologists of the allied nations of World War I practised an exclusive international cooperation in the realm of a new association founded

by the Dutchman Daniël François Scheurleer, the Union Musicologique (Fauser 2017).¹⁰⁸ Although no letter from Scheurleer is preserved in the Ilmari Krohn archive, Krohn was member of the editorial board of a festschrift to him from 1925 (*Gedenkboek ... 1925: VIII*). The festschrift contains German-language articles not only by Krohn but also by his Finnish pupils Toivo Haapanen and Otto Andersson.¹⁰⁹

In 1927, the year of the great Beethoven celebrations, the new International Musicological Society was founded to reconstitute the finished activity of both the IMG and the Union Musicologique. Professor of Musicology at the University of Vienna Guido Adler, who assumed a great responsibility for the undertaking, wrote to Krohn in January 1928: “I’m very delighted to learn that the Finnish Musicological Society will participate in [the activity of] the new Société Internationale de Musicologie. You will get the necessary instructions from Switzerland where the new headquarters are based.”¹¹⁰ The International Musicological Society did not actually become a confederation of national societies, but a society of individual members (Fauser 2017). Krohn was a Directorium Member of the IMS in 1933–1952 – no other Finn has occupied this position until the present day (Baumann, Fabris 2017: 152).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ Krohn read four papers at the Second Congress of the IMG (Basel 1906), and at the Third Congress (Vienna 1909) two papers in a session which even included those of his students, Armas Launis and Otto Andersson (Heikki Laitinen 2011). In 1926 Andersson became a Professor at the Finnish Swedish-language university in Turku, the Åbo Akademi. Krohn’s Paris congress paper of 1900 was published in the *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* in the original French (Krohn 1900/1901). On the other hand, he commented on Frenchman Antoine Dechevrens’s article “Etude sur le Système musical chinois” (Dechevrens 1901, 1901/1902) in German (Krohn 1901/1902a, b). The rest of Krohn’s articles in *Sammelbände* were in German: “Melodien der Berg-Tscheremissen und Wotjaken”, in two parts (Krohn 1902); and “Welche ist die beste Methode, um Volks- und volksmäßige Lieder nach ihren melodischen (nicht textlichen) Beschaffenheit lexikalisch zu ordnen?” (Krohn 1903) The German-language community outweighed the Francophone membership of the IMG. In 1909, 375 of its 836 members were of German-language and 214 English or Americans. Before the re-election of an earlier President, Hermann Kretzschmar (1904–1980), in 1914, the association had a French President, Jules Écorcheville (1911–1914) (Eder s.a. [accessed 2017]).

¹⁰⁶ As Martti Laitinen (2014: 65) notes, Krohn acknowledges in the published version of his proposal having already abandoned his earlier “stab motive method” of analysis. He was now leaning on his new “lexicographical method”.

¹⁰⁷ Chimènes (2015: 42–43) and Segond-Genovesi (2015: 380) among others have reported on the very harsh confrontations among the French musicologists.

¹⁰⁸ Daniël François Scheurleer was a Dutch banker, collector, and patron of the arts. He died in 1927 (Hilscher 2017: 35).

¹⁰⁹ These articles are entitled “Puccini: Butterfly” (Krohn), “Dominikanische Vorbilder im mittelalterlichen nordischen Kirchengesang” (Haapanen), and “Musikliterarische Fäden zwischen Holland und Finnland am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts” (Andersson). André Pirro too was a member of the board of editors, see *Gedenkboek ... 1925: VIII*.

¹¹⁰ “– Sehr erfreut bin ich, dass die Finnische Musikwissenschaftliche Gesellschaft sich an der neuen Société Internationale de Musicologie beteiligen will. Sie werden von der Schweiz, wo der Hauptsitz ist, die nötigen Instruktionen bekommen. Ihr in aufrichtiger Hochachtung ergebener Guido Adler”. Vienna, 7 January, Ilmari Krohn archive, SKS 691-8-6.

¹¹¹ The Presidents of the IMS during Krohn’s period were Edward Dent (1931–1949) and Knud Jeppesen (1949–1952).

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