

Introduction

The seventh series of *Jean Sibelius Works* (JSW) consists of more than 100 choral works, including both a cappella and accompanied works for mixed choir, male choir, and female choir, as well as for different formations of children's choir. Some of the works appear in several versions, since Sibelius also published many of his choral works as arrangements, thus leading to a wider circulation.

The present volume contains all a cappella works for male choir including the original compositions as well as Sibelius's own arrangements. The works are organized according to their opus numbers. Works without opus numbers follow these in chronological order, and are indicated by JS numbers. Opus and JS numbering in the present volume essentially follows Fabian Dahlström's work catalogue.¹ In addition to these 32 completed male-choir works, the present volume includes male-choir works that remained uncompleted as well as some early versions either as transcriptions in the Appendix or facsimiled at the end of the volume.² The present volume also contains the male-choir arrangement of *Laulun mabti*, written by Sibelius, on Jāzeps Vītols's (1863–1948) original mixed-choir work.

The song texts in Sibelius's early male-choir output (1893–1905) are mainly in Finnish; only *Hymn* (Op. 21), *Har du mod?* (JS 93), and *Ej med klagan* (the early version of JS 69) stand out as exceptions. The latter part of Sibelius's male-choir production (from the 1910s onward) is governed by the song texts in Swedish, but he also continued to set Finnish texts. Chronologically, the last male-choir work is *Viipurin Lauluveikkojen kunniamarssi* (2), which in all likelihood dates from 1929.

The vast majority of Sibelius's male-choir works were originally written for the use of a specific choir or conductor. In most cases, the works were commissioned from Sibelius, the most frequent commissioners being the male choirs Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat, the Helsinki University Male Choir operating in Finnish, and Muntra Musikanter (the male choir "Merry Musicians"), operating in Swedish, as well as the choral conductors Heikki Klemetti (1876–1953) and Olof Wallin (1884–1920). In addition, Sibelius wrote a significant number of his choral works for friends, either as gifts or returned favors.

The Finnish choral repertoire during the 1880s and 1890s was largely governed by German Liedertafel music translated into Finnish or Swedish, and Finnish music influenced by that style. Also, folk song arrangements – another important element in the choral repertoire – were written in that style.³ In view of this, it is not surprising that Sibelius's first publically performed a cappella choral work, *Venematka* (Op. 18 No. 3), had "a bomb-like effect" on the public in 1893.⁴ The following year, the success of *Venematka* was followed by that of *Rakastava* (JS 160a). In the newspaper reviews, these two works were often grouped together as representing the beginning of an entirely new kind of Finnish choral music. An anonymous critic in the newspaper *Wasa Tidning* summarized such sentiments thus: "As for their musical spirit and content, both works are the most truly Finnish part-songs we have so far."⁵ Another anonymous critic wrote in *Pohjalainen* that "these [two] songs are, to my knowledge, musically the most significant works ever written for a choir."⁶ The idea of Sibelius's choral music representing a new, truly Finnish music is a recurrent feature throughout the reception of his male-choir works.

Op. 1 No. 4 *Jouluvirsi – Julvisa*

Sibelius originally composed the Christmas song *Jouluvirsi – Julvisa* for solo voice with piano accompaniment in 1909.⁷ He later wrote it in four a cappella arrangements for different choral formations, of which the arrangement for male choir is included in the present volume.⁸ On 16 August 1935, Martti Turunen (1902–1979), the conductor of Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat, wrote a letter to Sibelius asking the composer to arrange *Jouluvirsi* for their upcoming concert.⁹ Sibelius agreed and donated the fair copy to the choir, who not only premiered but also printed the arrangement during that year. Although the original Christmas song was composed to Zacharias Topelius's (1818–1898) poem written in Swedish, Sibelius used the Finnish translation in the choral arrangement; however, the text underlay in the fair copy is only partial.

The arrangement was premiered in a concert by Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat on 3 December 1935. *Helsingin Sanomat* was the only newspaper reviewing Sibelius's new arrangement: "The commonly-sung Christmas song 'En etsi valtaa, loistoa' was now heard for the first time as an arrangement for male choir. In its new form, it sounds pleasingly soft and beautiful, but has perhaps lost some of its sensitivity."¹⁰

Opus 18 Six Part-songs for Male Voices a cappella

Sibelius revised the number of included works as well as their reciprocal sequence in Op. 18 several times. Before establishing the final form of the opus, he presented it in public in at least two different forms:

In 1905:¹¹

- 1) *Rakastava*
- 2) *Venematka*
- 3) *Saarella palaa*
- 4) *Min rastas raataa*
- 5) *Metsämiehen laulu*
- 6) *Sydämeni laulu*
- 7) *Sortunut ääni*
- 8) *Terve kuu!*
- 9) *Veljeni vieraillla mailla*

In 1911–1930:¹²

- 1) *Isänmaalle*
- 2) *Veljeni vieraillla mailla*
- 3) *Saarella palaa*
- 4) *Min rastas raataa*
- 5) *Metsämiehen laulu*
- 6) *Sydämeni laulu*
- 7) *Sortunut ääni*
- 8) *Terve kuu!*
- 9) *Venematka*

The early history of Op. 18 is intertwined with that of Op. 21. Before *Isänmaalle* became the opening number of Op. 18, it appeared in the work lists as Op. 21b, and after *Rakastava* was excluded from Op. 18, it appeared as Op. 21 No. 1 (1909–1911).¹³ Confusingly, the choral versions of *Rakastava* (JS 160a and c) have also been regularly labeled under Op. 14, which Sibelius probably intended only for the string orchestra version.¹⁴ Another confusing detail in the history of Op. 18 is the fact that Sibelius never wrote *Min rastas raataa* for male choir; it exists only as a mixed-choir work. Why Sibelius consistently

placed it among male-choir works in his work lists remains unknown.¹⁵

Around 1930, Sibelius revised the content of Op. 18 for the last time. The new sub numbering in its final form was made public for the first time in 1931 in Cecil Gray's Sibelius biography, where the opus was titled "Six part-songs for male voices *a cappella*."¹⁶

- 1) *Sortunut ääni*
- 2) *Terve kuu!*
- 3) *Venematka*
- 4) *Saarella palaa*
- 5) *Metsämiehen laulu*
- 6) *Sydämeni laulu*

In the following section, only those works that were included in the final form of the opus are discussed. The works that were excluded from the opus in 1930 are discussed in the section Works without Opus Number.

Sibelius set *Kanteletar*'s rune *Sortunut ääni* in two versions; one for mixed choir and one for male choir. Based on the sources, the chronology of the two versions cannot be stated with certainty, as no literary documents or manuscript sources for either of the versions have survived. The mixed-choir version was published in print as early as in 1898, whereas the first edition of the male-choir version appeared three years later. The male-choir version was premiered on 21 April 1899; the premiere date of the mixed-choir version remains unknown.

The male-choir version of *Sortunut ääni* was probably commissioned by Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat or their conductor Heikki Klemetti, who premiered it in 1899.¹⁷ The premiere concert was a success: the audience demanded every number in the program to be repeated. Critics in both *Päivälehti* and *Hufvudstadsbladet* emphasized the quality of the performances and the patriotic atmosphere they created. In neither of the reviews were the compositions reviewed separately; in *Hufvudstadsbladet*, the critic characterized Sibelius's works (in addition to *Sortunut ääni*, also *Sydämeni laulu* was performed) as "noble."¹⁸

Klemetti commissioned *Terve kuu!* (the text from *Kanteletar*) for the male choir Suomen Laulu's concert tour in Central Europe in the summer of 1901. The purpose of the commissioned work was to display the choir's exceptionally low basses.¹⁹ Sibelius completed the work at the last minute and the choir had just enough time to get the work in performable condition before the farewell concert organized on 30 May 1901 – a couple of days before the departure. Despite the short practice period, the premiere was a success: *Terve kuu!* was repeated in the concert not just once but twice. The critics also praised the new work. The composer Oskar Merikanto in *Päivälehti* commented in his review that "as a whole, this composition is artistically one of the most valuable choral compositions here [in Finland]."²⁰ The composition was included in the choral collection *Under Sångarfanan – Laulajalippu II* published by Westerlund in the following year.

Due to the short practice period before the premiere, the choir made use of the boat trip to Tallinn to further rehearse *Terve kuu!*²¹ By chance, Martin Wegelius (1846–1906), Sibelius's former teacher from the Helsinki Music Institute was also aboard. Apparently, Wegelius did not appreciate the new work by his former student, as he remarked to Klemetti, who showed him the manuscript: "Well, truly, what ludicrousness this is again from him!"²² The work, however, fulfilled its purpose, as most of the critics writing about the concerts in various cities praised the choir's excellent low basses.²³

Venematka was commissioned by Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat for their 10-year anniversary concert on 6 April 1893. The conductor Jalmari (Hjalmar) Hahl (1869–1929) had put together an ambitious program, which contained six premieres in total.²⁴ *Venematka* was Sibelius's first publically performed a cappella choral work and it garnered immediate success. Oskar Merikanto wrote the review in *Päivälehti*: "It was very amusing getting to know Sibelius's *Venematka*. [...] The song is short, but a real treat. As the other works by Sibelius, it is also clearly based on Finnish rune singing; thus one can recognize its author easily. The travelling by water, the joy at sea, and especially the maidens watching and listening 'at the tips of the peninsulas' are depicted in a masterly way."²⁵ In general, the critics mentioned specifically Sibelius's and Kajanus's works. The critic in *Hufvudstadsbladet* wrote: "J. Sibelius's *Venematka* (text from *Kalevala*) was splendid in every respect, as much by the characteristics as by the musical treatment and contents. [...] Though not easy, it was sung with brilliancy by the choir."²⁶

Saarella palaa was originally entitled *Työnsä kumpasellaki* in *Kanteletar* as well as in Sibelius's composition.²⁷ Sibelius composed it for Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat, who premiered it under Hahl on 7 December 1895. Despite its later premiere, Sibelius may have composed – or at least sketched – it at the same time as *Venematka*, which was also written for Hahl and Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat: sketches for both works appear in the same sketch book (HUL 1400).²⁸ *Saarella palaa* and *Venematka* were published together with *Rakastava* (JS 160a) in the collection *Ylioppilaskoululauluja 6* (edited by Hahl) in 1895. After the premiere, the critics all praised the originality of the work. The critic in *Hufvudstadsbladet* wrote: "The latter composition significantly differs from the customary way of composing for male choir and, in all its simplicity, is captivating in its originality and atmosphere."²⁹ Oskar Merikanto in *Päivälehti* thought that "'Työnsä kumpasellaki' by Sibelius was beautifully vibrating, a great piece of singing, which the audience liked so much that it had to be sung thrice."³⁰ The critic in *Uusi Suometar* wrote: "It is a fine, peculiarly beautiful composition [...]. It was performed very beautifully. However, we think that the recitative of the first bass should have been sung more 'parlando' and not as heavily and stiffly as it was performed. This, however, is the only complaint that can be made regarding this number. Otherwise the performance was astonishingly successful."³¹

Heikki Klemetti began his work as the conductor of Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat in the fall season of 1898. For his first concert with the choir, which was to take place on 1 December, he asked Sibelius, his former teacher, to set one of Aleksis Kivi's (1834–1872) poems to music.³² Sibelius had found the task difficult and time-consuming. However, Klemetti later reminisced that Sibelius gave the manuscript to him with an affectionate remark: "Now it is also the song of my heart."³³ Sibelius's choice of the poem *Sydämeni laulu*, taken from the first Finnish-language novel *Seitsemän veljestä*, has often been mystified, as it is a lullaby dealing with the death of a child, and Aino was pregnant at the time with their third child, Kirsti. Kirsti died at the age of 1.³⁴

In the newspaper reviews of the premiere, the main interest was naturally on the new conductor, who was praised by every critic. The only critic describing the premiere performance of Sibelius's *Sydämeni laulu* in more than one sentence was Robert Elmgren writing in *Uusi Suometar*: "Then again, the small song by Sibelius radiates a deep mood and penetrates the heart. The choir sang excellently. The phrasing was correct and the coloring beautiful. The second bass's pianissimo, in particular, produced a lugubri-

ous shining for the entire song. The audience was overwhelmed after listening to it. The applause did not end before the choir had sung it thrice.”³⁵ In other reviews, the work was described with words such as simple, original, and atmospheric.³⁶ Also, Sibelius’s other setting of Kivi, *Metsämiehen laulu*, was probably commissioned by Klemetti, although the actual commission for the work is not documented.³⁷ Klemetti was an active promoter of Kivi’s art. The exact date of the composition is not known. However, as these two Kivi settings were published together in 1899, but *Metsämiehen laulu* was not premiered with *Sydämeni laulu* in 1898, it was in all likelihood composed a little later (in late 1898 or early 1899).³⁸ *Metsämiehen laulu* was not premiered until 4 April 1900 by Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat. The work was well received; for instance, Oskar Merikanto wrote in *Päivälehti* one day after the premiere: “The program got a brisk start with Sibelius’s *Metsämiehen laulu*, which put the roomful of listeners ‘in the mood’.”³⁹

Opus 21 *Hymn*

In 1896, Sibelius wrote *Hymn* (Op. 21), also known by its initial words *Natus in curas*, for the unveiling of the sepulchral monument of Josef Pippingsköld (1825–1892), professor of obstetrics at the Imperial Alexander University in Finland (presently the University of Helsinki).⁴⁰ The Latin text for *Hymn* was written for the occasion by Fridolf Gustafsson (1853–1924), professor of Roman literature at the University. The unveiling took place on 25 May 1896.⁴¹ Sibelius worked as acting music teacher at the University at the time, and as part of his duties at the ceremony he conducted a small ensemble consisting of singers from the male choirs Akademiska Sångföreningen and Muntra Musikanter.⁴² According to the report in *Hufvudstadsbladet* on the following day, “the simple unveiling ceremony was given a particularly impressive ending by a hymn composed for the ceremony by Jean Sibelius in an old Italian style.”⁴³

The work was included in the choral collection *Laulajalippu – Under Sångarfanan* published by Fazer & Westerlund in 1899. For the publication, Sibelius made small revisions to the work, mostly by interchanging the inner-voices in some passages. He also reworked the ending by extending the last phrase.⁴⁴ In the review of the publication, Sibelius’s work was named as one of the valuable works in the collection, but the critic deemed it – as well as most of the other works in the collection – too difficult, claiming that only a few of the works in the collection were suited to the level of Finnish male choirs.⁴⁵

From Opus 26 *Finlandia-hymni*

Finnish emigrants in America had sung the hymn section of *Finlandia* in several different, unauthorized texts and arrangements during the first decades of the 20th century.⁴⁶ These versions were not generally known in Finland. In 1938, when Yrjö Sjöblom asked Sibelius what he thought of the texts written for his melody, he reacted with reluctance stating that “it [*Finlandia*] is not intended to be sung. It is written for orchestra. But if the world wants to sing it, there is nothing one can do about it.”⁴⁷ However, Sibelius wrote the male-choir arrangement after a request by the singer Wäinö Sola (1883–1961) using Sola’s text *Oi, Herra annoit uuden päivän koittaa* in 1938.⁴⁸ This version is currently known as a part of *The Masonic ritual music* (Op. 113 No. 12).

The text printed in the present volume stems from the initiative of the male choir Laulu-Miehet, and especially their conductor Martti Turunen, who contacted the poet Veikko Antero Koskeniemi (1885–1962) in 1940 and asked him to write a new poem

for Sibelius’s *Finlandia*.⁴⁹ Koskeniemi, despite being reluctant at first to take on the task, wrote a new text to the hymn as part of the publication *Latuja lumessa* dedicated to the disabled veterans of 1939–1940. The poem published in *Latuja lumessa*, however, did not fit Sibelius’s melody and it had to be revised in order to be used in the musical edition. Sibelius, who probably participated in the revision process, approved the use of the revised text.⁵⁰ *Finlandia-hymni* with the text by Koskeniemi was printed in 1940 by Laulu-Miehet, and premiered at their 25th anniversary concert on 7 December 1940. The concert program contained several male-choir works by Sibelius as the next day was Sibelius’s 75th birthday. Although the concert was reviewed by *Uusi Suomi* and *Helsingin Sanomat* on the following day, neither of the newspapers mentioned *Finlandia*.

Opus 84 Five Part-songs for Male Voices a cappella

When World War I broke out, Sibelius found himself on opposite sides with his publisher Breitkopf & Härtel, as Germany and Finland (being under Russia) were on different sides. This meant that Sibelius’s income practically dried up.⁵¹ For this reason, he had to find local publishers, who would be interested in publishing his works even during the difficult times.⁵² One such publisher turned out to be the male choir Muntra Musikanter, whose conductor Olof Wallin commissioned five male-choir works during the war years: *Herr Lager och Skön fager* composed in 1914; *På berget*, *Ett drömmackord*, and *Evige Eros* in 1915; and *Till havs!* in 1917. All the works were premiered and published by Muntra Musikanter, except *Till havs!*, which was premiered by Akademiska Sångföreningen.⁵³ In addition to these works, Muntra Musikanter commissioned *Unge hellener*, which Sibelius sketched during this time, but which was never completed.⁵⁴

The unease caused by the war is tangible in many of Sibelius’s diary entries, even those regarding the choral works of Op. 84. On 30 July 1914, for instance, he wrote: “Shall I be able to compose for these gentlemen of MM in these times? – A rumor has it that German ships are drawing nearer to our shores. And we here in Finland?”⁵⁵ Despite the feelings of uncertainty, Sibelius started the work with *Herr Lager och Skön fager* (the poem by Gustaf Fröding, 1860–1911) in July 1914. The first mention of the work in the diary dates from 20 July. He commented on the on-going process on 13 August with a remark that, despite being a commission, the composition would be interesting. The composition process took a rather long time, as Sibelius discarded the original idea on 19 August and started anew. The final fair copy was completed on 28 August. The publication process started immediately, and Sibelius read the proofs as early as 17 September.⁵⁶

The commission for the second work, *På berget*, was placed in October 1914, but Sibelius started working on it as late as in January 1915. *På berget*, set to the poem by Bertel Gripenberg (1878–1947), was completed and sent to the commissioner on 1 February.⁵⁷

Shortly after delivering the manuscript of *Herr Lager och Skön fager* to the choir, Sibelius and the representatives of the choir (the chairman Fritiof Gylling in particular) became involved in an altercation. In Sibelius’s opinion, the representatives of the choir had behaved “inappropriately” towards him.⁵⁸ Although the exact cause as to why Sibelius felt insulted remains unknown, one explanation may be that the delivered work did not meet the expectations of the choristers. This can be deduced, for example, from Sibelius’s diary entry from 29 August, when he writes that his work was “not understood. They had expected something topical and received a humoresque.”⁵⁹

Although the altercation seemed to have been settled during the late summer of 1914, it erupted anew in February 1915 during the publication process of *På berget*.⁶⁰

These two works, *Herr Lager och Skön fager* and *På berget*, were premiered in the same concert on 27 April 1915. Sibelius had high hopes for the performance: "A good letter from MM's conductor Dr. Olof Wallin regarding the choral works. I expect a lot from him. I believe he understands the new in my choral works."⁶¹ But despite the high hopes, the performance became a "fiasco." Sibelius attributed the failure of the performance to the unfavorable placement of his works as the concert's opening numbers.⁶² The review in *Hufvudstadsbladet* was, however, positive. The critic, Karl Wasenius, wrote that the "adopted old style" of *På berget* was prompted by "raw power that allowed the mountains in the background of the poem to appear with believable effect." Regarding *Herr Lager och Skön fager*, the critic acknowledged the work's skillful part-writing, but commented that "the effect aspired to in the score was not fully attained in the performance, even though all that could be done with the song was done."⁶³ In other words, the work was too difficult for the choir. Both Sibelius and the critic remarked that the audience did not appreciate these works. The critic, however, speculated that "had the song [*På berget*] been repeated, I want to believe that the audience would better have understood its magnificent grandeur."⁶⁴

As opposed to the first two works in the opus, the composing of *Ett drömmackord* took place in more blissful state of mind. On 26 May 1915, Sibelius wrote in his diary: "Was to see Arvi's and Eva's girl. Exceptional. I, a grandfather! – Today I am forging ahead a little with the new things. [I am] also planning for MM."⁶⁵ The plans for Muntra Musikanter – i.e., *Ett drömmackord*, set to the poem by Gustaf Fröding – were realized and completed during the following month, and Sibelius sent the fair copy to the choir on 23 June 1915.⁶⁶ Due to the difficult times, the premiere did not take place until five years later. The concert on 10 December 1920 was one of the first concerts the choir had given in several years, as the choir's regular activity had ceased after the Finnish Civil War (in 1918).⁶⁷ The break naturally had an effect on the choir's level of performance. As the critic Karl Ekman remarked, the fact that MM restarted its activity was a valuable thing in itself, and to critically review their performance would just not be meaningful. However, he still wrote that "for example, Sibelius's new Fröding setting, 'Ett drömmackord', became a rather mediocre performance with unclear harmonies and lack of precision in the ensemble singing."⁶⁸

Sibelius wrote *Evige Eros* (the poem by Bertel Gripenberg) for baritone solo and male choir after listening to the baritone Edvin Bäckman in the summer of 1915. Sibelius completed the work on 5 September. As Wallin received the fair copy, he wrote to Sibelius that the solo part "suits both Bäckman's voice and temperament excellently."⁶⁹ The premiere took place on 14 December 1915, and it received a favorable review. In *Hufvudstadsbladet*, the critic Karl Wasenius wrote: "The first part [of the concert] was concluded by a new song 'Evige Eros', set to Bertel Gripenberg's words, a dithyramb, written in a nobly uplifting manner, additionally lauded by the masterly control and treatment of the media that Sibelius obviously proved to possess here. [...] The solo, which dominates the vocal composition, was raised to the enchanting beauty of line. Also, the modulatory changes presented a masterly use of colors." Even the performance was praised by the critic: "Mr Edvin Bäckman sang the solo from the first to the last note with a wonderful voice and in an uplifting manner that corresponded to the beautiful contents

of the song. The choir also managed its delicate task in a respectable way [...]"⁷⁰ The audience demanded the work to be immediately repeated.⁷¹

Till havs! was written as an honorary song (*lystringssång*) for the male choir Akademiska Sångföreningen. Although the opus otherwise consists of works written for Muntra Musikanter, the commissioner was the common denominator for the works in Op. 84: Olof Wallin, who conducted both choirs.⁷² Sibelius wrote the fair copy of the first version of the work on 17 April 1917, but did not send it to Wallin. On 19 April, he revised the work, which was then sent to the commissioner on the day of the revision.⁷³ Two days later, Sibelius composed *Drömmarna* (JS 64) for mixed choir. The texts of *Drömmarna* and *Till havs!* are taken from the same collection by the poet Jonatan Reuter (1859–1947). Akademiska Sångföreningen premiered *Till havs!* within a few weeks on 30 April at a soirée in the restaurant Kaivohuone in Helsinki; due to the civil unrest, the choir could not give a spring concert as they had traditionally done. The soirée was not reviewed in the newspapers.⁷⁴ Both versions of *Till havs!* are published in the present volume; the early version appears in print for the first time.

Opus 108 Two Part-songs for Male Voices a cappella

Not much is known about the origins of the two male-choir works in the opus, *Humoreski* and *Ne pitkän matkan kulkijat*, both set to poems by Kyösti Larson (1873–1948), known by his penname Larin-Kyösti. According to the dedication written on the autograph fair copy, Sibelius donated the works, including their copyrights, to Eduard Polón (1861–1930), one of the most important businessmen of his time.⁷⁵ Sibelius probably composed the works in return for his patronage.

The exact time of the composing is not known. The sketched melody of *Ne pitkän matkan kulkijat* appears in a booklet (currently in NL, HUL 1697, p. [1]) containing Sibelius's notes concerning his income and expenditure from 1917 and 1918. However, the fair copies of both works would suggest a later time of composing as they are written on the paper type which Sibelius was known to use between 1923 and 1925.⁷⁶ Furthermore, the postmark in the extant parcel (currently in private possession), in which the fair copy was sent, would suggest that at least *Humoreski* was sent to Polón during 1924 (the number series in the postmark is not unambiguous; further, whether *Ne pitkän matkan kulkijat* was in the same parcel cannot, however, be deduced). Thus, 1924 seems the likely year of composition, although *Ne pitkän matkan kulkijat* is possibly based on a melody sketched earlier and perhaps for another purpose. Both works appeared in print in 1925, published by the male choir Laulu-Miehet. Polón later assigned the rights of Op. 108 to Laulu-Miehet.

Laulu-Miehet premiered the works on 23 March 1926. Apparently, the works were difficult for the choir. Although critics unanimously praised the quality of singing in general, the difficulty of Sibelius's new works caused some problems. The critic Otto Kotilainen wrote the following day in *Helsingin Sanomat*: "Some of the new works in particular were so close to the boundary of what is possible in choral music that it is no wonder if here and there a discordant sound was audible." The same critic continued: "Both [works] contain a plentitude of very sensitive chord progressions and melodies, which require time for the singers in order to mature into perfect performances."⁷⁷ In *Uusi Suomi*, the critic complained about the high pitches: "The task of the tenors was not made easier at all by the many new works in the program, which – as accomplished

compositions as they were – invariably climbed to such a register that our Nordic tenors had to excessively exert themselves [...].”⁷⁸

Works without Opus Number from 1894–1918

In addition to the opus-numbered works discussed above, during 1894–1918 Sibelius wrote nine male-choir works that remained without opus number: *Rakastava*, *Kuutamolla*, *Har du mod?*, *Veljeni vieraila mailla*, *Ej med klagan*, two versions of *Isänmaalle*, *Uusmaalaisen laulu*, *Fridolins dårskap*, and *Jone Havsfård*. Sibelius also wrote two male-choir works for the poems of Gösta Schybergson during the spring of 1918. These two Schybergson settings are discussed separately below.

To widen the body of Finnish male-choir works, the male choir Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat (conducted by Jalmari Hahl) organized a composition competition in 1893–1894, in which Sibelius took part by submitting *Rakastava* (JS 160a, the text from *Kanteletar*). Based on the surviving sketches, it seems that Sibelius did not generate new material for *Rakastava*, but took advantage of several of his previously sketched ideas.⁷⁹ The exact date of composition remains unknown, but the competition was announced in May 1893 and the concert, in which the works to be awarded were performed, took place on 28 April 1894.⁸⁰

In the concert, Sibelius’s work attracted wide attention. For example, the critic in *Hufvudstadsbladet* described the performance in these words: “Mr. Sibelius incites in his tone poem surprising scenes, atmospheric and permeated with a breeze of warm feeling, originality and the Finnish spirit in the melodies and in the work’s overall character. We have now no time for a more detailed description, other than just to say that the tone poem had an unparalleled effect. The composer was called forth during the deafening thunder of applause, honestly intended and earned.”⁸¹

The jury’s decision astonished many. In the concert, it was announced that a patriotic work *Hakkapeliitta* by Emil Genetz (1852–1930) was awarded the first prize and *Rakastava* placed second. The critics voiced their disapproval of the decision unanimously: for example, Karl Flodin in *Nya Pressen* wrote: “It is not known which points of view were presented in the jury, but Mr. Sibelius’s composition stands without a doubt above that of the winner in regard to originality.”⁸² *Hakkapeliitta* was deemed conventional by the critics. Interestingly, one critic returned to the question on 2 May, after the second concert, showing this time also some appreciation of Genetz’s work: “[Regarding *Hakkapeliitta*] we must admit that this time we got a better conception of this impressive piece of music than last time. We still give preference to ‘*Rakastava*,’ which in our opinion is the most wonderful Finnish male-choir work we have heard.”⁸³

The jury’s decision has often been explained by the modernity and difficulty of Sibelius’s choral writing.⁸⁴ When *Rakastava* was published in the choral collection *Suomalaisia ylioppilaslauluja* 6 in 1896, Sibelius’s works puzzled an anonymous critic: “The songs by Sibelius [*Venematka*, *Saarella palaa*, and *Rakastava*] are very strange. One gets practically no conception of them at the first playing. But when one becomes better acquainted with them, one notices much beauty in them. [...] But the most beautiful [work in the collection] is without a doubt ‘*Rakastava*,’ though it contains such odd dissonances that one at first doubts whether it is correctly printed. When played, this song feels long and monotonous, but it probably sounds quite varied when sung. The beginning is very pleasing, as the melody is so simple and fine. The baritone solo in the middle

makes a strange impression: a solo which from beginning to end remains on one pitch. The tenor solo at the end is beautiful. The entire song is very Finnish, as most works by Sibelius.”⁸⁵

On 19 April 1898, the poet and playwright Aino Krohn (1878–1956), better known by her married name Aino Kallas,⁸⁶ woke up in the middle of the night to sounds coming from outside; a male-voice quartet was singing a serenade. But it was the song that followed the initial serenade that took Krohn by surprise. As she later reminisced: “My heart was ardently pounding ... After that ... how – is it possible – why those are my own lines, from the poem ‘*Kuutamolla*.’”⁸⁷ Sibelius had composed Krohn’s poem at the request of his friend, the writer and photographer I. K. Inha (1865–1930), originally Konrad Into Nyström, who wanted to propose to Krohn.

After the unfortunate first performance – Krohn’s answer to Inha was not affirmative – Sibelius’s *Kuutamolla* remained in Krohn’s possession.⁸⁸ The first public performance took place only 18 years later, when Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat (conducted by Heikki Klemetti) performed it on 11 April 1916 in the concert commemorating the 40th anniversary of Finnish-language student-choir activity. *Kuutamolla*, which was placed in the concert among new works, did not make a favorable impression on the critics. For example, the critic Evert Katila in *Uusi Suometar* wrote: “The creator of Finnish male-choir composition proper [as a genre] is Sibelius, who was represented in the program this time by a small insignificance from times passed.”⁸⁹ However, the critic in *Helsingin Sanomat* gave a favorable review stating that Sibelius’s new work was “atmospheric, harmonized in a way peculiar to the composer.”⁹⁰ Both *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Hufvudstadsbladet* described the work erroneously as a new composition.

In the fall of 1991, a previously unknown autograph fair copy of *Har du mod?* (JS 93) for male choir a cappella surfaced.⁹¹ Although it shared the same text by Josef Julius Wecksell (1838–1907) as did the published composition *Har du mod?* (Op. 31 No. 2, for male choir with orchestral accompaniment), the surfaced composition turned out to be a completely different composition, and not, for example, an arrangement of the previously known work. Very little is known about the origins of the a cappella setting of *Har du mod?* (JS 93). It has been suggested that the a cappella work preceded the published composition, which was composed and premiered in 1904.⁹² This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the sketch of the a cappella composition appears on the same folio as sketches for the first act of *Kuolema* (JS 113), incidental music for the play by Arvid Järnefelt dating from 1903.⁹³ However, an exact date for the composition cannot be deduced. The a cappella composition was neither performed nor published during Sibelius’s lifetime and it appears in print for the first time in the present volume.

In 1903, many eminent Finns who had publically opposed the actions to russify Finland were exiled. Some were officially exiled by the General-Governor of Finland Nikolay Bobrikov, but some voluntarily decided to leave Finland to guarantee their safety. Among the voluntarily exiled was also the writer Juhani Aho (1861–1921), who due to his political writings decided to spend 1903–1904 with his family in Italy and Austria.⁹⁴ The poem *Veljeni vieraila mailla* is a description of Aho’s arrival back in Finland in spring 1904.⁹⁵ Aho wrote two versions of the poem: a prose poem, which was published in *Helsingin Sanomat* on 12 October 1904, and a metrical poem, which Sibelius set to music.⁹⁶ Aho did not include the metrical version in any of his collections, thus in all likelihood it was specifically intended to be composed by Sibelius and the composer probably received

the text directly from the poet.⁹⁷ The reciprocal chronology of the poem's two versions is not known.⁹⁸

Also, the exact date of the composition is undocumented, but it must have taken place rather soon after Aho's return, as the male choir Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat (conducted by Heikki Klemetti) premiered the work on 2 December 1904. The composition was received enthusiastically. The critic Karl Flodin in *Helsingfors Posten* described the work after the premiere in detail: "Jean Sibelius gave a peculiar contribution to the program, a song full of patriotic topicality: parts of Juhani Aho's touching prose poem 'Veljeni vieraila mailla' (My Brothers in Foreign Lands). The composer had solved in a masterly manner the task to rhythmically treat Finnish prose. However, the hopeless melancholy in the refrain 'veljeni vieraila mailla' was even more masterfully expressed with a descent into the dark minor sonority, which similarly felt grandiose every time and finally pointed towards destiny and starless space. The song was not of that kind that is immediately appreciated for its purely musical treatment, but by repetition all that was intensively felt and distinctively expressed stood out in a completely different way."⁹⁹

Veljeni vieraila mailla was published in the choral collection *Suomalaisia ylioppilaslauluja II* during 1905.¹⁰⁰

Sibelius composed *Ej med klagan* for the funeral of his friend, Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), who was one of the most renowned painters in Finland. The unexpected loss of his friend shook Sibelius deeply. He wrote to Axel Carpelan (1858–1919), his friend and benefactor, on 20 August 1905: "I am writing at the moment something for Edelfelt's funeral. I cannot describe how much I miss him. Life is short!"¹⁰¹ For the composition, Sibelius chose the last six lines of the poem *Molnets broder* from *Fänrik Ståls sägner* by Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804–1877). He first composed *Ej med klagan* for male choir, but abandoned this version, and adopted the material for mixed choir. The male-choir version was left unpublished and forgotten and appears printed in the present volume for the first time.¹⁰²

The present volume contains two versions of *Isänmaalle*. The exact date of composition of the early version is not documented, but in all likelihood Sibelius did not write it before 1898. The first edition of the patriotic poem by Paavo Cajander (1846–1913) was entitled *Maljan-esitys Isänmaalle*, but the second edition (published in 1898) contained the title *Isänmaalle*, also used by Sibelius. Sibelius never made the early version public. Instead, in 1900 he published a slightly revised version of the work for mixed choir.¹⁰³ In 1908, the male choir Turun Työväen Mieskuoro and its conductor Anders Koskinen commissioned a male-choir arrangement, as no male-choir version of the work was publically available during that time.¹⁰⁴ Koskinen's intention was to perform the new version in the male-choir competition organized by Kansanvalistusseura in Viipuri on 19–21 June 1908. Sibelius sent the arrangement, which is based on the published mixed choir version and thus differs from the first male-choir version, to Koskinen on 8 May 1908. The fair copy of the arrangement, however, contained neither the text underlay nor any dynamic markings, and Sibelius wrote at the end of the fair copy: "This is how the song is to be sung. Please, add the underlay and the dynamic marks in their correct position. In all hurry yours, Jean Sibelius."¹⁰⁵

On 7 July 1908, Koskinen happily informed the composer that Turun Työväen Mieskuoro had won the competition. In the letter, he also complimented the arrangement and apologized that the choir had "no other resources to show their respect" to the composer.¹⁰⁶ The choir and the composer continued their cooperation as Sibelius gave the choir permission to publish the

first edition of the work, which already appeared during the same year.¹⁰⁷

In October 1911, a few members of Eteläsuomalainen Osakunta visited Sibelius in Ainola. The members enquired whether Sibelius was willing to write music for the poem *Uusimaa* written in 1896 by Juho Heikki Erkkö (1849–1906). The song would become the anthem of the Uusimaa region in Southern Finland, which was also Sibelius's home region. Sibelius answered that he did not want to write music for Erkkö's poem, which Oskar Merikanto had already composed. He would, however, be willing to compose a regional anthem if the students provided him with a suitable new poem. For this purpose, Eteläsuomalainen Osakunta decided to organize a writing competition, which was won by the pseudonym "1912," alias Kaarlo Terhi (1872–1921), a singing teacher from Salo.¹⁰⁸ Sibelius received the winning poem on 21 December 1911 and began working on it immediately. According to the first plans Sibelius wrote down in his diary, the music was to become "a unison, monumental, one that will travel through the centuries."¹⁰⁹ Sibelius worked on the song intensively for nearly a month. During the composition process, he also expressed feelings of doubt: "Here in my chamber it [the melody] is quite good. But does it also affect [those] out in the broad, cold world? – Is it not too *douce*? And does it not sound too 'hausbacken'?"¹¹⁰ The song was still unfinished when the poet himself visited Ainola on 16 January 1912. Four days later, the song was in all likelihood completed, since Sibelius showed it to Kaarle Krohn, a member of the writing competition's board of examiners, who was visiting Ainola.¹¹¹ Sibelius fair copied the versions for male choir and mixed choir the next day, on 21 January, but revised the male-choir version on 1 February 1912. The publication process of the mixed-choir version had already begun, since Sibelius read the first proofs for the mixed-choir version on 2 February.¹¹² The first edition was printed as a collaboration between Eteläsuomalainen Osakunta and the publishers WSOY.¹¹³ Terhi's poem became disputed. Some members of Eteläsuomalainen Osakunta disapproved of his poem. Some even suggested that the winning poem should be altogether discarded, and the poet Eino Leino (1878–1926) should be asked to write a new poem for Sibelius's composition.¹¹⁴ But it was not only the poem that was controversial. When Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat (conducted by Heikki Klemetti) premiered the male-choir version of the work on 20 April 1912, the critic in *Helsingin Sanomat* commented: "The only thing I can say about Sibelius's new Uusimaalaisten laulu is that even a great master can sometimes compose without inspiration."¹¹⁵ The critic Wasenius in *Hufvudstadsbladet* was also unimpressed: "It [the second part of the concert] began with Uusimaalaisten laulu by Sibelius, a song in which I tried in vain to find 'was Besonderes'."¹¹⁶ Despite the reserved reception by the critics, the audience insisted on hearing the song again. Sibelius originally included *Uusimaalaisten laulu* in Op. 65, entitled *Patriotiska sånger* (Patriotic songs) as Op. 65b, which he changed in 1914 to Op. 65c. In 1930, the work was eventually excluded from the list of opus-numbered works.¹¹⁷

During the politically turbulent years of 1917 and 1918, a shortage of food was a challenge for many in Finland. On 12 May 1917, Torkel Nordman, an architect and a choral singer from Pori, sent Sibelius the following letter: "To keep my promise, I sent you a smoked 'lamb fiddle' [leg of lamb] today. Collect it immediately from the station and store it hanging – May you find it tasty. Schnapps goes well with it."¹¹⁸ In order to deliver the leg without it being stolen on the way, Nordman placed it in a violin case. If Sibelius, once a violinist himself, was sent a

violin, it would not seem too suspicious. The plan worked out and the delivery arrived in Ainola intact.¹¹⁹ The leg of lamb was not the only delicacy sent to Sibelius by Nordman: in 1918, he sent some river lampreys – also with an instruction that they were to be consumed with schnapps.¹²⁰

As a token of his gratitude, Sibelius composed two humorous male-choir works and sent them to Nordman: *Fridolins dårskap* on 15 May 1917 and *Jone havsfärd* on 20 September 1918. Both poems were taken from the same poem collection, *Fridolins lustgård och dalmålningar på rim* by Erik Axel Karlfeldt (1864–1931). Sibelius's choice of the poem *Fridolins dårskap* was very suitable, as the last strophe begins: "Go home and scrape the leg of lamb that hangs on your wall."¹²¹ The text of *Jone havsfärd* is a humorous drinking-song-like version of Jonah's story from the Bible. *Fridolins dårskap* in particular became popular among Finnish male choirs. The popularity of the work that was originally intended as "a joke" (*ett skämt*) took Sibelius by surprise.¹²² Otto Andersson wrote in 16 June 1952 after a discussion with Sibelius that the composer could not "understand how it had become as popular as it was and through whom it began circulating in the first place."¹²³ Although Sibelius originally composed the music for the original Swedish version of the poem, the first edition only contained the Finnish translation. In the present volume, the text is given in both languages.

Two compositions in the memory of Gösta Schybergson
(JS 224)

On 2 February 1918, during the Finnish Civil War, soldiers of the Red army surrounded the Humalisto hospital (Humbleberg in Swedish) in Helsinki to search for hidden weapons. After the inspection of the hospital and other buildings in the area, the soldiers captured the 24-year-old doctor Gösta Schybergson. A little later, Schybergson was executed nearby.¹²⁴ The brutality of the act shocked Finland and was condemned even by the leaders of the Red army. Furthermore, as Schybergson was a member of the Red Cross (he was wearing the Red Cross armband at the time of the execution), the foreign consuls also reacted strongly and pressured the leaders of the Red army. The news of the murder also reached Ainola; Sibelius wrote in his diary on 9 February: "The murder of Dr. Schybergson has deeply shaken me."¹²⁵

After the murder, Schybergson's mother, Johanna, found among Gösta's possessions some poems written by him. She asked if Sibelius was willing to compose the music for them. Sibelius, who was staying with his family at his brother's place in Helsinki at the time, visited the Schybergson family in April and selected two of the poems: *Ute hörs stormen* and *Brusande rusar en våg*, which he set for male choir, as the young doctor had been an active member of the male choir Akademiska Sångföreningen. Sibelius visited the family again on 30 April and handed over the fair copies of the new works.¹²⁶ These two works were published by Akademiska Sångföreningen during the fall of 1918 in an edition dedicated to the memory of Gösta Schybergson.¹²⁷

Ute hörs stormen was premiered during Akademiska Sångföreningen's concert trip to Viipuri in Karelia (Eastern Finland at that time) on 5 April 1919. Although the Sibelius song was used as an advertisement for the concert (in *Wiborgs Nyheter* on 4 April), it was not mentioned in the review (on 7 April). In fact, not a single number was specified in the review; based on the writings in *Wiborgs Nyheter*, it seems that the political gesture of the choir's trip was considered more important than the musical contents of the concert. This was also stated explicitly in the newspaper: "[...] so should this be greeted with joy and

sympathy by each, who not only sees a musical achievement in the choir's arrival and performance, but also a signal that we Swedes in Finland's outermost watch against the East are not forgotten [...] Seen from this point of view, the Swedish student choir's visit has a vital meaning."¹²⁸

Brusande rusar en våg was premiered two years later by the same choir during their concert trip in Turku in Western Finland on 19 March 1921. According to the critic in *Åbo Underrättelser*, the quality of the choir suffered because of the significant number of undeveloped voices. The program consisted mostly of traditional male-choir works. *Brusande rusar en våg* (as well as another premiere) was performed by a smaller ensemble of "somewhat more developed and equalized voice material." The critic complained, however, that due to the small number of singers the work lost some of its power and effect. Sibelius's composition was described as having "a bare and musically meager structure."¹²⁹

Works without Opus Number from 1920–1929

During 1920–1929, Sibelius wrote five male-choir works, which remained without opus number: two compositions to the poem *Viipurin Lauluveikkojen kunniamarssi*, *Likhet*, *Skyddskårsmarsch*, and *Siltavahiti*.

In October 1919, the male choir originally known as Wiborg Sångarbröder decided to translate his original Swedish name into Finnish, thus becoming Viipurin Lauluveikot.¹³⁰ The translation of the name aroused the need for a new honorary march with a song text in Finnish – the choir already possessed an honorary march in Swedish composed by Selim Palmgren. During the fall of 1919 and spring of 1920, the choir unsuccessfully sought a suitable Finnish text. Finally, in the fall of 1920, the author Eero Eerola (1884–1939), who was also a member of the choir, wrote the poem *Viipurin Lauluveikkojen (WSB:n) kunniamarssi*, which was approved by the choir. In order to get Eerola's poem set to music, the choir's conductor Allan Schulman (1863–1937) turned to Sibelius and asked him to compose the music. The two men had known each other since childhood as they had both been pupils at the lyceum in Hämeenlinna.¹³¹ As time passed and Schulman had not heard from Sibelius, he decided to set the poem to music himself. However, around 10 December 1920, Sibelius informed Schulman by telegram that he had, in fact, completed a composition for his choir.¹³²

At a choir meeting on 13 December 1920, Schulman presented Sibelius's telegram along with his own composition, causing a misunderstanding; Schulman's composition, which many of the choristers thought was by Sibelius, was received favorably. The misunderstanding was resolved on 20 December at the latest, when Schulman presented Sibelius's new composition by playing it through on the piano during the choir rehearsal. Sibelius's composition did not make as favorable an impression as Schulman's; the choir thought that the composition was "a little strange, but during the discussion, it was noted that this was only appropriate, as the work was written by Sibelius."¹³³ The choir, however, decided to make use of both compositions: Sibelius's composition was nominated as the choir's honorary march and Schulman's as a flag song.

Earlier in 1920, Viipurin Lauluveikot had announced a male-choir composition competition in order to widen the Finnish male-choir repertoire.¹³⁴ Because the choir's funds were tied to the competition, they did not have the resources to pay for Sibelius's composition. In addition, Sibelius's composition could not be accepted as a submission to the competition; as Schulman later wrote to Sibelius: "We apologize that it could

not participate in the competition [...] as it did not arrive anonymously [...].”¹³⁵ This meant that the choir could not use the prize money to pay for Sibelius’s composition. The problematic situation was solved by a member of the choir, however, who donated a small sum for this purpose.¹³⁶

Viipurin Lauluveikot performed their new honorary march for the first time as the opening number of concerts on 1 and 2 May 1921. Schulman’s composition was also performed; neither of the works was mentioned by the critics. Sibelius’s work had been printed prior to the premiere. Before the work was printed, Sibelius requested a small emendation in a letter. However, what was emended cannot be deduced, because both the autograph manuscript and Sibelius’s letter, in which he requested the change, have been lost.¹³⁷

Sibelius completed *Likhet* to the poem by Johan Ludvig Runeberg on 22 January 1922 for the Turku-based male choir Musices Amantes, whose conductor Werner Karsten (1870–1930) was his friend. Sibelius wrote in his diary on the day of the completion that the new work is “a male-choir work in the good old style – its pathos has appealed to me.”¹³⁸ The work was sent to the choir on the following day, but Karsten, who was “fettered to the sickbed,” was unable to answer.¹³⁹ In fact, Karsten soon resigned as the choir’s conductor and the position was taken over by Otto Liukkonen in the following spring season. Sibelius’s composition was not premiered until 1926, when Karsten, having returned to his position, conducted it on 13 March in Turku.

The work was apparently too difficult for the choir, as the critic in *Abo Underrättelser* bluntly stated: “Sibelius’s *Likhet* exceeded choir’s capability.”¹⁴⁰ The work was performed in Helsinki the following year (13 December) by Muntra Musikanter, conducted by Bengt Carlson (1890–1953). In the program leaflet as well as in some of the reviews, *Likhet* was annotated as a new composition. The critics acknowledged the difficulty of Sibelius’s work, but complimented the level of performance. The critic in *Helsingin Sanomat* wrote: “The choir sang several rather difficult compositions, easily tackling them. Such ordeals included [...] some tough chord formations in Sibelius’s Runeberg romance ‘*Likhet*’.”¹⁴¹

In 1925, Sibelius commissioned the poet Nino Runeberg (1874–1934) to write the texts for two patriotic songs he had already composed: *Skolsång* for the use of schools and *Skyddskårsmarsch* for the paramilitary national defense organization *Suojeluskunta* (in Swedish *Skyddskår*). Sibelius wrote *Skolsång* for mixed choir (see JSW VII/1) and *Skyddskårsmarsch* for male choir a cappella. For *Skyddskårsmarsch*, he additionally provided a piano accompaniment (*ad libitum*) part, which is also included in the present volume.

Runeberg initially found the writing task troubling. He wrote to Sibelius on 19 June 1925: “First, when I realized it was a *skyddskår*-song, I paled and agonized over it. The commonplace patriotic lyric is a nuisance, and how to avoid its damned mode, when it is a question of such a subject? However, the music showed me the way [...]. *Skolsång* became even more difficult to shape [stylistically].” The poet permitted the composer to alter the text, if needed: “That the texts are written in lead pencil is not flippancy, but on the contrary: the idea is that with gummi elasticum, you will be able to take the necessary measures.”¹⁴²

Sibelius wrote a new fair copy for both works after making minor changes. Aino Sibelius inserted Runeberg’s text into the new fair copies. Sibelius then offered *Skolsång* and *Skyddskårsmarsch* to the publishers Holger Schildts Förlag in 1925, but without success. The rejection was attributed to the company’s lack of

experience in the field of music publishing.¹⁴³ Whether Sibelius offered the works to any other publisher remains unknown. In any case, they were neither published nor performed during Sibelius’s lifetime.¹⁴⁴

In 1927, singer Wäinö Sola was in correspondence with Jallu (John Jalmari) Honkonen, the conductor of New Yorkin Laulumiehet, the Finnish emigrant male choir in New York. The conductor expressed the choir’s hope that the poet Veikko Antero Koskenniemi would write a text for their flag song, which Sibelius would then set to music. When Koskenniemi declined, Sola himself wrote the poem entitled *Lippulaulu* (Flag song). The original poem consisted of six verses. The members of the choir revised Sola’s poem, reducing the number of verses to three and changing the title to *Siltavahti*.¹⁴⁵ At this point, Sibelius was asked to set the poem to music, to which he agreed.¹⁴⁶

In 1928, Sibelius wrote the composition in two versions: one for solo voice with piano accompaniment and one for male choir a cappella. During the same year, Sola visited New York and delivered Sibelius’s composition to the choir.¹⁴⁷ The choir expressed their gratitude towards the composer in a letter: “I beg in the most sincere way to thank you, Professor, for your empathy and the honor which you have showed to our choir with your composition. In his concerts here [in New York], artist Sola has entranced his audiences with ‘*Siltavahti*.’ Our choir has ardently practiced it and I feel that it is even more impressive as a choral composition; the singers are delighted with it from the bottom of their hearts.”¹⁴⁸

As described above, Sibelius composed an honorary march for the male choir Viipurin Lauluveikot in 1920. About ten years later, he wrote a new composition using the same poem. The history of this second composition – entitled in the present volume as *Viipurin Lauluveikkojen kunniamarssi* (2) – is not well documented, as the choir’s possessions were lost during World War II. In addition, the only known documents give contradicting dates for the composition. In one later work list, the work is indicated to as dating from 1929. This date is supported by the National Bibliography of Finland, which dates the first edition to 1930.¹⁴⁹ However, Eino Reponen in an article from 1962 dates the work to 1934. According to him, Viipurin Lauluveikot performed the first composition (the one dating from 1920) as the opening number of their concert, which was part of the Karelian art festival in Helsinki (Karjalan taideviikko) in 1934.¹⁵⁰ Soon after the performance, the choir received a letter (currently lost) from Sibelius, in which he asked the choir to discard his earlier composition and promised to write a new march for the choir.¹⁵¹ Reponen’s information regarding Sibelius’s request to discard the earlier composition may be correct, but the year he gives (1934) must be erroneous.¹⁵²

Laulun mahti (JS 118)

Laulun mahti is Sibelius’s arrangement of *Beverīnas dziedonis* (The Bard of Beverīna), ballad for mixed choir a cappella by the Latvian composer Jāzeps Vītols (1863–1948).¹⁵³ Vītols’s composition originally dates from 1891 and Sibelius’s arrangement (dating from 1895) is based on this original version. However, Vītols revised his composition in 1900, writing it for mixed choir and orchestra. In Sibelius’s arrangement, the text – originally written in Latvian by Miķelis Krogzemis (1850–1879) using the pseudonym Auseklis – was translated into Finnish by Jooseppi Julius Mikkola (1866–1946).

The motivation behind Sibelius’s arrangement remains unknown, but it is in all likelihood written for the male choir Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat, who premiered *Laulun mahti* under

Jalmari Hahl on 7 December 1895 in the same concert as they premiered *Saarella palaa* (see Opus 18, above). *Laulun mahti* seemed to attract the most interest in the concert: “From the program, excluding *Herää Suomi* [by Genetz], we would first and foremost like to mention the Latvian ballad composed by Prof. Vihtol. The work was very dignified, beautiful, and imposing. Its peculiar, original, folkmusic-like basic tone suited the contents of the ballad well, and its musically and harmonically praiseworthy structure was written by an accomplished hand. In addition, the choir performed the work musically and enthusiastically; the best performance by YL we have heard.”¹⁵⁴

The critic in *Uusi Suometar* also remarked that *Laulun mahti* was the most impressive work in the concert. He, however, questioned one detail in Sibelius’s work: “The only thing that surprised us in the arrangement was that the arrival of ‘the white-bearded’ was announced by the high tenor solo, so high that it seemed almost impossible to be sung in a chest voice. Mr. Floman, who sang this small solo part, carried out the task rather praiseworthily, and we do not blame him that this passage did not make an entirely favorable impression on us. As a whole, the ballad is skillfully arranged and it was sung impressively.”¹⁵⁵

Laulun mahti remained in Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat’s repertoire for several years, and was widely acclaimed. For instance, three years later, it was still singled out in *Nya Pressen* as the high point of a concert in 1898: “The program contained several numbers that through their musical substance rose above the multitude of merely conventionally beautiful male-choir works. Foremost among these was the Latvian ballad by Vihtol, a longish composition rich in changes of mood, which additionally carried very original local color.”¹⁵⁶

Incomplete Works

There are two works for male choir, *Suomenmaa* and *Heitä, koski, kuohuminen*, which Sibelius began but never completed. In addition, the Appendix contains the draft versions of *Athenarnes sång*, *Uusmaalaisen laulu*, and *Skyddskärsmarsch*. The draft versions were not intended by Sibelius as completed versions, but each of them reveals an interesting phase in the creative process.¹⁵⁷

Sibelius’s sketch book contains sketches and drafts for a choral setting of Aleksis Kivi’s poem *Suomenmaa*.¹⁵⁸ The exact date of the sketches for *Suomenmaa* cannot be deduced, and he never published any setting of *Suomenmaa*. However, he used the melody composed for it as the concluding theme of *Sandels* (Op. 28, for male choir and orchestra).¹⁵⁹ The fact that *Sandels* was completed in early 1898 would suggest that the sketches for *Suomenmaa* date somewhat earlier.¹⁶⁰ After the initial melodic sketches with only a hint of its harmonization, Sibelius wrote a draft of a complete verse. The first draft is set for mixed choir (see Facsimile XI). Directly below the mixed-choir draft, however, he wrote a new draft – this time for male choir. Below the male-choir draft, Sibelius wrote revisions for two passages. In the present volume, the two drafted male-choir versions appear transcribed in the Appendix.

In 1893, Sibelius planned to compose *Heitä, koski, kuohuminen* for male choir a cappella, but before completing the choral work, Sibelius discarded the idea and used its melodic material in the slow movement of Piano Sonata (Op. 12, movement II, also from 1893).¹⁶¹ The surviving choral draft appears in the present volume as Facsimiles VIII–X. It has been suggested that Sibelius intended *Heitä, koski, kuohuminen* as a pair for *Venematka*, which dates approximately from the same period.¹⁶² In addition to the date of composition, these two works are

connected by two other features: firstly, the draft for *Heitä, koski, kuohuminen* appears in the same manuscript as the draft for *Venematka*; and secondly, the texts are from the same source (*Kalevala*, the 40th poem), in which the text of *Heitä, koski, kuohuminen* follows the text of *Venematka*.

Sibelius composed *Athenarnes sång* in March 1899. As the work was premiered soon after the “February Manifesto” (announced on 15 February 1899), which significantly reduced the autonomy of Finland, the composition has often been interpreted as a protest against the manifesto.¹⁶³ In the published version of the work (Op. 31 No. 3), the boys and men sing the melody in unison accompanied by an orchestra. Originally, Sibelius planned the work for an accompanied four-part male choir with the two upper parts for boys and two lower ones for men. Apparently, the decision to change the choral texture to unison singing was due to the tight rehearsal schedule.¹⁶⁴ However, as the four-part choral sketch is rather rudimentary in appearance, it is possible that the change was made in a relatively early stage of composing. It should be emphasized that the transcription of the choral parts, as they appear in the Appendix, is not a cappella version of the work, but is a transcribed sketch for the choral parts of an accompanied work.

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Helsinki, Autumn 2014

Sakari Ylivuori

- 1 Fabian Dahlström, *Jean Sibelius. Thematisch-bibliographisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke* (Wiesbaden: Breikopf & Härtel, 2003) [=SibWV].
- 2 The two early versions that Sibelius fair copied and most probably considered completed at the time of their composition, *Till havs!* and *Isänmaalle*, are placed alongside their published version.
- 3 For pre-Sibelian choral music in Finland, see Matti Hyökki, *Hiilestä timantiksi* (Helsinki: Sibelius Akatemia, 2003) pp. 13–59.
- 4 Sibelius’s description of the reception of *Venematka* in A. O. Väisänen: “Jean Sibelius vaikutelmistaan.” *Kalevala-seuran vuosikirja 1* (Helsinki: Otava, 1921): “[...] vaikutti [...] kuin pommi.”
- 5 *Wasa Tidning*, 18 June 1894: “Båda två äro till sin musikaliska anda och sitt innehåll de mest finska kwartettsånger, wi tilswidare hafwa.” In turn-of-the-century Swedish, part-songs were generally called quartets with varying orthography (at least *kwartett*, *kwartett*, and *kzwartett* were all in use). Similar reviews were published on several occasions; e.g., K[arl Flodin] wrote in *Nya Pressen* on 29 April 1894: “It [*Rakastava*] is Finnish – thoroughly Finnish[.]” (Den är finsk – finsk allt igenom [...]).
- 6 *Pohjalainen*, 21 June 1894: “[...] nämä laulut owat musikaalisesti merkitsewintä mitä tietääkseni laulukwartetille on kirjoitettu [...]”
- 7 The work was first listed in Op. 4. Op. 1 appeared in its final form in 1913. For more details, see Kari Kilpeläinen *Tutkielmia Jean Sibeliuksen käsikirjoituksista*. *Studia Musicologica Universitatis Helsingiensis III*. (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston musiikkitiiteen laitos, 1992) [=Kilpeläinen 1992], p. 187.
- 8 For other arrangements, see JSW VII/1, which includes arrangements for four-part and two-part female choirs and an arrangement for three-part boys’ choir. A mixed-choir arrangement in an unknown hand was published in 1920.
- 9 The letter is in the National Archives of Finland, the Sibelius Family Archive [=NA, SFA], file box 31.

- 10 The arrangement was briefly mentioned by the critic in *Uusi Suomi* on the same day. *Hufvudstadsbladet* did not review the concert at all. *Helsingin Sanomat*, 4 December 1935, U[uno] K[lam]: "Yleisesti laulettu joululaulu 'En etsi valtaa, loistoa' kuultiin nyt ensi kerran mieskuorosovitukseksi. Uudessa asussaan soi se hivelevän pehmeänä ja kauniina, mutta on ehkä jonkin verran menettänyt herkkyydestään."
- 11 Opus number 18 appears in Sibelius's work lists for the first time in 1905 (the list designated in SibWV p. 693 as "Sib 1905–09," which is currently missing, and the beginning survives as a photocopy showing only opus numbers 1–21). However, in a work list published in 1902 by *Euterpe* magazine, the works of Op. 18 already appear in this order (except *Veljeni vieraililla mailla*, which was composed later).
- 12 In addition, evidence suggests that Sibelius twice planned to include a tenth song in the opus. In the work list "Sib 1905–09," Op. 18 has at some point appeared as *10 mieskuorolaulua* [10 songs for male choir], with *Hymn* (Op. 21) being number 10. In 1914, Sibelius planned to add *Herr Lager och Skön fager* as a tenth work (the autograph work list designated in SibWV p. 694 as "Sib 1912–31"). Neither of the works was ever published as part of Op. 18, nor did they appear as Op. 18 in any published catalogue of Sibelius's oeuvre; thus, the plans were never realized.
- 13 The sub-numbers in Op. 21 were contradictory; in 1905–1909, both *Isänmaalle* and *Hymn* were placed second (either as 2 or b). Finally, Op. 21 consisted only of *Hymn*.
- 14 Although opus number 14 was intended primarily for the string orchestra version in most of Sibelius's work lists, Sibelius did mention the choral versions of *Rakastava* in the context of Op. 14 in one autograph work list ("Sib 1912–31" in SibWV p. 694).
- 15 Martti Turunen asks about this detail in an undated letter (The National Library of Finland [=NL], *Coll.206.31*). Sibelius's answer, however, remains unknown.
- 16 Cecil Gray, *Sibelius* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 207. Although Op. 18 appears in this form in the work lists Sibelius authorized after 1931, the outdated sub-numbers (especially those from 1911–1930) have continued to appear in literature as well as in modern editions and recordings.
- 17 Klemetti reminisced later that the exceptionally low last note for the B. II (*Bb.*) was specifically written for John Enckell, a singer in the choir who was famous for his low notes. See Heikki Klemetti, *Sata arvostelua*, (ed. by Armi Klemetti and Jouko Linjama, Helsinki: WSOY, 1966) [=Klemetti 1966], p. 258.
- 18 *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 22 April 1899, A[larik] U[gglä]: "Sibelius' nobla kompositioner." The concert was also reviewed by *Päivälehti* (anonymous critic) on the same day. In the concert, Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat had consciously planned the program so that it pleased both parties of the on-going language dispute. This was acknowledged and appreciated by the critics in both newspapers.
- 19 Klemetti wanted to display John Enckell's voice in particular. The early history of *Terve kuu!* is described in Klemetti 1966, p. 259.
- 20 *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Päivälehti*, 31 May 1901. Despite the good reviews, according to Klemetti 1966, p. 258, the performance was not very good: "It was sung in the concert, but 'only passably'." (Se saatiin konsertissa menemään, tosin "sä där."). *Päivälehti*, 31 May 1901, O[skar Merikanto]: "Kokonaisuudessaan on tämä sävellys taiteellisesti arvokkaimpia kvartettsävellyksiä meillä."
- 21 Helge Virkkunen: *Kuisma. Muistikuvia Heikki Klemetistä* (Helsinki: Kirjayhtymä, 1973), pp. 52–53.
- 22 Klemetti 1966, p. 259: "Ja verkligen, va' ä' de' här för tassigheter nu igen uta honom!"
- 23 The choir gave concerts, for example, in Tallinn, Wiesbaden, Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Frankfurt am Main, Düsseldorf, Cologne, Brussels, Den Haag, Amsterdam, Lübeck, Copenhagen, and Helsingborg. The tour was covered in many Finnish newspapers, which also cited the local reviews of the concerts.
- 24 In addition, the compositions premiered in the concert were: *Juhlakantaatti* by Richard Faltin, *Huutolaistyön kehtolaulu* by Robert Kajanus, *Se kolmas* by Oskar Merikanto, *Suksimiesten laulu* by Rafael Laethén, and *Mustalaislaulu* (folk song arrangement) by Ilmari Krohn.
- 25 *Päivälehti*, 13 April 1893, O[skar Merikanto]: "Sibeliuksen Wenematkaan oli erittäin hupaista tutustua. [...] Laulu on lyhyt, mutta oikea makupala. Kuten Sibeliuksen muutkin teokset, on tämäkin aiwan suomalaiselle runonuotille perustettu, joten siinä heti tekijän tuntee. Mestarillisesti on itse wiesien laskeminen, ilo merellä, ja warsinkin neitosten katseleminen ja kuunteleminen 'niemien nenistä' kuwattu."
- 26 A review with similar contents was also published in *Päivälehti* on the same day. *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 7 April 1893, Bis [Karl Wasenius]: "J. Sibelius' Venematka (text ur Kalevala) var präktig i alla afseenden, så till karaktäristik, som rent musikalisk behandling och innebörd. [...] Ehuru icke lätt sjöngs den med bravur af kören."
- 27 *Työnsä kumpasellaki* is the title of the original poem. It also appears in the context of Sibelius's composition in the programs of the early performances as well as in its first edition. Sibelius, however, used the title *Saarella palaa* in his later work lists. In the mixed-choir arrangement (from 1898), the first edition has *Saarella palaa* instead of *Työnsä kumpasellaki*. At what point Sibelius changed the title remains unknown.
- 28 The letter in which Hahl asks if Sibelius has any choral works for his upcoming publication is dated 27 July 1895. Whether *Saarella palaa* was already composed at that time remains unknown.
- 29 *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 8 December 1895, pseudonym H. M.: "Sist nämada composition afwiker betydligt från det vanliga kompositionmaneret för mankvartett och är i all sin enkelhet af fångslande originalitet och stämning."
- 30 *Päivälehti*, 8 December, O[skar Merikanto]: "Sibeliuksen 'Työnsä kumpasellaki' oli kauniswäreinen, hieno laulunpätkä, johon yleisö oli niin mieltynyt, että se saatiin kolmasti laulaa."
- 31 *Uusi Suometar*, 8 December 1895, R[obert] E[Imgren]: "Se on hieno omituisen kaunis säwellys [...]. Se esitettiinkin erinomaisen kauniisti. Ensi basson resitatiwi kuitenkin olisi mielestämme ollut laulettawa enemmän 'parlando' eikä niin raskaasti ja jäykästi kuin se esitettiin. Tämä onkin ainoa muistutus, jonka tämän numeron johdosta woi tehdä. Muuten oli esitys aiwan ihmeteltävän onnistunut."
- 32 Klemetti wrote later (in "Elettiinpä ennenkin", published in *Pikvilaiva. Aleksis Kivi ajan kuvastimessa*, [Helsinki: Otava, 1947], pp. 78–85; the quote from p. 81) that "I in particular was interested in commissioning new [works], as I was previously unknown, an unnamed whippersnapper; [I] needed to have at least new songs." (Minä erityisesti olin uuden hankkimisesta kiinnostunut, kun olin uusi tuntematon, nimetön pojankloppi; piti olla edes uusia lauluja.)
- 33 *Sydämeni laulu* is in English The Song of My Heart. *Pikvilaiva* (1947, pp. 81–82): "Nyt se on minunkin sydämeni laulu." Sibelius's remark that the process was time-consuming is from countess Ida Palmén's (1860–1942) letter (NL, *Coll.206.28*).
- 34 E.g., Andrew Barnett (*Sibelius* [Cambridge: Yale University Press, 2010], p. 120) writes that "that was to prove eerily prophetic."
- 35 *Uusi Suometar*, 2 December 1898, R[obert] E[Imgren]: "Sibeliuksen pieni laulu taas on sywää tunnelmaa uhkuwa säwellys joka tunkee sydämeen. Kööri sen lauloi erinomaisesti. Fraseeraus oli oikea ja wäritys kaunis. Etenkin toinen basso pianissimossa antoi lugubren loiston koko laululle. Yleisö oli sen kuultuaan haltioissaan. Käsien taputukset eiwät loppuneet ennenkuin kööri sen kolmasti oli laulanut."
- 36 *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 2 December 1898, A[larik] U[gglä]: "Sibelius's in all its simplicity so original and atmospheric new song" (Sibelius' i all sin enkelhet så originella och stämningsfulla nya sång). *Nya Pressen*, the same day, K[arl Flodin]: "made an exceptionally strong effect through its simple, natural beauty" (värkade genom sin enkla, osökta skönhet utomordentligt starkt).
- 37 As Sibelius and Klemetti met each other frequently, the commission may have been passed on orally. In addition to Klemetti, Ida Palmén asked Sibelius to set Kivi's texts for male choir, in particular the poem *Ikävyys*, which she sent to Sibelius in 1901 (Palmén's

- letter to Sibelius in NL, *Coll.206.28*). Sibelius, however, did not fulfil her request.
- 38 Before the first edition, a typeset edition for performance purposes, including both of Sibelius's Kivi settings, was produced, binding the history of these two works even more closely (see Source Evaluation). The typeset edition is currently lost; thus the question of whether it dates from 1898 or 1899 remains unsolved. For the lost edition, see Sakari Ylivuori: *Jean Sibelius's Works for Mixed Choir. A Source Study* (Helsinki: The University of the Arts Helsinki, 2013) [=Ylivuori 2013], pp. 32–33.
 - 39 *Päivälehti*, 5 April 1900, O[skar Merikanto]: "Ohjelma alkoi reippaasti Sibeliuksen Metsämiehen laululla, joka heti sai yleisön, jota oli huoneen täydeltä, 'stemninkiin'."
 - 40 Pippingsköld was also Member of Parliament in 1863–1885 and the vice-principal at Helsinki University 1882–1884. For a history of the opus number, see section Opus 18.
 - 41 The Swedish translation of the poem was published in newspapers during the next few days (e.g., *Hufvudstadsbladet* and *Nya Pressen* on 26 May).
 - 42 In addition to his own work, Sibelius conducted *Integer vitae* by Friedrich Ferdinand Flemming (1778–1813).
 - 43 *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 26 May 1896, anon.: "Den enkla invigningsakten fick en synnerligen anslående afslutning genom en för tillfället af Jean Sibelius komponerad hymn i gammal italiensk stil." The expression "old Italian style" was also used two days later in *Abo Underrättelser*.
 - 44 The version published in JSW is the revised version. The differences in the premiered version are listed in the Critical Remarks.
 - 45 *Uusi Suometar*, 15 November 1899, E[vert] K[atila]: "[...] and surely the collection contains a number of singable songs though not as many as would have been desirable. [...] Hopefully, in the future the male-choir collections will also keep an eye on the demand by the numerous Finnish choirs." ([...] ja warmaan löytyy kokoelmasta joukko laulettawiakin lauluja waikka ei niin paljon kun suotawa olisi ollut. [...] Toiwottawa olisi että wastaisuudessa ilmestyisi miesköörikokoelmia, joissa lukuisain suomalaisten lauluseurojenkin tarwetta silmällä pidettäisiin.)
 - 46 Martti Nisonen did ask permission for his male-choir arrangement; however, he requested it after its performance. Nisonen's arrangement contained the entire tone poem and not just the hymn section (the letter in NL, *Coll.206.27*). Another arrangement was by Herbert S. Sammond (Yrjö Sjöblom: "Finlandia lauluna" in *Suomen kuvalehti* 1945, No. 49, p. 1259). For the earlier poems for *Finlandia*, see also Glenda Dawn Goss: *Vieläkö lähetämme hänelle sikareja. Sibelius, Amerikka ja amerikkalaiset* (Helsinki: WSOY, 2009), pp. 196–206.
 - 47 Sjöblom (1945, p. 1259): "Ei sitä ole tarkoitettu laulettavaksi. Sehän on tehty orkesteria varten. Mutta jos maailma tahtoo laulaa, niin ei sille mitään mahda." Yrjö Sjöblom (also known as George Sjöblom) was a Finnish journalist who emigrated to America. He was one of the first who wrote a text to *Finlandia* (in 1919).
 - 48 Sola refers to the American texts of *Finlandia* in a letter dated 7 February 1937.
 - 49 Koskenniemi's reply letter is in private possession; the photocopy is in the Sibelius Museum, Turku [later SibMus].
 - 50 The revision was made by Koskenniemi with the help of Turunen (and probably also of Sibelius). See the description of the original text in the Critical Commentary. Koskenniemi's text for *Finlandia* was based on an earlier poem of his, namely *Juhamuusvirsi*. For details, see Martti Häikiö: *V. A. Koskenniemi – suomalainen klassikko 2* (Helsinki: WSOY, 2009), pp. 56–59.
 - 51 On 20 August 1914, Sibelius wrote in his diary that it is "[s]trange that [I] must consider them [B&H] an enemy" (Egendomligt att måste anse dem som fiender). This entry was written in the context of composing Op. 84 No. 1. On 3 August, Sibelius remarked that all communications with the publisher had been broken. Sibelius's diary is in NA, SFA, file box 37–38. The diary was published by Fabian Dahlström, *Jean Sibelius: Dagbok 1909–1944* (Helsinki: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2005).
 - 52 Diary, 20 August 1914: "[I] must find connections to local publishers, although [I am] in a way reliant on B&H." (Måste finna anknytningspunkter med härvarande förläggare ehuru på visst sätt bunden af B. & H.)
 - 53 However, the first edition of *Till havs!* was published by Muntra Musikanter [=MM]. The first four works were included in their ninth collection of male-choir works, whereas *Till havs!* was included in the tenth collection.
 - 54 Sibelius composed the Fifth Symphony at that time. Diary entries show frustration over the fact that he was unable to concentrate on writing the symphony, because he had to compose small-scale works, which he could swiftly sell to Finnish publishers. For example, on 1 August 1914: "Have to set myself in contact with MM and step away from my pedestal. – The new symphony is starting to move within me! Why should I always be disturbed, never get to do what my spirit was created for? Always these business matters!" (Måste sätta mig i förbindelse med M.M. och stiga ned från min piedestal. – Den nya sinfonin börjar röra på sig! Hvarför skall jag alltid bli störd, aldrig få göra det min ande skapades till? Alltid dessa affärer!)
 - 55 Diary, 30 July 1914: "Skall jag kunna i dessa tider komponera för dessa herrar i 'M.M.' – Man talar om att tyska skepp närma sig våra kuster. Och vi här i Finland?"
 - 56 All the dates are from the diary. On 13 August 1914: "A commission – but becoming very likely so interesting!" (En beställning – men blir nog så intressant!)
 - 57 All dates are from the diary.
 - 58 Diary, 19 September 1914: "icke korrekt."
 - 59 Diary, 29 August 1914: "icke begripits. Man hade väntat sig något aktuellt och erhöill en humoresque."
 - 60 Olof Wallin refers to the altercation in his letter to Sibelius on 28 November 1914 (NL, *Coll.206.40*), in which he thanks Sibelius for clarifying the "accusation inconsiderately directed to me [Wallin]" (beskyllning som obetänksamt uttalats mot mig). Wallin and Sibelius were on friendly terms throughout these years and they both quarreled with Gylling.
 - 61 "The good letter" probably refers to an undated letter (in NL, *Coll.206.40*), in which Wallin clarifies some "misunderstandings" concerning the publication process (misförstånd av tryckeriets sida) and praises Sibelius's new male-choir works, saying that "their originality and completely new style contain a promise of a new phase in male-choir music's development." (Dess originella, fullkomligt nya stil innebär löftet om ett nytt skede i manskörsångens utveckling). Diary 9 February 1915: "Af M.M.'s dirigent Dr Olof Wallin ett bra bref angående kören. Jag hoppas mycket af honom. Jag tror han förstår detta nya i mina körsånger."
 - 62 Diary, 28 April 1915: "[I have h]ad a fiasco with the choral works for MM. And [I] expected so much of Wallin's performance of them." (Haft fiasco med köerna för M.M. Och hoppades så mycket af Wallin's framförande af dem.)
 - 63 *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 28 April 1915, Bis [Karl Wasenius]: "attrapperade gamla stil [...] en kärf kraft som lät diktens högfjällsfond framstå med illusorisk verkan." And: "den i partituret åsyftade verkan ej fullt vunnits vid utförandet, och dock gjordes af sången allt hvad göras kunde."
 - 64 Diary, 28 April 1915: "But the audience [was] absolutely cold." (Men publiken absolut kall.) *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 28 April 1915: "Hade sången omtagits, vill jag tro att publiken bättre fått fatt på dess väldiga resning."
 - 65 Eva Paloheimo (1893–1978) was Sibelius's oldest daughter. Diary, 26 May 1915: "Var att se Arvis och Evas flicka. Sällsamt. Jag, morfar! – I dag smider något på de nya sakerna. Planerar äfven för M.M."
 - 66 Diary, 23 June 1915. Wallin thanked for the fair copy, which he received on 29 June, in a letter dated 30 June 1915 (in NL, *Coll.206.40*).
 - 67 Fritiof Gylling: "M.M.'s dirigenter", in *M.M. 1878–1928* (Helsinki: Muntra Musikanter, 1928), pp. 81–82.

- 68 *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 11 December 1920, K[arl] E[kma]n: “[...] blev exempelvis Sibelius’ nya Frödingsång ‘Ett drömmackord’ en rätt medelmåttig prestation med oklara harmonier och brist på precision i samsången.”
- 69 The date of completion is from the diary. Wallin’s letter dated 14 September 1915 (in NL, *Coll.206.40*): “[...] passar utmärkt för Bäckmans såväl röst som temperament.”
- 70 In the review, Wasenius told that Sibelius wrote the composition after hearing Edvin Bäckman sing. *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 15 December 1915, Bis [Karl Wasenius]: “Första afdelningen afslutades med en ny sång ‘Evige Eros’ till ord af Bertel Gripenberg, en dityramb, skriven med en lyftning af ädelt slag, förhålligad ytterligare af den mästreliga behärskning och behandling af uttrycksmedlen som Sibelius själfvallet här visade sig mäktig af. [...] Solot, som dominerar sångkompositionen, höjde sig i en linjeskönhet som var betagande. Äfven de modulatoriska växlingarna upptedde en kolorit skapad af mästarehand.”; “Herr Edvin Bäckman sjöng solot från första till sista ton med härlig röst och med en lyftning som motsvarade sångens sköna innebörd. Äfven kören redde sig på hedrande sätt i den ömtåliga uppgiften [...]”
- 71 In this concert, the choir also performed *Herr Lager och Skön fager* and *På berget* (premiered half year previously). According to the critic, their performance was more successful than in the premiere, although some amount of nervousness was still visible. The critic attributed this to the fact that the composer himself was present.
- 72 Wallin’s letters in NL, *Coll.206.40*. The commission letter of *Till havs!* is undated.
- 73 Diary 17 and 20 April 1917.
- 74 *Hufvudstadsbladet* only reported that in the soirée Wallin was renominated as the choir’s conductor.
- 75 Polón is considered as the founder of the Finnish rubber and modern woodworking industries. Due to his political activity for Finnish independence, he was deported to Siberia in 1916–1917.
- 76 For the paper types, see the Critical Commentary. See also Kilpeläinen 1992, p. 286.
- 77 *Helsingin Sanomat*, 24 March 1926, O[tto] K[ottilainen]: “Varsinkin toiset uutuuksista olivat niin lähellä kuorotylin mahdottomuusrajoja, ettei yhtään ihme, jos niissä siellä täällä sorahtava ääni kuuluviin pääsi.” On 25 March: “Kummassakin on viljalti sängen arkoja sointuyhteyksiä ja sävelkulkuja, joten ne vaativat laulajilta aikaa kypsyäkseen täydelliseksi esityksiksi.”
- 78 According to the unknown critic, the uppermost pitch for the “Nordic tenors” is *ab*¹. *Uusi Suomi*, 24 March 1926, L. A. P. P.: “Tenorien työtä eivät suinkaan olleet omiaan helpottamaan useat ohjelman uutuudet, jotka – niin ansiokkaita kuin ne sävellyksinä olivatkin – poikkeuksetta kiipesivät sellaisille sävelaloille, että meidän pohjoismaiset tenorimme joutuivat yli voimainsa ponnistamaan.”
- 79 The ideas included the *Kalevala* poem *Tulen synty*, but it was not completed in the 1890s. Also, the melody of *Heitä, koski, kuohuminen* appears for the first time in these sketches (see below). For details, see Ylivuori 2013, pp. 171–188.
- 80 For the first performance, Sibelius wrote a string-orchestra accompaniment (JS 160b) for the male-choir work (JS 160a), but it was not used. In fact, *Rakastava* with string-orchestra accompaniment was not performed during Sibelius’s lifetime. In 1898, Sibelius arranged *Rakastava* for mixed choir a cappella (JS 160c). In 1912, he published a string orchestra work (Op. 14) using the material of *Rakastava*.
- 81 *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 1 May 1894, Bis [Karl Wasenius]: “Hr Sibelius för i sin tondikt fram öfverraskande scener, stämningsfulla och genomfläktade af varm känsla, originalitet och finsk anda i melodik och styckets totalkaraktär. Vi medhinna ej denna gång en större detaljering, utan nämna blott, att tondikten slog an ofantligt. Under en döfvande åska af applåder, ärligt menade och förtjänade, framkallades komponisten.”
- 82 *Nya Pressen*, 29 April 1894, K[arl] Flodin: “Hvilka synpunkter som inom prisnämnden gjort sig gällande är obekant, men hr Sibelius komposition står obetingadt öfver den första pristagarens hvad originaliteten beträffar.”
- 83 *Uusi Suometar*, 2 May 1894 R[obert] E[lmgren]: “[...] täytyy myöntää, että tällä kertaa sai paremman käsityksen tästä waikutawasta säwelteoksesta kuin viimein. Etusijan kuitenkin aina annamme ‘Rakastawalle’, joka mielestämme on ihanin suomalainen miesääninen laulu, jonka olemme kuulleet.”
- 84 E.g., Erik Tawaststjerna, *Jean Sibelius. Åren 1893–1904* (Helsinki: Söderström, 1993) [=Tawaststjerna 1993], p. 20.
- 85 The same collection included *Venematka*, which according to the critic was easy to understand (helpoimmin ymmärrettävä), and *Työnsä kumpasellaki* (i.e., *Saarella palaa*), which was deemed “insignificant” (vähäpätöinen). *Kaiku*, 17 January 1896, pseudonym E-t: “Sibelius’en laulut owat hywin omituisia. Niistä ei saa juuri minkäänlaista käsitystä ensi kerran soittaessaan. Mutta kun niihin enemmän tutustuu, huomaa niissä kauneutta oikein paljo. [...] Mutta kaunein on kieltämättä ‘Rakastawa’, waikka se sisältää niin kummallisia epäsointuja, että aluksi epäilee, onko sitä oikein painettu. Pitkältä ja yksitoikkoiselta tuntuu tämä laulu soittaessa, mutta luultawaa on, että se laulettaessa kuuluu hywin waihtelewata. Alkuosa erittäinkin on miellyttävä, melodia kun on niin yksinkertainen ja hieno. Omituisen waikutuksen tekee baritoni-soolo keskiosassa, soolo, joka alusta loppuun asti pysyy yhdellä ainoalla äänteellä. Tenorisoolo lopussa on kaunis. Koko laulu on perin suomalainen, niin kuin useimmat Sibelius’en sävellykset.”
- 86 Before getting married, Krohn published her works under the pseudonym Aino Suonio.
- 87 Kallas wrote about the serenade in her diary on 20 April and 10 July 1898 (Aino Kallas, *Päiväkirja vuosilta 1897–1906* [Helsinki: Otava, 1952]). She later reminisced about the event in the diary entry from 10 May 1950 (Aino Kallas, *Vaeltava vieraskirja vuosilta 1946–1956* [Helsinki: Otava, 1957]): “Sydämeni sykki kiivaasti ... Senjälkeen ... kuinka – onko mahdollista – nuohan ovat omia säkeitäni, runosta ‘Kuutamolla’.”
- 88 Currently in Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura (SKS), the Kallas archive, file box 4.
- 89 *Uusi Suometar* 12 April 1916, E[vert] K[atila]: “Varsinaisen uuden suomalaisen mieskuorosävellyksen luoja on Sibelius, jota tällä kertaa ohjelmassa edusti pieni vähäpätöisyys kuluneilta ajoilta.” The review in *Hufvudstadsbladet* (by Bis [Karl Wasenius]) had similar content.
- 90 *Helsingin Sanomat*, 12 April 1916, O[tto] K[ottilainen]: “[...] hienotunnelmainen, säweltäjälle ominaisella tawalla soinnutettu.”
- 91 See Kilpeläinen 1992, pp. 89–90. Only a sketch was previously known. The fair copy was found in the estate of Mikko Slöör (1866–1934), who managed Sibelius’s finances in 1898–1908.
- 92 Kilpeläinen 1992, p. 90 and SibWV, p. 550.
- 93 The sketches are in NL under signum HUL 1160. According to Kilpeläinen, the paper type and ink suggest the years 1903–1905 (Kilpeläinen 1992, pp. 89–90).
- 94 Among Aho’s political writings were, for example, the two volumes of openly patriotic short stories called *Katajainen kansani* (Porvoo: WSOY, 1899 and 1900).
- 95 The poem contains several autobiographical references. In the first publication, the poem was indicated to date from “last spring after I had returned from Italy” (viime kevännä Italiasta palattuani).
- 96 The prose poem was included in the revised edition of *Katajainen kansani* in 1909 (pp. 247–249).
- 97 Aho’s home Ahola is located close to Sibelius’s home Ainola. *Veljeni vieraila mailla* is one of the first compositions written in Ainola, where the Sibelius family moved in 1904.
- 98 It has been repeatedly stated (e.g., in SibWV) that Sibelius made significant changes to Aho’s poem. However, Aho’s manuscript, which resurfaced during the preparation of the present volume, undoubtedly shows that the changes were made by Aho himself. For the manuscript, see the Critical Commentary.
- 99 It is noteworthy that also the critic made the interpretation that the poem was emended by Sibelius and not by the poet himself; thus the misapprehension described above may derive from the review

- (see the previous endnote). *Helsingfors Posten*, 4 December 1904, K[arl Flodin]: “Jean Sibelius gaf ett säreget bidrag till programmet, en sång full af fosterländsk aktualitet: delar af Juhani Aho’s gripande prosadikt ‘Veljeni vierailta mailla’ (Mina bröder i främmande land). Uppgiften att rytmiskt behandla finsk prosa hade tonsättaren löst på ett mästertligt sätt. Men än mästertligare var det hopplösa tungsinnets i refrängen ‘veljeni vierailta mailla’ uttryckt, med en fördjupning i den mörka mollklängen, som för hvar gång verkade lika storslaget och till sist pekade ut mot öde och stjärnlösa rymder. Söngen var ej af den art att den genast senterades till den rent musikaliska behandlingen, men vid bisseringen trädde allt det intensivt kända och egenartadt uttryckta på ett helt annat sätt fram.”
- 100 *Veljeni vierailta mailla* appeared in America in 1915 as it was included in the collection *Ten Student Songs from Finland* (New York: The H. W. Gray Co.) entitled *Song of Exile*.
 - 101 The letter dated 20 August 1905 is in NA, SFA, file box 120: “Håller som bäst på att skriva någonting till Edelfelts begravning. Jag kan ej säga huru jag saknar honom. Lifvet är kort!!” The correspondence between Sibelius and Carpelan is published in Fabian Dahlström (ed.), *Högtärade Maestro! Högtärade Herr Baron! Korrespondensen mellan Axel Carpelan och Jean Sibelius 1900–1919* (Helsingfors: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2010).
 - 102 For the relationship between the mixed-choir and male-choir versions, see Ylivuori: 2013, pp. 160–170.
 - 103 According to oral tradition, Sibelius composed the work immediately after reading the poem (the information is written down in Carol Hedberg’s unpublished work *Observationer beträffande kompositioner av Jean Sibelius*, p. 46; the manuscript is in SibMus). The early version of *Isänmaalle* resurfaced in 1960. The mixed-choir version was written for the singing festival organized by Kansanvalistusseura in Helsinki. For details, see JSW VII/1.
 - 104 Selim Palmgren arranged *Isänmaalle* for the use of Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat as early as in 1902. As Palmgren’s arrangement does not contain the arranger’s name, it has often been erroneously attributed to Sibelius.
 - 105 The fair copy is currently in SibMus. “Laulu on näin laulettava. Pankaappa sanat ynnä voimamerkit paikalleen. Kaikessa kiireessä teidän Jean Sibelius.” Sibelius addressed the above-cited writing to R. [sic] Koskinen.
 - 106 A short description of the competition by Heikki Klemetti was published in *Säveletär* 1908, pp. 120–121. Letter in NL, Coll.206.52: “[...] eikä varoja muulla tavalla osoittaa kunnioitustamme [...]”
 - 107 Sibelius read the proofs for the publication. He returned to the material of *Isänmaalle* in the late 1940s or 1950s, but the sketches from that time (HUL 1034/1) are so rudimentary that even the planned ensemble cannot be deduced.
 - 108 Kaarlo Terhi had translated his name; his original name was Karl Hammer. The early history of *Uusmaalaisen laulu* appears in Aarne Rahunen: “Uusmaalaisen laulun syntyvaiheet”, in *Opettajan lehti* No. 34, 1957, pp. 16–17.
 - 109 Diary, 21 December 1911: “En unisono, monumental, en som går genom sekler.”
 - 110 Diary, 12 January 1912: “Här i min kammare är den nog så bra. Men skall den värka äfven ute i den vida, kalla världen? – Är den ej för douce? Samt klinga den ej alltför ‘hausbacken’?”
 - 111 Diary, 16 and 20 January 1912. The other members of the board were Sibelius and Professor Tudeer. The deputy members were writers Aukusti Valdemar Koskimies and Juhani Aho.
 - 112 Diary, 21 January; 1 and 2 February 1912.
 - 113 The work was printed both as a separate edition and as part of WSOY’s publication *Nuori Voima*. See the Critical Commentary, Sources.
 - 114 Rahunen 1957, p. 17. Evidently Leino accepted the assignment, since his new poem for Sibelius’s melody was published in *Helsingin Sanomat* on 12 March 1912. However, Leino’s poem entitled *Sukuvirsi* does not appear in any edition, nor is there documentation that it would have been used in any performance. In fact, Leino’s poem does not fit Sibelius’s melody perfectly (e.g., the number of syllables is not optimal).
 - 115 *Helsingin Sanomat*, 21 April 1912, W.: “Sibeliuksen uudesta Uusmaalaisen laulusta en osaa sanoa muuta kuin että suuri mestarikin voi joskus säveltää ilman inspirationsia.”
 - 116 *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 21 April 1912 Bis [Karl Wasenius]: “Den begynte med Uusmaalaisen [sic] laulu af Sibelius, i hvilken sång jag förgäfvets sökte finna ‘was Besonderes.’”
 - 117 Confusingly, *Uusmaalaisen laulu* was included in one autograph work list (designated in SibWV p. 694 as “Sib 1912–31”) in Op. 7 with the mixed-choir versions of *Ej med klagan* and *Jublamarssi* (see also Kilpeläinen, 1992, pp. 169 and 178–179). For the history of Op. 65, see the Introduction of JSW VII/1.
 - 118 It remains unknown, to which promise Nordman refers. Letter in NL, Coll.206.27: “Mitt löft[e] trogen, sände jag Dig i dag en palvad ‘färfiol’. Tag ut den från station strax och förvara den hängande – Måtte den smaka Dig. Brännvin passar nog till den.”
 - 119 According to Hedberg (unpublished), p. 71, Nordman had bought the leg of lamb on the black market.
 - 120 The letter dated 19 September 1918 is in NL, Coll.206.27.
 - 121 “Gå hem och gnid det fårälär som hänger på din vägg.” The poem also makes a reference to violin.
 - 122 The diary, 17 May 1917. Whether the similarities with a well-known hymn by Rudolf Lagi (*Jag lyfter ögat i himmelen / Mä silmät luon ylös taivaaseen*) are a humorous reference or a coincidence, remains unknown.
 - 123 Otto Andersson planned a biography on Sibelius, for which he interviewed him many times. The unpublished notes are in SibMus. The interview was on 16 June 1952: “[...] begripa huru den blivit så allmän som den är och genom vem den har kommit i svang från början.”
 - 124 Gösta Schybergson’s sister, Gerda, documented the events of spring 1918. Her notes draw forth a rather detailed picture of her brother’s murder. The notes were published in *Terror och tragik. Helsingfors och Sibbo våren 1918, anteckningar av Gerda Schybergson* (Helsinki: Schildts förlags Ab, 2003) (ed. Per Schybergson).
 - 125 Diary, 9 February 1918. “Mordet på Dr Schybergson har djupt uppskakat mig.”
 - 126 Diary and Gerda Schybergson’s notes from 14 May 1918.
 - 127 According to the diary, Sibelius read the proofs on 28 July 1918. The works in the edition were dedicated to Akademiska Sångföreningen. The dedication, however, did not stem from Sibelius, but from the Schybergson family (Hedberg, unpubl., p. 75; see also Gerda Schybergson’s notes from 14 May 1918).
 - 128 *Wiborgs Nyheter*, 7 April 1919: “[...] så skall detta hälsas med glädje och sympati av envar, som i körens hitkomst och uppträdande ser ej blott en musikalisk prestation utan även ett tecken på att vi svenskar i Finlands yttersta utpost mot öster icke äro bortglömda. [...] Det är ur denna synpunkt sedd den svenska studentsångarskarans besök eger en vital betydelse.”
 - 129 *Åbo Underrättelser*, 21 March 1921, I–n: “något mera utvecklat och egaliserat röstmaterial [...] sin karga, musikaliskt knappa struktur.” The review was published in Finnish on the same day in *Turun Sanomat* (under the pseudonym J. J.).
 - 130 Despite the translated name, the choir retained the original abbreviation WSB, which is often given in parentheses after the Finnish title (see, e.g., the description of the first edition). After the translation, the choir officially continued as a bilingual organization until 1929. After the decision to only use Finnish as the official language (on 21 October 1929), all 19 Swedish-speaking members of the choir (of 50 singers in total) resigned. See Eino Reponen, *Viipurin Lauluveikot 1897–1967* (Helsinki: Viipurin Lauluveikot, 1967) [=Reponen 1967], pp. 11–14 and Hedberg, unpubl., pp. 79–80. Sometimes the Finnish name appears spelled Viipurin Laulu-Veikot.
 - 131 Sibelius studied at the lyceum in 1876–1885. The letters from Schulman to Sibelius are currently in NL, Coll.206.34. The first

- letter of the correspondence is missing, but the second is dated 5 August 1920.
- 132 The telegram has not survived. According to Sibelius's diary, he was working on the march on 10 December.
 - 133 Reponen 1967, p. 70: "[...] hieman omituiselta, mutta keskustelussa todettiin, että tämä kuuluikin asiaan, koska työ oli Sibeliuksen kynästä lähtenyt." According to Hedberg (unpubl., p. 80), one reason as to why Sibelius's composition did not make a favorable impression on the singers was that in their opinion it lacked the march-like character typical of an honorary march.
 - 134 The competition was won by Felix Krohn's (1898–1963) composition *Pan*.
 - 135 Schulman to Sibelius on 14 January 1921 (in NL, *Coll.206.34*): "Vi beklaga att den icke kunnat deltaga i den tävlan [...], enär den icke ankom anonymt [...]."
 - 136 The incident is described in Schulman's letter to Sibelius (see the endnote above). The donator and the size of the small sum remain unknown.
 - 137 Practically all of the choir's possessions were lost during World War II. In a letter on 14 January 1921, Schulman asked Sibelius if he really intended the change to take place in the eighth bar from the end instead of the sixth. No further information on the emendation has survived.
 - 138 In the entry, Sibelius refers to the work with an erroneous title *Liknelse*, which, however, has approximately the same meaning. According to Sibelius's oral statement, he wrote the work while visiting Turku (see Hedberg, unpubl., p. 80). Based on the diary entry and the fact that the fair copy was sent to the choir on 23 January from Järvenpää, Sibelius in all likelihood remembered incorrectly. Diary 22 January 1922: "En manskvartett i den gamla goda stilen – den har tilltalat mig i dess patos."
 - 139 As Karsten was unable to answer Sibelius's letter, the representative of the choir sent Sibelius a thank-you letter for the work on Karsten's behalf. The letter dated 28 January 1922 is in NL, *Coll.206.47*: "[f]jättrad vid sjukbädden."
 - 140 *Åbo Underrättelser*, 14 March 1926: "Sibelius' Likhet översteg körens förmåga." The same review was published in Finnish in *Turun Sanomat*.
 - 141 *Helsingin Sanomat*, 14 December 1927, anon.: "Kuoro lauloi useita varsin vaikeita sävellyksiä, selviytyen niistä keveästi. Tällaisia koetuskiviä olivat [...] eräät kiperät soitumuodostelmat Sibeliuksen Runeberg-romanssissa 'Likhet'." A review with similar contents was published also in *Hufvudstadsbladet* (by K[arl] E[kman]) on the same day.
 - 142 Letter dated 19 June 1925 in NL, *Coll.206.23*: "Först då jag märkte att det gällde en skyddskårs-sång, bleknade jag och vändades svårligen. Den patentpatriotiska lyriken är en landsplåga, och huru undgå dess förb. tonart, då det gällde ett sådant ämne? Musiken visade emellertid vägen, [...] Skolsången blev ännu svårare att få fason på [...]. Att texterna äro skrivna med blyerts är icke respektlöshet utan tvärtom: det är meningen att Du skall kunna med gummi elasticum vidtaga nödiga åtgärder [...]."
 - 143 Sibelius's letter to Holger Schildt Förlag, dated 23 November 1925 (in the archives of Holger Schildt Förlag, currently in the Library of Åbo Akademi). The rejection letter, dated 27 November 1925, is in NL, *Coll.206.46*.
 - 144 In 1930, Sibelius used the musical material of *Skyddskårsmarsch* in his work *Karjalan osa* (JS 108) for unison male voices with piano accompaniment.
 - 145 The choir approved verses 4–6 from the original poem, but changed their order so that the original verse 5 became the first, and verses 4 and 6 became verses 2 and 3 respectively. The original poem is published in Wäinö Sola, *Wäinö Sola kertoo, II* (Porvoo: Werner Söderström, 1952) [=Sola 1952], pp. 225–226.
 - 146 Sola mediated the request to Sibelius. In a letter dated 7 August 1928, Sibelius promised to complete the work before Sola's trip to America. The letter is facsimiled in Sola (1952, pp. [260–261]).
- Letters from Jallu Honkonen in the archives of Wäinö Sola (NL, *Coll. 449.1*) dated 22 February 1927; 1 February, 25 April, and 11 September 1928.
- 147 Wäinö Sola's manuscript of his memoirs with a clipping from his untitled article in *New Yorkin Uutiset*, 8 May 1929 (NL, *Coll.449.6*). According to the article, the manuscript of *Siltavahti* was donated to the choir on 25 October 1928 after Sola's concert, at which he sang the solo-song version as an encore.
 - 148 Letter from New Yorkin Laulumiehet (signed by J[allu] Honkonen) to Sibelius dated 9 November 1928 in NL, *Coll.206.47*: "Pyydän mitä vilpittömämmin kiittää Teitä, hra professori, myötätunnostanne ja siitä kunniasta, jonka sävellyksellänne olette suoneet kuorollemme. Taiteilija Sola on tälläkäläisissä konserteissaan haltioittanut kuulijansa 'Siltavahdilla.' Kuoromme on sitä harjoitellut innokkaasti ja tuntuukin minusta, että kuorosävellyksenä se on vieläkin valtaavampi; laulajat siihen ovat ihastuneet sydänjuuriaan myöten."
 - 149 The work list is designated in SibWV, p. 695, as "Sib 1952." The publication year of the second march is not printed in the edition, but the edition is listed in the National Bibliography of Finland: Simo Pakarinen, *Suomalainen kirjallisuus 1930–1932: aakkosellinen ja aineenmukainen luettelo* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, 1934).
 - 150 In *Viipurin Lauluveikot 1897–1947* (Helsinki: Viipurin Lauluveikot, 1947), p. 30, the pseudonym A.A.L. also writes about the festival, but erroneously gives the year 1933.
 - 151 Reponen 1967, p. 70.
 - 152 Viipurin Lauluveikot did, in fact, perform at the first Karelian festival, which took place on 11–17 February 1934, but at that time the second composition had already been printed four years previously. Where Sibelius heard the performance of his first march remains unknown. One such occasion could be the choir's first performance on the radio, which was broadcast on 19 April 1929.
 - 153 Jāzeps Vītols studied at the Conservatory of Saint Petersburg under Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844–1908). After graduation in 1886, Vītols taught in Saint Petersburg until 1918, whereafter he moved back to Latvia. He founded the Conservatory of Riga in 1919 (currently known as Jāzepa Vītola Latvijas Mūzikas akadēmija). Vītols was also known as a pianist, conductor, and critic. In 1944, Vītols moved to Lübeck, Germany, where he lived until his death.
 - 154 Vītols is spelled in German orthography as Vihtol. *Päivälehti*, 8 December 1895, O[skar Merikanto]: "Itse ohjelmasta tahdomme, Herää Suomea lukuun ottamatta, etusijassa mainita prof. Vihtolin säveltämän lätiläisen balladin. Tämä teos oli erittäin arwocas, kaunis ja mahtawa. Sen omituinen[,] originelli, kansanmusiikintapainen pohja[-]säwel oli mainiosti balladin sisältöön sattuwa ja sen musikaalisesti ja harmoonisesti ansiokas rakenne oli taitawasta kädestä lähtenyt. Tämän lisäksi tuli vielä laulukunnan musikaalinen ja innostunut esitys tässä kappaleessa, esitys, joka oli parasta, mitä Y. L:lta olemme kuulleet."
 - 155 *Uusi Suometar*, 8 December 1895, R[obert] E[ilmgren]: "Ainoa mitä meitä sowituksessa kummastutti oli, että 'walkopartaisen' tuloa ilmoitettiin korkean tenoorisoolon kautta, jopa niin korkean että se tuntui miltei mahdottomalta laulaa rinta-äänessä. Hra Floman, joka tämän pienen soolopartian lauloi, teki tehtävänsä warsin ansiokkaasti, emmekä hänen syykseen laske sitä että tämä kohta laulussa ei meihin aiwan edullista vaikutusta tehnyt. Kokonaisuudessaan kuitenkin on tämä balladi etewästi sowitettu ja laulettiin waikutawasti."
 - 156 *Nya Pressen*, 2 December 1898, K[arl] Flodin: "Programmet innehöll flere nummer, som genom sin musikaliska halt höjde sig öfver mängden af endast konventionelt vackra mankvartetter. Främst anförä vi i sådant afseende den lettiska balladen af Vihtol, en längre, på växlande stämningar rik tonsättning, som därtill bar en mycket originell lokalfärg." In addition to *Nya Pressen*, also other newspapers especially mentioned *Laulun mahiti* in their reviews of the concert (e.g., *Uusi Suometar* on the same day).
 - 157 *Uusmaalainen laulu* and *Skyddskårsmarsch* are discussed above.

- 158 The sketches for *Suomenmaa* are in NL, HUL 1472a/7. For the description, see the Critical Remarks.
- 159 Sibelius apparently returned to the poem *Suomenmaa* in 1919, planning to use that text in the cantata commissioned by the mixed choir Suomen Laulu (Diary, 20 October 1919). He finally chose the text *Maan virsi* by Eino Leino instead. Sibelius's composition is known as Op. 95.
- 160 *Sandels* was written for a composition competition organized by MM. The deadline for the submissions was 20 April 1898.

- 161 The melody appears for the first time in the sketches for *Tulen synti*. See Ylivuori 2013, pp. 172–174. See also *Rakastava* above. For Sonata, see JSW V/1.
- 162 E.g., Erik Bergman 1960. Bergman published a completed version of Sibelius's incomplete composition.
- 163 See, e.g., Tawaststjerna. See also SibWV.
- 164 See Jalmari Finne: "Muistelmia Sibeliuksen töistä" in *Aulos, säveltaiteellisen kirjallisuuden julkaisu*. Edited by Lauri Ikonen (Suomen Musiikkilehti, 1925), p. 20.

Einleitung

Die Serie VII der *Jean Sibelius Werke* (JSW) enthält mehr als einhundert Chorwerke – sowohl a cappella als auch mit Begleitung – für gemischten Chor, Männerchor und Frauenchor sowie für verschiedene Kinderchorbesetzungen. Einige Werke liegen in verschiedenen Fassungen vor, weil Sibelius viele seiner Chorwerke auch in eigenen Bearbeitungen veröffentlicht hat, um ihnen eine größere Verbreitung zu sichern.

Der vorliegende Band enthält sämtliche a cappella-Werke für Männerchor, und zwar sowohl die Originalkompositionen als auch Sibelius' eigene Bearbeitungen. Die Werke sind nach ihren Opuszahlen angeordnet. Werke ohne Opuszahlen sind mit JS-Nummern versehen und erscheinen danach in chronologischer Folge. Die Opuszahlen und JS-Nummern im vorliegenden Band folgen prinzipiell Fabian Dahlströms Werkverzeichnis.¹ Über die 32 vollständigen Männerchorwerke hinaus enthält dieser Band Werke, die unvollständig geblieben sind, und Frühfassungen – entweder transkribiert im Appendix oder als Faksimile am Ende des Bandes.² Der vorliegende Band enthält auch *Laulun mahti*, eine Komposition von Jäzeps Vītols (1863–1948) für gemischten Chor, die Sibelius für Männerchor bearbeitet hat.

Die Gesangstexte in Sibelius' frühen Männerchorwerken (1893–1905) sind überwiegend in Finnisch – außer *Hymn* op. 21, *Har du mod?* JS 93 und *Ej med klagan*, die Frühfassung von JS 69. Der spätere Teil der Männerchorwerke (nach den 1910er Jahren) ist durch Gesangstexte in schwedischer Sprache geprägt, wobei Sibelius auch weiter finnische Texte vertonte. Das chronologisch letzte Männerchorwerk ist *Viipurin Laulu-veikkojen kunniamarssi* (2), das aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach 1929 entstand.

Die überwiegende Mehrheit von Sibelius' Männerchorwerken entstand ursprünglich zum Gebrauch eines bestimmten Chores oder Dirigenten. In den meisten Fällen wurden die Werke bei Sibelius bestellt – die häufigsten Auftraggeber waren die Männerchöre Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat, der finnischsprachige Chor der Universität Helsinki, und Muntra Musikanter („Muntere Musiker“), der schwedischsprachige Männerchor, sowie die Chordirigenten Heikki Klemetti (1876–1953) und Olof Wallin (1884–1920). Darüber hinaus schrieb Sibelius eine beträchtliche Zahl seiner Chorwerke für Freunde – entweder als Geschenke oder als Gegenleistungen.

Das finnische Chorrepertoire war in den 1880er und 1890er Jahren stark durch die ins Finnische oder Schwedische übersetzte Musik der deutschen Liedertafel geprägt sowie durch finnische Musik, welche durch diesen Stil beeinflusst war. Auch Volksliedbearbeitungen – ebenfalls ein wichtiger Faktor des Chorrepertoires – wurden in diesem Stil geschrieben.³ Aus dieser Perspektive ist es nicht erstaunlich, dass das erste a cap-

pella-Chorwerk von Sibelius, das öffentlich aufgeführt wurde, *Venematka* op. 18 Nr. 3, 1893 im Publikum wie eine „Bombe einschlug“.⁴ Im darauffolgenden Jahr löste *Rakastava* JS 160a den Erfolg von *Venematka* ab. In den Zeitungskritiken wurden diese beiden Werke häufig gemeinsam als Beispiele für den Beginn einer komplett neuen Art der finnischen Chormusik betrachtet. Ein anonymes Rezensent der Zeitung *Wasa Tidning* fasste diesen Eindruck wie folgt zusammen: „Was den musikalischen Geist und Gehalt angeht, so sind dies die wahrhaftigsten finnischen Chorsätze, die wir bislang haben.“⁵ Ein anderer anonymes Kritiker schrieb in *Pohjalainen*, „diese [beiden] Lieder sind, meiner Kenntnis nach, die musikalisch bedeutendsten Werke, die jemals für einen Chor geschrieben wurden“.⁶ Die Vorstellung, dass Sibelius' Chormusik eine neue, wahrhaft finnische Musik darstellt, ist ein wiederkehrendes Merkmal bei der Aufnahme seiner Männerchorwerke.

Op. 1 Nr. 4 *Jouluvirsi* – *Julvisa*

Das Weihnachtslied *Jouluvirsi* – *Julvisa* komponierte Sibelius ursprünglich 1909 für Sologesang mit Klavierbegleitung.⁷ Später schrieb er vier a cappella-Bearbeitungen für verschiedene Chorbesetzungen, von denen die Männerchorfassung in den vorliegenden Band aufgenommen wurde.⁸ Am 16. August 1935 schrieb Martti Turunen (1902–1979), der Dirigent von Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat, Sibelius einen Brief und bat ihn, *Jouluvirsi* für das kommende Konzert zu bearbeiten.⁹ Sibelius sagte zu und vermachte dem Chor die Reinschrift, dieser bestritt nicht nur die Uraufführung der Bearbeitung, sondern druckte sie auch im Lauf desselben Jahre. Obwohl das Weihnachtslied ursprünglich auf das schwedische Gedicht von Zacharias Topelius (1818–1898) komponiert war, verwendete Sibelius bei der Chorfassung die finnische Übersetzung, wobei der Text in der Reinschrift jedoch nur teilweise unterlegt ist.

Die Uraufführung der Bearbeitung fand am 3. Dezember 1935 im Konzert von Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat statt. *Helsingin Sanomat* war die einzige Zeitung, die über Sibelius' neue Bearbeitung berichtete: „Das häufig gesungene Weihnachtslied ‚En etsi valtaa, loistoa‘ war nun erstmals in einer Bearbeitung für Männerchor zu hören. In seiner neuen Form klingt es einschmeichelnd sanft und schön, aber es hat vielleicht etwas von seiner Sensibilität verloren.“¹⁰

Opus 18: Sechs mehrstimmige Lieder für Männerchor a cappella

Bei op. 18 revidierte Sibelius mehrfach die Zahl der integrierten Werke und ihre Aufeinanderfolge. Bevor er seinem Opus die endgültige Form gab, zeigte er es nach außen in mindestens zwei verschiedenen Formen: