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. 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 facsimiles at the end of the volume.

The song texts in Sibelius’s early male-choir output (1893–1905) are mainly in Finnish; only Hymn (Op. 21), Har du mods (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 Vuiparin Lauluseikkohojen kunniamarssi (2), which in all likelihood dates from 1929.

In view of this, it is not surprising that Sibelius’s first opus numbers 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.

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. In view of this, it is not surprising that Sibelius’s first publically performed a cappella choral work, Venemäki (Op. 18 No. 3), had “a bomb-like effect” on the public in 1893. The following year, the success of Venemäki 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 Wasta Tähtit summarized such sentiments thus: “As for their musical spirit and content, both works are the most truly Finnish partsongs we have so far.” Another anonymous critic wrote in Pohjalainen that “these [two] songs are, to my knowledge, musically the most significant works ever written for a choir.” 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.

Opus 1 No. 4 Jouluvisiri – Julvisa

Sibelius originally composed the Christmas song Jouluvisiri – Julvisa for solo voice with piano accompaniment in 1909. 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. On 16 August 1935, Martti Turunen (1902–1979), the conductor of Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat, wrote a letter to Sibelius asking the composer to arrange Jouluvisiri for their upcoming concert. 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.”

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) Venemäki
3) Saarella palaa
4) Min rastas rataa
5) Metsämiehen laulu
6) Sydämeni laulu
7) Sortuntut ääni
8) Terve kuu!
9) Veljeni viereilla mailla

In 1911–1930:12
1) Isänmaalle
2) Veljeni viereilla mailla
3) Saarella palaa
4) Min rastas rataa
5) Metsämiehen laulu
6) Sydämeni laulu
7) Sortuntut ääni
8) Terve kuu!
9) Venemäki

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). 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. Another confusing detail in the history of Op. 18 is the fact that Sibelius never wrote Min rastas rataa for male choir; it exists only as a mixed-choir work. Why Sibelius consistently

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1.Fabian Dahlström's work catalogue.
3. The third 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 Vuiparin Lauluseikkohojen kunniamarssi (2), which in all likelihood dates from 1929.
4. In view of this, it is not surprising that Sibelius's first publically performed a cappella choral work, Venemäki (Op. 18 No. 3), had "a bomb-like effect" on the public in 1893. The following year, the success of Venemäki 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.
5. An anonymous critic in the newspaper Wasta Tähtit summarized such sentiments thus: “As for their musical spirit and content, both works are the most truly Finnish partsongs we have so far.”
6. Another anonymous critic wrote in Pohjalainen that “these [two] songs are, to my knowledge, musically the most significant works ever written for a choir.”
7. Sibelius originally composed the Christmas song Jouluvisiri – Julvisa for solo voice with piano accompaniment in 1909. 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 Jouluvisiri for their upcoming concert. 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.
9. 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
11. 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:

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2) Venemäki
3) Saarella palaa
4) Min rastas rataa
5) Metsämiehen laulu
6) Sydämeni laulu
7) Sortuntut ääni
8) Terve kuu!
9) Veljeni viereilla mailla

In 1911–1930:
1) Isänmaalle
2) Veljeni viereilla mailla
3) Saarella palaa
4) Min rastas rataa
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placed it among male-choir works in his work lists remains unknown.\(^5\)

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 Cecilia's Sibelius biography, where the opus was titled “Six part-songs for male voices \textit{a cappella}.”\(^6\)

1) \textit{Sortunut ääni}
2) \textit{Terve kuu}
3) \textit{Venematka}
4) \textit{Saarella palaa}
5) \textit{ Metsämiehen laulu}
6) \textit{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 Kantelatar’s rune \textit{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 \textit{Sortunut ääni} was probably commissioned by Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat or their conductor Heikki Klemetti, who premiered it in 1899.\(^7\) 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 \textit{Sortunut ääni}, also \textit{Sydämeni laulu} was performed) as “noble.”\(^8\)

Klemetti commissioned \textit{Terve kuu} (the text from Kantelatar) 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.\(^9\) 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: \textit{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].”\(^10\) The composition was included in the choral collection \textit{Under Sängarfanan – 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 \textit{Terve kuu}.\(^11\) 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!”\(^12\) 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.\(^13\)

\textit{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.\(^14\) \textit{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 \textit{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.”\(^15\) In general, the critics mentioned specifically Sibelius’s and Kajanus’s works. The critic in Hufvudstadsbladet wrote: “J. Sibelius’s \textit{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.”\(^16\)

\textit{Saarella palaa} was originally entitled \textit{Työnsä kumpasellaki} in Kantelatar as well as in Sibelius’s composition.\(^17\) 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 \textit{Venematka}, which was also written for Hahl and Ylioppilaskunnan Laulajat: sketches for both works appear in the same sketch book (HUL 1400).\(^18\) \textit{Saarella palaa} and \textit{Venematka} were published together with Rakastava (JS 160a) in the collection Ylioppilaslauula 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.”\(^19\) Oskar Merikanto in Päivälehti thought that “\textit{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.”\(^20\) 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.”\(^21\)

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.\(^22\) 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.”\(^23\) Sibelius’s choice of the poem \textit{Sydämeni laulu}, taken from the first Finnish-language novel \textit{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.\(^24\)

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 \textit{Sydämeni laulu} in more than one sentence was Robert Elmgren writing in \textit{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 caras," for the unveiling of the sepulchral monument of Josef Pippingskold (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 Sängföreningen 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, Herran annoit uuden päivän kosttaa 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 drämmackord, 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, where 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 Pä berget.60 These two works, Herr Lager och Skön fäger and Pä 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 Hufvundstadsbladet was, however, positive. The critic, Karl Wasenius, wrote that the “adopted old style” of Pä 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 fäger, the critic acknowledged the work’s skilful 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 (Pä 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 drömacord 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 drömacord, 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 drömacord’, became a rather mediocre performance with unclear harmonies and lack of precision in the ensemble singing.”68 Sibelius wrote Ettige Eros (the poem by Bertel Gripenberg) for baritone solo and male choir after listening to the baritone Edwin 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 Hufvundstadsbladet, the critic Karl Wasenius wrote: “The first part [of the concert] was concluded by a new song ‘Ettige 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 color.” Even the performance was praised by the critic: “Mr Edwin 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 (lyssningsång) for the male choir Akademiska Sängföreningen. 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 Sängföreningen 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 plenitude 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 [...]"

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, Kautamolla, Har du mod?, Velejui vienella matilla, Ej med klagan, two versions of Isänmaalle, Uusmaalaisten laulu, Fridolinis dårkap, and Jone Hovsfjärd. 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 Kamteletar). 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. 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.

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 unparallelled effect. The composer was called forth during the deafening thunder of applause, honestly intended and earned.”

The jury’s decision astonished many. In the concert, it was announced that a patriotic work Hakapelitita 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.” Hakapelitita 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 Hakapelitita] 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.”

The jury’s decision has often been explained by the modernity and difficulty of Sibelius’s choral writing. When Rakastava was published in the choral collection Suomalaisia ylioppilastauluja 6 in 1896, Sibelius’s works puzzled an anonymous critic: “The songs by Sibelius [Venemätka, Saarella palaan, 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.”

On 19 April 1898, the poet and playwright Aino Krohn (1878–1956), better known by her married name Aino Kallas, 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 ‘Kautamolla’.” 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 Kautamolla remained in Krohn’s possession. 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. Kautamolla, 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.” 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.” 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? (Op. 31 No. 2, for male choir with orchestral accompaniment), the a cappella work preceded the published composition, which was composed and premiered in 1904. 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 Kaitelema (JS 113), incidental music for the play by Arvid Järnefelt dating from 1903. 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 Juhan Aho (1861–1921), who due to his political writings decided to spend 1903–1904 with his family in Italy and Austria. The poet Velejui vienella matilla is a description of Aho’s arrival back in Finland in spring 1904. 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. 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. The reciprocal chronology of the poem’s two versions is not known. 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 Fiodin 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 ‘Veljени vierailla 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 ‘veljennifer vierailla 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.”

Veljennifer vierailla mailla was published in the choral collection Suomalaisia ylioppilaslauluja II during 1905. 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!” For the composition, Sibelius chose the last six lines of the poem Molnets broder from Färrisk Ståls sånger 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.

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 Mauhan-esiys Isänmaalle, but the second edition (published in 1898) contained the title hännäalle, 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. 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. 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.”

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. 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.

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 Uusimaan tanssi written in 1896 by Juho Heikki Erkko (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 Erkko’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. 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.” 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 cold, broad world? – Is it not too douce? And does it not sound too ‘hausbacken’?” 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. 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. The first edition was printed as a collaboration between Eteläsuomalainen Osakunta and the publishers WSOY. 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. 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 Uusmaalaisten laulu is that even a great master can sometimes compose without inspiration.” The critic Wasenius in Hufvudstadsbladet was also unimpressed: “It [the second part of the concert] began with Uusmaalaisten laulu by Sibelius, a song in which I tried in vain to find was Besonderes.” Despite the reserved reception by the critics, the audience insisted on hearing the song again.

Sibelius originally included Uusmaalaisten laulu in Op. 65, entitled Patriotiska sänget (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. 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.” 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
male choirs. The popularity of the work that was originally Fridolins dårskap, an ous drinking-song-like version of Jonah’s story from the Bible. 

An edition dedicated to the memory of Gösta Schybergson was published by Akademiska Sångföreningen during the fall of 1918 in an edition dedicated to the memory of Gösta Schybergson.

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 hutsfärd on 20 September 1918. Both poems were taken from the same poem collection, Fridolins lustgärd och dalmäningar 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.” The text of Jone hutsfärd 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. 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.” 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 (Humleberg 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. 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 consul 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.”

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 Sängföreningen. Sibelius visited the family again on 30 April and handed over the fair copies of the new works. These two works were published by Akademiska Sängföreningen during the fall of 1918 in an edition dedicated to the memory of Gösta Schybergson.

Ute hörs stormen was premiered during Akademiska Sängföreningen’s concert trip to Viipurin 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.”

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.”

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 kanniamarssi, Likhet, Skyddskärsmarsch, and Siltavähti.

In October 1919, the male choir originally known as Wiborg Sängbröder decided to translate his original Swedish name into Finnish, thus becoming Viipurin Lauluveikot. 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 Errola (1884–1939), who was also a member of the choir, wrote the poem Viipurin Lauluveikkojen (WSB:n) kanniamarssi, which was approved by the choir. In order to get Errola’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. 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.

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.”

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. 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
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.”

The work was sent to Karsten on the following day, but Karsten, who was "fettered to the sickbed," was unable to answer. 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 the work was performed in Helsinki the 13 March in Turku.

The work was apparently too difficult for the choir, as the critic in *Abō Underrätter* bluntly stated: “Sibelius’s *Likhet* exceeded choir’s capability.” 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’.”

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 *skydds-kår*-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 gymnastic exercise, you will be able to take the necessary measures.”

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 Schüldt’s Forlag in 1925, but without success. The rejection was attributed to the company’s lack of experience in the field of music publishing. Whether Sibelius offered the works to any other publisher remains unknown. In any case, they were neither published nor performed during Sibelius’s lifetime.

In 1927, singer Wäinö Sola was in correspondence with Jallu (John Jalman) Honkonen, the conductor of New Yorkin Luulumiehet, 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 *Siltavalti*. At this point, Sibelius was asked to set the poem to music, to which he agreed.

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. 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 ‘Siltavalti.’ 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.”

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 Luuluetkojen 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. 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 concerts on 1 and 2 May 1934. According to Reponen’s information regarding Sibelius’s request to discard the earlier composition may be correct, but the year he gives (1934) must be erroneous.

Laulun mahti (JS 118)

Laulun mahti is Sibelius’s arrangement of *Beverīnas dziedonis* (The Bard of Beverina), ballad for mixed choir a cappella by the Latvian composer Jāzeps Vitols (1863–1948). Vitols’s composition originally dates from 1891 and Sibelius’s arrangement (dating from 1895) is based on this original version. However, Vitols revised his composition in 1906, writing it for mixed choir and orchestra. In Sibelius’s arrangement, the text – originally written in Latvian by Mihails Krogzemis (1850–1879) using the pseudonym Auskulis – was translated into Finnish by Juoseppi 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). Laulan 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.”

The critic in Usi Suometar also remarked that Laulan 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 choir voice. Mr. Floman, who sang this small solo part, carried out the task rather praiseworthy, and we do not blame him that this passage did not make an entirely favorable impression on us. As a whole, the ballad is skilfully arranged and it was sung impressively.”

Laulan 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.”

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 säng, Uusmaaalisten laulu, and Skyddskårsmarsch. The draft versions were not intended by Sibelius as completed versions, but each of them reveals an interesting phase in the creative process.

Sibelius’s sketch book contains sketches and drafts for a choral setting of Aleksis Kivi’s poem Suomenmaa. 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). The fact that Sandels was completed in early 1898 would suggest that the sketches for Suomenmaa date somewhat earlier. After the initial melodic sketches with only a hint of its harmonization, 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). 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 Venemakta, which dates approximately from the same period. 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 Venemakta, 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 Venemakta.

Sibelius composed Athenarnes säng 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.

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. 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 an 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

2 The two early versions that Sibelius fair copied and most probably considered completed at the time of their composition, Till barös and Ånomäelle, are placed alongside their published version.
3 For pre-Sibelian choral music in Finland, see Matti Hyökki, Hiilistä isänmaalle (Helsinki: Sibelius Akademia, 2003) pp. 13–59.
5 Wasa Tidning, 18 June 1894: “Båda två äro till sin musikaliska anda och sitt innehåll de mest finska kvartetssånger, vil tiwisdare hafva.”
6 In turn-of-the-century Swedish, part-songs were generally called quartets with varying orthography (at least quartet, kvartett, and kwartett 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 [Kakastava] is Finnish – thoroughly Finnish.”
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 10 December 1893. Hufvudstadsbladet did not review the concert at all. Helsingin Sanomat, 4 December 1935, U[uno] K[lam]: “Yleisesti lauluttaa jouluvalot ‘En etsi valtaa, loistoa’ kuutilta nyt ensi kerran mieskuorosovituksena. Uudessa asussaan soi he helsiusvis pehe- nää ja kauniina, mutta on ehkä jonkin verran menettänyt herkyy- destään.”

11 Opus number 18 appears in Sibelius’s work lists for the first time in 1905 (the list designated in SiBWV p. 694 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 Eutereo magazine, the works of Op. 18 already appear in this order (except Veljeni vierailla maailla, 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 mieskuorokaluna [10 songs for male choir], with Hymn (Op. 21) being number 10. In 1914, Sibelius planned to add Herr Lager och Skin 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 œuvre; thus, the plans were never realized.

13 The sub-numbers in Op. 21 were contradictory; in 1905–1909, both Isokanamme 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 Rakastavat 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 (B♭) was specifically written for John Enckell, a singer in the choir who was famous for his low notes. See Heikki Klemetti, Sata arvosteltua, (ed. by Armi Klemetti and Jouko Linjama, Helsinki: WSOY, 1966) [=Klemetti 1966], p. 258.

18 Hufvudstadsbladet, 22 April 1899, A[larik] U[ggla]: “Sibelius’ nobla kompositioner.” The concert was also reviewed by Päivalehti (anonymously critic) on the same day. In the concert, Yllopieliskunnan 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 Päivalehti, 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 Ikävyys nä ja kauniina, mutta on ehkä jonkin verran menettänyt herkyydestään. Terve kuu! by Oskar Merikanto, published in 1902 by Euterpe magazine, the works of Op. 18 are already present in this order (except Veljeni vierailla maailla, which was composed later).

21 The letter in which Halh 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.

22 Hufvudstadsbladet, 8 December 1895, pseudonym H. M.: “Sist nämä composition afviker betykdigt från det vanliga komposi- tionmanneret för munktvart och är i all sin enkelhet af fängslande originalitet och stämning.”

23 Päivalehti, 8 December 1895, O[skar Merikanto]: “Sibeliuksen ‘Työnsä kumpasellaki’ oli kaunisvääreinen, hieno laulupätkä, johon yleisö oli niin miiltynyt, että se saatiin kolmasti laulaa.”

24 Uusi Suometar, 8 December 1895, R[ober] E[llmgen]: “Se on hieno omitsuen kaunis säwellys […] Se esitetitinkin erinaismaisen kaunisti. Ensii basson resistatiivi kuitenkin olisi mielestäeni ollut laulettava enemmän ‘parlanding’ eikä niin raskaasti ja jäykästi kuin se esitettiin. Tämä onkin ainoa muistutus, jonka tänään numeron johdosta voi tehdä. Muuten oli esitys aiwen ihmesteltävän onnis- tunut.”

25 Klemetti wrote later (in “Elettiinpä ennenkin”, published in Pöyliöllä. 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 enityseltä olin uuden hankkimisesta kiinnostunut, kun olin uusi tumematon, mitön pojanluppi; piti olla edes uusia lauluja.)

26 Sydämeni laulu is in English The Song of My Heart. Pöyliöllä (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).

27 E.g., Andrew Barnett (Sibelius [Cambridge: Yale University Press, 2010], p. 120) writes that “that was to prove eerily prophetic.”


29 Hufvudstadsbladet, 2 December 1898, A[larik] U[ggla]: “Sibelius’s in all its simplicity so original and atmospheric new song” (Sibelius i all sin enkelhet så originell och stämningstilla nya sång). Nya Presen, the same day, K[arl Flodin]: “made an exceptionally strong effect through its simple, natural beauty” (värkade genom sin enklä, osökta skönhet utomordentligt stark).

30 As Sibelius and Klemetti met each other frequently, the commis- sion may have been passed on orally. In addition to Klemetti, Ida Palmén asked Sibelius to set Kivi’s texts for male choir, in particu- lar the poem Bätyg, which she sent to Sibelius in 1901 (Palmén’s
letter to Sibelius in NL, Coll.206.3/40. Sibelius, however, did not fulfil her request.

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.

Päivi Lehto, 5 April 1900, Os[kar Merikan]: “Ohjelma alkoireippaasti Sibeluisen Metsämiehen laululla, joka heti sai yleisön, jota oli huoneen täydeltä, ‘stemminkin’.”

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.

The Swedish translation of the poem was published in newspapers during the next few days (e.g., Hufvudstadsbladet and Nya Pressen on 26 May).

In addition to his own work, Sibelius conducted Integre vitae by Friedrich Ferdinand Flemming (1778–1820) and Hufvudstadsbladet, 26 May 1886, anon.: “Den enkla invigningsaksen fick en synnerligen ansående avslutning genom en för tillfället av Jean Sibelius komponerad lian i gammal italiensk stil.” The expression “old Italian style” was also used two days later in Åbo Underrättelser.

The version published in JSW is the revised version. The differences in the premiered version are listed in the Critical Remarks.

Uusi Suometar, 15 November 1899, Elvert [Kättila]: “[…] 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 rungonäköarketta, että voitaisiin mielestämme miettää niitä myös rungonäköarkkensa. Sibelius, Amerikka ja amerikkalaiset sikareja. Sibelius, Amerikka ja amerikkalaiset sikareja. Helsinki: WSOY, 2009), pp. 196–206.

Sibelius’s workmanship and praises Sibelius’s new male-choir works, saying that “they originality and completely new style contain a promise of a new phase in male-choir music’s development.” (Det originella, fullkomligt nya stil innebär löster om ett nytt skede i manskorsemusikens utveckling). Diary 16 February 1915: “Af M.M. dirigent Dr Olof Wallin ett bra bref angående kören. Jag hoppas mycket af honom. Jag tror han förstår detta nya i mina körsånger.”

Martti Nisonen did ask permission for his male-choir arrangement; however, he requested it after its evaluation. 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 (Yrjo Sjöblom: “Finlandia lauluna” in Suomen kuvalehti 1945, No. 49, p. 1259). For the earlier poems for Finlandia, see also Glenda Dawn Goss: “The Critical Commentary. Koskenniemi’s text for Finlandia was based on an earlier poem of his, namely Finlandia. 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.

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!” (Mäste sätta mig i förbindelse med M.M. och stiga ned från min pedestal. – Den nya sinfonin börjar röra sig! Hvarför skall jag alltid bli störd, alldag få göra det min ande skapades till? Alltid dessa affärer!)

Diary, 30 July 1914: “Skall jag kunna i dessa tider komponera för dessa herrar i ’M.M.’ – Man talar om att tyska skrepp närma sig våra kuster. Och vi hår i Finland?”

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!)

All dates are from the diary.

Diary, 19 September 1914: “icke korrekt.”

Diary, 29 August 1914: “icke begriplit. Man hade väntat sig något aktuellt och erhöll en humoresque.”

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.

“…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.” (Det originella, fullkomligt nya stil innebär löster om ett nytt skede i manskorsemusikens utveckling). Diary 16 February 1915: “Af M.M. dirigent Dr Olof Wallin ett bra bref angående kören. Jag hoppas mycket af honom. Jag tror han förstår detta nya i mina körsånger.”

Diary, 28 April 1915: “[I have had] a fiasco with the choral works for MM. And [I] expected so much of Wallin’s performance of them.” (Haft fiasco med körerna för M.M. Och hoppade så mycket af Wallin’s framförande af dem.)

Sola refers to the American texts of Finlandia in a letter dated 7 February 1917.

Koskenniemi’s reply letter is in private possession; the photography is in the Sibelius Museum, Turku [later SikMus].

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 Jauhuuusoirsi. For details, see Martti Häikiö: V. A. Koskenniemi – suomalainen klassikko 2 (Helsinki: WSOY, 2009), pp. 56–59.

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, SPA, file box 37–38. The diary was published by Fabian Dahlström, Jean Sibelius: Dagbok 1909–1944 (Helsinki: Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2005).

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.”


Wasenius told that Sibelius wrote the composition after hearing Edwin 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, skrifven

According to the unknown critic, the uppermost pitch for the komposition står obetingat öfver den första pristagarens hvad originaliteten beträffar.”


E.g., Erik Tawaststjerna, Jean Sibelius. Åren 1893–1904 (Helsinki: Söderström, 1993) [=Tawaststjerna 1993], p. 20.

The same collection included Venemätsä, which according to the critic was easy to understand (helpoinnin ymmärtettävä), and Tjönsa kumpaasellaki (i.e., Saarelle palada), which was deemed “insignificant” (vähäpätöinen). Katku, 17 January 1896, pseudonym E: “Sibelius’en laulut owat hywin omitusia. Niistä ei saa juuri minkäänlaista käsitystä ensi kerran soittaessaan. Mutta kun niihin enemmän tutustuu, huomaa niissä kaunotta oikein paljo. [...]


Before getting married, Krohn published her works under the pseudonym Aino Suonio.

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 kykkivä viiasta! Senjälken – kuinka – onko mahdollista – nuohon ovat omia säteitä, runosta ‘Kuutamolla’.”

Currently in Suomalainen kirjallisuuden seura (SKS), the Kallas archive, file box 4.


The review in Hufvudstadsbladet (by Bis [Karl Wasenius]) had similar content.

Helsingin Sanomat, 12 April 1916, O[otto] K[otilainen]: “[...] hieno- tunnelmainen, säveltäjälle ominaisella tavalla soinnutettu.”

See Kilpeläinen 1992, pp. 89–90. Only a sketch was previously known. The fair copy was found in the estate of Mikko Slöör tunnelmainen, säveltäjälle ominaisella tavalla soinnutettu.”


The sketches are in NL under signum HUL 1160. According to Kilpeläinen, the paper type and ink suggest the years 1903–1908 (Kilpeläinen 1992, pp. 89–90).

Among Aho’s political writings were, for example, the two volumes of openly patriotic short stories called Katajainen kansani (Porvo: WSOY, 1899 and 1900).

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 kevään Italiasta palattuani).

The prose poem was included in the revised edition of Katajainen kansani in 1909 (pp. 247–249).

Aho’s home Ahola is located close to Sibelius’s home Ainola. Veheni vierailu mailia is one of the first compositions written in Ainola, where the Sibelius family moved in 1904.

It has been repeatedly stated (e.g., in Sib-WV) 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.

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
According to oral tradition, Sibelius composed the work immediately. The letter dated 20 August 1905 is in NA, SFA, file box 120:

A short description of the competition by Heikki Klemetti.

Selim Palmgren arranged *Valssi: Vierailu maailmassa* in 1902. As Palmgren's arrangement does not contain the arranger's name, it has often been erroneous-ly attributed to Sibelius. The early version of Op. 65, see the Introduction of JSW VII/1.

It remains unknown, to which promise Nordman refers. According to Hedberg (unpublished), p. 71, Nordman had bought the leg of lamb on the black market.

The diary, 17 May 1917. Whether the similarities with a well-known hymn by Rudolf Lagi (†1952) are a humorous reference or a coincidence, remains unknown.

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: ‘[.] begrip huru den blivit så allmän som den är och genom vem den har kommit i svar från början.’

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 (Helsingfors: Schildts ölbok, 1927) (ed. Per Schybergson).

Diary, 9 February 1918. ‘Mordet på Dr Schybergson har djupt uppskakat mig.’

Diary and Gerda Schybergson’s notes from 14 May 1918.

According to the diary, Sibelius read the proofs on 28 July 1918.

The works in the edition were dedicated to Akademiska Sängföreningen. 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).

Wiborgs Nyheter, 7 April 1919: ‘[.] så skall detta hälsas med glad-je och sympati av envar, som i körens hitkomst och uppträdande ser ej blott en musikalsk prestasjon 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 studentsång-arskans besök eger en vital betydelse.’

*Åbo Undersötelser*, 21 March 1921, I–n: ‘något mera utvecklat och egaliserat röstmaterial […] sin karga, musikalskt knappa struktur.’ The review was published in Finnish on the same day in *Tuijnu Solar* (under the pseudonym J. J.).

Despite the translated name, the choice 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, *Vipurin Lauveikot* 1897–1967 (Helsinki: Vipurin Lauveikot, 1967) [=Reponen 1967], pp. 11–14 and Hedberg, unpUBL., pp. 79–80. Sometimes the Finnish name appears spelled Vipurin Lau-veikot.

Sibelius studied at the lyceum in 1876–1885. The letters from Schumian to Sibelius are currently in NL, Coll.206.34. The first
The telegram has not survived. According to Sibelius’s diary, he was working on the march on 10 December.

Reponen 1967, p. 70: “[...] hieman omituiselta, mutta keskus - telussa todettiin, että tämä kuulutus asiaan, koska työ oli Sibeliusksen 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.

The competition was won by Felix Krohn’s (1898–1963) composition. Schulman to Sibelius on 14 January 1921 (in NL, Coll.206.34): “Vi beklaga att den icke knutat deltaga i den tävlan [...] enär den icke ankom anonymt [...]”

The incident is described in Schulman’s letter to Sibelius (see the endnote above). The donor and the size of the small sum remain unknown.

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.

In the entry, Sibelius refers to the work with an erroneous title, Likhele, 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 tilltälat mig i dess patos.”

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: “[...]jättrad vid sjukbaden.”

Åbo Underrättelser, 14 March 1926: “Sibelius’ Likhet översteg körens förmåga.” The same review was published in Finnish in Turun Sanomat.

Helsingin Sanomat, 14 December 1927, anon.: “Kuoro lauloi useita varsin vaiketta sävellyksää, selviytyvin niistä keväestä. Tallaisia koe - tuskivää olivat [...] eräät kiperät sointumuodostelmat Sibeliuksen Runenberg-romansissa ’Likhet’.” A review with similar contents was published also in Hufvudstadsbladet (by K[arl] E[jmansen]) on the same day.


In 1930, Sibelius used the musical material of Skyddskärmarsch in his work Karjalan osa (JS 108) for unison male voices with piano accompaniment.

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.

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 to Sibelius dated 9 November 1928 in NL, Coll.206.47: “Pyydän mitä vilpittömänmmin kiittää Teitä, hra professori, myötätunnos - tanne ja siitä kunniaista, jonka sävellyskääline olette suoneet kuorolleemme. Taitelija Sola on tälläkäsissä kontseriteissaan halitoinut - tanut kuorilansa ’Siltavahdilla.’ Kuoronne on sitä harjoitellut innokkaasti ja tuntuinkin minusta, että kuorosävellykseen se on vieläkin valtaavampi; laulajat siihen ovat ihastuneet sydänjuuriaan myötyn.”

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, akkosheljän ja ainuunmuutaman leitcello (Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, 1934).

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 1913.

Reponen 1967, p. 70.

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.

Jäzeps 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 Jāzeps Vītols 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.

Vītols is spelled in German orthography as Vihtol. Pāvīlobe, 8 December 1895, O[skar Merikan]: ”Iste ohjelmasta tahdome, Herāža Suomea lukuun ottamatta, etusijassa mainita prof Vihtolin säveltämään lättäisen laulaudin. Tämä teos oli erittäin arvokas, kaunis ja mahtava. Sen omittamen[,] originali, kansannuskianto - painien pohjalj-sjäwel oli mainiosti laulaudin siivistyksenä ja sen musikaalisesti ja harmoniousisti ansioaks renne oli taitausta kädestä lähtenyt. Tämän lisäksi tuli vielä laulukunnan musiikina- len ja innostunut esitys tässä kappaleessa, esitys, joka oli parasta, mitä Y. Līta olemme kuuleet.”

Uusi Suometar, 8 December 1895, R[obert El]mgren: ”Ainoa mitä meitä sowitukseessa kumastutta oli, että ’walkopartaisen’ tuloi ilmoitettiin korkean tenorsoloon kautta, jopa niin korkean että se tuntui niiltä mahdotomalta laulaa rinta-aänissä. Hra Floman, joka tämän pienen solopartian lauloi, teki tehävästi varsin ansioaksi, emmekä hänen syysyn laske sitä että tämä kohta lauluassa ei mehun aiwan edullista wakutusta tehty. Kokonaisuudessaan kuitenkin on tämä bändiä etewästi sowitettu ja lauleettiin wakutattavasti.”

Nya Presen, 2 December 1898, K[arl] Floden: ”Programmet inne-höll flera nummer, som genom sin musikaliska hal t höjde sig ofver mängden af endast konventionellt vackra manskvertet. Främst anförda vi i sådan afdelning den lettiska balladen af Vihtol, en längre, på växlande stämningar rik tonsättning, som därtill bar en mycket originnell lokalfärg.” In addition to Nya Presen, also other newspapers especially mentioned Laulumiehet in their reviews of the concert (e.g., Uusi Suometar on the same day).

Uusmaalaisen laulu ja Skyddskärmarsch are discussed above.
Einleitung


Op. 1 Nr. 4 *Jouluvirsi – Julvisa*


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: