JOHN FRANCIS KINSELLA

FINLANDIA

JOHN FRANCIS KINSELLA

© Copyright John Francis Kinsella 2021

LEMMINKAINAN'S MOTHER

AKSELI GALLEN-KALLELA

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 FINLAND

CHAPTER 2 THE KAVELA

CHAPTER 3 1865-1889

CHAPTER 4 1889-1891

CHAPTER 5 1892

CHAPTER 6 1892-1896

CHAPTER 7 1896-1902

CHAPTER 8 1902-1903

CHAPTER 9 1904-1907

CHAPTER 10 1907-1909

CHAPTER 11 1909-1911

CHAPTER 12 1911-1913

CHAPTER 13 1913-1914

CHAPTER 14 1914

CHAPTER 15 1917

CHAPTER 16 1918-1919

CHAPTER 17 1919-1922

CHAPTER 18 1923-1924

CHAPTER 19 1924-1926

CHAPTER 20 1927-1933

CHAPTER 21 1930-1940

CHAPTER 22 1937-1945

CHAPTER 22 THE LAST YEARS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Other books by John Francis Kinsella

Fiction

Non-fiction

Translations

In the works

‘The study of another’s compositions is none other than the act of composing.’

Jean Sibelius

Natural language is a moving target. I fear you are not going to be able to ensure that every term in a human text is understandable by all readers. If meanings change, content that once conformed may no longer conform.

Ian Jacobs

Along the rivers of Ireland,

in the fields of Hungary and Bohemia,

A cry rose, demanding that their own forces,

The peoples renew themselves

and discard what they have borrowed

On the heights of Suomi,

this cry finds a great echo

THE LIFE AND TIMES

of

JEAN SIBELIUS

This is an authorised free edition from www.obooko.com
Although you do not have to pay for this book, the author's intellectual property rights remain fully protected by international Copyright laws. You are licensed to use this digital copy strictly for your personal enjoyment only. This edition must not be hosted or redistributed on other websites without the author's written permission nor offered for sale in any form. If you paid for this free edition, or to gain access to it, we suggest you demand a refund and report the transaction to the author and Obooko.

NOTE

SO MUCH HAS BEEN WRITTEN about Jean Sibelius by biographers, journalists, historians and musicolgists, there is little more to say. So why this book? The explanation is simple, this compilation of facts, tales, anecdotes newspaper articles, quotations from books—written by learned specialists, musicologists, critics and journalists as well as countless stories told by the many different persons who met him and lived in the times of Finland's national hero—is a 'clin d'oeil' to Finland and my Finnish friends past and present.

Over a period of nearly six decades I travelled to Finland on a great many occasions; worked with many Finns; made good friends; and discovered a world that at first seemed so different and then so normal.

On my first visit to Finland in the mid-sixties, I discovered Sibelius was a popular symbol of Finnish national consciousness, part of the narrative of a country that had stood up to the might of the Soviet Union.

I discovered Jean Sibelius towards the end of the 1950s when I used to watch an ITV current affairs programme 'This Week' at 20.30 on Thursday evenings. I don't remember the contents, but the opening theme music stayed with me for the rest of my

life. It was the intermezzo from the Karelia Suite composed by Sibelius.

At that time I was in my teens late and my interest in music turned around Buddy Holly and Elvis Presley, any dawning interest in classical music was reduced to the more popular pieces, the kinds played on BBC's Desert Island Discs and Family Favourites, they included the Planet Suite, Beethoven's Fifth, Valse Triste and the like. I never paid much attention to composers, but the Karelia Suite fired my imagination, as it did that of many others.

Finland in those days was almost unknown to me, though I had vaguely heard of Flying Finns—athletes and racing car drivers, but that was about it.

At that time Finlandisation was current when speaking of Finland's relationship with its frightening neighbour, and in those days it was frightening as I discovered behind the Iron Curtain on my first visits to the DDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia in the mid-sixties then Leningrad soon after.

Little did I know I would travel the world with my Finnish friends and share many enjoyable and interesting moments from Turkmenistan to Australia, from Washington to Bombay, and from Helsinki to Borneo and Shanghai. I also discovered that Russia wasn't so frightening with my good friend Kalevi Kyyrönen.

Now I am not a specialist of classical music or any other music for that matter, which means all references to this story of Jean Sibelius and his music have been harvested from the observations and reflections of many others. Obviously I have used the historical facts recorded by his biographers and I do not pretend to have invented anything, simply fulfilled a personal need to say something to and about Finland.

CHAPTER 1

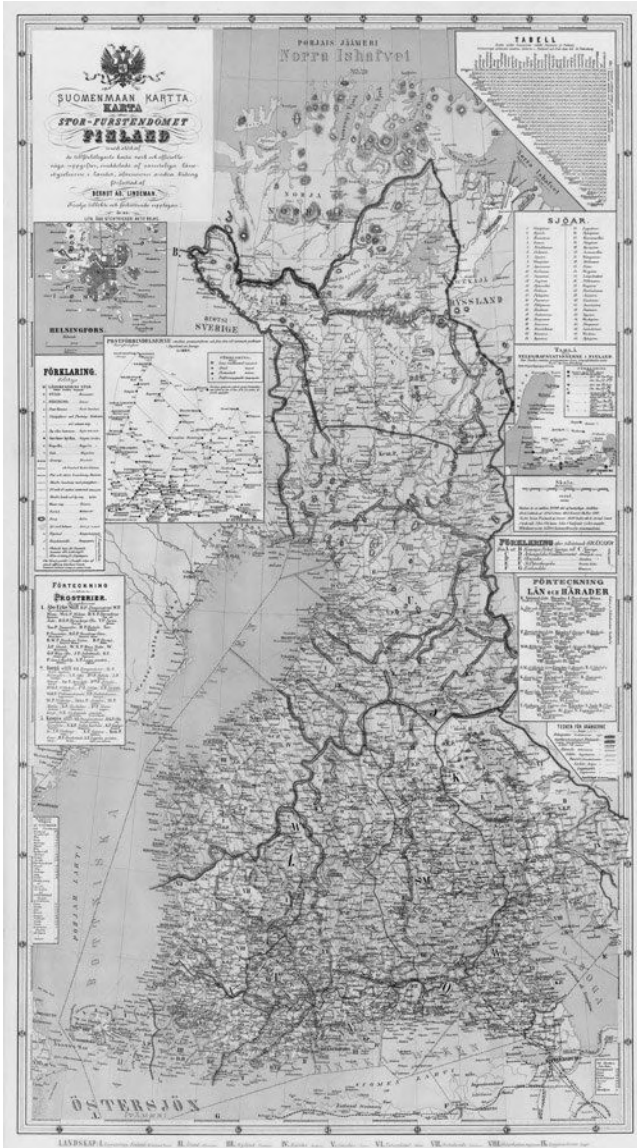
FINLAND

ANY DISCUSSION OF THE LIFE AND MUSIC of Jean Sibelius would be incomplete without a glance at the history of the land where he was born, the Grand Duchy of Finland, an autonomous part of the Russian Czarist Empire. It is therefore necessary to commence within the context of Russian culture and history.

Therein lies the question of national identity and musical influence. Although Finland's status between 1809 and 1917 as a Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire and Russianisation has been the subject of considerable debate with the image of a small nation courageously winning self-determination in the face of a mighty imperial power, it was Sibelius' Finlandia that embodied, to the outside world, his role in the development of Finnish national consciousness and the move to political self-determination.

Seen as a protest against Russian domination, the work was subject to a highly politicized interpretation in which Sibelius himself was complicit—as he explains with these words:

FINLANDIA



‘It was actually rather late that Finlandia was performed under its final title. At the farewell concert of the Philharmonic Orchestra before leaving for Paris, when the tone-poem was played for the first time in its revised form, it was called “Suomi.” It was introduced by the same name in Scandinavia; in German towns it was called “Vaterland,” and in Paris “La Patrie.” In Finland its performance was forbidden during the years of unrest, and in other parts of the Empire it was not allowed to be played under any name that in any way indicated its patriotic character. When I conducted in Reval and Riga by invitation in the summer of 1904, I had to call it “Impromptu.”’

Although Finland’s status between 1809 and 1917 as a Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire has been the subject of considerable work by historians, the policies of Russification that were in place between 1899 and Finland’s final independence eighteen years later have been at the centre of the story of how a small nation bravely won self-determination despite its being under the shadow of a vast imperial power.

To understand how Finland arrived where it did in 1917 it is to present an overview of the history of the land in which Sibelius was born—the Grand Duchy of Finland, an autonomous part of the Russian Czarist Empire.

It was not until 1917, Finland became a nation state after gaining its independence from Russia, to which it had been forcefully attached in 1809. Before that date it had been part of Sweden for more than six centuries.

Under Swedish rule, Finland was marked by the endless wars waged with and against its neighbours—Russia, Poland and Denmark, contributing beyond its size to the ranks of the Swedish army. During the centuries under the Swedish crown over forty percent of the losses of the king's armies were believed to be Finns—in much the same way Irish losses served the English kings over the centuries.

Towards the end of the 13th century, at the time of Charlemagne, the north had little or no importance to civilised Christian Europe, whilst in the 9th and 10th centuries the Vikings launched the last of three great pagan assaults against Europe, which after the fall of the Roman Empire had all but overwhelmed it.

They were the scourge of both the West and the Orient. In the 9th century, the Vikings imposed their law on Novgorod, peopled by Finns and Slavs, as well as Kiev. They went as far as attacking Byzantium. The south of what is now Finland was for them a way of passage, and its southern coast became an important route for international trade. The Viking era ended at the beginning of the 11th century when the kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark and Norway took form and a specific Finnish civilisation developed in spite of the small density of the countries population.

Sweden commenced its conversion to Christianity from the 9th century, as to the Russians they adopted the Orthodox faith at the end of the 10th century. The rupture between the two churches took place very soon for political and economical as

well as religious reasons. Situated geographically between Sweden and Russia pagan Finland was first of all Christianised from the east, but it was three Swedish crusades in about 1157, 1238 and 1293, the first launched by Erik IX Jedvardsson the King of Sweden from 1150 to 1160 and by Saint Henri, a legendary person who determined his future in a decisive fashion. These crusades were evidently not only organised for exclusively religious motives. The first Christian crosses ever seen in Finland were it is said set-up on the Gulf of Bothnia in the 12th century at Korsholm. The founding of Turku, the oldest city of Finland sates from 1279. In 1255 Stockholm was founded and soon after became the capital of Sweden.

The Swedish thrust towards the east, on occasions in competition with the Danes and Germans, against Novgorod in a series of long wars resulted in diverse fortunes. In 1240, the Duke Alexander of Novgorod decisively stopped the progression of the western forces towards what is the heart of present day Russia inflicting a decisive defeat on the Finno-Swedish army banks of the Neva, an army that had been raised and supported by Bishop Thomas. This exploit transformed the Duke’s name to Alexander Nevsky. Two years later he crushed the Teutonic Knights in Livonia on Lake Peïpous. The disaster of 1240 was one of the reasons that led to Bishop Thomas renouncing his diocese in Turku in 1245. He retired to the Dominican convent of Visby on the Island of Gotland where he died in 1248. Bishop Thomas is the hero of the opera Thomas written in 1985 by the Finnish composer Einojuhani Rautavaara.

The first Russo-Swedish conflicts were ended, thanks to the mediation by German merchants, in a treaty signed in 1323 on the Island of Pähkinsaari. Thus for the first time the eastern frontier of Finland, or rather for the dominant power in the region at that time, Sweden, was fixed. The negotiators were above all preoccupied by the balance of power in what is now called the Gulf of Finland. The whole of its north coast was recognised as Swedish. The Neva, an important passage for international trade, as well as the region of Karelia surrounding Lake Ladoga remained in the hands of the feudal and merchant city of Novgorod, though during the hostilities, Sweden had succeeded in building a castle nearby what is Saint Petersburg today. In the other direction, the Novgorodians reached Turku in 1318 situated on the south west coast of Finland and burnt down its cathedral that had been established in 1300. On the other hand the Swedes kept western Karelia and Viipuri, the advance post where in 1293 they had started to build a fortress 'to the glory of God and the Virgin Mary for the defence of the Kingdom and the protection of the marines'. Karelia was therefore cut into two. The extreme south of the border line was established by the 'eternal peace' of Pähkinsaari—in reality nothing more than a ceasefire, and remained so with some minor exceptions, until 1940 when the frontier was situated more to the west. As to eastern Karelia, between Lake Ladoga and the White Sea, it had never belonged to Finland.

A simple part of the Kingdom of Sweden, Finland was over several centuries closely bound to the vicissitudes of the policies carried out by Sweden. This common history made an

indelible mark on Finland and several of Sibelius' works makes a direct reference to this, in particular during his first creative period: Karelia, Celebration music for the press, Finlandia or King Christian II.

During the Middle Ages Finland had the disadvantage of having no specific status and its most important towns at that time were Turku, a bishopric where from 1370 most of the Bishops elected were Finnish, and Viipuri. The period between 1497-1523 is called the Union of Kalmar, the name of a southern part of Sweden facing the Island of Oland and near to the Danish border of that time. Denmark, Sweden and Norway then had in principal the same sovereign with Denmark occupying a predominant position.

The first of these unified sovereigns was Erik XIII of Pomerania, who sat in Copenhagen. In reality, he did not govern until the death in 1412 of the real empress of the Union, his grandaunt Queen Maguerite. Erik XIII was deposed in 1439 for his errors and cruelty taking refuge on the Island of Gotland in the Middle of the Baltic Sea. During the course of this troubled period, Sweden revolted several times, and many battles opposed the Danish kings of the Union with different pretenders – among these was Christian I, the founder of the Oldenburg dynasty which is still reigns today in Copenhagen.

After having been regent, one of these pretenders reigned on three different occasions in Stockholm from 1448 to his death in 1470, under the name of Karl VIII Knutson. The struggle between Denmark and Sweden took place on more than one

occasion in Finland. To reconcile himself with his potential rival Karl Knutson, the successor of Erik III as King of the Union, Christopher III of Bavaria gave him large domains in Finland, as regent of Sweden. Karl then fixed his residence in Viipuri.

During the winter of 1495-1496, the troops of Ivan III, the Great, Grand Prince of Moscow, who in 1478 had annexed Novgorod then officially proclaimed in 1480 the end of the Mongol domination, and whose reign constituted an important step in the creation of a unified Russian state, ravaged Karelia but in the course of which raised the siege of Viipuri. In 1509, the Danes carried out a devastating raid on Turku from the Islands of Åland.

In the course of the first two decades of the XVI century and in particular when Christian II reigned in Copenhagen, Sweden did everything in its power to break from the Union of Kalmar. They succeeded under the leadership of a young nobleman named Gustaf Wasa. Shortly before, in November 1520, a few days after his victory over the Regent Sten Sture the Younger and his coronation as King of Sweden, Christian II had executed in Stockholm, where he had arrived at the head of his armies, eighty two important personalities including two bishops in spite of his promises of clemency. The blood bath of Stockholm was followed by other executions and also in Finland. These tragic events were a death blow to the Union of Kalmar.

Proclaimed King of Sweden in 1523, Gustaf Wasa immediately left for Finland, where he vanquished the Danes and their allies. Sweden had won back its independence and its union with Finland was reinforced for a long period of time. The same year after a reign of only ten years Christian II was deposed from the throne of Denmark and Norway to the benefit of his uncle Frederik I and fled to Holland. After an attempt to win back power he spent the remaining twenty seven years of his life in captivity. Denmark and Norway maintained their union until 1814.

Gustaf I Wasa reigned until his death in 1560, a period marked by radical changes. In this period Gustaf introduced Lutheranism into Sweden, backed by Olaus Petri, a preacher known as Master Olof, he confiscated the assets of the Church, replaced the elected monarchy by a hereditary monarchy, and finally fought against Russia, Poland and Denmark for the control of the Baltic but without any marked success.

As a consequence of the rupture with Denmark and the policy of centralisation carried out by Gustaf, Finland saw its importance grow within the Kingdom of Sweden. But at the same moment just as written Finnish made its first modest steps, this centralisation imposed on all those seeking a position in the administration, whether they be of Swedish or Finnish origin, to master the Swedish language, which obviously favoured this language.

One or two centuries later incomprehension between the ordinary people in Finland who were illiterate and spoke only

Finnish, and the officials, had developed considerably. Until well into the XIX century the language of elite in Finland was Swedish, so much so that within the country there were two greatly unequal nations both by their status and situation, they co-existed without any real communication. It is necessary to know that there is no relation whatsoever between the Swedish and Finnish languages, Swedish having Germanic roots and Finnish being part of the Finno-Ugrian family of languages as Sami, Estonian and Hungarian. If all Finns and Estonians can understand each other Hungarian is a totally foreign language for them.

In 1520, to create a counterpart with the Estonian city of Tallinn, founded by the Danes in 1219, which in the middle of the XVI century and belonged the Teutonic Knights, a new city was founded; Helsinki. By a decree dated 12 June, a certain number of merchants from the neighbouring localities of Porvoo, Taminsaari, Rauma and Ulvila received to order to come and establish themselves there. The two cities faced each other, Tallinn on the south coast of the Gulf of Finland and Helsinki on the north coast on the estuary of the Vantaa river and its rapids.

However, in 1561 Tallinn was conquered by the Swedes, which slowed the development of Helsinki, though without the old German aristocracy losing its dominant position in Estonia. Almost a century later in 1639, the estuary of the Vantaa became silted up and Helsinki was literally transplanted five kilometres to the south west towards the promontory of Estnäs.

It is at this place the oldest part of the city is found today: Kruununhaka.

After having spent the year 1555 waging war against the Russians in Finland, Gustaf Wasa left his favourite son Johan there, with the title of duke for his south west region and governor for the remainder, notably to have a better control of the Finnish nobility considered to be too turbulent. In Turku, Duke Johan together with his wife Catherine Jagellon led the existence worthy of a Renaissance Prince, employing eight full time musicians, for the only time in its history Finland had on its soil the life of a real court! Gustaf The successor of Gustaf Wasa was his eldest son Erik XIV, who struggled not without success against the Denmark of Frederick II, but became mad.

He was deposed in 1568 and died after nine years imprisonment, poisoned by the order of his brother King Johan III, previously Duke Johan. Johan rose to the throne in 1568, and through his marriage with Jagellon built close ties with Poland. During a particularly difficult war that lasted twenty-five years, he gained two victories, in 1580 and 1581, against the Russian Ivan IV the Terrible with the help of Poland and a French mercenary, Pontus de la Gardie who conquered for a time the city of Käkisalmi, to the north west of Lake Ladoga. These successes won for Johan III in 1581 the title ‘Grand Duke of Finland, Karelia and Käkisalmi’.

In 1595, after the Peace of Täyssinä, the Czar Fedor I, son of Ivan the Terrible, or rather his brother-in-law the future Czar Boris Godounov, who in reality exercised power in Russia,

recognised the recent Swedish conquests in Estonia and accepted the repositioning of the frontier to the east in Savo: the colonies created by Sweden in this region since the Treaty of Pähkinäsaari of 1323 now belonged de jure to the Swedes.

The son of Johan III, Sigismond, a fervent Catholic and defender of a decentralised state, was from 1592 both King of Sweden and Poland. However, the third son of Gustaf Wasa, Duke Karl, defended by force of arms the cause of Protestantism and centralisation: a civil war broke out between the partisans of the uncle and the nephew. The Finnish nobility led by the Governor Klau Fleming particularly interested by the union with Poland, aligned himself on the side of Sigismond, whilst the peasantry, tired of war, sided with Karl and started a revolt against the nobles know as the 'War of the Cudgels'? They were massacred by the soldiers of Fleming who died shortly after. It was however, Karl who succeeded after having twice laid siege to the Castle of Turku, symbol of the authority of the kings of Sweden and Finland.

Defeated, Sigismond returned to Poland, thus de facto breaking the union between Sweden and Poland. Karl became regent then king under the name of Karl IX, not without having made the Finnish nobility pay a high price for its 'treason': the 10th November 1599 fourteen of its members, including two sons of Fleming were decapitated in Turku and other executions followed in Sweden. This episode is the only one in the long common history of Sweden and Finland when the two

countries affronted each other. But, never at any moment was an independence, even partial, sought for Finland.

Swedish power reached its peak at the beginning of the XVII century with the reign of the son of Karl IX, Gustaf II Adolph. He inherited a triple war from his father on his accession to the throne in 1611, against Poland with his cousin Sigismond III, the stake of which was Estonia; against Denmark still threatened by Christian IV, sovereign and patron of the arts who some years later after his defeat in the Thirty Years War would receive at his court Heinrich Schütz; and against Russia, then seriously shaken by internal struggles for the succession to the throne. These struggles greatly influenced the politics of its neighbouring states, creating an extremely complex situation.

Sweden and Denmark made peace in 1613 returning their respective conquests to each other. At war with Russia, which in 1613 after the troubled times had finished by rallying around Mikail III Romanov, founder of the dynasty of the same name that was to reign until 1917, the war ended in 1617 with the Treaty of Stolbova: the eastern frontier of Swedish Finland was again moved eastwards to Lake Ladoga and Käkisalmi.

In the Gulf, Gustaf II Adolph in addition appropriated Ingria up to the Narva, with the site of the future Saint Petersburg thus cutting Russia off from the Baltic. The security of Finland seemed to be assured for a long time, and before the Riksdag gathered in Stockholm for his coronation, the king boasted of having ‘excluded the barbarians forever from the sea’.

This ‘exclusion’ lasted only one hundred years. Eino Jutikkala noted that Gustaf II Adolph could have no doubt demanded more, but by his moderation, ‘he revealed himself a statesman having a more realistic view of Russia than Karl II, Napoleon or Hitler. It was necessary to maintain good relations with … this country and its unfathomable immensities, and the Kingdom of Sweden should reinforce itself in other directions’. First of all the king turned towards the south west, then towards the south.

In 1660, intervening in the Thirty Year War the armies of Gustaf II Adolph arrived in Pomerania. Mainly composed of strong Finnish contingents they defeated the Imperials in the brilliant victory of Breitenfeld then in 1632 at Luten: both battles taking place near to Leipzig. In the course of the second Gustaf II Adolph was killed, leaving the throne to his daughter Christine aged six and the affairs of the kingdom under his chancellor Oxenstienar. He had brought Sweden for almost two centuries fully into the mainstream of European until 1815.

The result of his intervention into the Thirty Years War in favour of the Protestants, and after the peace of Westphalia, Sweden had gained different territories in northern Germany including the Island of Rügen and western Pomerania with the port of Stettin. The conquest of prosperous Danish regions confirmed by the Treaty of Roskilde had moved the centre of gravity of the kingdom towards the south and the west.

It was there the roots of Finland’s relegation as a dependent nation lay, a fact that did not really manifest itself until the 18th

century, after the wars of Karl XII. However, in the 17th century Finland befitted from by greater attention than before as witnessed by the measures undertaken by Count Per Brahe, Governor General of Finland from 1637 to 1641 then from 1648 to 1654. He acted as though the country was his own principality, the translation of the Bible into Finnish, the development of a written Finnish grammar was encouraged, so that the Swedish officials appointed in Finland could understand the language, and above all the foundation of the University of Turku in 1640, the oldest in Finland.

Teaching was not in Swedish but in Latin, which facilitated the young Finns, whatever their maternal language: Finnish or Swedish. This led to a rapid increase in the number of Finns in the clergy or in the administration. At the end of his governorship Per Brahe, whose achievements can still be seen in certain Finnish towns and cities, the most evident of which is Turku, he declared: ‘I am very satisfied with this country, and this country with me.’

At the end of 1649, Queen Christine received René Descartes at her court, who died in Stockholm the following year. In 1654 she abdicated—after having refused to marry her cousin—who then became Karl X Gustaf. Under his reign Sweden reached its greatest territorial expansion. For a certain time the Baltic remained a Swedish lake, but at the cost of new wars against almost all of Europe. Finland was then subjected to a new armed attack from Russia. Following the peace treaties, Sweden did not succeed in imposing a status quo, whilst it has

been seen that to the south it had taken large territories from Frederic II of Denmark, and at the same time from Norway. The balance of power in the region had been profoundly changed to Sweden's advantage.

However, its conquests to the south and to the west were solidly entrenched it was not the case to east: Ingria and Käkisalmi whose populations though they spoke a Finnish dialect were Russian at heart and by religion. Russia had to the detriment of Poland again taken up its advance towards the west that had been interrupted at the end of the reign of Ivan IV the Terrible. By recovering Kiev and Smolensk, Russia had broken out from its isolation.

Though Karl XI was a great traveller he had never visited Finland. The loyalty of the Finns towards Sweden to this king, who had inherited the throne at the age of only five years old, was not however affected, even during the terrible famines of 1695-1696, due to the long freezing winter. Finland lost between one fifth and one third of its inhabitants and saw its population fall to 400,000 souls. Relatively unaffected Sweden provided inadequate aid. During this reign, consecrated to the establishment of an absolute monarchy, Finland-Sweden embarked on a more and more perilous policy. It was defeated by Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg at Fehrbellin, this was to mark the beginning of Prussian power, and if at the Peace of Nijmegen in 1678-1679 Sweden managed to conserve all of its previous conquests, it was due to the victories of Louis XIV of France, its ally.

Then followed by the longest period of peace that Sweden-Finland had know for two centuries until 1697, on the Russian side at least, because a war against Christian V of Denmark took place in the years following 1670. This peace could not last as Sweden was a relatively artificial entity constituted around an east-west axis, and not north south like today, formed by territories having small and diverse populations, whose sole link was the Baltic Sea of which several were buffers between the great states and their natural ports. It was on the estuary of the Neva, in Ingria, that Peter I, the Great, founded Saint Petersburg in 1703, before making it his capital of his states in 1712.

The confrontation between the Sweden of Karl XII, son of Karl XI and king at the age of fifteen, and the Russia of Peter the Great constituted the principal episode of the Great Northern War of 1700-1721. This conflict between the two countries was decisive: it started the decline of Swedish power and the long period of expansion of Sweden towards the east until 1809 was followed by a period of Russian expansion towards the west. After the defeat at Narva of the Russian forces four times greater than the Swedish army, fifty percent of which were Finns, Karl II committed the imprudence of turning against Poland and Saxe, leaving the Czar time to prepare his revenge.

In 1706 the armies of Peter the Great arrived before Viipuri without however being able seriously besiege the city. Two years later Karl XII marched on Moscow, but was crushed with

his ally Mazeppa leader of the Zaporozhe Cossacks, in June 1709 at Poltava, on an affluent of the Dnieper in central Ukraine, losing the elite of his army. He fled to Turkey where he could not go out without being disguised until 1714. After Peter the Peter had concluded alliances with Saxe and Frederick IV of Denmark, Sweden abandoned Finland. Viipuri was once again besieged by the Russians and taken in 1700 and the country was fully conquered in 1714.

From that point Finland suffered under a Russian occupation between 1714 and 1721 called the ‘Great Wrath’. In 1718, Karl XII was killed during the siege of Frederikshald in Norway. Three years later in at the Peace of Uusikaupunki, Peter the Great—given the title of Emperor of all the Russias—did not annexe Finland, but expanding his territories its expense, resulting in Finland’s the loss of Käkisalmi and above all Eastern Karelia with Viipuri, deprive it of its traditional defences. The rest of the country was returned to Sweden, approximately within in the limits of its present day frontiers: imposed by Stalin in 1940 and then again in 1944.

Russia, which in addition to seizing Ingria, Estonia and Livonia, had also assured its domination in the Baltic. Sweden, having become its ‘geographical enemy’ no longer had the means to play an active role in European politics, whilst article 7 of the Treaty of Uusikaupunki allowed Russia to interfere in its internal affairs, which is what happened on more than one occasion up until 1772, and in particular when the Czarina

Elisabeth imposed her own choice as King of Sweden, Adolph Frederik of Holstein-Gottorp.

The Russian victory introduced an element of rancour into Swedish-Finnish relations aggravated by the fact that the Finns remained under the impression they had been abandoned to invasion, pillage and devastation: they were no more that about 300,000 compared to the 1,400,000 Swedes. Their resentment grew and the gulf between them deepened as the result of an unfortunate war of revenge attempted by the Swedes in 1741. In March 1742, the Czarina Elisabeth signed a declaration proclaiming that Finland would not enjoy a lasting peace unless it rid itself of the Swedish yoke and became an autonomous Duchy.

At that moment this declaration had no particular effect, but shortly after, Sweden completely withdrew from Finland, which underwent a second Russian occupation almost without fighting (period of the Small Wrath). These were the only two occupations in all its history by Russian enemy forces. On the Peace of Turku, Finland once again escaped annexation.

It however lost what remained of Karelia, with the cities of Hamina, the citadel and port of which had been built after 1721 to replace Viipuri, and Lappeenranta. It was also dispossessed of a part of Savo with the city of Savonlinna and its imposing castle of Olavinlinna, built at the end of the XV century. The frontier with Russia was move to the west for a second time. Certain Finns commenced to envisage a separation of Finland and Sweden.

Over the course of the following years efforts were made to reinforce the position of Finland as an integral part of the Kingdom of Sweden through economic and cultural development programmes that gradually raised living standards and improved intellectual conditions, which paradoxically once again advanced the position of the Swedish language. In the 1770s the population of Finland was almost 600,000 inhabitants. With the large subsidies of Louis XIV of France, on the basis of the military theories of Vauban and under the direction of Marshall Count Augustin Ehrensvärd the powerful Fort of Sveaborg was built on an island starting in 1748 at the entry to the Port of Helsinki, it was re-baptised Suomenlinna in 1918: it was part of a political security system that had many ups and downs, this fort was designed to counterbalance that of Kronstadt, built by Peter the Great on an island to the west of Saint Petersburg. Until 1772, for a period of time called the 'Era of Freedom', power was exercised in Sweden through the Riksdag, through four classes: nobility, clergy, bourgeois and peasantry. This was based on the constitution of 1719, accepted after the death of Karl XII by his sister the Queen Ulrika-Eleonora, this constitution considerable limited the prerogatives of the sovereign.

In 1720, Ulrika-Eleonora abdicated in favour of her husband Prince Fredrik of Hesse, who became Fredrik I of Sweden, he confirmed the constitution of 1719. Two parties disputed power in the country: the Caps, partisans of peace and concessions to Russia, and the Hats were pro-French, in favour of a strong monarchy and to pursue the bellicose policies of Karl XII and

who provoked the war of 1741-1743. The Hats believed at times in the existence of a separatist movement in Finland. In power until 1765 the ended up by renouncing all ideas of revenge against the east, but in 1757 nevertheless dragged Sweden as ally of France and Russia into the Seven Year War. Sweden suffered several defeats by the Prussians and managed to keep Rügen, Stralsund and part of Pomerania thanks to its allies. In 1769 elections the brought the Hats power, the fleet of the Tzarina Catherine II immediately took position off the Swedish coast. The neighbours of Sweden, and in particular Russia, preferred the Caps, in other words a weak royalty. In addition the European powers in general —Russia, Prussia, Denmark and France—more and more preferred to put Sweden to the service of their own ambitions. A foretaste of a destiny that risked becoming Sweden's own took place in July 1772, when Russia, Prussia and Austria divided Poland amongst themselves.

The plans prepared by a Finnish Colonel Jakob Magnus Sprengtporten for a coup d'état one month later, enabled the young King Gustaf III, son of the pro-Russian Adolph Fredrik and a sister of Fredrik II of Prussia, to partially re-establish the absolute monarchy and perhaps maintain the independence of his country. In the company of his half brother Göran Magnus, Jakob Magnus occupied the Fortress of Sveabourg and succeeded in rally to him, one after the other, the different units of the garrison of Helsinki.

In Stockholm, Gustaf III hastened the movement. Brought up with a French education and a great admirer of Voltaire, he was encouraged to act by the subsidies received from Charles de Vergennes, future foreign minister of Louis XVI and then Ambassador of France to Sweden. The 21st both the Caps and Hats recognised the fait accompli. In spite of a vigorous warning received by Gustaf from his uncle Fredrik II, neither Prussia, Russia nor Denmark moved, notably because of the almost unanimous acceptance both in Sweden and in Finland of a people tired of the years of partisan rivalry. The civil war that certain overseas had wished for had not happened and Sweden lived through the experience of an 'enlightened despotism'.

A new constitution entered into force that in an unexpected manner proved to be much more important for Finland than for Sweden. Executive power became an exclusive domain of the king, the power of the estates of the realm was limited, and the lower social orders favoured religious tolerance, abolition of torture and the venality of offices to the detriment of the aristocracy. In addition in 1789 Gustaf III adopted an act of Union and Security, the dispositions of which concentrated more than the constitution of 1772 the essentials of power in his hands.

The discontent of the aristocracy-that ended in the assassination of the king in March 1792-manifested itself in Sweden by an opposition that was above all parliamentary but was more and more powerful, whilst in Finland a few noble

families, mainly of Baltic origin, supported the idea of making the country an autonomous or even independent principality. Sweden was suspected - in order to have its hands free on the Norwegian coast - of negotiating the abandon of Finland. At the same time the Finnish nobles feared a new war against the powerful neighbour to the east: in the case of invasion their lives and above all their possessions would be in danger.

This autonomist movement had Göran Magnus Sprengtportan as leader, who estimated that his position in 1772 had been inadequately compensated, noting that the measures he had recommended for the defence of the country had been in no manner adopted, he resigned from the army in 1777 and went as far as presenting to the Russian Ambassador in the Hague in 1785 a plan the foresaw the separation of Finland from Sweden. ‘Finland was so close to the Russian capital he explained that on the one hand they could not provoke the anger of Russia and on the other they were too far from Sweden to be assured of its protection.

The independence of Finland automatically eliminated both of these inconveniences and made possible a new relationship of mutual confidence between Russia and Sweden’. By fear of Russia, in a certain manner of speaking, they threw themselves into her arms.

This plan was never carried out. It was the same during the war launched in 1788 by Gustaf III against Russia, the ‘peace plan’ prepared by the members of a conspiracy passed into posterity under the name of the League of Anjala. More than

one hundred officers were in secret communication with Catherine II. After the failure of the plan, Göran Magnus Sptengtportan judged it more prudent to remain in Saint Petersburg where he had taken refuge in 1786 where he became adviser to the Czarina for Finnish questions. The ‘men of Anjala’-the name of a manor where they had signed the pact of their conspiracy—were finally arrested, but only one, Colonel Hästesko was executed in Stockholm for high treason. It was in this context, in order to stimulate the patriotism of his subjects and to establish himself as a great monarch, Gustaf III prepared a work, which was to become one of the most celebrated in Swedish opera history ‘Gustaf Wasa’, it was performed for the first time the 19th January 1786 in Stockholm.

The music was written by Johann Gottlieb Naumann, a member of the court of Sweden, Director of Music at the court of Dresden. Libretto, to which Gustaf III had contributed, was written by Johan Henrik Kellgren. In act III, the Swedish army takes by assault the castle held by the Dane Christian II (in the opera Christjern II). It is said that the audience, duly prepared, shouted: Kill them! Kill them!

However the projects in question were in no way dictated by Finnish nationalism, and as such benefited from no popular support: the hereditary fear of the Russians remained strong. Even Henrik Gabriel Porthan -philologist, folklorist, geographer and historian, professor at the University of Turku from 1777, author of a series of works entitled *Dissertio de*

poesi Fennica and honoured from the middle of the XIX century as the father of Finnish culture-remained all his life loyal to Sweden and condemned all desire to make Finland, under any form whatsoever, a Russian protectorate.

A humanist and adept of the Lumières, Portham principally wrote his works in Latin and corresponded in Swedish. He treated the Sprengtporten movement as a ‘project that was as mad as it was criminal’, violently reproaching ‘four or five nobles with unrealistic ideas’ of wanting ‘subjugate their compatriots by making them slaves like the Livonians’.

Later he declared to his student Frans Mikael Franzén, the great Finnish lyrical poet before Runeberg: ‘We should pray to God that the Russian succeeds in making Constantinople its capital, because then it would leave distant Finland in peace under the Swedish sceptre. But I fear that as it stands today near to its capital, Finland will fall sooner or later under the power of Russia. I hope I do not live to see this misfortune, but you who are young, you will perhaps see it’.

These thoughts did not fall on deaf ears: in 1811 after the annexation of Finland by Russia, Franzén immigrated to Sweden. The same thoughts were just as applicable in July 1790, following the brilliant naval victory of Ruotsinsalmi, Gustaf III almost took Saint Petersburg, which only persuaded Catherine II of the gravity of the Swedish threats, above all if it remained in Finland, which menaced Russia. One month later however, the Treaty of Värälä consecrated the return to the status quo. In spite of its briefness and the successes the war of

1788-1799 had dried up the public finances and equally exhausted those of both Sweden and Finland.

The French Revolution and the insurrection in Poland in 1794 prevented the Russians from taking their revenge for a while. The events in France on the contrary pushed Gustaf III-distressed by the failure of the French royal families flight organised by his compatriot Axel de Fersen and Catherine II from being reconciled. In 1805, the Sweden of Gustaf IV Adolph-the son of Gustaf Adolphe III who hated the Revolution and considered Napoleon as 'a beast of Apocalypse', and the Russia of Alexander I found themselves as allies of England, Prussia and Austria against Imperial France.

But if after Austerlitz, Sweden remained on the side of the English, Alexander I finished by agreeing, provisionally, with Napoleon and a new Russo-Swedish war was profiled on the horizon. With this in perspective, the abandon of Finland could be foreseen little by little in Sweden, whilst in intellectual circles in Finland the idea grew that one day the country would separate from Sweden. In 1807 the English became masters of the Baltic by occupying Copenhagen, in spite of the magnificent defence organised by the future Fredrik IV, regent following the incapacity of his father Christian VII. Sweden, the only ally of England in Europe could no longer be attacked from the east.

Three months previously, Napoleon and Alexander I met at Tilsit, on the Neman, to 'divide up the world'. This meeting

was decisive for Finland. Russia recognised the supremacy of France to the west and centre of Europe in exchange for total liberty in the Baltic. The Czar had above all tried to avoid all conflict. But with the refusal of Sweden to close its ports to the English ships, he 'fulfilled his obligation as ally' and pushed by Napoleon declared war. The 21 February 1808 his troops entered into Finland. Three and a half months later, the 5 June, he launched a manifesto-written by Göran Magnus Sprengtporten promising to respect the Lutheran faith in Finland, the privileges of the different estates and to convoke an assembly according to the ancient laws of the country.

The war lasted until September 1809, but the fate of Finland was decided much more quickly. From 2 March 1808, the Russians occupied Helsinki, which remained in their hands until 6 December 1917. The 3 May the citadel of Sveaborg fell in its turn, surrendered without a fight by its commander, the Swedish admiral Carl Olof Cronstedt, who in the popular mind became a diabolical traitor. On this occasion Alexander I received the congratulations of Napoleon. He had already proclaimed the annexation of Finland. The fighting continued with mixed results. In September-October 1808, at Erfurt, Napoleon promised Finland to Russia and in December not a Swedish soldier remained in the country. Even a few contingents of Russian soldiers disembarked in Sweden not far from Stockholm.

At the beginning of 1809, those amongst the Finish nobles who had sworn loyalty to Alexander I sent a deputation of

representatives of the four estates to Saint Petersburg: the nobility, the clergy, the bourgeois and the peasantry. They refused to negotiate the future status of Finland, the leader Baron Karl Erik Mannerheim, one of those pardoned following the conspiracy of Anjala and ancestor of the future Marshall Mannerheim, announcing that it was they alone who had the right to call an assembly formed of the estates and convoke it according to the constitution of 1772. The Czar gave in to their demands, confirming his proclamation of the previous year and leaving the possibility of a specific status for Finland within his Empire.

Convoked by Alexander I March 22, 1809, the assembly gathered in his presence March 28, in Porvoo. It was during the course of this session the Autonomous State of Finland was born. Two years later the legal and political basis of this new state was established. Alexander I gave the responsibility of the 'establishment of modern Finland' to Gustav Mauritz Armfelt, a Swedish then Russian general, who had been a favourite of Gustaf III, for certain Armfelt was an adventurer and for others a man of great intelligence. Arriving in Saint Petersburg May 15, after having been practically expelled from Stockholm, he was nominated President of the Committee for Finnish Affairs by the Czar, created in the Russian capital. Today he is not at all seen as the true 'founder of Finland'.

The rights of Lutheran religion with a majority of more than ninety five percent of the population were confirmed. The Swedish language remained the language of the government

and its institutions and judiciary, and the Constitution of 1772 and the Act of Union and Security of 1789, established by Gustaf III remained officially in force. The autocrat as the Czar was thus avoided drawing up himself the special dispositions for conquered territories, which would not have failed to shock or at least surprise the more conservative members of his entourage and to provoke jealousies in other parts of his Empire, notably Poland.

In any case the dispositions of 1772 and 1789, by their monarchical aspects suited him perfectly. The executive power remained exclusively in the hands of the sovereign with Alexander I simply replacing Gustaf IV. The government council, called the Senate from 1816, was responsible to only him. The supreme administrative instance uniquely formed by Finnish citizens nominated for a given period of time, it was composed of an economic section and a judiciary section, but had no other power of decision than for minor affairs. Later its competence was enlarged and it progressively received the attributions of a national government. It was in principal presided over by a governor general of Russian nationality, a resident representative in Finland of the authorities in Saint Petersburg. In reality its meetings were governed by its vice president of Finnish nationality, who finished by the de facto exercise of the functions of prime minister.

The Czar returned to the convocation of the Diet, an assembly composed of the representatives of the four estates that was to continue until 1906. The consent of this Diet was

theoretically necessary for any important law and for all taxes. However, it was not called again until 1863 at the moment of the second Polish insurrection to avoid contagion, in the context of measures for liberalisation and modernisation at the beginning of the reign of Alexander II. It met again quite regularly. Military service was not introduced in Finland, and Finnish citizens were not required to serve in the Russian army.

As to Russian citizens in Finland, they did not benefit from any rights to citizenship in Finland. A Finn could become an officer in the Russian armed forces, but no Russian was authorised to join the tiny Finnish units created in 1812 following the invasion of Russia by Napoleon. However a law relating to military conscription was promulgated in 1878. In addition customs barriers were maintained between Finland and Russia.

The Czar spoke in French before the Diet of Porvoo the 28th March 1809, where Sprengtporten acted as his interpreter. He solemnly rose Finland ‘to the rank of Nations’ and granted it ‘a surprising degree of autonomy’. The country had the heraldic rank of Grand Duchy since 1581 at which date Johan III had taken the title of Grand Duke of Finland and Karelia, as a result becoming Grand Duchy and doted for the first time with distinct institutions. The 29th of March a solemn act in homage to the court took place in the Cathedral of Porvoo in which Alexander II was made Grand Duke of Finland. The 3rd April he was warmly greeted in Turku, and in the days that followed in Hämeenlinna and elsewhere.

For the closing session of the Diet, the 18th July, he returned to Porvoo, where it only remained for him to congratulate himself on the turn of events. Having chosen Finland for reasons that were essentially military, to protect his capital, he reconfirmed his words spoken on the 4th April 1808, six weeks after the entry of his troops in the country, in the presence of the French Ambassador in Russia, the Marquis Armand de Gaulaincourt: “Well, I took the advice of the Emperor, I defeated the geographical enemy. As I said to the Emperor, geography dictated it so.” Hoping that the annexation of Finland reinforced the pro-French circles in Saint Petersburg, Gaulaincourt wrote in a diplomatic dispatch to Paris, ‘This is one of Catherine’s dreams come true! Other than guarantees this acquisition gives to the capital, it offers a great advantage to the navy in terms of its sailors and wood. In addition Russia gains one million people, and a better frontier guarded by the militia of the country. Addressing himself to Napoleon, the Ambassador to the Czar in Paris had not minced his words: ‘Finland was necessary to Russia. It was the plan of Pierre I, who without that would not have placed his capital where it is.’

In Stockholm, in March 1809 Gustaf IV Adolph was deposed and replaced by his uncle Karl XIII, brother of Gustaf III, who accepted a new constitution establishing the separation of power. Sweden thus abandoned its ‘Gustafian’ form of government at the precise moment that Finland confirmed it. The following 17 September, by the Treaty of Hamina, Sweden took act of the recent events, officially ceding all of Finland including the Islands of Åland to Russia. Karl XIII having no

children, the Swedish Diet designated the French General Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte as crown prince. As Prince Charles-Jean, he practised a policy that was anti-French and pro-Russian: in April 1812, he signed with the Czar a treaty of friendship in Turku that sealed once and for all the destiny of Finland.

In 1813-1814 the Russian and Swedish armies fought Napoleon side by side in Germany and then in France. If at the Congress of Vienna there was no question of Finland, the Baltic region was nevertheless profoundly changed by the Napoleonic wars. Becoming the geographical and cultural entity that we know today, Sweden compensated the loss of Finland by the acquisition of Norway that had been under the Danes since 1380, the Denmark of Fredrik VI came to an end as did its alliance with Napoleon. A union between Sweden and Finland was established that was to last until 1905 within which, contrary to Finland before 1809, Norway possessed its own administration and institutions without mentioning its own language. In 1818 Bernadotte was crowned in Stockholm under the name of Karl XIV, founding the present Swedish dynasty. Since 1815, contrary to Finland, Swedish has participated in no war.

Consolidated as a nation, Finland had become a state. The system established in 1809 was to function without too many difficulties until the 1890s. During these eight or nine decades, the Grand Duchy demonstrated a nationalism that was constructive and practical, non-revolutionary or oppositional. In contrast with Poland and the Baltic countries, Finland

maintained its autonomy during the whole of its Russian period. No war took place on its soil with the exception of the shock waves from the Crimea, as had often been the case during the long ‘Swedish period’.

If however the Finns were no longer Swedish, that had not become Russians. After having been fully associated with the exercise of power in Sweden, they took no part in Russian affairs. But at home they disposed of all the power that was not the domain of the Czar himself as Grand Duke of the country: power that were limited, but in principal guaranteed. It was not forgotten however that ‘what the Czar had given, he could take back’ and like those who spoke Finnish, the Swedish speaking Finns now had a foreign master. The most farseeing realised that in order to avoid Russianization in the long term, these tow linguistic and social groups, separate, but not conflictual, had to absolutely construct together a Finnish Finland, that is to say Finland as a concept. This goal notably implied the development of the Finnish part of the country, not only from the political and administrative aspects but above all from the cultural aspect.

From 1808-1810, the University of Turku was the object of an important reform, most important of which was the monopoly for the training of civil servants and the clergy. At the beginning of 1812, the Czar restored to his new subjects the territories they had lost in 1721 and 1743, in particular Eastern Karelia and Viipuri. This new frontier, approximately that of 1323, was to remain unchanged until 1940. As the previous

frontier it was in no way a natural frontier, which could only be weakened in the case of troubles. In April on the advice of Armfelt, Alexander I transferred the seat of government, 'too close to Stockholm and not near enough to Saint Petersburg', from Turku to Helsinki, 'because of its great proximity to our capital, its splendid port, the zeal of its inhabitants and their devotion to the public good, protected by the Fortress of Sveaborg'. Almost exactly a century earlier Saint Petersburg had become the capital of Russia.

In the night of the 16 November 1808, during the war, the centre of the new Finnish capital, Helsinki with only a population of 4,000 inhabitants, was ravaged by a fire: its modernisation was therefore made easier. This took modernisation place according to the ideals and style of the Russian Empire. A committee was formed headed by Johan Albrecht Ehrenström, who had before changing his mind and becoming the private secretary of Gustaf III, had seen Sprengtporten as the 'George Washington of Finland'. In 1817, a plan was submitted to the Czar: who simply wrote on the document 'Approved Alexander'. The execution was given to another architect, a German, Carl Ludwig Engel. Son of a stone mason who worked in Berlin at the time of Frederick II, Engel was a student in this same city with the famous 'head architect of Berlin' Karl Frederick Schinkel, advocate in Prussia of the classical school of architecture. At the end of the work that was spread over half a century Helsinki was transformed into a city of long rectilinear streets, with some of the most monumental buildings in all of Europe.

Today the great Esplanade that extends from east to west and from the port to the centre bears witness, first of all the fire break between the parts of the city in wood and those in stone before becoming a promenade in the 1880s, or the immense place of the Senate, in its neoclassical style, bordered on three sides by the palace of the government to the east, the cathedral to the north and the university to the west with the statue of Alexander II in the centre, sculpted by Walter Runeberg and unveiled in 1894. George C. Schoolfield saw in Helsinki ‘one of the last cities built by the will of an absolute monarch, and one of the rare cities, to have taken its form as a result of the good taste of a talented city planner working in close harmony with an equally talented architect.

During his last visit to Helsinki in September 1819, Alexander I very closely examined ‘in the smallest detail’, according to Ehrenström, the works already finished or in course of completion and in particular the public buildings. The Czar asked that a street be named Unionsgatan to commemorate the union between Finland and Russia. A decade later another street was named Alexandersgatan in his memory. Parallel on the north side of the Esplanade, this street bordered the south side of the Senate and constitutes one of the principal shopping areas of Helsinki. Parks were and leisure areas were also added. The most important was Brunnsparken, opened in 1836 at the southern extremity of the peninsula on which Helsinki is built. Brunnsparken had its golden age in the period preceding the Crimean War, due to the presence of the Russian autocrat.

The Czar Nicolas I had forbidden his nobility to take holidays beyond the frontiers of the Empire, but they could easily, from Saint Petersburg or from Tallinn, reach Helsinki by steam boat, situated within Russia. A regular service between Helsinki and Saint Petersburg was inaugurated in 1837. The aristocratic luxury of Saint Petersburg arrived little by little arrived in Helsingfors, ‘and the capital of Finland strayed from the traditional simplicity of Finland’s ancient traditions’, the French writer Francis Xavier Marmier noted, professor of literature at the faculty of Rennes, in his *Lettres sur la Russie, la Finlande et la Pologne*.

The 4 and 5 September 1827 another fire destroyed three quarters of the city of Turku. This was one of the greatest disasters to have ever struck Finland, seeing it as an opportunity to eliminate the pro-Swedish atmosphere that was believed to reign in the university, the Czar Nicolas I ordered its transfer to Helsinki, where it would have ‘the advantage of closer links to government and the country’s top authorities’.

A year later most of the professors who had taught at Turku were in Helsinki. In 1832 the university building built on the west side of the Senate square built by Engels was inaugurated, the seat of the Imperial Alexander University, as it was named but Nicolas I in memory of his brother and predecessor. This building was equipped with a magnificent library, completed in 1844. As the transfer of the government in 1812, that of the university did not seriously worry the Swedish minority that

lived around Turku and Helsinki, constituting the intellectual, political and social elite of the country.

Swedish was spoken by a fifth of the population of 850,000 inhabitants of the Grand Duchy, remained in effect that of the administration and education. ‘It is not necessary to speak Russian to loyally serve the sovereign ‘, wrote the governor general of that time Arseni Andreïevitch Zakretsky and governor general from 1824. Finnish the language of the people lacked a written tradition. Towards 1810-1830, the son of a peasant wishing to study and climb the social ladder had to first of all learn Swedish. To remedy this problem the first Finnish secondary school was founded in 1858.

The beginning of the nineteen century was a quiet period for Finno-Russian relations. Anti-Russian feelings were more developed in Sweden than in Finland and the Romanovs remained deaf to the desires of Russianization that came from the pan-Slavist counselors. In the 1820s, Finland observed the risings in Serbia and Greece against Turkey, but did not ‘move’ neither in 1930-1831 during the insurrection of Poland, nor during the revolutions of 1848, nor during the Crimean War, even when an Anglo-French naval squadron bombarded Helsinki and the Fortress of Sveaborg, nor in 1863 during the second insurrection of Poland. On the contrary during the Crimean War, the Swedish King Oscar I almost joined with France and England, as certain Swedish circles entertained the illusion of recovering their ex-province of Finland by taking advantage of the war.

From the economic point of view, the opening in 1856 of the Saimaa Canal connected four hundred kilometres of waterways through the Finnish lakes in the east of the country to the Gulf of Finland, improving relations with Russia by facilitating the export of wood from its forests to western Europe and world markets.

This period of calm did not prevent the growth of the feeling of Finnish nationalism. It took root from the 1810s amongst the ‘Romantics of Turku’, followers of Porthan, under whose influence had started to manifest a clearer interest for written Finnish. After the founding of the Suomalaisen Kirjllisuuden Seura (Finnish Literary Society), partly as a result of the events in Poland, this movement was represented by four names: Snellman, Lönnrot, Topelius and Runeberg. The combined efforts of these great men and others replied to three main needs: the collection, study and publication of traditional Finnish poetry, the knowledge of Finnish history, the creation of Finnish inspired literature and if possible the language.

A disciple of Hegel, and even though with Swedish roots, the sociologist, philosopher and statesman Johan Wilhelm Snellman unceasingly proclaimed the need to extract the Finnish language from its subaltern position and promote a literature in this language. From 1833, as spokesman for the students he met the Czar Nicolas I in Helsinki, he asked in vain that the Finnish language become the national language for government and education ‘for the Finnish subjects of your Imperial Majesty’. Threatened with deportation in Siberia for

having proposed a course in university liberties, he left Finland in 1839, living in Sweden and Germany, and in 1842 the year before he returned to Finland, published Läran om staten (Theory of the State), a work that preached the spirit of nationalism. In 1844 Snellman founded two news papers: Maamiehen ystävä (The Friend of the Countryman) in the Finnish language for rural readers and Sama (after the great Lake of Sama) for 'cultivated' Swedish language readers, the later should according to Snellman be prepared to sacrifice their language in favour of national unity. He estimated as others before him that in order to avoid Russianization, this unity had to be achieved as soon as possible, he said in a private conversation: 'God only knows who will be winner, Russian or Finnish, but what I am certain of is that Swedish will collapse.'

Saima was banned at the end of 1846, not for its position on linguistic matters, but for the 'propagation of new doctrines that exercised a pernicious effect on young people'.

Snellman always continued, notably during the brief period he was Senator, to put into practice his ideas. It was to a great extent due to him that the Markka replaced the ruble in 1865 as the money of the country, and it was in 1863 that the Czar Alexander II accepted the recognition of Finnish as the second official language of the Grand Duchy with a period of transition of twenty years. In the middle of the century, no one posed the question of Finnish being used as language of culture, and Snellman, who until the end of his life spoke and

wrote in Swedish, received a letter from a friend with these phrases: ‘Geese certainly speak the same language, but do not make a nation., not even wild geese, though they are independent. As a language of culture and literature, Finnish could only result in alphabet books.’

CHAPTER 2

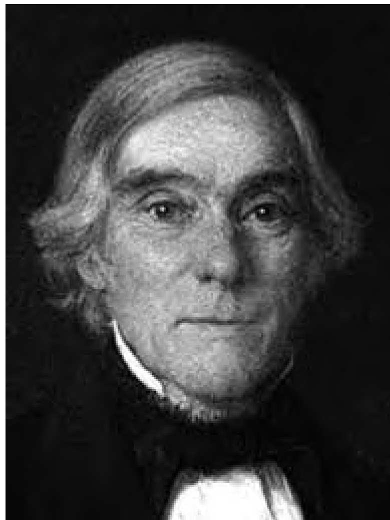
THE KALEVALA

THE MATERNAL LANGUAGE OF ELIAS LÖNNROT, son of a poor tailor, was Finnish. He studied literature at the University of Turku, when he began writing about the early Finnish language in 1827 and began collecting folk tales from rural people about that time. In 1828 he commenced to study medicine in Helsinki.

The same year he started one of the eleven voyages that he was to make until 1844 in search for ancient poetry and popular songs. He was one of the first to be interested by this heritage. He admitted to have been inspired by certain 'models' notably the works of the Serbian patriot Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic.

Lönnrot had written a dissertation entitled *de Väinemöine priscorum fennorum nominee* (Väinemöine, a divinity of the ancient Finns). He covered more than 20,000 kilometres on his travels that were largely financed, by the Finnish Literary Society, of which he was secretary, from its foundation in 1828. Following his travels in 1828, during which he heard a singer of runic poems called Juhani Kainulainen, Lönnrot wrote *Vandrarer eller Minnen af en resa till Fots genom Tavastland, Savolax och Karelen* (The Traveller or Memories of a Journey

on Foot through Häme, Savo and Karelia), published only in 1902 in a Finnish translation and in 1911 in the original Swedish version.



In 1833, the same year Lönnrot became a doctor in Kajaani, in Eastern Finland, during a time of famine and pestilence. It was then he heard the singer Ontrei Malinen. He remained there for nineteen years, a time during which he almost died of cholera.

The 28 February 1835, at the end of his fourth and fifth voyages, after having heard and identified twenty odd singers and published, as a reflection of these meetings, a certain number of short poems, he signed the introduction of a

summary of the Finnish language at the end of 1835 and at the beginning of 1836 under the auspices of the Finnish Literary Society that was to become the national epic of Finland, and one of the greatest epic poems of all humanity: The Kalevala, or Old Poems from Karelia telling the Ancient History of the Finnish People. In Finland, the Day of the Kalevala and Finnish Culture commemorates this event on the 28 February.

The material collected by Lönnrot during his seven years of travels in Finnish and Russian Karelia, the Province of Savo mostly came in the form folk poetry and oral tradition. Published in five hundred copies all sold twelve years later, praised for both its literary and historical value, this Kalevala of 1835, or Ancient Kalevala, was composed of thirty two poems (or chants) with a total of 12,078 verses. His seventh journey brought Lönnrot as far as the White Sea in northern Russia.

During his eighth voyage, he met the greatest singer of folk poetry of that time and noted her poems over two days, a woman called Mateli Kuivatalar. Continuing under the auspices of the Finnish Literary Society, in 1840-1841 he published under the title Kanteletars—an allusion to the popular Finnish instrument called a kantele, a kind of sitar with five or more strings-a collection of lyrical poems collected himself and by others: arranged in three parts—girl's, women's, boy's or men's lyrical songs, love songs, and historical or legendary songs, published first of all separately, then together in 1864, the Kanteletar totalled 22,000 verses in 652 poems. Comparable to

Des Knaben Wunderhorn (The Young Boy's Magic Horn) of Achim von Arnim and Clemens Bretano, the Kanteletar was like collection in the German language in the style of Die Stimmen der Völker in Liedern (The Voices of the People in their Songs) by Johan Gottfried Herder. Herder wrote: 'If he wishes to master the language, the poet should remain faithful to his soil'.

Lönnrot then published in 1849 a 'final' version of the Kalevala in fifty songs totalling 22,795 verses, generally in octosyllabic and metric rhymes suited to the Finnish language. This version, which integrated around 2,000 verses of the Kanteletar, was divided like that of 1835 into twelve principal episodes, but more solidly structured and above all with more political connotation. Lönnrot no longer appeared as a simple narrator. He dramatised certain events, and on more than one occasion posed the question of good and evil. Printed in 1,250 copies, the first edition of this 'final Kalevala' was sold out in 1865. From 1853 to 1862, the year when he published an abridged edition of the Kalevala for schools, Lönnrot held the Chair of Finnish Literature and Language at the University of Helsinki. He then retired to his birth place, the village of Sammatti, between Helsinki and Turku, where he published a Finnish-Swedish dictionary and in 1874 received the visit of future musical conductor Robert Kajanus, then eighteen years old.

On the appearance of Ancient Kalevala, the Finnish Literary Society had promised a price of five hundred rubles for any

translation into Swedish or German. The Swedish translation appeared in 1841 and a French translation in prose-at the centre of a detailed work on Finland and also Scandinavia, which earned the compliments of Lamartine and Victor Hugo: ‘The Kalevala’, the national Epic of Finland and the Finnish people-translated from its original language, annotated and accompanied by mythological, philosophical and literary studies, by L.Léouzon le Duc’. Léouzon, a man of letters, journalist and diplomat, erudite and man of the world, the audacious translator-commentator had lived in Helsinki from 1842 to 1844 as a tutor in an aristocratic family of Russian origin. He returned twice in Finland, in 1836 for granite for Napoleon’s tomb and then in 1850 on official business. He started the translation of the Kalevala in 1849 and was elected as a correspondent member of the Finnish Literary Society.

Also in 1885 when the German translation was yet to appear in 1852, the philologist and writer Jacob Grimm gave a conference at the Prussian Academy in Berlin entitled ‘The Finnish Epic’. A little later, the American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow modelled his Indian poem ‘Song of Hiawatha’ on the many trochaic tetrameters of the Kalevala. Concerning the notion that the Finno-Balt folk poetry in general and in particular Kalevalian is neither based on strophes or rhymes, but on alliteration and parallelism, that is to say on the juxtaposition of groups of verses having the same meaning but using different forms and thus putting greater value on the meaning.

The Kalevala, or ‘Land of Heroes’, had an almost magic effect on certain people. It proved that their country possessed a past and a language of poetic expression, and created a new spirit that in turn from the 1890s provoked other changes. In March 1836, on the publication of the first version, the president of the Finnish Literary Society, Johan Gabriel Linsen, declared that henceforth the Finnish nation had the right to say: ‘Me also I have a history!’. The Kalevala washed away the then accepted myths, ‘functioning like the most ancient historical document relative to a given people, as proof of its noble origin and antiquity’. The work formed a whole, but not a continuous progression: most of its heroes disappeared suddenly to reappear later in a new adventure. It consisted of a combination of ancient epics and lyrical folk poetry, increased by incantations and proverbial changes as well as additions, variations and rearrangements made by Lönnrot himself for clarity and coherence. The verses he invented were no more than three percent of the total. At the end of his life, he declared that with the material at his disposal, he could have written half a dozen Kalavelas.

An eminent example of invented tradition for cultural reasons then cultivated for political reasons, the Kalevala could be examined from three different aspects: as a folk epic, as an epic of Lönnrot and as a national epic. The work opposed the ‘Land of Heroes’ to the Countries of the North, a mysterious country sometimes identified as Lapland. The old and wise Väinämöinen ruled Kalevala, he was the central personality, a name etymologically speaking linked to water, a singer of

runes and tribal chief, and his brother the blacksmith Ilmarinen. The mother of Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen was Ilmatar, the Goddess of Air. The magician Louhi with his many daughters ruled Pohjola. The two countries first of all disputed the daughters, then the Sampo, a not clearly defined but beneficial object, most held by Louhi: Ilmarinen had forged this Sampo in exchange for one of his daughters. Amongst the other heroes was the young Joukahainen, defeated by Väinämöinen in a contest of magic songs; the inconsistent Lemminkäinen, a kind of Nordic Don Juan who seduced a whole community of young maidens and bore off by force the beautiful Kyllikki, who after abandoned her as a punishment for dancing; Kullervo, whose tragic destiny recalls those of Oedipus, Sigmund or Hamlet. The Beautiful Aino, sister of Joukahainen, trying to escape from the desires of Väinämöinen throws herself into a deep lake; the mother of Lemminkäinen, who succeeds in her son back to life after he was killed on the banks of the river surrounding Tuonela (the land of the dead); and the already mentioned Ilmatar, spirit of the air but also of nature (luonnotar), creator of the earth, of the heavens and stars before giving birth to Väinämöinen.

Many were the expeditions to the north by Väinämöinen and others to conquer Sampo or the ‘Daughter of Pohjola’. Most of these mythical and historical these different figures had supernatural powers, but humanly they were often revealed to be weak, and did not always succeed in their plans. At the end of the epic in a kind of paraphrase of the birth of Christ, power passes to a very young infant born of the virgin Marjatta-a

person invented by Lönnrot—and baptised King of Karelia by an old man. As to Väinämöinen, he retires defeated to his ship of copper. However, he leaves to his people magnificent songs and an instrument, the kantele, promising to return in the future to build a new Sampo, because inevitably, once again the time will come when they will need him.

From 1860, the composer Filip von Schantz wrote an overture entitled Kullervo. However, it was not until the 1890s when the circle of readers had been considerably enlarged and the higher arts were able to absorb the essential elements that the Kalevala would take an importance for Finnish creators that is difficult to overestimate. Painters, sculptors, writers and musicians from then onwards were inspired by it, and more precisely to reinforce the resistance to the attempts at Russianization from the cultural and even political point of view, led, contrary to his predecessors, by Czar Nicolas II , who rose to the throne in 1894. It was in this 'end of century' effervescence that Akseli Gallen-Kallela commenced in 1889 his Kalevalian paintings, whilst Eino Leino introduced the Kalevala into his poetical themes, and then in April 1892 Sibelius overnight imposed his own Kullervo.

From the literary point of view, national awareness experienced other important moments. In 1870 the well known Finnish novel Seitsemän Veljestä (The Seven Brothers), written by Aleksi Kivi, was published by the Finnish Literary Society. Kivi who came 'from the depths of the people', he willingly treated the misery of daily life and was the author of twelve

plays as well as several collections of poetry. In the last years of his life he suffered from mental illness and died at only 38 years old and his achievements were recognised only after his death and he was for long considered as the 'father of modern literature in the Finnish language'.

Minna Canth, a widow at the age of thirty five with seven children, was profoundly Christian but impregnated with humanitarian and socialist ideas and engaged in the feminist struggle. She tended towards realist dramas, inspired by those of Ibsen, on the misery of the proletariat, and without limiting herself to describing them she also proposed solutions. In 1880 she moved to Kuopio where she supported her family thanks to a drapers shop she inherited from her father.

Frederik Cygnaeus supported artistic and political education in student circles and made a name as a literary critic.

Journalist, novelist and poet in the Swedish language, professor at the University of Helsinki, Zacharias Topelius wrote his doctoral thesis on the institution of marriage among the ancient Finns, historical stories for the general public as well as eight volumes of children's stories, *Läsning för barn*, as popular in Finland as in Sweden as those of Andersen. His historical novels were in the line of those written by Walter Scott, Alexander Dumas and Eugène Sue. The first in date was Hertiginnan av Finland (The Duchess of Finland) that first appeared as a serial in the Helsingfors Tidningar then in book form in 1850. The story took place in the war of 1741-1743 and described an energetic portrait of Eva Merthen, called the

'Duchess of Finland' because of the power of her lover, the Scottish-Russian general Keith, who mainly due to her treated occupied Finland with generosity. In 1851 in reference to Twenty Years After by Dumas, Topelius named his first play Efter femtio är (Fifty years after), the prologue took place in the court Gustaf III, and the play itself criticised the immorality of the 'false rationalism' of the eighteenth century in 1838 in a house in Finland. The complete works of Topelius appeared in thirty four volumes in 1904-1907 published by Bonnier in Stockholm and Edlund in Helsinki, with the exception of his diary, letters, poems and stories that he had not selected in the different collections.

Poet and novelist in the Swedish language like Topelius, Johan Ludwig Runeberg had on the contrary almost no knowledge of the Finnish language. A co-disciple of Snellman at the University of Turku, he lived from 1837 until his death in Porvoo, where he earned his living from teaching Latin and Greek literature, and amongst his students was the father of Sibelius. He sung in hexameters and in idyllic terms described the life of the country's peasants and the virtues of the North in general in Elgskyttarne (The Elk Hunters, in 1830, 1833 and 1843 three collections of Dikter (poems) appeared, the second of which was inspired by a German translation of Serbian folk songs. Xavier Marmier consecrated a long article to him in the Revue des Deux Mondes the 1st August 1839, from his History of Scandinavian History. In 184 Runeberg published *Kung Fjalar, En Dikt i fem sänger* (King Fjalar a Poem in five parts), a heroic and tragic story of the Viking times. He above all

succeeded in transforming into a national epic the Russo-Swedish War of 1808-1809 with his *Fänrik Stals Sänger* (Stories of the Ensign Stals), in two cycles totalling thirty five poems. The first eighteen appeared in 1860, in a quite different socio-political context. It is part XVIII of *Fänrik Stals Sänger* that transforms the commandant Karl Olof Cronstedt of the Sveaborg Fortress into a cowardly traitor on the arrival of the Russians in 1806, and not less so in the collective mind of the country.

Part I, in eleven strophes, quickly becomes, with the music of Fredrik Pacius, the national anthem of Finland Vart Land (Fatherland, in Finnish Maamme). This anthem was heard for the first time, in Swedish, the 13 May in the revolution year of 1848 during the students spring festival, who had commissioned it. Cygnaeus gave a memorable speech on this occasion. Topelius wrote to his wife Emilie that the enormous quantity of alcohol absorbed by the students had been to a large extent responsible for the general enthusiasm. Vart Land did not sing the exploits of the warriors, made by Finland as a Swedish province, but only as the salving beauty of its nature and its landscape, without being expressly demanding: when elsewhere in Europe barricades were being built. On the 13 May 1848 the assembled Finnish students were nothing more than a demonstration of loyalty to the Czar. Runeberg and others advocated a cultural rapprochement with Russia, and it seems by its success, by its very existence, the anthem Vart Land was a barrier to the emergence in Finland of authentically revolutionary songs.

Contrary to the eighteen poems of 1848 the seventeen poems of 186 largely celebrate the glorious past of a country whose children, from the time of Swedish domination, had 'spilt their blood on the lands of Narva, the sands of Poland, the fields of Leipzig and the heights of Lützen'. Runeberg adapted the words of Poem XX to a version of a fashionable march that was in vogue in Sweden at the end of the eighteenth century also known in Finland since its arrangement for wind instruments by the composer Conrad Greve, under the name The Regiment of Pori March. Runeberg's Poem XX bore the same name. Geography ceded to history and anti-Russian voices manifested themselves. That led Count Friederich Wilhelm Berg, member of the German speaking Baltic aristocracy and Governor General from 1854 to 1861, to note in a report to Saint Petersburg that the The Regiment of Pori March would be better suited to being sung in Italy by the partisans of Garibaldi than Finnish students. In certain circles of the Grand Duchy, the prestige of Russia had suffered just as much as from the events of 1848-1849 in Europe, in particular from the repression of the Hungarian revolution by the Czarist armies, as its defeat in the Crimea: making it necessary for Runeberg and others to make their compatriots understand that contrary to the widespread idea the history of Finland had commenced before 1809 that it had been connected to that of Sweden and that it was important to be aware of that.

Since 1918 The Regiment of Pori March has been the parade march of the Finnish army. Sibelius composed two arrangements, one, now lost, for small orchestra in December

1892, played at an exposition on the 17 December of a painting that bore the same name by Albert Edlfelt, the other was composed for full orchestra in July 1900. Sandels Opus 28 for men's choirs and orchestra was often used as music for the poems of Runeberg and the 18 February 1863, Runeberg and Topelius, the two greatest Finnish writers at the middle of the century, posed together before a photographer. In the following December Runeberg was paralysed by a sudden attack that put an end to his literary career. One of favourite maxims had been: 'Finland is a poor mother who has need of all her daughters'. He lived another fourteen years, intellectually active but unable to write. His wife Frederika was also renowned in literature and in particular in the novel. Topelius said: 'Runeberg was a great man, but Frederika a great human being'. Their son Walter Runeberg became the first well know sculptor: his works include the monument to his father that stands in the centre of the Esplanade in Helsinki, the statue of Alexander II in the Senate Square also in Helsinki and that of Per Brahe that stands before the Cathedral of Turku.

At the beginning the revolution described above was not explicitly against Russia, who considered that the national awakening of Finland distanced it from Sweden, and as a result a solid obstacle to any possible Swedish revanchism: Prince Alexander Menchikov, Governor general from 1831 to 1855, though more often absent replaced by deputies, was made an honorary member of the Finnish Literary Society in 1840. On the other hand however, the 'Swedish culture' of Finland constituted a major obstacle to its Russianization. The situation

was complex. Finally from the cultural point of view Finland was not to be integrated with Russia, without however returning to a community in its full sense with Sweden. The rapid development of a 'national' culture gained from this, and today it cannot be said that attachment to Russia in the long term was to Finland's advantage. Topelius wrote in a poem in the second half of the century 'If we forget the culture that Sweden has given us, it will not be out of consideration for Russia', this remained unpublished because of censorship.

Beyond this paradox that at the time represented the existence of a constitutional state within autocratic Russia, nothing resumes the 'Fennoman' political movement in the middle of the nineteenth century more than the rallying cry of the 'Romantics of Turku' taken up by Snellman and others: 'We are no longer Swedes, we do not want to become Russians, so let us be Finns'. It was in this context the 21 June 1844 during a university ceremony, Topelius, the principal founder of the idea of what the Finns should acquire from their history and national identity, declared in Swedish-he later reproached himself in his diary for his poor Finnish—a long dialogue that included this quatrain:

Along the rivers of Ireland,

in the fields of Hungary and Bohemia,

A cry rose, demanding that their own forces,

The peoples renew themselves

and discard what they have borrowed

On the heights of Suomi,

this cry finds a great echo

CHAPTER 3

1865-1889

IN 1865 THE INTELLECTUAL, ARTISTIC and political awakening of Finland did not prevent the Russian officers in the garrison of Hämeenlinna, a small town of about 3,000 inhabitants situated about one hundred kilometres from Helsinki, from regularly participating in literary or musical meetings in the city.

It was the home of Doctor Christian Sibelius, a military doctor and surgeon. In his youth he bore a melancholy and nostalgia for his family home, he had studied in Porvoo and Helsinki. During the Crimean War, he served in a naval squadron responsible for the protection of the country's coastline.

He was then transferred to Hämeenlinna, where he was also responsible for the civil population, finally he thought of marrying, and wrote to his mother Catherine Fredrika: 'I suppose sooner or later I should settle down with a companion, because up to now life has not brought me very much happiness, but rather a feeling of emptiness'. He chose, more by chance, in the autumn of 1861, Maria Charlotta Borg, who

was very much courted by other students of the town. She was the second of six surviving children of Gabriel Borg, a Lutheran pastor who had been previously a school headmaster, and his second wife Katarina Juliana, nee Hartman. The Borgs cultivated music: the father and grandfather—also pastor, of Maria Charlotta had been amateur violinists, and she herself played the piano, which she was forced to give up later.

In a letter dated 5 January 1862 her younger sister Evelina, who lived and took care of her mother in Loviisa, Christian Gustaf made a flattering description of his fiancée, who had been present to him during an evening dance given by the head of a school called Gustaf Euren: "She is sweet and at times really beautiful. She is as tall as me, which does not go against her on the contrary she is magnificent. It is strange to see her beside our old mother, so small and so thin.'

As to his mother he had described her the 23 October 1861 as a 'child of nature', and twenty years earlier he had his master Runeberg what an ideal woman was to him: 'Simple, natural with a childlike character.' The wedding, celebrated by an uncle pastor of Maria Charlotta, took place the 7 March 1862. He was forty one years old and quite corpulent, and she, not simply but with a rather complicated nature, twenty one. The couple rented a house from a local pharmacist in Residenssikatu.

Three children were born, the first two in this house, Linda Maria, Johan Christian Julius, called Janne, the composer, the three names corresponded to those of an uncle, of the father

and the maternal grandmother, and Christian, called Kitti. The name Sibelius borne by the family was relatively recent, as the great-grandfather of the doctor (the great-great-grandfather of the composer) was called Martti Martinpoika. In the middle of the eighteenth century he had left his native district of Artjärvi, where his ancestors had lived since the sixteenth century, and went to live further south, in the village of Lapinjärvi. The son of this Martti, Johan, after living with his father-in-law not far from Lapinjärvi, had taken the name of the farm they were to work together: Sibbe. Then in the next generation, that of the grandfather of the composer, also named Johan and second of ten children, Sibbe became Sibelius.

Born in Hämeenlinna the 8 December 1885, the same year as that of Carl Nielsen, Alberic Magnard, Alexander Glazounov and Paul Dukas, and baptised the 30 of the month, Johan Christian Julius Sibelius could count amongst his maternal ancestors, soldiers, ecclesiasts, and government servants with Finnish, Swedish and even German roots, but with almost exclusively Swedish language and customs. On the paternal side, the ancestors, more Finnish, had for a long time been from peasant stock. But Johan Sibbe—Sibelius, grandson of Martti Martinpoika and paternal grandfather of the composer, had quit Lapinjärvi in 1801, that is to say the country, to live thirty kilometres more to the south in Loviisa, a small idyllic city situated on the south coast to the east of Helsinki, and therefore the road that linked it to Saint Petersburg. He became the assistant to a merchant called Unonius. Without doubt, it was this example that led him to make a break small as it was

with his peasant origins by changing his patronymic to Sibelius.

He became a company accountant in 1808, the year Loviisa was occupied by the Russian troops, and then in 1823 magistrate, he then obtained the hand of the niece of his employer—another promotion: Catherina Fredrika Akerberg, daughter of a music lover who had immigrated to Finland from Sweden, Mathias Akerberg, who played the violin and the cello and was later to become a member of the Musical Society of Turku.

In the 1830s, the house of the magistrate Johan Sibelius became, thanks to in particular to the relations developed by his wife, a meeting place of the most fashionable people of Loviisa. Concerned by the need to provide his five children with the best education possible, he made them read not only Cicero but also books of logic and geography. But neither he nor his children spoke Finnish whilst it had been the case of at least some of his ancestors. The social ascension of the paternal ancestors of the composer had resulted for them over the generations a more or less forced integration into the Swedish speaking community.

Doctor Christian Gustav Sibelius, third of five children (four boys then a girl) of Johan Sibelius and Catherina Fredrika Akerberg, was the only one to have descendants, ensuring the survival of the patronymic: the four others remained unmarried. He died the 7 July 1868 at the age of forty seven, victim of his dedication during an epidemic of typhus caused

by a terrible famine, eight months before the birth of his second son, baptised Christian in his memory.

Singer, pianist and amateur guitarist, he had lived in an extravagant fashion, well above his means, leading a life that was more bohemian and contracting heavy debts to satisfy his love of hunting, cigars, cognac and books. He had not hesitated to rent a pianoforte at great cost, and left Maria Charlotta the meagre pension of a widow. To reimburse the debts of the doctor, totalling at least 4,500 marks, or more than two years of his salary, his household goods were auctioned off. A widow at the age of twenty seven Maria Charlotta returned to her mother Katarina Juliana, widow herself since 1855 owner of a small house on the banks of Lake Prykikatu (now Palokunnankatu). There Maria Charlotta found her two unmarried sisters, Tekla the hypochondriac, and Juliana the 'nanny', who taught the piano, as well as a brother Axel Gabriel. Two other brothers, Oskar Fredrik and Otto Rudolf, who were in the course of becoming independent. On the maternal side, Janne had two aunts and three uncles. Juliana and Otto were twins, and all the three uncles were to make their careers in teaching, Alex Gabriel at Mikkeli, Oskar Fredrik at Turku and Otto Rudolf at Tampere.

On the paternal side was an aunt and an uncle, Christinna Wilhelmina Evelina and Pehr Ferdinand. Two other uncles had died. The youngest, Carl Edvard, a surveyor by profession had been carried off by tuberculosis. The elder, named Johan as his father and grandfather he was called Janne. He was the captain

of the merchant ship the Ukko, and during a voyage to the Near East was enamoured by the music of the Janissaries he had heard in September 1850 near Istanbul. He died at sea of yellow fever on a voyage from Havana to Falmouth in Cornwall.

This event had led to Doctor Sibelius writing to Pehr the 4 January that his son born a month earlier would be called Johan with the familiar name Janne 'in memory of our dear brother'. As great music lovers, Evelina and Pehr played a very important role in the development of their nephew, whose exceptional talent they were able to recognise. Evelina remained in Loviisa until the death of her mother in 1879, then lived for some time with Pehr in Turku. At the end of the summer of 1883 during a visit to her sister-in-law Maria Charlotta in Hämeenlinna, she wrote to a friend: 'It is impossible for me to express to what point these three children (Linda, Janne, Kitti) are dear to me. The oldest, Janne, a boy so gifted for music, looks after me like a grownup person. We have had some unforgettable moments together with his violin and the harmonium we have here.' In September 1889, to her already famous nephew she wrote: I could relive my whole life for the love of music, because of my limited faculties, it is through the piano I have learnt the mysteries of existence.'

In Turku where he was set himself up as a businessman, Pehr founded his own grain business that he managed until his death three decades later. Amateur composer, an enthusiast of the violin and astronomy, he played alone, one after the other, the

four parts of different string quartets, and had installed a telescope in his garden, where in spite of the cold he spent nights observing the stars waiting for the fall of a comet that never happened. Several comets, often called meteorites, were however visible during his life in the sky of Finland, in particular in October 1882. In addition Pehr assiduously collected musical instruments, including three violins, a cello, two horns and two upright pianos. In October 1858, he had the great pleasure of being present at a concert led by the composer Axel Gabriel Ingelius. Pehr contributed just as much as Evelina to the training of his nephew and often helped her financially. It is known since the publication by the American musicologist Glenda D. Goss, in 1997, of seventy eight letters written by the young Sibelius to different members of the family from the age of nineteen to thirty years old, and bequeathed to the city of Hämeenlinna in 1990 by the heirs of the composer. Most of these precious letters were addressed to his Uncle Pehr and with the exception of one were all in Swedish.

Deprived of their father and grandfathers, Janne, her eldest sister and younger brother were brought-up in a world of women, essentially by their mother and their maternal grandmother Katerina Juliana, nee Hartman, in her home. Excessively religious and above all since the death of her husband, Maria Charlotta had a tendency to withdraw into herself and to be alone. She never signed the letters to her son ‘Mother’ or ‘Mum’ but ‘Maria’:with one exception written before her death in 1887 and signed ‘Your mother Maria’.

In one of these letters, she demanded Janne to instantly tell her of everything that he did, except what he could tell to nobody: ‘It is only to God that one should reveal all one’s thoughts!’ Janne felt less close to her than to his Uncle Pehr and Aunt Evelina, who found his sister-in-law pessimistic. It can be noted that one of the sisters and one of the brothers of Maria Charlotta—Juliana, a piano teacher in Hämeenlinna, and Otto a maths and natural science teacher in Tampera, were affected by ‘nervous troubles’ and his daughter Linda, the eldest sister of Janne, suffered from depression from about forty years old: she spent her life in solitude before ending up

in different clinics. Widow of a pastor, Katerina Juliana Borg, nee Hartman, was on the contrary, according to her grandson Janne, an iron willed woman, tempered however by a solid sense of humour.

A childhood that was not without difficulties and marked by the death of his father, but without this succession of psychological and family dramas that at the same moment marked that of Gustav Mahler, the other great symphonist of the first quarter of the twentieth century. The young Sibelius found substitutes for a father at his maternal grandmother's and his Uncle Pehr, and a substitute for a mother in the person of his Aunt Evelina. By chance none of these three manifested any possessiveness toward him.

The summer holidays took place in Loviisa at his paternal grandmother Catherina Fredrika, or at his Uncle Pehr in Turku. In May 187, on the way to Loviisa, the Sibelius family passed through Porvo a few days after the burial of Runeberg a left a wreath on his tomb, a gesture that greatly impressed the then twelve year old Janne. 'Loviisa was my ray of sunshine, my happiness, Tavastehus was the town where I went to school, Loviisa my freedom', Sibelius declare to his biographer Karl Ekman junior. Janne soon turned out to be more sensible but also more secret than most of his friends. From 1871 he went to a Swedish primary school whose headmistress Eva Savonius was a friend of the family, then for one year to an establishment where the teaching was in Finnish, with a teacher who was to

become a renowned pedagogue, Lucina Hagman. Janne announced that when he grew up he would marry her!

In 1876 he entered the Finnish grammar school in Hämeenlinna, opened three years previously, one of the first set up in the country and one of the best. To be educated in such an establishment was rare for a child whose maternal language was Swedish. Janne continued his studies until 1885. He struggled for the first time with the Kalevala and studied Latin, Greek, Russian, German and French. He never mastered Finnish to the same degree as Swedish, but his good knowledge of each and his non-implication in the linguistic quarrels that divided the country more than once, contributed to make him from the start a symbol of national and moral unity.

His classmate Walter von Konow, son of a colonel who would hear nothing of music, later a historian in Turku, described Sibelius as a child for Karl Ekman, a portrayal that Tapiola, his ultimate master work, evoked: 'Janne was a great dreamer. He was gifted with a vivid imagination, and impressions he received from the exterior provoked violent reactions in him. This imagination was fed with a deep love of nature.

'He loved long walks in the surrounding s of Tavastehus and in the woods in Sääsmäki (von Konow's family owned at Sääsmäki, not far from Hämeenliina, an estate called Lahis). His imagination gave life to everything that surrounded him. It pleased him, at twilight, to discover fantastic creatures in the darkest corners of the forest.

‘Did he broach the secret domain through which he succeeded in making us shiver, to us who walked at his side in the woods where gnomes, witches and all sorts of troubling creatures lived. (…) We ran away as quickly as possible, (and) Janne whispered with a panting voice: ‘I hear them behind us!’ (…) Janne could neither remain still during his hours of class, nor concentrate on something that did not interest him. He remained there, lost in his thoughts, and showed the greatest absent mindedness if suddenly asked a question. Homework was of little interest to him, but he jumped on everything that was not taught at school, both on children’s works as those of great writers: and when he grew up, he was a great devotee of

historical stories and descriptions, in particular those that concerned the period of Gustav III and the war of 1808 against Russia.

In the archives of the city of Hämeenlinna is a drawing that witnesses the imagination of Sibelius as a child: in it can be seen 'Janne' in a balloon in the air, looking down on his family, and 'Pehr' looking into his telescope in the company of 'Farmor' (the paternal grandmother) carrying an umbrella, 'Kitti', 'Mamma', 'Linda' and 'Faster' (Aunt Evelina). Another drawing showed a military parade. Eva Savonius recounted that one evening at the Borgs, at the moment the sat down to table, Janne was missing: (He appeared and in reply to the questions of his grandmother, he replied he had been in a fire) in a fire, (…) he had seen a large house burning entirely, (that an enormous crowd) was throwing water on the flames, that he himself had carried several pails of water, that he had been spayed with cold water, that his shirt was soaked and that he was terribly cold. (…) They asked him where the fire was, but Janne seemed to know nothing except that it was somewhere on the banks of a lake. (Undressing him, his mother) remarked that his clothes were not wet and that the boy was warm and completely dry. (…) Had he or had he not carried water to throw on the burning house? He seemed to hesitate: no, in reality he had not been able to carry it himself, but other persons there had been able to. They continued to question him and finally he admitted there had been no fire, but he had been on the banks of the lake and watched a house in imagining what would happen if it took fire and if he would hurry to help

to put it out.' Janne invented this story by his over active imagination, and perhaps also to protest against the lack of attention his mother gave him.

As amateur musicians the ancestors of the Sibelius family had tended towards creativity, and the Borgs towards interpretation. Tawaststjerna however remarked that the renowned Finnish bass-baritone Kim Borg, a member of the same family also composed music. The piano lessons taken by Janne at the age of nine under the severe eye of Aunt Juliana were not very fructuous. On this instrument he is said to have improvised The Life of Aunt Evelina in Music: though no trace of this exists today.

In October 1875 after having attended a concert in Hämeenlinna given by the Swedish harpist Adolf Sjöden, he played from memory on the piano several extracts of the pieces he had heard, amongst which Haendel's concerto. His oldest composition, Vattendroppar (Water Drops), twenty-six bars in E minor for violin and cello pizzicato saved by the hand of his first biographer Erik Furuhjelm, could have dated from that year. It is possibly later at the earliest 1881. Hämeenlinna was a garrison town, but contrary to Mahler, this was never reflected in the music of Sibelius: from the very start he was dominated by his inner universe.

In 1879 he broke his right arm just below the shoulder, which was to later handicap him as a violinist. In a letter to Evelina dated 11 October, he announced he was 'almost healed'. Some

years later hunting ducks he almost drowned in a lake. The 16 April 1881, he wrote to Pehr:

'Dear Uncle, I am writing for the first time to my uncle in Latin. I am writing briefly hoping that that uncle is well. I finish. I send you my greetings! Janne' Three days after was a new letter: 'I really want to learn the violin, if you allow me, I will commence my lessons next autumn with the musical director Levander in Tavastehus; please be kind enough, the next time you are here, to bring the violin my aunt spoke of. I have a violin, but it is borrowed from one of my classmates, Karl Strenroth, poor but very talented for music, therefore I would not like to deprive him of it. They asked me to play the cello in a group made up of a few classmates, but as I do not own a cello, it is out of the question. I would also like to learn how to play the cello. We are always pleased to see you here.'

This letter shows that it was only at the end of his sixteenth year that Sibelius seriously started to study music and to be precise the violin. It was too late to hope to undertake the career of a virtuoso, but this did not prevent him from considering that he was essentially a violinist during almost the whole of the 1880s. Gustaf Levander, a good musician, was the leader of the Hämeenlinna military band, and was part of the town's string quartet. He also taught the cello at Kitti, and it is more than probable that the Vattendroppar dates from this period.

Another letter to Pehr, written between the 19 June and 21 September 1881, shows Sibelius discovering the classics:

‘Thank you, my good and very dear uncle, for the violin that you have sent to me on loan. (…) It is really a good violin. I attended a concert of the violinist (Gerhard) Brassin and the pianist (Carl) Pfeiffer. I never heard anything like that before. The violinist played with great feeling and expression, but also brilliantly, and at places almost too fast. Of all the pieces, it is the sonata in A major of Beethoven that I liked the most. The piano was almost drowned by the violin, but the pianist had played a piece (of Mendelssohn) so well that it was almost unbelievable.’ The 21 September he proudly announced to Pehr: ‘Levander complemented me immensely for my violin, he found my sonorities strong and with feeling. I have started French at school, as you and my aunt advised me to.’

The letter to Pehr of the following 18 December mentioned for the first time the family trio formed by Janne with his sister Linda (piano) and his brother Christian (cello). Other letters inform us that with the orchestra of the school, in which he was second violin, Sibelius studied Norma of Bellini, and that some months later, after having bought for three marks the scores of the doctor and violinist Theodor Albert Tigerstedt, he played ‘Hadyn’s sonatas for violin and piano with deep and serious sonorities’.

In August he received a present from Aunt Evelina, a manual of musical harmony, ‘a book I’ve wanted for a long time but incredibly expensive’. Two months after, the 12 October 1882, he announced to Pehr ‘good news. Here in Tasvastehus they have formed a string quartet in which I will play second violin.

Anna Tigerstedt, daughter of Theodor Albert Tigerstedt) was first violin, the director Levander played viola and (the pharmacist Hugo Wilhelm) Elfsberg the cello. Last Sunday I was at the Tigerstedt's and Levander taught us our scores, Anna and me. The quartets that we played were Haydn's. (…) Levander told me that when the strings were bad (of a violin) they become yellow, due to the presence in the strings of a certain type of worm that corrodes them little by little.' Janne often asked his uncle to send him violin strings. 'The other day, we were all invited to the Elfsberg's to play music, but it did not work out, because Anna Tigerstedt, the first violinist in the quintet was sick. Aunt (Evelina) and I played all the works of Haydn, Schubert or Mendelssohn'. 'As my aunt certainly told you, I have started to study musical harmony. (…) Recently I have mostly played the piano, to learn to decipher music, as you advised to me at Christmas. I have not touched my violin for several weeks, but now we are on holidays I will have enough time to start again'.

These interesting letters show the timidity of the young Sibelius, his repugnance to open himself out, as well as his beginnings as a composer: 'My classmates asked me to play something solo. I chose a piece by Hauser, a Liebeslied (a love song). As you can imagine I had no wish to play before 350 people. Since last Thursday I worried how it would turn out. Finally Saturday arrived. I was frightened I would start trembling and have to stop in the middle of the piece. Nine o'clock came quickly, it was my turn. I did not dare look at the auditorium, and as I went onto the stage the notes started to

dance before my eyes, and I had to play the whole piece by memory. I was a little ashamed because of my modest capacities, to have dared to play, but said to myself "There is no harm in trying". Afterwards I was completely relaxed. So ended my first and perhaps last recital'.

'I have made a small attempt at composing. A trio for two violins and piano is already finished; it is in G major and eight pages. I am now writing the instrumentation of another trio. These works are clearly not very good, but it is amusing to have something to do when it rains. The is also talk in these letters of fishing trips with Uncle Otto, trios of Haydn, Beethoven and Mendelssohn played with the Elfsberg couple, and the acquisition of the Compositionslehre by Johan Christian Lobe, 'in German and therefore twice as useful. I have already had the time to read forty pages and to compose a quartet for two violins, cello and piano; a trio for violin, cello and piano has not yet been put into harmony. The letter of the 30 November 1884 announced a change: 'I am thinking of a new trio for piano, violin and cello in A minor and in three movements. (…) Elfsberg sold his pharmacy and will move to Helsingfors the last day of December. From time to time I have been to their place to play. Can you tell my aunt that Levander has recommended the music of a Corelli album to Kitti (…) Today, a great concert here. The Helsingfors string quartet, I will try to go. That will make me happy. The programme is very interesting, the talent of the musicians great and well known. First violin (Anton) Sitt. Recently I often wonder how

to make trios with the Sibelius family as the Elfsberg are going; the only way is that I start to compose, but it is tiring.'

In May 1885, Janne passed his baccalaureate not without difficulty, nineteenth out of twenty with only six out of ten in history, in spite of his successful essay on 'Gustav II Adolph, founder of Protestantism'. His maternal grandmother, the only one of the two still living, reproached him for 'not having any ambition in life'. In fact he did not know what profession to choose. Even in music there remained incertitude. He had always lived a provincial city and was better known as a musician (mostly in private circles) than a composer. Music nevertheless remained the only area that really interested him. Accepted at the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki, still the only one in the country, he asked himself in what department he should enroll. After a visit to the capital he wrote the 2 June to his Uncle Pehr the 2 June: 'Just after the decision of the University (to accept me) I jumped with joy, jostling everybody on my path I ran to Holmgren and got my student's (white) cap. I have never been so happy. (…). Helsingfors delights me: when you get used to it, Tavastehus is no longer up to it. I have been to four concerts, and particularly liked one of them. (…) Once I received my diploma (of the baccalaureate), I went to buy Beethoven's sonatas for violin and piano, three Tartini sonatas for the same formation and the Etudes brilliant by Mazas. My objective for the summer: become strong and well, practice a little and enjoy my freedom.

A new letter, dated 10 July 1885, to Pehr indicated that these resolutions were kept: ‘I studied Bérliot’s concerto (and) composed a quartet for 2 violins, viola and cello. It is in four movements, (and its length) determined by the first movement, that makes 340 bars and is in E flat major,; the second movement is in G major; the scherzo in D flat major (B flat minor); the final in E flat major1. Every day I play the studies of Mazas and Kreutzer, Kitti is plunged in (those) of Hünnerfürst. The day before yesterday, I played in the open air on a hillside, on the big rock that you saw, and imagined that an orchestra was seated on the slope. The crows were the woodwinds, the pies the bassoons, the seagulls the clarinets, the thrushes the violas, the warblers the violins, the pigeons the cellos, the martins the flutes, the farm cock the conductor and the pig the percussionist. As you can imagine I was in a dangerous position and had to quickly make a retreat, the violas started to drop dirt on me; I went a little lower but it was worst. They did everything to get me, but they were beaten by your Janne’. At the beginning of 1885, he played a piece of violin music before his old school director Eva Savonius, which he explained was still without a name: ‘If you like call it Song of Freedom. (…) How wonderful to think I don’t have to go to school anymore. All I want to do now is to play’.

Uncle Pehr, who was little disconcerted, continued to be Janne’s main moral financial and support: ‘The moment is coming when I should know how to get enough money to live in Helsingfors. The only thing to do is borrow. (…) I need at least 250 this autumn because I need a new coat and should pay

my musical studies, the university courses, etc. I would therefore like to know is you could accord me a loan and under what conditions. (…) I have already asked Uncle Axel, but he has said that for the moment it's not possible. (…) I have started to compose the music for the opera of Walter Konow Ljunga Wirginia'. Nothing is known of the possible existence of a score, but six pieces for piano, violin and cello associated with this 'work' have been identified in 2001. As the latter only survived as the part for violin. 'We all agree with what you think about Uncle Axel. (…) Mamma said that I am not practical enough to become a pharmacist. (…) Up to now, I only know a tiny part of the world, Mamma looked after me for every thing. In many respects, I am still a child, especially for the things of life. Therefore, I am counting on people who know about the various professions, in particular those such as pharmacist, lawyer (and) doctor. (…) Kitti is made for medicine but not me'. 'I have asked a few questions to experienced people, and the all advised me to study law and become a civil servant in the Senate. (…) I don't really want to become an advocate or a lawyer. All the pharmacists assistants that I know have strongly advised against me taking up the profession. (…) My dear uncle, forgive me for troubling you, but after all, you are the person on this earth who has replaced my Pappa'.

Finally Sibelius enrolled at the Faculty of Law of Helsinki. A friend asked him why he had made this choice, he replied: 'What else could I do?' There was no question for him of uniquely consecrating his life to music, at least officially,

because his grandmother was firmly opposed to it. He declared to Karl Ekman: ‘My maternal grandmother would have never admitted to seeing me embrace a career as modest and uncertain as that of a musician. (…) The very idea of music as a profession was abominable to her. Taking into account what she represented for my mother and us children since the death of my father, I have naturally done everything not to disappoint her.’

He arrived in the capital at the end of September or the beginning of October 1885, after having passed some time in Loviisa. ‘On my arrival (in Loviisa), I went directly to our dear old house. I recognised all the old stones and all the corners where I used to play. What pleasure to relive these moments again, the happiest of my childhood. Loviisa has not changed, but now there are many people of the kind that one would not like to be associated with’. In the capital he was not alone. His mother, his sister, his brother and his aunt Evelina, who came to help Maria Charlotta, moved in with him at Brunnsparken, Villa N°19. From the window of his room, Janne could contemplate the entry to the port of Helsinki. His existence however remained difficult: half of his allowance henceforth was taken up by the rent (600 marks per year). In a letter to his fiancée, Aino Järnefelt dated ‘Vienna 20 November 1890’, Sibelius had however declared that he had never seen his mother borrow money.

Janne completely neglected his studies in law and launch himself enthusiastically into music. In Helsinki, other than the

composer Frederick Pacius, the principal personalities in this domain numbered four: Richard Faltin, Karl Flodin, Robert Kajanus and Martin Wegelius. Richard Faltin, who was originally German and moved to Viipuri in 1856 then Helsinki in 1869, was a composer, conductor and organist, he taught music at the university as successor to Pacius from 1871 to 1896. Karl Floden, a student of Faltin, an influential critic in the Swedish language dailies Nya Presen, Aftonposten and Helsingfors Posten founded the artistic and musical review Euterpe and lived in Buenos Aires in Argentina from 1908 to 1921. Robert Kajanus, composer and conductor, founded in 1882 in Helsinki the first professional orchestra in northern Europe: The Orchestral Society of Helsinki, mostly financed by private sources, it was the forerunner of the present Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra. Martin Wegelius, after studying in Vienna, Leipzig and Munich, became known in his birth place, Helsinki, as a composer, and founded an institute of music in 1882 where—Grieg having refused the position—he became the first director. Up until his death he totally consecrated himself to the institute, supervising everything down to the very smallest detail and to the point of sacrificing his own career as a composer. Sibelius had arrived in Helsinki three years after the foundation of the orchestra of Kajanus and the Institute of Wegelius, events without which his career would have probably taken another path, which gave lustre to the musical life of the capital that it had not previously known.

Sibelius then entered the musical institute of Wegelius, a private institution little aided by the state, as a student the 15 September 1885, three months after his twentieth birthday, his principal subject being the violin. He spent four years there, during the course of which he studied theory, then composition. Kitti, on his side, worked on the cello for two years, parallel to his studies in medicine. Little is known of Janne's first violin teacher, Mitrofan Vasiliev, probably born towards the end of the 1850s. He appears to have studies in Saint Petersburg,

where he was member of an imperial string quartet, and arrive at the Wegelius institute with a letter of introduction from Anton Rubenstein and perhaps the Czech violinist and teacher Jan Hrimaly who was of Polish origin, who was established in Moscow. The Russian musicologist Janna Kniazeva, recently showed that he was from the region of Smolensk and after having left Finland in 1887, he the Bolshoi Orchestra in Moscow as violinist. After having asked and obtained in 1893 a years leave he disappeared without a trace. A photograph shows Vailiev surrounded by six students amongst whom, standing behind him, were Sibelius and Anna Tigerstedt. Sibelius described him to Uncle Pehr as a man ‘of delicate appearance, rather tall, thin, with black hair, a mustache and whiskers and two deeply set black eyes. He spoke Russian, German, French and a little Swedish. The lessons were given in German. Vasiliev is an excellent professor who suits me very well. His violin is an authentic Stradivarius of 1710 or perhaps 1723, he got it from a Polish baron. (…) In counterpoint, I am working on a cantus firmus for three voices one of which is in counter movement’. Two weeks later, 14 November, Sibelius announced to Pehr that after having played the concerto in G major by Viotti, he was going to attack that of Aminor by Rode.

The 1st December he played for the first time at the institute, playing an allegretto and a scherzo of the Austrian pedagogue Jacob Dont with other students. Unfortunately the same evening the critics had gone to listen to another concert for the first presentation of Tchaikovsky’s concerto for piano in B flat.

Pehr received a letter from his sister Evelina saying that ‘Janne seems to be incapable of studying four hours a day, as his professor had insisted, but had however made great progress in his playing. (…) It is rare for a student to be invited to play at a public concert of the Institute at the end of his first trimester.

This success drew the attention of Uncle Axel: now a teacher of mathematics and physics in Mikkele, he was worried by the state of progress of his nephew’s legal studies. At the end of 1885 Janne took an examination at the University in Finnish, but apparently did not present himself for the least legal examination. The inevitable happened. ‘One day one of my maternal uncles—I have three, all teachers of in the provinces—arrived without warning to see where I was. He (Uncle Otto) went towards the window and saw a book open with its pages yellowed, which showed that it had been open for a long time. This led to certain conclusions as to my studies in general. He gave up talking any more about it, and said to in a resigned tone: ‘After all Janne given, the interest you have for your studies, you would be better consecrating yourself entirely to music’ (Sibelius to Karl Ekman, towards 1934).

In March 1886, hoping to obtain a grant from the University, Janne asked and obtained two letters of recommendation, one from Wegelius, the other from Richard Faltin. The first merits being cited, because in it is the first mention of the name under which the composer was to be known: ‘The student Jean Sibelius, enrolled since 15 September at the Institute of Music, who has studied the violin and theory in particular, and has

made great progress in both subjects, in addition he has distinguished himself by his exceptional musical talent, in particularly by his remarkable gift with the violin. The ability acquired with this instrument had enabled him to play with success as first violinist in this city's Academic Orchestra. Reproducing this attestation in a letter to Pehr dated the 31 March, Janne indicated after having explained he had no more money: 'Jean is my musician's name.' Sibelius had apparently followed his uncle's, who died at sea in 1864, example who had the habit, when he was abroad, of internationalising into Jean his first name Johan. He had the idea when he discovered by chance in an old drawer a packet of visiting cards that had belonged to this uncle. He appropriated the cards and entered into the world under the name Jean Sibelius.

Directed since 1871 by Faltin, the Academic Orchestra mentioned by Wegelius was the oldest in Finland. Since 1828 it had been associated with the University of Helsinki, but its origins went back to 1747, date of the foundation of the 'Academic Capelle' of the University of Turku. It was mainly in this orchestra that Sibelius played first violin, second violin or viola during his years of studies. The Wegelius Institute did unfortunately not have a students' orchestra or an orchestration class. This is one of the reasons that Sibelius was almost exclusively fixed in chamber music before 1891. Wegelius in addition considered the Orchestral Society of Kajanus—mainly composed of German musicians—as a competitive organisation, and did not approve of his students participating in its concerts, inaugurated the 3 October 1882 with notably

Beethoven's' Fifth Symphony. In simple terms it could be said that the chamber music was due to Wegelius and the orchestra of Kajanus, and Sibelius at that time had only occasional contacts with Kajanus.

The differences between Wegelius and Kajanus increased in 1885, when the latter founded a school to train orchestral musicians. Their personalities were totally opposite. Kajanus had also studied in Leipzig, then in Paris, again in Leipzig and finally in Dresden, but as composer and conductor was above all interested in musical accomplishment. His orchestral works included the Funeral March for Kullervo opus 3 or the symphonic poem Aino, composed for the fiftieth anniversary of Kalevala with for the finale a male choir singing in Finnish, Kajanus was still the most well known creator in the capital, and contrary to Wegelius very much appreciated Russian music. He was also author of two Finnish Rhapsodies, he directed the first presentation of in Finland of Beethoven's Ninth.

On the contrary Wegelius author of the first history of European music written in a Nordic country, he was a born organiser and privileged theory. Very much versed in philosophy, literature and aesthetics, he believed a musician should know other the traditional disciplines such as counterpoint, harmony and fugue, the arts and classical humanities.

An ardent partisan of Wagner, whose Die Meistersinger was his preferred work, he had been present at the first Bayreuth

Festival in 1886, and wanting Sibelius to share his enthusiasm, who if it can be believed, was not prepared to readily accept this. But who could he agree with then? Sibelius declared to Kark Ekman: ‘As a teacher, Martin (Wegelius) was extremely interesting, but at the same time he had an autocratic nature that ensured that a student strictly adhered to the syllabus that had been fixed for him, and became furious once he saw that his instructions were not being followed down to the least detail. (…)

When it was a question of familiarising his students with contemporary music, he made his admiration for Wagner a veritable principal. His method on this point was very particular. Brahms for example was never played at the concerts or evening recitals of the Institute. He was the rival of Wagner, ad for this reason Martin ignored him. In 1898-1899, Wegelius founded with some friends a Wagnerian society in Finland the existence of which was brief. He also wrote a vast biography of Wagner, which remained unpublished and only parts of it still exist.

Faltin also went to Bayreuth in 1876. Invited to Wahnfried with Wegelius, he described this event in April 1905 in the Finsk Musikrevy and in the following September in the German review Die Musik: ‘An evening at Richard Wagner’s. Beyreuth, 27 August 1876. I was invited to Wagner’s evening and there introduced to the Meister, Frau Cosima and Liszt, and I heard the incomparable Liszt play. (…) I described him (to Wagner) with all the eloquence I could of the irresistible

impression that his music has made on me. He then said with his inimitable playful air: ‘Well, one does what he can.’ He was delighted and interested to learn that I would be present at three performances of the Ring: “Very nice, very nice, dear Professor Faltin, most people come and go from Bayreuth without really being warmed up.” When I spoke to him of our feeble efforts to produce the scenes from his operas in Helsingfors, he declared with a large gesture: “Bah, better come to Bayreuth. But I’m very pleased that there are people who appreciate my music up there.” (…) After about an hour of general conversation, Wagner went to the piano (and) standing up played the first four bars of the first movement in F major of Beethoven’s Eighth symphony. In reply to this so to speak invitation Saint Saëns of Paris sat before the instrument, resolved the dissonance of Beethoven, then warmed up on the themes of Dance Macabre, that he then proceeding to play marvellously, with orchestral sonorities that had a great effect.

Sibelius spent the summer of 1886 at Korpo, in the Turku Archipelagos. During this vacation he composed a trio in A minor, the third of the five from his youth: JS 207, called ‘de Hafträsk’ the name of a place on the Island of Norrskata, to the north of Korpo. He then started his second year of studies at the Institute. The 7 November, he announced to Uncle Pehr he had played the quartet in C minor of Anton Rubenstein as part of a quartet at the home of Commercial Councillor Johan Leonhard Borgström, an amateur violinist, founder of a private string quartet and President of the Board of the Institute, adding ‘The councillor played first violin(he plays like a

professional), myself second violin, Decker the viola and Hrimaly the cello. (…) I again applied for a grant, for this I obtained a letter of recommendation from Martin Wegelius, in which he wrote amongst other things, that 'I have certainly a fine musical future before me'. I am starting to play the works of Vieuxtemps. (…) Recently when I play before an audience I have almost no stage fright. In the same concert, I played the the viola in a quartet by Haydn. You see I have learnt to play the viola. To play it well you have to have strong arms. (…) I have not been to any shows and manage my money as well as possible.'

In an article that appeared in 1925 on the sixtieth birthday of Sibelius, Karl Flodin related, no doubt exaggerating, his first meeting with the composer in the second half of the 1880s. It took place in the café Forsström, recently opened in the centre of Helsinki: 'His frail silhouette had something particularly fascinating. His direct nature always seemed to lead towards others with open arms, but one never knew whether if behind, it was self derision or not. His discourses overflowed with paradox and metaphors, without being able to distinguish or not what was serious from what was supposed to be on the surface only, like bubbles born from the strange caprices of his mind.

His blond hair fell in disorder and in fine meshes on his eyebrows. His eyes fixed the distance, as though through a fog, but when his imagination was set into movement, his regard became deep and shone with a blue lustre. His ears were

remarkable, big, well made to catch sound, the ears of a musician, like Beethoven perhaps had. (…) Our conversation went in all directions, like a hare in the undergrowth.

Without leaving us the time to know where we were Sibelius juggled with sounds and colours like the sparkling flashes of crystal balls, he made the colours resonate and the sounds sparkle, the way that A major becomes blue and C major red, F major green and D major yellow or something close to that, and the whole universe sang his melodies. (…) I don't remember the end of our meeting but the portrait of Jean Sibelius was encrusted in my spirit and from then I Was very attentive when his name was mentioned: his friends at the music institute were surprised by the audacity of his first compositions for chamber music. (…) I then saw him before me as he appeared the first time, the first to plunge his head into a boiling ocean of ideas.'

From his third year at the Institute, Sibelius had a new violin professor: a Hungarian, Herman Csillag. The 27 September 1887, he announced to his Uncle Pehr the purchase of trios, quartets and a sextet of Beethoven, quartets of Onslow, a quintet of Mozart, and a melody for violin of Beriot, and continued: 'Our new professors at the Institute are extraordinary. They are all virtuosos. Csillag is a first class violinist and an excellent professor. For the moment he has only played once, yesterday in a trio of Schuman's. (…) His technique is very sure and he plays as clear as crystal. (…) I always play Mendelssohn's concerto and Rode's etudes for

him. I respect him very much. He is already old. Soon I will attack the romance in F major of Beethoven. My works are not bad at all. Imagine, Uncle! The cellist Hrimaly is going to make a tour of concerts across the country, and play the waltz I composed last summer for Kitti in these concerts. You can read in the programme Valse fantastique—Jean Sibelius2. The concert hall will surely be full at Tavastehus, if only for me, because its clear that everyone will want to hear opus 1 of 'my friend Janne Sibelius'. When they play my grand trio1, it will be with tableaux, because otherwise it would remain completely incomprehensible. I write fugues for Martin Wegelius. The 14 December, he'll play the quartet in G minor opus 14 of Robert Volkmann with Csillag and two other artists.

He spent Christmas at Lahis with the Konows, and the 1 February 1888 related to his uncle different amusing incidents the happened during this visit: 'As proof of their ignorance of music the morning of New Year's Day Uncle Konow had a village violinist play polkas and dances under the windows of the bedrooms of the ladies who were still asleep, and everybody thought it was me playing "a concerto or something like that". During a reception at the Blafields, I played a solo in such a way that the women from the village started to cry. Finally I gathered the guests around the piano to sing Kopparlagare visan (The Song of Coppersmith, a well known folk song) with variations on the piano played by myself (…). In composition I started to write a quartet (two violins, viola and cello). I also studied aesthetics and practiced my German, (…). My ears are painful from the cold, and I have to stay

inside until they are better, it's very important for me. (…) I have gone to a farm where they're really looking after me. One morning I was in bed when a servant brought me a tray of wine and cakes. It was six thirty. At eight I was brought coffee, then again wine and cakes. Then breakfast with lots and lots of different plates. Then again cakes, then coffee in the middle of the morning with a profusion of new cakes and pastries. I sweated and ate, because people are vexed if you don't eat. Finally lunch at midday, an epicurean chef d'oeuvre. I did not feel well and had to lay down, but the others continued. When we left everybody had stomach aches.'

At the Institute the 27 March, 'Jean' played Schuman's opus 41 N°1 in A minor in a string quartet, and accompanied at the piano by another student he played as soloist the last two movement of Viotti's concerto N°22. Two other concerts followed that were in a way a kind of official consecration for him. The first took place in private the 9 April in the presence of the aged Topelius and the Italian cantatrice Alice Barbi, future friend and performer of Brahms. Jean had mentioned her to Uncle Pehr from 31 March: 'Just recently, Martin Wegelius composed the music for Näcken och Prästen (The Spirit of the Waters and the Priest) by Gunnr Wenneberg1, an operetta, and asked me to compose the piano, violin and cello accompaniment for certain of the songs sung by the Water Spirit. It will be presented very soon. Other than the choirs (one visible and the other invisible), there will be an orchestra composed on a first violin (myself), a second violin (Anne Tigerstedt), a cello (Kitti), a horn (Leander very capable) and a

harp or a piano. (…) Yesterday I finished the first movement of a cello concerto for Kitti. (…) The director Wegelius said to me recently that I should go to visit him for a month next summer.' The collaboration with Wegelius for Näcken och Prästen and his invitation to spend a month in his summer house in Granholmen, in the Helsinki Archipelago, showed that Sibelius henceforth enjoyed a special status at the Institute.

At the second concert the 31 May Jean played in a string quartet Hadyn's quartet and played as soloist, accompanied by piano, in the first movement of a concerto in E minor by Rode. Sibelius (viola), Csillag and Anna Tigerstedt (violins) and Kitti (cello) played a Theme and Variations in C minor for string quartet JS 195. The most detailed critic by the composer Ernst Fabritius, notably praised the 'beautiful sound effects'. Prophetically, Flodin found the composer 'more interesting' than the violinist.

Sibelius never mastered Beethoven's or Brahm's concertos for violin, but because of his diligent practice, he always wrote in a very idiomatic fashion for this instrument, including his occasional pieces. He is said to have declared to Ekman: 'From the age of fifteen, for ten years I practically played the violin everyday from morning to evening. (…) The day when I finally accepted that I had commenced too late to become a virtuoso was a hard return to reality for me.'

The year 1888 saw the publication by Fazer of his first work: a Serenade for piano and vocal on verses by Runeberg in a collection called 'Finland Sings'. The first words are Ren släct

är lampen i min flickas kammar (The Light in the Room of my Loved One is Already Out), in which the poet imagines his beloved praying after having taken refuge in her protective bed (‘If a smile appears on her lips, if her cheeks blush slightly, it is because she dreams of me’). In 1888 a suite in E major for piano and violin in four movements followed, only played in public and published in 1994. Two other pieces were situated in 1888 by Dahlström: a romance in B minor that Sibelius and Wegelius played together for Topelius, and a Perpetuum mobile considered by Tawastsjerna as one of the most curious creations of the young Sibelius. The Romance and the Perpetuum mobile were revised in October 1911, some months after the completion of his Fourth Symphony, the second taking Epilogue as title. Composed by Sibelius for his own use, the Suite in E major was for the most part for the violin, reducing the piano to the simple role of accompaniment with the exception of the first sixteen bars, for piano alone.

As foreseen Sibelius spent part of the summer of 1888 at Granholmen with Wegelius and his wife Hanna. Wegelius accompanied him on the piano playing various sonatas and read to him aloud, the evening, translating the French as he went along, extracts of La Rennaisance by Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, one of his beside books. He ended his vacations with his Aunt Evelina in Loviisa, where he composed a short melody entitled En visa and above all a trio for piano, violin and cello in C major called ‘Loviisa’ that lasts about sixteen minutes and composed shortly after whilst with his family.

In the course of his last year at the Institute, Sibelius made new friends who were to become important in his life: Arvid, Eero and Armas Järnfelt his future brothers-in-law, the Germano-Italian composer-pianist Ferruccio Busoni engaged by Wegelius as Professor of the Piano, and the future writer (in both German and Swedish) Adolf Paul whose real name was Georg Wiedersheim-Paul.

His mother was Swedish and his father German, an agricultural engineer who had moved to Scanie in the south of Sweden, then in 1872 to Finland. Adolf Paul had worked on the piano before abandoning music for literature. Later he was a friend and 'biographer' of August Strindberg and then an admirer of Adolph Hitler, from 1889 he lived most often in Berlin and always idolised Sibelius, not without cultivating a painful inferiority complex towards him and others, including Strindberg. From 1891, he dedicated his first book to Sibelius, an autobiographical novel entitled En bok om en människa (A Book on Man). Sibelius appeared in it as Sillen, a rather strange and not very recommendable person. The 29 December 1935 an article appeared in The New York Times entitled 'From a friend of Sibelius' signed Adolf Paul: 'No one amongst those who studied with Sibelius at the Helsingfors Music Institute would have thought he would reach a great age. He did not seem to live on this earth. (…) Kajanus declared not without reason that in his normal state, he was 'like the rest of us when we were drunk'. (…) But we were false prophets. Because he is now seventy years old, he is amongst the most

powerful figures of Nordic art, and celebrated as such by the entire cultural world.'

Contrary to his brother, Sibelius above all frequented Swedish language circles, and involved himself as little as possible in the Finno-Swedish 'language war' that started in the 1860s and raged everywhere as well as in student circles. His perspectives changed when he became friends with Armas Järnefelt, student of the piano and theory at the Institute from 1887, following studies in Berlin, and at Massenet in Paris. Future composer of the famous Berceuse and of the not less well known Praeludium, conductor in Germany, in Viipuri then, after an interlude in Helsinki, at the Royal Opera of Stockholm, Armas introduced Sibelius to his elder brothers Arvid and Erik, called Eero, one of whom was destined to become outstanding in literature and the other in painting. All three presented him to their parents: the lieutenant general and cartographer Alexander Järnefelt and his wife Elisabeth, born in Saint Petersburg in an aristocratic Baltic family, her maiden name Clodt von Jürgensburg. And also to their two sisters, the youngest of whom, Aina, had seen her name 'kalevalised' into Aino. Alexander and Elisabeth Järnefelt married in 1857, had nine children: four sons and five daughters.

This family was one of the most extraordinary in Finland: 'aristocratic by its origins but democratic by its convictions', it 'combined a great attachment to the cultural values of the past with profound national sentiment' (Sibelius to Karl Ekman). The lieutenant general had been one of the first, amongst the

members of the upper classes, to take up the cause of the Finnish language. It was for him a ‘moral imperative’, but that earned him the hostility of his pairs, whilst conversely, considering his aristocratic background, those who favoured the Finnish language did not always see him as one of their own. He had left, which was rare in his class, his three youngest sons Arvid, Eero and Armas take up artistic careers.

A talented amateur painter, Kasper specialised himself in the study and translation of Russian literature into Finnish, and took up a career as teacher and literary critic in Kuopio. Elisabeth the wife of the lieutenant general, whose maternal language was German, had learnt Finnish, but not Swedish.

Intelligent and with a passion, as her son Arvid, of the works and social theories of Tolstoy, Elisabeth held a musical and above all a literary salon, a veritable 'Järnefelt workshop', frequented by young Finns with liberal ideas. She took several new writers under her wing, one of whom was Juhani Aho, the son of a Lutheran pastor, who was particularly talented. Aho cultivated in his works the idea of movement, of changing place and environment. In 1884 his first realist novel Rautatie (Railway) appeared, the story tells of a couple of peasants fascinated then disappointed, and finally deeply disturbed by this product of modern technology. Lodge at the Järnefelt's in 1883 to 1884, Aho became inflamed first for Elisabeth herself, their liaison was even more scandalous as she was twenty two years older than he—then in 1887 for Aino.

His passion for Aino Järnefelt appeared in his novel Yksin (Alone, 1890), written in the first person with a realism and sensuality 'à la Zola' shocked Finland of that time. Aino serves as model in Yksin in the person of Anna, for whom the hero and narrator falls helplessly in love. During a visit to Paris, travelling by train and by boat in a voyage described in detail, he dreams of the countryside of his home in his native Finland, this hero in opening his newspaper learns of the engagement of Anna with a rival called Toivo Rautio. Stunned, he spends the following night, Christmas night, with a prostitute who reminds him of the girl he has lost. Daybreak brings him back to the sad reality.

After having made his career in the Russian army and participated in the war of 1877-1878 against Turkey, Alexander Järnefelt was governor of the Finnish province of Mikkeli then of Kuopio. In 1888 he was appointed as head of Vaasa, a position he occupied until 1894. Before joining him in Vaasa, Elisabeth rented an apartment in Helsinki for a time where she lived with her sons Armas and her daughters Ellen (Elli) and Aino. Sibelius and his brother Christian often visited them, and in the springtime of 1889, Elisabeth wrote to Elli: 'Armas has invited the Sibelius' here, one plays the violin rather well, and it was a real pleasure to hear him improvising with Armas.'

It was there the Sibelius saw Aino for the first time, she was aged seventeen and considered by Wegelius as 'the most beautiful girl in Finland'. 'She entered into the salon to play in a pantomime accompanied by Armas when suddenly; she became aware of the intense regard with which the new arrival contemplated her. The eyes of Sibelius (…) were of a very special clear blue, at the same time penetrating and intense; his regard seemed to transpierce the person it fell upon, and exercise a hypnotic fascination. Aino was so troubled she could not finish the pantomime.'

For Jean this was 'love at first sight' (letter to General Järnefelt in the autumn of 1891), and apparently he replaced his rival Juhani Aho without any difficulty. That did not prevent him from, during the season of 1888-1889 from being interested in another young girl of twenty, also from high society and who had been presented to him by Walter von

Konow: Betsy Lerche, daughter of a senator and a mother daughter of a British diplomat posted to Saint Petersburg.

He mentioned this period in a letter to Aino, who had become his fiancée, written in Vienna in 1891: 'You came out from Arvid's and we met on the stairs. You stopped a moment. I thought of kissing you, but feared that from then on you would not allow me to visit you. My eyes never left you, can you remember, and Arvid always said: "Don't look at my sister like that!" I hope to find in your face or in your character something that would displease me, but in vain. I was already your prisoner, in spite of all my efforts. I have an inflexible nature, I am proud and vain, but to what good?'

Sibelius could not fail to be linked with the Järnefelt's sooner or later. His friendship with Busoni was not however written in the starts. Busoni was born the 1 April 1866 at Empoli, in Toscan, the son of an Italian clarinettist, a distant Corsican, and a Bavarian pianist, and four months younger than Sibelius. Busoni had acquired an enviable reputation at the age of twenty two. A wonder child, he appeared for the fist time in public at the age of seven and played his first concert at the age of nine, he was also presented to Anton Rubenstein when he was nine and to Liszt at eleven.

In Bologna, at seventeen, thanks to the intervention of Arrigo Boito, he played a vast cantata in twelve movement entitled Il Sabato del Villagio, based on the celebrated poem of Leopardi. In 1881, the Philharmonic Academic of Bologna honoured him with a diploma, which had been received by no musician since

Mozart. Brahms had declared of Busoni: 'I will do for Busoni what Schumann had done for me.' He had already accumulated an impressive number of works, but his career as a composer did not really commence until Konzertstück for piano and orchestra, heard in 1890 in Saint Petersburg in the Anton-Rubenstein competition. Since 1873 he had played in public on countless occasions with or without his parents, but his career as an international pianist only took off at the end of 1886, when he spent one and a half years in Leipzig. There he met Grieg, Delius, Mahler, Tchaikovsky and Sinding and had attracted the attention of Richard Faltin. He played in Hamburg in October 1887, then at the beginning of 1888 in Triest, Gratz, Halle and Dresden. In Leipzig he made friends with Henry Petri, first violinist in the Gewandhaus Orchestra, and father of the pianist Egon Petri, who was destined to become his principal student and disciple.

Recommended to Wegelius in April 1888 by the German musicologist Hugo Rieman, Busoni, debarked in Helsinki, a city which at the beginning of the year he would have been incapable of pointing to on a map, the 11 September towards midnight accompanied by his dog Lesko, a black Newfoundland that he had bought in Leipzig as a remedy to his solitude. Having left Lubeck by boat he had greatly suffered from sea sickness during the long fifty-five hour crossing.

He taught the piano at the Institute for two consecutive years until 1890 where Armas Järnefelt, amongst Busoni's eighteen or so students, revealed himself to be a great performer of

Mozart, Adolf Paul and above all Karl Ekman Snr. In his last book Profiler. Minnen av stora personligheter, Adolf Paul recounts that during his lessons, Lesko lying on the divan or on the floor 'fixed such a stern eyes on his students that they said it was better to play not too badly'.

Busoni found Helsinki 'clean, rich and civilised in the most modern sense' with hotels 'worthy of a central European capital' (letter to his mother 26 October 1888), but also, contrary to Sibelius three years earlier, terrible provincial. Decided to make stay as short as possible, he was in addition horrified (letter to his parents 12 March 1889) to note that his students — for the most part young girls from good families, 'had the air of being transfused with the blood of fish from the Gulf of Finland' – were always at Clementi and Cramer, and that Wegelius had only an approximate knowledge of Bach. Busoni wrote to Henri Petri and his wife Katharina (Kathi) the 12 September 1888, the day after his arrival, that for the first time in his life he felt 'lost and abandoned', and a few days after that Helsinki was a town 'full of very dangerous lost dogs for Lesko', or where one could 'teach, but not learn', and where they drank 'frighteningly'.

The 25 September, he informed them that Csillag 'once professor at Rotterdam, (living) in memory of his past successes, brandishing with a triumphant air, to justify his words, old programmes and old newspaper cuttings. What a sad life! He is Jewish, and has the talent of upsetting everybody, which he hasn't done with me yet'. The 14 October,

he spoke of a ‘miserable theatre where for three weeks they play La Traviata in Swedish every evening. You can imagine the result!’ He could not convince his mother Anna to come to join him before the autumn of 1889. To his father he declared (letter of 17 September 1888): ‘Musical life (here) does not correspond to my needs. I need a country that obliges me to go beyond the highest level of what has already been achieved, not a country where you have to work hard to raise the level of others. As you know, it would be a huge satisfaction just to reform and educate taste and to create orchestral concerts in an underdeveloped country: but it is a task and a satisfaction that I only owe to Italy, and I have the firm intention of consecrating later a large part of my existence to build with others the foundations of a new era in the musical life of my own country. (But the nature here) is heavenly, of an indescribable beauty, and I love contemplating it.’

During the season 1888-1889, Busoni gave five recitals in Helsinki and especially the works of Bach, Beethoven, Schumann1 and Chopin, and played in all the concerts of the Institute. From the 4 October 1888, he performed at the piano the Ride of the Walkeries. The 14 February 1889 with the quartet of the Institute led by Csillag, he played Schumann’s quintet in E flat opus 44. Sibelius played second violin: this was the unique time the two performed together in public. At the same concert Busoni played Beethoven’s sonata opus 111 and the variations opus 35 as well as Liszt’s fantasia on Don Giovanni. In addition a mixed choir sang Frülings Begräbnis (The Burial of Springtime) with baritone and piano by Sibelius’

master in Berlin, Albert Becker. The 20 March Sibelius described this concert to Uncle Pehr adding: ‘I am composing a four string quartet. The first movement is ready, II is partly ready, III and IV have been sketched out’. It was a quartet in A minor, completed and performed two months later.

Considered by Flodin as the ‘most brilliant talent possessed by the Institute’, Busoni gathered around him a group of friends—the Leskovites, after the name of his dog Lesko—including Sibelius, Adolf Paul with Armas and Eero Järnefelt. To each of the embers of this ‘stimulating cenacle’, more precisely to the ‘four friends of Lesko in Helsingfors’, he dedicated a movement of his Geharnischte Suite (Armoured Suite) for orchestra.

The five Leskovites met in general in the Ericsson café or in the more luxurious Kämp restaurant. Busoni entertained his four friends by his descriptions of musical life in Germany and elsewhere, and the wide world. ‘We were close from the start. He was the teacher and I was the student, but we met almost everyday. Besides, I was not his student, because I did not study the piano at the Institute. We were drawn to one and other by our common interest in music in general. (…) He encouraged us to improvise before him, and I knew how to take advantage of his indulgence regarding the imperfections of my piano technique’ (Sibelius to Karl Ekman) Tawaststjerna observed that this was above it was their differences of temperament that attracted Busoni and Sibelius to each other: ‘Busoni was an intellectual with strong philosophical

tendencies, whilst Sibelius, largely dominated by instinct, lived in his own world. (…) He did not contemplate nature but lived within in it and by it.

The 28 February 1889, Busoni played the Schumann's concerto under the direction of Kajanus. The following 25 May at the last musical evening of the institute, he performed two of his own works: the Variations and fugues in free form of Chopin in C minor, and with a colleague, the Finnländische Volksweisen (Finnish Folk Tunes) for piano four hands opus 27. The reaction of Sibelius is unknown. The 20 November

1890 however, he wrote to Aino Järnefelt in Vienna that in his opinion, Busoni 'was not a composer'.

'Why does this great pianist stubbornly persist in composing?' It is always interesting to hear the work of an artist—but this music! Ugly and without substance, without the least sense of movement. His Elegiac Lullaby is of another temperament—by its colour and like a backdrop, it merits its place in the sun.' In a letter to his brother-in-law Alexander von Zemlinsky dated the 29 December 1911, concerning the suite drawn from the opera Turandot, Schönberg also thinks Busoni had 'absolutely no talent as a composer. Incredible, is the least one can say to these people who know so well, so intelligent and so spiritually expressive!'

Busoni, who was much later to be seen as one of the more ardent supporters of Sibelius in Germany, Italy and in Switzerland, on the contrary judged with sympathy the last two works of his friend given at the Institute. The 13 April a suite in A major in five movements for a string trio was played at the Institute. 'When this piece commenced we immediately understood that it was some thing more than the simple work of a student', (In 1916 Busoni presented Sibelius to the public in Zurich as a Finnish Schubert in a newspaper article). Curiously Flodin reproached this Suite as having 'a total absence of melodic invention', to which Csillag, who had participated in the performance, replied: 'Here we have a very talented melodist; a young nightingale trying for the first time to sing, and from the qualities of this song, an attentive listener

could immediately deduct that it was a real bird!' Tawaststjerna notes on this point that Richard Strauss qualified the melodic invention of Sibelius as 'almost inexhaustible'.

The 29 May a string quartet in A minor followed, by far the most interesting musical score of Sibelius before his first departure from Finland. A few days previously, the ink barely dry, Sibelius dashed to Busoni: 'He immediately sat at the piano and played (this quartet) from beginning to end without having glanced at the music once. And what talent!' (to Karl Ekman). The quartet in A minor was composed by Csillag (first violin), the German violinist Wilhelm Sante, to whom Sibelius had for the occasion left his place, the viola violinist Karl Fredrik Wasebius also music publisher and critic under pseudonym Bis1 in the Swedish language daily Hufvudstadbladet, and the German cellist Wilhelm Renck, professor at the Institute from 1887 to 1889. Csillag, Wasenius and Renck had already composed the previous month the Suit in A major for string trio.

An ambitious and personal moment, the Quartet in A minor had close links with the Beethoven of Rasoumovski and also with Grieg. The work witnesses a remarkable mastery of of traditional writing for quartet, and this time Flodin was won over: 'In one stroke, Mr Sibelius has positioned himself in the first rank of those who have been given the task of bearing the flag of Finnish music.'

In the autumn, the slow and final movements were performed again in Helsinki, and the critic Bis (Wasenius) praised one for

the polyphonic mastery and the other for its splendid climax of intensity. Kajanus, who was also present at the concert of the 29 May, was ‘delighted’ and declared: ‘From now on I will not write another note.’ To which Wegelius retorted: ‘You’re mad.’. Wegelius added that the first movement of the quartet seemed to him as ‘far from being good’. Seeing himself loosing his place as ‘the most popular composer of the capital’, Kajanus in reality continued to compose, but it is uniquely as conductor, and in particular as a performer of the works of Sibelius, that he is known today.

The 31 May 1889, two days after the completion of his quartet in A minor Jean Sibelius—decided to become a composer—officially left the Institute, without imaging that exactly half a century later, the establishment would be renamed the Sibelius Academy. From February, in order to allow him to continue his studies elsewhere, Wegelius recommended him for a state grant.

The Senate granted him 2,000 marks to finance one year abroad. Benefiting from other grants were Eero Järnefelt, Akseli Gallen-Kallea, the sculptor Emil Erik Wikström, and the ‘founder of Finnish musicology’ Ilmari Krohn, whose research and methods in folk music was in part to guide Bartok and Kodaly. True to his penchant for German music, which he considered superior to all others, Wegelius chose Berlin and not Saint Petersburg, where he would have been able to study with Rimsky-Korsakov as Busoni would have preferred.

His master was Albert Becker, professor of composition at the Scharwenka Conservatory since 1881, a person of very conservative taste. Contrary to Kajanus, who had a clear liking for Russia, Wegelius detested it. To study at Saint Petersburg at that time had however, nothing repugnant for a young Finn. Eero Järnefelt, for example, had spent three years from 1883 to 1886 at the Academy of Fine Arts in Saint Petersburg, where he taught, as had his Uncle Mihail (Michael) Clodt and the cousin of the latter, Nicolas.

In spite of the insistence of Eero, Sibelius did not visit the Järnefelt's that summer, which upset Aino. Once again he spent most of his vacation in Loviisa, from where the 6 July he wrote to his Uncle Pehr: 'Now I feeling better, and I have composed a sonata for violin in three movements. The first movement is fresh and audacious, sombre also with a few brilliant sections; the second movement, is Finnish and melancholic; a typical young Finnish girl is singing on an A string; then, some young peasant boys dance a Finnish dance and try to make her smile, but to no avail; she only sings with even more sadness and melancholy. The third movement is full of liveliness and spirit, and romantic also. People are singing and playing in a meadow, it is the night of Saint John. Suddenly a meteor (an allusion to Pehr's interest in astronomy) falls in the middle of them. In spite of their surprise they continue to play, though with less assurance, because everybody has become more serious. At the end, splendid but more sombre (the meteorite!), jaunty and also joyful. (…) So here we are in our dear Loviisa, with all its childhood memories. The warmth of the summer has almost

dried the cat pond, the wall is on the point of falling down. (…) Kitti and I played one evening (…) a fantasia for cello written by me (composed for Kitti a month ago) in which I played the orchestral accompaniment at the piano. It worked out very nicely, but we have made some important cuts. Yesterday, Linda Kitti and I went to our "play hill". The forest there is so high that you can see nothing. I am still taking baths and hope to be better. I have not played very much, but composed more, in particular some melodies and waltzes as souvenirs for some girls. Other than sweet smiles, they thanked me with laurel crowns and flowers of gratitude. (…) The next time, I will speak to you of my journey abroad.'

The relatively long Sonata for violin and piano was composed in Loviisa, with at the violin most probably the composer accompanied at the piano by his sister, Linda, 16 July 1889, at a charity concert. It was heard only for the second time in 1994, and appeared in 1996. Quite close to that of Grieg in the same tonality, it did not go back to 1886-1887, as Sibelius declared later. The date of 1889 is in addition confirmed by a letter from Kitti in August of this year: 'Janne composed a sonata for violin during the summer.' One wonders where in this page, the meteorite fell! Even Uncle Pehr, without any doubt, would not have been able to indicate it.

Of the Fantasia, also composed in June 1889, comprised of five sections, only the cello score remains. Christian saw in it, the part for cello as 'the most beautiful and the most

magnificent' that he ever heard, and Sibelius for a time made it his opus 1. In Loviisa, in August 1889, Christian and Jean also played a brief waltz in F sharp minor for piano and cello entitled—the reason why is unknown—Lulu Waltz. Was this Lulu one of the girls with the sweet smile mentioned in his letter of the 6 July to Uncle Pehr? Whatever the case in the same summer, the 29 June, Jean had sent a waltz for piano to Betsy Lerche in Loviisa, it was in several parts. He received in return from Betsy with these few words also in French: 'Recevez mes remerciements sincères pour la charmante valse que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer et donc les premières tactes me rappellent un certain motif. Soyez assuré je saurais apprécier cette amabilité de votre part et agréez l'assurance de mes sentiments cordials. Lahis, le 13 juillet 1889.'

In the same year or in 1888 the vast melody for voice and piano is composed entitled Skogsraet (The Wood Nymph), on a text by the Swedish poet, philosopher and historian Viktor Rydberg. From the musical point of view this melody has almost nothing to do with the symphonic poem, the melodrama and the piece for piano of the same name composed in 1894-1895 after the same poem, to which they are both linked.

CHAPTER 4

1889-1891

IN 1889 SIBELIUS LEFT FINLAND for Berlin, the first of his forty journeys abroad. Of all the European capitals it was by far that which he visited the most often: thirty six times in forty three years, in the course of twenty eight visits to Germany. In 1889, the embarked on the Storfursten (The Grand Duke) in the company of Eero Järnefelt and Juhani Aro, who were going to Paris, a destination that had been popular for several years for young Finns wishing to become Europeanised.

It was for these young people a question of looking beyond a national culture judged narrow and introspective, but not to turn away from it rather to enrich it. In 1888, during a previous visit to France on the banks of the Seine, Eero Järnefelt had painted an oil painting that for him marked an important transition between Russian and French influences: Lefrance, marchand de vin, boulevard de Clichy. As to Juhani Aho, during his whole life he showed himself to be very Francophile. Two new acquaintances of Sibelius were also on the Storfursten: Ilmari Krohn and Werner Söderhjelm, the philologist, literary critic, diplomate and man of the world. Future professor of Latin philology at Helsinki University,

Söderhjelm was also going to Berlin, and Wegelius had asked him to watch over his young protégé.

Aino had accompanied her brother Eero to the boat. Sibelius, who during had passed some time during the summer at Lahis with the von Konov family and had seen Betsy Lerche again, did not see her on the quay, or at least had pretended not to, probably because he did not want to be seen attached to her in public. Aino was extremely upset and sobbed bitterly all the way home. Hanne Wegelius, to the great displeasure of her husband, also cried as she saw the Storfursten draw away.

The next day, the 8 September, aboard the Storfursten anchored off the Danish Island of Bornholm, Sibelius commenced a letter to his Uncle Pehr: ‘We left Helsingfors yesterday morning and after a crossing of six hours in very fine weather, we arrived at Reval (Tallin), where my passport was inspected by the German consul. To see my wish to go away come true is really extraordinary. In Helsingfors, all my relations and friends, above my family, were there to see me off. All of us, Mama, Aunt (Evelina), Kitti and I spent the last evening (Friday) with Martin Wegelius. I showed a movement of a new string quartet (that in B major, completed in Loviisa the following summer) which he found very good. I am now at

Sea. (…) On board there three musicians, a painter, a poet and an architect, the arts are therefore well represented on the Storfursten. (…) I am going to study composition with Becker, a very capable composer and professor. We shall see with whom I will study the violin. I am burning to hear the best imaginable orchestras. I will do everything to be careful about spending my money; if my health allows I will certainly find work.'

The same evening of their arrival in Berlin, Söderhjelm brought Sibelius to the Kroll Oper, where they saw Don Giovanni with the great Portuguese baritone Francisco d'Andrade in the title role, who was making his debut in the German capital that same year[1]: this first contact with one of Mozart's operas opened unsuspected horizons for Jean. He hurried to to inform Christian, who the 18 September replied asking him if the opera was as really beautiful as imagined.

His letter of the 2 October to Uncle Pehr showed him already confronted with difficulties of an artist from a country considered strange in a great cosmopolitan metropolis: 'I have almost become a real Berliner, though without drinking beer. The doctors have forbidden it. There is very much to see and hear, and it will be even better when the season starts. My composition teacher Professor Albert Becker, earns 100 rubles a day and has the air of a composer of days gone by. I have not yet really understood his method. I am deep in the study of fugues, and will soon start the violin. Last summer I was a great success as soloist both at Lovisa and at Lahis (…) Here in Germany they really know how to put you down. The only reply is to do the same to them. (…) Believe me it is difficult to be the advocate of a country as little known as Finland. There are many Finns here. People here greatly admire composers.'

Having lost his 'favorite student' Wegelius felt empty, it was as if Sibelius had taken 'half of the Institute' with him in his bags (Evelina to her nephew, 18 September). Hardly arrived in Berlin, Jean had to spend a few days in hospital. The 29 September, he sent the first report of his activities to Wegelius: 'Becker is a real wig from head to foot. In looking at my quartet (in A minor), he almost had an attack (he is totally lost by the way I use alternating major and minor forms in the same triad). He just glanced over my music, sung the second theme of the finale (he is incapable of playing it) and pretends, not be able to grasp it, that I wrote it by calculation. He was above all shocked by (a wrong relation, but) should listen to how this phrase sounds an octave lower. (…) He has started to teach me

to a maximum in strict style, no doubt he has nothing to say, but it is very fastidious. (…) Becker is very rigid in his attitude towards me, but with time he will surely soften up.'

These criticisms as regards a teacher that he himself had chosen annoyed Wegelius: 'Mon Cher Jean (in French)! The composer of the mass in B flat minor (opus 16) and the (oratario) Die Wallfahrt nach Keevaler (The Pilgrimage to Keevaler) is not "a wig from head to foot". Get this idea out of your head!'

In spite of receiving the second prize from the Society of the Friends of Music in Vienna for his symphony n°2 in G minor, Becker was above all known for his religious works. The German Emperor Wilhelm II, an enemy of modern music, very much appreciated him and to keep him in his entourage, he prevented him from accepting the position as cantor at Saint Thomas of Leipzig. In 1891, he appointed him Director of the Königlicher Domchor (Royal Cathedral Choir) in Berlin: a position once held by Mendelssohn, which Becker was to hold until the end of his life eight years later. His motto, which he never ceased to repeat to his students, was: Lieber langweilig aber in Stil (Be bored if you wish, but in style).

Becker, who enjoyed the merited reputation of a professor of counterpoint, and with who Sibelius studied in private, considered that with Wegelius, his new student had wasted his time, a judgement that Jean, his self-esteem hurt, and who had in reality benefited from a solid training in Helsinki, kept prudently to himself. The 6 November he wrote to Wegelius:

'Becker does not want to speak of anything but his fugues. To be limited to such things is really boring. I now know the German psalter from beginning to end and vice versa. You asked me what I am working on and would like to see my finished exercises. In my opinion not of much interest. As everything is forbidden, what can I write? I have analysed several Bach fugues (and even some of Becker's in person) as well as some Bach motets. I am now going to write instrumental fugues. (…) I have learnt to never argue with Becker, not to show my feelings (and) never plead the cause of my idiocies.' From this period a piece for four real voices, written by Sibelius has survived, with Beckers corrections of the words Mein Gott, Mein Heiland, ich schrie Tag und Nacht vor dir (My God, my Savior, I cry night and day before You).

Ferruchio Tammaro noted that at this rhythm Sibelius would have become another Max Reger. In spite of his doubts Becker's lessons were finally very useful and the fact that in Berlin, he was simply a student amongst others, and not the future hope of the young Finnish music. His uncertainties are witnessed by these words noted by by him the 14 October 1889 on the back of a receipt from his teacher: 'Try to be a man and always remember your own responsibilities. Do not give in to feelings, but harmoniously develop your gifts. Do not imagine being anything other than what you are. Do not dream of becoming a celebrity. Work intelligently. Si mal nunc et (!) olim sic erit.'Becker finally thanked Wegelius for having sent him den lieben jungen Mann (the charming young man),

adding: He interests me very much and is decidedly very gifted.

Musical life in Berlin offered captivating compensations. There were no leading composers resident in the city, but the number of artistic events were many and of a high quality, notably philharmonic concerts directed by Hans von Bülow. It was in this context on the 31 January 1890, shortly after its creation in Weimar, Sibelius attended a performance of Don Juan, the work with which Richard Strauss made his shattering entry into 'modernity'.

After the performance, he told Ekman, 'a timid young man with a head of long hair mounted the stage to in response to the applause. His reaction can only be imagined to this composer only eighteen months older than him, but already in full glory and capable of leading the orchestra with such virtuosity and stupefying mastery. In the same programme was the overture of Deux Journées by Cherubini, the symphony in E flat major N°99 of Hadyn, the finale of which was given an encore, and the prelude to Wagner's Lohengren. A few days later, during a popular concert of the Philharmonic, Strauss himself directed Don Juan with greater flexibility in the tempos and with more clarity in his sonorities than Bülow: at least this was the opinion of the editor of the Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung, Otto Lessman, later a great defender Sibelius in the German capital. 'Bülow really understands nothing of poetic music, he has lost the hang of it! (…) Thank God, yesterday evening gave me the satisfaction of presenting my work as it should be to the Berlin

public. (…) I conducted the symphony a good third faster' (Strauss to his parents, 5 February).

In October 1889, Sibelius attended a performance of Dvorak's symphony in D minor in the presence of the composer himself, Brahm's vilin concerto, as well as two overtures: La Belle Mélsine by Mendelssohn and Beethoven's Leonore III. Previously he had for the first time seen Wagner's Tannhäuser and The Master Singers, and wrote of it to Wegelius the 29 September, taking care not to hurt the feelings of this enthusiastic partisan of the Bayreuth musician: 'It is indisputably very powerful. When we see each other again I will tell you about my reactions in more detail, and will tell you what I felt. This music was a mixture surprise deception and pleasure, etc. for me. I was ill both evenings, but be assured I will never forget them.' In another letter to Wegelius, he declared that the overture of Fées was nothing other than an imitation of Weber, but to Aunt Evelina, he wrote that he had been 'astounded' by Wagner. At the same concert as the overture of the Fées, he had been able to listen to a psalm of Liszt's and two 'marvellous pieces' by Berloiz. In the correspondence of Sibelius there is no mention of Verdi's Othello, the Berlin premier had taken place 1 February 1890, or Wagner's Ring, which was performed in its entirety in the autumn of 1889.

His principal revelation in Berlin was Beethoven. Bülow opened the autumn season with Eroica on 14th October 1889, and ended it with The Ruins of Athens and the Ninth on 16th

December, and then inaugurated the spring season with the Fifth the 13th January 1890. Sibelius used the occasion to copiously take notes on his pocket score. In addition, Bülow performed several sonatas at the piano. Sibelius very much appreciated, and carefully studied Bülow's editorial commentaries on these works. He also attended the concerts of the Joachim Quartet, and the opus N°59 in F major inspired him to make this curious commentary: 'When to start the adagio, I imagine myself on a swing in the moonlight. To the left a wall, on the other side a marvellous garden with birds of paradise, shells and palms, etc. Everything was dead and still, the shadows grew long and the smell of an old library floated by. Nothing else but sighs could be heard. It was Beethoven who sighed, and when the theme in F major appeared for the second time, he sighed even deeper. After a moment, everything changed into large lakes of red water over which God played the violin. Little by little I realised that is was Joachim and his bow, De Ahma (the second violin) and the others appeared, and finally myself J Sibelius.'

As a result of the popular concerts of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra could at last deepen his relations with Kajanus. The 11 February 1890, Kajanus conducted his symphonic poem Aino. Otto Lessmann estimated the he he had transposed a very poetic and easily understood subject into music in a very masterful fashion: the suicide by drowning of the young and beautiful Aino trying to escape the desires of the old Väinämoinen.

Sibelius later declared that he had been only been moderately impressed by this piece of fifteen minutes long, strongly influenced by Wagner and without doubt he had first learned of in Helsinki: Kajanus had performed it the 7 March 1885, then again the 16 April 1886 and the 25 April 1889. It remains that this experience in Berlin was partially at the origin of his own Kullervo, commenced in Vienna the following year: Aino was inspired by the Kalevala and put the words in Finnish into music: it is true they were anonymous words, not from the Kalevala, but to the glory of the kantele. Sibelius explained to Ekman: 'The knowledge of this work was of an extreme important to me. It opened my eyes to the marvellous possibility offered to musical expression by the Kalevala, whilst the previous attempts to interpret the national epic into music did not turn out to be very stimulating. (…) After having heard Kajanus' Aino, the idea of creating myself a work on a subject drawn from our own national epic occupied more and more my imagination.'

In October 1889, Wegelius had had performed during the one hundredth concert of the Institute two movements of the quartet in A minor. The 1 December, during a brief journey overseas, he made a detour to Berlin to meet Sibelius. He estimated with optimism that his protégé 'had mastered vocal polyphony with success and continued with enthusiasm and energy his musical and artistic training', which led him, in March 1890, to ask him to send a choral piece for one of the concerts of the Institute. Sibelius however showed a taste for luxury that scandalised his friends. In a letter to Wegelius dated

29 September 1889, he went as far as asking the Governor General of Finland to obtain for him, as the beneficiary of a state grant, free tickets for the Berlin Opera! Undignified, Wegelius replied the 4 October: ‘There is no reason that you do not content yourself with the seats that other musicians of your age are only too happy to occupy. For 1.50 (Marks), you would surely have a seat where you can see and hear.’From Werner Söderhjelm, who observed him closely, Jean received the same day and for the same reasons, a severe reprimand.

In Helsinki, Christian was worried. Contrary to his eldest brother who he admired enormously and to whom he was entirely devoted, he had his feet well on the ground. After having been received by the Lerches, the 7 September 1889, he wrote very lucidly: ‘When you are your brother, you are treated royally.’ At the same time he offered many pieces of advice to his brother on the best way to manage a budget, notably remarking that many Finnish students living in Berlin spent less than in Helsinki. He did not miss the opportunity to remind him —after the sale, to provide Jean’s needs, of certain of his own clothes—that in order to obtain a new grant for the following year, he absolutely had to present his candidature and fill in the necessary forms.

Between November 1888 and March 1889, to cover the expenses of Sibelius, his family borrowed about 2,000 Finnish Marks, or the equivalent of the grant provided by the Senate for his sojourn in Berlin. In April, mostly due to the praiseworthy certificate attributed by Becker, Jean was given a university

grant of 1,200 Marks to complete the year, but his financial problems were not however settled. This led Christian to comment the 2 May: 'If you think about it, you will see that during these last two months, you have not raised the least question of money, so we know nothing about what you are doing or hearing and how you are taking advantage of life.'

One way of taking advantage of life was to mix with the many foreign groups of musicians and artists in Berlin. Other than two Americans, the cellist Paul Morgan and the violinist and conductor Theodore Spiering, later violin soloist of the New York Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Mahler, the circle into which Sibelius was introduced to was mostly composed of Scandinavians. These included two Danes, the violinist and composer Fini Henriques, student of Joachim and 'bohemian amongst bohemians', and the violinist Fredrik Schnedler-Petersen, who was also a student of Joachim and later became orchestra leader in Turku then the Copenhagen Tivoli Concert Hall.

There were also three Norwegians: the writer Gabriel Finn, the pianist, Alf Klingenberg, who admitted spending more time flirting than on musical scales, and above all the composer Christian Sinding, the eldest amongst them. Sinding was in fact living in Leipzig, but often came to Berlin with his violinist Ottakar Novacek, student of the great Adolf Brodsky. When he joined the group, Adolf Paul—who had completed his metamorphosis from pianist to writer—arrived penniless from Weimar. On Sundays they went in a procession goose stepping

to the along the Berlinerstrasse to a place called Augustinerbräu, where the others forewarned by the noise started to shout: Die Schweden kommen! (The Swedes are coming) They were accompanied by young women who, to believe Adolf Paul, studied the musicians with more assiduity than the music.

At Christmas 1889, Busoni passed through Berlin on his way from Helsinki to Leipzig, where he was to play Sinding's quintet in E minor with the Brodsky Quartet, which had already been performed in Leipzig the previous year and dated from 1882-1884. Disappointed to learn that Sibelius had composed nothing for several months, he suggested that he with Adolf Paul, accompany him to Leipzig. For this occasion, Sibelius bought a top hat that suffered from the incessant rain to such a degree that he gave it to his coach driver.

The performance of Sinding's quintet in Leipzig, the 19 January 1890—including the third of four movements, an Interezzo in G major, was encored, but the critics reproached his parallel quintes and sevenths, made him decide to compose one himself, even more so as Busoni promised to perform the premier in Helsinki. The result was the Quintet for piano and strings, his most important work of the Berlin period and the most vast of all his chamber pieces, even taking into account the quartet for strings Voces Intimae of 1909.

Completed in 1890, composed in five movements, the quintet in G minor was immediately sent to Helsinki. The 5 May however, Sibelius wrote to Werner Söderhjelm, then in Italy,

that he considered this work as ‘rubbish’. The same day, just the first and third movements were given at the Institute with Busoni at the piano, the Norwegian composer Johan Halvorsen and Karl Fredrik Wasenlius on the violins, two German musicians on the viola and cello both members of the Kajanus orchestra: Joseph Schwartz and Otto Hutschenreuter. Impressed, Halvorsen asked Christian if his borther had already written a concerto for violin. The second and fourth movements had neither received approval from Busoni nor Wegelius. As to the finale, they seem to have not even looked at it. The same program included Busoni’s quartet for strings in C major opus 19 with Busoni himself at the piano, and the ‘Adieus of Wotan’ from the Valkyrie.

At that time Adolf Paul, a ‘writer without originality but quite a good imitator’, started his first book. It was an autobiographical style novel entitled En bok om människa published in the autumn of 1891 in Stockholm. In the book, dedicated to Sibelius, he appears under the name of Sillen and the Paul under that of Hans. In the legend of Dionysus, Silenus is described as a hedonistic old man riding a donkey and always singing and laughing.

As in many Scandinavian novels of this period, including the well-known Sult (Hunger) by the Norwegian Knut Hamsun that appeared the previous year, En bok om människa describes the fate of a misfit in an urban materialist society. It deals with the inner conflicts of Hans and his decision to abandon music for literature; today its main interest is in the description of

Sillen, that is to say the young Sibelius and his bohemian life at that time.

Harold E. Johnson, cites several large extracts of the book, and finds the descriptions of ‘clinical precision’, applicable not only to the Berlin student that Sibelius was, but also to his as a mature man and to the composer in his retirement. However, Johnson stated that nothing permits the idea that all Sillen’s declarations could be attributed to Sibelius or that Sibelius be recognised in all these declarations.

‘A strange person this Sillen! Hans and he had been friends for two years, but Hans could still not understand him. He finally concluded that in spite of his thousand or more whims and as many contradictions, he was not mad. (…) He was in all probability a genius. (…) This grand gourmet liked good cigars more than himself. His fellow men were for him a necessary evil. (…) If he desired something, for example a two crown cigar, he suffered enormously and was the most miserable man in the world as long as he had not the object of his desire in his hand. But then he showed the most complete indifference and threw the precious cigar away without even realising it. It was not the possession of an object that he liked, but the desire for it. (…) He gave the impression of having suddenly fallen from a distant planet.’

Sillen was sometimes rudely shouted at by Hans: ‘Egoist! You always pretend to have an air of being clever and so absent minded! You come and go plunged in your thoughts so deep and so subtle! You would rather kill one of your friends than

than reply to one of his questions, even the most ordinary! As to those with whom your relations are not close enough to be impolite, you just have phrases, a reservoir of ready made and ordered phrases. (…) You would rather see the world collapse around you than be disturbed in your thoughts!'

Elsewhere, it was Sillen himself who spoke: 'Good God, I am doing practically nothing! I don't dare to tell people to what point I'm at a loss. Believe me, I stay in bed until midday and then hand around until the evening. Impossible to work. I don't call the exercises I hurriedly do for my teachers work. I've got grand ideas, grand ideas that never leave me, but I cannot force my lazy body to seriously get down to them. Criticism is the only thing that comforts me—particularly criticizing others, because for me they excite something other than blind admiration. Beethoven and Wagner—they are no longer gods to me, but human beings, great and incomparable it is true, but full of enormous faults. Realizing that they also are not without fault encourages me, and kill off the student in me. (…) The smell of cigars reminds me enormously of my childhood. On the death of my father, when I took possession of his things, I was struck by the strong smell of cigars that came from them. (This smell) has become sacred to me. (…) Sometimes however, I devote myself to another habit that I am almost ashamed to talk about. I go alone into a tavern, sit down and empty glass after glass. (…) "Now you are a genius, a great genius slowly going down!" (…) In the end I come back to my senses, and hear myself saying: "How can you be so stupid!" (…) Yes, to be able to give, and give to the whole world, is a

real mark of aristocracy. (…) To speak of art for art's sake is not a sign of poverty. Everybody has the right to do so—even the most miserable person just as the most cultivated, like the best educated intellectual hanger-on.'

At the beginning of 1890, Becker composed the oratario Selig aus Gnade (Blessed through Grace) in the memory of the German emperors Wilhelm I and Frederick III, who both died in 1888 at an interval of three months. Sibelius helped him to correct the proofs of his work, 'perhaps even in his work of composition' (verbally from Aino to Tawaststjerna). It was qualified by a critic as a 'sugarified hodgepodge of Mendelssohn, badly digested Brahms and malassimilated Wagner', but judged by others as 'worthy of the composer of the mass in B-flat minor'.

The work was performed the 7 March—a few days before Wilhem II dismissed Bismarck—in the Potsdam Garnisonkirche with Trauermusik (Funeral music) for orchestra and choir to the sole memory of Frederick III. The four chorales of the oratorio were sung with fervor by the whole of the congregation. Two months later, Becker prepared a new certificate for his student, which was not entirely without foresight, but heavily marked by typically German prejudices of 'us and them' that Sibelius was to suffer from throughout his whole career. 'Mr Sibelius of Helsingfors (…) has assiduously worked simple and double counterpoint under my responsibility, as well as the fugue (both simple and double) for voices, for piano and for choir and orchestra. (…) These

studies for composition in strict form, where it is not only a question mastering form under its simplest possible aspects, permitting in as much as, as far as he is concerned, speaking of inventiveness, by the fact of his nationality, the natural music of Mr Sibelius is of a typically Nordic ruggedness. In effect, this national characteristic is incompatible with the above forms, which not only come from a very distant past, but from a spiritual point of view appear to be the exclusive product of the Flemish, the Italians and the Germans. To these fields (…) more liberal forms will now be added, and I am pleased to note that Mr. Sibelius, who up to now as a student has shown himself through his ardour for work, has demonstrated a very specific talent which, once he has reached maturity through the continued pursuit of study, every expectation is possible'.

This second certificated justified a second grant of 2,000 Finnish Marks for a years study abroad. Busoni insisted that he go to study in either in Dresden with Felix Draeseke, professor of composition at the conservatory of this city since 1884, already author of three symphonies, Bülow, had conducted a piano concerto composed by him, at the end of the previous season, or to Vienna with a symphonist of another stature: Anton Bruckner. The final choice was for Vienna. In June, shortly after his departure from Berlin, Sibelius was hospitalised for a second time, requiring new funds from Christian, who begged Jean to return home once the doctors permitted it.

He spent his summer holidays in Finland. Uncle Pehr had died in Turku the 4 January 1890. As to Aunt Evelina, who was suffering from cancer and had undergone an operation, she had returned to Loviisa, where everything was prepared for the return of the prodigal son. Covered with debts, Sibelius sought to borrow money as soon as he returned to Helsinki (letter to Adolf Paul dated 11 July 1890). He completed his convalescence in Loviisa and from there went to the Wegelius' at Granholmen. In spite of the episode with Bettsy Lerche and a year's separation in Berlin, Aino waited for him with impatience.

The 2 August, from Eteri, the summer home of the Järnefelt's in central Finland, Armas wrote to his future wife Maikki Pakarinen: 'Aino arrived one evening just when I was about to go to bed, (…) and she ordered me to put out the candle so that she dare talk to me. I put it out, and she immediately threw herself into my arms crying so much she could not speak. I consoled her as best I could, and finally succeeded in getting her to talk. She asked me, when I had seen Wegelius, to write him something about Sibelius. The poor girl, she still loved him. She said that she would go to Helsinki to see him again one more time. The poor girl! She said that she had wanted to talk to me for a long time, but was frightened I would get angry. I promised and consoled her, and I finally succeeded in stopping her crying. Then she went to bed. Tears came to my eyes. It was really a sad affair.'

Held up by a heavy storm, Sibelius arrived Etseri the day that Aino returned to her father's, the governor, in Vassa: seventy years later, she recounted to Tawaststjerna that sitting in her train, she saw Jean getting out of his on another platform. The 23 August, Armas wrote to his sister: 'Sibelius has arrived. He is a little weak, but in spite of that better than before. I don't really know what to say to him, because here we live our everyday life, only you can interest him. I avoided speaking to him about you, because I don't know what attitude to adopt. We play together sometimes.' Aino and Jean ended up by meeting together again in Vaasa, where they played together, he on the violin and she accompanying him on the piano. Jean spoke of this visit in a letter to aino written in Vienna the 26 February 1891: 'When I left Vaasa, when you were all together on the platform, I whispered something in the ear of Armas, as you no doubt remember. However, he did not pass on the message (with which) I thanked you for accompanying me (on the piano). Armas told me that he did not want you to think of me. I than understood for the first time that you had never really forgotten me. I left Vassa in a strange state, half idiot and half composer. (…) When I came down and saw you in the hall that last afternoon, I saw that you had tears in your eyes. I already loved you (…) but I would have never admitted it, even for millions.'

The 1 September 1890, her sister-in-law Emmy Järnefelt, nee Parviainen, wife of Arvid, wrote Aino a calming letter, informing her amongst other things the Sibelius' 'illness' was much less serious than he himself imagined. At the end of the

month, the 23 September, Jean and Aino attended a musical evening at the Institute in Helsinki. After the concert Jean accompanied her to her brother Arvid's1, where she was staying, and there before the door he asked her to marry him, and she accepted. The letter of the 29 February 1891, contains these words: 'Then when I held you in my arms, I thought that you were the ideal that I had waited for.' The following night, Aino read the manuscript for Yksin of Juhani Aho, but too late for it to be of any influence, in spite of the declarations of love by the writer-narrator to her regard. On this occasion Sibelius behaved like a man of the world: when she returned to Vaasa, Aino found her train compartment strewn with flowers.

In this same month of September 1890 in Loviisa, Sibelius finished his Quartet for strings in B-flat major, the most elegant of the chamber works of his youth. The work was later given the number of opus 4. A copy of that time bore the inscription 'Quartet N°2'. Published in only 1991, the work was heard for the first time in at the Institute in 1890. Flodin thought that each measure reflected the personality of the composer. An Adagio for string quartet composed during the same period and published in 1997, was without doubt conceived at the outset as a slow movement.

Less than a week after the performance of his future opus 4, Sibelius left for Vienna, in third class 'to save" money'. Emmy Järnefelt and the Wegelius couple came to see him off at the station. Apparently Busoni would have preferred a second period in Berlin. In September, he had written to the composer

Heinrich von Herzogenberg, professor at the city's College of Music: 'In the hope that you would still remember the modest novice that I was in 1885 in Leipzig, I am recommending a young artist to you who is amongst the most accomplished of those I have met during my two years in Finland. This Jean Sibelius is a very talented composer who, in my opinion, would greatly benefit by completing his studies with you. His Nordic country has brought him to maturity later than is usual, but has allowed him to remain astonishingly pure and principled for his age.'

In Hanko, waiting for the boat to Lubeck, Jean wrote Aino his first letter since their engagement that was still secret: If I can judge by his attitude when we said goodbye, your father seems to have felt there is something between us. Do you think he knows we love each other? In any case, that only concerns you and me' (18 October). He passed through Berlin where he saw his old friends, to whom Armas Järnefelt was now to join, and where the 23 October he met Carl Mielsen for the first time, who was exactly six months older than him.

Nielsen, at the beginning of a long voyage across Europe that would lead him to Paris and Italy, had thrust himself into the musical atmosphere of the German metropolis. He was to complete and perform his String Quartet N°2 in private a week before Christmas in the presence of the violinist Joseph Joachim.

'Yes, Mr Nielsen, without doubt I am already an old Philistine. Write what you like, as long as it corresponds to

what you feel,' Joachim told the composer after the performance. Nielsen much preferred Dresden to Berlin, a city that Sibelius apparently seemed not very enchanted to be back in: 'I would really be incapable of working there, the place seems worse than ever' (to Aino, 24 October).

'Vienna 1890-1891' was to Sibelius of an entirely different importance than 'Berlin 1889-1890'. It was there he encountered orchestral composition, where he discovered Bruckner, where he understood what the Kalevala could signify for a young Finnish artist and it is where for the first time that he posed serious questions concerning himself. Moreover, his sojourn in the Austrian capital nourished his sensuality. He sometimes and very frankly admitted it to Aino, to which she was careful not to react, no doubt because of her sensible and experienced mother, and her brothers who were also just as wild. From 30 November, Jean wrote that he thought of no other woman, even though 'Vienna is full of beauties'. And the 24 January 1981, he did not hesitate to mention that a the sister of a Viennese student friend, had asked him for one night to forget his fiancee who was so far away, adding: ' Vienna is a very nice city, but it is best not to be there alone.'

He arrived there the 25 October 1890 not knowing with whom he was to study. Two weeks after he bought the German version of the Traité général d'instrumentation by Hugo Riemann which he used in composing Kullervo. His first impressions were the most favorables. '(The city) is exactly to my taste. (…) Gaity and light.' 'This air makes me crazy. My

head is full of waltzes, that remind me of Schubert's waltzes' (to Wegelius 25 October). 'Here in Vienna the sun is shining, a letter from Aino and money from you!' (to Wegelius 19 November). 'The whole of Vienna rings with waltzes and laughter' (to his mother 26 December).

He lived in the fourth district, on the second floor of 1, Waagasse, at the corner of Wiedner Hauptsrasse, very near the former residence of Gluck. He enthusiastically explored the cellars of Esterhazy and from the 28 October, attended a performance of Don Giovanni at the The Royal-Imperial Court Opera Theater, which made such an impression on him that when he returned home, he could not sleep and spent the night sketching out a violin concerto. Shortly after he saw Wagner's Tristan, 'set in a splendour the goes beyond all imagination' (to Wegelius 21 November). For a time he lost all his sense of reality. About the 4 January 1891, 'Jean Sibelius aus Finland' visited Beethoven's house in Heiligenstadt.

Dismissed by Brahms, Sibelius was later presented to him by chance in the famous Leidinger Café: at least that is what he told Ekman. Officially he was in Vienna to study orchestration. The 29 October, he informed his mother and Evelina that unfortunately, the great orchestra leader Hans Richter, then director of the Vienna Philharmonic concerts, accepted no students and that Bruckner was ill. He wrote the same day to Aino that 'Bruckner was mortally ill'. Hans Richter oriented him to the then fashionable composer Robert Fuchs. Professor of harmony and counterpoint at the conservatory, Fuchs had counted amongst his students, fifteen years earlier, Gustaf Mahler and Hugo Wolf, and more recently Alexander von Zemlinsky. Wegelius sent a letter of recommendation from Helsinki to Karl Goldmark, acclaimed since the triumph of his opera The Queen of Sheba in 1875.

He had been part of the jury in 1881 that had rejected *Das klagende Lied* of Mahler, and Sibelius had certainly heard him in November 1889 his very recent overture Der gefesselte Prometheus (Prometheus Enchained). Like from Goldmark he only received private lessons from Fuchs, composer of innumerable serenades and who was nicknamed for this reason 'Serenaden-Fuchs'.

The 12 November, after several unfruitful attempts, he finally met Goldmark, who was wearing his dressing gown and slippers. Sibelius showed him his quartet for strings in B-flat major and was advised by the Hungarian follower of Wagner to use Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven as models rather than Berlioz and the composer of Tristan: 'Work on your ideas in depth, because in depth they will have more character. Beethoven went over his own fifty times!'

The 19 November, he brought Goldmark 'an overture containing (according to Goldmark) manches Schlechte und manches Gute, als Anfang ganz gut (many bad things and many good things, for a start not bad at all). He found my instrumentation adequate, except at one place. He then criticised the piece in more detail. In total, I stayed with him half an hour. He wrote a note certifying that I had commenced my studies. (…) To be his student is of great prestige for me everywhere. It was teaching to my taste' (to Wegelius). On this point it can be noted that Goldmark had a niece, who when Jean's visit was announced arranged to be present.

The 11 January 1891, Sibelius, nevertheless confirm, again to Wegelius: ‘I have come to the conclusion that I need stricter lessons than those dispensed by Goldmark. Fuchs is a clever orchestrator, professional down to his fingertips, and very happy as a composer. Above all because he can easily arrange for the execution of certain works through his influence on Jakob Grün.

Sibelius had hoped that his quarter for strings in B-flat major would be heard in Vienna, with the help of Robert Fuchs and the Professor Jakob Grün, a very influential personality in the Tonkünstlerverein, however, he was disappointed. The Rosenberg Quartet, composed of conservatory students and in which he himself had played as second violin, did however, rehearse the work twice. The 15 February, thanks to Adolf Paul, it was played in private in Berlin: ‘Sinding was very impressed by your quartet. Talent! And Imagination! And good ideas!’.

Another disappointment awaited him: hoping to become violinist in the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, in January 1891, Sibelius failed an audition and cried with frustration. He nevertheless continued to manifest his taste for luxury and spending his evenings drinking, which won him the nickname der Graf (the Count) from his friends. One of his first purchases in Vienna was a new top hat. His shirts were always immaculately white and his clothes impeccably pressed. ‘I am poor, but by an irony of fate I have all the tastes of the rich,’ he

wrote to Aino the 12 March. He was then slim with a head of abundant blond hair.

As had already happened in Berlin, his role as a Nordic musician was the source of different misunderstandings. After having heard the Grieg's concerto for piano in November 1890 at a philharmonic concert, he wrote to Aino the 11 January 1891: 'People here are very conservative. Though Grieg worked in Germany for almost thirty years, he only succeeding in being recognised just a few weeks ago. He is the only well known person from the North here. They always speak to me of 'your compatriot Grieg', which gives you an idea of the ignorance we other people of the North subject to.' The previous evening, he had 'seen Egmont (by Goethe), music by Beethoven (…) very beautiful. I cannot stand German writing, it is filled with pathos, even for the most insignificant things'.

Severely criticised by Fuchs—who had treated one of his composition essays for orchestra as 'rudimentary and primitive'—led him to complain of the backward side of the Germans in general and of the Austrians in particular: 'They are (…) insensitive to new trends both in art and in literature. They reject the French and the Russians, and it is impossible to talk to them of Nordics without them being (treated) as 'barbarians'. From all evidence, (they) have had their time. They produce no one comparable to Zola, Ibsen, Tchaikovsky. They see everything with blinkered eyes, and in addition these blinkers of of very poor quality' (to Aino, 8 January 1891). Sibelius exaggerated somewhat, but such remarks announced

his future difficulties with the German critics. In the same letter to Aino he admitted: ‘The Germans think that pessimism comes from Russia and from the North, and for the moment I would tend to agree with them.’

His admiration for Zola, who he however reproached for not having brought realism to its logical conclusion, is seen by his reading in Vienna of Thérèse Raquin. In his letter to Aino dated 13 December 1890, he draws the following surprising conclusions: ‘My vice consists of all the inclinations a man could have, perhaps even more. But that should not frighten you, because being very much concerned with art, I would never become brutal.’

In addition, he advised her not to read Nana: Zola has written certain things that you should not bother yourself about. Please understand me, and do not imagine me as trying to give lessons’. Christmas night, he in turn read Juhani Aho’s Yksin, which Aino had given him, and was very troubled: ‘I devoured this book once I had started it. I recognised myself everywhere. (…) Poor devil! At the end, I almost had tears in my eyes, and had the impression of having no right to you, but immediately this thought made me feel ashamed. For me he is surely a dangerous rival, and I am surprised that you preferred me. (..) I must admit that I was decided to go and find Aho with a pair of pistols and let them decide our fate. You must think that I have become mad, like Don Quixote, but from my earliest age I have often heard that such an affair could only be resolved by a duel to the death’.

Jean waited twelve days before posting this letter, and then assured Aino that given his responsibility towards her, a duel was out of the question. He also added that in any case Finland needed men like Juhani Aho1. He also read Eugene Onegin by Pushkin, enraptured he sent it to Aino, and The Kreutzer Sonata by Tolstoy, that he detested for its condemnation of physical love though recognising it as chef d'oeuvre.

About three weeks after his arrival in Vienna, Sibelius informed his mother of his engagement. The 1 November 1890, he announced that in his next letter he would tell her a 'secret', and in the letter of the 10th of the same month, to Evelina also, was written: 'Happily you have well understood that house in Loviisa need not be put up for sale. In will be even more useful for us, as I soon hope to have a young wife. Do not imagine that this engagement will be like those before. I have sown more wild oats than others, and I needed to. I ask you to please welcome my beloved warmly as you can. She is an extraordinarily serious and profound person. You will certainly like her. She is very practical and knows how to cook, etc. In good health too and charming from every point of view.'

The reactions of his mother and his aunt, who had become prudent by his 'previous engagements' with Betsy Lerche and perhaps others, disappointed him enormously: 'My dearest girls, Mama and Eva,. I am very sad not to have had the slightest congratulations about my engagement. Linda, Uncle Otto, Hilma (the wife of Uncle Otto) and others have written to congratulate me, but from you my nearest and dearest, not a

word. Do not think it is just a prank, it is really very serious. I would so much like to send your letters to my Aino'. Fifteen days later the situation changed for the best: 'My Aino sends you her best wishes and thanks you for yours' (18 December to Maria Charlotta). 'I am enclosing a photo of my fiancee She sends you her most sincere good wishes from the bottom of her heart'. 'Almost every day I have a letter from Aino. She is such a nice girl. (…) Do not think that I love you less. I am still your boy. I still have your photos by my side, like that of Aino. It was however, uniquely to Evelina that Sibelius wrote these words on Christmas Eve 1890: 'It seems to me that Papa was taken away from us so that I could turn my love to you.'

It was also necessary to inform the Järnefelt family. 'Tell me everything that your father says about your (Janne), good or bad' (to Aino, 3 November 1890). After some time without news, Jean panicked, thinking that the Lieutenant General had discovered their secret and had forbidden his daughter to continue their correspondence. He suspected that Eero had advised his sister against this marriage and no doubt remembered with bitterness that in Berlin, one evening, Armas had proposed a toast, that was not without ambiguity: 'I hope that in about three years Sibelius will be worthy of my sister!' Finally Aino spoke with her father herself, who in reality appreciated Sibelius and believed in his future as a composer. Reassured, Jean nevertheless waited three weeks before he took up his pen: 'The reason, Sir, for which I have not informed you up to this time that I love your daughter, was my conviction, that you her father, could only consider with

apprehension a man whose hopes as modest as mine. Persuaded that my future will improve, I will of course wait for the necessary time.'

The letter was very formal and written in Swedish. 'How did your father react?' asked Sibelius to Aino in a letter dated 15 February 1891. He had used Swedish because he mastered it better than Finnish, but also to demonstrate his independence via-à-vis the Lieutenant General, a convinced 'Fennoman'. His letters to Aino were also in Swedish, but of his own asking she always replied to him in Finnish. For the period from 1890 to 1931, there exists about six hundred letters from Jean to Aino and four hundred from Aino to Jean.

By the intermediary of the Finnish baritone Filip Forsten, who had once performed in Hammeenlinna and who taught song at the Conservatory of Vienna from 1894 to 1925, Sibelius was received by the great Austrian soprano Pauline Lucca. She had just left the Royal-Imperial Court Opera Theater at the end of a brilliant international career. A photograph shows her in the company of Bismarck. She had married a rich baron and installed her lover, Forsten, in an apartment of her Viennese palace. In her salon Sibelius entered into contact with the Viennese aristocracy, that he found idle and dissipated, but at the same time 'intelligent and refined'. I like their company, since I cannot support the musicians from here. (…) There exists a real aristocracy, what I mean is not by descent, but a natural aristocracy possessing a sensitivity and a

concept of life that the masses have no idea of. It is with such persons I feel best'..

He noted however with displeasure, that during an evening at Lucca's, that the artists who performed did not dine with the guests. 'If I had been one of them, I could not have supported it' (to Aino, 21 March 1891). When Pauline Lucca invited him to her summer residence, he refused 'for certain reasons'. Wir werden uns köstlich amüsieren (we were going to madly enjoy ourselves), Goldmark had told him, one of the frequent guests at Gmunden. He also frequented an aristocratic family, friends of Wegeliu, the Adameis. 'That avoids becoming a restaurant usual. At the Count's they speak of hunting, horses, dogs and music—music seems to be considered like a sport'. The previous years the Countess Adameis had made a very generous donation to the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

An important event took place the 21 December 1890: the premier of the final version of Bruckner's Third Symphony under the direction of Hans Richter and in the presence of the composer himself. Sibelius was present and the same evening enthusiastic and shocked he wrote to Aino:

'Today I was at the concert. A composer, Bruckner, was booed1. For me, he is one of the greatest living composers. Perhaps you remember hearing Martin W(egelius) speak of him. After the concert his admirers carried him in triumph to his coach shouting hurray very excitedly. The work played was his symphony in D-minor, and you cannot imagine the enormous impression that it made on me. It has its faults, like

any other, but above all it breaths youth, though its composer is an older man2. Formally speaking, it seemed to me to immoderate and outright anti-Mozart. After the concert three of us went out with other musicians and as you can imagine, we argued. This argument degenerated and I came out of it with a twisted ankle that makes me limp. There’s no worse rabble than musicians.

Sibelius was therefore mixed up in a ‘brawl’ between the supporters of Bruckner and those of Brahms. By far he preferred Bruckner. Fuchs had tried to convert him to Brahms, but the latter was never amongst his favourites, which Aino was to confirm to Tawaststjerna in 1960—her favourite composer on the contrary was Brahms. The 27 January 1891, Jean went as far as to write to his fiancée: ‘The new quintet in F-major is not worthy of any consideration, the same goes for the sonata for piano and violin of Busoni. I do not understand how they could print such things.’ On the other hand, in the spring, a performance of Siegfried at the Opera greatly impressed him (to Aino, 15 February 1891), which prompted him to join the Wagner-Verein.

He never met Bruckner personally, but closely observed him at a concert the 21 December 1890: ‘Charming little old fellow who seems lost in the world. Short in stature with a disproportionate corpulence’. One of his great pleasures was to listen to Johann Strauss the son direct his waltzes in public, and he told Ekman that he had been enchanted when he heard the March of Radetzky by Johann Strauss the father, played for the

first time a cavalry regiment in the street by his way to Goldmark. As to Gustaf Mahler, five years older than him, he was not yet well known in the Austrian capital: he directed the Budapest Royal Opera and did not move back to Vienna until 1897 as director of the Royal-Imperial Court Opera Theater, after having spent six years in Hamburg.

More than Berlin, Vienna favoured the creativity of Sibelius. During the whole of the time he spent in Vienna he remained completely unknown in the musical circles of the city, but he was influenced in a lasting fashion, firstly by Goldmark for instrumentation, but above all by Bruckner in a very broad manner. He certainly studied Bruckner's three symphonies in detail: the Third, the Fourth and the Seventh.

He met a bassoonist named Heber: 'He had played his English horn for me for about three hours, so I think I know all the potentialities of this instrument' (to Wegelius, 11 January 1891). Was he thinking of Herbert's English horn when he wrote his Ballet Scene some days after, and above all, two or three years later, in the first version of the future The Swan of Tuonela?

Sibelius submitted to Fuchs and Goldmark different pieces for orchestra, one of which, as has been seen, was qualified by as 'rudimentary and primitive'. Two others still exist: an Overture in E-major shown to Goldmark the 12 February 1891 and a Ballet Scene in F-sharp minor, in reality the first two first movements of a symphony that were afterward abandoned: '(This symphony) is in E-major. The first part is, as you know,

an overture; the second the idealised scene of a ball, but not without a few touches of realism. The third commences by a recitative that in reality prepares the last, very free variation on a Finnish theme. Everything is bathed in the vitality and intensity of springtime, the season which, (…) has the greatest effect on me.' (to Aino, 1 April).

The 14 March he wrote to Kajanus in Helsinki: 'I have a symphony in mind that I will put down on paper as soon as possible. Will you agree, my dear brother, to conduct it? You know that my numerous creditors are waiting for a success from me, otherwise I will be incapable of reimbursing them. Please forget your old aversion to me. I am really your friend and I would like you to be mine. (…) Your unfortunate Jean Sibelius. I will not life long, you can therefore take the risk.'

Sibelius interrupted his symphony at the beginning of April, but sent to Kajanus the Overture and the Ballet Scene. Immediately after filled with doubt, he telegraphed begging him not to have it performed, but Kajanus programmed the Overture for the 23 April 1891, between the Ninth Symphony of Schubert and the prelude to the Master Singers of Wagner: it was thus in his absence that Sibelius made his beginnings as a composer for orchestra. Kajanus, Armas Järnefelt and the bassist Abraham Ojanperä sent him a telegram of congratulations, but the public was more reserved, and the critics quite ferocious: Wasenius found the work 'bizarre', and Flodin 'at the limit of being grotesque'. Five days after, the 28

April, Kajanus again performed the Overture and the Ballet Scene for the first time.

The 4 May, Sibelius asked Wegelius, whether or not he had thought the two pieces were 'unformed' and then after having made a parallel between his technique and that of Zola's (to many developments), he added: 'The Overture (…) is not good, but to my great shame I must admit that I composed it from the bottom of my heart, the usual excuse when a thing is seen to be without heart! The Ballet Scene, is different. (…) It is born of a bitter experience. I never cried so much as when I wrote it.'

In the Overture, the form of a sonata with forms that are sometimes difficult to perceive, can be seen a kind of sketch for the Karelia Overture. Massive orchestration, the form partially mastered, over abundance of ideas, great energy, evident talent: a mixture that explains the reactions of the critics, as well as the scruples of the composer himself. The second theme is a melody in minor of the 'runic' kind. It is not known if the words Wolf Hunt in Siberia written on certain orchestral parts is from the composer himself or not. Finely nuanced the Ballet Scene appears much more interesting and original, both from the point of view of form and sonority: an efficient accompaniment of cymbals and castanets.

It begins with the oboes by a version in F-flat minor of the well know motif of four notes in the finale of Mozart's Jupiter Symphony. This phantom like waltz with its cosmopolitan atmosphere that echoes the demimonde, no doubt reflects the

escapades of the composer in Vienna, which is found in the tonality of the Lulu Waltz of the summer of 1889. Of a 'macabre exoticism', it ends abruptly, interrupted in the middle of an episode with an Iberian air, by an incisive chord with all the instruments.

A journalist reported the newspaper Päivälehti, following the concert of the 28 April, remarked: 'The last measures of Ballet Scene were like cocking a snook at the public.' A year later in January 1892, Adolf Paul tried to interest Felix von Weigartner, who had recently become conductor of the Royal Opera of Berlin, in Ballet Scene. Sibelius sent his friends some of the commentaries on his work: 'Singularly melancholic. (…) O vanitas, vanitatum venitas. (…) Vienna seen through Finnish eyes'. The previous 29 February he had written to Aino that the work was 'not tidy' and did not sound right.

In his letters from Vienna to Aino, Sibelius evoked his problems as a composer in detail. 'Above all what I need is criticism, self-criticism. The greatest of all composers, Beethoven, did not possess the greatest natural talent, but everything he did underwent the minutest self-criticism, and this is how he reached greatness'. 'Sometimes I think I have a marvellous idea, then my pulse accelerates and my heart to beat. I am in this state now, and the question that is raging is my head is: Why? Why? Only a feeling of resignation or indifference can bring me back to normal. But I do not know how to satisfy myself. If I had such feelings, I would be old, or I would never be old'. 'At the beginning, my works will be

denigrated, later they will be over valued: that is life'. 'I want to reach a high artistic level, not stay in the middle of the road or produce 'respectable' things. My overture is for example better than Busoni's Konzertstück for orchestra, but less good than than his Toccata and fugue'.

The the beginning of April he heard Hans Richter directing the Beethoven's Ninth: I was so deeply moved that I cried. I felt small, so small. Richter was splendid. The words of Wagner on the Ninth are the most pertinent'. A performance of Cavalleria by Mascagni, provided him with the opportunity to discuss, in a letter to Aino, the concept of national music, by conviction and no doubt because he hoped, by such reasoning, to impress not only his financée but also and above all her parents, whose engagement in favor of Finnish culture he was well acquainted with: '(This work) is intensely nationalistic, and many passages could only be understood by a Sicilian. As you know, my dear, their music (that of the Italians) is often rather naive. We people from the North always seem more contemplative. But if we succeed in getting rid of our philosophy, we could also produce some real talents. I am convinced that the time is not so far away when we shall start to appreciate our old, our authentic Finnish folk songs. We will then discover that the ancient Finns who created the Kalevala were also great musicians. I am now working on a new symphony that is entirely seeped in Finland. Ancient Finland has now penetrated into my body and soul. (…) Every that is Finnish is therefore sacred to me. Convinced that a Finn should feel and think in Finnish, I am against to Edelfelt, whose

themes are not Finnish enough' (15 April). Then the next day: 'I have a clear idea of the general mood of my symphony, but without having up to now put together the least musical idea. I have discarded at least fifty. I stay in bed until nine or ten in the morning, but work musical ideas in my head for about four good hours'.

Two days later, after having spoke of his long walks in the Viennese forest, supposed to make him feel a surroundings that resembled a little of those in Finland, finally announced to Aino: 'At present my thoughts are all connected to the Kalevala. I have an idea that is clearer and clearer concerning my symphony. It is completely different from everything that I have done up to now. The main idea is:

It was apart from a few details the initial theme of Kullervo, here in F-major, not in E-minor as in the final score. Nothing proves that in Vienna in April 1891, Sibelius already thought of the subject of Kullervo, but it is possible, given the connection that existed between the life that he led in Vienna and the clearly realistic, sexual and even erotic aspects of the work. In any case it was from the end of 1890 that Sibelius plunged into the Kalevala, and when he presented the start of his symphony to Fuchs, his compliments embarrassed him.

Whilst continuing to work he planned a visit to Italy and to Bayreuth, but his plans were suddenly reduced to nothing: in the last days of April, having spent almost all of his money on medicines, he was hospitalised for the third time in less than two years, more exactly in the luxurious clinic of a certain

Doctor Eder at 14 Schmidgasse, in the eighth district of Vienna. 'For the first time in my life I will be operated. The doctors make their rounds with an air of importance' (to Kajanus, 3 May). The 15th, after the operation, he wrote to Aino that he had been operated for a kidney stone, but Kajanus admitted that it was a venereal infection.

In the Vienese clinic, Sibelius read the writings of Wagner and Der Grüne Heinrich by the Swiss writer Gottfried Keller, that he recommended to Wegelius: he appreciated the idealism of this novel, but found its hero —to whom as usual he identified himself—weak of character. Refusing to allow him to leave before the bill was paid, he had once again to appeal to Christian, who the 3 June telegraphed that a parent had ended up by putting one thousand Francs at his disposal. He considered revising his quartet for strings in B-flat major and presenting it to a competition organised by the Chamber Music society of Saint Petersburg, but did nothing.

The 8 June 1891, Sibelius left Vienna for Berlin. He saw the Austrian capital only one more time, in the spring of 1901 returning from Italy. In Berlin, he was welcomed with open arms by Armas Järnefelt, Adolf Paul and others. They spent several high spirited evenings together, drinking to the good health of Aino with an enthusiasm such that to pay for his crossing to Finland, Jean had to address himself once more to his family and even sell most of his clothes: he was in evening dress when he disembarked in Helsinki, then making his way

to Loviisa and after to the Järnefelt's summer home near to Vassa.

The two periods of time he spent overseas had confirmed or brought out in him certain characteristics that were to be more marked in the future. The detailed 'programme' given to his Uncle Pehr in July 1889 for the sonata in F-major for violin and piano, and the illustrative commentary in November of the same year provoked by Beethoven's Adagio for quartet opus 59 N°1, was surprising on the part of Sibelius.

He was more known for his refusal to indulge in this kind of interpretation, but rather his taste for luxury and cigars, his penchant for drinking and nightlife, his financial worries, his debts and his inability to manage his money, deciding elements of his student life, marked, sometimes with serious consequences, almost his entire career.

All that without overlooking his obsession with a young death, when in fact he died aged over ninety, neither his doubts nor his self-criticism of which, following the chamber works of his youth, the Eighth Symphony was not to remain his only victim. Several unimportant pages, especially for piano, resisted this auto-censure, but many of them were composed strictly to meet his financial needs. It remains that Sibelius set a high standard with two models: Beethoven, 'the greatest of all composers', and the creation of authentically Finnish music. His greatest works show that these ideas were not incompatible, nor did they exclude taking into account, in addition to the symphony, other essential elements of that

heritage: Russian music, and above all musical drama and the symphonic poem respectively derived from Wagner and Liszt.

CHAPTER 5

1892

WHEN SIBELIUS RETURNED FROM VIENNA, he had developed a certain reputation as a composer in Finland, but for a limited public in Helsinki, he had to his credit just a few chamber works and a couple of small works for orchestra, know only to a small circle and intended to remain so. If Sibelius did not arrive empty handed, he did not yet occupy, by far, the almost uncontested place of leader that he was to achieve a few months later.

Until the middle of the 18th century, musical life in the 'capital' Turku remained centred on the cathedral and its teaching establishment. At the university a change came in 1747 when a permanent professor of music was appointed, in the person of Carl Petter Lenning, a Swedish organist and violinist, and an orchestra, the oldest in Finland, formed under the name 'Academic Capelle'. In 1770, the ephemeral Aurora Society was founded in the city by Henrik Gabriel Porthan to promote literature and arts in general, the musical section of which created an orchestra of amateur musicians who gave the first public concerts ever organised in Finland in 1773-1774.

In 1770, notably at the initiative of the professor of theology Jacob Tengström, uncle of Fredrika Runeberg, later bishop, archbishop and rector of the university, the Turku Musikaliska sällskapet (Musical Society) was founded, the first in Finland to be solely dedicated to music. More or less issued from Aurora, it still exists and can claim the title of the oldest Finnish society in any field whatsoever. The Turku Musical Society held its first meeting the 24 January 1790, the birthday of King Gustaf III. It appointed a conductor in the person of violinist Erik Ferling, who had previously been the head of the chapel of the Royal Court of Stockholm and the composer of a violin concerto in D-major first performed in 1779.

Ferling was to remain in Turku until his death, where he directed an orchestra almost entirely composed of students and professors from the university. In addition, the Turku Musical Society developed an important musical library that was unique in Finland composed of ‘modern’ works of that time: one hundred and thirty-three symphonies including fifty-five of Haydn, seven of Mozart, works of Johann Christian Bach, Pichl, Filtz, Boccherini, Pleyel and many more. Later Beethoven and others were added to the list. The Society maintained its own symphony orchestra until 1924, though not without interruptions. Since that time, it has maintained a chamber orchestra and holds an annual diner on the 24 January to celebrate the anniversary of its founding.

Most of the Finnish composers around 1800 were amateurs who worked essentially for the government and elsewhere and

adhered to ‘Viennese classicism’. The only one who spent the whole of his life in Finland, as far as we know, in Turku and then Oulu and finally back in Turku), was Erik Tulindberg. Violinist and cellist, he built up a rich, private, library of about two thousand six hundred musical works, and composed two violin concertos, only one of which survived, a concerto rediscovered in 1945. At the beginning of the 1780s he also composed six string quartets that were more or less influenced by Haydn, whose opus 9 he purchased in 1781, which constitutes the oldest evidence of the Esterházy Palace composer’s music in Finland.

In 1792, he left the Russian army for the Swedish army. He was aide-de-camp to Gustav IV in 1808, later he taught the piano to the son of Charles XIV, the future Oscar I. In particular in 1797 he wrote three sonatas for violin and piano published in 1801 by Breitkopf and Härtel in Leipzig that were said to be too ‘chromatic’ by a contemporary of his. In the family Lithander (seven brothers and four sisters all born in Estonia), two stood out. Carl Ludwig was trained as an officer in Stockholm, then lived in London from 1814 to 1818, where he dedicated a piano sonata in C-major to Muzio Clementi. Another sonata was published in Hamburg in 1822 with a dedication to ‘Monsieur de Hauch, Grand Maréchal de la cour de Copenhague’. His brother Fredrik Emanuel moved to Saint Petersburg in 1811, where he earned his living as a piano teacher. In 1799, he composed variations on a theme by Hadyn, whose works were largely used for this kind of exercise: that of the Andante of the symphony called The Imperial.

Of the active composers in Finland in the 19th century, the most important remains Friedrich Pacius. Before Sibelius, though of German origin, he acquired the status of ‘father of Finnish music’, because of his qualities and his longevity. Born in Hamburg, he studied with Spohr in Kassel, then made several tours in Germany and started his real career in Stockholm, where from 1828 to 1834 he was first violinist in the orchestra of the court and learnt Swedish. Having accepted a teaching post at the University of Helsinki, in preference to that of Uppsala, he arrived in the Finnish capital in 1835 and immediately undertook the methodically organisation of musical life.

Then in 1838, followed Haendel’s Messiah and later Mendelssohn’s Paulus. ‘Pacius was the founder of Finnish musical life in all its diversity, and joined it to the best German traditions of that period. He taught at the University from 1835 to 1869, and up to 1853, he organised as best he could orchestral concerts until he forced to abandon them through lack of means. Pacius transformed the great hall of the University into Helsinki’s principal concert hall, and it continued to be so until the 1960s.

In 1845, he wrote the first ‘Finnish’ concerto for violin since that of Tulindberg. As a composer, Pacius mainly consecrated himself to choral music and melody, but it was an event of another order that was the most outstanding: the production of his Kung Karls jakt (King Charle’s Hunt), after seventy-four rehearsals, a grand romantic opera in the tradition of Weber,

Donizetti and the young Verdi, to a libretto in Swedish by Topelius (24 March 1852).

The opera was presented in the theatre on the Esplanade in Helsinki built by the architect Engel entirely constructed in wood. It was the first opera ever composed in Finland. Extracts had been heard in concert from March 1851. It presented a historical figure: with young King Charles XI foiling a plot against him planned by a group of aristocrats. At the end of the opera, Charles regretfully leaves Finland, 'this dear country, this beloved country'.

A patriotic subject, shortly after the revolutions of 1848-1849 in Europe, without allusion to any past wars with Russia. A the end of the performance, Pacius, whose somewhat monumental and grandiose music contrasted with the rather light libretto, was crowned with a laurel wreath by Topelius in a theatrical presentation, upon which the artists and audience immediately burst into the national anthem Vårt Land for which Pacius himself had composed the music four years earlier.

His second opera, Die Lorely, less brightly coloured and less spoken dialogue, derived at the same time from Weber and Freischüte, even Wagner, did not have the same success. Pacius had in fact used a German libretto that was already old, its author, the realist writer Emanuel Geibel, had written it for Mendelssohn. The first performance directed by Richard Faltin, was given the 28 April 1887, in the new Russian Theatre of Helsinki, built in 1876-1879 that was to become the Finnish Opera.

In the interval and for the inauguration of the Nya Teatern (New Theatre) in Helsinki, the 28 November 1860, which was to later to become the Swedish Theatre, Pacius and Topelius worked together again, producing a kind of singspiel on a

subject transposed from the Kalevala, entitled Princessan af Cypern (The Princess of Cyprus), certain elements of which were to reappear in Die Loreley. The orchestra was directed by a Finn, by birth, who had studied for three years in Leipzig: Filip von Schantz, who presented on this occasion his overture Kullervo, the first Finnish work explicitly inspired by the Kalevala.

Situated at the western extremity of the Esplanade, the New Theater was burnt down during the night of 7 to 8 May 1863. Twenty years ahead of Kajanus and his Orchestral Society, Filip von Schantz gather his musicians in a 'Finnish Orchestra' that he brought to Sweden and Denmark, where it broke-up. Schantz returned to Finland in 1864, where he planned to consecrate himself to composing, but died from typhus and 'various excesses' at the age of thirty.

Other composers died early: August Engelberg, drowned in Turku, and Axel Gabriel Ingelius, composer of the first Finnish symphony in 1847. Ingelius would have liked to have been recognised as the 'Beethoven of the North', but his symphony remains a 'historical curiosity'. Ingelius was also a writer, and was inspired by the history of Finland and composed an overture for his own play Biskop Henrik och bonden Lalli (Bishop Henry and the peasant girl Lalli), inspired to an event that followed the first Swedish Crusade.

But, it was above all as a critic (in the Swedish language) that Englius was a pioneer, and in this role he had some hard words for Pacius as conductor, violinist and composer. He himself

became an alcoholic and died frozen in a snowstorm near to Uusikaupunki. Topelius hastened to immortalise this tragedy in verses read in public during a meeting of the Artists Union: ‘The night was cold in the desert of the forest/The tempest of snow raged howling and roaring’.

Fredrik Agust Ehrstroöm was the first to put into music the verses of Runeberg. Karl Collan, the son-in-law of Pacius, translated the Kalevala into Swedish and the poetry of Heinrich Heine and was appointed the librarian of the University in 1866. As a composer he imported into Finland the romantic tradition of the lied, putting the poems of Runeberg, Topelius and Heine into music, and was the first to study the country’s folk music. A friend of Ingelius, like him he hesitated between music ad literature. He died of cholera. German by birth, more or less specialised in singspiel, Conrad Greve spent the great part of his existence in Turku, where from 184 to 1846 he directed the concerts of the Musical Society. He is remembered for his overture for the play Sommarnattan (Summer Night). Because of a nervous disorder, Ernst Fabritius finished by abandoning music to look after horses. He composed the third Finnish violin concerto. The same year, he had performed two movements of an unfinished symphony.

In 1872, the foundation of the Finnish National Theatre was an important event in itself, this was at the initiative of an excellent administrator called Kaarlo Bergbom, who wanted a counterpart to the New Theatre where the productions were in

Swedish, a reflection of the ‘linguistic dispute’ of the moment, into which the opera was unfortunately drawn in.

In Helsinki the first real opera season took place in 1839, when a German opera company presented nine works by Weber, Boieldieu, Adam, Auber, Bellini and Rossini. Ten years later, in 1849, the first Finnish production took place: Rossini’s Il Barbiere di Siviglia, in a Swedish translation and with an orchestra of students conducted by a Russian army lietenant. In 1850, with the same performer, it was followed by Donizetti’s L’Elisir d’Amor. Different foreign companies presented productions until 1863, amongst which was a German company from Riga in 1857 for a production of Wagner’s Tannhäuser. In 1870, for the first time at Kaarlo Bergbom’s instigation an opera was produced in Finnish: Verdi’s Il Trovatore, under the direction of Richard Faltin. The New Theatre refused to present the opera because it was in Finnish, and it took place in a wood building called the Arcadia Theatre, which by coincidence was until 1902 to house the Finnish National Theatre.

From 1873, Bergbom decided to add a Finnish Opera to the Arcadia Theatre, and the 21 November it performed for the first time in Viipuri with Donizetti’s Lucia di Lammermoor. The 12 November 1847, after Turku, Il Trovatore was produced in Helsinki, followed by Lucia in April 1875. During the six seasons from 1873 to 1879, more than four hundred presentations were made of thirty different operas, all in Finnish, were given in Helsinki, Viipuri and Turku. Those who

actively participated in the opera, in addition to Richard Faltin and the soprano Alma Fohström, included the bass-baritone and conductor Lorenz Nikolai Achte who was at the start of a brilliant international career and his wife the cantatrice Emmy-Stromm-Achte, father and mother of the great soprano Aino Achte.

As could be expected the New Theatre riposted by organising opera productions in Swedish, which led certain journalists to predict that this unbridled competition would cause the ruin of one of the two companies, and perhaps both. In effect, at the end of the decade financial difficulties had put an end to the Swedish Opera at the New Theatre and the Finnish Opera at the Arcadia Theatre. In an article that appeared in a Norwegian newspaper, Wegelius drew the lesson from this fiasco: 'It was much to soon to have an opera company, any permanent company whatsoever, in our capital: and the real absurdity was that we hd not one but two, in a city of barely 35,000 people! Without a penny, but so proud! The linguistic dispute killed the opera in Finland, and Helsinki had no opera until 1911 when Aino Ackte and Edvard Faze founded the National Opera.

Two years after the publication of his article, Wegelius founded his musical institute and Kajanus his orchestral society, which made 1882 one of the turning points in the musical history of Finland. In the course of the decade that separated these two events and the composition of Kullervo by Sibelius, Sibelius was practically the only one to make a name as a composer. From his immediate Finnish contemporaries

only his brother-in-law was to emerge, who passed into posterity as a conductor, and above all Oskar Merikanto, the most well known Finnish pianist of his time. Above all known for his some one hundred and fifty melodies, often in a popular style, his chorals, his works for piano and his chorals for organ.

Merikanto also wrote the first opera in the Finnish language, Pohjan neiti (The Girl from the North)', completed in 1899 and produce in 1908. Two others followed: Elinan surma (The Death of Elina), on a theme already proposed by Kaarlo Bergbom to Ernst Fabitus in vain, and Regina von Emmeritz, based on a play by Topelius—a story of love and treason at the time of the death of Gustav II Adolphe in the Thirty Year War-considered as one of the oldest written by a Finnish writer.

In 1891, Sibelius could not have failed to observe that in Finland, only one musical work had really been of importance, the opera Karls jakt by Pacius, in addition times had changed and it was of no use to pursue the 'Germano-romantic' tradition of this work. He also observed with notable the exception of Pacius, all those of the 19th century who had preceded him in the field of music died young, which perhaps partially explains his idea that he would suffer the same fate. Such had been the fate of Aleksi Kivi who suffered from schizophrenia..

That of another writer, Josef Julius Wecksell was hardly more enviable. During the premier of his historical drama in Swedish Daniel Hjort1 at the New Theatre the 26 November 1862, Wecksell whispered, very upset: 'That reminds me of something, but I can't remember where I heard it.'

In the following spring his father sent him to the Endenich mental institution, near Bonn, to be cared for, where seven years earlier Robert Schuman had died, in vain. Wecksell returned to Finland, but in September 1865 was interned in the psychiatric clinic at Lapinlahti (Lappviken), in the west of Helsinki. He remained there until his death. Christian Sibelius had at that time been director of the clinic for three years. In the very same clinic just before Aleksi Kivi's death, his brother, Alfred Kivi was treated for mental disorder between 1871 and 1872.

The new standing of Sibelius after his return from Vienna was seen by his participation in a song competition in Tammisaari on the coast to the west of Helsinki, seated alongside Wegelius, Faltin and Flodin. They spoke of an Adantino and a minuet first played Loviisa the previous 5th February on the occasion of Runeberg's anniversary. During that summer, he tried to calm down his creditors, and only composing during a brief stay at the Wegelius', it was a melody he called Jägargossen (The Young Hunter), based on a poem by Runeberg. He spent that autumn between Helsinki, where he joined Aino, and Loviisa, where he took some violin students and took care of an amateur orchestra, thus for the first time earning his living. From Adolf Paul and Armas Järnefelt, still in Berlin, he learnt with pleasure that Becker had not forgotten him.

The 12 October he wrote to his fiancee from Loviisa: 'I am eating apples, smoking, think about Europe and compose. (…)

To tear up what I wrote two or three days ago doesn't worry me any more. I have marvellous ideas (in my opinion), but most of them turn out to be impossible to carry out, or in any case difficult to put into practice. (…) However, the only way to get married soon is to have a new work ready.' Five days later, Betty Hirn, the mother of the professor of aesthetics and the history literature, met Sibelius. 'Jean Sibelius, elegant and well-dressed, came out of the Societetshuset hotel, but he was quite drunk and mumbling away to himself. The grogs, aquavita and beer had not made him any amiable.'

Tawaststjerna, who recounted the incident, added with humour, to explained, 'that if lady Bettsy and the good people of Loviisa' knew that Sibelius liked to eat oysters at the Societetshuset, the did not realise that he then felt 'submerged by the sea' (letter to Aino, 26 October 1891), seeing visions 'of Oceanides1 in a Homeric sea'.

The 19 October, the baritone Abraham Ojanperäsung at the Institute, where he taught since 1885, two Runeberg lieder composed in Vienna: Hjärtats morgon and Drömmen. Kajanus and Merikanto sent a telegram to Sibelius, who was still in Loviisa with the single word: 'Thanks'. Flodin wrote in the Nya Pressen of the 20 May that the author knew better than anyone how to grasp the national spirit of the country. The 24 September, Sibelius made his debut as a conductor, directing one of Kajanus' 'popular concerts' that commenced with the overture of Weber's Euryanthe and his own Overture in E-major and Ballet Scene. It is difficult to imagine that this

profound and secret music was produced by this young man who stood modestly on the podium, waving his baton a little nervously'.

Sibelius considered that 'conducting was an extraordinary experience', and the 9 December, he wrote to Adolf Paul that he had not felt the least nervous. Having returned from Vaasa, Aino stayed with her brother and was most probably present at the concert. Shortly before, Sibelius had consulted a Helsinki specialist as the result of a buzzing sound in his ears, who warned him that his hearing troubles would increase, and recommended that he stop drinking, smoking and that he take cold baths, even going as far as to prescribing him leeches.

Sibelius then confided to Aino that he listened to orchestral music as often as possible 'so that after having lost my hearing I can imagine the sounds precisely' (5 November). After being reassured that he would not become deaf another problem appeared, the publication of En bok om en människa by Adolf Paul. As Tawaststjerna noted: 'The previous Christmas, Sibelius was annoyed to discover a picture of Aino in Aho's book, but, now it was the turn of Aino to learn of the young genius named Sillen and of his behavior in Berlin.'

In December, Sibelius returned to Loviisa where he worked intensively on Kullervo. His many letters to Aino show the progression of the work. 'It is always difficult to delete something that you have written, and particularly when you have put your heart and soul into it. (…) Today, I have progressed a lot' (night of 10 to 11 December). A week later, he

suggested to his fiancee to choose with him the words to be put into music: ‘You are better than me in literature.

The introduction to Kullervo contains many passages that I have poured my heart and soul into, as well as those that are less good. At the top (of the work), Kullervo is travelling on a sleigh when he meets his sister and then makes love to her, what I would like to do is translate into a broad melody of about one hundred or so bars on violins, violas and cellos in unison with a low brass rhythmic accompaniment.

It is the most powerful thing I have done up to now. (…) The introductory movement is entirely in s strict sonata form’ (17 December). ‘I still don’t know if I shall use a solo, this way transforming (the third movement) into a melodrama (the extraordinary scene between Kullervo and his sister would lose a lot of its force), or on the contrary two singers (Ojanperä and Madame Achté). For the beginning, I would not like to too much of the descriptive detail’ (29 December). ‘The more I plunge into the fate of Kullervo, the more it seems presumptuous of me to attack such a subject, in comparison I feel very small. (…) Today, at this precise moment, I have finished the first Allegro. I imagine drinking to your health, it reality it was with Eva (Evelina)’ (end of December).

Concerned both by going back to the roots and not directly drawing on folklore or popular material, Sibelius once again approached the national question: ‘My work is progressing, but very slowly. I do not want to strike (en art) a false or artificial note, it is why I write and then tear up what I have written

whilst thinking a lot about what I am trying to do. However, I think I am on the right road. I see in music the purely Finnish elements in a less realistic way, but doubtlessly more realistic, than before' (21 October).

He certainly knew the well-known 'Kalevala Melody' and its variations. This melody had been found in the north of Finland in 1799, by an Italian scholar and clarinettist from Mantoue: Giuseppe Acerbi, a person of great curiosity, author of a work that was published in London in 1802 under the title of Travels Through Sweden, Finland, Lapland to the North Cape in the years 1798 and 1799.

Tawastsjerna, who in deducting that the melody of Acerbi, as it has come down to us, does not represent the most ancient kind of runic chant, adds that it was futile of 19th Finnish composers to have used it in their attempts to create an authentic national music.

Aware of the problem, Sibelius decided to look elsewhere and the 29 October 1891 announced to Aino that he intended to go to Porvoo to listen to the most famous singer of runes Larin Paraske. She was born in 1833 or 1834, of religious Orthodox parents in the south of the Karelian Isthmus, in the Russian province of Ingermanland not far from the Finnish border, he died in 1904.

Larin Paraske had arrived in Porvoo in the previous January. She stayed their until May 1884 with one of her main supporters, the Lutheran Pastor and collector of folk songs

Adolf Neivius, whom she sung for the first time in 1887 at Sakkola, sixty kilometres north of Saint Petersburg. Neovius hoped to record and publish the exceptionally vast repertoire of Larin Paraske: about thirty thousand verses composed of five hundred variants of epic and lyrical poetry, whilst the repertoire of other singers of runes extended to only four or five thousand verses. Paraske had gone Helsinki in the company of Neovius where she sang at the annual meeting of the Finnish Literary Society, which marked the beginning of her fame. In addition in Porvoo a new edition of the Kalevala was being prepared.

The meeting between Sibelius and Larin Paraske took place at the home of Pastor Neovius, probably between the 8 December, when Sibelius celebrated his twenty-sixth birthday, and the 21 December, the day he sent Aino a photo of Larin Paraske telling her they were good friends. From a book on Larin Paraske by Yrjö Hirn, it appears that Hirn was part of the group: 'I was with Sibelius for this visit to Loviisa. He was five years older than me, with his head full of ideas that a year later would be transformed into Kullervo, he was intent on hearing the Karelian runic melodies sung in an authentic manner. Melodies. I was evidently very pleased to be present at the meeting. I am incapable of indicating the importance of this event on the works of Sibelius inspired by the Kalevala, but I can very well remember that he listened (to Larin Paraske) with the greatest attention and he noted her inflections and her rhythms.' Later, Yrjö Hirn saw in Larin Paraske, the incarnation of Mnemosyne, the mother of the nine muses.

The notes taken by Sibelius as he listened to Larin Paraske in December 1891 have been lost, but it is known that amongst the melodies he heard was a lament, perhaps that Larin Paraske had sung at the death of her husband, three years earlier: the words of this lament, composed by Larin Paraske herself, have survived, but not the music, transmitted orally.

Concerning the epic, Larin Paraske had imagined several variants of the legend of Kullervo, and no doubt had presented certain of them to Sibelius. Tawaststjerna linked another theme from the second movement of Sibelius' score to one of the melodies sung by Paraske on a similar subject and noted the words 'He was a slave in the countries of the east'.

A quarter of a century later, in 1915, Sibelius concerned by wanting to appear as a completely 'original' composer affirmed to the biographer Erik Furujhelm that he had not been in Karelia—in other words had discovered the runic melodies—only after the completion and performance of Kullervo. Now, as it has been seen, this discovery took place before, and without it, Sibelius would have probably not completed Kullervo in the form we now know it. Its originality, and melodic aspect, is not however lessened. If his inspiration for Kullervo was in runic melodies, by using them both as a stylistic model and a source of ideas, it was to create his melodies from them, and being able to give them an ancient air. Kullervo, no more than for his other great works, does not permit us to doubt the truth of his famous declaration according to which his themes were all of his 'own invention'.

Sibelius spent Christmas and the New Year in Loviisa. He was very bored and found refuge in reading Dostoyevsky's Crime and Punishment. The 28 January 1892, he admitted to Aino: 'It is no longer possible to work here, because I know everybody. I quite like coming here from time to time to seek for peace and quiet, but peace and quiet does not suit me. Each time I hope for the opposite, but each time I am disappointed.'

The next day, he left Loviisa for good and moved to Helsinki. Instead of looking for a steady job, as his friends had asked him, he took a room at Brunnparken, where he had spent his student years. At the beginning of that year he became closer to Kajanus, whose loyalty towards him he had appreciated and he met him almost everyday at the famous restaurant Kämp, situated in the middle of the north side of the Esplanade.

At the same time he became more distant from Wegelius, who was irritated to see him developing close relations with his 'sworn enemy'. In addition, Wegelius remained an ardent partisan of the pro-Swedish circles. 'When I told him that I was putting into music texts drawn from the Kalevala, his face became red and he cried "Heavens!" (…) Impossible to swallow that kind of thing! The Swedish Theatre clique, all those people imported from Stockholm, they make me vomit. One of these days, I will show them what I really think of them' (to Aino, 5 February). The relations between Sibelius and Wegelius were not broken, but were never the same again. On the other hand, Sibelius became friends with Karl August Tavaststjerna, writer and 'modern' poet in the Swedish

language, but also a Finnish nationalist and patriot. Sibelius visited him in the autumn of 1891 at his home in Malm, on the outskirts of Helsinki, and it was no doubt on this occasion he met the painter Gallen-Kallela, who lived in the same area.

Kaljanus hurried to introduce Sibelius to introduce Sibelius to the Nuori Suomi, a circle of nationalists founded in 1886, and who in 1889 launched a Finnish language newspaper with Eero Erkko as its editor, the paper Päivälehti had liberal leanings. Banned in 1904, it reappeared a few months later under its present name Helsingin Sanomat. Over the years many famous personalities were members of Nuori Suomi such as Minna Canth, Juhani Aho, Eino Leino, Juhani Heikki Erkko brother of

Eero Erkko, or Arvid Järnefelt, musicians and painters such as Pekka Halonen—a student of Paul Gaugin in Paris, Eero Järnefelt, Akseli Gallen-Kallela. There was also the Italian-Swedish count Louis Pehr Sparre de Söfdeborg—who prompted by his friend Gallen-Kallela made his home in Finland from 1891 onwards—he was better known under the name of Louis Sparre and in 1893 he married Eva Mannerheim, sister of the future Marshal.

Nuori Suomi published an eponymous artistic and literary review, in reality an annual Christmas supplement of Päivälehti, and strived to develop Finnish forms of art, in particular to struggle against 'Russian tyranny'. The Czar Alexander III, who rose to the throne after the assassination of his father Alexander II in March 1881, like his father had not ceded to the pan-Slavist pressures, but he had hesitated, and these pressure had become unquestionably menacing for the autonomy of Finland, in particular concerning the post, customs and currency.

The 12 June 1890, the 'postal manifest' of Alexander III specified that henceforth, letters posted in Finland should bear a Russian stamp. The following 15 June, it was decreed that from then onwards, statues and monuments could no longer be erected in Finland without Imperial approval. Already the 6 March 1880, Päivälehti carried an editorial sent from Paris by Juhani Aho and cited the painter Ernest Missonier: 'The light will come from the North!' In December 1891, to collect funds, the paper organised a concert that included works on the

program from Oscar Merikanto, Kajanus and Sibelius: Ballet Scene and two melodies based on Runeberg's work. A few days later, Perpetuum mobile for violin and piano appeared in the fist issue of Nuori Suomi.

If Russian pressure—which was extended to linguistic and military areas—had been exercised at the beginning of the century, the would have without doubt reached their goal. But in 1890, Finland had become a nation determined to defend its rights. To resist, the members of Nuori Suomi turned to the Kalevala so that their compatriots met the national epic wherever they turned: in the press, in the paintings of Gallen-Kallela, in the architectural Jugendstil of Eliel Saarinen, in the writer Eino Leino's poetry, the most developed Finnish poet at the end of the 19th century, and of course in the music of Jean Sibelius.

A competition was organised in 1885 to illustrate the Kalevala, and another in 1890, which was won by Gallen-Kallela. This resulted in a political effervescence, the effect of which could not be underestimated.: if in the middle of the century, the publication of the Kalevala by Lönnrot had not developed a national feeling other than amongst the intellectuals, the works of these artistic groups—of whom Sibelius was to become the symbol—did much to extend it to the whole nation. Kalevalian christian names such as Aino, Ilmari, Kalevi or Väinö were given to children, in addition such names were adopted by businesses located in Pohjola and even in the coat of arms of the city of Sampo. At the same time

Swedish names and christian names were abandoned in exchange for Finnish sounding names, often translations of the previous names. At their births, Juhani Aho, Akseli Gallen-Kallela and Eino Leino, were respectively called, Johannes Brodfeldt, Axel Waldemar Gallen and Armas Eino Leopold Lönnbolm. Even Aleksi Kivi came into the world under the name of Alexis Stenvall (Kivi signifies ‘stone’ in Finnish and in Swedish Stenvall a ‘mound of stones’). This movement reached its peak in 1906, the anniversary of the birth of Snellman.

As Wilson wrote: ‘Before 1890, Finnish intellectuals had built an image of Finland’s past based on the Kalevala of Lönnrot. Henceforth, the public at large forged an image of the past essentially based on an artistic interpretation of the epic. As a consequence of these creations a Finnish Finland would finally take form, a notion that had never previously existed’: a Finland that from then onwards was capable of affirming itself vis-à-vis itself and the outside world.

Here there is a remarkable illustration of what, a century after this new turn in the country’s political and cultural history, John Francis Bierlein explains: myths are a constant in a human beings and in all epochs; they possess amongst other characteristics that of relating events prior to written history, giving a meaning to the future, of constituting a continuous link with past, the present and the future; they fill a gap between images and the unconscious and the language of the conscious logic: they are the glue that maintains the cohesion

of societies and creates the identity of communities, tribes and nations; they form a series of beliefs giving a meaning to life.

Amongst the artistic creations elicited by the Kalevala and by which Finland became aware of the eventuality of its independence, none equaled the Kullervo in its impact, without perhaps the paintings and frescoes of Gallen-Kallela. Kullervo was not born ex-nihilo and did not fall into a vacuum. The work arrived at a precise moment in time. It was one of those events that consciously or not, was waited for. It reflected the sentiments to which Sibelius had been exposed to, from the time of his schooling at the Finnish Lycée of Hämeenlina, which the links with the Järnefelt family had reinforced.

It was a manifestation amongst others of a strong cultural movement called Karelianism, that will be examined in the following chapter, and which signifies 'the emergence of a particular musical style linked to the myths of the Finnish Kalevala'. Sibelius was aware of his responsibilities, and one could understand his fears during the last weeks of his work. The 31 January 1892, he announced to Aino that the 'difficult' third movement (Kullervo and his sister) were almost completed; the 3 February, when he was at the piano composing, he imagined her at his side or in his arms, helping him with kisses; the 6 February, he decided to give the narration of events to a choir and not to a soloist, and at beginning he had envisaged more than five movements; the 4 March, Wegelius, to whom he had shown his third movement, thought that 'the women' (of the choir) would be embarrassed

(by the incestuous relationship between Kullervo and his sister) and would refuse to sing. But you, my dear, you would understand! Martin (Wegelius) said that I had superbly captured the epic aspect of the poem'.

The 7 March, Kajanus, Wegelius and others think it will not be ready on time; the 12 March, Sibelius had to reimburse a debt of five hundred marks that same day; the 14 March, in his first draft, the fourth movement lacked unity; the 23 March, he imagined suicide; and the 6 April, after two days of rehearsals, he felt melancholic: 'I envy all those people who have so quickly reached their objective, people like Kajanus and Armas. (…) Love is a strange thing. I am capable of giving myself entirely to both you and my art, and think that fundamentally, you are both one and the same thing.'

The 28 April 1892, it was a pale and nervous Sibelius who directed Kullervo. During the rehearsals, he spoke to the members of the orchestra in German, In Swedish to those of the choir, who were from the upper classes of the society and who for the premier arrived in evening dress, and in Finnish to the young people recruited from a music school. As Germans the musicians of the orchestra ignored for the most part anything about the Kalevala and at first view refused to credit 'this young conductor' with the least talent as leader. The day of the concert, Oskar Merikanto published in the Päivälehti a brief announcement: 'Sibelius caresses our ears with Finnish sonorities that we all recognise as our own, even without having exactly heard them in this form. The evening the great

hall of the University was filled to bursting, by both music lovers and nationalists for who music as such counted little and who therefore did not necessarily appreciate the esthetic point of view of Kullervo.

The orchestra was composed of thirty-eight musicians, the choir of forty singers, and the two solos sung by Abraham Ojanperä, the first teacher at Wegelius' Institute having Finnish as his mother tongue, and Emmy Strömer-Achte, whose voice was unfortunately often drowned by the orchestra. Her daughter, the soprano Aino Achte, then sixteen years old, was present at the concert. Given the great success of Kullervo, both from the point of view of the work itself as well as the pride felt from the idea that a fellow countryman had succeeded in translating into music the essence of the national epic'.

The use of the Finnish language in these two vocal movements had in itself a political dimension; its premier on the 28 April 1892, effectively marked the birth of 'modern' Finnish music and at the same time, from one day to the next, propelled Sibelius to the forefront, for always. These were historically and artistically important events, but which took place unbeknown to the European musical world.

Sibelius had worked on a myth, and it was not long before he himself became a legend, or almost: he soon bore the sobriquet: Väinämöinen. His Kullervo was also very soon transformed into a legend: in effect, after 1893; and over the course of sixty-five years, unceasing reference was made to

this work, orally and in writing, but without ever hearing it! ‘For me, all the legends, the stories, the works and the persons who forge our individual or collective unconscious mind.’ the Italian literary critic Pierre Citati remarked in February 1999, ‘are mythical’.

In the Kalevala of 1835, Kullervo is barely mentioned, whilst in that of 1849, his adventures are told. He does neither appears before nor after these six songs, and there is no further trace of him after his death. Of all the heroes of the epic, he is the only who is the subject of an individual story, the only one to possess no supernatural powers, the only one to had been a slave and to have had such bloodthirsty adventures. The tragic figure of this young man and his fate recalls that of Oedipus, Sigmund, Siegfried and Hamlet: victim of terrible family struggles, he commits incest with his sister, but at the same time seeks vengeance by opposing the untruthful order fixed the beginning.

He turns out to be ‘human, too human’: which quickly explains the interest in him shown by artists of every kind. Kullervo inspired Filip von Schantz’s overture, which has already been mentioned, a dramatic tragedy by Aleksis Kivi, Kullervo’s Funeral March by Kajanus influenced by the Beethoven of Eroica and above all by the Wagner of The Twilight of the Gods and conducted by the composer in Leipzig in March 1880, and in Helsinki in February and April 1883 then in April 1886, Akseli Gallen-Kallela’s painting The Curse of Kullervo and the fresco Kullervo Leaves for War,

Leevi Madetoja's symphonic poem, the operas of Armas Launis and Aulis Sallinen.

From 1850, the scholar Carl Gustaf Borg, cousin of the mother of Sibelius, translated the six songs of the Kalevala concerning Kullervo into Swedish, and from 1853, the aesthetician Fredrik Cygnaeus extensively discussed this hero in his essay The Tragic Element in the Kalevala, seeing in him one of the great figures in the world of literature, comparable to those of Shakespeare. Carl Aeneas Sjöstrand, the future father-in-law of Busoni, sculpted 'Kullervo Tearing His Swaddling Clothes' that recalls the infant Hercules and 'Kullervo Addressing His Sword' giving Kullervo the features of a Swedish aristocrat.

In 1890, in a re-edition of his renowned Boken om vårt land (The Book of our Country) in 1875, Topelius told a new story of Kullervo, but omitted for the sale of young readers the story of incest.

Marked by the reigning realism, the Kullervo of Sibelius on the contrary gave this story a great importance, thus breaking a taboo, as had already been done in literature by Yksin by Juhani Aho. The central movement that is vaster and more dramatic, was entirely consecrated to him. Described as a 'symphony' on the autograph, the work was called 'a symphonic poem' at the first presentation, to reduce the risk of comparison with the 'more celebrated choral symphonies': the Ninth of Beethoven, which Kajanus had recently twice conducted.

Written for soprano, baritone, men's choir and orchestra, Kullervo was composed of five movements, in which voices were used in only the third and fifth movements: the choir in the first part of the third movement and in all of the fifth, the soloists in all of the third, but above all in its second part. The other three movements were purely instrumental, and only the last four are—more or less explicitly—'programmed'. The work consists both at the same time of a programmed symphony and an epic cantata, that is to say an opera (in its third movement).

The following day, the 29 April 1902, Sibelius conducted a second and matinee performance of Kullervo. The 30th, the fourth movement was played at a popular concert conducted by Kajanus. Juhana Heikki Erkko celebrated the event with a poem, and in the daily Nya Pressen on the 29th an article written by Karl Flodin, a critic with fixed opinions but often fair, appeared. After having noted that the Kalevala had given birth to 'two significant works of art: Axel Gallen's triptique Aino (Gallen-Kallela) and the symphonic poem Kullervo of Jean Sibelius', and he affirmed that like many Scandinavians and Russians, Sibelius stood amongst the defenders of nationalism in music.

Flodin continued: 'In the very particular turns of runic songs, in the rhythm of folk dances, in the calls of shepherds' horns, he found the exact tone that he had sought after. His remarkable sensitivity for nature's moods and the feeling for folk dances have given him the possibility of discovering

orchestral sonorities adapted to his melodic intuitions, enriching the epic characters with a suitable psychological dimension. We know, in addition, that more than any other Finnish composer, Jean Sibelius has brought together the indispensable conditions necessary to become the national musician that he now is. (…) Jean Sibelius possesses a tone that is specifically his own, a gift from heaven that allows him to create his own music, our own music. It can be said that in Kullervo there is not one phrase, modulation, melodic or rhythmic turn, which does not come from songs having a Finnish character. (…) When Sibelius holds back the choirs reciting the tragic events of Kullervo's drama, he proceeds not without monotony, like in ancient runic songs. (…) This monotony reappears quite often in the orchestral accompaniment.

The composer is not afraid of the presence of a kind of homogenizing continuous bass (the discourse). But with Sibelius, such curiosities are found by the cartload. (…) The purely orchestral parts of Kullervo lack concentration and do not open onto a real climax. (…) But that is what the composer wishes. By extraordinary means, he creates extraordinary effects. (…)If one day Sibelius decides to compose a new Finnish symphonic poem, for example a portrait of Lemminkäinen, he should shed this new Finnish setting with a completely different light, so as not to repeat what he has already said, and said once and for all in Kullervo. The most beautiful parts of the work are found in the third movement, Kullervo and his Sister.'

In a letter to Sibelius, Adolf Paul rose up against Flodin's criticism, not without being unjust but also with foresight, reproaching him for privileging the national musician to the detriment of the supranational symphonist: 'For me, you have always been a typical representative of individualism. (…) The need of freedom that motivates you projects you beyond the 'national', towards high peaks from which you can contemplate not only all humanity, but life in the broadest possible sense. It is why I protest at seeing a half-blind critic concocting stories full of twaddle about his national costume, locking you into a cage, clipping your wings and rocking you to sleep with a lullaby (…).

Sibelius conducted three performances of Kullervo, in March 1893. Then, the work was never again performed in its integrality for the rest of his life. However, it did not mean that he was not disinterest in it. On the contrary, the work accompanied him until the end of his life. Between the end of 1892 and the beginning of 1893, he tried to interest Weingartner in it. The fourth movement, as has been seen, was played again by Kajanus in 1905. Fabian Dahlström also informs us that in 1911-1913, Sibelius considered dividing Kullervo into independent symphonic poems.

Two decades later, for the one hundredth anniversary of of the Kalevala, he allowed a performance of the third movement, with Georg Schneevoigt as conductor, which took place place 1 March 1935. At the beginning, he had envisaged the complete symphony, and it is apparently Schneevoigt who, in agreement

with the composer, decided to limit it to the third. In the autumn of 1950, Sibelius agreed to send a photograph of the manuscript to Olin Downes, a musical critic of the New York Times since 1924 and one of his most ardent supporters, but prevented him from producing the work in the USA. In 1955, he envisaged allowing Eugene Ormandy to conduct the second and fourth movements. The same year, that of his ninetieth birthday, with his agreement, the fourth movement was heard in Turku. The 28 January 1956, he replied very evasively to the Danish publisher Wilhelm Hansen, who had sounded him out on his intentions concerning the work.

In 1957, a few months before his death, Sibelius re-orchestrated "Kullervo's Lament" for the Finnish bass-baritone Kim Borg, published in 1918, reduced for song and piano in the periodical Säveletär (The bearer of songs). This orchestration was copied by his son-in-law and conductor Jussi Jalas. In 1957, Kim Borg interpreted it under the direction of Jalas at the Festival of Helsinki, called at the time 'Sibelius Week'.

As Sibelius had specifically asked, care was taken to recall that this music went back to 1892. The first complete performance of Kullervo, after that of 1893, was conducted by Jalas in private the 12 June 1958, in Helsinki, nine months after the death of Sibelius. The next day the 12 June, Jalas conducted the work in public at the Festival of Helsinki. Little by little, Sibelius accepted the idea of this posthumous rediscovery, he had even discussed certain questions of interpretation with his

son-in-law in detail. The score was finally published by Breitkopf and Härtel in 1996, in the form of a reproduction of the manuscript.

Believing that the original manuscript of Kullervo was in the possession of Kajanus, Sibelius demanded its restitution. Two years later, he asked again, Erik Furuhjelm, who was preparing a biography for Sibelius' fiftieth birthday, needed it to study the work. The manuscript could not be found. Furuhjelm suspended the publication of his book. Sibelius went as far as suspecting Kajanus or a member of his orchestra as having burnt the manuscript, but Kajanus finally found it in his library. He certainly transmitted it to Furuhjelm, because his book, not published in 1915 as foreseen, but in 1916, treated Kullervo in detail, though without musical examples.

Sibelius recovered the manuscript; the only source of his work, but for safety locked it in the safe of the University of Helsinki, at the latest towards the end of 1917, where it remains today. In the autumn of 1922, in need of money, he sold it to the Kalevala Society (Kalevalaseura) for 10,000 marks. The money was raised in a single day notably thanks to the future President of the Finnish Republic, Juho Kusti Paasikivi, then director of one of the principle banks of Finland. There is nothing to show that if Sibelius had kept the manuscript, it would have gone into the flames in the same way as the Eighth Symphony. It is difficult to imagine the composer cold bloodedly depriving his country of a 'cultural treasure' such as his Kullervo. At the end of 1932, the separate parts

used in 1892 were miraculously rediscovered, and at the beginning of 1933, a copy of the original manuscript was made at the request of Sibelius by the violinist Viktor Halonen, whose invoice is dated 28 February (Kalevala Day).

It is this copy, which indirectly, served as the source of Breitkopf and Härtel's publication of 1966. Sibelius worked on Kullervo very often without however deciding to revise it. After forty years, a partial revision would have been of no purpose. An almost total rewriting of Kullervo, as Sibelius had accomplished for En Saga, the Concerto for Violin and the Fifth Symphony, was out of the question. The path taken by Sibelius over the course of the years—arrangements, deliberations—was far from that at the time Kullervo had been composed: a succession of gigantic scores in the style of Mahler ending up with another 'Symphony of a Thousand', or others such as 'Gurreleider', or cantatas resulting in another 'Alexander Nevsky'.

In 1930 after having briefly examined the original manuscript at the University of Helsinki, Cecil Gray confirmed, not without having excused his lack of sufficient knowledge of the work to be able to discuss it in detail, that the music was 'very powerful and personal, and it was not surprising that it had remained unpublished. The composer is at least partially responsible. (…) Kullervo will no doubt never again see the light of day, which is very regrettable'. Happily Gray was wrong. Discussing the posthumous fame of Sibelius, Harold E. Johnson wrote the day after Jalas' resurrection of the work:

‘Kullervo will more or less disappoint those who had hoped to find in it the first signs of a mature Sibelius. (…) In it can be found the influence of Kajanus, Wagner and more particularly that of Bruckner. (…) The most probable is that no unpublished early manuscript, such as for example Kullervo, will be able in the future to improve the reputation of the composer.’

Johnson was wrong, at least as far as Kullervo is concerned. A year before Tchaikovsky’s Symphony N°6 ‘Pathetic’ or Dvorak’s Symphony N°9 ‘The New World’, three years before Mahler’s Symphony N°2 ‘Resurrection’, the work, almost unknown in 1970, has since acquired a more enviable place: in the same way as Mahler’s Das klagende Lied, it is a master piece that in addition, contrary to En Saga and the Lemminkäinen Suite, is heard today in its original version. Since the entry of Kullervo into the ‘repertoire’, and not taking into account the Overture of Ballet Scene, the orchestral catalogue of Sibelius opens not with the ‘modest’ Karelia Suite at the end of 1893, but with a magnificent and extravagant score, of an indestructible solidity and from certain of its aspect without any real descendants, at least by Sibelius himself. This last point is part of the fascination exercised by this music. Moreover, there is no trace of academic tradition, conventional counterpoint or German romanticism, in Kullervo. It is one of the great forces of this work and of Sibelius in general, who knew how to transform, not without displeasing Adorno, a potential weakness into an immense and decisive advantage.

In Kullervo the themes become almost ritual musical objects, the long notes are legion, the accented melodies are superimposed in layers, creating a completely new polyphony. Sibelius already appears as unpretentious and without ulterior motives. Taking advantage of the absence of all 'respectable' tradition in his countries, he produces an audacious and original score with orchestral sonorities even richer and more impressive to hear than simply read. It was at the same time both Kalevalian and symphonic, from the depths of Finnish mythology, and as Adolf Paul had observed, in the great European tradition: from Bruckner's Third, which Sibelius had heard in Vienna, to works that he did not yet know, such as Listz's Faust Symphony or Berlioz's Romeo and Juliette.

This double influence was for him, decades before, a first 'reply to Adorno'. In Adorno's Essay on Wagner, he had in effect affirmed that given the complexities of its structures, the symphony was a form of art than was incapable of interpreting these myths, such an interpretation could only be made by the use relatively simple forms. It is true except for rare exceptions, the Austro-German symphony of Hadyn and Mahler did not explore myths, and it was in its music for piano and its lieders, not in its symphonies, that Schumann sought a past that was less mythical than legendary or fantastic, and also the unconscious.

From these two concepts, Schumann's main heir was Gustav Mahler. The merger of myth and music, through language, text, music and stage, was on the contrary systematically developed

by Wagner, by means of leitmotiv or through the dramatic role of the orchestra. Sibelius, the first, and in any case more powerful than Smetana, impregnated the 'symphonic repertoire' with this merger, the 'grand instrumental form'. He explored the national musical roots without falling into the decorative or miniaturisation trap. The initial part of Kullervo has everything of a first symphonic movement, and the overall work gives only a glimpse of the peaks reached later by Sibelius in the two often incompatible genres, in spite of Tchaikovsky or Dvorak, for a same creator: the symphonic poem and the symphony.

The 10 June 1892, six weeks after his first triumph, Sibelius married Aino Järnefelt: she was to live at his side for sixty-five years and give him six daughters, one of which, the third, died very young. Aino lived twelve more years following his death. 'My Aino should to start with be happy with a bohemian life," he wrote on the 12 February. The ceremony took place in the Järnefelt's family home in Tottesund, near to Vaasa. Only Linda and Christian were present from Sibelius' side of the family, Marie Charlotta could not be present being unwell with a cold and fever. The 28 May, Jean had informed Aino of his mothers absence. As to the brides mother, she too almost missed the wedding.

Aino was after all the daughter of the governor of the province, and the scandal caused by the affair between Juhani Aho and Elisabeth Järnefelt was still very recent. Elisabeth

asked her daughter whether or not she wanted her presence at the ceremony: if the reply was no, she would spend some time in Saint Petersburg. The reply was yes. The honeymoon took place in Karelia, like that of Gallen-Kallela two years earlier. The couple spent twenty-four hours in Imatra, then continued on without any particular destination towards the interior, in a northerly direction, before stopping for some time in Monala, on the banks of Lake Pielisjärvi, where a piano was delivered rented in Joensuu. In Monala, Sibelius composed three new melodies to Runeberg's poems.

This honeymoon was partly paid for by a grant of 400 marks from the University. As Aino returned to Kuopio, Jean went to listen, study and collect some folk songs in 'Wild Karelia', where he listened to an eighty-four year old runic singer, Petri Shemeikki. Sibelius never showed a real interest for this kind of thing and cannot be compared with Bartok from this point of view with whom he did not share the same scientific concerns. A few papers found after his death showed that this expedition was not entirely in vain.

In the middle of August Jean returned to 'civilisation' joining Aino in Kuopio, where they frequently met Minna Canth, then preoccupied with theosophy and Boudhism, and her circle of writers. That summer Juhani Aho and Karl August Tavaststjerna and his wife Gabrielle were present. Sibelius describing Minna Canth to Ekman said that she was 'a very gay woman, full of ideas, very interest by life's phenomena in the most wide-ranging fields. Being very corpulent, she

avoided physical exercise. But here spirit was extremely alert. She irradiated a constant energy and a constant vitality, enthroned on her sofa or at the table where she was served coffee'.

At here home Minna Canth organised seances of spiritualism during which Gabriell Tavaststjerna lay stretched out on the floor of the salon. These seances were the source of skepticism and commentaries filled with mild mockery for Sibelius: 'I saw that my my skepticism did not please Minna Canth at all'.

As to Aho and Tavaststjerna they worked on the adaptation in Finnish for a play, based on the recent Tavaststjerna's Hårder Tider (Hard Times), which was published in 1891, with an illustration on the cover by Louis Sparre. The title was a homage to Charles Dickens' novel Hard Times. The theme of the book was the tragedies caused by the famine and the typhus epidemic of 1868, which had killed Sibelius' father and Tavaststjerna's mother. Tavaststjerna, who was drawn towards autobiographical stories, violently reproached the upper Swedish speaking classes of Finnish society in Hårder Tider—of which he was part—for their hypocrisy and indifference as regards the suffering of the poor.

This bitter social criticism resulted in the Swedish language press accusing him of being a traitor. The play was on the contrary enthusiastically acclaimed by the Finnish language circles. Perhaps it was this loss of a parent in almost the same circumstances that brought Sibelius and Tavaststjerna together. Six years later, due to the error of a nurse, the writer died prematurely in a Hospital in Pori. Of Sibelius' approximately one hundred and ten melodies, ten were inspired by the poetry of Karl August Tavaststjerna.

CHAPTER 6

1892-1896

IN THE AUTUMN OF 1892, Jean and Aino moved to Helsinki, with Christian as lodger, in a house built in wood situated on Wladimirinkatu. Up until 1898, the family had five different addresses in the Finnish capital. The 26 November, Elisabeth Järnefelt wrote to Elli: ‘Aino and Sibba have the air of being new fiancees, they are so captivated by each other that they know nothing else of the world.’ As Richard Strauss two years later, Sibelius had married the daughter of a general, and as Gustaf Mahler a decade later, during his engagement he had written a letter to his future wife outlining his vision of marriage:

‘So that a married artist does not retrograde, his wife should understand that he should not be transformed into a respectable citizen. He should not become a sleepy debonaire head of the family with a pipe in his mouth, he should on the other hand feel the same things as before, is it clear? Marriages, whose principal object is to make a child disgusts me—the only job (of an artist) is to be concerned with art’ (Vienna, 28 November 1890). On her side, Aino had written to a friend the 10 April 1892, two months before the wedding: ‘I still have problems of

conscience, and I have fixed my principal object to becoming a good wife, a real wife for the man I love, and not trying to make a respectable man of him.'

This long marriage experienced several crises, but Jean had the good fortune to have at his side a tolerant wife who in fact never tried to make him into a 'respectable citizen' subject to the social conventions of the time. Contrary to Mathilde Schönberg, Aino Sibelius never sunk into anonymity. 'She had a strong personality and when times were hard and he turned to work to provide food for the family and make ends meet, she told him not to waste his time: "Write symphonies!"

At night she stayed awake, waiting to hear what she preferred above all other things: the sound of his pen as it flowed over the paper, transforming the music that flowed from his mind into notes. Sometimes she became depressed with dark ideas, isolating herself and surrounding herself with a wall of silence. But it was, in her nature, an element of this unshakable integrity, at the same time poetic, which always captivated her husband. She had the simplicity and modesty of a real aristocrat and wanted nothing for herself—if not a certain standing. During his time in Vienna, Sibelius had asked her not without some concern if she could support his life as an artist, while considering that marriage with her was the only realistic solution to his problems: 'People always say that for an artist, marriage is the beginning of the end, for me it is the contrary'.

He believed that if he lived alone, by making an effort he could get by with 3,000 marks a year, and with 500 less if he

lived with Aino. This disconcerting calculation was due to the fact that he firmly believed Aino was capable of stabilising his personality, his spending and his way of life. However, things did not develop as he had foreseen. As the years passed he became more and more extravagant. Aino never really controlled his spending, or his other affairs into recriminations! She was too wise—and too proud.

In the autumn of 1892, no longer being able to turn to his Uncle Pehr, Sibelius succeeded in borrowing money from his Uncle Otto, apparently after having assured him —but was he himself persuaded, that further performances of Kullervo would enable him to reimburse his debts. To earn a living for his family, he accepted different positions as a teacher. At the Wegelius Institute, he had a class for theory and a few violin students. At Kajanus' school for training orchestra musicians, he progressively took charge of teaching theory, previously taught by Kajanus, and training other apprentice violinists.

He therefore taught at each of these two rivals. Neither of the two demanded any kind of exclusivity whatsoever: his position had become too strong. On occasions at this time he gave thirty hours of courses a week, which led to Adolf Paul writing and telling him that he was being exploited and that in any case he was not made for that kind of job. Adolf Paul was not wrong: at the turn of the century, Sibelius abandoned teaching, an activity that as an artist, unlike Schönberg, he resented as an obstacle, not as a stimulation.

Amongst his rare students in the years which followed, were in 1908, 1909 and 1916-1917 respectively, the composers Toivo Kuula, Leevi Madetoja and Bengt von Törne, the latter wrote a book of memoirs that was published in 1937. 'I am a bad teacher,' Sibelius declared to Madetoja when he met him for the first time. Sixteen years later, writing in the review Aulos, Madetoja explained: 'It was not teaching in the conventional sense, but brief and pertinent observations. We did not lose much time on the fugue that I brought, but quickly discussed the problems of aesthetics in general.' Madetoja cited Sibelius: 'No dead or useless notes, every note should be alive! (…) To learn to swim, first jump into the water.'

Tawaststjerna cited another of Sibelius' maxims: 'The study of another's compositions is none other than the act of composing.' Otto Kotilainen, composer of melodies, student of Sibelius at the Institute in 1892 and later teacher in the same establishment, also confirmed in Aulos that his teaching was not without merit. At the Institute he saw a 'long svelte figure with bright shining eyes', his hair uncombed', rush into the class, immediately sit down, stand up, light a cigar, look out the window, politely send the young girls out for a long walk and a breath of fresh air, and then give those who remained homework, then promptly disappear'. 'If the melody and harmony sounds good and if in general the piece made a good impression on him, he was satisfied, only mentioning in passing the rules and continued praising the personality of the student.' Sibelius' association of ideas—who contrary to Schönberg or Stravinsky wrote no treatise and kept most of his

aesthetic concepts to himself—were to profoundly mark Kotilainen. After having sounded out the harmonies on the piano, Sibelius declared to him: ‘In the country, I have on occasions heard harmonies coming from a field of rye.’

Also he played as second violin in the Institute’s string quartet, but left after six months after having participated in ten or so public concerts, from the 24 October 1892 to 16 April 1893, with notably, other than the septet with trumpet by Saint-Saëns, two quartets by Mendelssohn, two of Beethoven’s, one of Hayden’s and one of Schumann’s. At the end of 1892, he loaned the score of Kullervo to Adolf Paul, who translated the vocal texts into German. The score was then submitted to Weingartner, but nothing came of it, and Sibelius, who needed to for a performance for March 1893, took it back at the beginning of the year.

At the same time he prepared a piano reduction for four hands of which there remains no trace. The 16 December 1892, Abraham Ojanperä sang two melodies at a concert, Unter strandens granar and Till Frigga. They were disconcerting for an audience used to the ‘19th century romances’, which was confirmed by Oscar Merikanto: ‘Even though they bore the mark of Kullervo’s composer, the originality of their rhythms and their fantastic harmonies produced a disconcerting and even tiring impression on the unwarned listener’. At the same time, the complete collection was published in Helsinki by Otava, under the title Seven Songs of Runeberg set to music by

Jean Sibelius. It was the first publication that bore his name of the title page.

A total of one hundred and ten of Sibelius' melodies for piano and vocals exist, most of them are in Swedish and are spread over the period between 1888 to 1925, the last important collection dates from 1917-1918. Only ten are written in Finnish, a collection of six in German and two in English. These works were divided into fifteen opus numbers containing from two to eight melodies as well as a few individual ones.

Sibelius was first of all influenced by the German leid and by Scandinavian Romans and later by French Impressionism, to which should be added the 'popular tradition' of his own country as can be seen in Kullervo: several of his melodies are declamatory or incantatory, as opposed to all music salon ideas, a particularity that the singer should imperatively take into account. He put the poems of twenty-five to music, privileging his contemporaries or their immediate predecessors. Runeberg was the first with twenty-seven of his poems being used by Sibelius.

He was also especially attracted by a Swedish speaking Finn, as has been seen, whom he knew personally, Karl August Tavaststjerna, as well as two Swedes: Viktor Rydberg, a democrat with 'leftist' ideas, concerned with establishing links between ancient Greece, Christianity and Nordic mythology, and Ernst Josephson. Amongst the themes treated, love and nature dominated and were often related to and mixed with symbolism, the supernatural and mysticism.

He had, it seems, quite fixed ideas on the relation between texts and music, poetry in general provided him a kind of programme rather than verses to be read with emphasis on each word: a concept opposed to that of Hugo Wolf for example. Santeri Levas, his secretary from July 1938, noted: ‘To be enhanced a poem should above all, become a work of art through music, and thus be an inspiration for a composer. A poem that is perfect in itself has no need of music. The ideas contained in a text are of secondary importance to him, they are no more than a material to be worked on. He said: “My melodies could also be sung without words. They do not depend on poetry to the same degree on the poetry as those of other composers.”

He also considered their form to be permanently fixed. (…) At the beginning of 1946, he told me he had forbidden the Finnish radio to play his melodies other than in their original form, accompanied by the piano. “I do not want them to be orchestrated,” he said “because it will deprive them of their own specific character. Small things cannot be expressed by a large orchestra.” He nevertheless consented to this on occasions.’

Rosa Newmarch made similar observations: For the interpretation of his melodies, Sibelius always preferred the bel canto style to l’art de dire. Very much insisting on such and such a point, which gave too much importance to the significance to the text, all that annoyed him a great deal. The austerity of his accompaniments often posed great difficulties

for the singer. He demanded clearly detached vocal phrases, but without breaks, like a viaduct supported by a reduced number of arches.

Sibelius had not yet composed a work for orchestra alone that could be inscribed in the ‘grand repertoire’, Kajanus pressed him to rectify this by providing him with a ‘spicy piece in da capo style’ for the ‘general public’. It resulted in the first version of the symphonic poem En Saga (A Legend or A Story). Sibelius worked on it in the summer and autumn of 1892. To the great astonishment of his wife and his sister-in-law, he spent Christmas Day in cleaning up the draft of the score, and then conducting the first performance in Helsinki the 16 February, the rest of the programme – Schumann, Gluck, Tchaikovsky, Grieg – was confided to Kajanus.

The work, with a duration of twenty minutes, was quite complicated, there was nothing light about it, and it had little correspondence with what Kajanus had requested. In his critic Flodin wrote that it ‘presented the listener with a series of enigmas’, but after having heard it for the third time, praised its ‘incomparable beauties.’ Oskar Merikanto considered that it was the greatest success of Sibelius up to that time, but without harming it a few cuts could be effected.

The origins of En Saga are quite confused. Sibelius, declared to Ekman, he had used ‘a few ideas noted in Vienna that were very suited to an adaptation’. For Furuhjelm, the work was derived from an octet for strings, flute and clarinet started in Vienna then abandoned, but up to the present time no trace has

been found of this. On the other hand, Sibelius had announced to Adolf Paul, the 27 September 1892, that he was working on a septet, the 13 November he was working on Scene de ballet N°2, a very 'conte romantique 1820' style, which could have interested Weingartner, then finally the 10 December he had 'finished a Saga for orchestra. It should impress you. It is rausch (rapturous). I thought of the paintings in Böcklin. The skies are too clear, much too clear, swans too white, sea too blue, etc.' Tawaststjerna considered that Scene de ballet N°2—the rest of which we know nothing—constituted one of the steps towards En Saga.

The link with Vienna was made by the reference to the painter and sculptor Arnold Böcklin, who Sibelius discovered during his stay in the Austrian capital. The reference to 'romanticism 1820' was an early sign of the fascination exercised on Sibelius by not only the tales of Anderson and Topelius, but also the 'the mysticism of nature in (those) of the Grimm brothers', the combat between the forces of good and evil in the forsaken depths of the German forests'.

Gifted with a highly developed sense of history, the two Brothers Grimm, Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, published their three volumes of Grimms Fairy Tales and their two volumes of German Legends typically of the 'beginning of 19th century'.

'The tale is of poetic essence, the legend of historical essence', proclaimed Jakob. En Sage was fully drawn from these two domains; thus its force. The work underwent a radical revision in the autumn of 1902, in view of a

performance that was to be given in Berlin at Busoni's request. By then Sibelius had already completed the Lemminkäinen Suite and his first two symphonies, and his mastery of form and orchestration had considerably developed: a comparison between the two versions of En Saga, the thematic material of each is basically the same, clearly demonstrates this.

The original version that was not published soon became forgotten. It is still unpublished, and did not reached a significantly large public until 1996, when a first commercial recording was produced. It lacks coherence, but it was preferred by Kajanus and also Aino, perhaps because it recalled to her the beginnings of their marriage, and even her first child. In referring to the years 1892-1893, Sibelius told Santeri Leva in the 1940s: 'En Saga is the expression of a spirit of mind. At that time I lived through some overwhelming experiences, and I did expressed myself in no other of my works, the reason for which literary explanations are completely foreign to me. (…) If a folkloric source must absolutely be found, then it can be found in the Icelandic Edda rather than in the Kalevala.'

By listening to the first version, it is not difficult to situate it relative to the second version, except at times in its central episode, of which certain passages, based on thematic material drawn from Kullervo or by rediscovering the spirit that had largely disappeared in 1902.

In 1894, Gallen-Kallela painted a diptych entitled Sibelius, Composer of En Saga. The right-hand panel contained the most well known portrait of the composer when he was young, the

left-hand panel a landscape with ‘snowflakes and various erotic emblems of fertility’, however, Sibelius considered that symbolism did not corresponded to his own music.

In the centre, a third panel—that Sibelius himself should have filled with a musical citation—remained empty. In a letter to Louis Sparre, Eero Järnefelt described the left panel in these terms: ‘There is a pine wood with apples on a red background. (…) In the distance a river can be seen and a castle. They can be vaguely distinguished through a snowfall, the snowflakes in the foreground are (of a mathematical precision). On the whole it is very nice, decorative, and reminds you of Japanese paintings.’

Sibelius renewed contacts with Gallen-Kallela at the end of 1892 when the latter returned from a Paris where he had stayed

during the spring time of that year followed by summer in the north of Finland and had established home in Helsinki, though only provisionally since he never really felt at ease for long time in one place. Both formed together with Kajanus 'the core of a new constellation that illuminated the artistic horizon (of the capital) during the 1890s'. Adolf Paul and Armas Järnefelt joined the group whenever they were in Finland.

Known later under the name Symposium, from the Greek 'drinking party' this group was Nuori Suomi (Young Finland), of which Gallen-Kallela became the leading figure. A kind of rebel, Gallen-Kallela like Sibelius worshiped nature, which other than his triptych Aino, can be seen in his romantic-realist paintings such as the Shepherd Boy from Paanajärvi, Lake in a Wild Landscape, or in a more sombre and fantastic tone, The Great Black Woodpecker. His vast frescoes inspired by the Kalevala only appeared from 1897 onwards.

Adolf Paul who spent part of the winter of 1893-1894 in Finland, played the role of a disseminator of ideas in the group. In Berlin, which remained his main place of residence, he was in constant contact with leading and most interesting personalities: August Strinberg, the Finnish actrice Siri von Essen, the German poet Richard Dehmel, the Norwegian painter Edvard Munch, the Danish writer Holger Drachman, or the Polish writer and theoretician Stanislw Przybyszewski, called Stachu, one of the masters of satanic literature and the unconscious, also a brilliant pianist.

When one day Adolph Paul, often without a penny, wanted to send a letter to Sibelius, it was Strinberg who payed the stamp. In autumn 1892, Adolf Paul published a popular book with a

provocative English title: Jack the Ripper. Sibelius found this book 'magnificent' but thought that it was ten years too late. To which Adolf Paul replied: 'My book have not appeared ten years too late. You heard it said by people who would have been able to write books like mine, but did not dare. (…) Do you really believe that people would admit to themselves the sensual implications of love for a mother, the first of all, I have shown in Oedipus? (…) Do you believe that they would understand that madness is not madness? Or that they would agree that religion is nothing more than an extension of of sexual instinct?'

It is in this way in 1892, through Adolf Paul that Sibelius first heard of the ideas on psychiatry that were then fashionable in Berlin. Forty years later Ekman on the subject of the Symposium was to cite the composer in the following terms: 'We could let our imagination and ideas flow freely. Everything was questioned. We spoke of the widest range of subjects, but always from an optimistic and revolutionary point of view. The Symposium evenings really encouraged me at a time, without it, I would have been almost alone. This exchange of views with those who thought like me were very stimulating, they confirmed my ideas and inspired me with confidence.'

The period of the Symposium lasted until the end of 1894. At the instigation of Adolf Paul, Gallen-Kallela then left for Berlin, where an exhibition was planned for his works and those of Edvard Munch. There he learnt acid etching and

Japanese techniques on wood and realised a portrait of Munch as well as an illustration for the cover of a collection of short stories for Adolf Paul, Der gefallen Prophet (The Fallen Prophet).

This period in Berlin from the beginning of January until the end of March 1895, weighed heavily on him: 'Every morning I woke up cursing that I was still here. Without the presence of kind and intelligent friends such as Makki and Armas Järnefelt and Adolf Paul, it will be awful, I'm sure. (…) I know that my art is not made for Germans. I suspect they do not understand that their 'good old German artists, a kind of art that considers "nouveauté" as a goal in itself' (28 January, to his friend the painter Elin Danielson). 'I find the people disagreeable and the place terribly boring. No other city is so little artistic as Berlin, at least as far as painting is concerned. They are really parvenus. Perhaps all of that could change in five years, because here everything changes so quickly. The Altes Museum is remarkable' (March 1895 to Louis Sparre).

It was in Berlin that Gallen-Kallela learnt that his daughter Marjatta, aged four, had died of diphtheria in Finland. He felt guilty, and in a sign of bereavement realised two wood engravings entitled Flower of Death and The Death and the Flower. In the summer of 1895, after spending some time in London, he returned to Finland, to a vast house and workshop he designed himself, called Kalela, set in the middle of a pine forest on the banks of Lake Ruovesi and to the north of Tampere. He lived there until 1903, where Hugo Simberg

became his student, who later specialised in symbolistic works that mostly focused on the macabre, the supernatural and the eternal characters of Finnish folklore, later he turned to photography for his works.

In the autumn of 1894, shortly before his departure from Helsinki, Gallen-Kallela presented a painting that was first entitled The Problem then re-baptised Symposium.

A controversial painting about which he declared: ‘I have made portraits and paintings, won the favour of the public and the critics, until the day I dared open up my portfolio, without the least hypocrisy, that is to say myself. My painting The Problem was a grenade that exploded and I caught the shrapnel full on in my face’. The painting shows a meeting of the group, The Problem, or Symposium, leaves no doubt as to the usual habits of its members during their nightly discussions, which only went to reinforce the suspicions of well brought up Helsinki society with regard to the members of the Symposium.

As an object of scandal, Symposium exists in two versions. In the latest, the painter himself can be recognised standing in the background to the left of the painting, before him wallowing on the table is Oskar Merikanto, to the right sitting pensively with a cigarette or cigar in his hand is Kajanus and Sibelius in the foreground to the right is Sibelius, like in Sibelius Composer of En Saga. On the table are bottles and empty or half full glasses. The first version, in reality a sketch with fantastic connotations, was even less presentable: Gallen-

Kallela was grimacing, Merikanto's face set in a grin, Kajanus and Sibelius with a haggard air, and one of the bottles knocked over. In addition, the silhouette of man can be seen with arms outstretched in the air, and cut off in the upper left corner, the foot of a woman-sphinx.

Gallen-Kallela worked on Symposium in April-May 1894 at his in-laws in Sääksmäki, near to Lahti. His correspondence provides important details on the background and 'signification' of this famous painting, both factual and their state of mind as well as the ravings of group. In April he wrote to Kajanus: 'Three men are seated around a table covered with bottles and glasses. The man at the top of the table (Kajanus) is leading the discussion, calmly, presenting with conviction certain things of great importance. He underlines his words with different movements of his hand, a cigarette end in his fingers. Suddenly, his look intensifies and his falling eyelids open. He draws the attention of the group he is contemplating, and the others, fascinated by the beauty of the spectacle, let out cries of jubilation. Even 'turnip head' (Merikanto) —the fourth in a dark brown jacket, in whose ears only music sounds, up until then sitting turning his fingers with a criminal indifference – lifts his perfectly round head to see what the others are looking at. Seeing nothing, turnip head is completely disconcerted by the mad hallucinations of his friends. But at the same moment he turns away, a large grin suddenly appears on his face. He furtively stares the speaker and understands in his way what is about to happen. And what they are contemplating, what a marvel! I won't say anymore, except

broadly speaking, I have presented this marvel in the same way as the mythical Sampo in The Foundry of Sampo (an oil painting on canvas) and up to now I am satisfied with the result. The painting will soon be finished. Only the face of Merikanto is missing. Just before leaving Helsinki I looked for him everywhere. I finally found his maid who told me that Merikanto was travelling — he left before I could arrange a posing session with him. But a few days ago I found in my cellar a turnip that looked very much like him, apart from a few details. With a minimum of retouching, it will make a perfect substitute. (…) If everything goes well, I hope to be able to show the painting at the Union of Artists exhibition next autumn. I hope to send it to Helsinki before to have your approbation and that of Sibelius. If you don't see any inconvenience, I'd like you to send me at once your written authorisation or a stamped paper certifying that you authorise me to expose the painting. (…) I will dispense with asking for Merikanto's authorisation, because strictly speaking it is not a portrait of him, but a turnip in a brown jacket. This painting will be a homage to the mad wonderful evenings that we have spent together. From now on I will only rarely visit Helsinki. Recently I have lived like a monk in a monastery – to be exact a monk enjoying all his conjugal pleasures – but consecrating most of his time to business of a 'transcendental' nature. Peace reigns here, it is very agreeable to say that since I am here, I have not met a living soul, which ideal in the present circumstances. (…) To the contrary I have not been bored for a single instant.'

At t(he end of March, he wrote to Louis Sparre: ‘I have almost completed my painting of Kajus (Kajanus), Sibba (Sibelius) and myself. I have solved the problem of the missing face of Merikanto by painting this old head of a turnip collapsed completely asleep on the table.’

Then in May, again to Kajanus: ‘You don’t need to send my sketches to Merikanto, because I have decided to paint this old scoundrel collapsed completely asleep on the table.’ That will remove any trace of parody and improve the atmosphere of the painting. (…) Adolf Paul wrote to me from Berlin forbidding me to show the painting to the ‘Laboriouspublik’ of Helsinki. (…) He is right, it is no doubt a sin to open his heart to those people there, in any case they never understand anything! In my opinion, I have rarely succeeded in capturing an atmosphere like that in this painting of you and Sibb. No doubt that’s a bad sign. Last winter, it became a growing and burgeoning obsession in my mind, like a plant mysteriously come from another world. All my other works have had to wait. (…) On my painting, you are represented like a master and us others like your students, I therefore sign, with my my most affectionate thoughts, your student Gallen.’

A decade later, in 1903, Sibelius whilst looking for a piece of land in Järvenpää was opposed by a woman who refused to sell, she had recognised him as one of those in Symposium and obstinately refused to deal with such an unrecommendable individual.

The 1 January 1893, Sibelius arrived from Loviisa to negotiate a loan with different banks. Evelina described this visit in a letter dated 3 January to Maria Charlotta and the rest of the family: 'Janne arrived New Years Day in a storm and the cold, he so cold that we had to put him to bed for the night with three blankets. (…) Every thing went fine, and he has just returned with his three thousand (marks), he was convinced that if he had not been present he would have never obtained the money. (…) He will be back tomorrow at ten with Hirn. He played for me marvellously. When I asked him if he had enough money for his journey back without digging into his three thousand, he replied yes.' The 19 March, Aino gave birth to the couple's first daughter, Eva, named after Evelina. In June, Evelina died, and the house in Loviisa was sold, as Uncle Pehr's house had been three years earlier.

Sibelius composed his first choral work for male choirs in 1893: Venematka (The Boat Journey), after a text from the Kalevala. The premier took place the 4 April. Composed for the University of Helsinki choir, the work has a pleasant, joyful, tone. In 1914, Sibelius made a version for mixed choirs. No one before him had ever adapted authentic Finnish declamation to choral music a cappella.

In 1893, his oldest works for piano alone, published during his lifetime, were completed: the six impromptus. Preceded by numerous isolated and often fragmentary pages, they inaugurated a relatively vast official corpus: more than one hundred and fifty original pieces, of which approximately one

hundred and twenty were published with opus numbers, without counting neither the arrangements of his own works nor the many pieces, uncompleted or simply sketched, of his younger life.

This production covered all of his creative career, with the exception of of the years between 1905 and 1908. Often created for financial needs, especially from 1914 onwards, and generally sold to small publishers in Helsinki, the piano pieces were for an instrument for which, according to his own words, Sibelius did not a great feeling: 'I write these pieces for piano when I have a moment. In fact, the piano does not interest me very much, it doesn't know how to sing' (to Bengt von Törne). I do not like the piano, it is an unsatisfying and ungrateful instrument for which only one composer, Chopin, succeeded in writing to perfection, and with which only two Schumann and Debussy, had close affinities' (to Walter Legge in the 1930s).

Even Tawaststjerna admitted that the Six impromptus were written in an amateur style. Several of these impromptus were played in Helsinki in November in 1895. They were all published in 1894 by Axel E. Lindgren.

Composed in July 1893 in Ruovesi, the Sonata in F-minor was submitted a month later, in Kuopio to the appreciation of Richard Faltin, who then played it by heart. Sibelius had met the poet Juhanni Heikki Erkko to work with him on a project as the result of an opera competition launched by the Finnish Literary Society with a prize of 2,000 marks. The prize wining work was to be presented in 1896. Sibelius and Erkko

envisaged a vast lyrical work on a subject drawn from the Kalevala and entitled Vennen luominen (The Construction of the Boat). After having though of writing the libretto himself, Sibelius turned to Erkko for his aid. He had written to him the 8 July from Ruovesi, developing ideas directly drawn from Wagner, but opposed to those that he himself was to defend later. In addition, he outlined to Erkko lingering intrigue that was also of very a Wagnerian style.

In Kuopio, Sibelius composed Työkansan marsii (March of the Workers), to a text written by Erkko, for mixed choir, but more important a prelude for the Construction of the Boat, which three years later, after revision, became The Swan of Tuonela. That autumn he showed the libretto to Kaarlo Bergbom, whose unfavourable opinion, in spite of the improvement made Erkko, resulted in the opera being momentarily put to one side.

The event increased the already huge reputation of Sibelius, especially in the Viipuri Students Association, formed in the Imperial Alexander University of Helsinki. This association prepared, for the celebration of the past historical glory of Karelia and the funding of popular education in the Viipuri Province, an event complete with a lottery and a series of tableaux vivants depicting scenes from Karelian history. It was also a question of resisting the penetration of Russia culture. The music for the event was commissioned from Sibelius in the spring of 1893, and the event took place the 13 November, then followed by a ‘soirée de gala’ at the Seurahuone Hotel in

Helsinki. Elevated to the rank of Town Hall in 1913, this building is situated at the eastern extremity on the north side of the Esplanade, opposite the market and the port.

* * *

Celebrating Karelia was in the air of the times. This province had over the years acquired a very special place in the Finnish national conscience. It is in this 'pre-industrial' region, divided between Russia and Finland, Lönnrot had made most of his trips, and the title borne by the 1885 edition of the Ancient Kalevala—Kalevala, or Ancient Poems of Karelia from the Ancient Times of the Finnish People—'brought out two important points: firstly that Lönnrot, like he himself had underlined in his preface, had collected many of his songs in the distant region that was "Finnish and Russian Karelia", where a still flourishing tradition of folk songs still existed, in particular on the Russian side (the less developed) of the border, and secondly, that these songs illustrate the ancient past of Finland. In other words, the path to this past led through Karelia to the Kalevala, and from the verses to the heroic cultural foundation on which Finland wanted to reconstitute itself. (…) At the end of the century, the relationship Kalevala-Karelia had become an article of faith driving young artists into action'.

Thus, the new 'explorations' of Karelia from the 1870s, that more notably resulted in the publication of Muistelmia matkalta Venäjän Karjalassa kesällä 1879 (Memoires of a Voyage in Russian Karelia in the Summer of 1879) by the traveller and explorer August Vilhelm Ervesti. In it can be read 'the Karelians to the east of the frontier were Finnish, not Russian. (…) If, as is believed, the world resurrected by the Kalevala still exists in Karelia, and if it is true, to succeed, Finnish artists should situate their descriptions of the epic in this universe, knowing as much as possible about Karelia becomes of vital importance for them.

To know and understand the Kalevala, it is first of all necessary to know and understand Karelia, its place of birth'. Päivälehti wrote the following in an editorial in 1890: 'What a guaranteed success an artistic work would have if its

inspiration came from the place where the Kalevala had been sung or where a people lived who had been able to preserve until today a 'Karelian' dimension, which has been lost elsewhere or been absorbed!'

The pilgrimages and travels to Karelia multiplied, very often 'in the footsteps of Lönnrot'. Both Gallen-Kallela and Sibelius, as has been seen, went for their honeymoons, one in 1890—the painter and his young life were joined by Louis Sparre and the three travelled from Kuhmo as far as the White Sea in Russian Karelia—the other in 1892. In a letter to Edvard Neovius, Gallen-Kallela recounted that he had never seen such great swarms of mosquitoes in his life: 'Impossible to paint in the open air without a turf fire beside me, Often I have to cover my face with a net'.

The sculptor Emile Wikström, the painters Pekka Halonen and Eero Järnefelt and the writer Juhani Aho (accompanied by his wife Venny Soldan) visited Karalia in 1892, like Sibelius, the architects Yrjö Oskar Blomstedt and Viktor Sucksdorff in 1894 and the writer Eino Leino in 1896. From 1892 to 1895, Into Konrad Inha, first Finnish photographer of international repute and author of the series Finland in Images, took a series of photographs in Karelia that were then published, permitting those who had never visited the region to see it. Gallen-Kallela returned to Karelia in 1891 to complete his triptych Aino, the again in 1892.

In January 1893, he participated in the celebrations for the opening of a state hotel next to the grandiose waterfalls of

Imatra, admired a century earlier by Bernardin de Saint Pierre, 'the first French writer to have visited Finland in person'. A photograph taken in January 1893, immortalised three artists as they painted the famous falls in a frozen landscape, wrapped in thick winter coats and fur caps that also covered their ears: Gallen-Kallela, Louis Sparra and Albert Edelfelt.

Two weeks later, Gallen-Kallela painted under various lights several paintings of the Imatra falls. One of them, a kind of montage, also showed the hotel, the Saimaa canal, a steel bridge over the River Vuoksi and different landscapes, was printed like the poster for an advertisement with French and Russian texts.

The fascination exercised by Larin Paraske was also part of this movement for which, in 1939, Yrjö Hirn forged the term—commonly used from then on— Karelianism, that emerged in Sibelius' first version of En Saga. As has been seen, Sibelius met Larin Paraske in December 1891. Others visited him in Porvoo, whilst certain photographed him or painted his portrait in national costume. In March 1891, after her presentation to the Finnish Literary Society, she posed in Helsinki with Pastor Neovius for the painter Berndt Lagerstam (1868-1930), and at the end of 1892, during another visit, she posed for Albert Edelfelt—who she called Albertfelt, and Eero Järnefelt, they had organised a kind of competition to see which one of them best caught her regard. In 1921, Eero Järnefelt said; 'I asked her to sing a lament as if she was by a tomb. She leaned on the arms of the chair and started to sing softly strange melancholic verses. (…) Little by little her eyes filled with tears, and soon the tears rolled down her cheeks. (…) During the pauses, she spoke of one thing and another and laughed gaily, but as soon as she took up the lament again, the previous feelings returned.' As a singer, Larin Paraske, was apparently very self controlled.

The 13 November 1893, Sibelius conducted the orchestra himself, but his music, played between the presentations of the eight tableaux vivants that were part of the students event in Viipuri, was practically inaudible, because 'everybody was standing, shouting and applauding' (letter to Kitti the 21st). Many were also eating and drinking as they 'listened'. The hall was full to bursting point and many could not enter, and Larin

Paraske, especially present for the occasion from Porvoo, could be contemplated in tableau 1.

The scenes were designed by the architect and writer Johann Jakob Ahrenberg, who had grown up in Viipuri, but had Francisised his second forename into ‘Jac’, together with Emil Wikström and Gallen-Kallela. Later in the evening were tableaux vivants depicting Karelian wedding scenes designed Kaarlo Bergbom.

Only an overture and a suit of three movements from Sibelius' original work, were published in 1906 by Breitkopf & Härtel (Intermezzo, Ballade, Alla marcia), these were respectively drawn from tableaux 3, 4 and 5. Both the overture and the suite—its three movements had been selected by Kajanus for their immediately appealing facets—are entitled Karelia. Much vaster, very remarkable, with vocal episodes in the tableaux 1 and 2, the 1893 score bears much of the features of Karelianism.

The original manuscript remained in the possession of Kajanus until his death. In 1936 his widow returned it to Sibelius, who partly destroyed it in 1940, only sparing tableau 1 and that which corresponds to opus 10 and 11. Fortunately, Sibelius ignored—or had forgotten—that the orchestral parts used the 13 November in 1893, had survived more or less complete, and there exists a the revision that he made himself for tableaux 7 and 8, towards the early 1900s. Missing or fragmentary, in the movements that he destroyed, are the parts for the alto, cello and bass as well as those of the flute in the finale (tableaux 7 and 9). They were reconstituted, for two recordings of Karelia made in 1997 and in 1998 respectively, by the composers Kalevi Aho and Jouni Kaipainen. A first reconstitution had been made in 1956 by Kalevi Kuosa, a student of music in Turku.

The show was repeated the 18 November, and the next day, Sibelius conducted a concert version of the music with En Saga on the same programme. He repeated it on the 23rd. After 1900

however, Sibelius improved and conducted the music of tableau 7.

During the winter 1893-1894, The Construction of the Boat remained in Sibelius' drawer, which like the idea of a symbolist opera suggested by Yrjö Hirn and the young painter Magnus Enckell, he did not follow-up. A trio for strings in G-minor (JS 210) dates from this period, which according to the composers own words was believed to have been written in 1885: the only part the still exists is a rather vast Lento.

Sibelius celebrated the New Year with Gallen-Kallela and Adolf Paul, and only composed one important work, a suite for tenor and male choir a cappella to a text by the Kanteletar: Rakastava (The Lover). For a competition organised by the students choir YL, the work was even further than Venematka from the usual repertory of this choir, to the extent that Sibelius only obtained the second prize. The first prize went to one of his former teachers in Hämeenlinna, Emil Genetez, who had entered a traditional patriotic song entitled Hakkapeliitat (Hakkapeliterna in Swedish) that referred to an ancient war cry. The two works were heard in Helsinki the 28 April 1894. The 29th, in Päivälehti, Oaskar Merikanto reacted to this verdict: 'Frankly, we do not agree with the majority of the jury. Without being unaware of the many qualities of Hakkapeliterna, we feel that Rakastava much more fittingly contributes to the wealth of our musical literature.'

A great success, Rakastava is composed of three movements based on Songs of the Kanteletar. In 1894, Sibelius arranged

Rakastava for male choirs strings and before the end of 1898 for mixed choirs a cappelle. In 1911-1912, he completely rewrote the work in a completely instrumental form.

In the spring of 1894, the University of Helsinki gave Sibelius the task of replacing, during his absences, Richard Faltin as professor. It was therefore he who composed a cantata for the University' graduation ceremonies on the 31 May. In three movements, for soprano, baritone, choir and orchestra, the Cantata for the University Graduation Ceremonies of 1894 was performed with the soloists Aino Ackte and Abraham Ojanperä. The words were written by Kasimir Leino, the eldest brother of Eino Leino. Only the orchestral scores of the third movement have survived, a soprano solo composed for graduation day in 1844.

In 1894 he also received another commission, on this occasion for the summer song festival in the city of Vaasa: the guest of honour was Topelius. The programme included: The Creation by Haydn, the Requiem in C-minor by Cherubini, Paradise and the Peri by Schumann, and the stage music for Athalie by Mendelssohn. Wegelius and Faltin conducted the choral pieces and their own works, and Kajanus his Aino.

The 21 June, Sibelius conducted his Improvisation for orchestra: unfortunately performed in the open air, and was spoilt, by the near proximity of the symphonic poem Korsholm by Armas Järnefelt. He was even more vexed that his father-in-law, governor of the province, was in the audience: the Lieutenant General had therefore to compare the music of his

son-in-law with that of his own son. The original of this Improvisation is lost. After a first revision, the work was performed again in Helsinki on the 17 April 1895, in a captivating version in D-major and under the title of Vårsång (in Finnish Kevätlaulu). In its final version in the autumn of 1902, performed and published a year later, Vårsång (Song of Spring). His initial melody, of a typically Nordic melancholy, is one of the longest of Sibelius'. In English the title became Spring Song.

* * *

Having decided to continue The Construction of the Boat, and believing that he needed to immerse himself in Wagner, in order to accomplish the task, Sibelius left for Bayreuth at the beginning of July in 1894. This third journey overseas was to turn out to be as important for his development and evolution as the period spent in Vienna from 1890 to 1891.

Prior to this, he had visited the poet Paavo Cajander, near to Hämeenlinna, translator of Shakespeare and Runeberg into Finnish, to discuss different opera projects. The 9 July he wrote to Aino: 'He (Cajander) made me a clear-cut promise and seems very enthusiastic. (…) I bought the piano-song scores of Tannhäuser and Lohengrin and studied Lohengrin to the best I could. Fortunately, Achte has the score of The Valkyrie. I could take it to Bayreuth! Otherwise it will cost me 200 marks. I will copy extracts.'

For Wegelius, an admirer of Wagner should, like Siegfried, travel up the Rhine by boat at least once. Sibelius obeyed: arriving in Germany in Hamburg, he ended his Rhin cruise in Mayence. The evening of his arrival in Bayreuth, he saw Parsifal. The 19 July, he wrote to Aino: ‘Nothing in the world has ever had such an effect on me. Deep inside me, everything wept. I started to see myself as a dried out plant, but it is not the case. (…) Everything that I do seems cold and weak in comparison. That’s really something.’ Sibelius added to these last words the first theme—a motive of the Last Supper—of the opera’s prelude.

His enthusiasm had its highs and lows. The next day he went to see Lohengrin: ‘It did not have the expected effect on me. I could not help myself finding (this work) out of date and full of theatrical effects. For me Parsifal far outclasses all the rest. To give you an idea of the effect that Lohengrin has on me, after the performance I imagined my own opera and I walked along humming parts. I am the only to believe in it’ (20 July).

The Wagner cult irritated him, the sister of the Kaiser had in his opinion the air of a cook, but being in a place of great culture pleased him. 'I am sitting this evening in the Reichadler Café (and) am observing Leoncavallo, who is a sensation here. At thirty five years old, he is much bigger than Ojanperä and shows off everywhere with his mistresses. Two are sitting at his side and are really licking his boots. (…) He has just started to smoke. Everything that he does is calculated to impress others'. Ruggero Leoncavallo was then borne by the recent triumph of his opera Pagliacci (Clowns), first performed 21 May 1892 in Milan under the direction of Arturo Toscanini.

'The least coach which Wagner gets into is 'historisch'. (…) Even though he is a worker, my landlord is a cultivated man and apparently very delicate' (to Aino 23 July). The same day Sibelius took a train for Munich, and the 25th, wrote a new letter at the Hofbräuhaus to his wife:

'Tomorrow I will get hold of a piano and start to work. I have a certain number of ideas. (…) I am also going to buy the piano-song score of The Valkyrie to compare the orchestra score. I could then put a finger on the intentions of Wagner and study how he in fact achieves them. A good idea, is it not? It the will help me a lot.'

He started to work, but was immediately assailed by doubts: ‘The first act (of The Construction of the Boat) is spoilt by the motive of Luonnotar, in minor and rhythmically weak. Not enough contrasts relative to the first recitative. (…) The whole first act will be dominated by the sound of wind instruments. (…) I try to give the whole of the opera a strong popular air, to make it easily understandable. Here there a vast galleries of paintings. Here the other arts fascinate me more than the music of others. (…) In my opinion, (that of Wagner) is too calculated. (…) Besides, his ideas themselves seem to me to lack spontaneity, they can be seen immediately, which deprives the music of part of its impact. Motives cannot be created by force, on the contrary it is necessary to accept or reject them at

the moment they present themselves. (…) I am too often the victim of my moods. Example this opera. The initial idea is superb, one of the best. The argument signifies that you cannot achieve something useful than by practicing a little self-sacrifice. But as soon as I am no longer in the necessary state of mind, I want to throw everything overboard and to treat a realistic subject. I have already concocted an intrigue: A student in the 1600s is engaged to a young peasant girl. He goes abroad and meets a dancer with whom he falls in love; he is unfaithful. On his return, he describes the dance and the dancer in such a realistic fashion that his finance suspects what had happen and is crushed by grief. They continue to see each other in the forest. In the last act, he meets a funeral procession and discovers that it is his fiancee who is to be buried. And the father of the fiancee accuses him: the guilty one is you! – something in this style. Sometimes it is the libretto that interests me the most, sometimes the other' (28 July).

Tawaststjerna sees in this '17th libretto' project an autobiographical confession and a diversionary manoeuvre. Had Jean not been an unfaithful student in Vienna and Berlin? Was Scene de Ballet of 1891 born of a 'bitter experience', perhaps one of his guilty escapades? In the '17th libretto', the funeral procession of the fiancee recalls Tannhäuser? Tawaststjerna concludes that at the end of July 1984, Sibelius no longer believes in The Construction of the Boat. In effect this boat was to go under once and for all. It was then that Jean wrote to Aino: 'Your image never leaves me, and the last night, you remember, is like a knot in my life.'

After these events Armas Järnefelt arrived in Munich, a fervent Wagnerian, with his wife Maikki. Together with Sibelius they visited several art galleries, which enabled Sibelius to deepen his knowledge of the painter Böcklin and persuaded him to return to Bayreuth with them to see Parsifal again. He was as just as enthusiastic after seeing it for a second as the first, but he left depressed and dispirited.

A letter dated 10 august to Aino shows his state of mind: 'I am full of doubts and spend my time brooding. (…) Impossible to abandon music, (…) especially after boasting I would never fall into mediocrity. But each time I really work on an a scene of my opera, I arrive at a point where I tell myself it would be best to abandon it. However, I like a few passages, and the beginning is really good. So I can't make up my mind to abandon it, but at the same time being unable to continue. It's like that, Aino. (…) I've made some progress in instrumentation (in fact) a (short) piece in the form of a march. (…) I've taken the decision and I'd like your opinion. I would like to go somewhere to do some manual work. I thought of the Axel Grönberg factory, if there is a job available. Preferably in the country. The important thing is to no longer have to teach theory, at least for a few years, and to do something else. (…) We will try to earn enough money so that I can travel and listen to grand things. (…) You wrote to me in your last letter that my sudden changes of mood are hard to support. I agree that it's bad and will do everything to get rid of them, but do you think that such a load can be got rid of easily? It's probably there for eternity. That must be an unbearable load for you. (…) The day

before yesterday, I saw Tristan and Isolde. Nothing, not even Parsifal has had such an effect on me.'

Tristan in particular and Wagner in general bore the fatal blow to The Construction of the Boat though whilst opening, by rebound, new perspectives for Sibelius: 'I have regained my confidence (and) had the courage to throw overboard many of the things that I did not really like. You understand? To write in such a style, to work in such a way, the obligation to be here or there, to have to appreciate something that is not really 'in' (12 August). 'Yesterday I saw The Twilight of the Gods (and a few days before Siegfried). It is marvellous, except a for few places. I am less Wagnerian than the others, and say what I think to anybody. I have been weak and cowardly, and try to model myself on the ideals of others. It's not good. If I had as much money as ideas, I would be a millionaire' (17 August).

He still struggled with The Construction of the Boat for about two weeks, but his attention was more and more turned towards the symphonic poem: 'I am in reality a painter and a poet of sounds. The musical ideas of Liszt are those I feel closest to. Hence my interest in the symphonic poem. I am working on a theme that is very dear to me (18 August). 'The Master Singers went far beyond my expectations and literally stupefied me' (21 August). 'I am really impressed by The Master Singers but, it is strange to say, I am no longer Wagnerian. There's nothing I can do about it. I should let myself be guided by my inner voices. What do you think that means?'.

The reality of the visit to Bayreuth and Munich strongly contradicted the image of the Sibelius-Wagner relationship—largely vehicled by the composer himself —which appeared in the thirties. Ekman cited Sibelius: 'I have heard (in Bayreuth) Tannhäuser and Lohengrin superbly executed, but without being able to feel the least enthusiasm for Wagner's art, and no one has succeeded in persuading me to remain to hear the other operas. (…) The faithful Wagnerians swallow the works of their idol in a state that has nothing to do with genuine musical enthusiasm; the seem to be receive Holy Communion. My walks in the surroundings of Bayreuth have brought me more than the sessions at the Festspielhaus.'

Sibelius, who in reality had also seen in July-August 1894 all Wagner's operas posterior to Lohengrin except The Rhine Gold and closely studied the scores, endeavored forty years later to minimise the influence of the Bayreuth musician on his own development. In the same way in 1915, he had pretended to have discovered runic songs after having composed Kullervo. Four years before Ekman, Cecile Gray wrote: 'Sibelius is apparently the almost only modern composer—and certainly the only one of his generation—to have not been influenced by Wagner or not have violently reacted against him. (In spite of his opinions forcibly anti-Wagnerian, Debussy) had always nurtured a secret admiration and a secret affection for Wagner. (…) Sibelius, on the contrary, does not detest Wagner, for the simple reason that he has never liked him. Even when as a young man he went to Bayreuth, at the beginning of the 1890s, when the Wagnerian cult was at its highest point. Wagner

meant nothing to him, neither good nor bad. The proof? In all of his life's work, it is impossible to put a finger on the least word that indicates an influence from Wagner, or which would have been different if Wagner had not existed.'

Gray even went as far as saying that for Sibelius as a composer, the 19th century had not existed. As other British critics around the thirties, he above all saw Sibelius as a rampart against an all-invading Germanic romantic tradition1. Thus his affirmations, untenable since like Debussy, Sibelius felt both love and hate with regard to Wagner. It could even be imagined that deep down, Wagner was the composer who influenced both Debussy and Sibelius. Wagner did not prevent neither Debussy nor Sibelius from existing. That Sibelius left Bayreuth and Munich in another condition of mind compared to that in which he arrived remains undeniable in spite of everything else. Having had to admit in these 'holy' places that The Construction of the Boat—a mythological opera for which he had nurtured great hopes—was stillborn profoundly marked him, and surely contributed to turning him away from Wagner.

To Bengt von Törne, he declared: 'Wagner is crude, brutal, vulgar and totally lacks finesse. As well as his way of shouting "I love you, I love you, etc." In my opinion, it is something that should be whispered1. (He made me think) of a butler made into a baron'. Wagner's lesson was not however lost on Sibelius. His music, in particular his approach to the grand orchestral form, shows that deep down, he was not disinterested in the musician of Bayreuth.

From Munich, Sibelius went to Italy for the first time, where he was to make five visits in all. The landscape enchanted him, but he did not only listen to the song of the lazzaroni. He stayed in Venice and bathed in the Adriatic. 'I learnt a few phrases of Italian to complete my French. (…) The music I have in my head, I will finally end up by writing it, I don't know when, but I will certainly write it' (23 August). A heat wave forced him to return towards the north, but stomach pains obliged him stop in Innsbruck: 'I always feel I have come alive again when I am abroad. In Berlin and in Vienna, it was different. (…) I do not like living to pre-established plans. In Berlin, without even realising it, I became the person that they wanted me to become, not an independent person, though I was independent in my music' (26 August).

He then headed towards the German capital, where with pleasure he found Busoni, Adolf Paul and Ottakar Novacek, though he found them preoccupied by their own particular interests: 'I decide to take the plunge and try to manage by my own means' (30 August). He showed Busoni En Saga and Karelia and envisaged submitting Karelia to Breitkopf and Härtel, but decided against. As usual, he felt an attraction mixed with repulsion for the Germanic culture. 'For me, Germany has lost its colours, but Finland seems like this Italy, (…) both countries are so Shakespearean. (…) I'll have a lot of things to explain on my return. Whatever happens to me – I am a man, and it's essential' (to Aino, 2 September).

He asked Wegelius to free him from his teaching obligations for a time, adding that he would like to take as much advantage as possible ‘of the company and art of Busoni’ (letter of the 28 August). ‘The only thing that remains is to get rid of my orchestra classes’ (to Aino, 7 September).

He arrived in Finland in mid-September with his head full of projects. In October, Aino’s parents left Vassa to move to Helsinki, the Lieutenant General had been appointed Secretary of Defence. Eva then caught Typhus. ‘Today she is a little better, we hope she will get well, but it is not sure. (…) My mother-in-law is there to help’ (Sibelius to his mother, 16 October). Eva got better, and the 23 November the couple’s second daughter Ruth, was born.

* * *

The symphonic poem The Wood Nymph was inspired by the eponymous poem by Abraham Viktor Rydberg. Sibelius, for whom Rydberg was one of his preferred writers, put this poem to music in 1899, in the form of a vast melody for piano and vocal.

This theme resembles that Sibelius had mentioned to Aino in his letter of the 28 July 1894, when he had considered abandoning The Construction of the Boat for a more ‘realist’ opera. Veijo Murtomäki observed that the stories of infidelity, of forbidden love and punishment by death—recurring themes

in romantic ballads— constituted a permanent source for Sibelius' work from the 1890s.

Completed towards the end of 1894 or at the latest the beginning of 1895, this remarkable score—a symphonic poem and not an opera —is at the same time the fruit of his visits to Bayreuth and Munich and a highly personal confession.

The Wood Nymph, is the longest movement ever composed in a single piece by Sibelius: 'it is a little longer than the Seventh Symphony. In 1894 or 1895, a musician wrote on the first violin score: '23 minutes'. In four continuous sections, the work follows the main lines of the theme. More side-by-side rather than elements of an integrated structure, in the same fashion as Mendelssohn's Scotch Symphony.

A melodrama for recital, piano, two horns and cords also called The Wood Nymph had been heard a month before the symphonic poem: the 9 March 1895 at a ball and lottery with choral pieces and tableaux vivants at the Seurahuone Hotel for the benefit of the Finnish Theatre. The vocal soloist was Axel Ahlberg, one of the Finnish Theatre's actors, and the pianist Oskar Merikanto. Opinions differ as to which of the two versions was first composed. For Twaststjerna, it was, as Sibelius had told Ekman, the melodrama: 'In autumn 1894, I composed, for piano, two trumpets (sic) and strings, a melodrama based on Rydberg's poem Skogsrået. But I soon realised that the material needed a much vaster treatment, and I transformed this melodrama into a symphonic poem that I

conducted for the first time at a concert for my own works in April 1895.'

For Kilpeläinen, and for Murtomäki, it was the poem: both considered the melodrama as a condensed version of the symphonic poem the idea of which had germinated in Bayreuth. Dated from 1895, this melodrama lasted only ten or so minutes. Its melodramatic material is the same as that of the symphonic poem, its sonorities are very specific, and its four episodes respectively marked Allegro, Vivace, Moderato and Largamente. In total Sibelius composed four works entitled Skogsrået: those just mentioned and the melody of 1889, which almost musically independent of the three that followed it.

The symphonic poem is still unpublished. Its only source is an original copy with corrections, however, a publication is foreseen in one of the first volumes of the complete edition of Sibelius prepared by Brietkopf and Härtel in 1999. Two days after the first recital it was again performed in Helsinki two days later, then in Turku, and finally in Helsinki the 26 April 1899 at a concert during which the First Symphony was premiered.

The Uusi Suometar critic wrote the following day that 'never before, had music that so clearly describes remorse been written'. The next performance took place the 27 October 1937, in an abridged version, conducted by Georg Schneevoight, at an event organised by the Pohjola-Norden Society in Helsinki, before an audience of three thousand

guests, in the absence of Sibelius but in the presence of Marshall Mannerheim and leading figures of the state.

Sixty years then passed before The Wood Nymph was heard again: both versions of the work— melodrama and symphonic poem—were resuscitated the 9 February 1996 in Lahti by the city's orchestra conducted by Osmo Vänskä after have been recorded shortly before by the same musicians. The Wood Nymphe is a fine addition to the Sibelian catalogue.

The 12, 19 and 25 May 1895, Busoni conducted in Helsinki. He saw very much of Sibelius, and whose music he then resolved to promote outside of Finland. The 25 October he wrote to him from Berlin: 'The Russians have a publisher, (Belaïev) who I have always envied them, and who has a strict principal of not protecting only Russian composers. One day, I suddenly thought that for a good cause, the Finns could be considered as Russians. I brought up the question with Glazounov, who came two visit me here (if Rimsky-Korsakov is the right hand of this editor, he is my left hand). Galzounov has promised me he will speak to Belaïev and to keep his word. (…) I recommend that you send Belaïev En Saga, Vårsång and Skogsrået and to do it immediately.'

Sibelius sent his three scores the 18 November, but the business did not come to fruition, either Belaïev had considered that after all a Finn was not a Russian, or his selection committee, composed according to Busoni, 'of three distinguished and open minded artists', had given an unfavourable opinion.

Summer 1895 passed peacefully in Vaania, near to Lahti. There, Sibelius composed the choral work Saarella palaa (Island Fire) based on a text of the Kanteletar . For the Finnish Literary Society, he put the music for seventeen runic melodies on paper. The end of the year and the beginning of 1896, were consecrated to teaching and above all what the composer called his 'great task': the Four Legends—or the Lemminkäinen Suite —for orchestra, the second important score inspired by the Kalevala.

After the Wood Nymph he continued on his path of symphonic poems, and when the newspapers recalled the date fixed for the Kelavalanian opera competition opened by the Finnish Literary Society was the end of 1896, he paid no attention whatsoever. Whilst Sibelius conducted the first audition of his 'master piece', the 13 April 1896, his father-in-law, the Lieutenant General Järnefelt, who had suffered an attack, was in a dire condition. Two days later he died at the age of sixty-three.

The 1 November 1897, Sibelius conducted a reworked version of the Lemminkäinen suite, in which the first two parts, the longest, disappeared from the repertory for more than half a century. The two others, again revised in 1900—The Swan of Tuonela and Lemminkäinen's Return—had on the contrary, after their publication in 1901 by Wasenius in Helsinki, a publisher that worked with Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig, an extraordinarily outstanding success.

In 1906, Breitkopf & Härtel enquired about the fate of the other two parts withdrawn from circulation: Sibelius replied the 27 August that they needed revision. The complete cycle, with Lemminkäinen and the Maidens of the Island and Lemminkäinen in Tuonela was not heard again until 1935, for the centenary of the Kalevala and under the direction of Georg Schneevoight.

Other performances took place in England and Germany. In this context Sibelius agreed to the publication of the other two parts, and to some extent revised them for this purpose in 1939. The first performance of this 'final' version probably took place in the Carnegie Hall in New York, the 28 September 1939, under the direction of Schneevoight. Put back as a result of the Second World War, the publication, by Breitkopf & Härtel in Wiesbaden, of the second two parts did not take place until January 1954.

For a long time only the revised 1939 version was known, but a recording of the original version of 1896, for which the orchestral material still exists, was made in 1999 by the Lahti Symphony Orchestra.

The differences between the 1896 and 1897/1939 versions of Lemminkäinen in Tuonela are of another kind compared to Lemminkäinen and the Maidens of the Island. In three parts, the final 1939 version is much shorter.

In Nya Pressen, Flodin wrote: 'The specifically Finnish characteristic does not appear with the same clearness (as in the

other works of Sibelius). This is without any argument a gain, because it shows that Sibelius has escaped a great danger, that of repeating himself, a trap into which, given his way of formulating ideas and creating his atmospheres, he had a good chance of falling into to. The Finnish characteristic appears very clearly in the second symphonic poem (Lemminkäinen in Tuonela), in his mother's lullaby: but there are no more specifically national intervals, as is if found in Kullervo from beginning to end.

Following the example of Liszt, who he admired, he would have called it the 'Lemminkäinen Symphony'. Did he not say to Santeri Levi, at the end of his life, he was open to placing Kullervo and the Lemminkäinen suite amongst his symphonies? As a structure in several movements, the Lemminkäinen suite is more satisfying than many symphonies by other composers, and no doubt more than Sibelius' own First Symphony.

Nevertheless, it remains, contrary to the seven official symphonies, a work with an 'underlying narrative'. However, Sibelius' approach to composing a music having an organic growth manifests is manifest. The return of Lemminkäinen inspired Oskar Merikanto to make a significant remark in this sense: 'He (Sibelius) takes the tiniest drop of sound and draws a veritable ocean from it.'

Robert Layton considers Sibelius' symphonic poems for the most 'symphonic' of their kind. The composer 'employs his artistic gifts for his symphonies whilst showing a much great

freedom of poetic imagination. The balance between musical and extra-musical considerations is a delicate affair, certain could easily swing in favour of the other. Sibelius' mastery demonstrates the fact that the considerations for the narrative never replace musical considerations. In addition, the musical architecture is of such solidity that our appreciation of the music in no way depends on his narrative objectives.' Layton adds however, that if in the 19th century the demarcation line between the symphony and the symphonic poem was often blurred, 'many symphonies of the time never went much further beyond the status of a blown up symphonic poem', concerning Sibelius this line still remains clearly defined.

CHAPTER 7

1896-1902

ON THE CONTRARY TO HER FOUR BROTHERS, Aino had not studied at the expense of her father. He took this in account in his will, which permitted Sibelius to make a visit to Berlin in the spring of 1896, and to meet Busoni there. It was then that Richard Faltin, on the point of retirement, publicly wished to see the composer of Kullervo succeed him as professor of music at the University. This was not sufficient reason to obtain the appointment, which was not that interesting, in addition there were two other candidates in line: Kajanus and Ilmari Krohn. The three candidates were invited to give a conference on the subject of their choice, it was in this perspective that Sibelius made his first list of works. The were thirty-one, the earliest dated from 1888, he numbered them for convenience from one to thirty-one. They were not for him opus numbers: none of the works were given opus numbers before 1905. At the same time, he promised to compose a brief opera in one act to help the finances of the Philharmonic Orchestra, as well as a cantata for the coronation of Nicolas II.

Faced with these three obstacles his anxiety emerges in a kind of diary, in one of his music notebooks, in which he scribbled these words: ‘22 August 1896 (in Vaania). It is

strange to observe to what point life sometimes seems empty. It is why I can't see myself clearly. I don't really know what I want. (…) I am not strong enough for Aino to really rely on me. I'm afraid of others – their jealousy, the prejudices. (…) 14 September (Helsinki). My first day (…) my work and this slavery (teaching at Wegelius'). The perspective of my conference. Meeting with Kajanus. (…) 23 September. Going out this evening. Thought I saw hate on each of their faces. Things to do: first the opera, then make a reduction for the piano. Meeting with the ladies (the Philharmonic committee). Then this thing (about the coronation).'

The Maiden in the Tower, the only complete opera by Sibelius was performed for the first time at a charity event the 7 November 1896 and again on the ninth in a benefit for the composer. It was entitled Jungfrun in tornet (The Maiden in the Tower, and Neito tornissa in Finnish), its libretto was rather naive, both in style and in content, written by Rafael Hertzberg, a writer well-known for his poetry, novels and adaptions of old Finnish folk literature, he used the pseudonym 'Sphinx'. The libretto, drawn from a ballad of the same name, composed in eight scenes was not without dramatic potential.

The work, which came under the category 'opéra de sauvetage' only lasted about thirty-five minutes and took place in a single sequence. The scene is set before a Medieval palace. A maiden and a shepherd, both working in the castle, are taken with each other and have to overcome the intrigues of a wicked bailiff.

Little by little the two protagonists are enraptured, recalling Puccini's La Boheme, which was performed for the first time earlier that year in Turin. Overall, the fragrance of Italian verismo is extolled in a Nordic atmosphere with a few natural props and above all fine incantatory accents.

The lady of the manor was sung by Emmy Achte, who the following year asked Sibelius' permission to present The Maiden in the Tower in Mikkeli—he refused pretexting his intention to revise the music. It was the same in 1912, when Aino Achte wanted to present the work in Savonlinna, but this time it was the poor quality of the text that Sibelius used as an excuse. 'She (the maiden) remained in the tower and will not come out', he declared in later. Only the overture was heard again in Turku the 7 April 1900. The first performance posterior to that of 1896 took place in January 1981 under the direction of Jussi Jala.

The Cantata for the coronation of Nicolas II was written for choir and orchestra, it was performed for the first time just before the opera, the 2 November 1896. A kind of official homage ('Glory to you young prince, dawn of a new day! (…) The people of Finland salute you, spring has returned to the North'), the text was written by Paavo Cajander, a native of Hämeenlinna like Sibelius, and known for his translations into Finnish of Finnish poetry in the Swedish language (Runeberg and others) and above all the complete works of Shakespeare.

Nicolas II in reality greatly disappointed the ‘hopes’ expected from him by Finland. The performance went badly, according to Sibelius because of a drunken tuba player who improvised in the middle of the fugal episode. However, the work did not include a tuba player. Two years earlier Nicolas II had succeeded his father Alexander III, who died relatively young. His ‘Russian’ coronation took place the 14/26 May 1896, and the cantata of circumstance had been composed by Galzounov. Present at the ceremony Albert Edelfelt wrote to his mother the same day: ‘I have just returned from the coronation. Gustaf Mannerheim marched before the palanquin of the tzar, his sabre drawn and very elegant—really splendid’.

Sibelius presented a conference the 25 September 1896, for the succession of Faltin like his two adversaries. Kajanus was the only one to express himself in Finnish, speaking of Bernard Henrik Crusell, but by passing a study already published as one of his own; Ilmari Krohn a music critique on Schumann, then Sibelius—speaking in public for the first and last time— the influence of folk music on classical music and the problems posed by harmonisation of pentatonic folk melodies.

He had thought for a time of withdrawing his candidature, but his mother had wrote to him the 15 May exhorting him to persevere, drawing his attention to family responsibilities. On the day, she confided to her second son: 'My thoughts are (…) with Janne, who examination is at 2 o'clock. I can hear him here stuttering a little at the start. Eeverything will be alright.'

The manuscript still exists composed of thirty-three pages with a nationalistic overtone, entitled Några synpunkter beträffande folksmusiken och des inflytende på tonkonsten (Some considerations concerning folk music and its influence on the art of musical tones) published in the orignal Swedish with a translation into Finnish by Ilkka Oramo in 1980 in the musical review Musiikki. Carefully written at the beginning, the text degenerates to hurriedly and almost illegibly scribbled notes at the end. Therefore, Sibelius improvised a great deal. The jury considered that his exposé 'was full of original ideas some of which seem to have instantly sprung out, which explains the sometimes aphoristic and fragmentary aspect of his reasoning.' In any case this document is very precious,

because Sibelius never expressed him self precisely and at lengths on his art, or rather on certain aspects of his art.

It was 'manifestly more artistically biased than a university dissertation'. Neither a music historian nor a researcher in folk music, Sibelius above all tried to define himself relative to a current question, the crisis of tonality, and to justify the path that he himself, in an end of the century context, had instinctively followed since Kullervo.

Though it can be challenged on certain points, which finally is of no importance, his text nevertheless resembles Bartok's essays. It perhaps also reflects what its author knew of Russian music and culture. Sibelius commenced by rising up against the radical distinction maintained by certain between folk music of a national character on the one hand, and on the other classical music obeying 'immutable laws' devoid of all national characteristics. On the contrary he affirmed that folk music and classical music were inseparable. He nevertheless distinguished the purity of folk songs from the artificial aspect of counterpoint:

'Beyond their assurance, the masters of counterpoint are ill at easy. They can clearly see where freshness and authenticity reside. They appease their bad consciences by using these despised folk songs as cantus firmus or as a base for their works'. These words constituted for Sibelius a real artistic credo: he was in fact never one of those for whom recourse to folk music compensated a lack of artistic creativity.1 Sibelius did not employ counterpoint, in spite of having studied

traditional ‘counterpoint’—if not ‘Germanic’—under Becker, all of his commentators were struck by this fact and in particular Adorno, who felt the need to severely criticise him on this point.

Following his reasoning, Sibelius argued that it was in folk song that Western music had found its main inspiration, adding, like others before and after him, that the German folk song was distinguished from those of other countries by the fact that its tonality, with its tonic and dominant functions, was latent and almost held back in reserve: thus the predominance of German music ‘in the last two centuries’, since the ‘victories’ achieved under the impulsion of Bach, by a tonality in ecclesiastical modes, which was more and more devoid of a solid base.

Regarding the situation to which he himself was confronted, Sibelius declared, ‘It is now clear that our modern tonality is faltering, but there is no sense in throwing out the old system without being able to replace it by something new. This cannot succeed by creating a totally new sound system from scratch – this something new must already exist and be alive in folk music. Thus I can only state that the turns of phrase, modulations etc. considered as interesting have but a passing value if their source is not in folk music’.

These last words were an attack against the imitators of Liszt and above all Wagner, for their ‘lack of spontaneity’, and even against ‘serialism’. Enemy in spite of all his ideas and concerned by not becoming the representative of any Heinmatkunst (regional art), Sibelius took care to make clear,

'The folk song in itself has no signification for classical music. Before anything else its importance resides in its capacity to shape things. A musician totally impregnated by the folk music of his country would of course quite naturally have a view of reality different to that of others, putting the accent on other things, seeking satisfaction in the art in a completely different way. That is where his originality lies. He should distance himself from what is local, in particular from the expressive point of view. He could achieve this on condition that he has a non-conformist personality.

The question of the position previously occupied by Faltin at the University was drawn out until the following spring in 1897. In March a committee presided by Faltin recommended Sibelius by twenty-five votes against three for Kajanus and none for Krohn. 'In the person of Jean Sibelius our country has been given a musician who rich talents outclass all that our music has been able to produce until now. (…) Even the ignorant recognise themselves (in his works) and are conquered by them. It is true that the incredible rapidity (with which) he works results in a few delays, which could be avoided with a little more reflection, but Sibelius shares this fault with other exceptional productive artists such as Franz Schubert for example. Were are convinced that an artist of the mettle of Sibelius will be a valuable addition to the University.'

The committee added that if Sibelius obtained the position, he would be free of all financial worries and could entirely consecrate himself to composing, then against all logic, noting

that activities of Kajanus as head of the orchestra, an already important contribution to the musical life of the capital, would prevent him from consecrating enough time to the University.

The minority favorable to Kajanus recalled the poor performance of the Cantata for the coronation of Nicolas II under the composer, and that there had even been an anonymous letter that accused Sibelius of still being in his ‘Sturm und Drang’ phase, and without any qualifications for the position. Kajanus appealed, but in a new ballot he received just one additional vote. As to Sibelius, he tried to force a decision with a new cantata for the university’s graduation ceremonies: composed for soprano, baritone, choir and orchestra with a text by written Aukusti Valdemar Koskimies.

A year later, he arranged nine pieces for mixed choir a cappella. But Kajanus insisted and renewed his appeal. Sixty years later in 1950, the third candidate, Ilmari Krohn, whispered nervously into Harold E. Johnson’s ear, ‘Kajanus went to Saint Petersburg!’. In effect the decision was made by the Russian Secretary of State for Finnish Affairs, Woldemar von Daehn, who against the choice of the committee, he appointed Kajanus the 29 July, no doubt considering that a musician who proved himself both in practice and in teaching was preferable to an unpredictable ‘young genius’.

Prior to this Sibelius went to Italy on holiday with Walter von Konow. Passing through Berlin, Dresden and Vienna, the two friends arrived in Venice and also stayed in Ancona, Assisi, Perugia and Florence, visiting art galleries and walking in the

countryside. 'In Dresden I saw the Raphael's Santa Cecilia, the impressed me more than any other painting I have seen to now. Do you know that Cecilia looks a lot like you' (to Aino). 'Sitting around us are some Italians with the faces of bandits, you would never believe it but they are very friendly.' (1 July 1897). 'We have been in Florence for three days and visiting museums, etc. It is magnificent, immensely magnificent. I think that all that is of great importance to me' (5 July).

On his return to Finland at the beginning of July, the position at the University had lost its interest. Ferruccio Tammaro noted that contrary to Berlioz, Liszt or Tchaikovsky, no work of Sibelius had been inspired by the memory of Italy, which was for him 'geographically undefinable', the importance of his visits to Italy were not of a picturesque nature, but

‘psychologically and physically abstract’. The Second Symphony and Tapiola, worked composed for a large part in Italy (1901 and 1936), have in fact very little of the ‘Mediterranean’.

For Sibelius, the opposition north-south nevertheless inspired the idea for symphonic poem based on Ein Fichtenbaum steht eisam/Im Norden auf kahler Höh (A pine stands alone/In the North on a bare hill) by Heinrich Heine. In effect, this northern pine dreams of southern palms. ‘I decided to personify the tree by a song of the forest and its dreams of a counterpart. (…) All that in a kind of illuminated-obscurity’ (to Aino, 25 August). The couple had spent several weeks at Elisabeth Järnefelt’s in Lohja (Lojo), sixty kilometres to the west of Helsinki, after which Aino went to to the von Konov’s in Lahis. Where she could take care of her mother-in-law Maria Charlotta, whose health was failing, and who died the 29 December in Tampere.

Sibelius who hated family reunions, returned to Helsinki, where he attended a recital given by Aino Achte, then aged twenty-one, she had just signed a two year contract with the Paris Opera. Amongst other things she sung the magnificent melody of 1891-1892 S’en har jag ej frågat mera (So I pose no more questions).

It can be wondered what Sibelius’ reaction was when a work was premiered in Helsinki that had everything to make it the first Finnish symphony, in spite of the precedents by Axel Gabriel Ingelius and also Ernst Fabritius. It was composed by Ernst Mielck just twenty years old, whose mother Irene was the

sister of Fabritius. Born in Viipuri the 24 November 1877, of German descent on his father's side, Mielck had been sent to Berlin at the age of fourteen where he studied at the Stern Conservatory then from October 1895 to May 1896 in private with Max Bruch. As pianist, he performed for the first time in Finland in 1894 in Viipuri, and had already played Mendelssohn's concerto G-minor and Tchaikovsky's trio in Finland.

In September 1895, he had accompanied Aino Ackte in a series of recitals in Viipuri, and in the spring of 1897 he had performed his string quartet in Helsinki and his overture for Macbeth. Conducted by Kajanus, the concert of the 20 October 1897 marked a point, or almost: beside the Mielck's symphony in F-minor, was his string quintet in F-major, and he himself played Grieg's concerto.

Flodin hurried to write an enthusiastic article in the Nya Pressen throwing a few barbs at Sibelius and reproaching him in barely disguised words for not having attempted the symphony: 'This young man of nineteen (Mielck) is a new composer of sparkling talent, and his ability in the treatment of form appears to be very remarkable. These days, young composers can be criticised for their formal deficiencies. They all produce rhapsodies, symphonic poems and suites, but very few have the courage to attack the majestic edifice of the symphony. In fact most of them master neither the development that consists of logically treating a given musical idea nor the techniques necessary to give their ideas a universal

signification and to embody the chosen object from a spiritual point of view.'1 Flodin believe he had found 'the spirit of Beethoven' in the 'classical eclecticism' of Mielck's symphony.

A few days later, the 1 November 1897, Sibelius presented his revised version of the Lemminkäinene suite and, at for the first time, The Rapids-Rider's Brides with Abraham Ojanperä as soloist. Sibelius had at first envisaged a men's choir and only much later, in 1940, effected this arrangement.

The revised version of the Lemmlinkäinen suite does not succeed in removing the reserves of Flodin. After having reproached this 'pathological' music of a 'colossal and frightening' style—Die Kunst der Erschütterns (The art of shock)—of the German painter Sascha Schneider, Flodin continued in the Nya Pressen of the 3 November: '(The work) has very little in common with the feelings of esthetic pleasure that all high level art, and in particular music, should stimulate. I am not a Hanslick, who not without hypocritical regards in the direction of the classical and romantic masters, coldly and systematically pours anathema on all new art or stabs at those creating new sounds and new forms, but frankly, music such as these images of Lemminkäinen discourages me, annoys me, tires me and makes me indifferent. Is the evocation of such atmospheres really the sole role of music?

The day before, the critic in the newspaper Uusi Suomtar had on the contrary underlined the symphonic dimension of the Lemminkäinen suite. Flodin took up the attacks in an article at the same full of praise the 14 January in the review Ateneum.

He insisted that Sibelius had only developed the purely technical aspect of his art for the moment, producing music that had the same effects as opium and that it was time for him to think in terms of pure music, rather than picturesque and mystical visions. ‘Such is the difference between the great men of music, Bach, Beethoven and Wagner on the one hand and our young Finnish master on the other.’

Even without these exhortations, Sibelius would have sooner or later turned towards the symphony. For the moment, he withdrew the two longest pages of opus 22 from circulation for several decades, following the criticisms of Flodin but above all because Kajanus also had not appreciated them. Two compensations occurred. The 29 November 1897, he conducted with great success in Turku The Swan of Tuonela and The Return of the Lemminkäinen. And a project launched in September finally came to fruition. Several personalities considered that a financial compensation was due to Sibelius for having not obtained the University appointment the previous year.

The 17 October, the Fenneman senator Baron Yrjö Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen, had sent a letter to Woldemar von Daehn in Saint Petersburg proposing ‘a state pension of 3,000 marks (…) to permit (the composer Herr Sibelius) to continue his work and to enrich our national art’. At the end of November, the Senate formally approved a recommendation for the pension. It was submitted to the Tzar, who gave his approval in January 1898. Without yet having composed neither Finlandia nor Valse

Triste nor any of his seven symphonies, Sibelius during the following decade benefited from an annual pension of 3,000 marks, then, whilst his debts had grown to 100,000 marks, it was transformed into a life pension. This measure allowed him to some extent to be freed of his teaching activities. This was not something new: Grieg and Svendsen in Norway, already enjoyed similar favors, obtained at about the same age, and Runeberg received from the middle of the 1830s, an annual pension of 1,000 rubles. Tawaststjerna noted that Tchaikovsky had received from Madam von Meck 6,000 rubles, 24,000 Finnish marks, every year.

In 1889, thanks to the first of his eleven works for stage music, Sibelius succeeded in his first entry into the overseas musical world: Germany. Though he never seriously consecrated himself to opera, his incidental stage music witnessed his attachment to the theatre, an important form of expression in Nordic countries and in Russia during all of its creative period, thus his capacity to write relatively light and simple music of great quality. In particular and amongst the most important pieces of his works for stage are Pelleas and Melisande written by Maeterlinck, The Blue Swan by Strindberg and The Tempest of William Shakespeare.

The 20 March 1897, Adolf Paul completed a stage play in five acts entitled Kuningas Kristian II. Generally considered his best play, it was dedicated to the bloody events of this king's reign of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and more particularly one of the important incidents of his private life:

his love for his mistress Dyveke, a young and beautiful Dutch girl.

Adolf Paul had attempted several times in vain to work with Strinberg and Sibelius on opera projects. His stage play was accepted by the Swedish Theatre in Helsinki, and Strinberg was filled of joy to see Sibelius as the composer of the incidental stage music. The premier took place the 24 February 1898. A few days previously, Adolf Paul wrote to the composer, ‘Sibb! Arrive on time at the Swedish Theatre and look after the first rehearsal of the orchestra for the Musette and Minuet. Bring the lied with you. I will play it as overture for the whole the play—songs and accompaniment behind the curtain. Fein. Hey! Adolfus.’

In Profiler, he recounted that Sibelius had composed the first four pieces foreseen—Elegy, Musette Minuet, and Sangen om korsspindeln (Fool’s Song of the Spider) —in the bustle of the morning, to play them to him in the afternoon in a corner of the Nymark Café. The play was presented twenty-four times in Helsinki in the spring of 1898. During the summer, at the request of Adolf Paul, he added three new numbers to his score, more ambitious and conceived for a larger orchestra. Nocturne, Serenade and Ballad. They were heard in Helsinki the 7 December, but for the production at the Royal Theatre in Stockholm, the 4 February 1899, in the absence of Sibelius, the orchestra pit was too small and only the four initial pieces could be played. Known as opus 27, the suite was published in

1899 by Wasenius in Helsinki and Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig.

At the end of February 1898, Sibelius accompanied by Aino left for Berlin. Ernst Mielck was also there, but seems to have avoided them. In the German capital, he composed an 'improvisation' of about ten minutes for men's choir and orchestra: Sandals. The title and the text comes from The Tales of Ensin Stal by Runeberg: it the sings the victory over the Russians at the battle of Virta Bridge in 1808, by the Finnish troops led by the Swedish general Johan August Sandals.

In this patriotic work, the choir is present from beginning to end, closely following the events and backed by a colourful orchestra, with the large kettle drum imitating the canons. It received a cold reception at its Helsinki premier, by the students choral society Muntra Musikanter (The Joyful musicians).

Sandels had however, obtained in 1898, the first prize in a competition organised by this society in which the rules specified that the texts and scores could be in Swedish or in Finnish. The second prize was not awarded, the third went to Armas Järnefelt for his cantata Suomen synty (The Birth of Finland). The young Selim Palmgren obtained an honourable mention for Drömmen (The Dream), presented anonymously. Dating from the summer of 1915, the revised version of Sandels was directed, the 14 December of the same year, by Georg Schneevoight.

In April, Aino returned to Finland alone, and Sibelius was joined in Berlin by his brother, to complete his knowledge of pathology. Jean encouraged Christian to buy a top hat, an essential accoutrement in a large metropolis. They attended several performance of The Marriage of Figaro, Fidelio and Tannhäuser, and a recital by the Joachim Quartet. After hearing Berlioz's Fantastique Sibelius, the 2 March, jotted on a music notebook: 'O santa inspirazione! O santa dea!'.

Still looking for a German publisher for his friend's music, Adolf Paul brought him to Leipzig, wher they were received by Oscar von Hase, head of the venerable publishing house Breitkopf & Härtel. Sibelius reported to Ekman, 'We were walked from a large hall to another. It was solemn and impressive. Paul seemed completely at ease in this environment, his hopes appeared to grow as the decisive moment approached.

Our progress through these huge halls had the opposite effect on me, my confidence diminished with each step, and when finally we entered the holy of holies, the editorial bureau where the director of the firm, the private adviser to O. von Hase, was enthroned under an immense portrait of Beethoven signed by the latter, I was almost ready to sell my works for nothing.' Von Hase, who maintained business relations with different Helsinki publishers, acquired the German rights from Wasenius to King Christian II and published the work—the first printed orchestral score by Sibelius, the following year.

It was in this way Sibelius established himself in Germany. This transaction in addition marked the beginning of a cooperation with Breitkopf & Härtel which, not without a relatively long interruption—with its highs and lows last until Tapiola and even beyond, and included three symphonies: The First, Second and Fourth.

Caught between two of Beethoven’s works, the Nocturne, the Elegy, the Musette and the Serenade from King Christian II, were played at the Alberthalle in Leipzig at the instigation of Adolf Paul, in February 1899 under the direction of the orchestra leader Hans Winderstein. Winderstein’s concerts in the Saxon city enjoyed an enviable reputation, in spite of the competition of the Gewandhaus Orchestra directed by Arthur Nikisch. For the first time, Sibelius’ orchestral music was played outside of Finland. The Leipziger Zeitung spoke of the lyricism à la Mascagni and treated the Musette as pure ‘nonsense’.

Embarrassed at the idea of making his debut in the city of Bach, Mendelssohn and Schumann with a ‘music de salon’, Sibelius had wrote to Busoni in September 1898, ‘I have the great ambition of presenting myself before you as a composer for whom you have consideration be it very little’. Winderstein also conducted King Christian II in Warsaw.

His first contacts with Breitkopf & Härtel encouraged Sibelius to go further. It was in effect, at the end of April 1898, still in Berlin, and not without having envisaged a narrative work partially taking up the idea of a symphonic poem based

on a text by Heine, abandoned the previous year, when he undertook his First Symphony. On a sheet of music paper probably dated from this time, is written, 'Berlioz?' He was still attracted to the seductions of big cities, 'I am writing to tell you Aino, in all sincerity, that I drink and smoke, be it too much or too little. Yesterday I did not drink, twice, only a glass of red win, and I only smoked one cigar. Today I smoked a cigar and drank two glasses of white wine' (19 April).

He resolved to abstain from all alcoholic drinks, but the arrival of Gallen-Kallela and the 'Symposium' atmosphere that followed changed nothing: one evening celebrating the birth of a son for Adolf Paul, who had married a girl of the Lubeck high society, degenerated into a fight with a group of Poles. Sibelius escaped with a head cut. Tawaststjerna commented, 'It is not clear which flowed the most, the Burgundy or the blood.'

At the beginning of June 1898, Sibelius had returned to home to his wife and two daughters at Elisabeth Järnefelt's in Lohja. He composed three additional pieces for King Christian II and stayed there until the middle of the autumn, without attending the concerts given in Helsinki by Busoni. He gave Aino's pregnancy as an excuse, when in reality he was held back by the First Symphony.

On his return to Helsinki, he moved into a new apartment with his family, Christian and Linda situated on Liisankatu. He then composed, between the 25 October and December, one of his most celebrated melodies: Illalle (To Evening), to a poem in Finnish by the writer and teacher Aukusti Valdemar Koskimies.

Koskimies-Forsman had dedicated his poem to his wife Ilta (Evening): the title of Illale both signified ‘to Ilta’ and ‘Evening’. Sibelius’ splendid melody, one of the few in Finnish, very much resembled a runic song. ‘Come, sweet evening, come in your star filled splendour, with your soft hair and dark flashes. (…) I too I have dreamed of your embrace. Peaceful evening, may I repose in you always!’

The 14 November, Aino gave birth to the couples third daughter, Kirsti. This event did not prevent the evenings and nights at the Kämp from multiplying and comical souls did not hesitate to transform the Musette of King Christian II into a drinking song Minä menen Kämppiin takaisin (I’m off to the Kämp once more).

To work in peace, Sibelius went to Kerava, thirty kilometres to the north of Helsinki. In January 1899, he rented a few rooms in a house belonging to a spinster, Mimmi Lundgren, where he remained alone during the winter completing the First Symphony. At the end of May, after the premier of his work, he moved into a traditional house, called 'Mattila's Farm, also in Kerava, with Aino and their three daughters, which was their home until September 1902. It was near Lake Tuusula, and the Sibelius' often visited, especially in winter, the families of Eero Järnefelt, Juhani Aho and Pekka Halonens, who lived on the banks of the lake. They were also able to ski on the hill where they were to build their house Ainola in 1904.

The First Symphony was premiered in its now lost original version directed by the composer himself the 26 April 1899. The concert started with The Wood Nymph and ended with a new work, originally written for boys and men's choirs—Athenarnes Sång (The Song of the Athenians or War Song of Tyrtaeus), to a text drawn from the poem Dexippos of Runeberg's. Sibelius already had to his credit works of nation or patriotic inspiration, of which one alludes to external threats.

With The Song of Anthenians he made beginnings as a political composer. The words are more explicit, 'Death is a splendid fate for those who fall with courage (…) in a struggle for his country, for the right to be born and live in your land. Rise (…) and fight for your country, dedicate your life without

hesitating for the battles to come! Forward, young people! Advance in dense tight columns!'

The 29 August 1898, the Tzar Nicolas II, who had risen to the throne in 1894, had appointed the general Nikolaï Ivanovich Bobrikov as governor general of Finland. Author of ten decrees designed to favorise the integration of Finland into Russia, Bobrikov had taken up his post in October. 'Unpleasant perspectives', the vice-chancellor of the university, Thiodolf Rein, had noted, after having read Bobrikov's inaugural speech.

The 24 January 1899, the usual royal speech, read by Bobrikov, had announced to the Diet that within the framework of uniformisation of the military regime of the empire, the Finns would from then onwards be part of the Russian army with a service of five years: a violation of the constitution that the assembly had evidently rejected. The 15 of February, the Czar signed the famous 'Manifesto of February'. Breaking the words given by Alexander I, this manifesto established the principal of 'Imperial Legislation' and removed with the stroke of the pen the constitutional guaranties of Alexander I and the reforms of Alexander II, depriving Finland of all political autonomy and opening the era, rightly or wrongly, called 'oppression and passive resistance'.

The 13 March, the day of the anniversary of the death of Alexander II, the crowd in Helsinki filed past his statue erected in the Senate square five years earlier on his birthday, they laid flowers and wreaths with the word Lex wrapped in crepe.

Already before this date a series of measures had appeared tending to make the Grand Duchy a province like the others, to 'assimilate Finland into the empire to better Russianise it': forced induction into the army, Russianisation of the administration, of education and the police, and severe censure of the press.

'It is great time to forget the outdated laws of this constitution of 1772', wrote the Czar in the margin of a draft for laws concerning conscription in Finland. More than half a million Finns signed a request presented by a delegation of five hundred persons that Nicolas II refused to receive. International opinion was mobilised amongst them was Emile Zola, Florence Nightingale, Anatole France, and even Tolstoy who had been contacted by Arvid Järnefelt. All efforts were in vain. The Czar refused to receive an international delegation in Saint Petersburg, led by a senator and former minster of justice from France, Ludovic Trarieux, bearing a petition signed in twelve different countries entitled 'Pro -Finlandia'. In Germany, which as a potential adversary of started to take interest in Finland, 159 scholars from 18 universities signed a declaration begging Nicolas II to respect the political and cultural autonomy of the Grand Duchy. From the 17 October 1898, Adolf Paul had written to Sibelius asking him if in Finland, they already spoke Russian.

The Finnish historian Matti Klinge considered that the attitude of Saint Petersburg towards Finland was due to a large extent the consequence of the Franco-Russian alliance of 1893.

One if the indirect affects of this alliance was certainly the reinforcement of intellectual and artistic links between Helsinki and Paris.

But the designated enemy of Russia was henceforth Germany, whose fleet was based in Kiel, and in the case of war an invasion of Finland could be attempted. Thus, the need for a defence of its coast and more generally control of the Grand Duchy, whose continued loyalty, demonstrated on many occasions in the past century, raised more and more questions in Saint Petersburg if a conflict arose.

The position of England, the greatest maritime power at that time, was not clear in the 1890s. 'In purely commercial policy terms, Finland had already developed so many relations with the West that its links with Russia risked being questioned, and even more so since from the cultural point of view Finland was more drawn to Europe than to Russia.

Russia attempted to maintain Finland in its sphere of influence by taking steps in the military field in particular. Thus causing friction between the Russian government and the Finnish elite'. It was the usual vicious circle, the more Finland was oppressed, the less its loyalty was guaranteed.

Sibelius commenced The Song of the Athenians four days after the publication of the manifesto1, not without having sent the same day a patriotic message to Kajanus mentioning this new project, 'This "eläköön rakas isänmaa" (love live our beloved country) resounds in my heart—yes, long live this

poor, this poor country!" With this work of three and a half minutes, much later known in England under the name 'War Song of Tyrtaeus', Finland 'had, before this date and in the same manner as Finlandia, a battle cry comparable to "Va pensiero" in Verdi's Nabucco'.

Rydberg's text suggested a parallel between the events at that time and those of classical antiquity. He liken the struggle between civilised Greece and the barbarian Persians with a signification even more symbolic as the Finns often likened the situation of their country to that of ancient Greece, a small country representing the best of western civilization struggling against a much bigger neighbour but 'not civilised'. If the 26 April 1899, the four movements of the First Symphony were ovationned, The Song of the Athenians, a march, provoked delirious enthusiasm with cries for encores. Uncountable transcriptions for all kinds of instrumental and vocal combinations were immediately undertaken.

The first creative period of Sibelius, that of his 'Kalevalian romanticism', led him from Kullervo to the Second Symphony. For the essential, this was a local affair. He immersed himself into national themes, then from the beginning of the century progressively disengaged himself. However, from the beginning, his regard was already turned much further afield, with all the risks that it implied. Through chamber music, he had acquired a good knowledge of the classics, and from 1891,

his enthusiasm for Bruckner grew and very soon he put Beethoven above all others.

From Kullervo the young Sibelius blended at least three traditions together: the Austro-German tradition, to which Berlioz and Liszt belonged, the nationalist tradition, above all in its Scandinavian variants, and the specifically Finnish tradition, less dependent on the institutions of classical music. All three were of vital importance to him, but in the 1890s, not one of the three clearly dominated the two others, from which sprung a certain wealth and originality, and even the superb eccentricities of Kullervo and the Lemminkäinen Suite.

Above all the symphony depended on Austro-German tradition that Sibelius venerated. But, for two or three decades, the genre had been practiced, as has been seen, by 'eclectics nationalists who, whilst rendering homage to Formenlehre structures (teaching by the study of form) and their deformations, enriched them with melodies, harmonies and rhythms perceived as 'national' or in contact with the 'people'. For Sibelius (…) the most prestigious models from this point of view were provided by the Russians, above all by Tchaikovsky, but also by composers based in the very near Saint Petersburg: from Baalkirev, Borodin and Rimsky-Korsakov to his contemporary Glazounov'.

Before 1900, Tchaikovsky's Symphony Pathetique was performed in Helsinki under the direction of Kajanus the 26 October 1894, almost one year day for day after its premier in

Saint Petersburg, then the 18 February 1897, and the First of Borodin the 15 October 1896. It is not known if Sibelius was present at these concerts, or if he was absorbed by the score of the Pathétique, which was published in 1894. Kajanus, a great amateur of Russian music, had invited Tchaikovsky to the Finnish capital in 1894, but this project came to nothing on the death of the composer in November 1893.

The 16 November, Kajanus dedicated his concert 'to the memory of Tchaikovsky', with only his works being played that evening: the Second Symphony, melodies, concerto for piano in B-minor, Melancolic Serenade, and the overture-fantasia Romeo and Juliette. He also conducted from 1885 to 1899, Tchaikovsky's Fourth, pieces of Borodin's, as well as Rubinstein, Glinka, Rimsky-Korsakov and Glazounov. In October 1898, he organised a Finno-Russian concert in honour of Serge de Diaghilev and the painter Leon Bakst who with several members of their society Mir Ikousstva (The World of Art) were on a visit to Helsinki.

Kajanus was a conductor in Finland for half a century, whilst the other two great Finnish conductors of the moment Armas Järnefelt and Georg Schneevoight, had until the beginning of the 1930s, to spend the essential part of their careers overseas.

The Pathétique of Tchaikovsky and the First of Borodin were amongst the scores the most often indicated as having influenced the First Symphony of Sibelius. The latter adopted vis-à-vis Russian composers in general and Tchaikovsky in particular an attitude that was not without ambiguity, like that

towards Wagner. In July 1900, he wrote to Aino from Stockholm, without going as far as explaining exactly what he meant, ‘This man (Tchaikovsky) possesses many things in which I can recognise myself’. To believe Santeri Levas, his esteem diminished with the years. ‘I cannot understand why my symphonies are so often compared to those of Tchaikovsky. His symphonies are very human, but they represent the weak side of human nature. Mine, the hard side’, he was to later declare. On many occasions he complained of being endlessly put in parallel with the Russians and with Tchaikovsky, for example in his diary the 27 March 1910. In reply to commentators who, such as Gerald Abraham and Cecil Gray, had in different reports drawn attention to similitudes between the initial themes of the first movements of his First Symphony and that of Borodin’s, completed in 18672, and the architectural approach of the two composers, he swore he had no knowledge of Borodin’s First—which is possible – before having composed his own.

In is undeniable that Sibelius’ music has echoes of Russian music, but opinions diverge as to the importance and the nature of these relationships. Certain minimise them, whilst for others they are evident and numerous. In any case, one can only agree with Brown’s affirmation that the differences between the First of Sibelius and that of Borodin are more striking than their similitudes. Sibelius borrowed from his Russian predecessors elements of language, in particular harmonics and colouristics, or by using those similar, but by making them his own and by modernising them. More than did the Russians, including

Tchaikovsky, he tried to extend the limits and possibilities of the tonal system, without officially breaking with it, as did much later the School of Vienna. Many Russians nevertheless found his music ‘different from ours’, in particular when in November 1907, he conducted his Third Symphony in Saint Petersburg.

With first symphony, Sibelius confronted a problem, which was to preoccupy him throughout his career: to produce an original symphony, especially from the ethnic point of view, though in conformity with the expectations of traditional European music world. From 1914, he was to consider this question with a certain detachment, but in the meantime, towards the end of the 1890s, it was crucial.

He wanted to achieve a synthesis between the savagery and the cumulative effects of Kullervo on the one hand, and on the other the abstract side, non-narrative, of the post-Tchaikovsky and Brahms style symphonies. It was a perfect success, in any case in the first movement, a marvel of concentration and logic. Robert Layton qualified this page with reason as ‘tour de force in organic thought. (Very concise), the thematic material is more than well adapted to symphonic treatment than the magnificent idea, but of a lyrical essence, which palpitates and unfolds through the corresponding movement of Kullervo. (…) There is (in this splendid sonata form) the rhetoric of romanticism with all its attributes, but allied to a freedom of expression and a very classical economy of means.’ sees in the First the Karalianist symphony of Sibelius, the ‘masterly

resume-enunciation towards which his work of the 1890s had tended.’

From the autumn of 1898 to the summer of 1899, the great Norwegian writer Knut Hamsun, future admirer of Hitler, stayed in Helsinki for six months with his first wife Bergljot Goefpert. They met at the end of 1897, when she had divorced from the Austrian consul to Christiania (Oslo). Hamsun, who had lost the entire fortune of his wife at the roulette tables in Namur and Ostend in 1901, very much impressed Sibelius, and the two became friends. Hamsun, Sibelius, Edelfelt, Gallen-Kallela and Adolf Paul were present at the wedding of their friend the journalist Wentzel Hagelstam. The Hamsun couple, who were to be soon separated, then travelled to Russia, the Caucuses and Turkey.

In June 1899, Sibelius was present with Kajanus at Gallen-Kallela’s in Ruovesi for a baptism. Mikko Slöör, the brother-in-law of the painter, related that at two o’clock in the morning, the composer announced that he would transform into sounds the atmosphere of the room in which they were celebrating: he sat at the piano and started to improvise, the result was the original version of the conclusion of the Second Symphony. Just after this visit, the 20 June, he wrote to Kajanus, ‘Have you seen to what extent our friend Gallen is like us? Only God knows how that makes me happy!’ However, Sibelius did not accept Kajanus’ invitation to stay in his home by the sea in Porkkala, and spent a good part of the summer sailing and

fishing in the archipelago with Armas Järnefelt and the writer Yrjö Weijola.

The 1 September, an article written by Flodin appeared in the Aftonposten entitled 'Genius obliges'. He admitted that he had not immediately appreciated the 'the savage beauty' of Sibelius' music. However, considering that Sibelius should become known outside of Finland, he continued, 'The most national of modern composers, Grieg, has long enjoyed international recognition and it is time that the same should be said for Sibelius. It is necessary to say that he is a least a generation ahead of his time.'

Flodin could not resist adding a dig, 'God the Father often confides the most beautiful melodies to the strangest of instruments, and under the guise of insouciance, levity and sufficiency is sometimes dissimulated, as traits of character, a refinement and an overdeveloped sense of pride that their owner wishes to parade it before the eyes of everybody.' Is this the image that Sibelius presented to the world? asked Tawaststjerna.

Nothing detracts from the popularity of the Song of the Athenians. It is taken up by students choirs, school choirs, harmonium and accordion players, sportsmen in stadiums and many others. In this troubled political context, the artist Eetu Isto paints an allegorical picture entitled Hyökkäys (The Attack, in Swedish Anfall): a young blond maiden with a worried though firm and decided look, Finland, holds tightly to her breast a collection of legislative texts with the word Lex in

large letters on the cover as a ferocious Russian eagle tries to tear it away.

Soon reproductions of the picture were found in homes all over Finland. As to Sibelius he produced two new patriotic works: Isänmaalle (For the Fatherland), to a poem by Paavo Cajander, and above all Islossningen I Uleå älv (The breaking of ice on the River Oulu), first performed the 21 October 1899, at a concert for the Students Association of Savo-Karelia. Topelius' poem, officially a homage to Alexander II, on the surface limits itself to singing the beauty and love of the country. Bobrikov and his censors could not intervene. But certain verses 'spoken' by the river could be linked to the political situation, 'I will get air! I will get light! My destiny is to create my own path.' With the breaking of the ice, the River Uleå flows irresistibly. The work is more interesting than the cantatas of the previous years, in itself and by the way it heralds Finlandia: chords of brass in the introduction, a warlike tone in the Allegro, its anthem like character of the Adagio. To avoid all ambiguity Islossningen I Uleå älv was followed the 21 October by the Song of the Athenians in Greek costumes of the 'period'.

In September, the newspaper Päivälehti was banned for a period of three months, and four other dailies completely banned. Helsinki replied to these repressive measures under the cover of a series of 'celebrations for the press' that took place from the 3 to 5 November, these were in principal conceived to

support the journalists' retirement fund, but in reality to defend the liberty of the press.

An important sports meeting was organised and the 4 November a gala at the Swedish Theatre that commenced with a performance of Tannhäuser directed by Kajanus culminating in a series of tableaux vivants. The staging was designed by Kaarlo Bergbom with the tableaux representing the important events in the history of the country, from legendary times to the present. The texts had been commissioned from the 'national poet' that Eino Leino since had become, and the music obviously from Sibelius. Leino was assisted in his task by the young writer, theatrical personality and amateur composer Adolf Jalmari Finne.

As to Sibelius, he had already, six years previously, undertaken this kind of work with Karelia. The event was of such important that Bergbom and Leino, though they mutually detested each other, agreed to work together. The entry tickets were expensive, but the theatre was filled to bursting point. Sibelius' music essentially included seven pieces of which four, tableaux 1, 4, 3 and 6, respectively became the three Historical Scenes and Finlandia.

One report described the tableaux vivants, 'Each scene was preceded by a piece of music, animated and reinforced by the muted accompaniment of the commentator's text.' Not without humour or cynicism, Bobrikov suggested putting the tickets for the imperial loge up for auction, attributing them to the highest bidder 'in the interest of such a noble cause'.

An additional and explosive element was added to the political situation by the presence of Finland at the Universal Exposition of Paris of 1900. Encourage by the petition addressed to the Czar by many European intellectuals following the Manifesto of February, the Finns decided to build their own pavilion and appear as independent as possible vis-à-vis the Russians. Though they were part of the official 'Russian section' of the Exposition, Finland wanted to appear on the international scene in Paris, as an economically and culturally developed country. The Senate provided a budget of 300,000 marks, later raised to 350,000 marks.

In Paris, the 'principal commissioner' responsible for the Finnish pavillon was Albert Edelfelt. He exhorted his compatriots to do everything possible to ensure its success and wrote to Gallen-Kallela, who on his request had accept the decoration of the pavilion, 'Believe me, Finland's cause is at stake, more than ever before—and I fear, as it will never be again'. Build by the great Finnish architects Eliel Saarinen, Herman Gesellius and Armas Lindgren, all less than thirty years old, the pavilion was totally different from the other buildings at the Exposition, the buildings was to be the foundation stone for the Romantico-National architecture of the country.

In April, in Le Figaro, Anatole France found it 'strange and charming' and Edelfelt vaunted its 'simple beauty', without equal in this 'orgy of carnival (…) with the odour of its Panama and its Dreyfus'. Amongst the attractions of pavilion

was a copy of a large meteorite that had fallen near Porvoo the 12 March 1899, called the ‘meteorite of Bjurböle’ after the name of the place it was found.

For the first time Gallen-Kallela applied the techniques he had learnt in Italy in 1898, painting four large frescoes on the domes of the pavilion’s entrance hall with themes from the Kalevala: Ilamrinen ploughing a field of vipers, The Forge of Sampo, The Defence of Sampo, and Paganism and Christianity. For Gallen-Kallela, only the first of these four themes was new. It could be interpreted as a metaphorical illustration, through the difficulties of the plowman in his struggle against the vipers, of that of the pavilion itself: the affirmation of Finland against Russia. The same went for The Defence of Sampo. The fourth theme was derived from his project for a triptych of Väinämöinen and Marjatta, and was a symbol of the cultural development of the country. These were destroyed when the pavilion was demolished in 1901, but Gallen-Kallela repainted them in the entrance hall of the National Museum of Finland in 1928.

In Paris in 1900, he presented his designs for industrial works, and he also designed the poster for a ‘Concert Finnois’: two concerts were given at the Trocadero, the 30 July and 3 August 1900, by Kajanus’ orchestra, conducted by Kajanus himself in the presence of Sibelius. This poster was reproduced and widely distributed in the form of a postcard, symbolising Finland’s contribution to the Exposition. To the left Väinämöinen plays a kantela in birch wood and to the right a

young girl cuts her long blond hair with a scissors to make a new string for the instrument. Another poster by Magnus Enckell, announces ‘L’Orchestre de la Société philharmoniqe de Helsingfors’.

It was at a relatively late stage of the preparations for the Exposition that idea was developed in Helsinki for a presentation of Finnish music in Paris. A grand tour of the Philharmonic Orchestra was envisage starting in Scandinavia, the Germany, Holland, Belgium and finally in Paris, led by Kajanus with Sibelius as his chief assistant and above all as ‘musical ambassador’.

A petition was presented to the Senate at the end of January 1900 and Sibelius was amongst the signatories. It was rejected, and the tour was financed by private funds. Shortly after this refusal, a tragedy struck the Sibelius family, their third daughter, Kirsti aged fifteen months, died of typhus the 13 February, in an epidemic that had already killed the third child of Arvid Järnefelt, Anna Katarine the previous 28 December. Very attached to Kirsti, Sibelius wrote to Aino at the end of December 1899 that she was ‘radiant’, and Aino to her mother Elisabeth the 20 January that she was the favourite of Janne.

The loss of Kirsti cruelly affected Sibelius, he never again mentioned her name. To escape the epidemic, Aino —who had cared for Kirsti day and night for two weeks, and developed a severe guilt complex that she had brought the infection from the Arvids—brought Eva and Ruth to Elisabeth in Lohja. The letters that Sibelius wrote to her were filled with sadness and

pessimism, 'I often think of you, joy of my heart. You will get through! I don't know what to do. (…) My love, do not look back, but ahead. It is the best way to survive (or rather not ahead but live in the present)' (2 March). 'I am sitting in the middle of your hyacinths, three are in flower on the windowsills (one red, one blue, the other white), on the other side there are three (all red). The other four have not yet blossomed but promise interesting colours (deep blue and orchid yellow' (7 March).

He then composed, perhaps under the effect of Kirsti's death, perhaps also influenced by Enckell's painting of the same name, a piece for cello and piano now known under the title Malinconia. It was however, under that of Fantasia that it was performed for the first time the 12 March in Helsinki by Georg Schneevoight on the cello and his wife Sigrid on the piano, during a fund raising evening for the Philharmonic tour.

In the meantime an aristocrat appeared on the scene who during the next nineteen years was to play an important role in Sibelius' life. It was Baron Axel Carpelan. Without announcing his name he wrote to the composer the 13 March asking him if he had the intention of producing an overture for the first concert in Paris, 'Rubenstein wrote a fantasia for the Paris Exposition of 1889, entirely based on Russian motives, called Russia. Your overture should be called Finlandia.' Other anonymous letters followed, all signed 'X'. Sibelius was advised to compose a Waldsymphony (a forest symphony) after Finlandia then chamber music and melodies. 'Can we hope for

a violin concerto or a fantasia for orchestra?' (7 June). 'You have been too long at home Herra Sibelius. The moment has arrived for you to travel. You can spend the end of Autumn and winter in Italy, a country where you can learn the cantabile, moderation and harmony, flexibility and symmetry of lines, a country where everything is beautiful—even things that are ugly. You ignore the role of Italy in the development of Tchaikovsky and Richard Strauss. (…) Enough: you should go abroad, and you will go' (13 June).

An amateur of music in the best sense of the word, Carpelan lived as a bachelor in solitude, even an aversion to people, in Tampere. His passion for this art had earned him the hostility of his family, and after his parents had forbidden him to continue his studies of the violin, in a rage, he had smashed his instrument and thrown it into the river in Turku. He was not very rich, but less poor than he made believe, and he succeeded in convincing his numerous contacts to provide the funds without which the tour of the Philharmonic could have never taken place. As for Sibelius, he baptised Finlandia not as a new work, but the last part of the Celebration Music for the Press. With this new name, it made the tour of the world, indisputably the idea had come from Axel Carpelan.

Two programmes were set up for the tour, one centred on the First Symphony—initially Mielck's symphony had been considered, no doubt deemed more conventional, less 'exotic'—and Finlandia, the other on The Swan of Tuonela, The Return of Lemminkäinen and extracts from King Christian

II. Other composers had not been forgotten: Armas Järnefelt, Ernst Mielck, Oscar Merikanto, Martin Wegelius, Erkki Melartin and Kajanus himself.

Unfortunately, the second programme suffered from the absence of any 'piece de resistance'. Two goodbye concerts and preparations took place the two days before and on the eve of the departure, as the Czar signed a 'linguistic decree' the 20 June that leaned towards making Russian the language of the top administration in Finland. The 1st July Kajanus conducted the premier of the final version (the only one known to exist) of the First Symphony, then the 2 July Finlandia. On the programme the future opus 26 bore the title Suomi (Finland in Finnish), but the press used Finlandia, without provoking a reaction from the Russian censor.

Finlandia, a kind of sui generis with strong political connotations, appeared in 1901. Briefly but triumphantly evoked at the end of the work, the hymn like central episode is at times executed—with or without—a soloist voice or often with a choir. Its curiously recalls the principal theme of the Allegro ma non troppo of Schumann's piano quarter opus 47, and passage of the patriotic men's choral Herää, Suomi! (Awaken, Finland!) by Emil Henetz. It is more than likely due to to a simple chance, since in 1882, when this choral piece was published, Genetz taught German in Hämeenlinna, the birth place of Sibelius where he still lived. Everything indicates

that Herää Suomi! (Awaken Finland!) of Genetz became Suomi herää! (Finland awakens) of Sibelius.

Words were added to this 'anthem' in 1907. There is a unique version for men's choirs, with two different texts, one by the great opera tenor Wäinö Sola and the other by writer Veikko Antero Koskenniemi. In 1937, Wäinö Sola, then the Masonic brother and principal of Sibelius, proposed Finlandia with appropriate words, as the national anthem replacing that of Pacius and Runeberg, which was not yet accepted by all, estimating that it would be unanimously accepted.

His proposal was refused, but it was in this spirit—or with Masonic objectives, that he conceived its words—Oi Herra annoit uuden päivän koittaa—and in February of that year anonymously sent them to the composer. The version for men's choirs, dated 4 April 1938, was performed for the first time in Sibelius' presence the following 21 April, at a ceremony for the tenth anniversary of the Saint Jean Lodge, for which Sola had become the Grand Master, then in public the 26 December, at a church in Pori. It was to become part of opus 113 N°12 with the title Masonic music.

The version with the Koskenniemi's words, Oi, Suomi, katso, Sinun päivä koittaa—was born in 1940, at the initiative of the 'Laulu Miehet' men's choir, and sung for the first time in Helsinki, the 7 December 1940, for the 25th anniversary of the 'Laula Miehet'. At the end of 1948 Sibelius prepared a version for mixed choirs, his last musical manuscript. Koskenniemi's

text became part of his collection of poems Latuja lumessa (Ski marks in the snow), dedicated to the invalids of the Winter War.

To avoid antagonizing the Russian authorities, during the tour Finlandia was played under the title of Vaterland or La Patrie, at least outside of Scandinavia, as in Sweden and in Norway the title that has since passed into posterity was used. The 3 July, at the moment of his departure, Sibelius caught sight of a not very tall man, a little ridiculous with his bowler hat, distributing bouquets of flowers to the members of the orchestra as they embarked on the boat, it was Axel Carpelan, with whom he was not yet personally acquainted.

The next day, Aino wrote to her mother from Mattila's farm, 'Yesterday I accompanied Janne to the boat, he has left – first for Stockholm, then via others cities to Paris. The separation was very difficult for me because we have had very little time together this year. At least I was able to spend the last few days with him in Helsinki, and we went to a concert together sitting side by side.'

First class musicians had been engaged in Leizip, Saint Petersburg, Stockholm and even in Hungary, which brought the total number of players in the orchestra to seventy. Ida Ekman was a member of the group. It was during the crossing from Helsinki to Stockholm, the 3 July, Sibelius made the arrangement of the Pori Regimental March for grand orchestra. The next day this arrangement served as an encore at the first concert of the tour given at the Olympia Theatre in Stockholm, which was in reality a circus with deplorable acoustics.

The First Symphony—the first performance of Sibelius' symphony outside of Finland—was quite well received. The newspaper Aftonbladet compared the position of Finland to that of Poland in 1830, and that of Sibelius to Chopin. During this visit to Stockholm Sibelius met the Swedish composers Hugo Alfven), Emil Sjögren and William Stenhammer, who preferred, and especially Alfven, The Return of Lemminkäinen to the symphony. 'They said it owed too much to Tchaikovsky. I know this man possesses many things that I recognise in myself. But what can I do? Das muss man sich gefallen lassen (You have to live with it). Sjögren invited me to lunch with Kajanus and was extremely kind. There was a whole crowd of guests. The Swedish composers such as Stenhammar were very stuck-up, very disagreeable to begin with.' (to Aino, not dated). However, a few years later Sibelius and Stenhammar were to develope a close friendship.

In Christiania (Oslo), Norway, a journalist wrote, 'Jean Sibelius very much resembles Strindberg, with his Mongol like face, his tousled hair, his provocative look, the sarcastic lines around his mouth and his small piercing eyes. He appeared in evening dress, a flower in his lapel, and bows with a certain stiffness.' Sibelius did not conduct the orchestra at all, causing some friction with Kajanus, but from Christiania, he wrote to Aino, 'At the beginning I was simply a follower, but now I am living and eating in the same hotel as the orchestra'.

He was not however present at the concerts in Gothenburg and Malmö—where the impresario forgot to hire a hall, but

went directly to Copenhagen, where he met the Norwegian composer Johan Svendsen, head of the Royal Theatre orchestra since 1883. In a letter to his wife, Svedsen described Sibelius as having ‘a rich and violent artistic temperament’. The 14 July the Dagens Nyheter reported, ‘Contrary to what had been announced, Sibelius did not appear as conductor. However, at the exit his name was on all the lips, and the public refused to leave the concert hall until he was called onto the stage to acknowledge the applause. The critic of the Politiken declared that ‘only the greatest of modern composers wrote with such audacity and such independence of spirit’.

The following stop was in Lübeck, where the music of King Christian II was already known. The 17 July, Carl Stiehl, the local critic, a kind of eminence grise of north German musical life, published an enthousiastic report in the Lübeckische Anzeigen and predicted ‘this extraordinary composer’ will have a brilliant future. Sibelius wrote to Aino, ‘I have within me a strange power that exhorts me to advance alone in the vast world. I believe that I can achieve a place with my music. I do not believe it, I am sure of it. How wonderful it is to be a composer!’ (16 July).

In Hamburg, he found the port ‘magnificent and impressive’, adding, ‘I realise that in spite of everything, it is within yourself you must find force. (…) These successes have a stimulating and encouraging effect on me. (…) I will come back here next winter, because I must strike whilst the iron is hot. Madame Ekman, who has sung Svarta rosor with several

encores, had a triumph yesterday. She sends you her best wishes' (18 July).

The citadel of Berlin turned out to be more difficult to conquer, but in the Tägliche Runds, Willi Pastor felt obliged to evoke the problems of form which according to him could not avoid confrontation with 'nationalist symphonists from peripheral cultures', others, such as Otto Taub who declared in the Berliner Börsen-Courier he was satisfied. In the Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung of the 27th, Willhelm Klatte praised Sibelius as a 'strong personality (who) had certainly developed his technique by contact with the art of our new German masters. What he expresses through his mature technique is no less his own property'.

Klatte added that in the future Sibelius would surely succeed in freeing himself of Tchaikovsky's influence, and after noting his annual stipend, could not resist declaring, 'German composers, hold back your jealousy'. Another letter contained these words, 'My works have had (in Berlin) an enormous, huge, success, which would have been inconceivable without our orchestra. I have met famous people who have been enthusiastic. I am sure of being played here next season. I am now going to a banquette. Be happy with me.'

The following concerts took place in Amsterdam (21 July), The Hague, Rotterdam and Brussels, unfortunately with poorly filled concert halls, as it was in the middle of summer. The critics were favourable, but without succeeding in interesting the music loving public in 'J.Sibelino, Kajanus and Gätenefelt'

as the Dutch newspaper De Telegraaf reported. Sibelius bathed in the Zuiderzee and found the Dutch cigars ‘the best in the world’ (20 July).

From Brussels, where the critic of L’Indépendent Belge bizarrely considered that his orchestration was that of a ‘piano virtuoso’, He confided to Aino, ‘Here I am for the first time in my life in a French speaking country. It seems nice, much more nicer than Germany, but I miss Finland, which I love more than ever and could never leave. If necessary I would chain myself to Finland, I am even capable of dying for Finland. (…) In Paris everything should be alright. (…) You have probably read like me that they are having the most terrible heat wave for a century. Imagine a concert there! But that doesn’t matter, we have saved our honour in Berlin, which for me was of the greatest importance’ (25 July).

The key piece in the Parisian concerts was Aino Ackte. She had started at the Opera de Paris the 8 October 1897, as Marguerite in Gounod’s Faust, to sing this role and others until 1903, Juliet in Romeo and Juliet, Micaëla in Carmen, Elsa in Lohengrin, and was then engaged by the Metropolitan Opera of New York and London’s Covent Garden Opera. It was on here arrival in Paris that she abandoned her family name Achte, which seemed too much like the French word ‘acheté’ (buy), for that of Ackté.

At the Paris Exposition of 1889—the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the French Revolution, took place without the participation of Russia, though there was a Finnish musical

presence, namely Muntra Musikanter and their leader Gösta Sohltröm. They had given two concerts mostly of Scandinavian music, but not specifically Finnish music, at the Trocadero, in the presence of the wife of Sadi Carnot—President of France, and their daughter, the former President of France—MacMahon and his wife, and the soprano Pauline Viardot-Garcia. A poster shows 'Madame Paris' welcoming her 'granddaughter' Helsingfors on the banks of the Seine.

On his arrival in Paris, a city he was visit on five occasions, Sibelius stayed at the Hôtel de Bretagne, a short walk from the Louvre, where he made some final touches to the First Symphony. In Paris he may have met Ilmari Krohn, who was attending an international music congress, from the 23 to 29 July, at the Bibliothéque de l'Opéra where he was presenting a paper entitled 'De la mesure à cinq temps dans la musique populaire finnoise'. Jean quickly wrote his impressions of Paris to Aino, 'Everything is big here, magnificent and artistic, but when I think of Italy, Paris becomes smaller in my eyes, in any case for the moment' (26 July). The next day he continued, 'The locks, the doors and the houses are at least a century old, which gives them an aristocratic air. The cigars are no good. (…) We will move here soon, for a year. If you live in the Latin Quarter its relatively cheap. Here there is really food for the mind. (…) I am writing from the pavement terrace of a restaurant. The garcon has just told me that a lady has been watching me and wants to see me at one o'clock. Ah, un rendez-vous! I politely replied that je suis engagé (in French). (…) Aino Ackté doesn't stop. Thanks to her, Madame Loubet

(the wife of the French President) will be present at the concert. We will present her with a bouquet of flowers. We don't know who will present it to her, they would like me to do it. As I don't speak French it will be difficult. (…) Madame Loubet always arrives in the middle of the concert and leaves before the end, so it cannot be Kajus (Kajanus), who will be conducting' (27 July).

After having herself presented the invitation to the first lady of France, Aino Ackté wrote to her mother, 'In the garden (of the Elysée Palace), by chance we had the good luck to personally meet the Loubert and his wife. They were both very nice, and Madame Loubet promised to do everything possible to come to the concert. During the conversation, Loubet spoke of the Finns treating them as separatists. (…) I'm afraid the finally Madame Loubet won't come, because the Russians are doing everything to put a spanner in the works'. Madame Loubet did in fact not come. The newspaper Päivälehti of the 7 August, attributed this absence to the assassination of King Umberto I of Italy by the anarchists on the eve of the concert. A plausible excuse, because it was this dramatic event that provoked the absence of Loubet at the three 'Norwaegian concerts', which followed those of Finland. They were perhaps other reasons.

The organisers of the tour knew that it would have been better that the concerts take place in Paris before the 14 July, but the sponsors who financed it decided otherwise. Sibelius was forced to observe that the Parisians had almost all left for

the coast, and told Aino the 27 July, 'There are only foreigners. (…) Frankly, the style of the Exposition is out of date. (…) Our Finnish pavilion is the most artistic. Everybody stops before it saying 'Ah, Finland'. It will not be easy to make people come to our concerts. Yesterday, for example, I was at Colonne's, there were ten people in the concert hall. Can you imagine they had printed Russia on the ticket, which we are going to delete and replace by Finland. Kajanus, who came to see me this morning, said that all annoyed him enormously. The influence of Russia is visible in many different ways. (…) The pro-Russian papers (chauvinistic) will certainly mistreat us, me in particular, as I am such ao nationalist.' These fears were exaggerated. The French government had however done everything to avoid upsetting Saint Petersburg, and the Russian government 'systematically manipulated the French press, even by financial means'. French public opinion tended to favour to the Finnish cause. Besides personalities such as Svendsen, the directors of the Grand Opéra and the Comédie Française, and the Consul General of Sweden, attended the first concert, that took place the 30 July at the Trocadero, as well as the responsible French minister and Prince Tenichev, the Exposition's Russian commissar. The hall, capable of seating 4,000 was filled to a only third of its capacity. In the whirlwind of the Exposition, the appearance of the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra was just an event amongst many others. A few weeks previously, the 18, 20 and 21 June, Mahler had conducted the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra in the same place, on its first tour abroad. And the 4, 6 and 7 August, the three Norwegian

music concerts followed, with Svendsen and his former student the composer Iver Holter, at the head of a French orchestra.

The Franco-Russian honeymoon was at the same time political, military and musical. In the middle of the 1890s, after the signature of a Franco-Russian alliance, Rimsky-Korsakov or Balakirev were played more than in the past in Paris, partly due to reasons of 'patriotism'. As to Debussy and others, they were interested in the Russians for mainly artistic reasons. For better or worse, exoticism was the order of the day in France, and it was mainly in this light, more so than in Germany, that Sibelius was seen in France, and for a long time to come.

A brochure, prepared by Flodin, composed of fourteen pages including an annexe of six pages with the words of melodies, was distributed to the audience at the Trocadero. It was entitled La musique en Finlande, a German version of which had already been distributed in Lübeck, Hamburg and Berlin. 'Translated (…) by Captain H.Biaudet' and quite in line with the French way of thinking, this text—the first to present Sibelius as the 'great figure' of Finnish music—vehiculed the national-romantic ideology of the last years of the nineteenth century.

A typical specimen of nationalist historiography, it commenced in a way that would neither temper the readers taste for exoticism nor spoil the clichés, 'Finland (Suomi) is the country of a thousand lakes, still forests, lonely moors, of song and poetry, a country where men withdraw to themselves, which gives their thoughts and feelings a shade of melancholy,

a poor country, but where the traditions of integrity, of loyalty are undying. Finnish songs are of filled with sadness and go back to the most ancient times. From the furthest times of paganism runes were on the lips of the people.' Then a commentary on the Kalevala and its 'wise and strong heroes, beating the enemy as they sung', followed by words on the composers Crusell, Pacius, Collan, Filip von Schantz, Faltin, Wegelius, Kajanus, Armas Järnefelt and Ernst Mielck, then, 'But of all the contemporary Finnish composers, the most remarkable without dispute is Jean Sibelius, born in 1865. Both by his creativity and the great originality of his talent, Sibelius has established his own unique place, better than any other he has known how to mark his works with the essential elements of the natural beauty of Finland imbued with a powerful sense of national feeling. It could be said that he is the real creator of Musique finnoise in the precise meaning of the word. Very individual, very independent, he follows no other path than that traced by his own genius, seeking to push back the frontiers with which tradition has until now imprisoned the notion of beauty in music. Sibelius is at the same time the master and flag bearer of young Finnish composers, it is under his banner that the Nouvelle Ecole hopes to achieve victory. His grand symphonic poem based on texts drawn from the Kalevala, his Suites for orchestra, translate in the most sublime manner what cannot be produced by words or colours the peaceful, profound and solemn grandeur of Finland's nature and its national saga. The only Finnish composer, as such, to receive a state stipend, Sibelius is free to practice his art in total freedom.'

Many of the Parisian critics were inspired by Flodin's text, an extended version of which was to appear in 1903 in the German review Die Musik. Amongst them, Pierre Lalo in Le Temps dated the 7 August, 'It was only when, and naturally, it possessed a means of expression that Finnish music was born. Immediately it had the ambition of becoming a real national music. (…) The most outstanding and the most representative (of the musicians that compose it), even in the opinion of his peers, appears to be Monsieur Jean Sibelius.' Or the editor of the Ménestrel under the pseudonym of O.Bn., 'Monsieur Sibelius walks at the head of Finnish composers. (…) His orchestration is richly coloured without going beyond the boundary of good taste' (12 August). Only a few critics linked the music presented at the Trocadero with Russian music, without however detecting a great similitude between them.

It was the case of Alfred Bruneau in Le Figaro dated 31 July, 'For a long time the Parisian public have known and admired the musicians of Saint Petersburg and Moscow. They totally ignore Finnish composers, whose works were executed by Monsieur Robert Kajanus (…) yesterday (…) with the aid of his valiant little orchestra and his compatriot Mademoiselle Aino Ackté, the admirable artist of our Opéra.' And Gaston Garraud in La Liberté dated 5 August, 'Like that of the properly called Russians, (Finnish music) is deliberately inspired from folk sources, linked to purely national inspiration. It seems however, to be less complicated, less curious, less chopped up. And its clarity, sincerity, the simplicity of its lines will guaranty it, I'm sure, the same warm

reception that it has had at the Trocadero, and in a lasting fashion.

At the two concerts, other than the works of Sibelius, the orchestral works of Kajanus were performed, the Kesämuistoja suite (Summer memories, in Swedish Sommarminnen) and Finnish Rhapsody N°1, and those of Armas Järnefelt, Praeludium and Korsholm. Armas Järnefelt's melodies were sung by his wife Maikki. As to Mielck, Merikanto, Melartin, Wegelius and perhaps Flodin, only by their melodies were played. Also on the programme were a number of Finnish folk songs. Sibelius described the first concert to Aino (31 July) in the following words, 'My symphony was much applauded. Le Figaro liked the Andante. Armas' Praeludium was encored. Sommarm(innen) also worked out well, but above all La Patrie (Finlandia). I was given a marvellous write-up (by Alfred Bruneau) in Le Figaro. But the star of the concert was Aino (Ackté). Here, she was carried up to the heavens. She had to make several encores, we all went for supper at Acktés. We had a good time, she sang a lot.'

In Le Figaro of the same day, Alfred Bruneau wrote, 'The four pieces of the symphony in E-minor by Sibelius have a good and vigorous air of nature. They are not at all constructed in a classical fashion. On the contrary, the author has written them in the freest style, opposing long and slow melodies with traits of extreme vivacity. Of these four pieces, I prefer the Andante, full of melancholy, of tenderness, where the trees seem to rustle, the lakes ripple. (…) Finally, La patrie of

Monsieur Sibelius is a rhapsody that is tragic, heroic, religious and aching at the same time.'

Adolphe Jullien delivered his impressions in two parts at fifteen days interval in Journal des Débats (5 and 19 August), 'The most creative and original of these (Finnish) musicians is, Monsieur Jean Sibelius, from whom we have heard a kind of rhapsody entitled Patrie and a very grand symphony. Listening to these two works, it seems to me that this young composer seeks firstly to give his music a pictorial or dramatic character. Thus in his symphony, written with a total independence, outside of all the classical rules, but with a great deal of talent and a rare understanding of contrasts (above all a very melancholic andante and the last in the form of a fantasy drew my attention), as in Patrie, where religious and war chants resounded one after the other, with, towards the middle, a phrase that clearly recalls Lohengrin, it is clear that the author is always seeking what both strikes the ear and the spirit of the listener, and what is essential for him, is that he succeeds (5 August). Disappointed by the four extracts from King Christian II given in the second concert (3 August), Adolphe Jullien on the contrary appreciates those of the Lemminkäinen Suite, 'First of all, the piece tender, serious and calm described the slow movements of a swan on the black waters that surround Tuonela (the empire of death, according to Scandinavian mythology), and the passages intensely rhymed to a precipitous movement of strings, in the middle of which the harmony and the brass sound a joyous fanfare, the fanfare of Lemminkäinen, the warrior hero, the Achilles of the Finnish epic, at the

moment when, rich and glorious filled with his adventures he returns home' (19 August). Maurice Chassang, the Parisian correspondent of the Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft, reported having heard 'a good symphony in E-minor by Monsieur Sibelius and orchestra pieces with moderately original lieds by Messieurs Kajanus, Järnefelt, etc.'

The Finnish musicologist Helena Tyrväinen cites other reports, for the most part in a positive tone and confirming that the French critics were far from being deaf to the accents of the North. In the review Le Petit Bleu dated 1 August, Théodore Massiac qualified Sibelius as a musician 'incomparable, original, full of verve and inspiration, a melodist such as can be found almost nowhere else, (composer of a symphony) in which the so astonishing scherzo stands out'. In the 5 August number of Le Petit Bleu, contrary to Adolphe Jullien, Massiac reported he was 'above all enchanted' by King Christian II, 'Here we have an original musician, the Grieg of Finland, though without any resemblance whatsoever to the Norwegian maestro. Sibelius is a first class orchestrator. He has a unique way of using the woods. On large waves of strings, he makes them dance like lively, light, birds, toing and froing before the sun. It is delicious. The Nocturne, the Elegy, the Ballade were covered with applause, as to the Musette, it was given a unanimous encore. It is an absolutely exquisite piece.'

In La Liberté of the 5 August, Gaston Garraud qualified The Swan of Tuonela as the 'vision of a great poet', and in the Journal des Débats of the 2 August, Gustave Babin talked of

‘the indescribable enthusiasm’ provoked by La Patrie, ‘There were many enthusiastic Finns, and the whole audience was caught up in their emotion.’

In Le Temps, dated the 7 August, Pierre Lalo qualified Patrie as ‘a vigorous rhapsody where heroic songs mix with religious songs’, adding, ‘(We also heard) a symphony whose freedom of form is to my liking often excessive but whose orchestration is ingenious and original and inspires a real feeling of nature. Since Monsieur Sibelius – and his compatriots with him – seems to conceive his music as a pictorial art, he tries, not to paint a picture, because he does not go into the descriptive minutiae, but communicate the sensation of landscapes, creating a musical expression of the forests, waters and skies of Finland.’

Not one of these commentaries has the slightest reserve as to the orchestra of Kajanus. In Le Ménestrel, dated 12 August, O.Bn. assures his readers, ‘The orchestra, whose brass is especially brilliant, excellently conducted by Monsieur Kajanus, would honour almost any European capital.’ However the Exposition jury did not award any medals to this phalanx, which Kajanus complained about a few weeks later in a hurt letter to Aino Ackté, ‘Have we been forgotten in the eyes of the world?’

But no one mentioned the initial movement of the First Symphony, the most accomplished of the four. No one drew attention to his architectural mastery, to his renewal—even definition—of the ‘classical rules’ invoked by Adolphe Jullien

and to a lesser degree by Alfred Bruneau and that Sibelius, contrary to what Bruneau could have imagined, did not ignore.

One of the reasons for this misunderstanding is that contrary to a certain Germany, France did not consider itself as the trusty of these rules. For the French, the ‘notion’ of pure music and symphonic standards in its kind had not the same importance, the same sacred character, which for certain Germans, their rejection, at this epoch, of ‘pedanticism’ (Romain Rolland), of ‘abstract music’ (Edouard Schuré) and the ‘neoclassicism’ of Brahms. With the exception of Pierre Lalo, they did not disapprove of Sibelius’s, at least for the moment, supposed ‘lack of knowledge of formal rules’. For Helena Tyräinen, ‘to be assimilated to a people and a culture could not be a disadvantage in France at the turn of the century, on the contrary’. However, there was the seed of a series of misdeals.

Sibelius also suffered from not having established any real contacts in 1900 with French musicians— composers, critics, conductors—a situation that would unfortunately repeat itself on his future visits to Paris. His works, melodies included, never made an impression in Parisian salons, no piano pieces for example comparable to those of Albeniz or even Grieg, creators who in addition played the piano in person. Two years after the concerts of 1900 Sibelius was made a member of the French Legion of Honour, the his very first decoration.

* * *

Sibelius, Kajanus and their musicians left Paris the 3 August, immediately after their second concert. As that of Mahler with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, their tour ended with an important deficit. So as to partially cover the deficit a fund raising concert and lottery was organised the 20 October in Helsinki. Sibelius conducted the first performance of his work Snöfrid, an 'improvisation' for mixed choirs, recitants and orchestras to words by Rydberg. With a duration of approximately thirteen minutes, the work—one of the most attaching and most personal in its kind—again exhorted, be it symbolically, the Finns to defend their freedom. From Rydberg's poem, Sibelius kept the most dramatic episodes as well as the epilogue. Snöfrid is of a heroic tone, and Tawaststjerna thought that Sibelius identified himself with the subject, because his Alleingefühl (the feeling he had of always being alone) condemned him in his own opinion to pursue his solitary path struggling against the whole world'.

One stormy night the beautiful forest nymph Snöfrid awoken the knight Gunnar and led him to the sea where he embarked with her. 'Come, I will see if you have a warm heart, if courage glows in your young heart. Come, let yourself be borne by the waves with a young elf.'

In a vast introduction, then as a backing for the choir, the orchestra paints the agitated sea. Gunnar, in ecstasy, hears the voices of the temptresses, 'Gunnar, give us your soul and you can play with our treasures, your soul will be resplendent with the glory of fame.'

In the last part however, more serene and to finish very generous, of hymn like grandeur, the choir promises Gunnar that if he accepts his destiny as a solitary warrior, exhausted by serving the poor and disinherited, if he remains faithful to his most beautiful and purest of dreams, he will meet Snöfrid again and know happiness and freedom.

At the premier of Snöfrid, 20 October 1900, Sibelius met Axel Carpelan for the first time. To finance the visit to Italy, which at the beginning of the year he had pressed to composer to make, Carpelan had been able to gather together 5,000 marks; 3,000 from his Swedish benefactor Axel Tamm, and 2,000 from an anonymous Finnish benefactor. Sibelius found a substitute though not without difficulty at the Institute. His determination to travel provoked the enthusiasm of Adolf Paul, 'It was about time you banged your fist on the table in your chicken coop'.

* * *

The 27 October, Sibelius and his family left for Berlin, hoping to pocket the dividends from his July concert. There, in the company of Aino, he listened to Liszt's oratorio Christus. The leading musical personalities of the city were Richard Strauss, who since 1898 was the leading conductor at the Imperial Opera; Felix von Weingartner, his predecessor at the Opera, permanent director since 1898 of the Imperial Orchestra; Arthur Nikisch, permanent director of both the Berlin

Philharmonic Orchestra and the Gewandhaus in Leipzig; and increasingly Busoni.

In the secrecy of her diary, Aino was astonished by her husband's evident taste for luxury and his need to take almost all his meals in restaurants. The 4 November, in a crisis of discouragement, Sibelius noted in a sarcastic tone on a music sheet, 'Consider yourself happy now. You are abroad, aren't you? Ha. Ha!'

He went to Leipzig, where Nikisch, after having regretted not having received the First Symphony in time to include it into his programmes, promised to think about the Swan of Tuonela. Anticipating productive contacts, Sibelius remained in Berlin until the end of January 1901. This caused a sharp exchange of correspondence with Carpelan, who wrote the 12 December, 'Caught between you and your two X (benefactors), to whom I personally guaranteed you would go to Italy, (…) I ask you to immediately quit Berlin as soon as possible!'

Sibelius justified his decision as best he could (15 December), 'If independently of the voyage (to Italy) you have very kindly made possible, I have decided to go to Berlin, it was to obtain the execution of certain of my works. (…) I hope you will understand me, since I have not touched the 5,000 marks. Please transmit, if you feel it is necessary my dear Baron, this message to my unknown benefactors. As soon as it is reasonably possible I will continue to the south.'

In January it was necessary to find new funds, and one of the benefactors went as far as advising Sibelius, to the great indignation of the later (letter to Mikko Slöör dated 5 January), 'Come home, it will be less costly!' The 14 January, Sibelius sent—reminding him of their conversations in Paris—The Song of Spring to Svendsen in Copenhagen. He asked him to recommend the work to the publishing firm Hansen, adding in post-scriptum that since the previous summer, he had been through a 'difficult period'.

The following 20 April, Svendsen conducted The Song of Spring in Copenhagen, in between two heavy weights of the repertory: the Second Symphony and the Fifth Concerto of Beethoven and the Second Concerto of Chopin. The soloist in both concertos was the pianist Ignace Paderewski, future political leader the Poland.

At the end of January, Ida Ekman persuaded Sibelius to participate at an evening at Otto Lessmann's, to which the cream of the Berlin musical world had been invited. The Czech Quartet, the second violinist of which was Josef Suk, son-in-law of Dvorak, played a string quartet by Weingartner in his presence. Richard Strauss, who was also present, listened to a few of his melodies. Accompanied by her husband, Ida Ekman sung different new pieces by the pianist and composer Alfred Reisenauer, by Dvorak and Sibelius himself, in particular, for the first very time, Flickan kom ifrån sin älsklings möte. 'Simply with this melody, Sibelius has become ein gemachter Mann (a made man)', wrote Adolf Paul to his friends in

Helsinki. For once he was right, the success at the Lessmanns was a beginning. A few days later, the Berliner Tonkünstlerverein organised concery of Finnish chamber music, a quartet by Erkki Malartin was played—the new protégé of Wegelius—as well as melodies and piano pieces by Sibelius played by the Ekman couple and Malinconia. Sibelius stood out by his absence, he had already left for Italy after a rather sombre sojourn in Berlin. Adolf Paul said he had seen him 'drowning the melancholy of life in drink' and he himself noted on a music note book, 'Berlin 22.1.1901. Memento mori.'

* * *

At the beginning of February, Sibelius and his family settled in the Swiss Pension of Rapallo, on the Italian Riviera to the south-west of Genoa. He also rented a room where he could work in a villa situated on the hills overlooking the city. The 6 March, he gave a detailed description in a letter to Carpelan of the treasures of his 'very interesting garden – roses in flower, camellias, almond trees, cacti, agaves, magnolias, cypresses, vines, palms and all kinds of flowers'.

This third period in Italy, which lasted two and a half months, resulted in the Second Symphony after a years work. Sibelius had first imagined a work on Don Juan, and noted on the back of a sheet of paper, 'Don Juan. Sitting at dusk in my castle, a guest enters. Several times I ask him who he is—no reply. I try everything to amuse him. Still no reply. Finally the stranger

starts to sing. Then Don Kuan realises it is—Death.' And on the other side of the sheet, '19.II.01 Rapallo. Ligure Villa del Signor Molfino', the well known bassoon theme at the beginning of the Andante of the Second Symphony. Sibelius also noted, 'A festival, four symphonic poems for orchestra.'

They walked in the scented forests and along the beaches, visiting Santa Margharita and Portofino, but, in this 'earthly paradise', his internal conflicts resurfaced. As ten years earlier in Vienna, he made Kajanus his faraway confident, 'You must be fed up with the disarray and confusion that shows through my much too many letters. I am unfortunately a man subject to changes of mood. The foreign newspapers report that there are horrible things happening in Finland, but our own newspapers tell us nothing, and no one writes to me. If I am to believe all that I hear here, the only left for me to do is…! I am in Chiavari for the moment – there is a huge storm and the waves are as high as the houses. The devil knows how high they really are. Of course, you have already forgotten me' (postmarked 3 March). 'The Mediterranean in storm! Moon light! Our songbirds are all there! – The shoot at them, therefore kill them! They set bird traps for them! Even the breadcrumbs are poisoned! But they still sing, and prepare for the Finnish spring! Finland! Finland!!! (…) Do you still like my music? Write. The almond trees are in blossom' (postcard dated 2 March).

A letter finally arrived from his brother Christian, dated 31 January, informing him that the Russian Secretary of State for

Finnish Affairs, Count von Pleve, had dismissed several professors from their positions, including Werner Söderhjelm, and the Old Finns were more and more disdained by their compatriots. Christian reassured Jean that no one in Helsinki was plotting against him, and he once again pleaded with him to reduce his consumption of alcohol and above all tobacco. He also received a letter of eight pages dated 28 February from Axel Carpelan.

Sibelius replied at length, but without unveiling the nature of his work, 'I could, dear friend, talk to you of my work, but by principal I refuse to do so. For me a musical composition is like a butterfly, once you touch it, its essence evaporates—it can still fly, but its beauty is not the same. (…) Several of my works will not be ready for a certain number of years' (6 March). In Berlin, Adolf Paul was busy, and informed Sibelius by bombarding him with letters. The composer learnt that Otto Lessman had recommended his works for the programme of the 37th annual festival of the Allegemeiner Deutscher Musikverein in June in Heidelberg. Adolf Paul had communicated the proofs of the Swan of Tuonela and the Return of Lemminkäinen as well as an original of the First Symphony, who then transmitted to Weingartner.

Both Adolf Paul and Axel Carpelan tried to warn Sibelius of the health hazards in Italy, Napolitain ice cream, malaria, overripe fruit and so on. That did not prevent their second daughter, Ruth, aged six, who in turn, following Eva and Kirsti, caught typhus in March, after playing with orange peelings

found in a spring. The understanding doctor hid the nature of her illness from the proprietor of the Swiss Pension.

Ruth recovered thanks to the care of Aino, but the perspective of a new family tragedy, to which was added money worries, the fear of seeing his inspiration drying up and the continual coming and going between the Swiss Pension and the Signor Molfino's villa, provoked an uncontrollable feeling of panic in Sibelius, evidence of his difficulties to become a responsible husband and father. 'One day, he suddenly locked the door of his room, put the key in his pocket, abandoned his sketches on the rented piano, sent Aino a message accompanied by a few hundred lira and simply left for Rome'.

The postcard he sent Aino the next day on his arrival in the Eternal City shows how he was assailed by his bad conscience, 'You can't imagine to what extent yesterday's events have affected me. I went to the post office today, but you don't have the telegraph. Surrounded by marvelous artistic treasures, I wander around waiting for a word from you. (…) If only Ruth could be better!' (20 March). Not forgetting the bill to be paid at the Swiss Pension, Aino sent him a change of clothing and a hair brush.

'Now I have a comfortable room to work in, I realise Berlin and Rapallo were hell for me. I am working hard here, and—I hope—well. Confronted by too many artistic distractions, my imagination fails. Apparently I need total solitude in order to work' (to Aino, 27 March). The 21 March, Aino wrote to, Elisabeth, her mother. 'Janne has left for Rome when the

doctor pronounced Ruth better, it was the best thing for him to do, because with the lack of space here he was extremely tense and could not work any more.'

After having seen Rigoletto and heard different choirs in the churches of Palestrina, Sibelius concluded that if Italian was to be heard at its best it was necessary to hear it on the spot (22 March). The thirteen days spent in Rome opened new perspectives for him. He realised that the world of Verdi was also as vast as that of Wagner and distanced himself from Tchaikovsky. He also tried to examine with a minimum of objectivity his own behaviour, and to consider his relations with Aino. Through her intermediary he addressed his daughters, 'Papa will no doubt remain here (Rome) for some time, because Papa has become another man, it all his goodness and all his affection' (22 March). 'Papa must again learn to respect himself, this can only be done by good, hard, work' (26 March). Then directly to Aino, 'It is because of my lack of openness and thoughtfulness that I have not been able to make you happy. Even worse I am really fickle! I can clearly see where the problem lies, and that can help to solve it. But it is not so simple. We will seriously speak about it when we are together again, so I can listen to you, and you to me, so that we understand each other' (27 March). 'You should also love me. Otherwise our relations will die.' (29 March).

He gave a provisional account to Carpelan, 'Rather this tragic destiny than the boredom of everyday life. In any case, I am confident, and say to myself that to suffer is not in vain' (2

April). A sketch from which one of the principal themes of the symphonic fantasia The Daughter of Pohjola was to emerge is dated ‘Roma 20/III/1901’. Two other sketches for the same theme bear the inscription ‘Accademia di S.Cecila/Lunedi 25 Marzo’. A fourth sketch, from the same period, presages another theme for The Daughter of Pohjola, the sonorities of the flutes in example 57. Still more, all from this period, were to end up in the Concerto for Violin.

Finally Sibelius returned to Rapallo and from there he brought his family to Florence where, accompanied by Aino, he visited the Uffiza and La Traviata. He sketched in his music note book, accompanied by the inscription ‘Christus’, an early version of his second project for the Andante of the Second Symphony. The same note book showed that in Florence, the city of Dante, he had also thought of attacking the Divine Comedy, in fact a theme bears the indication Wo die Neider sind (Where are the envious), an allusion to Songs XIII and VIV of Purgatory.

The 25 April, on his road home, he attended a concert at the Royal Imperial Opera in Vienna, where he heard Tchaikovsky’s Yolanta, conducted not by Mahler but Franz Schalk, and where he learnt that The Swan of Tuonela and The Return of Lemminkäinen had been retained for the Heidelberg festival. He met Pietro Mascagni in Vienna, who the 25 April, conducted Verdi’s Requiem in the Musikverein concert hall, decked out in black, in memory of the composer, who had died in Milan the previous 27 January.

The 1 May, at the invitation of Mahler, Mascagni also conducted Cavalleria Rusticana at the Royal Imperial Opera. In Prague, Sibelius met Josef Suk again, who arranged his introduction to Dvorak. Sibelius later told Ekman that he was ‘openness and discretion personified. He spoke of his art in a most modest fashion, not as could have been imagined someone who held a position in his country and the world as he’. Wissen sie, Herr Sibelius, ich habe ganz zuviel komponiert (Do you know, Mr Sibelius, I have really composed too much), this remark remained firmly anchored in Sibelius’ memory, who told Ekman, adding, if we are to believe the latter, ‘Impossible to agree with him on this point.’

* * *

After his return to Finland at the beginning of May, he recounted the details of this meeting to Axel Carpelan in even more interesting terms, ‘Kerava, 21 May 1901. (…) Here I am again in my hut. (…) For me, the past year counts for five. (Dvorak) impressed me very much by his extraordinary honesty, in particular as regards himself. We spoke for a good while. I do not agree with all he said, but I greatly respect him, because he has one of the most remarkable brains. I feel I have come to a different conclusion regarding ‘national’ music than him. The rest of us adore and have adored music of an ‘ethnographic’ dimension, if I can express myself that way. But, the authentic ‘national’ element is situated at an even deeper level. Compare Verdi and Grieg for example. The first, no doubt the most national of the two, is however a true

European, whilst the second, it must be admitted, speaks a regionalist dialect. What a joy it would be to see what you think of my music now! (…) (Above I wrote that ‘the rest of us adore and have adored music of an ‘ethnographic’ dimension’, which strictly speaking means, we only accept that which is truly ethnographically exact by the progression of sounds and other phenomena of the same type. Can you follow me!).’

Sibelius left for Berlin at the end of May, where he commenced, no without some anxiety, to prepare for Heidelberg, where he was expected by Richard Strauss. Breitkopf & Härtel publicised Sibelius’s works in the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, and Otto Lessmann published a German version of Flickan kom ifrån sin älsklings möte opus 37 N°5 (Selig kam von Stelldichein das Mädchen), and a detailed analysis of The Swan of Tuonela and the Return of Lemminkäinen in the festival edition of the Allegemeine Musik Zeitung.

These analysis were made by Peter Raabe conductor and musicologist, future author of important works on Liszt, and future successor of Richard Strauss (in July 1935) to the presidency of the Reichmusikkammer (Riech Chamber Music) controlled by Joseph Goebbels. The most part of the other works in the Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein—founded in 1859 by Liszt— festival programme also benefited from the same treatment in the review. Peter Raabe also reminded the readers that the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra had played in Germany in July 1900, ‘With astonishment and admiration, we

heard that this small country, poor and reduced to slavery, feel free, rich and great from the artistic point of view, and in spirit it had been allowed to preserve intact its most sacred heritage.

Sibelius rehearsed the 31 May in Heidelberg at the head of the festival orchestra, composed mostly of members of that of the Karlsruhe court. 'The preparatory work is scandalously inadequate. I am even thinking of withdrawing my works if I cannot get an additional rehearsal. I'll move heaven and earth. (…) fortunately I have neither insulted the orchestra (who applauded after Lemminkäinen) nor anyone else. (…) Besides, I conducted well. Richard Strauss congratulated me. I think we will become good friends. (…) I have not drunk the least drop of alcohol. (…) Lessmann arrives tomorrow, and we'll see' (to Aino, not dated). Sibelius spoke of this meeting with Strauss in the presence of Ekman, 'He was very friendly and spoke to me of his own works very openly. I noted with pleasures that our differences of opinion did nothing to affect our excellent personal relations.' In his demonstrations of esteem for Sibelius, Strauss was sincere. As this extract from his diary shows, probably dated from May-June 1901, 'Of all the Nordic composers, Sibelius is the only one to have reach real depths. There is little doubt that his instrumental skills are not brilliant, but his music possesses a freshness that presupposes an almost inexhaustible melodic inventiveness'.

Five concerts largely made up of new works took place in Heidelberg from the 1 to 4 June, principally directed by their respective composers. The keystone of the festival was Philipp

Wolfrum, university professor and an untiring motor of musical life in Heidelberg. The Swan of Tuonela and the Return of Lemminkäinen were performed at the end of the fourth concert, the 4 June in the evening.

The concert started at 7 o'clock, and its gigantic programme finished at 10 o'clock. In the first part was the symphonic prologue König Oedipus (King Oedipus) of Max von Schillings, lieders from Wolf and Liszt, a symphonic scherzo by Otto Naumann and the piano concerto in C-sharp minor by Xaver Scharwenka.

In the second part of the concert were pieces by Richard Strauss, Josef Suk, then the two legends of Sibelius and finally Wagner's Imperial March. It ended with the audience singing Heil dem Kaiser (Hail to the Emperor). It was the first time that Sibelius conducted abroad. 'Pushed by necessity, Sibelius gave everything he had as conductor,' Adolf Paul reported the 9 June, contradicting a Hamburg critic who had given an opposite opinion. Richard Faltin who was also present wrote to his wife, 'Sibelius' position was not the easiest, between Strauss, who was saluted by the orchestra with a triple fanfare and the public who rose to applaud him, and Wagner. In addition we had already listened to three hours of music in an almost tropical heat! Sibelius was recalled twice, a considerable success in view of the unfavourable circumstances that I just mentioned.'

The critic of the Berliner Tageblatt saw in The Swan of Tuonela 'a sketch written with feeling' and praised 'the feeling

of continuous movement and the astonishing sonorities' of the Return of Lemminkäinen 'brilliantly accomplished'. The Vossiche Zeitung compared the two works to the Pohadka suite, 'Suk had demonstrated a greater dramatic force, but Sibelius more skill as a painter and creator of atmosphere'. Fritz Stein, in the Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft, a faithful disciple of Wolfrum, and later a reputed musicologist, considered that Suk's suite 'contributed nothing to progress'. Concerning Sibelius his reaction was more positive. After having qualified the fourth concert as a 'fighting demonstration of musical Young Germany', and continued, 'The fact that after Der Gewaltige ('The Powerful', Richard Strauss), the Finn Jean Sibelius succeeded with his two legends for orchestra to hold the attention of a tired public, surely speaks in favour of his music. Particularly with his first legend, Sibelius, amongst the most important living Finnish musicians, created a marvellous vision of atmosphere.' In the Allgemeiner Musik-Zeitung of the 14 June, Otto Lessmann wrote that Sibelius was amongst the composers who are 'apparently destined to make a successful contribution to the progress of our art'.

The Heidelberg Festival marked an important step in Sibelius' 'conquest' of Germany. For the second time he met Oskar von Hase, the director of Breitkopf & Härtel, starting a valuable and esteemed friendship with him the developed over the years to come. And it was natural that in the months that followed The Swan of Tuonela and the Return of

Lemminkäinen commenced their ‘triumphal march’ in concert halls across the country.

CHAPTER 8

1902-1903

SIBELIUS ONCE AGAIN SPENT THE SUMMER and start of autumn at his mother-in-laws in Lohja, where after abandoning his symphonic poem based on Dante's work, he worked seriously on that second symphony that he had started to sketch out in Italy. Five Christmas Songs for voice and piano originated during this period, On hanget korkeat, nietokset (The Snow-drifts are High), based on a poem by the politician Viikku Joukahainen.

In the autumn, he finally freed himself of his teaching obligations at the Institute; the loss of income was compensated by a stipend of 500 marks per trimester that Carpelan succeeded in wheedling from different patrons of the arts. 'You have done all of this for me, I am not worthy of it. Please transmit my profound feelings of gratitude to these noble donors and patriots. My acknowledgments to you also, for everything you have done for my music' (4 August). Sibelius apparently considered the financial support from these patrons of the arts as a patriotic duty. He kept Carpelan informed of the progress of his work on the symphony, which he called his Schmerzkind (sufferance), 'I hope I will be able to

dedicate something to you soon, at least if you like the work in question' (27 August).

At the end of September he returned to Mattila where Carpelan visited him. As always, after these meetings with Sibelius, the Baron sent his cousin Lydia Rosengren a long letter describing the event, 'The work which will be dedicated to me is a new grand symphony in 5 movements, inspired by Italy and the Mediterranean, a symphony filled with sunshine, a blue sky, celebrating joy. For the moment it is just an outline (…) S considers it as 'absolutely his best work' up to now. I must accept this dedication' (9 October). The letters from Carpelan to Lydia Rosengren totalled more than four hundred. A month later, the 9 November, Sibelius announced to the Baron that the 'Symphony II' was almost 'almost completed', which did not prevent him from making 'such considerable modifications' to it that the premier was put back to January and then March 1902. It was most probably completed at Kerava during the first week of January.

Comforting new was received from Germany and elsewhere. On the strength of the Heidelberg Festival, The Swan of Tuonela was performed in Magdebourg and in Frankfurt. In December, Weingartner conducted this piece in Berlin at the head of the Royal Kapelle—which certain critics compared to Böcklin's Island of the Dead —as well as the Return of Lemminkäinen.

In addition his music was heard for the first time in England and the USA. The 26 October 1901, Henry Wood, who led the

Promenade Concerts at the Queen's Hall in London since they were re-established in 1895, this vast concert hall named in the honour of Queen Victoria was inaugurated in 1893 in Upper Regent Street, conducted the King Christian II suite in the concert hall.

The critic of the Times, doubtlessly John Alexander Fuller Maitland, was not enthusiastic, 'The Elegy was the most immediately pleasing element, but no doubt the contrast provided by the Musette (…) struck the feelings of every one'. The 6 December, the German conductor Theodore Thomas led the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, its director since 1891, in a performance of the Return of Lemminkäinen.

In Finland the political situation continued to become worse. In Rome, Sibelius had received a letter from Adolf Paul, dated 7 March, informing him that Bobrikov and the Saint Petersburg authorities had decided to dissolve the Finnish army as autonomous entity, and to incorporate all future conscripts into the Russian army. In July 1901, a conscription law was therefore promulgated, in virtue of the February manifesto, replacing that of 1878. 'The role of the army has always been that of assuring the defence 'of the throne and country', but country now meant the Russian Empire, no longer the Grand Duchy'. Passive and active resistance resulting from the application of this law and its sabotage by Finnish civil servants, in the majority constitutionalists, finally led Russia to abandon the law, which spared Finnish youth from

participating in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. But for the moment that was not yet the case.

A petition was drafted and signatures were collected in a cabin where Sibelius worked in Lohja, he himself was one of the first signatories. He became an incontestable rallying point for his compatriots. ‘Your name and your success are a source of encouragement for many,’ Carpelan wrote to him the 11 June. He continued to work on his symphony without stop and the 29 December he announced to the Baron, ‘I have much to tell you, but I can hardly keep my eyes open because it is now 5 o’clock in the morning, and I started working yesterday at 11 o’clock.’

Sibelius conducted the first performances of the Second Symphony, dedicated to Axel Carpelan, the 8, 10 and 14 March in the great hall of the University, each time to a full house, then the 16 in the great hall of the volunteer Fire Brigade. Never before did an orchestral work have such a triumph in Finland, which Flodin did not fail to underline in his report. At the same concerts the original version of an Impromptu for women’s choirs and orchestra was performed and an Overture. As the Song of the Athenians in 1899, the Impromptu, with a duration of seven minutes, was based on an extract of a Rydberg poem relating to classical antiquity: Livslust och livsleda (Joys and pains of life).. The 1910 revised version commenced with a choir of Bacchusian priests. Composed in one night in a Helsinki hotel it lasted approximately six and a half minutes, the Overture in A-minor was not heard again until

1958. It opened by a fanfare of brass, which was unusual for Sibelius, and the Allegro that followed contained a theme of cellos taken up again in the finale of the quartet Voces intimae of 1909.

* * *

The 11 March, Kajanus published an article in the daily Hufvudstadsbladet affirmed that as was already the case for Tchaikovsky's Pathétique, Sibelius' Second witnessed the vitality of the supposed defunct symphony, and that in addition it reflected the political situation of the moment, 'Protests against injustice that today threatens to steal the suns rays and the scent of the flowers', Preparation for the struggle, Fight for a better future, Triumph, light and confidence for the future and so forth. This legendary or invented interpretation of the Second Symphony, since in all probability it is based on a certain measure of truth, was difficult to die.

When Georg Schneevoight conducted the work in Boston in the 1930s, the programme notes he prepared were drawn almost entirely from the Kajanus article. The denials of Sibelius, who wanted his Second accepted as 'pure' music, are not entirely convincing, since as has been seen certain of the themes were chosen at the outset were associated with 'extra-musical' ideas.

In 1943, Sibelius, who was no doubt thinking of his Italian sojourn in 1901, told his son-in-law Jussi Jalas the Second was

a 'soul bearing confession', and the 7 June 1939, he wrote to Schneevoight insisting on the fact that it had nothing to do with the Finnish struggle against Russianisation.

However, six years later, Ilmari Krohn published a formal analysis of the Second, qualifying it as the 'Struggle of Finland for its freedom' in developing the least subjective theme or motive having a more or less Wagnerian connotation: first movement 'Before the conflict', second movement 'The storm', third movement 'National resistance', fourth movement 'Liberation of the Motherland', motives of Effort, of Pain, of Combat, of Prayer, of Salvation, of Consolation, of Victory Celebration, of Recognition and so on. Krohn however noted that these 'musical visions' were entirely of his own making.

After sending Kajanus' article to his patron Axel Tamm, Carpelan informed Sibelius of his reaction by a letter dated 4 April 1942, 'What Sibelius thinks is of no importance. The thoughts expressed—that's the important thing—are of such intensity and power that they could be interpreted in this sense. An original atmosphere, of a force thrusting its roots into a field much vaster than the creator himself is aware.' Finally, the Second incontestably possesses a triumphant aspect. It is the most 'popular' of the seven, that which is played in Finland on 'grand occasions'. His message is of an indisputably political meaning, but it has none of the 'Karelianism' of the First. His romanticism is more of a collective and general order, compared to individual and legendary romanticism, less civilised, than the First.

Cecil Gray wrote, ‘The best way to describe the nature (of Sibelius’ revolution) is to say that if in the symphonies of (his) predecessors, the thematic material is generally enunciated in the exposition, in pieces, dissected and analysed in the development, and then reassembles in the recapitulation, then he inverses the process in the first movement of his Second Symphony, presenting the thematic fragments in the exposition, and from these constructing a complete organic assembly in the development, to finally, in a brief recapitulation, reducing the material of its initial constitutive elements by the dispersion and disaggregation.’

Kajanus, in his already cited article of 11 March 1902, sees in the first movement of the Second Symphony an ‘inspired’ introduction to the overall work and to its continuous crescendo. He adds that in this passage, Sibelius expresses himself by aphorisms. The short motives that succeed in the exposition passing from one tone to another are effectively, for the most part of them, separated by silences. It is however not a question like in the case of Bruckner, silences as indicators of form, but ‘rhetorical questions loaded full of tension that continue to project the discourse forward’. These silences are of the same kind as those of Haydn or Beethoven. It is a reminder of the instrumental technique later employed more systematically though less confusing that Weber, for example in his orchestration for six voices of Bach’s Musical Offering, where the nineteen notes of the royal theme are distributed between the horn, trumpet and harp, with breaks of tone in a melodic continuity.

Concerning the last two movements of the Second Symphony, there are still four points that call for a commentary, only if it is because of the later solutions found by Sibelius to the problems they pose: their sequence, the rhythmic-melodic ostinato they lead to, in the exposition of the finale, example 40, the form itself of the finale, and the nature of its many crescendos and peaks of intensity. Though played without interruption, the scherzo and finale form two distinctive movements in the Second. Like the corresponding movements of Beethoven's Fifth and all those of Schumann's Fourth or Mendelssohn's Scottish Symphony, they are joined, but not organically connected, in spite of their mutual links. This was no longer the case for Sibelius in the different components of the last movement of the Third, the first of the Fifth or the totality of the Seventh, each of these passages constituted a whole composed of inseparable elements.

'Of all the great works of the repertory, none is better calculated to move the audience', wrote Walter Legge in the Manchester Guardian of the 13 May 1935 after having heard the Second in London conducted by Serge Koussevitzky.

* * *

The 2 April 1902, a month after the premier of the Second Symphony, Carpelan thanked Sibelius for these 'les beaux jours 8-10 mars' (in French), and announced to him that the benefactor who have financed his sojourn in Italy declared that he was entirely satisfied and very honoured by the work heard.

The 9 April, during the inauguration of the new National Finnish Theatre, Sibelius presented a cantata for baritone, men's choirs and orchestra, Tulen Synty (The Origin of Fire), after song XLVII from the Kalevala.

Then with the quarterly stipend of 500 marks obtained by Carpelan, Sibelius once again headed for Berlin. The First Symphony was still in press at Breitkopf & Härtel, and the Second still in manuscript form, a result he had not very much to offer to Weingartner or Nikisch. 'You surely wonder why I left like that, but my muse forced me. Even in these circumstances, happy days will come for us' (to Aino, postmarked 14 June). Having attended a performance of Weingartner's new opera, Orestes, (premiered in Leipzig the previous 15 February), he considered that this work 'bordered the highest summits of human intelligence could reach without the help of genius' (30 June to Carpelan).

He went with Lessmann to greet Weingartner in his lodge and hand him the manuscript of the Second Symphony. Weingartner, who the previous had conducted The Swan of Tuonela and The Return of Lemminkäinen and inscribed Christian II in the programme of the season, promised to communicate the Second to Breitkopf & Härtel. However he did not conduct the work until February 1910 in Vienna. Nikisch envisaged programming the Second in the 1902-1903 season, but immediately abandoned the idea.

The violinist Willy Burmester, with whom Sibelius had developed a friendship in Helsinki at the time of the

Symposium, consoled him with these words: Lieber Freund, jetz bist Du erst völlstandig anerkannt da die Intringuen vorhanden (Dear Friend, The intrigues are at hand now that you are fully recognised). It is probably on this occasion that Burmester commissioned a violin concerto from him.

Busoni was in Vienna, but had written asking Sibelius to conduct En Saga during a concert that Busoni himself proposed giving in Berlin the following season, (We will hear) little known music of real merit. You should, according to my plans, provide a pièce de résistance. (…) Beginning November. The Philharmonic Orchestra. Two rehearsals. Promise me you will not disappoint me. It is said Nikisch will do your symphony. (…) I have observed with great pleasure your successes in Germany —that I always predicted' (12 June). 'I naturally replied yes,' Sibelius wrote to Aino the 20th. With his brother he rented an apartment on Marienstrasse, where he corrected the proofs of the Second Symphony.

On his return to Finland at the end of June, he spent part of the summer in Tvärminne, near to Hanko, where he composed the melody Var det en dröm? (Was it a Dream), based on a text by Josef Julius Wecksell, performed for the first time in Helsinki by the Ekman couple the following 10 October. He wrote to Kajanus from Tvärminne that he longed for solitude, but stifled his remorse, 'I have just woken up after five days in the company of these detestable accessories (no doubt bottles and glasses)' 30 July. And to Aino, then at her mothers in

Lohja, that he and she should each try to resolve their problems, and that he had difficulty in trying to work regularly.

He was visited by Carpelan, and the both discussed Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Ibsen, Strindberg and Goethe on possession by the devil. The health of his sister, Linda, was a growing worry. Turned to religion, like her mother, but without any practical sense, she was preoccupied by the hereafter to the point of envisaging an expedition to North Africa to study the working conditions of missionaries. ‘Sibelius saw in his brother and sister two diametrically opposite poles of the psychic spectrum, poles between which he himself swung with his volatile temperament. Christian with his harmonious and balanced nature, had contrary to Linda, a more positive conception of life.’.

* * *

In August, Sibelius stayed with Wegelius in Pojo. There he met two students of his for the first time where they were perfecting writing: his future biographer Erik Furuhjelm and Otto Andersson, who was from the Åland Islands and future musicologists. Andersson, who was a professor at the University of Turku from 1926 to 1946, gathered a vast musical collection over the years— scores, musical instruments and so on—as well as an important knowledge of Sibelius.

To house these treasures, he founded a museum in 1926, which in 1949, with the agreement of the composer was

baptised Sibelius Museum and which today is part of the Department of Musicology of the University of Turku. Sixty three years after his first meeting with the composer, Andersson revealed in the daily Hufvudstadsbladet, dated 26 September 1965:

‘I remember to what point we admired Sibelius. He was unquestionably very fascinating. His genuine temperament of an artist, the vivacity of his intellect, his sociability, his unlimited knowledge, dazzled us. His humour also, his profound knowledge of Swedish literature. (…) The most agreeable, for young the men as we were, was the unreserved friendship Sibelius showed us’. Helped by his brother-in-law Eero Järnefelt, Sibelius rented a new five roomed apartment in Helsinki, then returned to Tvärminne, ‘I tried to work, but could not achieved what I wanted to. (…) A part of me wants to become a virtuoso violinist, which shows up in strange ways’ (to Aino, 10 September). Weingartner informed him in a letter dated 6 September, that three weeks earlier he had finally sent the manuscript of the Second to Breitkopf & Härtel.

The 18th, Jean announced to Aino he had found a marvellous theme for a concert for violin, this is the oldest mention of his famous opus 47, commissioned two months earlier by Willy Burmester. It was then that the Sibelius family left the farm at Mattila and moved back to Helsinki for two years, until their move to Ainola. Later, the daughter of the house, Hilli Jokela, recounted, ‘The left a dirty laundry basket overflowing with

music notes and writings. My mother said if they had known it they would have kept and we would have made a fortune.'

As his Berlin concert approached, Sibelius decided to completely revise En Saga. Busoni proposed to replace this work with the Second Symphony, to give 'certain gentlemen' (Nikisch and Weingartner) a 'salutary lesson' (letter dated 22 September), but he preferred En Saga. In its revised and final form, the work was heard the 2 November in Helsinki under the direction of Kajanus. In the same concert, Jacques Thibaud interpreted Bruch's concerto in G-minor.

Then Sibelius immediately left for Berlin. From November 1902 to January 1909, Busoni gave twelve concerts in Berlin with the Philharmonic, consecrated to new music of that period and conducted mostly by himself. The first concert took place the 8 November, with more notably extracts from The Dream of Gerontius by Elgar, symphonic fragments of stage music for Icelandic Fishermen by Guy Ropartz and the overture of The Barbarians by Saint-Säens. The second took place the 15 November, with the symphonic poem The Death of Pan by the Hungarian composer Edmond von (Odön Peter Jozef de) Mihalovich, En Saga directed by Sibelius, the concerto for piano by Theophile Ysaÿe, brother of the violinist, Paris by Delius and the Second Mephisto-Waltz by Liszt.

Georg Boldemann arrived from Charlottenlund to attend a rehearsal, and the 14 November, the eve of the concert, wrote to Aino, 'Yesterday, your husband was very agitated before the rehearsal, though I can't understand the reasons for his

nervousness. He seems to have forgotten he has greater capacities relative to those of other present day composers, and as for conductors, very few are better than him. You should have seen what followed! He was like a young god. His posture, the way he conducted! And the sounds in En Saga! Fantastic!'

The 15th, after En Saga, Sibelius was called back to the stage several times. Following the concert he was invited to a sumptuous diner by Busoni, he 'drunk copiously with Sinding'. 'Of all these new works, En Saga was in my opinion the best. I was very calm and conducted it well. They did not really understand my Saga. It was too good for them. (…) The important thing is that I am capable of conducting an orchestra of world repute. Like it should be! Everybody said so' (to Aino 16 November).

In the Berliner Neueste Nachrichten of the 22 November, the critic Rudolf Buck treated En Saga as a work versungen und verthan (a complete waste of time). The Vossiche Zeitung of the 18th on the contrary considered that En Saga was the only worthwhile piece of the evening, adding however, its themes came from Finnish folklore or were inspired by it. 'I reduced the rest of the programme to nothing. (…) and was saluted like an outstanding artist, which is of huge importance for those that matter' (Sibelius to Aino, 17 November). He also said paradoxically 'The critics attack everybody but me. So I must be on the wrong path' (18 November).

A month later in December 1902, the First Symphony was published by Breitkopf & Härtel, which increased the reputation of the composer in Germany. In the Hamburger Fremdenblatt, the critic Emil Krause made a fine eulogy, and the work was performed in the Hanseatic City in February 1903. The 22 January 1903, Sibelius proudly announced to Carpelan that the manuscript and separate parts of the Second were in the hands of Richard Strauss, and the second of February, he wrote to his brother in Berlin that Strauss was going to conduct his work the 16th of the same month at the Kroll Oper: 'I can hardly believe it.' No one knew, because the 15 October 1902, even before the execution of En Saga, Georg Boldmann had written to him, 'I congratulate you for the execution of the symphony in D-major by Richard Strauss. For you, he is the best orchestra leader in Germany today.'

But he was disappointed, and Boldmann, in a letter to Sibelius of the 17 March 1903, told him what a cellist friend, Willem Willeke, had confided to him, 'If Strauss does not play Sibelius, it is a good sign for Sibelius, because it is well known that Strauss, does not like to favour those who could turn out to be greater than him.' Should Willeke be taken at his word? In addition Boldemann announced to Sibelius that Willeke, after having transcribed the Elegy of King Christian II, hope to receive a concerto from him.

After the final revisions, the Second appeared in September 1903. The following 10 November, Armas Järnefelt gave the first performance outside of Finland. Two months later,

Theodore Thomas conducted the American premier in Chicago (2 January 1904), Max Felder gave the German premier in Hamburg, thanks to the persuasive talents of Georg Boldemann, and Robert Kajanus the Russian premier in Saint Petersburg (10/23 January). In was in all probability the concert in Hamburg that led the musicographist Walter Niemann to publish, in February 1904, in the Berlin review Signale für die musikalische Welt (Signal for the Musical World) an article entitled Jean Sibelius und die finnische Musik (Jean Sibelius and Finnish Music).

* * *

En Sage—in Finnish Satu—is in the same style as for example Lemminkäinen in Tuonela: sombre colours, an epic and narrative tone, an extraordinary power of suggestion.

When En Saga was performed in Munich at the end of 1905, the critic Theodore Kroyer complained of the 'absence of all tonal mobility'. Well, the enchanting power of the music of Sibelius is in part founded on an apparent monotony enriched and vivified by constant changes of light and by a very detailed use of a harmonic, melodic and rhythmical ostinato. Such passages are frequent in En Saga. The same repugnance can be observed for modulation in the contemporary works of Gustav Mahler, or rather a succession of sound blocks clearly differentiated as to the tonality and expression, but with little modulation. All that without forgetting the famous words of

Claude Debussy to César Franck, 'Why should I modulate when I am at ease in this tonality?'

In its final version, En Saga possesses both the legendary and heroic aspect of Kullervo (its thematic material goes back to 1892) and the formal mastery of the first two symphonies, in particular their respective first two movements (its architecture is ten years later). This is the symphonic poem of a symphonist. The structure of the work recalls that of certain passages from the beginning of the 19th century, such as in the overtures of La belle Mélusine by Mendelssohn or especially in Wagner's Tannhäuser, a sonata form that is very distorted and somewhat weakened in its effects.

On his return to Berlin at the end of November 1902, Sibelius was involved in the activities in a new artistic and intellectual circle, named so because they appeared in a magazine called Euterpe found the previous year by Flodin. Most of them were from the Swedish speaking cultural elite, the Euterpistes were more numerous and divers than the members that had once formed the Symposium, and also younger.

Motivated by a cosmopolitan spirit, outward turned, they 'did not automatically fall in ecstasy in front of the least word of Runeberg, travelling as much as possible to London, Paris rather than Berlin'. They wanted to open Finland to the new artistic trends of the epoch. The members of the group included the poets Emil Zilliacus and Bertel Gripenberg, the literary historian Gunnar Castren, the drama critic Gustaf Söderhjelm, the architects Sigurd Frosterus.

Sibelius felt more at ease in their company than in that of the composers who were younger than him such as Erkki Melartin or Selim Palmgren, which did not prevent from vaunting the 'refined personality' of the former and attending a concert of the latter. The works of Anatole France, of Maurice Maeterlinck, or even Oscar Wilde—who the 1 December, exactly three years before the premier of Richard Strauss, bought the play Salome—entered into Sibelius' library.

On occasions, during meetings of the Euterpists, he improvised at the piano whilst another recited a poem. In the spring of 1903, he accompanied the reading of a patriotic poem by the Norwegian writer Björnstjerne Björnson, who the same year became the first Scandinavian to receive the Nobel Prize: Ved Mottagelsen av siste Post fra Finland (Receiving News from Finland). After a sojourn abroad, the Euterpists and their friends occasional had difficulties to meet in Finland. A letter from Albert Edelfelt, whilst returning from France, to Gripenberg confirms this: 'When we reached Finnish waters during one of these freezing summer evenings, and started to sail past the first rocks of the archipelagos, suddenly all noise and conversations stopped on the bridge, and the faces of we Finns betrayed a feeling of fear and resignation. (…) Helsingfors! The new police, the Tartars, horrible, many and well armed (they always carry handcuffs), give our city, which was once so peaceful, a new face. People don't speak in restaurants and are depressed. They whisper and are suspicious, always expecting bad news' (30 August 1903).

Christian Sibelius, who remained in Berlin, was worried by the long evenings Jean spent in the company of the Euterpists. During his studies he had dissected the brains of alcoholics and he wrote to his brother imploring him to be careful, 'For your health, you should not drink a single drop of alcohol. It is absolutely indispensable.' (27 December 1902). Christian continued recalling to Jean the duty to his art, his country and Aino. A fourth daughter, Katarina Elisabet, called Nipsu or Kaj, future wife of Ilves, the third to reach adulthood, was born the 14 January.

Shortly after Christmas, Sibelius conducted the First Symphony in Turku, which earned him only 126 marks instead of the 1,000 he had expected. He had to pay the additional musicians 'imported' to Helsinki from his own pocket. Christian, who had abandoned pathology for psychiatry, aided financially him whilst trying to infuse him with a certain does of optimism. In the last days of 1903, Jean finished by confessing to his brother, 'I am weak in many things. To give you an example: When I am standing before a grand orchestra after having drunk a half bottle of Champagne, I conduct like a young god. Otherwise I tremble, I am nervous and unsure of myself, and everything is lost. It is the same when I go to the bank. (…) The worst is when I go to the concerts of my rivals and everybody looks at me to see if I am jealous. I have always an expression on my face that has greatly harmed me vis-à-vis others. A few glasses of wine! And then nothing. This real need of alcohol is very rare. You see my penchant for drink has very deep and dangerous roots. I promise you to try with

all my force to arrange things. To accomplish great things do not necessarily signify being appreciated for your merits. The world in which we live is marvellous, but not always equitable.'

Jean knew how to be tender and considerate, but in spite of that Aino felt the effect of the prolonged outings of her husband at the Kämp or König restaurants and whose company was very much sought after by those who thought he worked fast. 'Dear Aino, How are you? Nipsu and the others. Send me a word. At the moment I am deep in a very interesting discussion. Your Janne. I will be back soon' (Spring 1903). This 'soon' could extend to several days. On occasions left to join her husband, but Jean had scribbled on a visiting card, 'Dear A. I am at the Kämp. Excuse me for not being here to meet you. Ton J.' (Winter 1902-1903). More than half a century later, Aino told Tawaststjerna that once, when the finale for the violin concerto was not progressing, she asked Kajanus to accompany her. When the latter hesitated she looked him in the eyes and said, 'Are you his friend or not?' He took a horse—drawn cab, and whilst Aino waited outside, Kajanus went into the König, a club restaurant for men only, and returned with Sibelius, who took a place in the cab next to his wife. Aino did not make the least reproach. But more and more often in these situations she refused to speak to Jean and communicated with him in writing, with notes like the following in January 1903: 'Do you think that if something terrible happened, I would come looking for you in the tavern? Do you really think I want a husband who is not sober enough to be at my side at such an

important moment (the birth of Katarina)? Far from that!' But there is also this: 'A word from you and I'll give in.'

This situation that risked ending up tragically led Carpelan to reveal to Aino that he had drawn the attention of his benefactors, in particular that of a certain Baron W—'to the slow working methods of Jean and his fragile health, appealing to their feelings and patriotism. It is only by the combined efforts of those near to him that Jean can be saved, abandoned to himself he will be lost. He has much much too often been involved with Helsinki cultural (even non-cultural) acquaintances to be able to extract himself by his own will power alone. If Aino, this rare pearl, cannot tame his volcanic by tender charms, it will be necessary to mount a real offensive to achieve victory' (9 April 1903). The objective of Carpelan was to force Sibelius to quit Helsinki, this 'spoilt child who had grown up too quickly' and settle in the country for the rest of his life.

Far from the temptations of the city, he could return once or twice a month for his business and to attend concerts. Had he not retired to Kerava four years previously to finish his First Symphony? This suggestion bore its fruits, because the 17 August, Aino was able to announce to Carpelan with great relief, 'Our project to go and live in the country is on the point of coming to reality. Next winter will be our last in H.fors.' The move to Ainola took place a year later in September 1904.

Tawaststjerna considered that the behaviour of Sibelius at the beginning of 1903 was due in part to his difficulties with the

violin concerto. In April, the composer told Carpelan that his heart bleed after what had happened, and he had the feeling that the ground had been cut from under his feet. Carpelan advised him to go to Lohja until the concert foreseen at the Institute at the end of the spring. In June, he sent the quarterly stipend of 500 marks, and Sibelius thanked him in on behalf of his music. The 17 May, at the invitation of Georg Scheenvoigt, then the occasional head of the Kadriorg (Katharinenthal) orchestra, a spa town nearby Tallinn in Estonia, where Sibelius conducted a concert of his works: the First Symphony, extracts from King Charles II, The Swan of Tuonela and to finish an 'Impromptu', which was no other than Finlandia1. He conducted two days later but with the symphony. The 17 August, he sent Carpelan the score—just published by Breitkopf & Härtel—of the Second Symphony. In the accompanying letter, he confirmed he had 'struggled' with the concerto.

* * *

The 22 July 1903, the violinist Burmester, who had married Naëma Fazer, the pianist, sister of the Finnish music publisher Konrad Fazer (1864-1940), asked Sibelius where he was with the concerto, whilst at the same time advising him to give its first audition in Berlin and not Helsinki. The composer proposed November. Unfortunately, Burmester was free until March 1904. Nevertheless he exhorted Sibelius to work and not let Richard Strauss' renown overtake his own (19 September). Sibelius reacted very tactlessly. In spite of the fact he had not

yet finished the work, he insisted on a premier in November, offering a mediocre violinist, a Czech, Viktor Novacek, professor at the Institute, to perform the work, forgetting that the press in Helsinki as well as that in Berlin had announced that it had been promised to Burmester.

He also envisaged asking a great French violinist, later naturalised Swedish, Henri Marteau, to play the work in Stockholm and elsewhere. Burmester heard of this in Berlin, and threatened, if this happened he would never play the concerto (4 October, Copenhagen).

Panicked, Sibelius reacted immediately, 'I accept everything you want, but my financial situation is such that I must give a concert here either before the end of the year, or at the beginning of the year. The concerto will be played by someone here (for example Novacek) in Helsinki and Turku. When you come in March, you will really launch it. Any comparison between you both is unthinkable!!! (…) In March or in February, we can play together in Berlin. Symphony II, the concerto and something else. Splendid! (…) Helsinki is of no importance!! Thank you for being ready to in so many places' (Autumn 1903). Shortly after, Sibelius sent Burmester a completed violin-piano version of the concerto that rendered the violinist ecstatic, 'I can only say one thing: Prodigious! Solid like a rock! (…) Only once in my life have I addressed a composer in such terms: Tchaikovsky, when he showed me his concerto for violin' (28 December).

At the same time as the concerto, Sibelius worked on his second piece of incidental stage music, for a play written by his brother-in-law Arvid Järnefelt: Kuolema (Death), one of the rare Finnish symbolist dramas. As Sibelius had not completed the score, the first representation foreseen for the 18 November was put back to the 2 December. The origin of this incidental stage music was explained by Arvid Järnefelt's only son, Eero: 'One day, my father said to him (Sibelius): "I have written a play, will you put it to music? "I'll think about it," Sibelius replied. One sunny morning, he came to see us and sat himself at the piano. My father was by his side and explained the play to him. Sibelius commenced to play. Suddenly he exclaimed, "God, what brilliant sunlight! I should were a tailcoat, I'd play better!" And he continued to play. Then the melody of the Valse Triste sounded for the first time. I was there at its birth.' In its original version, Kuolema included six numbers, mainly for strings. In addition, the second and third included a vocal part, the fifth a kettle-drum and the sixth church bells.

Thanks to the music of Sibelius, Kuolema was Arvid Järnefelt's greatest success. In 1903, it was performed six times. In 1911, Arvid Järnefelt revised it. This was the only published version: that of 1903 remained unpublished as did the music then composed by Sibelius.

In 1904, Sibelius revised the first number making it Valse triste. He then carried out different melodic and harmonic modifications, adding a flute, clarinet, two horns and cymbals to the chords, as well as at the end three ghost like chords of

four violin solos corresponding to Death's three knocks at the door.

He conducted the first performance of Valse triste in Helsinki the 25 April 1904, and the work was published the same year by Breitkopf & Härtel, in its orchestral version together with a reduction for piano.

The intense Valse Trieste was to have a fame that Sibelius, in 1903-1904, was far from imagining. When he sold it at the beginning of 1904, to the publisher Frazer & Westerlund, who then ceded it to Breitkopf & Härtel, he made, without realising, one of the most unfortunate deals to which an artist ever consented. In effect, nothing was added to the two hundred marks he received, in spite of the countless transcriptions, re-editions and arrangements that were made to the piece.

Though it was perfectly accomplished, Valse triste once and for all enclosed many musicians and music lovers in narrow limits, it was as if Beethoven was nothing more than the composer of For Elise or the 'Turkish March' in the Ruins of Athens. All his life, Sibelius tried to renew the success of Valse triste in vain, because none of the many waltzes that he later composed rediscovered the unique atmosphere of this delicate and enchanting masterpiece. In no manner is it 'inoffensive salon music' (Adorno). In particular, at its beginning, Valse triste is accomplished as a result of its ambiguous harmonies and its hesitant aspect that translates the dream, or rather raving, in reality, the approach of death and the memory of happy times. It possesses a surrealistic dimension, and it is the

reason that Tawaststjerna evokes the play Ett Drömspel (The Dream) by Strindberg (1902) as well as certain paintings of Edvard Munch such as The Cry (1893).

* * *

In May 1902, Carpelan suggested that Sibelius arrange a few popular Finnish melodies for string orchestras. The composer accepted this task, and in 1902-1903 made six transcriptions, but for piano (JS 81). He sold them to Fazer & Westerlund in June 1903, and they were published in quantity in August 1912 by Breitkopf & Härtel. Sibelius profited from the occasion to put into practice many of ideas he had advance in his thesis of 1896: resulting short pieces with audacious harmonies that anticipated Bartok.

Tawaststjerna wondered what would have become of Sibelius's piano style if he had continued on this path: he only used it once again in 1929 for Cinq Esquisses.

A long letter from Aino to Carpelan dated 16 January 1904 gave quite a precise idea of the state of the Sibelius couple on the eve of the premier for the Violin Concerto: 'The first hearing (…) is now definitely fixed for the 8 February, but it is too soon, all this time Janne has been plunged into the battle (and me too!)—once again, he has fought against an embarrass de richess (an excess of wealth (ideas)). So many ideas jostle together in his mind make him dizzy. He stays awake for whole nights, plays marvellous things and can't tear himself

away – he has so many ideas that it is hard to believe, a wealth of possibilities, all so full of life. All that makes me happy, but you see, Axel, I also have suffered, the heart of a woman cannot support the temperament of an artist —an extraordinary artist creator—who sometimes behaves very violently—so violent that I am terrified. I don't know if you can understand me Axel, but I need to speak, something I should have done a long time ago. (…) Do you know that only a few days ago, I thought of coming to Tammerfors (Tampere, where Carpelan lived), But now the clouds have cleared I can see a piece of blue sky up there. Of course, I am happy to have been so close to Janne all this time—I don't know if my presence has been useful to him in his dark moments—but for me, it was a gratifying experience that was worth it. I can't say anything for the moment about Janne's work—of the final form of the concerto—but it is almost finished. He has said that sometimes he considers me as a partner, and I am proud! He is good health, and me too, except for these worries that make me nervous. If I had someone here to speak to, it would not be so difficult, but there is no one as close to Janne than Axel and to whom I can speak. For me the inner universe of an artist is the most precious thing and the most fragile thing in the world— is it not? Axel's friendship for Janne is of inestimable value. Always be his friend as you have been up to now! I still have a lot to say, but I end here. I fear being tiring and annoying Axel. These last times the worries have been such that I can't write calmly. Look after yourself! Janne sends his best regards. I am

writing seated at his desk – he is at the piano – the fire is lit, it is night.'

* * *

The Violin Concerto, premiered the 8 February 1904, to a full house, under the direction of the composer and with the soloist Viktor Novacek incapable of mastering the difficulties, the original version was again performed the 10th and 14th. The 8th the slow movement was encored. Included in the same programme, was the Origin of Fire as well as two new works: a patriotic song for men's choir and orchestra to a text by Wecksell, Har du mod? (Are you courageous?), a call to action and sacrifice, and a Fantasy for orchestra later renamed Cassation.

The critic, Evert Katila writes, the 11 February in the newspaper Uusi Suometar: 'Writing concertos, especially for violin, is extremely difficult today. Modern symphonic literature, with its power and colours, has made this very problematic. People are only used to finding pleasure in works where the technique of the modern grand orchestra is pushed to the extreme and used as lavishly as possible. Confronted with such a mass of sound, (…) the instrumental soloist has difficulty on finding an equal footing.

On first hearing, the first movement is not very clear. In particular at the beginning, it is difficult to follow the thoughts of the composer. The second movement is more easily

accessible and provoked an immediate reaction in the audience. The last movement, is in our opinion the most complete and most ingenious. By its electrifying Bolero rhythm, with its incessant timpani, it has an irresistible force that quickens the pulse. (…) It crowns the concerto in an incomparable fashion.'

In the Päivälehti of the 11 February, Oskar Merikanto considered that the first movement, played by Burmester, 'conceived on a large scale and rich in content, would certainly create a magnificent impression. From the artistic point of view, the last is the weakest. But interpreted with spirit and energy, it could become an excellent piece of virtuosity. (…) The technical difficulties of the work will no doubt prevent it from often figuring in the programmes of artists. The Adagio will on the contrary become, in my opinion, a favourite of violinists.'

In the Swedish language daily Hufvudstadtsbladet, Alarik Uggla also praised the slow movement, but remarking that none of the pieces on the programme were 'as powerful in dimensions and content' than the recently heard symphonies of Sibelius.

Only Flodin made a clearly unfavourable report in the Helsingfors-Posten of the 9 February. He affirmed that Sibelius had declined since 1902, curiously adding that the Origin of Fire had dominated the evening, 'It is of course easy to always ask master pieces from a composer, whatever his talent. Allow me to say that the concerto is boring, a judgement that up to now no one has ever dared make regarding a work of Jean

Sibelius.' Two days later he published a vast commentary in the magazine Euterpe. He regretted not having heard a concerto that was 'Finnish, Sibelian, new in form and the treatment of its technical aspects, and by the very nature of its genre. All that was only partly achieved, not as had been hope for.'

He added that Sibelius was not really made for this type of work, his personality did not predispose him to the demands of pure virtuosity, and continued, 'From all evidence, the composer had not wished to write a violin concerto of the symphonic kind with an obligato soloist part. He knows the fate of these modern concertos played once then put to one side. He preferred to choose another alternative, attributing to the soloist, from one end to the other, a predominant role. (…) But there, he was confronted with the compact mass of all that had been previously said and composed. Impossible to present anything new. (…) At times he depends on his mastery of orchestral colour, which has limited the independence of the violin part. (…) It is often true of the first movement.

The Adagio in its entirety, the noblest movement of the concerto with its beautiful song and its expressive accents, has however not become what it could have been, this is due to the heavy background sonorities of the trombones, horns and trumpets in their low register, seducing but prevent the violin, also in a low register, to come out like it should have. (…) As to the Bolero theme of the finale, it does not seem to produce the effect that the composer had in mind, difficult to master and technically uncomfortable. It is not to be excluded that in the

hands of a first class virtuoso like Burmester (to whom the work is dedicated), the violin concerto of Jean Sibelius could stimulate new interest. But perhaps only from the point of view of the purely virtuoso elements, not the overall work.'

The critic of Flodin had devastating effects. For the second performance the 10 February, the hall was not very full, and the 14th it was sparsely filled. 'Is this the way to encourage the leading Finnish composer to write great even more remarkable works?' asked Oskar Merikanto in Päivälehti the 16th. The same day, in Uusi Suometar, Evert Katila, sharply replied to Flodin, considering that the more the concerto was heard the more it gained in interest, and that if the instrumentation was to be lightened here or there, and the curves of the first movement rectified, the last two movements guaranteed the importance of the work.

He recalled that Tchaikovsky's concerto had taken time to be accepted, foreseeing that Sibelius, according to him equal to that of Brahms, Bruch and Tchaikovsky, had an excellent future, and continued, 'The concerto has had a mixed reception. With all respect to the judgement of the critics who affirmed that the concerto in D-minor is an 'incredible error', it is difficult to accept the reporting of a score in a such a summary fashion that the undersigned considers from many points of view as one of the most inventive.' To conclude Katila observed that it would have been difficult for Sibelius to invent successions of sounds, thirds, octaves, and typically Finnish harmonics.

It could be wondered why Flodin, after having wanted 'classical' symphonies, now wanted a nationalist concerto. In any event, after the three Helsinki performances in February, and another in Turku the 26 March, the original version of the work was not heard again until September 1990. The 17 February 1904, Sibelius wrote to Carpelan, 'Here, it was worse than ever, Tempora mutantur. But I am the same and full of new ideas. (…) I find Helsinki more and more insupportable. I need either the countryside in Finland or a big city on the continent. The public here is superficial and vain.'

The 5th March, he conducted the Helsinki Philharmonic for a charity concert, with the first performance of Musique pour une scène, the original dance version of Tanz-Intermezzo. The 26th of the same month, he gave a concert in Turku, where in addition to the concerto, was an Andante for strings that he later baptised Romance in C-major. Then in April two concerts followed in Vaasa, the 25 April the premier of Valse triste, and then the 24 May a second appearance in Tallinn, where Sibelius conducted the Second Symphony, En saga, Le Chant du Printemps, the Andante for strings, Valse triste and Karelia. This concert went unmentioned in the Russian press. The German language press had a contradictory reaction, after having favourably commented The Swan of Tuonela on a previous occasion, it rejected the Second Symphony.

In the meantime Burmester continued to work on the concerto, conscious of the fact that with Novacek, the work had not found the ideal interpreter. 'In the service of this work, I am

putting my 25 years experience as a concert musician, my art and my knowledge. (…) It will benefit enormously. Don't get annoyed for nothing, continue peacefully as you are and count on me. I will play the concerto in Helsingfors in such a way that everybody will be at your feet' (to Sibelius, 13 February). He proposed three performances in November 1904. However Sibelius loathed being bound to an exact date. He finally decided not to publish the work, but above all to revise it from beginning to end. The 3 June, he announced to Carpelan that the concerto would not 'appear before two years'. The result was Burmester could not play in Helsinki that November. The revision was completed in the spring of 1905.

* * *

The 9 February 1904, the Russo-Japanese War broke out, that day without warning the Japanese fleet torpedoed seven Russian ships in Port Arthur. 'What do you think of the war? The official communiqués!! Japan has 23 cruisers, and if you are to believe Bobban (Bobrikov) 40 have been destroyed. Sic itur ad gehennam!' (Sibelius to Carpelan, 8 March).

In Finland itself, the political situation worsened again. After the 'conscription strike' of April 1902, accompanied in Helsinki by a demonstration brutally put down by the Cossacks, Bobrikov had obtained almost dictatorial powers from the Czar in April 1903, which allowed him to dissolve associations believed to be dangerous and to exile to other parts of the empire or abroad persons judged capable of provoking

troubles. Amongst those who voluntary or otherwise left the Grand Duchy were Leo Mechelin, Eero Erkko, Rabbe Axel Wrede, a professor of law, rector of the University and one of the leaders of the Young Finns, Carl Mannerheim, the financier and lawyer, brother of the future marshal, and many others. Leo Mechelin departed to Sweden, Rabbe Axel Wrede to Estonia, and the journalist Wentzel Hagelstam to Paris, where he remained until 1923 as correspondent of the Swedish language daily Hufvudstadsbladet. In 1904, Sibelius reacted by composing Veljena vierailla mailla (My bothers in a distant land) for men’s choir, based on a poem of protestation by Juhani Aho. It was heard for the first time the 2 December 1904, under the direction of Heikki Klemetti.

Since the winter of 1900-1901, several assassination plans had been plotted against the governor general, especially by the members of the secret society Kagal, founded in 1901 which also worked with Russian revolutionaries and terrorists. It was an outsider belonging to none of these groups who finally perpetrated the act. The 16 June 1904, at eleven in the morning, Bobrikov was fatally wounded by three revolver shots fired by Eugen Schauman on the steps of the Senate. Schauman was a young civil servant with suicidal tendencies notably due to his disappointments in love.

During the demonstrations against the conscription law, Schauman had been whipped by a Cossack. His father Waldemar Schauman had succeeded General Järnefelt in 1894 as Governor General of the Province of Vaasa and had become

senator and even head of the military department of the Senate in 1898, which made him a subordinate of Bobrikov. He had however been relieved of this position in 1899, and had resigned from the Senate the following year. Eugen Schauman had been aware of the ambiguous situation in which his father had found himself.

His act accomplished, he then shot himself and died immediately. Shortly before, he had written to Czar Nicolas II declaring himself as a loyal subject, but drawing his attention to the realities of the empire. Bobrikov, as his own demand, was transported to the University clinic rather than the Russian military hospital, and was operated by Richard Faltin junior, son of the musician. Not without having asked 'Why?' he died the next day and was given a state funeral in Saint Petersburg. A few days later, Faltin junior showed Sibelius the two bullets extracted from the body. Waldemar Schauman was arrested for high treason, but acquitted in 1905, when the political situation changed.

Sibelius, Armas Järnefelt and others organised a kind of party to celebrate the event. They were arrested and interrogated by the police for 'having demonstrated their joy without the least reason'. Sibelius remained profoundly marked. The philosopher and patriotic journalist Tekla Hultin, who preached passive resistance and was a member of the women's section of Kagal, reported that the 1 January, at Eero Järnefelt's, Sibelius confirmed having started to work on a requiem for Eugen Schauman. This requiem was never finished, but Eva

Paloheimo, the eldest daughter of the composer, told Tawaststjerna that the main theme of the funeral march for orchestra In memorium had been conceived in memory of Schauman. This did not contradict what Sibelius said to Ekman, 'The principal motive of In memorium came to me in Berlin in 1905'. In memorium was completed in 1909, but its first sketch is from 1905, and as will be seen at the beginning of that year, Sibelius heard a work in Berlin that clearly marked In memorium, the Fifth Symphony of Mahler.

Sibelius felt he had arrived at a turning point. 'I know that deep down I am changing. I have observed it with melancholy and concern. I hope that I don't become cold and hard, that would be the end of happiness' (to Carpelan, 1 June 1904). And already the 8 March, 'I am reading books on history and a little philosophy. It's all very well to say that life is marvellous, even if we have been sent here to suffer. For me, the more your spirit is rich the more you can support suffering. My allein Gefühl (feeling of loneliness) is stronger than ever. Death approaches. (…) I have many new ideas.' He told Karl Ekman, 'My art demands a new environment. In Helsinki, all melodies die inside of me. Moreover, I like life in society too much to refuse invitations that slow me in my work. It is too difficult to say no. I must leave.'

In 1903, he bought a piece of land on the outskirts of the small village of Järvenpää, thirty kilometres north of Helsinki, on the banks of the long and narrow Lake Tuusula. Several artists had formed a kind of colony. Since 1897, the writer

Juhani Aho lived there, and since 1898 and 1899 respectively the painters Pekka Halonen and Eero Järnefelt also lived there. It was the latter who convinced his brother-in-law to join the group.

Spotted by Eero Järnefelt, the ground acquired by Sibelius—who had to borrow a large sum of money— was not on the bank of the lake, but on the slope of a small wooded hill oriented to the south-west, at 200 metres from the lake itself. Originally it measured half a hectare, but after different transactions it finally grew to four hectares. The house was built in wood by the architect Lars Sonck, one of the best in Finland, who provided his services free of charge. Amongst the other works of Lars Sonck were Tampere Cathedral and Kulturanta, the official summer residence of the presidents of Finland.

The foundations of Sibelius' house were laid in autumn 1903, and the following spring the work was well advanced. The tree trunks needed were brought from central Finland over a distance of 400 kilometres. The 8 March 1904, Sibelius wrote to Carpelan, 'I am looking forward to peace and rest. (…) For a month I have drunk nothing.' And the 3 June, 'During these last months, I have sometimes had the impression that building the house had become impossible. You know it is a necessity for my art, the reason why it is so important to me.'

During the summer he made a new tour in the Baltic countries. 'You see, I want to conduct as much as possible, because in reality, you are best taken care of by yourself' (to

Carpelan, 3 June). On the way to Riga, he met Rabbe Axel Wrede on the quay in Tallinn. ‘I was delighted to see Wrede. I spoke with him for a good while, as a result I was followed. But rather discretely, except in Reval, where it became very embarrassing’ (to Aino, 20 July).

In Dubbeln, the local summer resort of Riga, Schneevoigt performed during five successive summers seasons at the head of an orchestra he had founded himself and essentially composed of musicians from Warsaw and Germany.

Sibelius directed this orchestra the 10 July 1904 in a huge programme composed of three parts: 1. The Return of Lemminkäinen, The Swan of Tuonela, La Tristesse of Spring and En Saga 2. The Second Symphony 3. Four extracts from King Christian II, the Romance for strings, Valse triste and Finlandia. In Helsinki, the 4 August, the Swedish language daily Hufvudstadsbladet reported that the local press in Riga had praised his talent as a conductor.

On his return to Finland, he moved into a farm in Tuomala (Tomasby), where he could supervise the final building work on his house, which he had named Ainola in Aino’s honour. He was visited by one of his most fervent admirers, his childhood friend Walter von Konov, who had become the custodian of the Turku Castle.

At that time he was admitted to a private clinic in Helsinki for hearing problems, in reality of no serious consequence. ‘My hearing is very poor—I must depend on my mind’s ear to

compose! In my head there are sunny thoughts, and with the permission of the doctor, I am going to return to Järvenpää. This month we are going to move into our home' (to Carpelan, 4 September). 'My hearing is much better, thank God! (…) I have just started my Third Symphony and there are also new melodies. I am also working on a piece for piano in three movements that should be finished the day after tomorrow. I also have other projects. Of course, I can't refuse to write for the theatre, one of my old habits! Pelleas et Melisande! Our new house should be ready this week. You must absolutely come to see it!!!

The 24 September 1904, Sibelius, Aino and their three daughters finally moved into Ainola, their house, celebrated in the company of the Aho and Eero Järnefelt and their respective families. Apart from his overseas travels and his escapades to Helsinki, the composer was to reside in Ainola until his death fifty-three years later, and Aino until her own death in 1969.

At the beginning there was just the ground floor, today Ainola is a two level house in wood painted white, situated in the middle of a wooded slope. It sloped roof is rather similar to that of a Swiss chalet, but the vast windows of the library are of Karelian style. Seen from the road it seems to emerge from the landscape and trees that surrounds it, and it particular from a series of pines which with time has partially hidden the view of the lake, which Sibelius had always refused to cut, everything having to 'remain in its natural state'. A wooded path leads to the entrance on the north side.

There is a kind of veranda that leads into the house itself where Sibelius, for more than half-a-century, said goodbye to countless visitors. The interior is spacious and very bright, the large windows mostly facing south, towards the road and the lake. In the beginning, Sibelius' study was situated on the ground floor. In 1911, when the first floor was built he moved his study there. The old one was transformed into a living room, and joined to the dinning room—and later with the library—to form a large single room. This space houses different souvenirs and witnesses to fame, including two laurel crowns, the Steinway grade piano presented to the composer for his 50th birthday in 1915, and various paintings including Sibelius, Composer of En Saga by Gallen-Kallela, a portrait of the composer by Edelfelt, another of Aino by Eero Järnefelt and two of Oskar Parviainen who will be mentioned later.

In 1972, fifteen years after the death of the composer and three years after that of Aino, the couple five daughters together with the Ministry of Education and the Sibelius Society founded Ainola Foundation. The object was to transform Ainola into a memorial museum open to the public, which was opened in 1974.

* * *

The melodies mentioned in a letter to Carpelan were completed in September 1904, they were Harpolekaren och hans son (The harp player and his son), based on a poem by Rydberg, and Jag ville jag vore I Indialand (I would like to be in the Indies),

based on a poem by Gustav Fröding. They were premiered in Helsinki, one by the Järnefelt couple (Maikki and Armas) the 9 September, the other by the Ekman couple (Ida and Karl) the 12 October. The 10 November, also in Helsinki, the Flodin couple premiered another melody composed in 1904, En slända (A dragonfly), based on a text by the Swedish poet Oscar Levertin.

Oscar Levertin was one of those in Sweden, who under the influence of Baudelaire and Rossitti, turned from realism to preach a more sensual poetry, of life and death. The loss of his you wife in 1889, certainly influenced him, his loss could be compared to that of the dragonfly.

CHAPTER 9

1904-1907

AT THE END OF THE MONTH Sibelius sent a postcard reassuring the director of the Swedish Theatre in Helsinki, 'My Dear Friend, don't worry about the music for P and M (Pelleas and Melisande). (…) Why don't you ask Rollig, of Kaj's (Kajanus) orchestra to copier the score? I will no doubt come to the premier and will conduct myself. But remember, it is forbidden to show the music to a living soul!'

The premier took place at the Swedish Theatre the 17 March 1905. Maeterlinck's text had been translated into Swedish by Bertel Gripenberg, and Sibelius conducted an orchestra composed of members of the Philharmonia. The production turned out to be the most popular of the season at the Swedish Theatre. Fifteen presentations were made in 1905 and it was repeated in March 1906, the role of Melisande was interpreted by Strindberg's third wife, Harriet Bosse. She wrote in her memoires, 'Laying on my deathbed in the last act, I heard the orchestra play The Death of Melisande. I was so moved that at each performance I cried.'

Sibelius' incidental stage music for Pelleas and Melisande, was composed seven years after that composed for the same musical drama by Gabriel Fauré. It also possesses, contrary to that of Fauré, a legendary side, and is a reminder that Melisande, contrary to Carmen or Isolde, is a heroine apparently lacking in passion and sensuality. Penetrating the secrets of Maeterlinck's drama no doubt helped Sibelius to detach himself from post-Romanticism, the result was a music clearly superior to that of King Christian II, and probably his best together with that of Shakespeare's The Tempest.

Schönberg on the other hand was in his tragic and fatalistic symphonic poem of 1903, largely tributary to late Romanticism, though not without plunging his protagonists into the Vienna of Doctor Freud, making them victims of nightmares and hallucinations, as were a little later Salome and Elektra, not forgetting the protagonists of Erwartung.

The Nine pieces of the orchestral suite were reduced and arranged for piano in 1905 by the composer himself. Like the suite and the vocal-piano version of Three Blind Sisters, this transcription was published by Lienau in 1905. In July 1910, Lienau decided to republish certain under the overall title of Sibeliana—Scenes from the Country of a Thousand Lakes disguising them in picturesque titles such as 'Distant Views', 'Evening on the Banks of a Lake in the Forest', 'The Setting Sun', etc. Sibelius was exasperated. 'Some time ago, Herr Lienau published an arrangement for piano entitled "Sibeliana". Horrible rubbish, totally invented! I recently heard

an orchestral arrangement of these piano versions of my orchestral works, which upset me for several days!' (to Breitkopf & Härtel, 26 May 1911). 'You called that "Sibeliana". When I saw this word I was furious and could not work for several days' (draft of a letter to Lienau, 10 July 1911).

The 30 April 1906, a ceremony took place in the Finnish National Theatre in honour of Kaarlo Bergbom, who retired after thirty years at the head of the establishment. Under the direction of Kajanus the Friedschütz of Weber was played, Act V of the Shakespeare's Tempest was performed, and Aino Ackte sung Höstkvall. Sibelius was represented by Cortège, a new work for orchestra that he conducted whilst the actors, dressed in the characters of the most successful productions of Bergbom, paraded before the guests of honour. Twenty years later he used Cortège again in an abridged version of his incidental stage music for Shakespeare's same play.

The 18 August 1905, a month after having arrived in Finland from Paris, Albert Edelfelt suddenly died in Porvoo, his place of birth, at the age of fifty-one. 'I can't say how much I miss him. Life is short!!' (Sibelius to Carpelan, 20 August). For his funeral on the 24th, Sibelius composed, as has been seen, note 2), the choral Ej med klagan (It is not tears that will remember you), to words drawn from Frères des Nuages by Runeberg. Carpelan wrote, the 3 September, still effected by the event, insisting once again on his responsibilities towards his people

and his country, ‘The link that attached us to Europe is broken. Our hope and our pride now reside in you.’

For Sibelius, the first semester of the year was marked by increased financial difficulties and for his country by more political agitation, after an apparent period of calm, which was to continue even more than before the confrontations between Finns. Sunday the 9 January 1905, demonstrators bearing a petition were victims of Cossack charges in Saint Petersburg. Bloody Sunday was the cause of Rimsky-Korsakov’s dismissal from his position as professor of the city’s conservatory, for having defended the students. His colleague Anatoli Liadov resigned as a sign solidarity with him. The affair stimulated Rimsky-Korsakov to compose his last opera, the cruelly satirical and openly subversive Coq d’Or, after Pushkin’s work.

The day after Bloody Sunday, the newspaper Helsingin Sanomat published a supplement consecrated to this tragedy, demonstrations followed in the Finnish capital. It this context, the 5 February, the day of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Runeberg, Kajanus conducted a concert of Finnish music with his own works and those of Erkki Melartin, Armas Järnefelt, and Selim Palmgren, as well as Sibelius’ Finlandia, The Swan of Tuonela and the fourth movement of Kullervo that had not been heard since 1893, the title of which Kullervo Departs for War was very appropriate1.

The next day, the 6 February, Finland experienced its second political assassination within the space of a few months: The Procurer General Eliel Soisalon-Soininen, who had crowned

his career by entering into the pay of Bobrikov, was shot down at his home by a student, Lennart Hohenthal, disguised as a Russian officer, who after being arrested escaped taking refuge in England.

In April, the quarterly stipend of 500 marks, which Sibelius had received for years thanks to Carpelan, was cancelled, and in July there an assassination attempt, not against the new Governor General, Prince Obelenski, a friend of the arts and more measured, or at least more skilful in the pursuit of his objectives, than his predecessor Bobrikov, but against his assistant. ‘A strong explosion broke the windows of three buildings, including the police commissariat and the town hall’ (Sibelius to Aino, 19 July).

Three months later, a general strike that lasted a week started by the left hit Finland. It was the consequence of that which had hit Russia ten days previously, paralysing Russia, and more generally the events known under the name of the 1905 Russian Revolution. The generally strike in Finland did not end in bloodshed, but could have easily done so. To what were basically national demands, were added those of political and social reforms, the removal of the Diet of estates, and the instauration of universal suffrage, which contributed to the increase of friction between the Finnish political left and right, between the constitutionalists on the one hand and the socialists and workers on the other.

During the strike each constituted its own militia. White Guards and students defence Corps on one side and Red

Guards on the other. These groups stopped just short of a violent confrontation, which could have resulted in civil war. However, the strike forced the imperial government, who Count de Witte, a liberal who had put an end of the Russo-Japanese war, had just been appointed leader, consented to a few concessions. Already the 22 October, Witte had met with six personalities, representatives of different provinces of the empire, including Herman Kajanus for Finland. A report written in French indicates that during the meeting, 'turning towards Pastor Kajanus (the Count asked), "Do you believe that if Finland received the rights and prerogatives that it had before Bobrikov, calm would return to the country?" "Yes, I am convinced of that," replied the Pastor. (…) "I am of the same opinion," said Count de Witte'.

The Manifesto of 4 November 1905, promulgated by the Czar, suspended until further orders the application of that of February 1899, and officially abrogated certain dispositions taken in the latter: the linguistic decree of 1900, the conscription law of 1901, and the decree of 1903 giving the governor general almost dictatorial powers. To celebrate this victory over authoritarianism, Emil Genetz composed a choral piece Suomen Valta (Finnish Strength).

The November 1905 Manifesto, allowed the return of exiles. Obelenski finished by nominating a constitutionalist Senate presided by Leo Mechelin, and Rabbe Axel Wrede became vice-president of its justice department. The Diet then transformed itself in a radical fashion. The four estates—nobility, clergy, bourgeoisie and peasantry—inheritors from Swedish rule were abolished, and the old Diet replaced by a single house parliament based exclusively on universal suffrage and equality.

Finland became the first European country, following Wyoming in United States, New Zealand and Australia, to give women the right of vote and to be elected. The great majority of the nobility voted for the reform, and the three other estates unanimously.

However, the troubles did not end. The 30 July 1906, a mutiny of Russian soldiers in the fortress of Sveaborg degenerated, members of the Red Guard in Helsinki came to the assistance of the mutineers, resulting in a confrontation between Finns—the circulation of trams in Helsinki had been

blocked by ‘revolutionaries’—that ended with the deaths of seven members of the students defence Corps, two Red Guards and a policeman. Order was re-established by Russian troops. ‘Here, everything is—and has been—calm on the surface, but for me it is “calm before the storm”. Emotions are incredible worked up, and I could have never imagined such “class hatred”. Eyes literally shoot out lightening flashes’ (Sibelius to Aino, 9 August 1906). Twelve years later, in January 1918, the storm struck in the form of a terrible civil war.

In July 1905, the publisher ‘Helsingfors Nya Musikhandel Fazer & Westerlund’ was sold to Breitkopf & Härtel, with its printing plates for 30,000 reichmarks, including the totality of Sibelius’ works—published or not—in its possession, that is to say practically all of his works to that date: the first two symphonies, En Saga, The Swan of Tuonela and The Return of Lemminkäinen, the Karelia suite, The Song of Spring, The Boatman’s Bride, Finlandia and different melodies and piano pieces, and Valse Triste. Over the years, Fazer & Westerlund had only paid the composer about 10,000 Finnish marks for all his works, producing a considerable profit for the publisher.

As part of the Russian Empire, Finland did not benefit from the Berne Convention of 1886 on the protection of works and authors rights, therefore to be linked to the German publisher was a serious advantage for Sibelius. No doubt Fazer & Westerlund had been extremely annoyed that Sibelius had broken with them by going to Lienau, and had decided it was

urgent to act before the news of this transaction arrived at Breitkopf & Härtel.

In September, Oskar von Hase, of Breitkopf & Härtel, wrote to the composer asking him to send his work in hand, the revised Violin Concerto, so that a contract could be signed. When some weeks later he read in the press that Pelleas and Melisande and the Concerto had just appeared at his competitor Schlesinger (Lienau), he felt etwas betreten, 'quite consterned' (letter to Sibelius 4 November). He nevertheless decided to raise the question since he had not met the composer personally. Sibelius on his side did not take long to realise, to his great disappointment, that if the terms of the contract between Fazer & Westerlund and Breitkopf & Härtel had been different, and more precisely if Breitkopf & Härtel had not had the right, according to the practices of that time, to make arrangements of his works without paying him, he would have made a fortune with Valse triste alone.

In his letter dated 4 November, Oskar von Hase asked Sibelius to provide him, through Fazer, the opus numbers for the works that he had just acquired. Sibelius, whose works at the point of time had never borne an opus number, started to prepare a list (handwritten), which after various modifications reached opus 58 in August 1909, though the numbers do not always correspond to those of today. Several works were missing, including some of those that had appeared on the list of 1896, chronological order was not always respected, and certain opus numbers are attributed to unpublished works.

In November 1905, Breitkopf & Härtel published a catalogue of the works available from their firm: Werke von Jean Sibelius: Mitteilungen der Musikalienhandlung Breitkopf & Härtel. The publisher presented the catalogue as follows: 'We recommend for kind attention of all, so that they may play, these very exceptional works of a Finnish composer known well beyond the borders of his country, especially in Germany.' The first printed list of Sibelius's works had appeared without any numbers, in 1902 in the Euterpe magazine and then in 1903 in the guide Finsk biografisk handbok (Biographical Guide of Finland).

* * *

In July-August 1905, during his first summer in Ainola, Sibelius worked on an oratario entitled Marjatta, after a character from the fiftieth and last song of the Kalevala more or less assimilated with the Virgin Mary. The idea had been suggested in 1902 by the writer Adolf Joseph Finne.

Three years later, in 1905, Finne supplied the composer with the libretto in three parts, the first founded on the beginning of Song I of the Kalevala. The 11 August, Finne wrote to the academic and man of letters Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä that he was working with Sibelius on a work entitled Marjatta, and the 15th, to a friend, that Marjatta would be presented in Helsinki that November. The 20th, Sibelius from his side, announced to Carpelan that he was working on a grand work 'of an almost oratorical style' that he hoped to complete in three months.

Marjatta was quickly abandoned, no doubt because Sibelius did not find the libretto to his taste.

At the end of August, Philipp Wolfrum asked Sibelius by letter to conduct some of his works in Heidelberg the 27 November. Hoping to be able to present something new, he returned to work on his symphonic poem Luonnotar, the result was an incomplete manuscript of twenty pages without a title. As a complement to the programme he suggested Pelleas and Melisande to Wolfrum. As to Granville Bantock he renewed his invitation, and this time Sibelius decided to accept. Carpelan dressed a terrible portrait of the English for Sibelius. 'Don't forget the strictness of their etiquette!'

Sibelius left Finland towards the middle of November, first passing through Copenhagen, where he announced by telegram to Wolfrum that, suffering from sea sickness, he could not go to Heidelberg. In reality he had not finished Luonnotar.

The 27th, Wolfrum himself conducted Pelleas and Melisande, producing quite a favourable report in Die Musik, 'A tableau with a fine concision, intelligently mixing the charm of a strongly coloured Nordic polyphony to the mysticism of Maeterlinck's work'. From Copenhagen, Sibelius continued on to Berlin, where he was taken care of by Adolf Paul and Robert Lienau.

The 29 November, he disembarked at Dover, where he paid customs duties of £2.6d to His Majesty's Customs on the enormous quantity of cigars he carried in his baggage. It was

the first of five visits to England. At Victoria Station, he was met by Bantock, with whom he spoke a mixture of French and German. Bantock made ‘an extraordinarily good impression’ on him. ‘He is completely English, even in his way of avoiding being too ceremonious. He is going to present me to Wood today (the English Nikisch), etc. It is said that Hans Richter likes my music very much. He is said to have declared I had opened new paths for Symphonies. (…) Here I behave as I ‘am’. I think that in the long term, it is best. (…) Out work together (on the symphonic poem Luonnotar) has not yet come to anything’ (to Aino post stamped 29 November).

Sibelius had arrived in an England that was in full musical renaissance, its situation relative to the Germanic tradition was largely comparable to that of many other countries, including Finland. The ‘great predecessors’ Hubert Parry and Charles Villiers Standford were still alive. Edward Elgar, eight years older than Sibelius, had greatly contributed to giving back to England a choice place (and self confidence) in musical creation. A friend of Edward VII, who he in a certain manner personified his reign, had to his credit at that time two of his most famous works, The Enigma Variations for orchestra and the oratorio The Dream of Gerontius, but had not yet written neither his two symphonies nor his symphonic etude Falstaff.

His last completed great work, the Concerto for Cello of 1919, was followed by fifteen years of silence. After having conducted the second German performance of The Dream of Gerontius in Düsseldorf in May 1902, and observed that

because of the absence of Fortschrittsmänner (men of progress) England no longer occupied her rightful place on the world musical scene, Richard Strauss had proposed a toast to him, in who he could more or less recognize himself, that was to remain famous, 'I rise my glass to the health and success of the first English progressist, Meister Edward Elgar, and the young school of English progressist composers.'

The cosmopolitan Frederick Delius, had not a single drop of English blood in his veins, he lived in Grez-sur-Loing in France, but was born in Bradford, Yorkshire, of German parents. He made friends with Sinding, Grieg (who was to remain his greatest model) and Halvorsen in Leipzig, and then mixed with the Parisian artistic circle. He wrote music tinted with impressionism and was marked by a profound sense of nature, and at the time played more in Germany than England. Pagan and nihilist, he had just completed A Mass for Life, on the most lyrical and least sermon like extracts chosen from Nietzsche's Zarathoustra.

Delius admired Nietzsche, both as a poet and a philosopher. Ralph Vaughan Williams, who was younger, was contrary to Elgar to radically cut all bridges with Germany and Italy, drawing his inspiration from the traditional songs of England, which he studied and treated in the same manner as Bartok and Kodaly in Hungary, and in Elizabethan and Jacobian music around 1600. On the contrary for Elgar, the school of Byrd, the Gibbons and the Jenkins meant absolutely nothing. Vaughan Williams was at the beginning of his long career; his two

earliest works were to mark a date, the Fantasy on a theme by Thomas Tallis for string quartet and double string orchestra, and the first of his nine symphonies, A Sea Symphony for soprano, baritone, choir and orchestra based on poems by Walter Whitman, not heard until 1910. Among his previous works were two fine melody cycles; Songs of Travel based on Robert Louis Stevenson texts, and On Wenlock Edge based on Housman's texts.

A prolific though less important composer, of great culture and greatly interest by the Orient, Bantock mastered not only French and German, but also Persian and Arabic. In the company of Otto King, a Swiss and director of the London branch of Breitkopf & Härtel, he invited Sibelius to see The Geisha, the celebrated operetta by Sydney Jones. 'Impossible for you to imagine the incessant noise of seven million individuals. Passions and religion!' (to Aino, 29 November). Then the two left for Birmingham, where with pleasure Sibelius found Busoni, who was giving a concert in the city.

The 2nd December, in Liverpool, he conducted the First Symphony and Finlandia (which was encored). In the Manchester Guardian of the 4th, Ernest Newman wrote, 'I have never heard music like that capable of carrying me a thousand leagues from out Western life, to a completely new civilization. Each page breathes another way of thinking and living, of other land and seascapes than those we have before us.'

Sibelius was struck by the generosity of Bantock, with whom he lodged at Broad Meadows in Birmingham, 'I have never

seen anything like that. Perhaps they are all like that here, I don't know, but such things always make a great impression on me. He brought me to splendid places. Told me to stay as I was, not to imitate English manners. No one can doubt that this England is a country of ancient culture' (to Aino, 4 December). Bantock paid all the expenses of his guest, who could therefore not penetrate the mysteries of British money.

In the train between London and Birmingham, Bantock presented Sibelius to a woman of about fifty years old, Rosa Newmarch, nee Rosa Harriet Jeaffreson. She spoke Russian, having worked in 1897, during her first stay in the Empire of the Czars, at the Imperial Library of Saint Petersburg under the direction of Vladimir Stassov. Believing that Sibelius also mastered Russian, Bantock had invited her to act as interpreter. As a defender of Russian music, the after the Revolution of 1917, Czechoslovakian music, Rosa Newmarch wrote a study on Tchaikovsky and a history of Czechoslovakian music, and translated into English the work of Vincent d'Indy on Céasar Franck and that of Karel Hoffmeister on Dvorak. She also wrote numerous program notes, in particular for the Henry Wood Promenade Concerts, as well as for Grove 2, articles on Rimsky-Korsakov, Janacek and several Russian composers. Through her help, Janacek visited London, who in return dedicated his Sinfonietta to her.

In her book of memoirs on Sibelius, Rosa Newmarch told of their first meeting: (Our guest) was a reincarnation of the man of the North—a real Viking type. I remember his hair became

the color of wheat in the sun, his eyes ice blue, his fine appearance, his clothes of the best quality and finest cut, he appears in total contrast to these shabby characters of Musikant that one associates with the idea of a 'young genius'.

As nobody understood the language he spoke, they seated me next to him under the vague pretext that a little Russian could be useful. I had spent enough time in Russia and had quite often crossed the Finnish border to know that the Finns did not willingly speak the language of their powerful neighbor, but we quickly arrived at a compromise: a kind of mixture of French and German, which with I note with amusement we used for correspondence over more than thirty years'. The many letters of Rosa Newmarch to Sibelius were written in a French that was in general very correct. Those of the composer were either in this language or in German. Only one is in English. It is probable for those not written in German that Jean had the help of Aino.

The first visit to England lasted less than a week. The 4 December 1905, two days after his concert, Sibelius took the train from London to Paris. First he stayed, as in 1900, in the Hôtel de Bretagne, then in Vésinet at a friend and then from the 16th, at the Henri IV lodge in Saint-Germain-en-Laye. It was his second visit to the French capital. A month previously, Sunday the 5 November, three weeks after having conducted the premier of Debussy's La Mer (15 October), Camille Chevillard had conducted The Swan of Tuonela at the Concerts Lamoureux.

In Le Courrier Musical (The Musical Letter) of the 15 November, Jean d'Udine, who had praised the choice and use of the English horn, considered that the title of the work could have been rephrased with the words '…or the evocative power of the tone'. He had a typically French reaction, 'I fear that we have the same reaction to the poetry of this Swan as the Finns to the adorable atmospheric nuances of the Après-midi d'un faune.'

The 15 November, Jules Combarieu's Revue Musicale saw in the Swan 'a Finnish elegy of a somewhat cold melancholic beauty, but of great distinction'. An even more positive commentary came from Jules Jemain in the review Le Ménestrel of the 12th, 'The Swan of Tuonela (which was much appreciated) is an orchestral piece of strange savours, almost a haunting dream, singularly suggestive. (…) The author (…) has been able to translate this tableau of desolation with a rare orchestral talent. A long melopy of the English horn (…) develops on monotonous harmonies, to almost stifled sonorities, evoking with singular precision this landscape where "all hope is banished". A pessimistic music if ever there was one, though its originality cannot be disputed.'

'You see things are developing' (Sibelius to Carpelan, December 1905). In reality, the future of his music was less assured in Paris than London. Though he visited Paris and London on five occasions, he never conducted his works on the banks of the Seine, whilst in England he performed as conductor on each visit, and in several different cities. His visit

to England in 1905 established the base for a strong Sibelian tradition notably favoured by the fact that the English immediately detected in him a creator who diverged from the German tradition.

As to the hopes that Sibelius had borne and still bore for Germany, it was mainly England and the United States that brought them into being at a time when France had no one comparable to Henry Wood, Granville Bantock, Thomas Beecham, Rosa Newmarch, Contant Lambert and Cecil Gray for England, to Otto Lessmann, Feruccio Busoni, Oskar von Hase and Robert Lienau for Germany or Olin Downes and Serge Koussevitzky for the United States. In addition Breitkopf & Härtel had no branch in Paris.

With the exception of his first visit to Paris in 1900—Sibelius never visited any other French city—all his visits were private and essentially consecrated to his own work and research via various concerts and new musical innovation. He never seriously frequented French musical circles or societies. In 1905, Paris had not yet seriously adopted Brahms and for more than half a century refused not only Sibelius, but also Bruckner and Mahler. During these decades, these three great symphonists were only played in France very occasionally, whilst Wagner, the Russians, Richard Strauss or Manual de Falla, authors of operas and ballets, held a generally very enviable position, which was facilitated by the fact that in their purely orchestral scores, they avoided the symphony in its strict sense.

His birthday, the 8 December, discouraged him, 'It is difficult to accept that I am now forty. But I can do nothing about it, simple grit my teeth and go on' (to Aino, 18 December). He had hopped that Aino would come to join him in Paris, but she decided against for financial reasons. Disappointed, he was unable to work seriously on their 'joint work', the symphonic poem Luonnotar, promised to Lienau, and sought refuge in drink, in particular during the Christmas and New Year festivities. After having met him by chance in the Café de la Regence, his friend the painter Oscar Parviainen, made three fine sketches in crayon of Sibelius in the Henri IV lodge, portraying 'Jean Sibelius at the piano', with a cigar in his mouth. If Parviainen is to be believed, Sibelius improvised, a 'Funeral march', a 'Prayer to God' and a 'Great ceremony'.

Short of money, Sibelius left Paris the 8 January 1906 for Berlin and Leipzig, where he counted on taking advantage of the 'follies of Fazer' (to Aino, 25 January). This optimism turned out, in part, to be justified. Wanting to obtain the rights for his works, which included The Swan of Tuonela and The Return of Lemminkäinen (still in the possession of the Finnish publishers Wasenius and Lindgren), Breitkopf & Härtel, had in effect asked him—not without dangling the prospect of an attractive contract—to put pressure on the latter.

On the other hand however, Sibelius did not succeed, after his return to Finland the 4 February, in modifying the terms of that for the abridged piano arrangement Valse triste. For each 3,000 copies sold, he continued to receive a mere 100 marks, or 80

Reichmarks, which corresponded to an authors commission of 1.33% instead of the usual 15%. Eight years later, in 1914, the sixteenth edition had already been published. As a result Sibelius received only 1,600 Finnish marks, instead of the 16,000 it would have brought him at the full rate. In 1930, the sixty-seventh edition appeared that corresponded to 200,000 copies sold, which neither takes into account the 20,000 sold by the Danish publisher Hansen during the World War I, nor the 25,000 sold by Chester in London. Lienau pretended to have all the rights to the works that Sibelius had not sold to Fazer, which resulted in a new controversy with Breitkopf & Härtel, who awaited his hour. Sibelius could only sadly watch on with skepticism the struggle between the two publishers to 'share his remains'.

Shortly after his return to Finland, he received a letter from Rosa Newmarch announcing that the Goer's Club Concert in London had asked her to give a conference on him to its members. She asked for different information, adding, 'Je vous avoue, très franchement, que mes capacités pour l'analyse techniques sont pas très fortes' (15 January 1906).

The reply from Sibelius in French arrived the 8 February, 'Kullervo est une symphonie pour soli, choeur et orchestre; le texte de la Kalevala. C'est une symphonie à part, elles n'ont pas de programme, et c'est qu'on peut dire de toutes mes compositions où le programme n'est pas indiqué. (…) Je voudrais bien, Madame, que vous veuillez corriger une erreur générale. Souvent dans la presse étrangère je trouve qu'on tient

mes temate (thèmes) pour des mélodies nationales. Jusqu'à présent je n'ai jamais employé que des temate absolument de moi-même. Ainsi aussi la matériale thématique en “Finlandia” et “En Sage” est de moi.' This last point was of great importance for the composer. Rosa Newmarch's conference-recital, in which she praised the 'concision' and the 'curtness' of Sibelius, took place the 22 February, the text was published later the same year by Breitkopf & Härtel in German and in English.

At the same time, Sibelius with Aino were invited to Eero Järnefelt, to a diner-reception in honour of two distinguished guests: Maxim Gorki and Gallen-Kallela. For a time Gallen-Kallela actively supported the Russian 'revolutionaries', to the point of hiding a few arms in his living room, and it was he who had organised the visit of the Maxim Gorki in Finland.

The 1 February, Gorki, Eino Leino and others read extracts from their works at the Finnish National Theatre during a musical and literary evening in support of Finno-Russian solidarity, Kajanus conducted pieces of Rimsky-Korsakov, Tchaikovsky, Moussorgski, Glazounov, Sibelius. The Song of Spring and The Boatman's Bride—and to finish The Marseillaise.

The takings went to those who had suffered ‘from the troubles in Russia’ and to ‘the unemployed Russian workers’, in other words the ‘revolutionaries’, many of whom had found refuge in Finland. Aino mentioned the reception of her brother’s in a letter to her mother, ‘We spent the evening together and it was very interesting.’ Not very drawn to Gorki, Sibelius did not mention a word. As for Gorki he saluted Gallen-Kallela, Sibelius and Leino as the ‘father’s of Finnish culture’, the architect Eliel Saarinen as a ‘genius whose monuments are equally miracles of beauty’, and Finland as a country of ‘great men’. Gallen-Kallela painted a portrait of

Gorki. After having hid him, Saarinen and Bertel Gripenberg helped Gorki cross the border back into Russia. ‘None of the conspirators imagined that in 1918, they would find themselves in opposite camps; Gallen-Kallela and Gripenberg with the Whites, and Gorki in Lenin’s intimate entourage’.

On this occasion as on others, Sibelius was careful to avoid openly taking sides in the conflicts that divided or risked dividing the Finns, especially on the linguistic question. Heikki Klemetti, an ardent supporter of the Finnish language, on the contrary, did not hesitate to question his colleagues in the musical periodical Säveletär (The Bearer of Sound), ‘Why do our composers not put Finnish poems to music?’ Though sympathizing to this injunction, Sibelius continued to evenly weigh, in his vocal and musical works, the Swedish and Finnish languages, at the same time privileging Swedish in his own melodies.

His position in Finland was undisputed, but his compatriots sometimes had a tendency to make it a question of prestige. Sweden had attempted to oppose him through Hugo Alfven, but Alfven was not made very welcome by certain when in Helsinki the 19 February 1906, he conducted his Second Symphony in D-major and his ‘celebrated’ and openly folkloric Swedish Rhapsody N°1, known under the name Midsommarvaka (Midsummer Night).

In his report, Oskar Merikanto cited a few ‘scandalous’ words recently spoken in Stockholm, ‘Who is this Sibelius compared to Alfven!’ then executed Alfven in a few short lines, ‘With his

overabundance of traditionally popular Swedish dances and melodies, the Swedish rhapsody Midsommarvaka is too vulgar to be played in symphonic concerts.' Meaning ''Who is this Alfven compared to Sibelius!'

In Uusi Suometar of 20 February, Evert Katila reacted differently: Alfven's symphony was one of the most remarkable of modern times, and its composer did not waste his time by futile experiences. Was this a barb fired at Sibelius?

Sibelius on the contrary had the most cordial relations with another Swedish composer, Wilhelm Stenhammar. As has been seen they met for the first time in July 1900, in Stockholm, but without really establishing a contact. They met again at the end of 1902, when Stenhammar, both pianist and conductor, gave three concerts in Helsinki, with the violinist and composer Tor Aulin and the baritone John Forsell. At the first (26 February), conducted by Kajanus, Stenhammar had played the piano part of Beethoven's Triple concerto opus 56, the two other soloists were Tor Aulin and Georg Schneevoigt. To close the second concert, conducted two days later by Aulin, he played the soloist part of his own piano concerto N°1. He was not present the 8 March at the premier of the Sibelius' Second Symphony, which took place after his departure, but had been able to hear 'a little song of Sibelius, a song for his poor dead daughter. He (Sibelius) translated the text for me. (…) Sibelius is their great man. Sibelius is their great genius. The (Finns) proclaim it in total unanimity. In my opinion it is quite natural that a composer is their great man. Here, in the present

circumstances, it is music rather than anything else that has kept people alive' (letter written by Stenhammar to his wife Helga from Helsinki, the 1 March 1902).

The 11 October of the same year, the First Symphony of Sibelius was again performed in Stockholm, the composer and critic Wilhelm Peterson-Berger made a violently negative report, directed less against the work itself than against its composer, such as he had appeared in the Symposium of Gallen-Kallela. For Peterson-Berger, the First illustrated 'a moribund and badly dressed bohemian' wanting of a 'clean, strong, well balanced personality whose cheeks glow red with health, his eyes bright, instead of the romantic pallor of the night, the dazed look of a mystical dreamer and the affected pose of a pseudo-thinker'. This article was an example of what Flodin had already called 'the butcher like methods of P.-B.' At least these methods gave rise to a vigorous reaction. In October 1903, during a concert in Stockholm, Willy Burmester before playing spoke to denounce the way Peterson-Berger had treated Sibelius, 'a composer on the brink of world fame', and forced him to quit the concert hall.

During his whole career, Sibelius was forced to undergo the attacks of Peterson-Berger. But the latter also expressed positive judgments. The 10 November 1903, he was enthused at the Swedish premier of the Second Symphony conducted by Armas Järnefelt. He found the work 'grand and genial' (…) the most powerful and best that we have heard of Sibelius up to now'.

For Stenhammar, present at the concert of the 10 November 1903, the Second Symphony was a revelation. He had just completed his own symphony N°1, the premier of which was foreseen for the following month. In Effect it took place the 16 December 1903. Immediately after Stenhammar withdrew his symphony for revision, but this revision remained just an idea, too influenced by Brahms, Bruckner and Wagner, the work was not heard again during his lifetime. The revelation of Sibelius' Second certainly played a role in the demise of Stenhammar's symphony. The 4 January 1904, Stenhammar wrote a moving letter to Sibelius:

'From the moment I heard your symphony, already some time ago, I thought of writing to you about it, but I did not, I waited too long. In any case I am sending you these few lines. Since I heard your symphony, I think of you every day. As an exceptional person, you have reached the extreme depths of the unconscious and the indescribable, and accomplished a kind of miracle. What I suspected is true: for me you are the key personality of the moment, unique and unfathomable. Now I can only wait for you to make your clear and ostensible entry into the world—give body to your humanity, give us a drama! You don't really need it, and I can live without it, but all those who at present obstinately refuse to listen to mystery that they are incapable of piercing, those they have need of it. Take the characters of your marvellous Finnish legends, and transform them into the grand and simple symbols of these profound mysticisms that can never be expressed in other terms than through music, nor explained other than by the development of

action. I beg of it from you, for the good of all those who unconsciously await such a thing from you. Myself I have just written a symphony, at least what is called a symphony. As we agreed, perhaps you have forgotten it, it was to have been dedicated to you. But it will not be. It is quite good, but superficially. I want to penetrate into the depths of myself, but you must wait until this becomes a reality. On this great day, I will write your name in large letters on the title page, whether it is a symphony or something else. In the meantime, I faithfully bear your name in my grateful soul, where it will rest eternally. You have touched me in such a way I will never be able to forget it. Your friend, Wilhelm Stenhammar.'

Stenhammar, who had he himself presented a Wagnerian drama entitled Tirfing, had apparently, which is nothing surprising, never heard of The Construction of the Boat. His friendship with Sibelius lasted until his death the 27 November 1927. During the fifteen years of his life he spent at the head of the Gothenburg Symphony Orchestra, founded in 1905 and which he transformed into an ensemble the could compete with that of Stockholm, Stenhammar programmed numerous works of Sibelius and twice succeeded in persuading him to come to direct certain concerts in person. Stenhammar in addition programmed the Swedish premier of the Fourth Symphony. Further he dedicated his own Fourth Quartet to Sibelius, who in turn dedicated his Sixth Symphony to Stenhammar in 1923-1924.

The 1 March 1906, Sibelius announced to Axel Carpelan that his new symphony, the Third, was 'almost completed'. In reality he had to work on it for another year. The 22nd, Martin Wegelius died. An edition in Finnish of his History of Western Music had been published in 1904, eleven years after the Swedish edition. In a new chapter entitled 'Recent musical tendencies', Wegelius had praised Mahler as the successor of Bruckner and Strauss as an artist more talented than Liszt. He had in addition affirmed that 'if one or two composers had shown a greater originality, none amongst those living had yet reached the universality and mastery of Mahler and of Strauss'. The latter had the privilege of a page each, Debussy was dispatched of in four lines, Grieg in nine and Tchaikovsky in eight.

For Wegelius, the Second of Mahler had the same force and elevation as the best of Beethoven. Sibelius therefore knew what to expect, for his former teacher, his symphonies neither reached the 'ethical and spiritual' dimensions of those of Mahler, nor his symphonic the 'transcendentalism' of Zarathustra. He himself was not mentioned, according to Pacius, other than by '…and new Finnish music can already count on a name that is well known in all of Europe, Jean Sibelius'. What is more, Wegelius had no fear in taking up a phrase at the end of his original Swedish version of 1893, 'In Finland, it is necessary to have a music before be able to write its history'.

However, concerning Mahler, Wegelius was more perceptive than many of his Austro-German colleagues. Sibelius had never quarreled with him, the paths had simply diverged, their principal point of discord remained Wagner. They had seen little of each other since their days spent together in 1902, but Sibelius was of course present at the funeral ceremonies. He conducted the Elegy of King Christian II, and Otto Andersson gave a speech on behalf of the deceased's students.

* * *

During the spring of 1906, not less than thirty concerts programmed Sibelius in Helsinki, amongst these were, the 12 March, those of the Finnish premiers of the revised version of the Concerto for violin and the Pelleas and Melisande suite. He then produced a short piece for orchestra entitled Pan and Echo premiered under his leadership, the 24 March, during an event to raise funds for the construction of a concert hall in Helsinki, this project did not come to fruition until sixty years later with the Finlandia Hall.

For the celebrations at the University of Snellman's birth, the 12 May, he composed a cantata for mixed choir and orchestra based a text by the writer Paavo Cajander, Vapautettu kuningatar (The Freed Queen). Cajander's text, though filled with allegories, was very explicit for an open mind. A country is plunged into crisis, because its queen (the Finnish language) is held prisoner by a cruel tyrant (Russia) in a high mountain castle; at night her plaintive song can be heard. A young hero

frees her. There is rejoicing. Runeberg wakens the people with his poetry, Snellman defends the Finnish language and proclaims the Finnish nation state. For the same reasons, the work was produced under the title The 'Captive' Queen, more acceptable to the Russian authorities.

In Lienau's edition of 1907, the text was published not only in Finnish, but also, with deliberate errors in translation, in German, Russian and English. The Freed Queen commenced in the atmosphere of a funeral march, then the brief final triumphant song. The Liberated Queen was published by Lienau in 1907, in its original form and in a piano version by Paul Juon. In 1910, Sibelius transcribed the work for men's choirs.

Lienau was still waiting for the symphonic poem Luonnotar. The 6 April 1906, Sibelius informed him that the work was ready and it only remained to be copied. The 10th, Lienau insisted in having it ready for the end of June at the latest, 'We must absolutely have something the offsets the old repertoire of Breitkopf & Härtel. (…) So courage and to work!' The 15 May, Sibelius assured Lienau that it was a question of honour to send him 'something good and new'. The 13 June, he wrote to his brother Christian that he was hard at work.

The 26th however, he suddenly announced to Lienau that he was sending not Luonnotar, but a 'symphonic fantasy' with a completely different programme: the episode of Song VIII of the Kalevala relating the meeting of Väinämöinen returning from a visit to the North and the Daughter of Pohjala, and the

failure of the old king in his attempt to conquer this ‘beautiful virgin’. In the same letter, Sibelius pointed indicated, ‘I have not abandoned the idea of Luonnotar, but…’

Concerning the Symphonic fantasy he sent to Lienau, he proposed Väinämöinen as title, adding, ‘If Mister Juon could arrange the work for four hands, I would be delighted’. Lienau found the title proposed by Sibelius too esoteric for the German market, and the 22 July proposed Pohjolas Tochter (The Daughter of Pohjola). Sibelius hesitated, because less than ten years previously, Oskar Merikanto had composed an opera with a very similar name. At the end of August he proposed a compromise inspired by Richard Strauss, The Adventure of a Hero. This relationship strongly displeased Lienau, who remarked, ‘The word ‘hero’ in German implies power, force, and in this sense, your symphonic poem is not really heroic’.

The publisher insisted and won, Sibelius’ symphonic fantasy was launched into the world with a title that did not refer to a masculine hero with whom the composer once again identified himself (Väinämöinen), but a heroine (not Luonnotar but the Daughter of Pojola). After Pelleas and Melisande and the Violin Concerto, Sibelius supplied Lienau, with The Daughter of Pohjola, the third of the four scores he had promised to deliver that year. The fourth, the Six Melodies based on German texts, was composed during the summer and sent to Lienau 28 August.

In June the sad event that Jean and Christian had long feared took place, the first internment of their sister Linda. Sibelius

rushed to the hospital but was not authorised to see her. ‘He reacted wisely, far from being worried, risking similar problems himself, he tried not to think about it. His letters to Aino and Christian briefly mentioned the state of the illness then passed on to something else.

In the autumn he recommenced work on the Third Symphony, but abandoned it once again to work on a commission for the incidental stage music, his fourth, for a play in four acts, published in 1905, Belsazars Gästabud (The Feast of Balthazar) for his friend Hjalmar Procope. This was his only incursion into music of an oriental atmosphere.

Very sociable and popular as a poet, Procope had been one of the leading Swedish language writers in Finland to produce patriotic verse against the Russian oppressors. His play Belsazars Gästabud was certainly inspired by Oscar Wilde’s Salome, presented at the National Finnish Theatre in Helsinki in 1905, the same year as the opera of Richard Strauss.

On the opening night in the Swedish Theatre, the 7 November 1906, Sibelius himself conducted the music. Based on Chapter 5 of the Book of Daniel, Belsazars Gästabud adopted a Biblical style, the verses and scenes were directly borrowed from the Bible. Also included were the sacred vessels used during the ‘feast’ and the inscription ‘Mene, Mene, Tekel, Peres’ (Count, Count, Weigh, Divide) that appeared on the wall.

The music composed by Sibelius was composed of eleven numbers, certain of which were identical. The same day as the premier, Sibelius asked Lienau to publish a suite. The 18 January 1907, he sent the publisher the complete score, indicating ‘It has been played from one end to the other in the wings, the reason why the instrumentation is different from that of the suite.’ In just four movements, the suite, of which a piano version exists, was published bu Lienau in August 1907. Sibelius conducted the first performance in Helsinki the 25 September, at same concert as that of the Third Symphony.

The play itself had a lukewarm reception compared to the music, a cartoon of the time showed Procope propped up by Sibelius. There were however twenty-one performances and a representation within a period of two months and it was played again in 1914, then in Finnish in 1950 under the title Belsazarin pidot. Amongst Sibelius’s incidental stage music works, The Feast of Balthazar is certainly the most colourful and picturesque, of a disarming simplicity, superbly instrumentalised, it avoids the usual mass effects of this kind of subject and from one end to the other keeps an astonishing distinctiveness. With this delicate masterpiece, Sibelius once again imposes himself as an exceptional creator of atmosphere.

* * *

Having learnt the Sibelius had completed a new symphonic poem, the Russian pianist, teacher and conductor Alexandre Siloti, former student of Liszt and cousin of Serge

Rachmaninov, invited him to conduct the first performance in Saint Petersburg the 29 August. Sibelius who had never visited Russia, accepted with enthusiasm, in spite of the warnings from Carpelan, concerned by the policy led by the new prime minister Piotr Stolypine after the dissolution of the first Douma. Considered as a reactionary by the liberal opposition and as a progressive by the majority of the nobility, Stolypine relentlessly oppressed the leftist opposition, setting a Black Guard on them. Carpelan (in a letter dated 10 December) feared the actions of this Black Guard. He also feared the 'perfidious air of the Neva' and, from the local public, an even more reserved welcome since Finland remained a sanctuary for the Russian revolutionaries, which greatly irritated the Czar and his government, who had not forgotten the fate of Bobrikov.

The Russian intelligentsia were however favourably disposed with regard to the Finns, and the fears of Carpelan turned out to be unfounded. After having given two concerts in Viipuri, two in Vassa, where in December he composed a brief melodrama The Portrait of a Countess based on a poem celebrating the spring by Topelius, and one in Oulu, which earned him 1,000 marks, Sibelius took the train for Saint Petersburg.

The 29 December he conducted Mariinski Theatre orchestra, during the sixth Siloti concert of the season, performing the world premier of The Daughter of Pohjola and also The Return of Lemminkäinen. At the same concert the violinist Eugene Ysaÿe played passages from Mozart, Bach and Beethoven.

Siloti’s concerts offered more contemporary music than those formerly produced by Belaïev, and The Daughter of Pohjola was well received. Sibelius wrote informing Lienau of his satisfaction, the latter having just published the same work with a dedication to Kajanus.

The review Russ' considered that Sibelius, though influenced by Wagner, was in no way an imitator, and the Russian Musical Gazette favourably compared him to Strauss and Russian composers, ‘From the formal point of view, the scope of the young Sibelius is vaster (than that of the Russians), and his method more modern. Most Russian composers give themselves to programmed music (…) taking Liszt as a model. Sibelius is closer to Strauss. (…) This music has something nomadic; it breathes hardiness and a primitive joy.’ The critic added that if he had lived long enough to hear it, Stassov (the musicologist Vladimir Vasilievitch Stassov, who died a few weeks previously and partisan of programmed music) would have liked the work.

* * *

The Daughter of Pohjola was the first major orchestral score written by Sibelius for a German publisher, described on the score itself as a ‘symphonic fantasy for grand orchestra’ that called for a vast number of musicians: the percussion was limited to the kettledrums, but a piccolo was added to the woods, an English horn, a bass clarinet and a contra-bassoon to

the two trumpets two cornets, and to the three trombones a tuba, without forgetting the harp.

Of all the symphonic poems of Sibelius, The Daughter of Pohjola is the closest to Strauss, the objective and realist Strauss of Til Eulenspiegel more the Strauss metaphysical philosopher of Zarathustra or of Death and Transfiguration, and apparently the only one, with the Wood Nymph, to closely follow a precise programme. With a duration of twelve to thirteen minutes, the work is ‘freely inspired’ by the Kalevala.

The Daughter of Pohjola is the most rigorously organised of all of Sibelius’ symphonic poems up to that point in time. ‘As a specimen of programmed music, the work has nothing to envy when compared to the best epic symphonic poems of Strauss, such as Don Juan or Til Eulenspiegel, since as pure music, it reaches a degree of cohesion and integration superior even to that of Strauss’ (Layton 1992, 106).

A striking success, The Daughter of Pohjola is also a marvel of orchestration, influenced at the same time by Strauss and Russian music. In February 1907, Armas Järnefelt conducted the work in Stockholm, and in the Dagens Nyheter of the 21st, Peterson-Berger did not hesitate to praise ‘the new and radiant beauty (of a) music opening powerful perspectives for the future. (…) Just as much for himself, Sibelius owes us this in return for the empty music of Melisande and Pelleas, anaemic, affected and totally without atmosphere.’

After his concert in Saint Petersburg, Sibelius returned without delay to his Third Symphony, he had in fact accepted an invitation from the Royal Philharmonic Society to conduct its first performance in London the 2 May 1907.

The 11 January, Weingartner conducted the First in Berlin. In Adolf Paul's opinion, he interpreted Sibelius 'with fire and dash and an exquisite pose' (10 January). After the concert, Lienau wrote to Sibelius, 'An interesting case, the work was a success at the general rehearsal, attended by the musical public, though during the actual performance itself it was little applauded, because there it is the fashionable public who listen.'

In its previous number, Die Music had warmly hailed the five movements of Pelleas and Melisande, presented shortly before

in Berlin, 'Concise passages, attractive from the point of view of sonority, melodically generous and with very characteristic atmospheres'. In addition Berlin heard, during the month of January 1907, at the instigation of Lienau, Ida Ekman in eighteen melodies by Sibelius, four of which were encored. Lienau asked for more (12 January). Sibelius refused, as he already had a month earlier, 'At the moment all my energy is consecrated to the Third Symphony, it takes up all my efforts' (21 December 1906).

At the date foreseen for the concert in London the symphony was not yet ready, to the great regret of Lienau, who had hoped to use the critics from London for the promotion of the work (letter to Sibelius 17 May 1907). Lienau now waited for the second batch of four scores. Three had already been received: The Freed Queen, Pan and Echo, and the Feast of Balthazar. The publisher however thought that given their modest dimensions, the first two counted only as one.

In the spring, it was a Sibelius once again discouraged and tormented by his eternal problems who wrote to the brother-in-law of Gallen-Kallela, Mikko Slöör, manager of his financial affairs and to whom he confided his problems, because with him his relations were less formal than with Carpelan:

'During our last meeting, you said different things that troubled me. First and above all, Kajus (Kajanus) was finished. Then, someone had said about me that it was about time to me. (…) Concerning Kajus, I don't think that things have gone so far. It is not unusual for a man of fifty to hesitate a little

between this and that. I am in the middle of my best years and on the verge of accomplishing 'great things', but the years could evaporate without leaving a trace, unless I am taking care of, essentially by myself. This penchant for drink, not that I don't find pleasure in it, has gone too far. It is said that the road to hell is paved with good intentions, but as for myself I have not yet paved enough, and will do everything I can to be better (…) and—avoid hell. Whatever happens I want to write you these few lines and thank you from the bottom of my heart for your friendship and your openness. You have been the only one to talk to me like that! (…) There is nothing to worry about concerning my financial situation, my income is now more substantial. (…) Aino is at the end of her tether. I must speak to her seriously. I am full of ideas, and the capacity and also the will to work hard. But time – time! It simply flies. It is difficult to admit, because I am spoilt, proud and weak.'

The 1 July, Sibelius was able to announce to Lienau that the Third was 'almost complete', but the last still required 'very much work'. In August he stayed in Berlin with Aino. The 21st, Aino wrote to her sister-in-law Saimi Järnefelt, Eero's wife, that she was taking English lessons in the German capital, and that she had seen a play by Henrik Ibsen as well as the provoking Frülingserwachen (The Awakening of Spring) by Frank Wedekind, a work 'full of good useful ideas, particularly for parents. My husband's work (on the Third) is not yet finished, that's why I can't say when we'll be back. I did not expect to stay here so long, and I would have preferred to be at home with my children at least a week before school starts

again. For the moment there are no concerts here, and no other music to be heard.'

The 27th, Sibelius send a card from Berlin to Gallen-Kallela showing a detail of Noahs Weinprobe (Noah's Wine Tasting), a painting by Max Klinger, the German painter, engraver and sculptor, a reclining woman balancing a goblet of blood-red wine on her forehead in which a black panther is greedily drinking. Klinger had sculpted a monumental statue of Beethoven that stood in the Secession Building in Vienna since 1922.

Jean and Aino returned to Finland the 3 August. The 10 September, having already engraved the first two movements of the Third Symphony, Lienau asked for the remainder. Fifteen days later, the 25 September, for the opening of the season, Sibelius conducted the first performance of the work, in Helsinki. A handwritten score was used. The symphony was not published by Lienau until November. On the same programme, there were two other new presentations, the Finnish premier of The Daughter of Pohjola and the world premier of the orchestral suite The Feast of Balthazar. The concert was repeated the 27th. The public and certain critics placed The Daughter of Pohjola well above the Third.

* * *

The Third Symphony with its the lighter and brighter form of the orchestration, the objectivity and concision of the

expression, instance of the rhythm, the tone and melody more than the harmony, was less spectacular than the two preceding symphonies, it was more ‘disciplined’, nothing prevents it from being compared to the Fifth of Mahler, that had been studied with interest in Berlin in 1905.

Of a constant energy in its first and last movements, it turns its back on ‘Kalevalian romanticism’. It is a little as if it could be thought of as being Mahler’s, Strauss’ or Stravinsky’s. In the Third, in which the number of musicians is hardly more than those used by Beethoven, none of these ‘picturesque’ instrument that others, Debussy to Weber, without counting Sibelius himself in his symphonic poems, made or had made such good use.

The Third, which is composed of only three movements, and not four as in the two previous, is very clearly shorter than them, a little less than thirty minutes instead of about forty. Its different themes are joined by subtle and secret links, and it makes a masterful use of thematic metamorphose.

CHAPTER 10

1907-1909

THE SECOND CONCERT OF MAHLER took place in Saint Petersburg, where he conducted his Fifth Symphony in the presence of Rimsky-Korsakov and Igor Stravinsky then aged twenty-five, who was greatly impressed. A second meeting with Sibelius almost took place in the Russian capital, because the 10 November, he also went to Saint Petersburg to conduct his Third at a Siloti concert.

As Mahler, he stayed in the Angleterre Hotel, from where he wrote to Aino, 'I have just returned from the rehearsal. The woodwinds are really not very good. The rest comme ci comme ça. They have played too many potpourri operas. I hope in spite of that my symphony will be alright. I have four hours of rehearsal every day. (…) Siloti has the critics against him'. Sibelius soon felt that the third movement would be a hard nut to crack for the orchestra and the critics, 'Siloti has shown great interest in me. He has fully understood the first two movements, but he is not easy with the last. It is strange to see to what point it is difficult for musicians to get rid of the 'good works' of their predecessors. They do not understand that an art as rich and so subject to change as music is not limited to being just pleasant for ears. (…) Evidently a great part of the audience will have decided in advance that my symphony is a necessary evil. I have fourteen altos! Twenty first violins and the rest in addition! (…) In my opinion, it is easier to conduct that to rehearse; this last job is the most difficult.' (to Aino, 13 November).

Aino joined her husband in Saint Petersburg and attended the concert seated in a box with the wife of Siloti, that Sibelius, in his letter of the 13th, had qualified as 'very talkative—it's exhausting, but what can I do?'

The applause of the Third finished had hardly finished when the door of the box opened to one of the great personalities of Russian medicine of that time, Evgueny Botkine, who tore the work to pieces. Knowing that Aino understood Russian, Siloti's

wife tried as well as she could to cover up the voice of the intruder. More than half a century later, Aino related the incident to Tawaststjerna. The personal doctor of Nicolas II, Doctor Botkine was assassinated with the Russian Imperial family in Yekaterinburg in July 1918.

The young Serge Prokofiev (1891-1953) was present in the audience when Sibelius conducted his Third in Saint Petersburg. The next day, he handed to his master Rimsky-Korsakov a composition exercise containing a cello solo. Prokofiev described the following exchange in his biography, ‘Why use a cello soloist? Because at this place I did not want the effect produced by all the cellos playing together. Ah really! Have you ever heard cello soloists? Yesterday, in Sibelius’ symphony, Good God Sibelius! Why Listen to Sibelius? The second subject of the overture of Ruslan is not good enough for you?’ Rimsky-Korsakov had apparently also heard the Third.

In any case the 18 June 1940, Sibelius declared to Jussi Jalas, ‘After having heard the Third Symphony, Rimsky-Korsakov shook his head and said, “Why not do things as they should be done, so that the audience can follow and understand?” Now I am sure that my symphonies are played more often than his.’ The 4 November 1907, Glazounov wrote to Rimsky-Korsakov, ‘My Dear Master, Below I have noted a fragment of the first movement of Sibelius’ symphony. What does it mean?’ And the same day to Anatoli Liadov, ‘Below the fragment of Sibelius’ symphony. Is this worthy of praise?’

In general the press was hostile and all thought that Sibelius had made use of popular Finnish melodies. The newspaper Birzhevye Viedomosti considered that having spent too much time in London, Berlin and Paris, Sibelius had been 'contaminated by the decadent style of Debussy, Elgar and Strauss. We have clearly left the old Sibelius behind, he who had interpreted the legends of his country in such a fascinating way'. Russ' wrote that the work's unique quality was its brevity, and the St Petersburger Zeitung, the German language paper, that Sibelius had either understood nothing of the demands of the symphonic form, or had abandoned all self criticism.

Only the paper Novoye Vremya (New Times) was favourable, though not without a touch of anti-Semitism, 'For thematic clarity, Sibelius is closer to Mendelssohn and his school than Wagner and his disciples. The orchestration is modern without seeking originality at any price. (…) In this regard Sibelius is very different from a composer like Mahler, whose unique objective is to astound us with anything he happens to find. Mr Sibelius is a very sincere and serious artist, without the insulting circus numbers concocted by the latest Jewish composers, nor the pretensions of Strauss and Mahler'.

'The orchestra and the audience were perhaps content with me, but as for myself, I was content with neither with the orchestra nor the public' (Sibelius to Lienau, November 1907). After a brief return to Ainola, he left again for Russia, this time Moscow via Saint Petersburg where he visited the Hermitage

and its museum accompanied by the conductor Oscar Fried. During the rehearsals, he was applauded by the orchestra of the Moscow Symphonic Society, which he found better than that of Saint Petersburg. 'Moscow is an extraordinary place and very interesting, the people are very kind. That said, I have not yet met anybody. Recently there has been a whole crowd of celebrities here, Nikisch etc. (…) The weather is awful' (to Aino, 27 or 28 November 1907). Because the young soloist foreseen could not overcome the difficulties in the Violin Concerto, it was replaced by a series of popular pieces: Karelia, Pan and Echo, Valse Triste, the Oriental Procession and the Dance of Khadra from the Feast of Balthazar. The two pieces de resistance on the programme were The Daughter of Pohjola and the Third. It was reported in the paper Russkoye Slovo that if Sibelius 'could not sufficiently master all the complexities of the symphonic form' in the Third Symphony, he imposed himself as 'a good conductor, which is assuredly not always the case of talented composers'.

During his stay in Saint Petersburg, Sibelius was seriously indisposed by a pain in his throat which had already troubled him earlier in the year during a tour in Finland. 'I have rubbed (my throat with ointment) twice yesterday, and once today. Today I can speak without difficulty. My voice is as it was before, surely due to the treatment. I must admit that I am smoking a cigar at this very moment, and a good one! It is the first since a very long time, the tour in Turku included, and I'll wait a long time before smoking another' (to Aino, November 1907). A few months later, it was found to be a tumour.

Several different events made 1908 a turning point. Had the international renown of Sibelius continued to spread or not? Did he run the risk of destroying himself by not renouncing drink? In the last weeks of 1907, the First Symphony was conducted by Nikisch in Leipzig and by Weingartner in Vienna, provoking the usual commentaries. After the Leipzig concert, Walter Niemann and others considering that taking everything else into consideration, Sibelius had nothing of a symphonist, and after Vienna, the critic of the Neue Freie Presse wrote, nor without the usual comparisons with Grieg and Tchaikovsky, 'The music that he (Sibelius) composes now is like a foreign national dish, it is tasted with curiosity, but we do not want to see it on the table.'

In Helsinki and in Russia, his brilliant orchestration of The Daughter of Pohjola had earned him the applause refused for his Third Symphony, but when Sibelius learnt that Busoni had programmed this symphonic poem for his Berlin concert of the 3 January, he was a little concerned, 'I am worried about Busoni. He is not a great conductor, and for The Daughter of Pohjola it needs a really good one. (…) I hope to God that The Daughter of Pohjola is not at the beginning of the programme' (to Robert Lienau, 29 December 1907).

His wish was not fulfilled, the 3 January 1908, The Daughter of Pohjola was served up an hors-d'oeuvre for the Violin Concerto of Busoni, several pieces of Liszt and to the third movement of the Harald Symphony of Paul Ertel. The work passed almost unseen. 'As you said yourself, Busoni is not a

conductor' wrote Lienau on the 4th. In addition, Paul Schwes reported in the Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung, 'I fear the same thing will happen to Sibelius as happened to Grieg. The disadvantages of an original Heimatkunst (national art) are its narrowness and mannerisms. (…) In my opinion, it will be difficult for him to escape his beloved native soil. (…) If he only draws from this soil, he will quickly lose all interest, at least for a non-Finnish publisher'.

Here was one of the first signs of a loss of prestige in Germany of which Sibelius was soon to fall victim, when, in spite of a few setbacks, his career had up to that point always progressed, though his decisive breakthrough in England was still to come. Moreover, from the political point of view Germany was less interested in Finland than the period around 1900. This interest was to grow again with the advent of the 1914-18 war.

Another source of concern for Sibelius was his relations with Lienau. Not having received at the end of 1907 the four works that the composer was engaged to supply, the publisher envisaged reducing both the advance payments and royalties to Sibelius, who suggested reducing the number of works from four to two. 'It is absolutely vital to remove the clause that foresees four works each year. Otherwise, the work will be hasty and of poor quality' (to Aino, 24 February 1908). The contract remained unchanged.

In 1907, Sibelius met Carpelan several times, mainly at his concerts, but sent him no letters, as a consequence the Baron,

more and more depressive, believing that his death was near, and in addition suspected that the health of the composer left a lot to be desired, wrote a letter of adieu to Aino dated 17 November, when Jean was in Saint Petersburg. A thousand thanks for the score of the Third Symphony. It is probably the last I will receive, because soon, very soon I will be leaving for shores from where no one returns. My forces are being quickly exhausted and my fatigue increases daily, to the point I can hardly remain upright. I have many things to say to you, but I have not the force to write more. I only want to make my last farewells and give you my infinite thanks for all your goodness and for all the friendship that Jean and Aino have shown to me, a friendship (if I dare say it) that brought brightness and joy to these recent difficult years. (…) thank you for your indulgence and your patience. I have made many errors. (…) Forgive me! When I am no longer there, show these lines to Janne. (…) I hope the newspapers say nothing about my departure, but you will be informed by letter of the end of my struggle. For the last time yours cordially Axel Carpelan.' The Baron lived twelve more years. More and more worried, he wrote again, this time to Kajanus, 'When you see Sibelius again, greet him for me and tell him I dreamt that he would die soon if he does not stop this illness due to smoking and drinking every thing imaginable. This illness has certainly been a last warning.'

The 11 February, Sibelius who was in fact ill wrote to Carpelan for the first time for a year, 'You will be surprised to receive a letter from me. I was down with a serious bout of the

flu, which greatly strained my nerves. Insomnia (!), etc. At last I have an idea of what you yourself went through. Since our last contact, your last letter, so sad, so tragic, I myself have suffered many difficulties. (…) Why is it life is so difficult for those who love it so much? (…) If I am better, I will go to London the 20th. At the moment I am working on Strindberg's Svantvit (Swanwhite: A Fairy Drama) and I have many other projects. You will see! (…) My finances are in a pitiful state, and my health also.'

Sibelius had to cancel the concerts in Rome, Warsaw and Berlin, but succeeded in leaving for London to conduct his Third. The work had already been heard in New York, the 16 January, performed by the 'Russian Symphony Orchestra' led by the conductor and violinist Modest Altschuler. En route to London, Sibelius met Armas Järnefelt in Stockholm, who had just presented the Third without great success in the Swedish capital, and advised that Sibelius better play the Second for the English. But the composer held steady, 'I will play the new work. I believe in it'.

In London he was pleased to meet Granville Bantock, Rosa Newmarch and Henry Wood again. He arrived earlier than foreseen, and when Bantock arrived at Victoria Station he was nowhere to be seen. 'Not knowing in which hotel he was booked, I returned into town without hurrying and at Oxford Circus I went into the ABC restaurant for a cup of tea. To my great astonishment, I had the agreeable surprise to discover Sibelius sitting alone at a small table with a teapot at his side. I

sat down at the same table and we ordered a light meal. A few minutes after, the orchestra started to play and I noted that Sibelius was listening attentively. He put his hand on my arm and smiled, ‘They are playing my Valse Triste’, he said. ‘Isn’t it strange that this is the first music I should hear during this visit to England?’.

The 28 February 1908, the Third was received without any great enthusiasm in London, but more favourable than in Russia. The critic of the Musical Times, pleased to escape from the ‘endless padding’ that hindered the music of that time, praised its ‘concision’, and that of the Times found the last two movements more personal than the first. Sibelius recounted to Aino, ‘Now it’s all over. I’ve had a great success here. I am staying in London a few days longer to go to (29 February) a grand concert directed by Henry Wood. Bach (the Magnificat), Debussy (La Demoiselle élue) and Beethoven’s Ninth. A choir of 1,200 singers (!). Diner with Rosa Newmarch and Wood. After the concert. After the concert, I was invited by directors of the Philharmonic Society. They treated me with great consideration. The orchestra applauded me after the concert, and the public was in ecstasy. (…) My hand has become very sore from conducting. I’m not used to it!’ The 25th, before his concert, he had written, ‘My old enthusiasm for oysters has returned today. A good sign, a sign of youth. I had started to doubt that it would ever come back. But I’m afraid to go into the water. It could end up bad.’ His optimism was a partial façade. Rosa Newmarch wrote , ‘During this visit, I saw Sibelius almost everyday, and the more I saw him, the more I

appreciated him as a friend, respecting his integrity as an artist and admiring his courage as a man. He was suffering from a painful infection of the throat and had to undergo two operations, one in Finland and the other in Berlin.'

He left London immediately after Wood's concert, for Berlin then Stockholm, where he was interviewed in the Metropol restaurant. The hotel's orchestra did not fail to play Valse Triste, applauded by all except its composer. The 14 March, the Svenska Dagbladet presented him to its readers in these terms, 'His flowing hair (…) has gone, and the moustache cut in the American style. His features stand out more, giving him an older appearance. He is agitated and impatient, and his small eyes transpierce anyone who dares look at him. His face has a strange regularity. It is difficult to say why, to decide whether it is the nose or the mouth. Perhaps it is simply the nervousness of his lips that he presses together on the right side. In the same way he only speaks from the side of his mouth, only revealing half of his thoughts. When he fixes the person he is talking to with his eyes, five deep wrinkles appear between his eyebrows. There is something passionate, an underlying anxiety, whose influence you cannot escape. Such is briefly the exterior that the great Finnish composer offers the world.'

On his return to Finland, Sibelius put the final touches to the incidental stage music for August Strindberg's Svanevit (Swanwhite), a symbolist play in three acts, which in spite having being written seven years previously had never been performed. The world premier took place in the Swedish

Theatre in Helsinki the 8 April 1908, Sibelius himself conducted the music.

* * *

Strindberg had started Svanevit in February 1901 as an engagement present for the Norwegian actress Harriet Bosse, his third wife who he married the 6 May of the same year. The separated after two years, but continued to see each other before divorcing the 27 October 1904, then living together before finally separating at the end of 1905 and only seeing each other occasionally whilst continuing a tumultuous relationship.

Harriet Bosse had played in Pelleas and Melisande in Helsinki, and greatly impressed by Sibelius' stage music had written to Strindberg asking him if it was possible that Sibelius be allowed to compose for Swanwhite. The 18 March, Strindberg replied in the affirmative, and the 18 April, Harriet Bosse announced to Sibelius that a production was foreseen in Stockholm for the following season. On which Sibelius wrote to Strindberg, who confirmed his agreement the 26 May 1906, 'In reply to your very kind letter, I can inform you that I will be very delighted to have your music for Svanevit, because you are unique. But with Ranft (the theatre manager in Stockholm) everything is uncertain, therefore I ask you not to consider this order as being firm as long as I have not asked him to write to the publisher (of your music).'

Since the production did not take place in Stockholm, the Swedish Theatre in Helsinki decided in summer 1907 to take over, commissioning the music from Sibelius and informing Strindberg. In the spring of 1908, the play was also rehearsed in Stockholm with Harriet Bosse in the principal role, and the theatre manager asked Lienau for permission to use Sibelius' musical score. But the production was again cancelled.

The premier of Svanevit therefore took place the 8 April 1908 in Helsinki, with Sibelius' music but without Harriet Bosse. The 11th Strindberg sent the composer a postcard with his portrait, 'Master Sibelius, Thank you for the magnificent music that you have written for my magnificent poem. I will soon hear it.' Sibelius replied in a letter that arrived the 27th and mentioned the possible production of the play in Stockholm, 'Thank you for your very amiable words concerning my music for the wonderful Svanevit. I have always had the greatest respect for you. I hope the music will meet with your expectations, and—above all—that it will be acceptably performed. In this regard I have some rather painful memories of Stockholm. I would be quite ready to come to Stockholm for the rehearsals and to conduct the music for the first performances if I could know when Svanevit will open. With gratitude and admiration, Jean Sibelius'. This letter came at the very worst moment. Strindberg— who had never heard Sibelius' stage music—was in a deep relational crisis. Harriet had just announced her engagement to the young actor Gunnar Wingård, who she married the 24 May. Strindberg and Harriet were never to see each other again.

Sibelius was certainly very disappointed not to meet Strindberg and not develop closer relations with him as he had hoped. But his admiration did not falter. The 23 March 1909, he wrote to Lienau concerning the Svanevit orchestral suite, ‘If (it) should be dedicated to someone, it should be Strindberg and not Wood.’ And the 16 May 1912, he noted in his diary, ‘The death of Strindberg has greatly upset me.’ George Boldeman saw in them two ‘like geniuses’ The 24 January 1909, he wrote to Sibelius, ‘I have found a good article here (Charlottenlund) on our friend Strindberg. A large part could be applied to you, particularly the end. The North should be recognised for having been able to produce two very powerful personalities in the matter of art. Strindberg in literature and Sibelius in music. Both are immortal by God and have God in their art.’ Very much later, Sibelius aged ninety told the conductor Simon Parmet that Strindberg was with Grieg and the Spanish violinist Pablo de Sarasate one of the three greatest men that he regretted never having met.

Strindberg wrote Svanevit under the influence of Maeterlinck and more notably his play The Princess Maleine, which he had read in February 1901, just before commencing his own. Svanevit is a kind of symbolist fairy tale presenting Princess Swanwhite, daughter of a duke and a cruel stepmother, in reality a witch. Contrary to Pelleas and Melisande the story ends well.

Even more than that of Pelleas and Melisande, the music for Svanevit is a creator of atmospheres. The melodies are

however less striking, but Ralph W. Wood sees ‘a more original use of the most ordinary material’, due to the fact that ‘this time, Sibelius applied his music to a play belonging to his own spiritual universe’. Svanevit was reproduced in the original Swedish version in Helsinki in 1911 and 1921. In 1931 it was produced in Finnish with Ruth Snellman, the second daughter of the composer, in the leading role.

* * *

The 10 May 1908, Carpelan received bad news from Sibelius, ‘I have suffered enough. Tomorrow, I will be operated on my throat’. It was a tumour that had appeared the previous year. The operation took place the 12th, and the tumour was partially removed. After examination of the tumour the doctors advised Sibelius to consult a well known Berlin specialist, Fränkel. The 21st, Christian wrote to a German colleague, ‘My brother Jean Sibelius has a tumour on the larynx. A part of this tumour has been removed by a colleague here. As far as we can judge, it does not seem to be malignant, but undeniably there exists a strong possibility that it will reappear.’

Sibelius did not have enough money to go to Berlin. Whilst he was in London, he had asked Aino to try to obtain a loan with his state stipend as a guarantee, but it was without success. Svanevit was the eighth work supplied to Lienau, when in fact he should have produced twelve or so. His annual advance of 8,000 marks was not paid. Jean and Aino were therefore reduced to visiting the banks in Helsinki, Aino

remained outside whilst Jean negotiated inside; without success, because many of those he spoke to had heard of his illness, and considered him as condemned. Finally, 'the director of an insurance company, without saying a word, emptied his pocket containing the day's receipts'.

At the end of May, Sibelius arrived in Berlin, and after having consulted Fränkel, wrote to Christian the 26th, 'He examined my throat and the sample. He said almost nothing, if not the tumour was still there, but since my throat was swollen, it was necessary to wait a little. I must return tomorrow morning. He asked me if I have written an opera.' Then the 1 June, 'He has still put back any decision until Wednesday. He said, 'Es ist bedeutend besser wieder, ich will warten—es kann zurückgehen aber auch nicht (It is much better, I will wait —— maybe it could go down). As far as my voice goes, he said it will get better. Each time (five altogether), he carefully examined my throat, and the last time he spoke of an operation. It is terribly hot here and we are longing to get home. Fränkel has forbidden alcohol for the rest of my days. 'Alkohol schadet' (Alcohol damages). As for tobacco, he is not against 'a very small amount', but apparently, I must also give it up. It is a month since I touched anything. Without these stimulants life is not the same. Never could I have imagined such a thing happening to me.'

Then, the 10 June he wrote to Carpelan, 'It is not a cancer, as the doctors at home thought. They have sent me to the leading European specialist, the Geheimrath (consultant) Fränkel in

Berlin. I went to see him nine times, but he has not yet succeeded in going to the bottom of the problem. (…) I suppose that you must die of something. It would be strange, which is probable, that you outlive me. Aino is here with me. I am in good spirits and I am working.' To Ekman, Sibelius declared, I had to undergo at least thirteen throat operations without the least result. Finally, the old man had to give up, and let his assistant carry out the operation, a young man with sharp features and a steely look, competence and energy personified. He plunged his instrument into my throat and found the incriminating point. With a sudden shout, a triumphant cry of, 'Jezt hab'ich's (I've got it)— and he withdrew his instrument. I was freed from my torture.'

In a letter to Eliel Aspelin-Haapkÿlä, dated the 12 June, Adolf Paul should his concern, 'Gallen has arrived in Budapest loaded with gold and laurel leaves. The same day, Sibelius arrived from the North, sick and looking poorly. He had something with his throat, he spoke of cancer, and his voice was hoarse. In my opinion a sign of something preoccupying; he who always expects the worst, and who has the least wrong with him, always forgetting his common sense, now considers things with calm and dignity. Therefore it's serious. You can understand to what point it affects me, I am in effect very much attached to him and his art.'

In the years that followed, Sibelius lived with the fear of a relapse, even death, which made him double his efforts. Above all in the seven years up to 1915, he touched neither tobacco

nor alcohol. In spite of that the absence of these stimulants did not prevent him from composing several of his greatest works.

For the moment however, he tried to charm Lienau by sending him his old works: The Origin of Fire, Malinconia, for cello and piano, the Romance in C for strings. The publisher refused them, and Sibelius, vexed, asked him for the scores back, before writing the 9 July, ‘I have respected as best as possible my engagements concerning the supply of new works. But you should have a little patience. I shall not make any more promises, whilst I am alive, but in the future I will gladly show you my new works. Naturally you will have the priority.’ The 17th, in a letter to Christian, he wrote, ‘Here at home (in Ainola) two elks passed two meters from our steps last night! Wild “Elentheire” (elks).

The first important task that Sibelius took on after Swanwhite was the symphonic poem Öinen ratsastus ja auringonnousu (Night Ride and Sunrise), in Swedish Nattlig ritt och soluppgång. Commissioned by Siloti, the work was practically completed in November 1908, when the composer was confronted with insoluble financial problems. Carpelan advised him to talk to the well known tobacco magnate Rettig, in Turku, but Sibelius replied: ‘Thank you for your friendly thoughts about me and what is the worst in me, my ruin. I have already thought a long time about talking to Rettig, but I have lacked the courage to do so, and I have not been able to get rid of the feeling of shame, as on other occasions. In any case, I am thinking of doing what you suggest, though without having

to resort to the good offices of Walter (von Konow), because all Turku will know. (…) I compose diligently. I think that it is only now—having given up alcohol and nicotine—that I can think and feel with the necessary intensity. My grand symphonic poem is nearly ready, only a few pages remain to be completed. (…) I have a lot of plans' (12 November).

The 10 September, Aino gave birth to her fifth girl (the fourth surviving): Margareta, called Piu, future wife of Jalas. At the end of November, Sibelius sent the manuscript of the score of Night Ride and Sunrise to Siloti in Saint Petersburg, then commenced to work on the string quartet later called Voces intimae. The 8 December, his 43rd birthday, he confided to Carpelan that he hoped to complete it in a month, adding however that his debts had reached a terrifying sum: 'We will see how my throat infection develops, if it is fated to stay as it is or if the horrible process starts again all over again. I have moments of hypochondria, which is nothing astonishing.'

On the 15th he wrote 'You imagine my state after having calculated the level my debts have reached in three or four weeks! How can I work in such conditions? (…) I have just been contemplating my two last born, Kaj and Margaretha. They are sleeping. They have their life ahead of them. This marvellous life that we love, though so hard to live.' The 24th, he promised Lienau his string quartet, 'very soon, (…) which means before six months'. At the beginning of this letter, was an outline – since often reproduced – of the first bars of the work.

* * *

Sibelius's third visit to England took place in February-March 1909. He left with the incomplete score of Voces intimae in his baggage. The 13 February, he conducted En Saga and Finlandia at the Queens Hall in London. As he stepped down from the podium, he heard Henry Wood, who in October 1906 had organised the premier these two pieces from Karelia at the Promenade Concerts, exclaim: 'Splendid!'

The same evening he wrote to Aino: 'It is over, and everything went well. The concert was at three o'clock in the afternoon. (…) After En Saga, I was called back seven times, and after Finlandia even more. The orchestra is perfect. They all stood up on my entry, it is the greatest honour that I ever had. The hall was full to overflowing. Tomorrow, lunch with Rosa Newmarch and after tomorrow at Wood's. The 16th, an evening in my honour, and Bantock will be there. He now has an important position here. University professor etc. Everybody here have important positions, only I compose and live in my dreams. (…) I am counting on staying here a certain time to work. London is a splendour. I have explored the town. The British Museum (Cleopatra etc.).'

The composer quit his hotel for a lodging in Gloucester Walk that Rosa Newmarch had found for him, it was run by three old ladies whom he called Die Hexen (the witches) after Macbeth. Unfortunately he could not work, because of a fourth 'witch' who insisted on maltreating Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata: In the neighbouring house someone is playing. (…) I can barely hear it!!! I don't know how long this cursed English woman will continue' (to Aino, 18 February. He informed Rosa Newmarch: 'I am going to see the 'Witches' and persuade them to have it stopped. Sibelius stayed and completed, I think, his quartet in the London living room' (Newmarch 1939, pages 12-13). In reality, Sibelius abandoned Gloucester Walk and moved into a new flat at Gordon Place in Kensington.

This visit lasted until the end of March, much longer than the first two visits. Thanks especially to Rosa Newmarch, who

wanted to present him to the aristocracy, Sibelius went from reception to reception. He met the contralto Mary Wakefield, who had known Grieg. Aged almost sixty, she was interested in his melodies: 'As she would liked to have sung them twenty years earlier!' (Rosa Newmarch). Breitkopf & Härtel sought to renew their relations with him, and Oscar von Hase went especially to London to meet him1. 'We will see how Schlesinger reacts (Lienau)' (to Aino, 25 March). It was with pleasure that he learnt that Ernest Newman had included him amongst 'modern' composers in his courses at Birmingham University, with Grieg, Hugo wolf, Debussy and Richard Strauss.

He nevertheless continued to be tortured by his money worries, his debts stood at almost 53,000 marks: 'Make work is progressing well, I am writing energetically. If they try to intimidate you with bills and the rest, send them to the devil, tell them I'm not there and not to mix me with such nonsense. (…) From a distance, I have a better perspective of all that. You should rather think what a good wife and mother you are! I know few who with your frail (but solid) constitution would manage so astonishingly well, in view of our not very brilliant way of managing our finances. (…) Moreover, "s'il ne faut pas trop espérer de la vie, il ne faut rien craindre" (in French in the text (if nothing much should be expected of life, nothing should be feared)). There is a lot of truth there. (…) You have chosen to share the destiny of a composer with me, who in return has given you a great deal of pain but who has never

loved anyone other than you, therefore each one of us has need of help' (to Aino).

At the end of February, Debussy also arrived in England. A year previously, the 1 February 1908, he had conducted Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune and La Mer with Henry Wood's orchestra at the Queen's Hall. Thirty years later, Wood remembered 'as if it were yesterday this dark, bearded, Frenchman with his deep expressive eyes, his soft voice, a little hoarse, and above all his enormous head. Never have I seen such a head on a man of his stature, it reminded me of those of the ancient Egyptians. Debussy seemed delighted, almost like a child, because he considered that we preferred his music even more than did his compatriots in his beloved Paris. (…) Even Strauss had not received such a warm reception.'

In 1908, Sibelius did not arrive in London until the end of February; therefore his path did not cross that of Debussy's. However, in 1909 the sole meeting between the two composers took place. The 27 February, Debussy, who was feeling the symptoms of the illness that was to carry him away in March 1918, conducted Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune at Queen's Hall, 'because of the ovation the work had had the previous year' (Wood), as well as the Trois Nocturnes. Sibelius was present in the concert hall, and noted that as conductor himself, he had nothing to envy from his French colleague. Wood in effect recounts that in the middle of Fêtes, 'Debussy suddenly lost his head and the tempo. Realising this, he decided that it was better to stop everything and start the movement again

from the beginning. He struck his rostrum, and struck it again. Then something extraordinary happened. The orchestra refused to stop. (The musicians) knew that the public would hold them responsible for what had happened. Further, the work (that they liked so much) functioned marvellously, and they wanted to give a first class performance. Which is what they did. (…) The public did not fail to notice that something had happened, at the end; in a typically English fashion, they noisily demonstrated their approval, in such a way that he (Debussy) had to encore the movement. This time everything went perfectly and the ovation was doubled. Debussy was disconcerted surely not understanding anything of English mentality, but I was proud of my orchestra, and satisfied to note that he felt proud to conduct it. 'They wouldn't stop,' he told me in his loge afterwards. Without doubt he returned to Paris with a subject for thought. (…) He was a reserved and sensitive man who in reality did not like to appear in public'.

The same evening, a reception was given in Debussy's honour at the Music Club in London (previously Music Goer's Club) in Grafton Gallery. In his autobiography, the composer Arnold Bax described this club, of which he was a member but where, given his talent, he often played as pianist-accompanist, as 'a smart place for diner-concerts presided by Alfred Kalisch, critic of The Star and pious acolyte of Richard Strauss. (…)

The members of the club were for the most part older people who could be remarked for their wealth, paunch and snores. The ladies generously exhibited their low necklines with their

large rosy breasts that overflowed straining on their costly dresses, abundant whalebone and enormous backs, whilst the men, their eyes seething, their red double chins overflowing their shirt collars to the nape of their necks. Before such an assembly, one could imagine Beardsley's famous drawing "The Wagnerians". In 1909, Kallisch and the Club, seized by an irresistible ambition, decided to invite foreign composers to stuff them full of food, good wine and a selection of their own works. (…) And I can assure you that (these composers) suffered horribly!'

Debussy was the second of three foreign composers to be honoured by the Music Club in February-March 1909. The first was Sibelius and the third was Vincent d'Indy. Before going to the Music Club the 27 February 1909, Debussy wrote to his publisher Jacques Durand: 'What impression will I make? (…) Something comparable to a condemned man; it seems like I can't get out of it, because of the Entente Cordiale and a few other sentimentalities invented to hasten the death of his next – probably.'

Bax wrote: 'Of the four invited, Debussy is certainly the one for whom the event was the most atrocious. (…) It was necessary for someone to speak French, because he did not understand a word of English. Finally it was Kalisch himself (who spoke) almost inaudibly. The great composer, an extremely shy person, was planted on a chair in the middle of the podium, facing the audience. Manifestly completely lost, the only was he could resolve his problem was to rise and

stiffly bow whenever he recognised his name in the guttural rambling of Kalisch. This part of his torment over, he staggered to the other end of the room, where he confided to Edwin Evans (the critic) that he would have preferred to write a symphony to order rather than go through the same experience again. If I remember rightly quite a representative choice of melodies and instrumental works of the maestro were played, and I remember having accompanied an American singer on the piano who sung Ariettes oubliées (Forgotten melodies). After, they announced that Debussy wanted to thank me for my participation in the evening.

I will never forget the impression it made on me to see this gauche thick set silhouette, this enormous greenish face, almost Moresque under a thick mop of black hair, and the sombre dreamy eyes that seemed to transpierce me fixed on some object behind. Advancing with a heavy step, holding a thick hand, he had the air of some kind of a newt out of the "the glaucous caverns of old Ocean" (a citation of Prometheus Unbound by Shelley). 'A survival of mythology!' I said to myself. (…) Evans told me that I had interpreted his melodies to his taste with a great deal of feeling, but too pianistic. This verdict interested me very much, because never before had I been accused of playing (the piano) like a pianist.'

The day of Debussy's concert, Sibelius noted in his diary: 'Met Debussy. Interesting. Compliments.' It is not know if this meeting took place in Queen's Hall, in his performer's loge after the concert, or that evening in the Music Club. No doubt

the two performers saw each other on both occasions. Two days later, the 1 March, Sibelius analysed his impressions in more detail in a letter to Aino: ‘Yesterday, I went to listen to Debussy and meet him. His works are interesting, but I feel he is at his beginning: he believes all kinds of unimportant things. We immediately establish a close contact. With his dirty cuffs, he had the air of somebody from the country, or, if you prefer, a “paysan”. But what a paysan! The French (English?) are in ecstasy. He bombarded me with compliments “en français”. The literally poured down!

’In the correspondence and articles of Debussy, there is no mention of the name of Sibelius, which is nothing astonishing given the very small number of performances given by Sibelius in Paris in the first decades of the twentieth century. It is not

known if Debussy had heard Chevillard conduct The Swan of Tuonela at Lamoureux's concert the 5 November 1905, three weeks after the premier of La Mer at the same place and by the same conductor. Probably not. At this time he was no longer a critic. One shudders at the thought of what he would have written on Sibelius, for example after hearing Valse triste, an article as ferocious as that which appeared on Grieg in Gils Blas the 21 April 1903. But this article far from being written uniquely for musical considerations, vilified 'this Scandinavian composer who was so kind to France at the time of the (Dreyfus) 'Affair' (and who) nervously declared that he would no longer put a foot in a country that understood so poorly the meaning of liberty. Debussy only found genius in one of his foreign contemporaries: Richard Strauss. But their meeting, during a lunch organised by Jacques Duran, the 25 May 1906, went badly: Strauss only talked about money and Debussy shocked, because he knew that Strauss had a lot, closed himself in silence.

With Sibelius, would have also been able to speak of the genius of Strauss, who they both admired, as well as the common difficulties of their own financial affairs. Perhaps they would have discovered themselves to be closer to each other than to Strauss. It is far from being certain as far as Debussy is concerned, at least at this stage of Sibelius' development. As to himself Sibelius posed many questions. He had discovered the three nocturnes four years earlier in Berlin, through Busoni. After having heard them again in London, he wrote to Aino the 3 March, again highly impressed: ' I have something to say in

my music that is completely new. You will see. I slept. Yes – yes – ! I escaped from Finland just in time. It is absolutely indispensable that I be outside. All of my art demands it.'

Tawaststjerna considers that by these declarations, Sibelius sought an excuse for his splendid life in London, whilst back in Järvenpää Aino slaved in her kitchen. Contact with the outside world was a necessity for him; he had written to Aino in the same vein from Berlin in January 1905. She was his sole confident in this matter. It is difficult to imagine him using words as scandalous as 'I escaped from Finland just in time' to someone else, let alone the general public of his own country. The 5 March, Aino wrote (in English) understandingly to Rosa Newmarch, from Järvenpää: 'I am pleased that you are in London at the moment. He (my husband) greatly needs friends like you, and it is even more necessary for him just now, his life is on the point of taking a new direction. The past year was very important for him, and I hope like you that it will be seen in his art. He wrote to me that he had caught cold and that your son had come to see him. Do you think that the climate in London could be dangerous for his throat? That worries me a little.'

Rosa Newmarch wrote in her book: 'As far as I can remember, my son (he had completed his medical studies) had not found Sibelius' throat seriously affected to the point of needing to consult a specialist. Of course, the testing moments of the previous months caused him to easily fall into depression and anxiety. But he has very much appreciated his visit to

London. (…) From all evidence he has worked enormously. He often works an entire day composing before going out in the evening with friends. Sometimes he comes to see us. (…) He is rarely morose or irritable, but certain days he feels sick and depressed; as a source of comfort, only a very strong coffee can replace the cigars that are now forbidden, and the only subject he has that is vast enough to draw him out of his melancholy, is astronomy.' In his diary Sibelius noted: 'If only I could be certain about my throat! The specialists here cost £10 for each consultation. Of course I have the money – but…'

Eleven days before Debussy, the 16 February, Sibelius was also submitted to the ritual of the Music Club. The 18 February, he wrote to Aino that the Danish cantatrice Ellen Beck had on this occasion had very nicely sung a few of his melodies, amongst these were no doubt Flickan kom från sin älsklings mote opus 37 N°5 and Svarta rosor opus 36 N°1, that she had in her repertory. It was rather sparse. An evening given in his honour at Lady Bective's home—who, it is said, had half a century earlier been 'very close' to the Emperor Napoleon III—was an appreciable compensation. The wife of Henry Wood, Olga, of Russian origin, sung several of his melodies including Jubal opus 35 N°1, which was dedicated to her. 'A marvellous evening, there were also two tenors, who sang a few of my melodies. We left Milady at 3 in the morning, myself without having drunk or smoked'.

Arnold Bax, who was present at Sibelius' reception at the Music Club, and also Debussy's, left a just as colourful

account. ‘Of all the human creatures that I was given to meet in my life, I can say that none had transformed me more during the last thirty years than Sibelius. Physically, he has changed a lot, but apart from that, the impression that he left me in 1909 and 1936 could be those of two totally different men1. The massive giant with the bald head of these last years, personification of the primitive forces peopling the Kalevala, could transform himself into a bawdy Rabelaisian farceur and joker, whilst the old Sibelius gave the impression of someone who had never laughed and had been capable of laughing. This tight solid carcase, these cold steel blue eyes, this hard lipped mouth, were those of a Viking corsair insensitive to scruples, tenderness, and to any sign of humour. A captivating personality, intimidating, born of the black rocks of the Nordic forest, but half the size of the old and whimsical colossus of today. Such were his outside appearance, but the evening of his reception in London, was he not tormented by the remorse of his conscience? (…) This London concert of 1909 no doubt provoked a deeper embarrassment for him than it had for Debussy. Was it for that reason that he had such a baleful air? Given that they had simple wanted to organise an evening of Sibelius’ works of modest dimensions, and they had nothing better to perform, the organisers of the concert had practically nothing to reproach themselves about, at the worst they could be accused of having inconsiderately risking a reputation that was being built by not asking at the outset if there existed chamber works by the composer that were worthy of being listened to. As for myself I consider that this lamentable affair

was a serious setback for the acceptation in England of the best of Sibelius' works, and put back several years the recognition of grandeur of the recent symphonies.'

It was in fact regrettable that Voces Intimae had not been finished in time for the Music Club. Six weeks later, the 27 March, the third foreigner of the year was welcomed: Vincent d'Indy, had come to conduct his Wallenstein Trilogy at the Queen's Hall. At the Music Club, he heard his recent sonata in E-minor opus 63 played by the young pianist Myra Hess. Arnold Bax noted 'with amusement' the anxiety manifested by d'Indy when she (Myra Hess) sat at the piano, betrayed by 'nervous tics' of his hands and face, inimitably French. (…) But after a few moments his anxiety disappeared, he relaxed, listening peacefully with an approving air, and at the end declared he was delighted, and quite astonished, that an artist so young had triumphantly overcome the complexities of such a work. He supported with an extreme politeness and an indulgent and resigned air the diner that followed'.

Sibelius was apparently present, because in his letter to Carpelan dated the same day as d'Indy's reception, he said: 'I saw and heard many things here. That is very good for me and clarifies many things. My personal meetings with Debussy and d'Indy, Bantock, (Richard Barth, (Benjamin) Dale and other composers1, as well as the knowledge of many new works amongst the new symphony of Elgar (N°1 in A-flat major), of which I will speak to you when we see each other again—and also Bantock's Omar Khayyam, Debussy's new melodies and

his Nocturnes for orchestra—all that has confirmed for me the path the I have followed, that I follow and which I will continue to follow.'

Three days later, the 30 March in the afternoon, Sibelius was in Paris, where he noted in his diary: 'Why have am I fleeing before this quartet?' He had worked on Voces intimae in London, but without completing it, and had asked himself if he had been right to take this part: since 1890, he had produced no chamber music work of any great dimension.

In Paris he stayed at the Hotel Voltaire, 19 quai Voltaire, where Charles Baudelaire, Oscar Wilde and Richard Wagner had stayed, he was interviewed by Wenzel Hagelstam. He met with Gallen-Kallela who had been in Paris since the previous December. The painter was preparing to leave for British East Africa (Kenya) with his family, where he hoped to find new inspiration.

They spent an evening together at the Cabaret des Assassins in Montmartre. 'Gallen lives in a real palace, 71 avenue La Bourdonnais, by the Eiffel Tower, which he has rented for the whole seasons for only 12,000 Francs. Imagine! But apart from that he seems uneasy, and is going through a sterile period. His wife is nervous and capricious'. A half a century later, Aino told Tawaststjerna that Sibelius, having come to visit his friend, had had to wait a long moment in a side room and had been very vexed, whilst he himself, for reasons of economy, was in a modest room costing 5 Francs a day.

In a letter of the 21 April to the painter Åke (August) Keirkner, Gallen-Kallela wrote: 'Sibbe spent some time here, of all the teetotalers that I have met up to now, he is certainly the gayest! During his whole stay in Paris, he imposed an enviable restraint on himself and neither drunk or smoked. It must be torture to watch others filling their gullets with the nectar of the Gods!' Gallen-Kallela left for Kenya in May, and led a real lords existence. He stayed there until 1910, gathering a vast ethnographical and zoological collection for the University of Helsinki, and painted fifty more than one hundred and fifty paintings: Kikuyu Warrior, Skeleton in the Savannah, finally leaving for Finland in 1911 after having passed through Madagascar, Cairo, Marseille and Berlin.

Sibelius suddenly left for Berlin the 6 April because of violent pains in his throat. He consulted Dr Fränkel, who reassured him: 'Alles ist serh schön in Ordnung. Sie haben auch gar nichts Gefärhliches gehabt (Everything is in order. You have had nothing dangerous), he told me. I have many years of work before me' (to Aino, 9 April 1909). He went back to work, and the 15 April noted in his diary: 'Quartet finished. Yes—my heart bleeds—why this tragedy in life? Oh! Oh! Oh! In any case I exist! God! Four pairs of children's eyes and a wife (word crossed out) look at me, me a ruined man. What have I done to merit this? At least I have composed well. Therefore I must pay for it.' The same day he wrote to Aino: 'For some time already I have finished my quartet, but I had kept it within me. Today I sent it to Lienau. Wonderful feeling, the kind of thing that provokes a smile on the lips at the

moment of death. I won't say any more.' The string quartet opus 56 was the second work supplied to Lienau since the beginning of the year, after Night Ride and Sunrise. The publisher having accepted to reduce the number from four to three, Sibelius stayed in Berlin where he composed in April-May the eight melodies of opus 57 to poems by Ernst Josephson, published by Lienau in March 1910.

'For me questions of money are like going to the WC, a necessary evil' (to Aino, 21 April). This time Sibelius turned, as before, to his friend the architect Eliel Saarinen: 'I desperately need 500 Finnish marks=400 reichmarks. What is more, I return home with a heavy heart, because working here is a joy. Europe, what a breath of fresh air! Later, when I am home, I will make the 'money rounds'. I am red from head to foot! What humiliation! And at 9%! 'The melodies will be good, I am right in the middle of them, and other plans are going well. No neighbours disturb me by playing the piano! I willingly go home, even if it means spending my time settling money questions, but I don't have the intention of recommencing 'our rounds of mendicity', even if it means bankruptcy. (…) What have I done? Composed well. Does that imply my home should be bombarded with threatening letters and my wife be harassed? No!' (to Aino, 3 May).

He received the commission for a musical ballet-pantomime having an oriental theme, from the English dancer, Maud Allan, who originated from South Africa, probably through the intermediary of Busoni, of whom she had been a student. No

doubt it was Khamma, a subject treated by Debussy in 1912-1913 together with Charles Koechlin. This work would have contributed to the reestablishment of his financial situation: 'I will get about 10,000 marks—even more! I have just looked at myself in the mirror. I am very pale, but still "beau" (to Aino, 9 April).

However, he did not follow this up: 'I won't go to England, nor compose dance music, for the moment Orientalism does not interest me any more' (21 April). On the other hand he was thinking of a 'Funeral March' and a symphonic poem entitled The Hunt, projects that were perhaps at the origin of In Memoriam opus 59 and of the first part of Scènes Historiques II opus 66, and the 18 May he noted with relief in his diary: 'Eight melodies op. 57 completed. Contract conditions with Lienau fulfilled. Went to bed at 9 o'clock, completely exhausted.' And the 21st: 'Should go home. Impossible to work here any longer. A change of style?'

CHAPTER 11

1909-1911

AT THE END OF HIS VISIT TO BERLIN, Sibelius and Lienau cancelled their contract but remained on good terms, Lienau going as far as ordering several piano pieces from the composer. Shortly after his return to Finland in May 1909, the press announced that he was working on two other string quartets. As he feared, he found a mountain of unpaid bills. The piano pieces could contribute to help him pay these, but he was first and foremost concerned with the symphonic poem The Hunt: ‘The pianistic technique if I can say it is foreign to me’ (diary, 28 May).

However, with resignation he undertook the Ten Pieces that he proposed the 10 July to Lienau for 5,000 reichsmarks. The publisher refused finding the price exorbitant without the least discussion, ‘literally throwing Sibelius into the arms of Breitkopf & Härtel’. Completed the 28 August, the Ten Pieces were bought for 3,000 by Breitkopf & Härtel, who published them in February 1910. In this way a new partnership commenced for Sibelius, which after having suffered during World War I, was to culminate with Tapiola in 1926, although

it did not end there. A long term exclusive contract ‘for all new or unpublished works’ was signed the 28 September 1910.

In autumn 1909 Sibelius wrote to Carpelan that his music for Ödlan was ‘one of (his) most sensitive’ compositions, and after the premier, Wasenlius praised the results obtain ‘with a little string ensemble, without all the effects of the large groups of today’. Harold E. Johnson asks if in Ödlan, Sibelius used ideas originally foreseen for a new string quartet. Refused by Breitkopf & Härtel as ‘almost incomprehensible outside of the theatre’, the score did not appear (without the recitative part) until 1997.

A letter from Sibelius to Carpelan, dated 20 July 1909, realistically describes his state of mind at that moment: ‘No one, without having himself experienced it, can imagine the stress caused by money problems, nor their demoralizing effects. I would not recommend to anyone to become a composer without having his own financial means. In other words, it is a tragedy! Aino is not feeling well. Her health has declined alarmingly, and she is at her wits end. All that because of our ‘tragedy’. Your interest in my new work (Night Ride and Sunrise) has greatly comforted me. You are a phenomena! When I think of these “Kapellmeister” who parade themselves like in a circus (they only want plays that allow them to show off their ‘things’) and the way these imbeciles of critics speak of new works, I admire your profound comprehension and the certainty of your judgement in artistic matters. You see the relationship between themes and other particularities of the

same order which for me are instinctive. After you can say it is this or for that, but basically they are simply tools. This marvellous logic (call it God) that governs a work of art, that is what is really important. From time to time, I have negative or aggressive critics that for the most part I expedite ‘ad astra’. Let us hope I live long enough, because from now on I am sure of my art.’

In September he made a trip to the desolate heights of Koli in Northern Karelia with his brother-in-law and his neighbour Eero Järnefelt, not far from the place where, seventeen years earlier, he had spent his honeymoon with Aino. Apparently this trip played a role in the genesis of the Fourth Symphony, dedicated, rightly so, to Eero Järnefelt. ‘I am expecting a lot from this journey’ (to Christian). Situated on the banks of Lake Pielinen, between the towns of Kuhmo and Joensuu, the heights of Koli had not yet become an attraction for tourists; it

was a wild and unexplored region that Jean and Eero travelled through.

On his return the 1 October, Sibelius noted in his diary: ‘Koli! One of the greatest experiences of my life. Many projects. “La montagne!”’ A few days before Christmas, at Ainola he played two extracts from pieces he was working on for Carpelan, which finally were to be integrated into the Fourth, entitled ‘La montagne’ and ‘Thoughts of a traveller’ respectively.

His sole melody written to English words dates from the same period as opus 60, that is July to October 1909: Hymn to Thais, the Unforgettable. During a telephone conversation with the Anglo-Swedish businessman Arthur Hjalmar Borgström, in the butter export business, and one of Sibelius’ benefactors, the theme of ‘Thais, she who cannot be forgotten’ was suggested to Sibelius. These words haunted the composer, who sent a musical sketch to Borgström, who replied with a poem of ten verses that he wrote in his free moments. In 1945, Jussi Jalas arranged a small orchestra version that Sibelius dedicated the 1 December to the great cantatrice Aulikki Rautawaara, who had visited him in Ainola. The work was not published until 1964.

In October 1909 he also composed Giv mig ej glans, ej guld, ej prakt! (Give me no splendour, gold or pomp!) to a poem by Topelius. In autumn 1935, Sibelius arranged a version for men’s choirs most probably for the students YL Male Voice Choir.

* * *

The funeral march for orchestra In memoriam opus 59 – another score impregnated with the idea of death – was commenced in October 1909 and completed the 14 December, but its first sketches, as seen, go back to 1905. 'I want it to be of great envergure. It is strange to imagine it, but it will probably be played at my funeral'. He wrote to Breitkopf & Härtel the 14 December: 'The title could also be Marche funèbre, but in my opinion, the other title is better.' He received 3,000 Reichsmarks from the publisher, but on receipt of the printing proofs he was plunged into depression: 'The orchestration of In memoriam is zero. More plasticity! (…) Re-instrumentalise everything, yes everything!'

Completed the 20 March, the revised version (time about nine minutes) was immediately sent to Breitkopf & Härtel, who published it in August after having destroyed the original plates without any second thoughts. Sibelius told Ekman he had imagined the main theme of In memoriam in Berlin in 1905. It is plausible, because during that visit he had studied Mahler's Fifth, the first movement of which, by its atmosphere, its themes and its tonality of C-sharp minor, very much inspired In memoriam. Sibelius also told Ekman had thought of no one when he composed the work, but we know that he had confided to his eldest daughter that In memoriam was a tribute to Eugen Schauman. However, it is most likely that Sibelius thought of himself in composing In memoriam ('it will probably be played at my funeral'). By its 'official music' aspect, the work

nevertheless seems to deplore ‘the death of a person publicly admired, of an appreciated artist or writer, rather than the loss of a close and intimate friend’. Sibelius conducted its first performance in Oslo the 8 October 1910.

At the end of 1909, the financial crisis of the Sibelius family reached its paroxysm, and it was Carpelan who once again took things in hand. Having noted during his visit to Ainola that the composer’s debts were still in the order of 100,000 marks, he approached, with the help of his cousin Tor, one of the richest men in Finland clearly describing the situation: Aino was ill, and they had the greatest difficulty in buying the children’s milk.

On Christmas Eve, an appreciable sum of money arrived at Ainola, and Sibelius who had unhappily received a new order from Maud Allen; that of a ballet for the Palace Theatre in London entitled The Bear’s Death Ceremonies, greatly relieved wrote to the Baron: ‘Thanks to your generosity and that of M.D. (the philanthropist Magnus Dahlström), I no longer need to write ballet music and can again navigate in symphonic waters’ (27 December). Carpelan replied that same day: ‘Above all thank us by new and beautiful works. As soon as the new symphony is completed I will inform M.D. (…) Yes, I have thought a lot about the symphony – what you played for me ‘‘La montagne” and “Thoughts of a traveller” outclass by their power anything I have heard from you up to now. So when will I hear the symphony in all its orchestral finery?’ Work on the Fourth started seriously. ‘Another Himalaya.

Everything is clear and strong. Worked like a brute!' (27 December). 'My throat!! God almighty! (28 December). 'I knowingly burn my boats. Carry the banner of true art high! Don't let go of the pathos in life! Hang in! (29 December). 'Great projects on the horizon! Go all the way, dear Ego! Throw out doubt, and work! Perhaps I still have a long time to live' (6 January 1910). I feel more at home in the city. My life of solitude commences. Art means keeping in good moral in spite of Alleingefühl (the feeling of loneliness)' (10 January 1910).

A month later, he mentioned in his diary a list of 'old things to revise', amongst which was the second, third and fourth movements of Kulervo. Revising Kulervo tormented him, two other entries in his diary refer to it, as well a possible separation of the work into independent symphonic poems. The 20 April 1913, in a letter to the Danish critic Gunnar Hauch, Sibelius went as far as saying that he would soon publish Kullervo. The day before, he had asked Kajanus, when they were in his library and where the handwritten manuscript was to be found, to return it to him. This was not done until 1915.

The work on the Fourth lasted fourteen months, interrupted several times by the composition or revision of other works, by a visit of Rosa Newmarch to Finland , by a concert in Oslo and a visit to Berlin and by concerts in Gothenberg and Latvia, without forgetting the everyday problems of his life. In spite of the help he received in December 1909, his financial situation

in Ainola remained critical, and in March 1910 he spent almost all his time trying to seek a solution.

The 3 April, Sibelius was ready to leave for Helsinki and his usual 'tour of the banks' when Carpelan announced to him over the telephone that a certain number of personalities from the Finnish cultural world, including Yrjö Hirn, Werner Söderhjelm, the publicist and chemist Guss Mattson and the architect Sigurd Frosterus, had circulated a confidential petition in wealthy circles indicating that if Sibelius' health was improved after a 'serious illness', his financial problems absorbed all his time and energy. 'If his compatriots could contribute to remedying this situation, then we could say that they would serve the interests of their country and fulfill their duty to international culture, which is both our right and obligation.'

The action was positive; in the three months the debts of the composer—more than ever a symbol of national identity during the period of Russification—were reduced from 51,000 to 29,000 marks. In addition a sum of 18,000 marks was promised, and the remaining 11,000 were covered by a guarantee from Arthur Borgström and others. 'Without your aid, everything would have been lost' (Sibelius to Carpelan, 4 April 1910). But the 10 July he noted in his diary: 'This rescue operation has been for me the cause of a terrible feeling of bitterness. I fear that people have been involved with whom total confidence cannot be certain. But are you really suffering? Is it not better to sit on a bench on the Esplanade in Helsingfors

with a hand held out to passing capitalists? You know what hell is!! Your allotted time flies and you are guided by your imagination. Something for something. You have made the gift of your music, therefore—?'

Completed the 5 February 1910, The Dryad, a short symphonic poem was composed for a concert in Helsinki which finally did not take place. Refused by Lienau, it was preformed for the first time the 8 October of the same year in Oslo, at the same time as In memoriam, and published in November by Breitkopf & Härtel, with notes in small characters indicating the possibility of its execution by a small orchestra.

The Dryad sets the scene for a 'Wood nymph' very different from that of opus 15, but not the Forest itself: no relation with Tapiola. Ralph Wood in an allusion to his castanets and his waltz rhythms went as far as saying: 'Rather than a natural wood, this dryad seems to have been used to the painted grottoes of Paris or the cabarets of Budapest.'

In February 1910, the Third Symphony had it premier in Berlin, played by the Blüthner Orchestra conducted by Josef Stransky originally from Bohemia, this conductor succeeded Mahler the following year as head of the New York Philharmonic Society until 1922. If Adolf Paul is to be believed it was a massacre: 'From all evidence, (Slansky) had only rehearsed your symphony once, without taking the least interest in it, erroneous tempi, and he did not even succeed in making the strings and the winds play together. (…) It should

be conducted by yourself, or ask Strauss or Nikisch and a first class orchestra' (undated). Evidence of Sibelius's uncomfortable position in Germany 'between two chairs', the critics revealed to be largely contradictory.

In the Vossiche Zeitung of the 2 March, it said given its 'strongly national character' the work 'was incapable of developing a universal musical language'. In the Allgemeine Musik-Zeitung of the 4 march, Georg Schünemann on the contrary regretted not having found more 'themes of a national colouration' in the symphony, but not without showing a sadism, because the work, he added, had nothing of interest to offer than themes of this type. For Schünemann, the Third was nothing more than a specimen of a defunct genre, in Germany at least, of the 'nationalist symphony'. In Die Musik, Willy Renz wrote his usual clichés.

The Violin Concerto was better received in Hamburg, the Second Symphony in Stockholm and En Saga in Boston, but that did not prevent Sibelius from noting in his diary: 'How many stupidities have to be swallowed? According the latest news, you must have been 'held over the baptismal font by Russia and Tchaikovsky'. I am not yet well armed enough for the battles of life, and am really too sensitive. (…) Compose, don't lose your calm and enjoy yourself! Man lebt nur einmal! (You only live once!)' (27 March). To change his ideas, he went to see Maasenet's Thaïs in Helsinki, with Maria Koutzetzova, the Russian soprano in the title role, at the Mariinsky Theatre, which brought him to the question of his

relations with the theatrical scene: 'Have I abandoned opera by laziness? Am I made for such things? (21-24 April).

The 25 April, a concert at the Institute that opened with Hayden's quartet in C-major opus 54 N°2, and where Voces intimae had its Finnish premier with Vitor Novacek playing first violin. Sibelius was present at the rehearsal, then noted: 'Keep in your art of symphonic plasticity, clear but refined sonorities. Don't let yourself wander!' (25 April). The interpretation was passable, but in the Uusi Suometar of the 26th, Evert Katila compared the Adagio to the last quartets of Beethoven. In the first months of 1911 other performances followed and were in general well received, in Leipzig, in Berlin and in other German cities, essentially thanks to the Sevcik quartet, one of the most prestigious quartets of the moment.

After this first interruption, Sibelius went back to work on the fourth Symphony, which is abundantly confirmed in his diary. 'Again in the deepest of depressions. Worked trembling at the news' (21 April). 'Luminous thoughts and filled with hope! Working my way. Try to concentrate. "I must." Now or never' (27 April). 'Yesterday a marvellous day. Youth, joy and warmth. Brilliant sun and singing of birds. Dreamt all day. The new one is taking form' (2 May). 'Walked ten kilometres as I composed, forging musical material in metal and fashioning sonorities of silver' (7 May). 'Have given free rein to my imagination, without thinking the least about the world, but resulted in nothing worth talking of. Wind and light' (8 May).

'Aino's feast day. My marvellous wife' (10 May). 'Stagnation. (…) Nothing from B and H (Breitkopf & Härtel). Nature marvellous. In a profound depression these few days (11 May).

At which point Sibelius had to leave for Viipuri to meet Rosa Newmarch and her companion, on the way back to England after a visit to Saint Petersburg. He brought them to visit the falls at Imatra and Lake Saimaa, where Rosa Newmarch photographed him, and in Helsinki he took them to hear the men's choir Mutra Musikanter (Joyful Musicians), who sanf some of his pieces. 'I had not heard a men's choir for two years, (and) must confess that I am completely out of touch. The inhuman side of falsetto tenors reminds me of castratos. Our works for men's choirs (I myself produced a good number) are a little too orchestral in their conception. You can understand why this repertory had developed here; it has served as a kind of substitute for orchestras, which did not exist before' (to Carpelan, 7 June).

Rosa Newmarch stayed almost three weeks in Finland and of course went to Ainola. She took advantage of the occasion to translate the texts of several of the composer's melodies, and gently advised him, whom she was used to treating in a 'maternal and protective' fashion, to pay more attention to Aino and their 'charming daughters'. His intuition was not wrong, because one year previously, returning from his long visit to England, Paris and Berlin, Sibelius noted in his diary: 'Astonishing to live with the family again' (12 June 1909).

After the two English women had left, alone he made an excursion to the archipelago, then returned to his work, deciding not to let himself be disturbed—and to study counterpoint ten minutes each day: 'Don't think too much about your 44 years. You still have enough time. All real talents are clearing a path 'ad astra' by study and discipline. Don't let youth unnecessarily weigh on you, to the point of making you unproductive. Your art won't be killed' (Diary, 18 June 1910).

Sibelius's anger was provoked by Das moderne Orchester in seiner Entwicklung (The modern orchestra and its development) written by the choir master, musicologist and composer Fritz Volbach which had just been published in Leipzig. 'In particular it mentions the poor H.Pfitzner, but is silent on Bizet, Verdi, Debussy, Ceasat Franck, d'Indy, Rimsky-Korsakov and many others. I have never seen something so stupid. Oh Chavanism! You could also ask whether Richard Strauss had really innovated in matters of colour. Rather he applied – very brilliantly, it is true—the results obtained by others' (to Carpelan, 10 August). 'No one speaks of me—no one. I am completely out of the game' (Diary, 20 July). He tried however to be more objective. 'For the love of God, pull yourself together, things are not as bad as that. (…) When you are forced, like me, to earn a living with a pen, everything can't taste like a 9 year old wine. So was muss man sich gefallen lassen (You have to do what you can with what you've got)' (Diary, 28 July). 'The most satisfying moment is that when I planning a work that I have in my

thoughts. The work itself is a battle 'between life and death'. Is it due to too much self criticism or a lack of talent?' (25 July).

After a visit to Järvö, a small island off the south coast of Finland, Sibelius succeeded in working on the Fourth for about seven continuous weeks. 'To work at practical things when you are a 'creator'. Think about the time and energy they waste each day. (…) Worked well – on the development of the symphony'. 'Remember once and for all: you, ego, you are a genius! You know know it! Feel it. To hell with pettinness! God! Man lebt nur einmal! (You only live once). What are you waiting for ?!' (13 August). 'Wonderful day! Forged a little but dreamt more. (…) As always when silence speaks: terrible echoes of eternal silence—fear of life.

Learn to live 'avec une invresse toujours croissante, presque en delire' (with a growing intoxication, almost delirious)' Prolong life by getting up at 6 in the morning, you are not capable of it, Ego' (15 August). 'When will I be able to finish with this development? Concentrate and have the energy to finish this work. With tobacco and wine, it works' (16 June). 'Cross out all the development. More beauty and real music! Damn these combinations and this dynamic crescendos with stereotype formulas – 'Courage'! Now or never' (17 August). 'There are surely moments where you, Ego, consider not having accomplished very much, and when you find your talent ordinary and mediocre. It is necessary to move forward. Your battle with form! Your concessions to "tradition"!' (26 August). 'Development already prepared in my head. Dare I hope today

I will have sketched out the overall movement' (30 August). 'Forged II (second movement) and a little work on the other movements. Marvellous day, autumnal, poetic' (2 September). 'Question of life and death! Before an orchestra and the public like a real artist and offer them the truest possible performance. Mahler, Berlioz and others! – Terribly annoyed and irritated! Then calmed down and work in my manner on II' (6 September). 'Life again difficult due to mental lassitude, impossible to work and "disdain" from others. "Poor Janne"!

Continuing on II' (8 September). 'It seems to be taking form in me' (12 September). 'Have worked hard this evening on III, but there has been no miracle. The theme remains nebulous' (14 September). 'Have doubts about IV within the symphony. Day aus (for nothing). For several reasons. Forged a little the theme for IV' (17 September). 'Never sacrifice the sublime in your art to das herkömmlich meisterhafte (what tradition considers masterly)' (20 September). 'Marvellous atmosphere in the evening. A direct effect, I think, on IV' (21 September).

Work on the Fourth was again interrupted, this time by the revision to The Origin of Fire. Sibelius had hoped to work on the two tasks in parallel, but the differences in language between the two works was too great obliging him to abandon the idea, which once again affected his morale: 'All my youth and my childhood, my youth with its terrible storms and its dead lakes. (…) Help!!! Du must dich dich zusammenfassen (You must pull yourself together). Where are you Ego! (…) If

only I could erase these black marks on my life. (…) How to escape remorse?' (22 September).

In a letter to Carpelan, he had nevertheless insisted on the importance of the past and his childhood memories: 'These spiritual ablutions are important for the soul. You become aware of the principals that have guided you in life and you "understand" them better. When I am at peace with myself, I see my life and my art more clearly. I realise that moving forward and progressing is the only thing I can do and the only thing that gives me satisfaction. Though he was insensible to music, Goethe had no doubt said in his Sprüche the greatest of musical verities, and reinforced my courage in these moments' (1 July).

Lost inside his own world, Sibelius felt less than before, as most artists and intellectuals that he frequented, the need to mix in the political struggles of the moment. After a period of relative calm following the events and strike of 1905, Russia was resolved more than ever before to deprive Finland of what remained of its autonomy, to reduce it to the same condition as the Baltic countries. A new governor general was appointed in 1909, General Frans Albert Seyn a former aide to Bobrikov, who held the post until 1917, with the task of preventing any return of events such as the general strike of 1905. In the spring of 1906, to protest against the deterioration of the political climate, the constitutionalists had resigned from the senate, followed by the Old Finnish (Vahasuomalaiset) conciliationists. A senator of the latter tendency, Juho Kusti Paasikivi, future

President of the Republic, insisted by resigning on the basis that this action was undertaken to prove to the Czar that all the Finns, not only the constitutionalists majority, were opposed to illegality.

These new Russian pressures had at least had one positive outcome, which was a lessening of antagonism within the Finnish political class.

The new Finno-Russian tensions came from the decision taken in 1908 by the Czar to treat all internal affairs, before they were presented to him, by the Russian ministerial cabinet. This process in effect abolished the system installed by Alexander I, in which the Grand Duchy and the Empire were uniquely united in the person of their sovereign. This law was approved both by the State Council and Duma by a large majority. Nicolas II signed the decree the 30 June 1910, at which time Sibelius was plunged deep into his Fourth.

It was in this context that the cry of 'Finis Finlandiae' was launched by one of the most fervent of the Russian Nationalists, Vladimir Mitrofanovich Purishkevich , a monarchist member of the Duma, an anti-Semite and future conspirator, together with Prince Ioussoupov and Grand Duke Dimitri Pavlovich, in the assassination of Rasputin. Reduced to the level of a local consultative assembly, the Finnish Diet, then presided by the constitutionalists

Pehr Evind Svinhufvud, future president of the republic from 1931 to 1937, simply held the right to delegate four

representatives to the Russian Duma; to mark its disaccord the Diet never exercised this right. In reality, concrete measures were late in coming, and it was not until 1912 in virtue of these dispositions, a first blow was struck against Finland.

The so called law of ‘equality’ gave Russians full civil rights within the Grand Duchy, including the right to sit in the Senate and to the very highest positions in the administration. Armed with this advantage, they soon set about the task of infiltrating the institutions. by refusing as his superior, Svinhufvud was sent as part of a convoy to Siberia in 1914.

For having ‘violated’ the law of equality and for his refusal to recognise the Russian, Konstantin Kazansky, appointed Prosecutor General, Svinhufvud was exiled to Tomsk in Siberia in November 1914.

‘Politics make me absolutely furious, but up to now have not interfered with my work’ (Sibelius to Carpelan, 13 July 1910). The 16 August, he confided with fatalism: ‘For the moment, politics do not interest me. The only way for me to contribute to events is to continue to compose “for King and Country”’. However, it was out of the question to write a second Finlandia or a second Song of the Athenians, and even less another Second Symphony. The Fourth was another universe.

Sibelius returned to the Fourth at the end of September, but without progressing very much, then at the beginning of October he left for Oslo. There he met the explorer Fridtjof Nansen, an outstanding personality who had between 1893 and

1896 explored the frozen Artic Ocean. In 1922, Nansen won the Nobel Prize for Peace for his work in the repatriation of prisoners of war and refugee problems.

The 8th October in Oslo, Sibelius conducted the Second Symphony, Night Ride and Sunrise, extracts from Swanwhite and the world premier of In Memoriam and The Dryad with for an encore Valse Triste. In an interview with the newspaper Verldens Gang, he described the situation in Finland, though not without raising eyebrows both in Norway and at home: ‘Everybody travels and asks for money by telegram, but travel is our only hope, that keeps us alert and aware. (…) Everything is fine. We dance, we sing and have fun.’

Asked whether music had an ethnic dimension, he replied in the affirmative: ‘People say that music is an international language. It is rather the contrary which is true; this is especially demonstrated by the misunderstandings concerning Wagner in Latin countries, in spite of the present popularity of his operas in France and in Italy. But for inspiration, nature and landscapes in my opinion play a much greater role than national origins. (…) For example Grieg, whose music is inconceivable anywhere else than in Norway’s natural surroundings.’ He visited Oslo’s Museum of Fine Arts, and noted in his diary: ‘Many beautiful things here, clearly influenced by French art (Matisse). What power this French art exercises on the senses. In music Debussy!’

From Oslo he went to Berlin, where he stayed for four weeks where he worked on the third movement of the Fourth. During

this visit he heard Rachmaninov's piano concerto N°1 in F-sharp minor opus 1, which he admired for its sonorities but which he found rather 'timid' (Diary 15 October 1910), Anton Arenski's fantasy for piano and orchestra based on epic Russian songs, and chamber works by Max Reger played by the Czech Quartet with the composer at the piano. After the concert he went to greet Reger in the wings: 'I like Max Reger very much. He has not been very successful, but he is a great artist. He is paid 15,000 Reichsmarks for a chamber work! I could hope for the same thing in time' (to Aino, 16 October). Concerning Reger's music: 'National, German, ornate and a bit long, but, because German, good' (Diary, 15 October).

Much later he described Paul Hindesmith (1895-1963) in almost the same terms to Santeri Levas, as being from many points of view the successor to Reger: 'Firstly and essentially a German craftsman, very skilful, but lacking force.' He found that Adolf Paul exploited him, and considered a visit to Paul Juon as a waste of time, who had just finished the first of his three concertos for violin (1909), closely modeled on his own.

As always he was pleased to meet Busoni: 'His admiration for my art has always given me much comfort. The orchestra. He advised me to listen to him' (Diary, 16 October). No doubt Busoni had again drawn his attention to Schönberg. In addition he presented the young Edgard Verese to him, who thanks to Richard Strauss the symphonic poem Bourgogne was premiered two months later in Berlin conducted by Josef Stransky. A few years previously, probably after having heard it

in Paris in November 1905 conducted by Chevillard, Varese had been ‘subjugated by the mystery and the feeling of distance that The Swan of Tuonela projected’. Varese was still amongst Sibelius’s admirers. In April 1919, in New York, he programmed The Daughter of Pohjola in one of his concerts with the New York Symphony Orchestra, and at the end of his life, also in New York, declared his esteem for Sibelius to the president of the Finnish Union of Translators, Juhani Jaskari, who had come to visit him. The 13 April 1926, after having conducted the New York premier of Edgard Varese’s Amériques, Leopold Stokovski then conducted The Swan of Tuonela.

In Berlin, Sibelius heard his concerto played by the Hungarian violinist Franz von Vecsey, who received the dedication. Student of Joseph Joachim, Vecsey was considered by Busoni and others as one of the greatest virtuosos of that time. In 1910, he also played the work in Hamburg and in Vienna. ‘An excellent musician. But the concerto should wait! It will again be the object of violent critics. Or, which is even worse, casual and condescending remarks’ (Diary, 29 October 1910). As to the Fourth he was assailed by doubts, for which the third movement had made no progress. At least he succeeded in completing his revision of The Origin of Fire before his return to Finland the 22 October.

As soon as he arrived in Järvenpää, he returned to work on the Fourth. ‘Worked and forged. (…) If only I could forget this ‘world metropolis’, Helsinki. (…) The import thing is to work very hard, otherwise you will finish up in the skin of a composer representative of only this corner of the world. Third movement of the symphony’ (4 November). ‘A symphony is not a composition in the normal sense of the word. It is more a personal confession of a given phase in life’ (5 November). ‘Yet another day passed without being able to capture the joy

of writing indispensable for making something from my ideas. (…) The result would be ten times better if your work methods were more rational. But who knows? It's art—you, Ego, you are not concerned by science! God only knows if science is or not the contrary of art. Consequently!! (6 November). The foreign press at times surprised him: 'Am I just a 'nationalist' curiosity obliged to give way to the first foreign mediocrity that turns up?' (14 November).

To avoid being distracted, and in spite of some scruples, he did not go to Helsinki to hear Glazounov conduct the his Seventh Symphony (1902) the 7 November, which enthused Kajanus, nor a week later for Gabriel Fauré and the Capet Quartet. After performing in Saint Petersburg, Fauré and the Capets gave a concert in the reception hall of the Institute, where they played his piano quartet in G-minor, the sonata for violin and piano in A-major and the piano quintet in D-minor.

* * *

It was then a new project appeared, blocking the progress of the symphony. The previous summer Aino Ackte had proposed to Sibelius to undertake with her at the beginning of 1911, in Germany, Vienna and Prague, a concert tour during which she would sing a melody for soprano and orchestra composed by him.

The cantatrice's impresario was none other than Emil Gutmann, thanks to whom the Eighth of Mahler had a

triumphal premier in Munich two months earlier on the 12 September 1910. The tour was planned to commence in Munich the 17 February 1911. Remembering that Willy Burmester had told him that he could only achieve a break through in Germany by performing everywhere as a guest conductor, Sibelius suddenly decided to accept this offer, and therefore agreed to meet Ainoi Ackte in Helsinki.

For her melody he chose the poem The Raven by Edgar Allen Poe. He knew this poem since his childhood in its fine translation into Swedish by Rydberg, and in August 1909, in reference to the ‘happy days’ of 1903 during which Romance in C for strings was born, he noted in his diary the famous Quoth the Raven ‘Nevermore’; which no doubt explains his choice. During the second part of November, he divided his time between the symphony and the melody, not imagining that finally the first would absorb the second.

In addition he had promised to go to Gothenburg and Riga in February 1911, at the respective invitations of Stenhammar and Schneevoigt. After some hesitation, he decided to keep his promise, but realised that neither The Raven nor the symphony would be ready in time. In addition, Gutmann’s publicity, more centred on the cantatrice than himself, seriously annoyed him. ‘The publicity for Aino Ackte – the heroine! Worked on der Rade (The Raven). Pity that Symph. is not ripening’ (Diary 10, December).

The next day he took his decision: ‘Have burnt my boats. Broken with Gutmann and Aino Ackte’s circus. Should

however support the consequences! For the moment I am putting “The Raven” to one side. Have lost a month!” (Diary, 11 December). The 12th he wrote to Carpelan: ‘I let the diva Ackte drown in her publicity. (…) The IV symphony has pierced the clouds in with the sun and in all its force. In a concert given by me no diva should monopolise its interest, it is my symphonic music that will win.’

In reality, he never returned to The Raven, though however fragments for the ninth verse of the poem passed quite naturally into the central episode and into the coda of the finale of the Fourth.

All that remained was to inform Aino Ackte. She was in London, where the 8 December she sang the title role of Salome under the direction of Sir Thomas Beecham at Covent Garden, in its English premier and after important concessions to the censor. Sibelius informed her by a laconic telegram to which quite furiously replied the 13th, though not without adding that she admired his works, which she would continue to sing.

Nevertheless she went to complain to Rosa Newmarch, who scolded Sibelius in a letter of the 22 December: ‘The least you could do is to write to this marvellous cantatrice. You should have a good explanation. (…) Her pride has been hurt.’ Sibelius did not cede, but he could be forgiven since Aino Ackte had maladroitly declared in an interview: ‘I am bringing Sibelius with me.’ Later in 1913, he composed Luonnotar, one of his greatest works for her.

In January he spent about three weeks in Helsinki, but the prospective of his tour in Gothenburg and Riga prevented him from really working. He often went out. Having heard a recital of Wilhelm Blackhaus, he considered that he played ‘like a pianola’ (Diary 18 January) and ‘lacked greatness’ (to Carpelan, 19 January). He also attended a concert of Willy Burmester. ‘He was reserved—comic!’ (18 January).

No doubt Sibelius had forgotten the incidents that had marked the genesis of the violin concerto. However, he noted in his diary: ‘Marvellous control of the bow! In the evening he was in the company of a charming lady. Reviewed movement III of the symphony’ (21 January). He cancelled two concerts planned in Helsinki the 20 and 22 February and returned to Ainola, where another task was waiting for him; two pieces for a repeat, in a much revised version, of Arvid Järnefelt’s Kuolema, which passed into posterity as Canzonetta opus 62a (an arrangement of the original of 1906) and as Valse romantique.

Having arrived in Gothenburg the 2 February, Sibelius attended a grand reception on the 4th with 200 guests during which Tor Aulin gave a speech in his honour. His two concerts took place the 6th and 8th. He had already made a name for himself in Gothenburg.

The 13 April 1907, Armas Järnefelt had conducted the Second Symphony, and after his nomination at the head of the city orchestra of the same year, Stenhammar had presented The Swan of Tuonela and The Return of Lemminkäinen, and again

the Second. Stenhammar had also programmed this symphony during the first grand tour with the orchestra, in Scanie and Copenhagen at the beginning of 1909. His enthusiasm for Finlandia did not lessen.

During a concert given by his orchestra in Stockholm in February of the same year, a journalist asked him what he thought of Sibelius, and reported his reaction in the Dagens Nyheter of the 28th: 'Stenhammar remained quiet for a moment, his eyes shinning, then the words came out, warm and convincing – "Of all the living composers, none in my opinion equal Sibelius. For me, he outclasses all the others. It is a genius of the most authentic kind, who captivates you body and mind and whose bewitching force holds you prisoner. The more you play Sibelius, the more you are plunged into his music, and the more I am persuaded of his importance. It is a joy for me to be able to announce it." With which Stenhammar looked into the distance, searching for this secret ideal that unconsciously he had so often sought'. The idea of a visit by Sibelius to Gothenburg was born in November 1909, and the 13 March 1910, Stenhammar wrote to him: 'You can count on a full and friendly house, the members of the orchestra like you as much as I, who you have bewitched.'

"Rehearsal. For me a failure, but Stenhammar praised my talent as conductor. The evening at his place. The Swedish composer Emil Sjörgen declared outright that I was of a great intelligence, but nothing more. And also that my instrumentation was a "marvel" in my art. Stenhammar's

quartet is good, especially the first movement. Had to put up with much condescendence. But as the days passed, I supported it better and better' (Diary, 3 February). 'Stenhammar dedicated his quartet to me' (4 February). At the first concert (6 February), we heard the Swedish premier of Third Symphony, Pan and Echo and The Daughter of Pohjola, as well as Valse Triste, The Swan of Tuonela and The Return of Lemminkäinen. At the second (8 February), the Swedish premier of The Dryad and Night Ride and Sunrise, as well as En Saga and the Second Symphony. The Third Symphony went rather well. (…) In The Daughter of Pohjola, I never had the orchestra with me. True! (During the rehearsal of the second concert), Stenhammar remarked that I was too polite with the orchestra' (Diary, 7 February).

The concert of the 8th was a triumph, and whilst knowing that he would never be able to it, and in any case the impresarios would never accept it, Sibelius resolved from then onwards to remove all the popular pieces from his programmes, such as Valse Triste or even The Dryad.

The 12th Stenhammar delightedly wrote to Aino: 'Your husband left Gothenburg very touched and very grateful for the welcome he had received. However, I will leave oit to him to tell you himself what happened. (…) A few days ago, I played The Swan of Tuonela and Lemminkäinen in a concert for school goers. In my presentation, I said a few words about the recent visit of Sibelius here and the enthusiasm that adults had shown for him. The enthusiasm of the youngsters was scarcely

less, and after Lemminkäinen I had difficulty in controlling the applause. Jean will certainly be happy to know this. On his next visit, we shall have the all the young people singing The Song of the Athenians.

Sibelius took the train for Berlin, and from there went on to Riga, where on his arrival he rehearsed the orchestra, which had been founded the previous year by Georg Schneevoight. And in a week, he conducted three concerts in Riga and Mitau, capital of what was then called Duchy of Courland.

On his return home the 19 February, exhausted, he immediately returned to work. 'Aino, my wife, the most understanding of all' (20 February). 'Worked on "Valse Romantique". 'Again on the summits' (21 February). 'Worked on "ditto" and "Canzonetta". Wind and snow outside. Here at home, it is warm and the atmosphere is good. Ignore Helsinki, and its concerts and social obligations' (22 February). Therefore he did not go to hear Rachmaninov play his piano concerto N°2 in C-minor ops 18, the 23rd, thus completing two pieces for Kuolema. 'A whole month spent travelling and to complete these small new pieces. God help me!'

Two days later there was a new interruption; the 8 March he had to attend the repeat of Kuolema. 'It is like the devil was at work' (8 March). 'Walk in nature! Worked on end of symphony' (11 March). 'Skied. Worked ?!' (12 March). Reworked on the symphony, movement IV, that's to say the end. My profession being 'composer', why am I dragged down to perpetual failures, annoyances and worries of all kind? The

time, the time of life, how short it is! Difficult to accept! I must. Dragged through the mud as a composer, pursued for non-payment of debts, everything is black—in spite of that I would not change with anybody!! Marvellous, rich Ego! (18 Mars). 'Fight for life and death with the symphony. Bear your cross of composer like a man!' (28 March). 'Symphony "ready"'. Iacta alea est! It must be! It requires much courage to look at life in the eyes!' (2 April).

Spread over approximately fifteen months, from December 1909 to the beginning of April 1911, and in five main periods, the genesis of the Fourth was for Sibelius a painful Calvary. The work was premiered under his direction in Helsinki the 3 April 1911, in the second half of a concert which had commenced with In Memoriam, Canzonetta opus 62a and the symphonic poems The Dryad and Night Ride and Sunrise. The two lightest pieces of the programme, Canzonetta and The Dryad, were encored, and Night Ride and Sunrise was enthusiastically acclaimed.

* * *

'It is as if a cyclone had ravaged the Sibelian landscape, leaving the composer in a ruined universe. We feel we are the tragic witnesses of a battle between the chaotic forces that threaten to destroy all traditional order. Such that a feeling of bitterness seeped through especially in the last movement. After a carefree and a little forced introduction, (this movement) was suddenly transformed and culminated in a

catastrophic climate, almost on a cosmic scale. At the end, this despair became resignation—calm but not without bravado. The symphony thus ended on a note of personal frustration as opposed to the Third, where the threat of chaos (launched by the third episode of the finale) was avoided at the last moment by the rhythms of a surrealistic march (of the fourth episode)'. This is how a Finnish conductor, familiar with Sibelius and his works described the Fourth Symphony.

Robert Simpson wrote: 'It was both the most profound, the most absolution repudiation of Romanticism by Sibelius, and his most intense personal expression. The two were not contradictory, because the expression objectively controlled of concentrated emotion is not a mere sentimental story, but introspection. No pessimism can be detected, in spite of an overwhelming obscurity, but rather an invincible courage, reinforced by a sense of persistent adversity up to the end. The obstinate chords of A-minor which finally emerge unperturbed from the terrible internal spasms of the last movement are as heroic as any in music. The courage of the composer extends as far as the notations in the score—from who else could be expected a symphony ending on a mezzo forte?'

Three days before the concert of the 3 April 1911, Axel Carpelan gave an interview to the Swedish daily Göteborgs Handel och Sjöfartstidning: '(This music) is incomparable to anything else, (…) not even to any previous work by Sibelius. (…) In general, the symphony could be considered as a protest against the music that prevails at present (…) and above all in

Germany, the home of the genre, where instrumental music had become a purely technical accomplishment like public works, forced to hid its empty interior behind an enormous mechanical apparatus.' A commentary that seems to have been dictated by the composer himself, who a month later was to speak to Rosa Newmarch in almost the same terms.

The 3 April, the ascetic sonorities, the unsensational aspect and the aphoristic language of the work 'at the same time modernist and anti-modernist', opposed to the flamboyant optimism of the Second or the athletic vigour of the Third, simply inspired a polite indifference from the Helsinki public. The last chords were followed by a perplexed silence in the concert hall; was it the end or not? The applause only commenced timidly when the traditional crown of laurel leaves was brought in. A half a century later, Aino told Tawaststjerna: 'Evasive looks, nodding of heads, embarrassed smiles, furtive, ironic. Few people came to salute to greet us in the artists' loge.' Sibelius left to the cheers of the students of the Ylioppilaskinnan Laulajat and its leader Heikki Klementti, but as Tawaststjera wrote: 'never had the dichotomy between the role of composer and his status as national hero seemed so great.'

If for two young music students destined to become famous as avant-garde 'modernist' Finnish composers in the twenties, Aare Merikanto and Väinö Raito, the Fourth was a revelation, the critics in general were as confused as the public. Flodin produced no commentary, he was absent in Argentina where he

was to stay until 1921, as critic of the German language paper La Plata.

On the other hand Heiki Klementti reported in the review Sävelätar: ‘Everything is strange. Curious transparent figures float here and there, expressing themselves in a language that is difficult to understand. Posterity will decide if the composer has yes or no stepped over the limits fixed in music by good sense and the nature of intervals in a melody.’ In the daily Hufvudstadsbladet, Bis (Karl Fredrik Wasenius) explained that the work was a description from the heights of Koli: ‘The first movement paints the Mount Koli and the impressions that one has.

Contrary to his usual custom, Sibelius sent to Hufvudstadsbladet a letter of protestation that appeared the 8 April: ‘The affirmations by your correspondent as to the programme of my new symphony are wrong. They remind me of a topographical description that I made to some friends the 1 April.’ But Wasenius insisted; he had his information from a person close to the composer. It was probably Eero Järnefelt, with whom Sibelius, as has been seen, went to Koli in September 1909. Sibelius together with his brother in law (to whom the Fourth was dedicated) and their wives dined together after the concert of the 3 April, there is little doubt that they had spoken of Koli.

In any case Sibelius was horrified by Wasenius’s article. He had, as has been seen, played in the presence of Carpelan in December 1909, after his expedition to Koli, two fragments of

the work in gestation entitling them ‘The Mountain’ and ‘Thoughts of a Traveller’. These fragments were however integrated into a most ‘abstract’ of works, not in a picturesque ‘Symphony of the Mountain’. Koli at the most played a symbolic role for the Fourth as we know it; from his forty-five years, Sibelius could contemplate the past and envisage the future, a future which, he hoped, would assure him, and in particular thanks to his Fourth, a place amongst the ‘modernists’ of the moment. It is very probable that the worries caused by his throat had also played a role, and in particular in the more sombre side of the work and its brusque passages from one extreme to another. The notes in his diary from the 28 December to the 6 January 1910 confirm this.

Other reports are more positive. In the Uusi Suometar of the 11 April, Evert Katila treated the programme advanced by Wasenius as an ‘April Fool’s’ joke, and saw in the Fourth, though not without using Carpelan’s interview, a ‘violent’ protestation against the general tendencies of modern music. (…) Today automobile-symphonies are composed and opera’s with deafening sonorities, works demanding a thousand performers (a barb against Mahler’s Eighth that had just appeared?), all that without any other objective than astonishing the spectator with every that can be found new and strange. (The Fourth is) the most modern of modern and in terms of counterpoint and harmony the work the most audacious composed to date’.

Sibelius replied to Walter Legge in the middle of the thirties, who had asked why he had not continued along the same path as he had in the Fourth Symphony: ‘Beyond, it is folly or chaos.’ Later Richard Strauss made almost the same remark to Legge concerning Elektra: ‘Beyond, it is chaos.’ As regards this Pike affirmed: ‘Composer undeniably tonal. Sibelius writes a symphony where the atonality, that is to say the effect of the tritone, destroys the very fundamentals of music such as it is conceived—not only the tonality and the formal structure of the work, but also the melody and the rhythm, which, from his point of view, was an exact prophesy of the musical tendencies in the years to come.’

For Carl Dahlhaus, ‘Sibelius (…) reached (…) in the Fourth Symphony of 1911 a ‘state of musical material’ (to use a phrase of Adorno his detractor) that he had never exceeded, even in the Seventh. Sibelius’ Fourth is undeniably one of the two or three works that could aspire to the title of ‘the greatest symphonic of the 20th century’.

The programme of the 3rd was repeated the 5th, and Sibelius noted in his diary the 7th: ‘The concerts were good. Everything is falling to pieces. The idiocies of Bis. Aino the same as ever and balanced. Am waiting and anxious. B&H??? Axel Carpelan present and comprehensive. Otto Andersson wrote about me. Was homesick for the country. (…) Will I publish the symphony in this form? Yes!—??’ And the 23rd: ‘Suppose I was not “recognised”?! That public opinion gives preference to others?! That jealousy and intrigues succeed in arriving at their

ends?! Would my art become worse? On the contrary, as composer it would be better for me! – And in the name of what can I pretend to a destiny different to that of other great talents who preceded me?'

From the 5 April, he offered the work to Breitkopf & Härtel, who replied favourably the 14th. The 21st, he undertook a last revision, and the 15 May noted in his diary: 'I consider that by this final revision the symphony has acquired its form for always.' The 20 May, he sent the score to Breitkopf & Härtel asking for an increase in his royalties originally foreseen, and the 10 June he wrote in his diary: 'Works such as symphony IV should not be underestimated. Though this degree of perfection cannot be reached by any mortal being— except by Mozart's 'mathematical' talent.' The 18 November, from Paris, he indicated to his publisher: 'The symph. IV is dedicated to my brother in law E.,Järnefelt, a most remarkable painter.' The publication appeared in February 1912.

CHAPTER 12

1911-1913

THE PREMIER OF THE FOURTH SYMPHONY on the 3 April was surrounded by two important events. The first was the premier of the Der Rosenkavalier by Richard Strauss the 26 January in Dresden. After Salome and Elektra, it did not announce a regression, but a reconciliation with the more conspicuous aspects and not always most productive of 'modernism', a re-appropriation of the past less tributary to history, more globalising than that commenced shortly afterwards by Igor Stravinsky. The successive versions of Ariadne auf Naxos, with their mixture of genres and styles, magnificently illustrated this turning point. The second event was the death of Gustav Mahler, the 18 May in Vienna.

The reaction of Sibelius to these important events that marked musical history before 1914 is unknown. In any event in the Germanic region, both contributed to leaving the floor open to Schönberg and his disciples, in the same way in Paris, Stravinsky was in the course of replacing Debussy and Ravel, and to a lesser degree, Vincent d'Indy, Saint-Saëns, Fauré or Paul Dukas. Arriving at the forefront of the scene was a new generation that Strauss and especially Sibelius would soon, and for a long time after, have on their heels. Reporting on a performance of Schönberg's Pelleas et Mélisande in Berlin

directed by Oskar Fried, the London Musical Times Vienna correspondent made this important remark in the March 1911 number: ‘For the first time in German music, it is possible to see beyond Strauss, (…) and there is every reason to hope that he (Schönberg) will lead us to places just as interesting as his great predecessor.’ The correspondent was none other than Edward Clar, a student of Schönberg in Berlin from 1911 to 1914 and destined to play, from 1927 to his resignation in 1936, a determining role in favour of ‘avant-garde’ music at the BBC in London.

Sibelius on his own side asked himself how he would continue from his great step forward with the Fourth. Two letters in German to Rosa Newmarch, one written before the completion of the work and the other after, are very revealing: ‘As usual, I feel (in Berlin) an insurmountable aversion for ‘modern tendencies’. Thus an Alleingefühl (feeling of solitude). (…) My symphony IV will probably be ready in February. To my great surprise, I see that my works are quite often performed on the continent, even though they have no ‘modernity’ in them. Please excuse me writing to you in ‘German’, but que faire (in French)!’. ‘My symphony IV is completed. I have conducted in twice in Helsingfors. Without being strictly speaking a ‘concert piece’, it has won me a lot of friends. (…) My new symphony is a total protest against the composers of today. Nothing, absolutely nothing “circus” like’. By ‘circus’, Sibelius meant a certain ‘air of the times’ and second class works rather than composers such as Mahler and

above all Strauss, you deep inside he admired without for an instant imagining them as role models.

‘Where is my ‘jardin secret’? He asked himself this question the 21 May 1911 in his diary. Two years passed before a reply was made, until the Barde and Luonnotar, or even until the final version of the Fifth Symphony, without forgetting the essential phase of Oceanides. Several unproductive months passed.

The 20 July the last of his daughters came into the world: Heidi, who was called Assu, the future wife of Blomstedt. There was not enough space in Ainola and extension works were started. ‘It is exhausting to always be bumping into each other. “Friction”, and therefore insensitivity’. ‘In relations between sexes, there is always a moment when the woman, unfortunate and vulnerable, depends on the generosity of the man. The love felt by the latter is as a result lesser, but the gentleman in him comes out. It’s true! Alas, my God! Such is my unfortunate destiny. I am having an office built to work in – small, very small, and there are the children whose games and shouts spoil everything. (…) Oh you poor Pechvogel! Drop everything and travel! Yes, travel!’.

That autumn he was able to move into his new office on the first floor of Ainola, where he had a good view over the lake. On the ground floor the wall separated the dining room from the living room had to be knocked-down to make one large, pleasant, room. For weeks, Sibelius relaxed by playing Beethoven piano trios, which brought back certain memories: ‘Dreams of my youth. Les aventures de la jeunesse! The smell of burning juniper branches etc. all that creates a wonderful poetry! In the spirit of new works! I just have to put them down

on paper. Will I live long enough to do all of that? I asked an old owl who promised me 23 years!! O junvenes terque beati!'.

Two days previously, he had watched the traditional Midsummer kokko (bonfires) of 21 June (the feast of Saint John the Baptist) from his balcony. In August, his eldest daughter, who resembled him the most, and to whom he confided the secrets he did not want to talk of with Aino, became engaged at the age of eighteen to a lawyer, Arvi Paloheimo, whose parents leaved nearby in Kallio-Kuninkala. Sibelius approved her choice in as much as Arvi had inherited from his industrialist father, Karl Alfred Paloheimo, a pronounced taste for the arts. The 7 August 1911 he composed for Eva, as a 'souvenir of the paternal home' a Etude in A-minor for piano, revised in 1012-13 and published as opus 76 N°2 in 1921 by Hansen in Copenhagen, but noted in his diary: 'The flame flickers in an uncertain way on the altar of Eva and Arvi. (…) Strange that it is me with the broken heart' (28 August). Then Aino reassured him: 'Don't you see, dear Ego, the force, the power, the energy you possess in yourself? Consider Eva from this point of view. Put aside all this narrow mindedness, all this aristocratic distinction, signs of degeneration that fortunately you did not inherit when you were born' (31 August).

Sibelius willingly frequented other people, but sometimes social life weighed on him. Conversations 'over a cup of tea' bored him, as did the company of businessmen and landowners in Järvenpää. 'We would spend more time with them, but it is

practically impossible given their lack of imagination and their general sense of self satisfaction. (…) My wife is an aristocrat and myself also as an artist. These people cannot understand it' (diary, 19 September 1914).

Jean and Aino frequented the key members of the aristocratic colony of the region around Lake Tuusula, and in particular Eero Järnefelt, Juhani Aho and the painter Pekka Halonen, who lived with their respective families one at Suviranta (the Sibelius' could walk there), the other at Ahola (not very far from Ainola) and the third at Halonsenniemi (a few kilometres away). The rivalry between Jean and Juhani for Aino's hand had been forgotten long before. Tawaststjerna notes that they 'were a bizarre spectacle when they were seated in a boat with their fishing rods, Aho in his fishing suit, Sibelius with a stiff collar and cuffs—he never appeared in a sports suit or unpressed clothes. (…) Sibelius was convinced that after his death, Aho would enjoy a much greater reputation than his own in Finland (diary, 4 January 1912). The two families were on the best terms, and their children liked to play together.

When Sibelius prolonged his travels overseas, Aino's wife, the painter Venny Soldan-Brofeldt, took pity of Aino, visiting her and allowing her to copier her paintings. Aho had a complicated married life. At nightfall, Sibelius and Aino more or less hidden by a hedge of pines, could see him going to a triste his with his sister-in-law' Tilly Soldan. Heikko Aho, the son of Juhani and Tilly, later made a name in photography. Juhani was on equal footing with his intelligent and cultivated

wife, Venny, whilst Tilly was his muse. In 1911, the year of the Fourth Symphony, he published his major novel Juha was published.

Pekka Halonen lived in the region of Lake Tuusula with his wife Maija, nee Mäkinen, in 1898, after having been invited by Juhani Aho to spend the winter. His house was not constructed until 1900-1902. Halonen, who had an idealistic temperament, had spent time in Paris on three different occasions at the beginning of the 1890s in particularly with Gauguin, where he became interested in Japanese art. 'Finland is the best place in the world, but most of the people are not worthy of this country', he had then written. Since the turn of the century, he had consecrated more and more of his time to painting landscapes. Though people figured in his paintings they essentially served to illustrate natural scenes and were not portraits as such. Invited by Juhani Aho, he had spent the first months of 1904 in Florence. 'His personality radiated the calm and harmony that characterised his winter landscapes'.

He often received Sibelius, who on such occasions improvised on the piano: 'He (Sibelius) had nothing of a virtuoso. (…) But from the first note his improvisations seized the intensity of the moment and adorned his ideas with the intense and so colourful sonorities that distinguished him from all other composers' (memoirs of Antti Halonen, son of the painter, 1951). As he worked sitting before his easel, Pekka Halonen liked to listen to Aino and Maija as they went through the classical repertory on the piano playing with four hands.

Of his four Järnefelt brother-in-laws, Sibelius had the closest links with Eero. ‘They took long walks together, talking about the problems of life. Sibelius put forward his philosophical ideas; (Järnefelt) demolished his ideas bringing him down to earth in a few words. Though Sibelius returned home defeated, his self esteem hurt, he never failed to telephone to Eero the next day to suggest another walk’. Eero Järnefelt painted several portraits of Sibelius and Aino, and at least one of their daughters, Eva. His hobby horse was music, and in several fields he demonstrated his developed tastes, which, without doubt more than the visit to Koli, had earned him the dedication of the Fourth Symphony.

His wife Saimi, a former actress, was a woman of strong character: when she and Aino found themselves together sparks often flew. The 7 April 1912, Sibelius noted in his diary that Aino threw herself on the floor ‘in a trance’ because Saimi had entered into the living room at Ainola without being announced. Though like Venny Soldan-Brofeldt, Saima brought help and comfort during the absences of Jean, and with time the relations between the two sisters-in-law were warmer and more relaxed.

Often the daughters of Sibelius when the returned home from their Järnefelt cousins, two boys and three girls born between 1891 and 1906, of whom Eero had painted splendid portraits, were in tears, because their cousins had taunted them. They played with other children who lived near to them. Their first years of education were assured by their mother and in the case

of Katarina until Grammar school. The children's room also served as classroom, Aino dressed in black made her entry at nine o'clock precise every morning: 'Now I am no longer your mother, but your teacher, and you are my pupils.'

Making economies was essential, but this did not prevent the Sibelius family from employing a cook, children's maids, a gardener and a part time servant. On occasions one and twenty litres of milk a month were consumed at Ainola, but the garden, which Aino looked after assiduously, supplied the essential part of their food. The girls all played musical instruments, but mostly practiced at their neighbours so as not to derange their father: nobody was allowed to play an instrument at Ainola without his authorisation.

After having worked late into the night he sometimes slept until midday. 'I let Kaj (Katarina) play a few hours out of consideration for Martha (Martha Tornell, the piano teacher)' (diary, 3 July 1918). Tawaststjerna noted: 'Like at the Järnefelt's, family quarrels always took place behind closed doors, and no servant ever heard a least raised voice. It was exactly the same atmosphere at Aino, introspective and pessimist. As for Sibelius he could be quick tempered but just as soon calmed down.

Once in a fit of temper when one of his daughters had spoken too long on the telephone with one of her admirers he tore it from the wall and trampled it. But this was an exception rather than a rule. In a general manner he was a charming despot. If he heard voices in the children's room at night whilst he was

composing, he went on tip toes, not to reprimand them, but to bring them sandwiches that he had made from the kitchen.' Aino often remained in the background in society, but at more than ninety, Tawaststjerna recounts, one of her most vivid memories was that of her husband coming towards her with open arms.

Living in Järvenpää and its neighbourhood was a large Russian community, living in the area surrounding the estate of the rich Ouskov family. Madame Ouskov was the sister-in-law of the bassist Fedor Chaliapine (1873-1938). Beside the latter among the frequent visitors of the estate was Serge Rachmaninov and the double bassist, composer and conductor Serge Koussevitzky, whose wife Natalia was an Ouskov. Koussevitzky envisaged a meeting with Sibelius at Ainola, but decided against it, finding his music 'too serious'. He was not converted until after he had moved to the USA, then becoming, as head of the Boston Symphonic Orchestra, one of the most ardent and efficient propagandists of the Finn.

In May 1911, Sibelius received the libretto from Georg Boldemann, it was an opera with military connotations and apparently inspired by the novel of Georges Ohnet, the action taking place in France during the 18th century. This resulted in Sibelius plunging himself into Richard Strauss's Elektra, a work which fascinated him, but evidently the project came to nothing. 'I find operatic style banal' (Diary, 4 June).

Sibelius spent September 1911 revising three of the pieces of music for Press Celebration Music (Sanomalehdistön päivien

musikki) for November. Since December 1899 the titles of these were All'Overtura, Scena and Festivo – alla bolero. In their final form, they were grouped together under the title Scènes historiques opus 25 N°1 to 3. 'I am concerned as to my ability to produce something really new. I have even doubts as to my method of work—this method in 'open air', so far from the German method. As such I realise that they (the Germans) have transformed the art into a science! Almost certainly the Herr Prof. Dr. etc' (Diary, 18 July).

During the summer, he brought his sister Linda to Ainola, to provide a little relief from the psychiatric clinic were she was cared for, however this did not relax the atmosphere, it even led him to fear for his own mental state. After in order to rest, Aino went to the Paloheimo's, but she returned exhausted, going as far as speaking of suicide, at least if the diary of the composer is to be believed, and who added: 'Nature overflows with poetry. Strindberg spoke of the world like a cavern for the souls of the dammed. Perhaps! But music is from a celestial source. Which explains its indefinable features' (22 October).

Feeling the need to see the 'great world' again, he chose Paris as his destination, but with a side trip to Berlin. 'Caruso sings this evening, but I am too tight to pay 50 marks' (to Aino, 28 October). The premier of Turandot took place two days before at the Deutsches Theater. Max Gozzi's play was produced by Max Reinhardt and Busoni proved the incidental stage music, it was an occasion for Sibelius to congratulate his friend.

He went to hear the great dramatic Czech soprano Emmy Destinn at the Opera, her real name was Kitt and she was a protégé of Cosma Wagner and performed the title role of Richard Strauss's Salome at its premiers both in Berlin and in Paris: 'She sings, but without grace.' The 30 October, he wrote to Carpelan: 'It's two days I am here. I must go. Everything lacks charm. This evening I leave for Paris. (…) How alone we are! Alone and not understood. (…) I start to think that it is when we are most human we feel the best.'

The 31st he arrived in the French capital. Two days fore, Sunday the 29th, Camille Chevillard had conducted The Swan of Tuonela played at the Lamoureux Concerts. It was the third time that the work was performed in Paris since 1900; Chevillard had already programmed it the 5 November 1905, and at the Sechiari Concerts the 4 December 1910. The day before (3 December 1910), the Guide du Concert made the following commentary: 'In this composition there is no concern over verity or realism, on the contrary there is a kind of vague and dramatic mysticism.'

In Le Ménestrel dated 4 November 1911, Sibelius was able to read in Amédée Boutarel's article: 'It is thanks to Monsieur Chevillard that we heard The Swan of Tuonela. The work produced the impression wished for of monotonousness that was at the same time strong and penetrating. On the veiled sonorities of the quartet or wind instruments, like a slow wave a motif on the cello passes, the English horn plays a slow and serene melody that towards the end pronounces lugubrious

chords. Monsieur Sibelius has already published numerous compositions, all marked by a particularly elegiac and dreamy poetry, which could be called far away. His lieder, to the words of his country's authors, offer melancholic melodic forms and rhythms where originality is not absent, which is rare for our times.' Another performance of The Swan of Tuonela was to taken place at the Touche Concerts the 28 October 1912. In total there were five from 1900 to 1912.

In Paris, Sibelius launched himself in search of his youth: 'Have arrived here and have found my old haunts. But the young 'Jean' who drunk and smoked no longer exists. Have I no longer the least 'hold' on life?' Two lines of the diary were crossed out, and what followed left the question as to whether or not he tempted by a little escapade: '… but try to speak to such a slut— impossible. It is a pity, but all these—without exception —are sluts. Aino is beautiful, noble and grand in comparison!'

He spent a great deal of money on suits and shirts, and had to find less expensive hotels than the Grand Hotel de Malte, where he stayed on his arrival. From the 25 November he stayed at the Hotel Danube, then from the 28th at the Hotel Grande Bretagne. The 8 November, he wrote in German to Rosa Newmarch: 'I am here—in Paris—for some time. Voilà la solitude! Either Finnish forests or a great city. Tertiam non datur! (…) Eva is the finance of a lawyer, Arvi Paloheimo. (…) I think that Eva—that's between us—is going to lead a very serious life. (…) Thanks for the newspapers. I am delighted to

see that the critics in England appreciated “Herbstabend”, sung by Aino Ackte in London the 21 October in the final scene of Salome under the direction of Henry Wood’. ‘Went to Versailles: happy country, with all these great souvenirs!’ (Diary, 9 November).

‘I will never forget what I felt when I visited the death chamber of Louis XIV at Versailles yesterday. I felt myself of struggling against the agony, as the prelate prayed with the alter boys at the mass’ (13 November). ‘I was able to observe the affinities of this people, the French, with ancient culture. But also its charm. However, I appreciate more and more what happens at home. We do not pretend to perfection, but what does it matter’ (to Aino, 10 November).

Rosa Newmarch arrived in Paris, where she met Sibelius ‘almost daily, as during his visits to London’. ‘I am pleased to be able to talk about music’ (to Aino, 11 November). Sibelius confessed to his English admirer that since his arrival he had not a penny in his pocket, she had been astonished to see that him refusing to take taxis and eat in good restaurants. A money order finally arrived and they celebrated with an excellent diner.

A few days later, she left for London, and Sibelius accompanied her to the Gare du Nord. ‘Rosa is a real friend, for us and for our art. I have just noted this once again’ (to Aino, 30 November). ‘Sibelius was then very interested by contemporary French music, occasionally we went to concerts together. But I do not think that he was profoundly interested

by the French modern school'. Otto Andersson, speaking for a French public, wrote: 'Sibelius spent autumn 1911 in Paris for a greater acquaintance with modern French music that he greatly admired.'

'This visit has been absolutely necessary for my work, for my talent, why not for my genius?! (to Aino, 6 November). Amongst the works he heard were the Second Symphony in C-major by Guy Ropartz ('Impeccable as to the style, but without interest for me. (…) Too provincial, though French'), an air of Louise by Gustav Charpentier (he noted a short motif in his diary) and 'a young Russian musician (Igor Stravinsky) who composed a Scherzo based on Maeterlinck's book La Vie des Abeilles (The Life of the Bee). You cannot imagine to what point I quietly laughed, not in the negative sense, but there was anything and every thing in it' (to Aino, 12 November).

It was the first hearing in Paris, where The Firebird had already been performed the 25 June 1910 and Petrushka the 13 June 1911, from the Scherzo fantastique composed by Stravinsky in 1907-1908 and premiered in Saint Petersburg under the direction of Siloti the 6 February 1909.

The 3 December 1911, Sibelius was at the Concerts du Conservatoire, where included on the programme was the symphonic poem Psyché by César Franck ('Boring. (…) Always a foot in Schumann's tracks') and Paul Dukas's symphony in C-major, that dated from 1895-1897. 'A work of genius' (Diary, 3 December). 'The day before yesterday I heard a brilliant symphony by Paul Dukas at the Concerts du

Conservatoire. What a pleasure to be able to hear a real personality!' (to Aino, 5 December).

At the Association of Spiritual Concerts at the Sorbonne, he discovered two other scores of César Franck: the oratorios Ruth and Rebecca, of which (Diary, 5 November) he deplored the 'infantile religiosity' and the boring rhythm ('One note per syllable'). 'Ruth moved me a lot, but the other was too long' (to Aino, undated). Schubert's quintet The Trout also seemed too long to him, but his quartet Death and the Maiden gave his moral a boost.

Curiously he was disappointed by Beethoven's Missa Solemnis that he heard the 19 November at one of the Colonne Concerts under the direction of Gabriel Pierre: 'Old fashioned instrumentation, too many D-majors, vocal parts too high and not very natural!

On the same programme, the symphony N°1 by the organist and composer Louis Thirion, who Le Ménestrel qualified as 'a serious and distinguished musician from whom originality is a little lacking'. Sibelius found the modulations of this symphony 'too insistent' and its themes 'insignificant'. (…) They lack plasticity' (Diary, 19 November).

After having attended a recital in the series 'Le Lied Moderne', he jumped into a taxi to see the last act of Manon. The 16 November he went to a matinee performance of La Dame Blanche by Boieldieu: 'In its genre a master piece, but the form remains too conventional' (Diary, same day). Leo

Delibes Coppelia seemed to him to be a “typically Parisian” product’ (to Aino, 19 November).

The 1 December he saw Richard Strauss’s Salome, which was running at the Opera since 27 November with the Italian soprano Gemma Bellincioni in the title role, which had been premiered in Italy in 1906. ‘Covered with jewels, perfumed and in low necked dresses, the feminine public delights in this horrible perverse text. Excellent music, especially the instrumentation.’

He only expressed one regret during his visit and that was not being in Finland to meet Weingartner who had conducted Kajanus’s orchestra the 23 November playing his own symphonic poem with vocal King Lear, Beethoven’s Eroica and the overture of Wagner’s The Master Singers. In Paris Sibelius found time to correct the proofs of the Fourth and undertake different works that resulted in Har du mod? (Have you courage?) and above all Rakastava (The Lover): originally written for vocal, this work was transcribed for strings and percussion.

It was also at this time that Perpetuum Mobile and Romance for piano and violin from 1888 became Epilogue and Romance. Sibelius left Paris the 6 December and celebrated his 46th birthday in Ainola, without having really found a new path. ‘My harmony and domestic peace is finished because I cannot earn enough money to satisfy our needs. A real hell! I feel like (…) like an ass incapable of bearing its burden to the end of the road. (…) Even the salary of a Senator would not be enough.

(…) Poor Aino! It is not really gay to be the mistress of a house with so little. All that confirms the veracity of an old proverb: don't marry if you can't keep your wife in the style she was used to before, the same domestics, the same food, the same habits, in short – the same income. If you are just like me a poor devil devoid of all practical sense, model your home entirely like that your wife has known: same income, etc.' (14 December). In reality it was he himself who had these demands. On day when he complained about too much spending, Aino with reason replied: 'It's you who wants to live like this! (Diary, 24 August 1911).

* * *

At the beginning of January 1912, Rakastava (The Lover) was in its 'final form': Sibelius considered that the work had a 'black smell. Of the soil of Finland'. This delicate master piece was refused by Breitkopf & Härtel (24 January) and two other German publishers, Zimmermann in February and Lienau at the end of April. All three let it be known to the composer that what they expected from him were large orchestral works, not a miniature for strings based on old material. Sibelius replied to Breitkopf & Härtel the 29 January affirming that though he had used old material 'Rakastava most definitely merits it place in (his) works as opus 14'.

Rakastava was finally accepted by the Helsinki publisher Lindgren, who then turned to Breitkopf & Härtel for printing, who in turn reproached Sibelius for addressing himself to other

publishers. Sibelius replied to Breitkopf & Härtel: 'The suite opus 14 is that which you rejected about a year ago having considered it as inferior. As you know I am of a totally different opinion' (29 January 1913). The premier was conducted by the composer and took place the 16 March 1912 during a lottery in Helsinki.

Sibelius had never carried out such a complete revision to a work that was almost twenty years old. What is more, he transformed the vocal score into an instrumental score, completely rewriting Rakastava and extending its duration from seven to approximately twelve minutes. It was a total success, and in its new form, Rakastava had a success that went well beyond that of the original, for which the Finnish text had constituted an obstacle.

As Ralp W.Wood wrote this work 'resembles nothing else in music', and Ferruccio Tammaro can only be approved when he remarks that in spite of its subject and its limitation to strings alone, Rakastava has nothing of an 'end of the 19th century' serenade.

As already in Berlin in April-May 1909, a little before Christmas Sibelius undertook an orchestral work entitled The Chase. In February 1912, he decide to add to Scènes Historiques opus 25—originally from Press Celebration Music of 1899—a second series of Scènes Historiques (opus 66) also made up of three pieces and to integrate The Chase into it.

He first chose to give them their titles At the Drawbridge, The Falconer and The Chase. The Falconer was transformed into Chivalrous Love, then Love Song, and for publication, the order of three pieces was inversed, thus a triptych composed of The Chase, Love Song and At the Drawbridge.

The two triptychs both sing of nature and a more than mythical chivalrous past. The 19 November 1909, Sibelius had written to Breitkopf & Härtel that he had found ‘several pieces as good as Finlandia’ in his drawers and the 15 February 1910 that he could ‘easily supply a suite in the style of Karelia’.

Sibelius conducted the first audition of opus 66 in Helsinki the 29 March 1912, during a concert of his works that included the Fourth Symphony, Rakastava, and his Impromptu opus 19. This same programme was performed twice on the following days, except at the third performance the Impromptu was replaced by Night Ride and Sunrise. The Fourth had a better reception from the public than the previous year and Kajanus present Sibelius a crown of laurel leaves as ‘a sign of gratitude for the work accomplished during the last twenty years’, a reference to the premier of Kullervo in April 1892.

Opus 25 and 66 were heard for the first time together the 11 October 1912 under the direction of the composer, with the Second Symphony and extracts from Swanwhite. Irritated by the enthusiastic patriotic shouts in Finnish from the audience, Bis reported in the Swedish language daily Hufvudstatdsbladet date the 12th that Sibelius had not conducted the Second with all the necessary energy, and in addition the woodwinds were

‘weak, uneven and even ugly at moments’. On the contrary Evert Katila in Uusi Suometar, praised both the conductor and the orchestra. Caught in the linguistic crossfire, Sibelius could only note in his diary: ‘I conducted—in my opinion—very correctly. But the critics are biased’ (undated, after 14 October).

* * *

Up to that point music in Helsinki had been spared from the vicissitudes of political life, but in autumn 1911, this situation was suddenly modified. Finnish citizens not being subjected to conscription in the Russian army, Finland paid an annual contribution to the defence budget of the Empire. To find the sums necessary, the Senate finished, as is usual in such circumstances, by making heavy cuts in the country’s budget for arts and culture.

From one day to the next Kajanus’s orchestra was deprived of all state funding and ran the risk of collapsing. Already in the spring of 1897, Kajanus went to Saint Petersburg. There he discussed the problem with Glazunov and was received by the successor of Piotr Stolypin, President of the Council of Ministers, Vladimir Kokovstev. The latter promised to transmit the affair to the Governor General Seyn.

Kajanus’s action was totally impartial, but certain persons in Finnish nationalist circles, reproached him for this, particularly in the Swedish minority. Consequently his concerts were

largely boycotted, and he himself replaced as conductor first by the first violinist Anton Sitt (concert 15 January 1912), then by Selim Palmgren. Sibelius' entourage was divided. Yrjö Hirn condemned Kajanus, Eino Leino supported him, as did Sibelius himself, who however noted in his diary: 'Kajanus has again referred to Saint Petersburg!! Very well! Kowtowing to Kokovtsev and Seyn'.

But when he met a completely worn out Kajanus in the street in Helsinki, Sibelius realised that he was fighting for the existence of his orchestra and remembered all that he had done for him in Finland and elsewhere for the last twenty years. The previous summer Kajanus had for example conducted his First Symphony in Turin. Sibelius showed his solidarity by his presence at a rehearsal of Night Ride and Sunrise. They dined together in Helsinki and Sibelius signed a petition for the Philharmonic, then Kajanus was invited to Ainola. 'Strange to have had him here. He has now left for Saint Petersburg to listen to Glazunov, his new love'.

The next day the 8 March: 'In spite of my enormous reputation, certain tend to denigrate my activities as a composer. In particular Kajanus, once a friend of my art and now that of another. A strange soul, or perhaps a devil! In any case not a very ordinary man.' In reality, it was Sibelius himself who had changed more than Kajanus. The Fourth had little to do with the national romanticism of the 1890s, and the eight symphonies, composed from 1882 to 1905, that Glazunov had

to his credit—Ninth remained incomplete, posed infinitely fewer problems of 'comprehension'.

Moreover, Sibelius himself had physically changed. He had gained weight, and was called a 'money-spinning bourgeois' in the 1911 Christmas number of Nuori Suomi, by the writer Ilmari Kianto, born in Calamnius, whose novel The Red Line inspired the opera of the same name by Aulis Sallinen in 1978. Sibelius admitted in his diary that he was an amateur of good food, and Carpelan, during a diner in Ainola, suddenly shouted: 'Not a single potato!' Furious Sibelius flung his napkin on the floor and there was a violent exchange. Carpelan quit the table with Ruth running after him, finally she succeeded in persuading him to return to the table. The reconciliation evidently did not take long. In June 1912, the composer posed for the painter Antti Faven, the result was a violet coloured portrait, the face covered with crimson shadows. Sibelius thought that he looked like a butcher, and a regrettable scene followed with Aino. 'Faven brings out all the traits in my character that kill my wife—my beloved wife'.

In January 1912, an offer arrived from Vienna. Wilhelm Bopp. Bopp had decided to completely modernise the Vienna Conservatory, where he was director since 1907. Previously financed by private funds, the establishment had become a state institution and was renamed The Imperial Royal Academy for Music and Performing Arts. The composition classes nevertheless remained under the control of professors Robert

Fuchs and Herman Grädener, as they had been for more than thirty years. Bopp first considered replacing them by Reger and Humperdinck, then by Schönberg in March 1910, who in June of the same year became a Privatdozent (outside lecturer) when the Academy refused his application for a professorship. His reputation as a teacher spread, but he had not succeeded in obtaining a permanent position as professor, which was one of the reasons for his decision to quit Vienna for Berlin in September 1911.

Bopp then approached Strauss, followed by Dukas, Sibelius and Rachmaninov, who all declined his invitation. At which point Bopp went back to Schönberg, though at the same time adding Franz Schreker to his list of candidates. He recommended Schönberg and Schreker to the authorities in June 1912, insisting on the fact that Schönberg, though considered as a dangerous radical, was well versed in the tradition of Bach, Beethoven and Brahms and that his teaching methods had nothing dogmatic about them.

He also remarked: ‘Fuchs knows nothing and wants to know nothing of Wagner’s later works, and boasts that he knows nothing of Tristan. Richard Strauss, Max Reger, Gustav Mahler, the moderns such as Debussy, Schönberg, Scriabin, are nothing more than names for him. This person is fixed in an idyllic past, it’s years since he has been seen at a concert or at the Opera, he lives like a stranger amongst strangers. (…) The generation baptised in the name of Richard Wagner were unable to make themselves heard in our establishment. We now

have to jump a generation to arrive at that of the present if we want to keep in step with the struggles and aspirations, the storms and the passions that characterise our epoch'.

After long hesitations, Schönberg refused for a second time, the 29 June 1912, a position that no doubt deep down he really wanted. On a postcard to Alban Berg, dated 11 July, he gave as his principal reason his 'aversion to Vienna', adding: 'However, I don't know if I have done the right thing, because here (in Berlin) my life is not easy. In any case I immediately felt better.' Having reached the age of sixty-six, Fuchs was retired the 1 September, and it was finally Franz Schreker, who like Mahler, Hugo wolf, Zemlinsky and Sibelius were former students of Fuchs, who was appointed to the position, at the same time he had his first triumph with his opera Der ferne Klang (The Distant Sound), premiered in Berlin the 18 August 1912.

It is not know whether Sibelius knew of Schönberg's situation in Vienna. In any case he had at first envisaged accepting the position. Wilhelm Bopp wrote to him the 15 January 1912: 'Man würde eine Classe für Sie einrichten (We will organise a class for you)'. And Sibelius noted in his diary: 'Had though about it. What happiness to escape from these narrow minded people, 'my' compatriots, who never lose an opportunity to denigrate my life's work! My works are well enough known in the world, and I speak their language (German)' (17 January). Wilhelm Bopp offered him 6,410 francs a year and his reply dated the 5 February was not

entirely negative. The prospective of seeing him leave did not please all of his ‘compatriots’.

Madetoja wrote to him from Berlin the 12 February: ‘This offer is a great honour, and probably seems very tempting to you, but your absence would be an irredeemable loss for Finnish culture, and quite egoistically I hope that we will be able keep you with us in our homeland.’ Werner Söderhjelm made the pilgrimage to Ainola to discus affairs and also the composer’s financial worries. ‘The only way for me to get of this situation is an increase in my stipend from the state’ (Diary, 27 January). This approach was therefore envisaged, partly to avoid his expatriation. The 1 March, Sibelius send Wilhelm Bopp a telegram turning down his offer, and the following summer his stipend was increased from 3,000 to 5,000 marks.

‘Many of my compatriots and friends have been surprised by my refusal to go to Vienna. They neither understand my patriotism nor my love for working in total independence’. In reality he was not attracted by teaching. ‘The greater the composer, the worse the teacher’, he told Bengt von Törne. There was also the question of whether he could fit into musical life in the Austrian capital, where without being totally unknown, he was far from being a figure head.

For his subscription concert of the 15 December 1912, Weingartner announced Sibelius’ Fourth, but two days before the concert, it was withdrawn from the programme and replaced by the overture of Weber’s Euryanthe and

Beethoven's Eighth. The concert ended as foreseen with Tchaikovsky's Pathétique. This incident and others led the critic Richard Specht to publish an article in his review Der Merker, entitled Anklagen (Accusations) attacking the programming of the Philharmonic orchestra: 'Very recently, a symphony was programmed for its first audition. Two days before the concert, it disappeared, as if through a trap door—with the shameful excuse: the indispensable glockenspiel had not arrived. (For Weingartner's overture all the instruments were there.)

In reality, during the rehearsal the orchestra had refused to play the work. Perhaps for good artistic reasons. But this obliges us to ask the question again: who decides on the new works, and who accepts them? Either—as before—the orchestra in a general assembly, then after having studied the works presented decides on their acceptation or not, or the conductor, if the orchestra has confidence in him and leaves it to him alone to decide.

In view of the fact that the orchestra had accepted Sibelius' symphony, it was his sacrosanct duty and obligation to play it and not to damage a well known composer by suddenly rejecting it. In view of the fact that the symphony had been accepted by Weingartner, it is inconceivable that after such an act of defiance (which signifies without any doubt at all the refusal to play a work selected by him), he had not thrown his baton at these gentlemen and quit the rehearsal hall cursing.

This, as far as we know did not happen. Who therefore is responsible? We would like to know.'

The Järnefelt family. Alexander Järnefelt died the day after the first public performance of Lemminkäinen. In this group portrait we see (standing) the author Arvid, the composer-conductor Armas, the painter Eero, and his wife Saimi Järnefelt. Sitting are Aino Sibelius, Elisabeth Järnefelt, Jean Sibelius, Emmy (Arvid's wife) and Eero (Arvid's son), Elli Järnefelt (Aino's sister), Mikael Clodt (Elisabeth's brother), and Kasper Järnefelt.

The 21 September 1912, Alban Berg had sent Schönberg a cutting from the Neue Freie Presse of the same date announcing the programme of the Philharmonic for the coming season, and in particular the latest works. Other than Sibelius' Fourth were works of the Austrian composers Alfred Arbter, Karl Goldmark, Erich Wolfgang Korngold and Weingartner himself. 'What a collection of names!!' commented Alban Berg. Tawaststjerna wrote: 'To this day, the Fourth Symphony has never been performed in public in Vienna.' The Viennese premier of the work did not take place until 1971 under the direction of Lorin Maazel.

The eventuality of a departure for Vienna coincided with the completion of Scènes historiques opus 66. Even before the work's first audition the 29 March 1912, Sibelius was overflowing with ideas: 'Symphony V. Symphony VI. Luonnotar. We'll see what happens to these projects'. 'Erste Phantasie für grosses Orchester' opus 61! – Opera?

Symphonies? Yes, yes! Take things easy' (5 May). In April, after a violent quarrel had broken out between Aino and her sister in law Saimi Järnefelt, Sibelius decided to move 'lock stock and barrel' to Paris.

To his surprise that Aino was not opposed to such an idea and he went as far as contacting an estate agent in Helsinki for the sale of Ainola, but he soon realised that he was making a mistake and remained 'eternally' in Ainola. In the months that followed he had a stable built and bought a horse, then a piece of land from his neighbour Westermarck for 2,500 marks. During this time he continued his meditations on the difficulties of life: 'I was surely not sent into this marvellous world to pay debts and giving people who live on their rents the little that I earn by my mind and my genius. For example my Second Symphony, which on many occasions earned Finland fame and recognition, cost me, me its creator, 18,000 marks. All I gained was 1,500. My debts grow with each new symphony'. Two months previously, he considered that if he had become a pianist or more generally performer, as Busoni had, he would have lived much better. But he also added: 'Your situation is really tragic, old fool?'.

He had not completely abandoned the idea of putting the libretto to music that George Boldemann had been to him the previous year, but he wanted to transpose the action from the France of the 18th century to the Sweden of the 1780s, with the officers in the uniforms of Gustav III, a Polish count, and as heroine a Russian-Karelian servant girl. This did not prevent

him from expressing his ideas on the opera, which were unorthodox but farseeing, and in total contradiction to what he had said to Juhana Heikki Erkko, in the summer of 1893, concerning The Construction of the Boat: ‘I can clearly see that the opera I will write will be without words. Uniquely architectonic decor, singers only singing the vowel ‘a’. Above all no words. All that will work very nicely, the song and colours, the music and movements accompanying it. No intrigue?! Ja, jai ihr Herren! (Yes, yes my good Sirs!)’.

Then he put everything to one side and started to compose a series of sonatinas for piano. ‘Given the weight of the debts I must reimburse’ he noted in his diary, before continuing: ‘Shall I consecrate myself to these small ‘easily digestible’ pieces or shall I attack something deeper and become a pure idealist? The second solution is probably the best, but (…) impossible to reach. Perhaps I will be able to reconcile them both’. And a month earlier: ‘I have firmly set my sights on something ‘easily digestible’, the sonatinas! Let the world forget you for a time, dear Ego, one or two years. Nous verrons (we’ll see)’. At the beginning of 1912, the three sonatinas opus 67 were ready. At the same time, Busoni completed his Sonatina seconda, the most well known, given its audaciousness, of the six he composed from 1910 to 1920. In the notes of the programme of its first audition, Busoni qualified it as sonatine ‘senza tonalita’ (without tonality).

From 1908 to 1912, a new church was built, based on Lars Sonck’s design, in the Kallio (Berghäll) district of Helsinki. In

July 1912, Sibelius composed a carillon for the bells of this church—after first having dispensed his advice as to their number and their pitch—Kallion kirkon kellosävel (Melody for the Church Bells of Kallio). A mixed choral version was arranged for the consecration of the church with a text by Heikki Klmentti, and a piano version followed in September: Kellosävel Kallion kirkossa (Melody of Bells in the Kallio Church). Before composing a new melody for the bells, Sibelius had recommended using the coda of the finale of the Second Symphony.

After a week of rest, swimming and fishing nearby to Kuhmo, he envisaged a series of serenades for solo instrument(s) and orchestra(s). The result was two beautiful serenades for violin and orchestra opus 69. A serenade in the 'style of Mozart' given the number VIII in his diary and another for two clarinets remained in planning. Composed 'non-stop' the three sonatinas, the two rondinos for piano were completed the 11 November. Discouraged by the obvious fact that these were just 'small pieces' noted: 'I only want to be free of all material worries, to consecrate myself entirely to composing major works. But, things being what they are, this is impossible'. He had succeeded in completing the Fourth Symphony and some modest scores, but was obliged to realise that if Scènes historiques and the Three sonatas, for which he had worked about a month on each, had earned him 3,000 reichsmarks, for the Fourth he had spent about eighteen months had only brought in 4,000.

Once again he struggled with different opera projects. In November 1912, Juhani Aho showed him a draft libretto entitled Marja that he had written with Aino Ackte based on his realist peasant novel Juha, that was published in Finnish in 1911 and later in French under the title L'écume des rapides. Two years after The Raven episode, Aino Ackte wanted Sibelius to compose the music for Juha with herself in the leading feminine role, sure that it would result in 'something powerful and refined'. However, she had first contacted Erkki Melartin and even the pianist Ilmari Hannikainen, who was totally inexperienced as a composer. Sibelius was tempted. Of all the operas that he considered, Juha is undoubtedly the best.

Sibelius hesitated for two years, then finally declined it in October 1914, considering that this 'rural truism' did not suit him. Aino Ackte vexed wrote to Juhani Aho that Sibelius was 'incapable' of writing an opera because he had become a 'philosopher'. Aino Ackte's libretto was finally put to music, at the instigation of the cantatrice who always referred to it as Marja, first by Aare Merikanto in 1920-1922, then by Leevi Madetoja in 1934. Aare Merikanto's remarkably 'modernist' version is a way a counterpart to certain operas by Janacek, especially Jenufa.

Sibelius also turned down a project that was submitted to him by Adolf Paul. In the autumn of 1910, a play by Paul entitled Blauer Dunst1 in the commedia dell'arte style was produced in Hamburg. Adolf Paul had himself composed four pieces and asked Sibelius to orchestrate them. To his great surprise,

Sibelius accepted the task and set to work, humorously suggesting its author be called Jean Paul (Jean Sibelius and Adolf Paul), in reference to the early 19th century German writer.

Rightly or wrongly, Adolf Paul was more or less persuaded that working with Sibelius would be an appreciable source of income for him. ‘You have so many rich benefactors—ten for each finger—perhaps you can warm up the heart of one of them for me?’ He thought of asking the Swedish poet Birger Mörner to transform Blauer Dunst into a libretto for the opera, and the 5 December he wrote to Sibelius: ‘Birger Mörner is a delightful man, I just mentioned your name and said that you wanted Blå dunsten in the form of a libretto for opera and he immediately set to work on the task. Go on, my dear Janne, do it! Simply say that you’ll do it! Promises mean nothing.’ Sibelius, to ensure a greater success would have preferred the text to be in German rather than Swedish, and who was far from convinced that Adolf Paul had a sufficiently great reputation as a dramatist, once again found himself in an embarrassing situation.

‘Have doubts as to the genre. At 47, can I expect to compose something good when success, in drama, depends largely on acquired experience?! But on the other hand, I believe—and others also—in my talents in the matter’. The 22 December, he telegraphed Adolf Paul: ‘Yes. It will be ready in September.’ The next day, he addressed Mörner directly; having only received the first two acts, and asked for the three others.

Adolf Paul believing that the business was concluded: ‘With a new opera from you, I will be able to convince any publishers’. He did not realise that Sibelius, finally recovered from the period of doubts that followed the Fourth, thought less and less of Blauer dunst and more and more of a new symphonic poem: The Bard commenced at the end of February. Paul was nevertheless concerned and sent a contract made out in two copies to Ainola, which Sibelius stuck in a drawer without bothering to sign them.

The following April the Swedish press talked of the project though only mentioning Adolf Paul and Birger Mörner. Sibelius dryly noted: ‘My projects, yes’. Tawaststjerna wrote: ‘The situation had turned into a commedia dell’arte, with the author too pressed to make a fortune, Mörner hurriedly writing the missing acts, fortunately not realising that Sibelius more admired his title of count rather than his verse, and the composer throwing dust into the eyes of the two others as he turned his thoughts elsewhere.’

Adolf Paul finally addressed Sibelius a kind of formal notification: ‘Have you the intention of composing (Blå dunster) – or have you already composed it – or couldn’t you care less?’ The business drew on into autumn, when Birger Mörner sent Sibelius a small collection of poetry. In his letter of thanks, Sibelius asked for Act V, from which point Blauer dunst was never heard spoken of again.

Dated from the 1 May are the last two of the Five Christmas Songs for vocal and piano, Nu star jul vid snöig port (Now

Christmas in before the Snowy Door) and Nu så kommer julen (Now Christmas Comes), to the poems of Topelius.

With the Five Esquisses of 1929 and a few isolated pieces, the Three Sonatinas and the Two Rondinos of 1912 constitute Sibelius' peak of production for piano alone. As miniatures these works were the most accomplished. Completed the 3 July, the Three Sonatinas were published by Breitkopf & Härtel, dedicated to Martha Tornell, a neighbour of Sibelius in Järvenpää, the piano teacher of their daughter Katarina. Light in appearance, they are impressive by their concentration and the precision of their tone.

For this reason Eric Blom compared, modestly, to Bagatelles opus 119 and 126 that Beethoven composed towards the end of his life. Contrary to many piano works of Sibelius, they are neither 'album pages nor romances without words', and with Sonata of 1893, they have approximately the same relationship that the Fourth Symphony has with the First. 'I am curious about the sonatinas, which are anything but modern and therefore out of step with the times. But looking a little closer, a style such as mine is very much a portent of the future. Will I ever get people to be interested in my art? It will be interesting to see'. Sibelius was probably unaware of Maurice Ravel's Sonatine, where he would have been able to detect the same preoccupations as his own. In any case he wanted to distinguish himself from the post-Brahms pianistic tendencies of many of his German contemporaries.

Glen Gould was struck by this, in the notes attached to his recording of opus 67 in 1976-1977 he wrote: ‘In its best moments, (Sibelius’ pianistic style) belongs to this sober counterpoint, austere and thematically efficient that no one south of the Baltic seems to have practiced. (…) Everything works, everything sounds like it should —but in selected terms, without concession, not as a substitute for musical experiences reputed more sumptuous.’

In July 1913, in a report on the Breitkopf & Härtel edition, Die Musik qualifies the Three Sonatines as ‘insignificant compositions without the least interest, falling into decrepitude, without form or colour’. Only the finale in E-major escaped from the review’s critic.

Completed the 11 November 1912 and published in December by Universal in Leipzig1, the two rondinos opus 68 could be considered as fragments for a fourth sonatine, and even a fifth.

Respectively completed the 23 November 1912 (opus 69a in D-major) and the 10 February 1913 (opus 69b in G-minor) and published by Breitkopf & Härtel (and at the same time a piano version) in December 1913, they were not premiered until 1915, at the same concert as for the first version of the Fifth Symphony. In a way counterparts to Beethoven’s romances opus 40 and 50, they each lasted a little more than six minutes.

Sibelius, who had composed nothing for solo violin and orchestra since the concerto opus 47 of 1903-1905, again

revealed himself to be a master of the violin. 'Worked on opus 69a. Wonderful day, wintry. The sun is shining, and there is a certain feeling. Should I relinquish being a composer? Perhaps, but you, dear Ego, you will not'. 'Opus 69b is playing with me. Are my musical capabilities really weakening? Does that concerns both the content and the form? (…) My sense of nuances has become better, nothing weak about that. Those who say the opposite confound forte with force, piano with weakness, etc. Incredible but true'. Sibelius wrote to Carpelan the 8 January 1912: 'No doubt I am like an old violin, that sounds better after having been patched up so much'.

* * *

In August 1912, the Breitkopf & Härtel publication of the Fourth Symphony was the object of a clearly favourable report in the German review Die Musik. Its author, Ernst Rychnovsky, could not help affirming that Sibelius had drawn 'on the inexhaustible resources of national experience', but nevertheless wrote that this symphony distinguished itself from the preceding 'by a greater simplicity in the means employed as well as in everything purely technical, by a striking and confident mastery.' Following this publication, the work was performed or almost performed over the course of the following months in several cities both in Europe and the New World.

At the end of 1912, Sibelius made two tours overseas, one in England and the other in Denmark, and conducted the Fourth

in both countries. The 24 or 25 December, he arrived for the fourth time in London, with as destination the Festival of Birmingham, where that year Granville Bantock was the key personality and the principal conductor was Henry Wood.

A first rehearsal took place at the Queen's Hall in London, and a second in Birmingham, where Sibelius went in the company of Rosa Newmarch and where as in 1905 he stayed at Bantock's: this time at Broad Meadow, a large white house surrounded by a vast garden, situated in the smart suburb of King's Norton. The Bantocks had only just moved in.

The 29 in the company of Rosa Newmarch, Sibelius visited Stratford-upon-Avon and admired the 'the souvenirs of Shakespeare and the huge old oaks'. During the last rehearsal of the Fourth, Bantock acted as interpreter, Henry Wood gave instructions to the musicians from a tribune. Rosa Newmarch attended the rehearsal seated next to Delius: 'He was no doubt incapable of penetrating the real Sibelius, the two men were totally different, having very little in common, but he fully appreciated the powerful originality of the Finnish composer. "Deuce! It's not an everyday kind of music", I heard him murmur from time to time in his slow nasal voice'.

The festival lasted from the 1-4 October, with two daily concerts, one in the morning the other in the evening, and notably, on the programme, not less than six great choral works from the grand repertory: Bach's Passion According to Saint Mathew, Haendel's Messiah, Mendelsson's Elie, Verdi's Requiem and that of Brahm's and finally Elgar's Apostles.

In addition the were two world premiers: The Music Makers by Elgar and The Song of Saint Francis by the composer, organist and teacher Henry Walford Davies. Among the other works with voices were Sea Drift by Delius and the Bach's motet Fürchte dich nicht. Other than the soprano part of Verdi's Requiem Aino Ackte once again sang the final scene of Salome. Pablo Casals played the Concerto in D major of Hadyn and Don Quichotte by Richard Strauss, and Bantock conducted the world premier of his symphonic poem Fifine at the Fair based on the poem by Robert Browning.

Also heard amongst other pieces from the grand repertory were the Brandenburg Third by Bach and the First Piano Concerto of Liszt played by the Austrian pianist Moriz Rosenthal. Two new contemporary foreign works had been foreseen: The Fourth of Sibelius and Prometheus or the Poem of Fire by Scriabine, presented for the first time in Moscow the 15 March 1911. Not having had the necessary number of rehearsals, Prometheus was unfortunately withdrawn. Accompanied by an analysis by Rosa Newmarch, the work should have been conducted by Wood in London the 1 February 1913, then twice at the same concert, the programme in addition included the Symphony in B flat major opus N°98 by Haydn and the Concerto for Violin by Beethoven. Wood conducted Prometheus the 14 April 1914 with the composer at the piano.

The Festival of Birmingham of 1912 the last of a long series inaugurated in 1768, commenced the 1 October with

Mendelssohn's Elie. The same evening, Elgar then Sibelius succeeded each other at the end of the concert on the conductor's stand: Elgar with The Music Makers and Sibelius at the end of a huge programme with the Fourth.

The November 1912 edition of the Musical Times reported: 'Sibelius transported us into a different world (to that of Elgar)—a world so unfamiliar in our efforts to understand that we faltered. The idiom and the form of this music—with ends without end—left us in the greatest perplexity. To believe Mrs Newmarch, who knows more about the music of Sibelius than the most part of us, the Fourth Symphony is like its precedents an intimate music, invented and written in the isolation of the snow covered forests, on the banks of turbulent rapids and lakes shaken by the wind. At moments it leaves us with nature's wind. (…) For the moment it is impossible to discuss this new work in depth, notably because we must admit that we do not understand it sufficiently, which is one way of confessing that these insufficiencies are ours. However, it is permitted to say after having heard the rehearsals and the performance itself, our interest grows and that once we are familiar with his very particular way of expressing his temperament, we will more disposed to be counted amongst his admirers'.

The Standard estimated 'that the music of Mr Sibelius could be described as being written in figures, unfortunately he had forgotten to give us the code'. The Times of the 3 October, reported it as 'a music turning its back on the most usual forms

of expression current at the time. It was not however of a conscious solitude, the composer would not know how to pretend it, because he lives so much in his own world, is so plunged into his own ideas and translates them into sounds with such spontaneity that nothing incites him to take into account his listeners. (…) Sibelius offers a profusion of contrasting material. Each instrument possesses its own personality, reason for which, though the orchestra has not more musicians than that of the First Symphony of Brahms, the orchestration is disconcerting by its absolute originality. He practically never leaves instruments of different colours do the same thing. Their personalities sometimes clash in the most brutal fashion, because they each follow independently different thoughts'. The newspaper adds that Bach used this kind of approach, and that henceforth consider Sibelius as playing a role in modern music much more important than could have been supposed by Finlandia and En Saga.

The 2 October, Delius shared his reactions with his wife Jelka, who had remained in Grez-sur-Loing: Yesterday evening I heard the Music Makers of Elgar and the Symphony of Sibelius. The work of Elgar is not very interesting and is noisy, the choir is treated in an out of date way and the orchestration very heavy. That had not interested me. Sibelius interested me much more. He tried to do something new, filled with a fine sentiment of nature and nothing routine. Sometimes a little summary and fragmented. But I would like to hear it again. He is a charming man, we were together before and after the concert with Bantock. Today I tried to listen to the Passion

according to Saint Matthew, but I could stay no longer than forty minutes. I decided to finish for good with this old music. It does nothing for me. Very beautiful at places. Interminable recitals and chorals. God! How slow! Heseltine and his mother are there. He is very kind and very enthusiastic. This morning we played In a Summer Garden (a work for orchestra of Delius dated 1908) in a transcription for two pianos, and he done very well. (…) Prometheus has been ejected from the programme so I will leave Friday morning with Balfour and arrive in London next Monday.'

Delius had met Philip Heseltine, the young musician mentioned in this letter, who was amongst his greatest admirers, two years earlier in 1910 at Grez-sur-Loing. Heseltine was later known under the name Peter Warlock, future author of a book on Carlo Gesualdo written in cooperation Cecil Gray, and composer of the Capital Suite for strings and above a hundred or so melodies including The Curlew for tenor, flute, English horn and string quartet.

The 2 October Heseltine also reported his impressions to his piano teacher at Eton, Colin Taylor: 'Yesterday evening's concert was a real hotchpotch. First of all an overture from Beethoven entitled Coriolanus, which was deadly boring, then a delicious Bach Brandenburg, then a few antics by Moriz Rosenthal (Liszt N°1 Concerto), after which the pièce de résistance of the evening—the new choral work of Elgar. I did not like it at all. (…) Too many citations of his own works and obscure references to persons and things that mean nothing to

us seemed to me to be the height of absurdity. Elgar himself seemed ill and exhausted and conducted in a very indifferent fashion, and from time to time seemed to be carried away for a minute or two by a sort of nervous energy. Impossible to imagine how people could follow his rhythm.

Scriabine's Prometheus had to be cancelled in view of the number of rehearsals demanded by Elgar for this miserable work! Sibelius' new symphony was by far the best: it is absolutely original—exceptional, without the least influence, except that of Nature! A very strange and mysterious work, but at the same time of great beauty, that will be surely appreciated more with each new performance.'

Less than fifteen days previously, the Musical Standard had published a long article by Heseltine on Schönberg: one of the first in English concerning this composer, and even more remarkable as its author was only eighteen years old. It was less of a critical discussion of the Viennese musician's works than an expose of his theories, largely affected by citations from his Thesis on Harmony of 1911. 'His style is mainly characterised (…) by the absence of all defined tonality.'

Delius found the article 'excellent and equitable'. Schönberg was thus spoken about in England. A month before the Festival of Birmingham, Tuesday 3 September 1912, Henry Wood had conducted the world premier of Five Pieces for Orchestra opus 16 at a Promenade Concert at Queen's Hall in London1, which

no doubt explains the reaction of Ernest Newman concerning the Fourth Symphony, he made this commentary: ‘Our difficulties with him (Schönberg) don’t come his harmonies in themselves, but the ideas at the origin of these harmonies. Particularly in music, (…) it is now possible and even necessary to sharply cut across the field when our grandparents would have with a firm foot made a detour by the main road.

The austere and vigorous Fourth Symphony of Sibelius is to my knowledge one of the most remarkable specimens of this tendency: ideas and expressions are reduced to their bare necessity. In Schönberg’s most recent music, everything seems to indicate it, aspires to the same rapidity of thought and the same concision. It is by the most direct road that he goes from harmonic point A to harmonic point B. Far from explaining Schönberg’s later evolution, the sextet makes it even more difficult to understand.’

A month previously, in the Musical Times of January 1914, Newman consecrated a long article to the Gurrelieder, also taking a dig at Strauss, but not Sibelius: ‘In a general manner, the language is more advanced in the Gurrelieder than any other German contemporary score, even though they were written three years before the Sinfonica Domestica and six before Salome. (…) The come from Tristan by extension, not by imitation. (…) With the Gurrelieder, we have in my opinion the most beautiful love poem in music since Tristan.’

“Hold tight gentlemen! This is nothing like what you will have to play in twenty-five years’, Wood told his orchestra

during a rehearsal (there were three, each lasting one hour, which at that time was enormous). Ernest Newman wrote in The Nation: 'An English audience rarely boos a work that it does not like, but a good third of those present (…) took leave to do so. Another third, were too disconcerted to laugh or to boo. Wood apparently did not realise that it was a world premier. In his memoirs, Wood wrote: 'I remember being booed. (It was) the first time that a note of his (Schönberg) was played in England.".

Schönberg unhappy that such an event took place in his absence, complained to his publisher in a letter that he had not been informed of the event, adding that otherwise he would have gone to London. Wood expressed his admiration in a letter dated the 24 January 1913. A year later, the 7 January 1914, Schönberg conducted opus 16 at the Queens Hall. 'We had already prepared oyster shells and rotten eggs for him' Rosa Newmarch wrote to Sibelius in the autumn of 1913.

The audience could read this warning in their programmes: 'Herr Arnold Schönberg has promised to participate in the concert today on the condition that during the performance of his orchestral works there is a perfect silence'. A letter of thanks was published the Daily Telegraph of the 23 January to Wood's orchestra from Schönberg, which included the following words: 'I must tell you that as far as I know only two orchestras are comparable to yours – the Amsterdam Orchestra and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. I must say that it was the first time since Gustaf Mahler that I could hear the kind of

music played that a cultivated musician has the right to expect. (…) I must again express the great pleasure I felt, only troubled by the sad knowledge that at home, things are not like they should be everywhere.'

The 31 January 1914, Wood conducted the English premier of The Song of the Earth by Mahler, the First had already been presented in 1903, the Fourth in 1905, the adagietto of the Fifth in 1909, and the Seventh in 1913. He prepared, on the advice of Schönberg, to give the Six Pieces for Orchestra opus 6 from the 'student' Webern, but the war put an end to that like project as it did for many others.

Two years later, Ernest Newman was more critical towards Schönberg: 'We would like the music to accelerate its pace—what I evidently mean by that is not a simple acceleration in tempo, but a mode of thought that is more brisk and more direct. (…) It is without such a concentration of expression that Schönberg pursues in his latest works. As for myself, no other modern work approaches this ideal as closely as the Fourth Symphony of Sibelius. (…) But if this work is incomprehensible for the general listener, Schönberg's music today is incomprehensible for everybody.'

As for Sibelius he noted in his journal the 8 May 1912: 'The theories of Arnold Schönberg are interesting, but I find it unilateral. Perhaps this would not be the case if I knew him better.' Then the 5 June, in a very insignificant fashion: 'Whatever you write, glorious Ego, don't sacrifice living warmth, the vitality in which your music is steeped. It is not by

going further, or trying to go further than your contemporaries in revoltionären “Ansichten” (in revolutionary ideas) that you will “grow”. Don’t participate in any competition for speed, in any form whatsoever.’ Did he fear, asked Tawaststjerna, that in spite of the records broken by the Fourth in terms of revolutionary ideas, such a competition would degenerate into an infernal gallop?

* * *

Sibelius left England the 3 October, without waiting for the end of the Festival of Birmingham, but not without having promised, no doubt at the request of Bantock, to compose a sacred choral work for the 1913 Gloucester Three Choirs Festival. It resulted in Luonnotar, a score that was neither choral nor sacred. He arrived in Helsinki the 6th and the next day rehearsed with the philharmonic and on the 11th conducted the concert. The orchestra of Kajanus was in a situation that was more precarious than ever.

A new orchestra was now competing with him; the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra, founded in 1912, with Georg Schneevoigt as its principal conductor, brought specially from Riga. The Swedish language patrons of the arts supported Schneevoigt, whose style Sibelius found ‘skilful but sentimental’, and the Finnish speaking public supported Kajanus. ‘The war of the orchestras pains me, in addition, as I am indifferent, it is difficult to be in favour of one or the other’.

In reality, he backed his 'friend' Kajanus. 'He is fighting for his life and his place in our history'.

His relations with Schneevoigt were more superficial. The latter quite frequently programmed his music: three performances of the First Symphony in autumn 1912 and one of the Second in the spring of 1913. The 20 November 1911, Kajanus conducted Mahler's First Symphony in homage to the composer who had died sic months earlier, it was the first time that one of his symphonies had been played in its entirety in Finland. Schneevoigt, who was more interested in Mahler than his rival, played the Fourth in February 1913 and the Fifth the following October.

The 'war of orchestras' nevertheless multiplied the number of concerts and did not end until 1914 due to the start of WW1. Many German musicians returned home, and the remaining musicians in the two orchestras were considerably reduced, which resulted in the merger thus forming the Helsinki City Orchestra or the Helsinki Philharmonic. For two years Kajanus and Schneevoigt shared the conductor's baton. In the autumn of 1916 Schneevoigt was appoint head of the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra, and Kajanus remained the head of that of Helsinki, thus recovering his previous role.

At the end of October 1912, Busoni gave two recitals in Helsinki, the first included Bach's Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue and Beethoven's sonata in C-minor opus 111. 'Incomparable artist, unforgettable moments' (Diary, between 23 and 27 October). The day of the second concert, Busoni sent

his good friend a warm note: ‘Dear Jean Sibelius! To get to know your Scènes historiques interests me greatly, I would like to bring them on my travels and therefore very frankly ask if I could obtain them through you. This evening, I will play for you as best as I can. A thousand good wishes, your friend, Ferruccio Busoni. ‘Busoni played the sonata in B-flat major opus 106 (Hammerklavier). I will remember it for the rest of my life! The grander and the power of humanity have never been demonstrated with so much veracity and conviction. ‘Kraft ist d(ie) Moral das Menschen’ (Strength is the moral of men), Beethoven said. What miserable insects are men of today!’.

The 9 November, Sibelius wrote to Rosa Newmarch (in German): ‘Thank you for the wonderful hours that we spent together in England, thank you again from the bottom of my heart. Several artists including Busoni, spoke with enthusiasm of my symphony IV. To know that you also, my dear Lady, have consideration for my work, is a cause of great joy. Inside, I feel stronger, and my ideas are becoming clearer with each passing day. I start to believe—like Beethoven, but sans comparison— that strength is the moral of men. Strength in the broadest sense.’

At the beginning of the autumn, the Danish publisher Wilhelm Hansen asked Sibelius to compose the music for Poul Knudsen’s pantomime Scaramouche. He accepted, believing rightly or wrongly that he had only to provide a few dance movements. As a result Hansen organised a concert for him in

Copenhagen. At the end of November, Sibelius left for the Danish capital, where the 3 December leading the Royal Chapel Orchestra played the Fourth Symphony in the first half of the concert and in the second Scènes historiques opus 66 followed by Night Ride and Sunrise. In addition a few melodies including Höstkväl were song by the Norwegian soprano Borghild Langaard.

The first half of the concert had the greatest success with the public and also a good number of the critics. The Danish correspondent of Die Musik, William Behrend confirmed this in a very direct manner: ‘Apparently, it a was success, and it could be said that lieders (sung by Miss Langaard) and a few older pieces really pleased the audience; on the other hand the new works, and in particular the so-called ‘symphony’ N°4, could only be heard with a silently nodding of the head.’

It so happened that at the beginning of the year, the 28 February 1912, Copenhagen had heard for the first time two more optimistic works, the brightest and most extroverted of Carl Nielsen: His Violin Concerto and especially his symphony N°3, called Sinfonia Espansiva. The message was completely opposite to that of Sibelius’ Fourth. The Danish press did not show the same ‘comprehension’ as the English press had two months earlier. Sibelius himself felt exhausted, and a critic, after having observed him conducting, described him as an ‘anxious creature, with a lost air, tightly hold his baton that trembled like a leaf in his right hand, his left hand beating the air nervously, a surely tormented personality, hyper-stressed,

ascetic and for whom performing in public is a veritable physical torture'.

In Politiken of the same day, his admirer, Charles Kjerulf, presented him differently: 'Tall, pale, and a melancholic face. (…) His style is mostly composed of large gestures made by his stretched out arms – he gives the appearance of a bird in flight, the music seems to want to take off. (…) If he is examined more closely, his nervous tension almost makes him tremble, the sounds emanate from his inner depths and literally shake him, as a machine makes an entire ship vibrate. His movements have nothing very elegant, as had Johan Svendsen, and as a conductor he has nothing of a virtuoso. But he is at one with his music and his orchestra, he leads it like a father's hand leads a child, and takes it in his arms as a lover.'

The 4 December the Berlinske Tidende severely judged the Fourth: Sibelius is cut off from reality, partly because of his temperament, and partly, though wrongly, for having considered it necessary. He prefers to evolve on the periphery, there where music almost ceases to be music. (…) And when he should follow the accepted forms, he deliberately renounces the passages that would enable him to control his approach. It is as though he knows himself that his technique contains faults that he must dissimulate at any cost. He lacks the capacity to work his material, to chiselling and hammering out details, in other words put each aspect into relief, in its right place. All that remain are strange sketches in a grey and mystical

universe.’ Only Charles Kjerulf in Politiken of the same date praises ‘this grand work of chamber music for orchestra’.

After the concert, the Society of Danish Composers, held a sumptuous reception at the Hotel d’Angleterre in honour of Sibelius, in the presence of the principal musical personalities of the country. Nielsen and the composer Louis Glass spoke. Sibelius, who detested speaking in public, replied warmly but briefly. He rediscovered a certain pleasure with his old friends from Berlin, including Schnedler-Petersen, but ‘felt that there was tension in the air’: between his admirer Charles Kjerulf and the critics less disposed to him, and between himself and Carl Nielsen. He had come from a small country as Jean the Great and found himself in another that had its Charles the Great. Further, he enjoyed a growing international reputation, which was not yet the case for Nielsen’.

The contacts between Sibelius and Nielsen had been and were to remain rare and superficial. After having heard the Second Symphony, conducted by Stenhammar in Copenhagen at the beginning of February 1909, Nielsen sent a letter dated the 7th to Sibelius, which revealed, by its references to very specific points, his own personality rather than that of Finland: ‘Your music should be considered as something very special, not as a delicate chemists scale, but as a highway that could be ridden on a horse, a carriage, with animals and people, under an open sky with the sun and wind, in the middle of a moving crowd with nature deploying all its grander and its peace. Such is the impression that I have for the moment.’

The 23 October 1913, Nielsen conducted his Sinfonia Espansiva and his Helios overture in Helsinki, and Sibelius noted: ‘Had heard today Carl Nielsen’s new symphony. A beautiful work, but in my opinion without compelling themes. A real artist, this man’. Sibelius never developed close relations with Nielsen such as he had with Stenhammer. In a letter to Nielsen dated 14 July 1922, Stenhammar on his side admitted: ‘You are without any doubt for me the most artistic personality, the least egocentric, that I have ever met in my life, and who for me stimulates more sympathy than any other. But as for your art, I feel at the same time astonishingly distant. One reason amongst others, I should undergo a reinvigorating serious self-examination.’ For Stenhammer, Nielsen was not Sibelius. However, after having for the first time conducted a great work of Nielsen’s—symphony N°1 in G-minor of 1890-1892— the 16 November 1910 in Gothenburg, the Swede maintained fairly close relations with the Dane.

From 1914, he invited him on several occasions to conduct in Gothenburg. During the twelve years he spent as leader of the Copenhagen Philharmonic Orchestra, Nielsen, contrary to Stenhammar, did not programme any of Sibelius’ later works, limiting himself to En Saga and the Second Symphony. He never played the Fourth, which without doubt he found too introspective. Perhaps there was another reason? In a letter to Sibelius dated 4 December 1912, Georg Boldemann, who had been present at the concert given the previous day, wrote: ‘Someone told me that the young Carl Nielsen turned green

with envy when he heard your symphony at rehearsals.' Is this story to be taken seriously?

The accounts from Copenhagen arrived in Ainola just after Sibelius' return home, completely spoiling his 47th birthday: 'The demons have been let loose in the Danish newspapers. There run me down in the most infernal way. Impossible under these conditions to keep my spirits up'. In another entry, undated, he treated Nielsen as a 'false friend'. He exaggerated, but had probably been disappointed to note that the latter had not appreciated his Fourth. Nielsen was not in the habit of hiding his opinions, even negative ones. As Tawaststjerna noted, Sibelius divided humanity in this epoch into two very distinct categories: those who understood the Fourth and the others.

As has been seen, a week later, Weingartner, after having programmed the Fourth with the Vienna Philharmonic, replaced it with Weber's overture Euryanthe and Beethoven's Eighth. From Berlin, Busoni informed Sibelius of his intention to conduct the work at the Philharmonia. The composer was pleased, but noted in his diary: 'Am very worried, since it is planned for the beginning of the program, and he is not really a conductor. He is incapable of conducting this work. Alas!'. Without any news he imagined that the Fourth had experienced the same treatment as in Vienna: 'It is vital not to lose courage—and above not the head. They consider me—at least the principal musicians of the world—as a dead man. But nous verrons'.

The Berlin performance did in fact not take place, but for mainly financial reasons, and at the end of March, Busoni conducted the Fourth in Amsterdam. Het Algemeen Handelsblad of the 31 praised ‘the freshness and originality of the ideas’ as well as ‘the independence of mind of the composer who knew both how to avoid the superficial and seeking needless effects.’

Friday the 17 January 1913, Stenhammar conducted the Swedish premier of the Fourth Symphony in Gothenburg. Form its completion, Sibelius had corresponded with him about it, indicating in a letter dated 26 April 1911, that in Helsinki, three weeks previously, the work had been ‘totally misunderstood’. In Gothenburg, it suffered the same fate, and was not better received than in Copenhagen six weeks earlier. It was even booed. The rare applause was hesitating, and the critics in general were devastating. In the Göteborgs-Posten, Knut Bäck wrote that it ‘outclassed in difficulty all that symphonic literature had offered up to now’, and that its melodies were ‘really unsingable’. In the Handelstidningen John Atterbom wrote that it was a ‘very doubtful acquisition. (…) Stimulating and vivifying contrasts were waited for in vain’. Stenhammar repeated the Fourth with more success Wednesday the 5 February, before a more specialised public, and the critics reacted a little more positively. Knut Bäck considered that there were moments of ‘great beauty’, and that ‘a masterly play with cacophony, without gaiety often close to the frontier between

genius and madness' could be perceived. John Atterbom insisted on the self-confession aspect, which according to him helped to 'understand and even respect his hesitations and his formal research', on his 'fragmentary progression' and on his almost improvised expressionism, a just manifestation of the most secret nature of his work'. The next day, the 6 February, somewhat relieved, Stenhammar frankly wrote to Sibelius, without hiding anything disagreeable:

'My dear friend! (…) It was by my imprudence that your symphony was programmed for the first time for one of our regular concerts. The public present at these concerts, mostly from the middle classes, are not deeply interested by music, which obliges us to engage well know soloists to promote the concerts, or on occasions composer-conductors, like Jean Sibelius two years ago! But it is one thing to offer them Valse triste or The Swan of Tuonela conducted by the composer in person, and another to given them the Fourth Symphony under the baton of their own conductor. What has happened in my opinion has not, I think, any precedent in the history of musical life in Gothenburg: At the end of the symphony, the rare and timid applause was drown under an avalanche of whistles. I can't hide from you the fact that after the initial surprise, I felt rather stimulated, and even proud of you – a feeling the cooled when I heard that the guilty ones were artillery officers from the garrison here. In any case—it is difficult to explain—the applause itself was almost zero, and that our imbeciles of critics, after having up to now raised the colours high, had suddenly turned their coats to insult you in the most ridiculous

and incomprehensible way. The symphony was for them a profound disappointment, they treated it as regressive, weak, banal, without form, a paper even qualified it as syrupy and sentimental.

‘I reflected a great deal before taking up my pen and writing something, but I was very much encouraged by (Tor) Aulin to do so, though ill, was not able to resist the temptation to come to us one morning to hear the symphony, and was astonished and moved to a point that I cannot describe. I have never seen Aulin moved to such a point by a modern work. I had not however found the time and the peace to necessary to put on paper what I have to say to you, and now, after the event, I’m pleased. Effectively I yesterday I reprogrammed the symphony for a concert on Wednesday. And it was a success beyond all expectation. My dear Wednesday public was honoured yesterday evening like it rarely happens. At moments warm, at moments spontaneous, without the least demonstrative connotation, the applause came, both from anonymous members of the public and even, which is more pleasing, the critics in person. Here we have an intelligent public, without prejudgment and capable of appreciating, ready to warmly welcome you with dignity as soon as you are ready to come. (…) For me, I just want to thank you for the wonderful sensations that I felt during the symphony. It is all I can say for the moment. What it has taught me humanly and musically only the future will decide. But I know that my veneration for you as an artist will remain, and that it will grow more and more. Your Wilh Stenhammer.’

Sibelius sent a laconic reply, dated the 11 February: 'Dear friend! In this affair, you behaved like the aristocrat you are. Warmly shake Tor Aulin's hand on my behalf. I can see that I have real friends in Gothenburg. Sending you my new works will always be a great pleasure and an honour for me. Sincere thanks John Sibelius. But the same day he wrote in his diary: 'Depressed, very sick (the previous words were illegibly covered with ink). A bullet would be the easiest way out for me. A bullet, yes, yes.'

At this time the Fourth was also performed for the first time in the USA. The first took place the 2 March 1913 at the Aoelian Hall in New York, played by the Symphony Society Orchestra under the direction of Walter Damrosch (1862-1950, who had been born in Breslau in Germany. He was the son of Leopold Damrosch, a violinist and conductor, who had arrived in New York in 1871. Walter Damrosch, whose opera Cyrano de Bergerac had just been premiered at the Metropolitan, and who in 1926 was to commission Tapiola from Sibelius, stupefied his audience by preceding his performance with a short speech. He was not sure, he told them, that they would like the work, which would perhaps be its first and last performance, but for him it was a duty to present it. After the first movement, half of the audience quit the concert hall and it emptied little by little after the second movement, and continued to do so after the third. After the fourth, the few that remained, it was said, let out a sigh of relief, but after some hesitation applauded enthusiastically.

In the number dated 8 March of the review Musical America, Damrosch wrote that the Fourth was 'the strangest thing he had ever met in the form of a symphony'. In the New York Tribune, the influential critic Henry Krehbiel, known for having published in 1921 the English version of Thayer's Beethoven, treated Sibelius as a 'Cubist'. At the same moment, in the New York Sun, William J. Henderson, who had written the libretto for Cyrano de Bergerac, judged that henceforth he should be 'considered as being amongst the futurists. He accumulated dissonances like the worst of them'.

Henderson however, praised the 'originality, the elementary fantasy, the audaciousness and the sturdiness' of the work. Musical America affirmed that it was music that was 'made to be worshiped by certain and detested by others. But whatever was thought of it, it remained furiously interesting. (…) In it there are scales of tones, but without the least sign of anything that could imitate Debussy. (…) Sibelius possesses, like Tchaikovsky, a rare sense of the low registers of the orchestra'.

The second American performance of the Fourth was directed by the great German conductor Karl Muck in Boston the 24 October 1913. It was preceded by eight rehearsals, and the work was immediately repeated twice. Muck then brought the score to the orchestra's library, declaring: 'It's certainly the devil and I know who he wants!' Leader of the Boston Orchestra from 1906-1908, then (after four triumphant years in Berlin) from 1912 to March 1918, when he was interned in Georgia as an enemy subject for having refused to play the

American national anthem before his concerts, Muck had conducted the American premier of the First in Boston the 5 January 1907.

He converted many Americans to Sibelius' music, and in particular—which was to greatly contribute to the establishment of the composer's reputation in the United States —a certain Olin Downes, who had just become the critic of the Boston Post. The 12 March 1904, two months after its American premier in Chicago under the direction of Theodor Thomas, the Second was conducted in Boston by Wilhelm Gericke, during his second period in Boston, and before becoming from 1924 onwards one of the pillars of the Bayreuth Festival, Karl Muck was as conductor the main champion of Sibelius in the USA.

The performance of the Fourth the 24 October 1913 provoked about the same reaction as in New York seven months earlier. Louis Elson spoke of ultra-modernism in the Boston Advertiser of the 14 November: 'His progressions by entire tones are found in Debussy's music (and in Siamese music). (…) As far as we are concerned, Sibelius has nothing to discover from Schönberg. (…) Many listeners went to breathe a little fresh air in the lobbies, which had not been possible from the beginning of the programme'. In a report sent to Die Music, the same critic wrote: 'officially in A-minor, running through all of the 24 tonalities, as well as a few unknown'. The Boston Journal of the 25th announced that the audience 'had finally a taste of cubist music. Most of the time, this symphony from the hand of

the most eminent Finnish composers (…) outclasses the most doleful and most uninviting moments of Debussy's music'.

The Boston Record of the same date, after having noted that the number of musicians used was approximately the same as in a conventional orchestra, added: 'But his classicism ends there, because the treatment of the orchestra is 20th century, or perhaps 21st century. Sounds and moans float in the air, supposing that there is any air, which is not the case, because this so called symphony has no air. Some dissonant and painful groans can be made out, which generally lead nowhere.'

Enthused by the First Symphony in 1907, Olin Downes had less appreciated the Second in 1904, but changed his opinion when Max Fiedler, head of the Boston Orchestra between Karl Mucks two leaderships, had conducted it the 1 January 1909. Downs had then qualified it in the Boston Post as 'gloriously badly raised', and used the expression again at a new performance in January 1911. After having received the score of the Fourth in the summer of 1912, he commented in very favourable terms in the Boston Post of the 4 August, praising its 'touches of the supernatural', its 'irrepressible heroism' and 'elementary power'. Qualities largely compensating, in his opinion, the absence of any allusion to 'love such as men know it'.

This did not prevent him, when he heard Karl Muck conduct it the 24 October 1913, from being literally stunned. In the Boston Post of the 25th, he declared that Sibelius 'had developed the fine art of making enemies to an extent

unimagined even by his most fervent admirers'. He praised the work's harmonies, which placed (the composer) at the head of the innovators of the day', but it needed years for him to admit that his first reactions had been 'Where had the instrumental colours gone, the great gestures, the heroic challenges of the previous works?'

The same year, 1913, was also that of two memorable scandals: that of the Sacre du Printemps in Paris the 29 May, more choreographic than musical, in reality a 'forgone triumph', and above all that of Vienna, provoked by a concert of Schönberg and his disciples Berg and Webern.

The concert degenerated into a riot with the police intervening. Preceded by Maeterlinck Gesänge opus 13 by Zemlinsky, the Symphony de chamber opus 9 by Schönberg was the cause of the agitation. The premier of Berg's Altenberg Lieder opus 4 was then interrupted by an enormous uproar; only two of the five lieder could be played, and Mahler's Kindertotenlieder, foreseen at the end of the programmed was abandoned.

The whole of the Altenberg Lieder was not heard again until 1952 in Rome. In the May 1913 number, the Vienna correspondent of the Musical Times spoke of 'six particularly anarchic orchestral pieces by Anton von Webern'. It was his only work for a grand orchestra; the Six Pieces for Orchestra opus 6, played at the beginning of the programme. With his Fourth, which came under the fire of a large part of the public and critics, and also, as has been seen, written in letters of fire

in the epic ‘Vienna and avant-garde music’, decidedly Sibelius was in rather good company.

CHAPTER 13

1913-1914

IN MUSICAL AMERICA DATED 15 March 1913, Arthur Farwell the composer and teacher, one of the pioneers of new American music, distinguished himself from his contemporaries with the following remarks: ‘Why have (the critics) so much to say about Sibelius, the spokesman of the wild dark North, and nothing to say about his way of approaching the great musical questions of the day?’ If these words, which Sibelius could not avoid reading, comforted him, they at the same time recalled to him the hopes he had put in the Fourth so as to be recognised in Europe as a true ‘modernist’ had been so often so disappointed.

Except on rare occasions, the work had run into total incomprehension, or the commentators were ‘completely off the mark’. Following his illness, such reactions were hurtful, especially for a composer whose diary and letters reveal as being person hypersensitive as to his public image and the least nuance, real or imagined, in his closest friends’ attitude towards him. To the point that went as far a greatly doubting his own capacity as a creative composer.

The first important work of great scope following the Fourth Symphony was the Fifth, of which there were three successive versions, 1919, 1916 and 1919. Between these two symphonies at least three other major works were created, but of a more modest dimension: The Bard and Luonnotar in 1913, and Oceanides in 1914. Hepokoski considered that during 1911-1913, 'Sibelius resigned himself, with difficulty, to the lukewarm welcome for his music by the French and German classical music institutions, which from that time onwards were oriented in a direction for which he himself held no sympathy.

These were crisis years for him and a period of intense self-appraisal. Convinced of having forged a dense and aesthetically responsible modern classicism, he was nevertheless forced to admit that the universe of classical music had changed. However great the chances of his music being favourably welcomed in certain circles in England and the USA, where unfortunately it was often bandied about as a "healthy antidote" against the decadence of "new music" of a generation that was younger than his own, it had become evident that in Germany, Austria and France, the markets he had first attempted to conquer, his work had little chance of being sympathetically welcomed. (…) Sibelius therefore chose to pursue his own path more obstinately and tenaciously than ever, but at the same time to accept the fact that he had no place in their "markets", and consequently in the history that 'they themselves' were building. This psychological withdrawal was reinforced by his isolation during the First World War that prevented him from travelling abroad and put a

brake on the distribution and performance of his music in Europe, (…) and more complicated by the independence of Finland, torn from Bolshevik Russia in 1917, then by the civil war in Finland that followed.

During this period Sibelius really felt the burden of what he called his Alleinegefühl (a feeling of loneliness). This final phase, which saw the compression, severity and the peculiarity of his style pushed to the extreme, was that of a withdrawal marked with disillusionment into a universe of symphonic meditation and of nature's mysticism.' And also for him, that of revolutionary solutions in questions of form, very far from the traditional Formenlehre, but in spite of that he did not lose contact with it and largely counterbalanced it, in his later works, by an apparent renunciation of unrestrained dissonance.

In an attempt to elucidate Sibelius' ideas on questions of form, his organisation techniques for large scale duration, Hepokoski commenced by citing various extracts from his diary: 'My musical themes will decide my destiny'. 'My domain is the symphonic fantasy, preferably without a programme. It is musical thoughts, that is to say motifs, which will decide the form and decide my path'. 'I want to leave musical thoughts and their development create their own form in my soul'. 'I can compare a symphony to a river. It is born from a multitude of small streams that seek each other, and in that way the river becomes big and powerful on its flow towards the sea. But today, it is the river bed that is being dug big and powerful—in other words, a river is being constructed.

But where does the water come from? In other words, the motifs and the ideas are not being let freely assume their own form. It has been decided that the river should be big and powerful, and it should be “filled”. But where does the music come from, musicians? You, dear Ego, you saw it at once’.

* * *

‘Working on The Bard—an orchestral Tonstuck—or more exactly Tondichtung. That’s where my force lies’. Sibelius conducted the first audition, which was favourable greeted, the 27 March 1913, in Helsinki, but the work did not please Breitkopf & Härtel: ‘We cannot defend the idea that it is not more than the introduction to a larger work, to follow. Would it not be better to start by working on this suite?’. Sibelius replied the 23rd that he had in fact thought of a cyclic work. But I would like to sell these symphonic poems separately. Without forcing myself, it is impossible to say when the other pieces will be ready.’

He then envisaged a ‘Fantasia in two parts or Intrada and Allegro’, then again a triptych. Then he withdrew the original version and sent a revised version to Breitkopf & Härtel the 9th June: ‘The Bard in its final form. (…) The title is The Bard, a triptych for orchestra.’ He also withdrew this version, explaining to the publisher: ‘The Bard is not a triptych or a diptych, but as it originally was.’

Six weeks later, after having offered it in vain to Universal and to the publisher Julius Heinrich Zimmermann, Sibelius sent the final version to Breitkopf & Härtel, who published it in May 1914 though not without having noted that it was surely not a ‘hit’. Probably more concentrated than the original, this version was premiered in Helsinki conducted by the composer the 9 January 1916.

The Bard is Sibelius’ shorted independent symphonic poem, even in his grand repertory; approximately seven minutes. No precise programme is attached to this enigmatic score. At the end of his life, Sibelius was asked by telephone if it was not inspired by Runeberg’s poem of the same name. Irritated he replied no. Tawaststjerna considered on the contrary that this was probable, and that in his symphonic poem Sibelius sung of his own death: like Runneberg’s Bard, who after having escaped the narrowness of his original universe, discovered his true vocation and played and sang for years to the great pleasure of distinguished people (kings, queens) or not (slaves, handmaidens), retiring to die at home after a last chord.

There was nothing to prevent Sibelius from identifying himself with this Bard. In two parts respectively noted Lento assai (almost silent from one end to the other) and Largemente (shorter with the sole and very brief peak of intensity in the work), his symphonic poem maintains an elegiac and contemplative tone from beginning to end. It is made up of fragments of themes. ‘The thin string that holds life’, the harp, a kind of substitute for the kantele, plays a key role, especially

in the Lento assai, where it constantly opposes, by delicate chords, diverse groups of instruments drawn from an ‘even more’ chamber orchestra than that of the Fourth Symphony.

This music very much resembled, in spirit, if not technically to the fourth of Webern’s Six pieces for orchestra opus 6, which also had funeral connotations, composed in August 1909 and premiered, four days after that of the original version of The Bard; the 13 March in Vienna when the concert degenerated into a riot.

At the beginning of 1913, Sibelius decided not to compose the sacred choral work commissioned by the Gloucester Three Choirs Festival and consequently not attend the festival. For the first time since 1899, he spent the whole of the year in Finland. The 30 December 1912, he had written to Rosa Newmarch: ‘Having no new work to propose I cannot go to Gloucester. I have had no new inspiration in this direction, and I cannot and don’t want to force myself.’ He had however promised a work to Aino Ackte to make up for The Raven fiasco and the uncertainties concerning Juha.

The 25 May 1913, the cantatrice asked him to compose a piece she could present in the same programmes with the last scene of Salome, her bravura. The result was Luonnotar. Sibelius, as has been seen, had envisaged a work with this title in 1905-1906, and had mentioned such a project in his diary in March 1912. He commenced Luonnotar the 17 July 1913. Aino

Ackte told him she would sing it in Gloucester and she received a reduction for vocal and piano. She found the work—completed in its original version the 24 August, which was to be dedicated to her—'inspiring and grandiose', but feared, given its difficulties, that her sense of pitch would fail her.

There was no Swedish version and Sibelius commenced a translation of the text, but Aino Ackte dissuaded him from it. It was incompatible, she told him, with the essence of the work. Before leaving for England she worked on Luonnotar with the composer: 'She sung well—but it is far from perfection when hurried, without leaving the work time to mature! To acquire its own patina!. The 10 September, the day of the premier, he noted: 'Today Luonnotar should be given in Gloucester!?! Later, I'll revise this work. It is very much in my mind now'. And the 12th: 'Aino Ackte had a great success in Gloucester with Luonnotar. Loud applause, she had six curtain calls.'

The Gloucester Three Choirs Festival lasted from the 7 to 12 September. For the first time for a long period of time, new works were ordered from overseas composers.

Concerning Luonnotar, the October's Musical Times reported: 'Sibelius' new symphonic poem was sung in Finnish by Madame Ackte, but even the English translation would not render the subject very understandable. (The public at the Gloucester Festival could of course not speak a word of Finnish and had only the vaguest idea of the Kalevala). It is about a Finnish myth relating to the birth of the universe—a legendary theme often treated.

The adjoining orchestral accompaniment seems more interesting than the vocal part, but as often with this composer, one is reduced to hope, by an act of faith, that the music contains more than could be felt at first hearing.' The paper then added that the audience had been 'astounded and fascinated' by the last scene from Salome, and that 'Saint-Saëns had appeared to appreciate as much as the audience' his interpretation of Mozart's concerto: 'At last clarity'.

Preceding the later and less important Väinön virsi (The Song of Väinö) from 1926, Luonnotar is Sibelius' penultimate score explicitly based on the Finnish national epic. The composer himself prepared the text drawing from Song I of the Kalevala about fifty verses from a total of three hundred and forty four.

Sibelius' version did not go further than the middle of this story, and it was he who gave this name to his symphonic poem, which must have led many listeners (and commentators) to believe (wrongly) that it was a proper name'.

Luonnotar is one of the most accomplished and most intense works of Sibelius. The 10 October 1913, the composer wrote to Rosa Newmarch (in German): 'Time passes—or more exactly the times pass—without giving me the pleasure of speaking with you. I hope to be able to come to London this season as a tourist. In a month's time, I will go abroad, where I hope to work and 'listen'. I will also digest things a little.

I see, and that surprises me, that people still compose in the post-Wagnerian style—with the same ridiculous affectation and

with a depth of command even more ridiculous. But such things do not die out easily. Perhaps you know that Madame Ackte sung a new work of mine at the Gloucester Festival. This work was written in 'my' style, that suits me, though not my friends, so little recognition. (…) I know that you will write soon. I am always very happy when you do so.'

The central theme of Luonnotar is definitely that of nature, not as we see or feel it, like with Haydn in his Creation and Seasons and with the Romantics, or as often with Mahler and more rarely with Sibelius himself, but as it is, without people, indifferent to our regard and the destiny of man: non-idealised nature, beautiful by at time terrifying. This theme was to henceforth determine all of Sibelius' major works, including his last three symphonies, with its apogee in Tapiola.

Hepokoski spoke of these works as a 'mystical mosaic' and of a 'great neo-pagan rite', adding: 'The myth of the creation as it is presented in the Kalevala is very literally seized in Luonnotar, in the perspective and problematic of the gestation of the living being. Inversely, the other components of the mosaic assembled together appear essentially concerned by the discovery of the living being. The notion of 'pure nature' is accepted by Sibelius as a given fact, but he tries with music to make a path back to earth (Tapiola), the water (Oceanides) and the sky, with the objective of liberating the elementary dynamic forces presumed to dissimulate it.

For Sibelius, nature had become more important and more powerful than Väinämöinen himself, which explains why in

Luonnotar, he loathed being explicitly burdened by a personage who would have reduced the scope of his message.

Aino Ackte sung Luonnotar in Riga the 13 November 1913, then Helsinki the 12 January 1914, each time before the finale scene from Salome and under the direction of Schneevoigt. Sibelius was not present at the concert of the 12 January; he was in Berlin and did not hear the work until later. Aino was however present and she wrote to him: ‘Luonnotar is really grandiose. (…) The ordinary people understood nothing, I think. (…) In front of me, two elderly ladies were literally horrified. (…) A(ino) A(ckte) sung too ‘humanly’. (…) The orchestra appeared to be much more ‘visionary’. Sch(neenvoigt) said the Aino A. took too many liberties that were difficult to follow.’

Sibelius sent the revised versionto Breitkopf & Härtel the 23 October 1913. The war made publication impossible, and the original manuscript returned to the composer. In 1915 a reduction for piano arranged by Sibelius himself both in a Finnish and a German text (the German version was not so good). In January 1921, Sibelius offered the original manuscript to the Kalevalaseura (Kalevala Society).

The 10 June 1913 the marriage of Sibelius’ eldest daughter, Eva, aged twenty, with Arvi Paloheimo, was celebrated in grand style. Around the same period a hedge was planted around Ainola. Both the wedding and the hedge were the cause of considerable expense, but Sibelius, with The Bard nearing completion and Luonnotar on the horizon, had rediscovered his

creative vein. Ruth, his second daughter, was preparing for her career as an actress, and the third, Katarina, was diligently studying the piano: ‘Kai (Katarina) is playing scales in thirds. Nothing stimulates meditation more than this’.

At the end of September, Sibelius’ brother came to stay with them after quite a long period in hospital, where he was treated for a serious problem of anaemia. Jean was pleased with these few weeks spent together with him, though he noted with some anxiety that for the first time his younger brother, who he had often looked for support, was now disadvantaged: ‘Christian is here everyday (in Ainola), to our great joy. Hopefully he will fully recover his good health! For me all this is unimaginable. He was always the strongest’.

His doubts were already evident when at the beginning of the year a petition had circulated for a pension in favour of Kajanus. He had of course signed it, but noted in his journal that it was for himself a ‘death sentence as a composer’ and it ‘turned values upside down’ reducing him to nothing. He wrote in this sense to Carpelan and received the following reply from him: ‘Everybody knows that Kajanus is not a real composer, and even less the founder of Finnish music. (…) It is evident that the creator of Finnish music, is you, and that your name is the only that has an international renown. It is even more so since you yourself signed the petition. Everybody understands it—you can be sure of this for the present and the future’.

Sibelius did not always appreciate the comparisons between himself and younger Finnish composers. In November 1913,

when Toivo Kuula conducted certain of his own works in Saint Petersburg, the Russian press thought he should be saluted as an artist who ‘contrary to Sibelius and Palmgren had succeeded in creating a Finnish national style’. In August 1912, the same press reported that Finland had not yet produced an outstanding composer, and that ‘Sibelius, relatively speaking the greatest, (lacks) what a creator (has) an absolute need of: a cultural tradition’. In December 1913, Selim Palmgren’s latest concerto N°2, called The River, was performed in Vienna with a great success by the Polish pianist Ignaz Friedman with the composer at the stand. Sibelius did not fail to react: ‘I was very pleased, because I had foreseen it’.

However, a few days later, he learnt that the musicologist and critic Hugo Leichtentritt, Palmgren ‘curiously equalled’ Sibelius, which put him into an ‘extremely bad humour’.

To this disagreeable event was added an annoying incident with a patron of the arts. Only a single trace of this remains: ‘August Ramsay has insulted me. God have mercy on his soul’. Tawaststjerna wrote that the ‘Great Augustus’, an industrialist completely closed to music, who work day commenced at five thirty in the morning and who had never put his foot in a concert hall, had replied to Sibelius who had come to ask his help ‘being the author of the Second Symphony and Finlandia was not sufficient to have the automatic right to a grant’.

* * *

During the whole of 1913, Sibelius found himself confronted with the commission received the previous autumn from the Danish publisher Wilhelm Hansen: Scaramouch (opus 71). It was the cause of more difficulties than foreseen. Having learnt in January that a spoken dialogue had been inserted into the pantomime itself, he wrote to Hansen that his music would only suffer from it. In addition to his embarrassment that Paul Knudsen had in reality plagiarised Arthur Schnitzler's play Der Schleier der Pierette (Pierette's Veil). Hansen promised a new scenario, but Sibelius was even more concerned after he had understood that he was engaged by contract to compose not two or three dance movements, but a score of vast dimensions.

Considering that he had fallen in a trap, he accused himself of stupidity and told Hansen that his reputation was at stake: 'If I should confirm to the terms of the contract, the must be good—there is no other alternative'. And in his diary, the same day: 'I have made an enormous error in signing the contract for Scaramouch. In such a temper today I smashed the telephone. (…) What shall I do now? Nothing!'

Finished with great difficulty the 19 December, the next day score was sent to Hansen. Against all expectations Scaramouch was produced at the Royal Theatre of Copenhagen nine years later, the 12 May 1922, in a combination of spoke dialogue, dance and mimes accompanied by music, and in the absence of the composer. However, the following year Sibelius was present at a production given at the National Theatre of Helsinki, without spoken dialogue and with his daughter Ruth

in the role of Blondelaine. In two separate acts each of ten and twelve scenes respectively and for the most part brief, but played without interruption. The piece lasts for approximately one hour and it is one of the longest works in a single piece by Sibelius. The orchestra avoids a mass effect, producing mostly chamber sonorities that often recall those of Strauss's Ariadne auf Naxos.

Scaramouch was published by Hansen in December 1918. In December 1921, they published in addition to two other extracts—Danse élégiaque and Scène d'amour —an arrangement for piano, and again in September 1925 Scène d'amour, this time in a version for piano and violin. These arrangements were made by the composer himself, the first two in January 1914 and the third in February 1925. In 1921, Sibelius envisaged making orchestral from it, but decide against. Later his son-in-law Jussi Jalas, at his demand, made a condensed version, in a single piece and with the original orchestration. Lasting about twenty minutes, it never became part of the repertory.

Still in 1913, Sibelius received several detailed offers from the USA. The first came from the composer and teacher Horatio Parker. Parker remained a fierce partisan of the German tradition, in which he was educated, and in particularly by Josef Rheinberger in Munich. He became professor of composition at Yale University in 1894, where he had Charles Ives as a student until 1898. Parker clashed with Ives, as had happened with Dvorak shortly before, when the latter, head of

the National conservatory of New York, had attempted in vain to persuade him, with the New World Symphony as evidence, of the existence of an American national music.

In the spring of 1913, in Munich, Parker wrote to Sibelius asking him to for a few songs for American schools. Parker—who also wrote to Max Reger and Gabriel Pierné—received three before the 27 June. All three appeared in 1915 in The Progressive Music Series, a collection by Parker, under the title of Three Songs for American Schools.

Amongst Parker's friends was the rich philanthropist Carl Stoeckel, the son of a musician originally from the Bavarian Palatinate. His father, Gustav Jacob Stoeckel, arrived in the USA in 1848 and became the very first professor of music at Yale in 1855, a position he occupied until his retirement in 1896, and Parker was therefore one of his colleagues at Yale. Stoeckel married Ellen Battell the daughter of a flutist and amateur composer Robbins Battell.

After obtained a diploma at Harvard in 1839, Battell became one of the leading personalities in Connecticut in business and cultural fields where he created the base of a rich choral tradition, and in 1851 conducted the Hallelujah from Handel's Messiah at the head of what was the oldest local music society, the Litchfield County Musical Association. In his youth Carl Stoeckel had been the secretary of his future father-in-law at his property in Norfolk, Connecticut. The sumptuous 35-room family mansion built on the estate in 1798 by Joseph Battell, father of Robbins, bore the name of White House.

Also very cultivated, lovers of music and painting, Carl and Ellen Stoeckel, moved into the White House, created, financed and managed, from the artistic point of view, a music festival that took place every summer in Norfolk (it still exists under the name Norfolk Chamber Music Festival).

The 6 June 1906, a concert hall of 2,000 seats in a vast building constructed in wood on the Stoeckel estate, it was called Music Shed and was inaugurated in grand pomp. For this occasion the American Wagnerian soprano Lillian Nordica sang the air of Elisabeth ‘Dich teure Halle, gruss ich wieder’ (Greetings to you, noble dwelling place) from Tannhäuser, a very appropriate choice.

One of the pillars of the festival was the Litchfield County Choral Union, founded by the Stoeckel couple in 1899 in memory of Robbins Battell. Several composers came to conduct their work in Norfolk, amongst these were Max Bruch, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, and the Americans George Chadwick and Henry Hadley, not forgetting Horatio Parker himself.

At the beginning of the summer of 1913, Parker sent Stoeckel a list of the other composers to be invited to Norfolk, and the 18 August, Stoeckel replied that he wished to commence with Sibelius. It was like this that Sibelius received from Parker, on the part of Stoeckel, an invitation to Norfolk in June 1914 to conduct several of his works, including one especially composed for the occasion and of a duration that should not exceed fifteen minutes. Sibelius accepted, but refused a concert tour in the USA. As new work, he was to present The Oceanides in Norfolk.

A letter from Breitkopf & Härtel dated the 24 October 1913 in practice renewed the 1910 contract, but showed that the relations between Sibelius and his main publisher were not always easy. Exceptionally, the composer evoked his financial problems and even his private life: ‘Do not be upset if I speak to you frankly. As you without doubt know, I am working on important new works for a series of concerts that I will probably give in Europe in a year’s time. I have therefore refused all offers that have been made to me to conduct. Faced with great expenses this year, I have been obliged, contrary to my principals, to accept different commissions. Amongst others

expenses I have need of a sum of 20,000 marks to set up my eldest daughter, who is to be married. This sum of money, I have obtained thanks to two works—a symphonic poem for America (The Oceanides) and a pantomime for Denmark (Scaramouch). I have in addition composed a few bagatelles for Westerlund. If I have decided to do it, it is because—you cannot be unaware of this—our negotiations have been very drawn out, to the point for example, the sale of opus 64 (The Bard), which I sent you at the end of July, have come to nothing. My greatest wish is to be able to offer you all of my works. In the same way, as I have said on many occasions, and with all my heart I am grateful to you for all that you have done for me as a composer, and in truth, it is no small thing.'

In order to work on Oceanides and to hear able to the latest music, Sibelius commenced a relatively long visit to Berlin at the beginning of 1914. On the eve of his departure, he wrote to Carpelan: 'As I am leaving the country tomorrow after a difficult year, I am happy to write you these few lines. I now understand the kind of suffering involved in being a national emblem. No one has the least idea what it means to be examined everyday under a microscope by the world press, and to be reminded of it everyday for better for worse. No doubt I have made errors—more than others, but who has the right to throw the first stone?'.

'The latest thing here (Berlin) is 'Return of Mozart'. Those who least know Mozart are the loudest' (Diary, 12 January). He went to concerts as often as possible, ingurgitating the works of

composers, often second or third rate and totally forgotten today.

Eugene d'Albert, the Scottish composer and pianist, naturalised German, who composed the opera Tiefland, conducted Brahms's concerto N°2 in B-flat major. 'Saw the film Kadra Sufa, a big success but without anything artistic. In the evening heard Scharrer's overture. He's still only a beginner'. Liszt's concerto N°2 in A-major was on the same programme.

Berlin was in his opinion the 'ideal place' to keep up to date with all that was new in composition. It confirmed this in his letter to Carpelan, nevertheless adding: 'Apparently, es genügt das Grosse gewollt zu haben' (it was sufficient to have wanted to make something great). But I cannot agree. "Je ne me resignerai pas—jamais!"'

The Fifth Symphony of Bruckner's, with cuts conducted by Nikisch at the same concert as that with the 'pensums' of Scheinpflug and Gernsheim, turned out to be a great compensation. 'It totally captured me'. 'It moved me to tears. Was in ecstasy for a long moment. What unusual and deep spirit, what religiosity! And this profound feeling of religion, we abolished it as not being compatible with our times'. The following concert with a 'banal' new piece for soloists, choir and orchestra by Engelbert Humperdinck, Sibelius considered as a waste of time. 'The present cultural personalities seem incapable of writing something fundamental on the old ecclesiastic modes. This is no doubt reserved for myself and

others who have lived in peace. The more I hear the new works of my colleagues, the more I say my music is possesses more of live than these short lived Erzeugnisse (products)', he wrote to Carpelan the same day in a kind of manifesto for his Sixth Symphony. And in his diary still on the 26 January: (Ecclesiastic modes), it is no doubt I who is the closest, because of my heritage and training. I have created for them. Meditate and compose.'

The next day he attended a piano recital by the Swiss pianist Rudolph Ganz, who performed two of his own works, of his compatriot Emile Blanchet, a student of Busoni's in Weimar and in Berlin, of Hadyn and also Debussy: L'Isle joyeuse and La Fille aux Cheveux de lin. Sibelius rarely attended a piano recital and was more interested in a precise repertory than pianists themselves, except when it was Busoni. It was surely the presence of Debussy on the program that incited him to go to listen to Rudolph Ganz.

The works of the French composer were of great importance to him, because he knew that he could learn something from them in one way or another: 'Definitely something new. Something great is being born, it's sure, but in fact those destined to transmit it are very few. Meine Wenigkeit (my modest person) seems to me excluded, but working like I should, I will be able to say what I want too say'. L'Isle joyeuse, this 'solar euphoria facing a resplendent sea' (Harry Halbreich), was it one of the sources of inspiration for Oceanides?

He discovered other music that was more worthwhile. 'A melody of Schönberg's has made a deep impression on me' (28 January). 'Heard Das Klagende Lied of Mahler's, a marvelous work, and very poetic vocal quartets by Brahms' (1 February). Nikisch was the conductor, who also conducted The Ruins of Athens by Beethoven. 'Mahler's Fifth Symphony and Schönberg's Chamber Symphony. It is no doubt a valid way of considering things. But it is difficult for the ears. A too cerebral approach. The audience whistled and shouted. Not for weak minds and talented. They won't know what to make of it. Behind all that there is something great, which Schönberg has not however realized' (4 February).

And to Aino, the next day: 'Yesterday heard Schönberg's Chamber Symphony. Interesting. Cubism in music. Whistles (probably organised in advance) and applause.' The Schönberg-Mahler concert was conducted by the young Hermann Scherchen. 'This morning heard the Philharmonic play Mahler's Kindertotenlieder (…) and Korngold's Sinfonietta. He is a young eagle' (8 February). On the same program was an air of Bach's and Beethoven's Egmont overture. The Berlin performance of his Sinfonietta in B-major opus 5, in reality a symphony of approximately forty-five minutes, completed in 1912 and premiered by Weingartner (to whom it was dedicated) the 30 November in 1913 in Vienna, marked the entry of the wonder child Korngold in Germany. Sibelius was present amongst the general public. The real premier, conducted by Nikisch, took place the 9 February: in his box,

Richard Strauss had the seventeen year old composer at his side.

It should be said that after Sibelius' concert and Schumann's symphony N°1, the conductor Karl Panzner had the strange idea of programming the favourite which was Mendelssohn's concerto for violin, which could only provoke disobliging remarks from the Berlin critics with regard to the Finn. Four days later, Sibelius noted: 'In a bad mood all day after having noted the windows of Breitkopf & Härtel display nothing of mine, but many works by Busoni, Palmgren, Mahler, etc. But of what importance is it?'

His return to Ainola did not take place under best auspices, the first days he felt like an intruder upsetting his children in their work and piano exercises, and his wife was occupied with her daily tasks. The 5 March he completed he completed the three pieces of his four Pièces Lyric for piano, published by Breitkopf & Härtel in December, and added to Vi ses igen the melody based on Topelius's Orions bälte (Orion's Belt), future opus 72 N°2. The first two melodies of opus 72 are unfortunately lost. The 8 July 1914, Breitkopf & Härtel sent the original manuscripts to Rosa Newmarch in London to translate the poems into English. After the war, the editor unsuccessfully asked Rosa Newmarch for them, and the 2 February 1925 informed the composer that they could not be found. Sibelius who had no copy of the two melodies refused to recompose them.

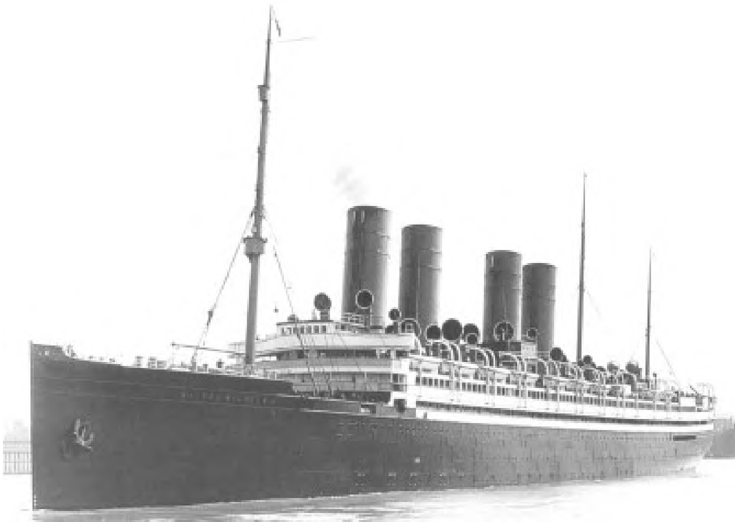
From February to May 1914, he seriously consecrated his time to the commission from Norfolk. The 10 March, he wrote to Horatio Parker that his new work for orchestra would be ready in a score separated in two parts for the 1st April at the latest and he would send it to the USA for its premier and it was entitled Rondo of the Waves. The next day in a new letter he wrote: ‘I am not yet sure of the title of my new symphonic poem, and therefore ask you not to publish that indicated in my yesterday’s letter.’

The 30 March in his diary: ‘Opus 73 completed.’ It was the second version, in D-flat major, in a single movement, having a length of 128 bars and bearing the notation tempo Larghetto. The 3 April, Sibelius sent it to Parker, who then sent it to Stoeckel. The 12 April, he received a letter from Parker asking him to conduct his new work in Norfolk and other older works for a fee of 1,200 dollars.

A second letter dated 22 April announced that the Yale University had decided to confer on him the title of Doctor of Music Honorous Causa. Parker had himself suggested the idea to the University informing them that the composer had privileged in his works ‘impersonal’ (sic) rather than dramatic symphonic works, which however assured an immediate success (8 April).

At the same time the University of Helsinki honoured Sibelius not with a doctorate in music but in philosophy. A coincidence or not to be outdone by Yale? The 29 April, Sibelius informed Parker that he would leave Bremen the 19

May on the Liner Kaiser Wilhelm II and arrive in New York probably the 26th: ‘Would you kindly excuse me, Herr Doctor, if I perform the new symphonic poem under the original title of Rondo of the Waves. The version entitled Aallottaret (The Divinities of the Sea) that I had sent you can remain with Mr. Stoeckel.’ In effect he had worked on a third version of The Oceanides. The 9 May, he reassured Yale, whose statutes did not allow awarding a diploma in absentia, that he would be present the 17 June.



The perspective of his voyage to the USA was the cause of some difficulties at home. He had the impression of disappointing Aino: ‘She is becoming drier before my eyes. I must make an effort to be different’ (Diary, 20 February). An

oversight by Sibelius to pay the piano rental and a loud argument followed: 'Aino loses patience easily with me—who by mere fatigue, forced to struggle for money, forgets to settle my accounts (bills by hundreds, debts, repayments, altogether 100,000)—all that makes life impossible'. 'Suicide, what relief! The idea often, very often, occurs to me. Impossible to earn enough for my family. And even less to pay my debts. And America? The new work is not yet quite ready' (Diary, 21 April). 'Change places, old fool? To America! Away!' (24 April). He told Carpelan of his difficulties with Oceanides: 'That's me, revising (a work) yet again at the moment when I am really carried away by it' (3 May).

Aino's diary mentions on 14 May the final labour for The Oceanides: 'The score is not yet ready. The copier, Mr Kauppi, is with us and is writing day and night. (…) Yesterday evening, we could do nothing more to help him, but Janne, with his force of character, was forced to work, twenty pages still remained to be done. We light the lamps in the dinning room, the chandelier in the living room, it was a solemn moment. I dared not say a word. All night I heard his steps, at times muffled sounds. In the morning he came up. The copier was still awake in his room. (…) If only I could remain calm, it is the only way to be of help to him now.' She slipped a message to her husband in his baggage: 'My dear Janne of mine, I think of you endlessly. Don't forget to telegraph me from New York and write to me often. We —us, together? I am so happy for you.'

* * *

Sibelius left Helsinki the 16 May 1914, and the 19 was in Bremerhaven where he wrote to Aino. He boarded the Norddeutscher Lloyd transatlantic liner Kaiser Wilhelm II, and the next day the 20th May it sailed past Cherbourg. Sunday the 24th The New York Times published a long article by Henry Kredhiel entitled Finland Sends Musical Envoy.

During the crossing, in good weather conditions and during which the last touches were added to The Oceanides, Sibelius received a telegram of welcome from the violinist Maude Powell (1869-1920). In 1906 she had given the first American performance of his concerto in New York. She then played it with success the following year in Chicago, and again in New York in 1911 under the direction of Spiering. Sibelius arrived in New York Tuesday the 26 May. After having remained in his cabin for a good hour to avoid the reporters, he was greeted by Carl Stoeckel, who helped him through the customs and accompanied him to the Essex Hotel, where he introduced him to his wife.

‘(She is) kindness personified’ (to Aino, 27 May). The apartment was on the tenth floor, and Stoeckel recounted how Sibelius ‘asked how he could sleep at such a height. (…) He was very demanding for his clothes, his underwear and his shoes, all the best tailors, shirt makers and best cuts. His hair, cut very short, gave him a completely different look to what could be expected of a foreign composer. If I had met him in

the street, I would have taken him for a gentleman who had made his fortune, a doctor or engineer. (…) He was astonished to find a bathroom in each of the rooms in the apartment.’

Stoeckel took his guest to dinner in Delmonico’s, the most celebrated New York restaurant, then at the height of its glory. They ordered caviar, and Sibelius was kind enough to say that it was better than what could be obtained in Russian hotels. (He liked) fish in all its forms, (but) did not specially appreciate the ice creams, and asked for cheese as a desert and coffee as strong as possible. (…) He only drank bottled water.’

The next day, after having showered three times during the night, Sibelius in the company of Stoeckel visited the New York offices of Breitkopf & Härtel, where his scores and portraits were displayed on the walls and on the shelves. ‘He paid no attention to these, and only looked at the exhibition after I had invited him to do so.’ Sibelius behaved as a man of

the world, though three months previously he had expressed in his diary his annoyance at seeing none of his works in the Berlin windows of the same publisher.

That afternoon Stoeckel found him in his room re-examining Oceanides. 'He told me that whilst crossing the ocean, he had learnt much more on it than contemplating the shores of Helsingfors.'

The same evening the dined again at Delmonico's: 'He asked several questions on what he had seen in the newspapers, adding that he had always wanted to see an American skyscraper, the Niagara Falls and a whale, especially a whale blowing a jet of water. (From his new work), he said that he had in reality composed it twice, and entirely modified the original score in our possession.'

The next day, before rehearsals at the Carnegy Hall, Sibelius bought an immaculately white flannel suit and a straw hat: 'Friends in Finland had told him that summers in America were very cold and he had only brought heavy clothes with him.' At Carnegy Hall he met Henry Hadley who was rehearsing the piece he had composed for Norfolk, a symphonic poem entitled Lucifer, with an orchestra of 75 musicians from the New York Philharmonic Orchestra and the Metropolitan Opera.

'When his turn came to rehearse with the orchestra, he went up to the stage, his hat in his hand. (…) It was very impressive to see him all in white, his baton raised for the attack. (Whilst waiting), he had observed the orchestra and quickly spotted the

best violinists, violists, cellists, double bassists, flutists, clarinettists and hornists. (…) He commenced with The Daughter of Pohjola, (then) tried the new work, very different from what all these men had played up to this day. Judging by their remarks, I think that at first they did not understand it.

The next day, after having played three times, they said that they were delighted, noting that each time the music gained in beauty. (…) Certain journalists and reporters present tried to extract (from him) the meaning of such and such a passage, but he said nothing very exact, simply replying that with his works, he had put his imagination to work. He nevertheless accepted to indicate to certain conductors who were present the tempi of his symphonies and other works by humming them or playing them on the piano, though remarking he was not a pianist and only played as a composer. (…) As he played the piano he explained that at the beginning he was a violinist and had even performed solos in public, but after a fall, his right arm became stiff and he could no longer stretch to the length of his bow.'

More rehearsals took place, and Friday the 29th Sibelius and Stoeckel took the train for Norfolk, where they arrived in the early evening. Sibelius was surprised to see black baggage porters and admired the beauty of Grand Central Station: 'What a place for a concert, if only there could be an orchestra of two or three hundred musicians!'

In Norfolk he was lodged in the 'Old Blue Room' of the White House, which had originally been the library, and called the White House 'The Refuge of Poetry'. He clearly realised

the kind of class to which he had been invited: ‘Stoeckel is of German origin, but his wife is from an old family line of French Huguenots who had settled in the New World two hundred years ago, and their house is one of the oldest in America. They have an excellent position. The men have made their way to the top and are self-made men. But the women are the aristocrats. (…) We shall see, if with all this luxury, I can make it to the 20th or 22nd. I like these new things, but they also weigh on me, I was not brought up in this way’ (to Aino, 30 may).

There was a different ring the 1 June in a letter to Christian. He qualified the Stoeckels as people who were ‘extremely cultivated, free of affectations’, and added: ‘I am living in luxury and abundance. I am considered as a great celebrity, and it is sometimes difficult to present a correct ‘profile’. My reputation is enormous here in America, and I think that the tour of 40 or 50 concerts that has been proposed to me (and is still confidential) would be a great success. I could then pay all my debts and yours. (…) My new work, not “Rondo of the Waves”, but The Oceanides, is extraordinary. We all know my modesty! This Norfolk is a mixture of Finland and Italy, or Algeria. Pines, olives, birch, maples. Of furs, mountains and fiords. Of Blacks and Whites. Of Methodists, Quakers and Lutherans. (…) The country is enormous.’ After his return to Finland, in a letter to Stoeckel dated 8 November 1914, Sibelius qualified, he and his wife, as ‘a mixture of Sinbad the Sailor and Haroun el Rachid’.

The letter to Aino dated 30 May also mentions The Oceanides: ‘It is as though I discover myself more and more. The 4th Symph. was just a beginning. Here, there is more. Certain passages drive me mad. And what poetry!!!’ And to Carpelan, the 31st: ‘The best American critics have warmly commented my Fourth Symphony, (…) and this new work is in the same style, though it is a symphonic poem. The ocean had really inspired me. (…) Apparently I start to have the air of a “dear maestro”. A little corpulent (good living), not at all nervous, demanding, notably concerning the orchestra, and no doubt somewhat impudent. (…) I am in one of the oldest American homes. The ancestors of Mrs Stoeckel built it in the 18th century: a chateau in a very good taste, in the French style.’

During the weekend, Stoeckel showed Sibelius the surroundings in Norfolk: Salisbury, where they took tea, the Sunday the 31st Litchfield, where Sibelius asked to see the birthplace of Harriet Beecher-Stowe, which he had probably read of in Uncle Tom’s Cabin. He met the two daughters of Horatio Parker, and out of respect for his hosts, on the morning of the 31st attended religious service at the Congregationalist church in Norfolk. ‘He came back quite tired, because, he said, the preacher had spoken so quickly that he had not understood a word. He was interested by the music and spoke of the old hymns of New England.’

Monday 1 June, he attended the main rehearsal for the two choral works programmed for the festival, the oratorio Arminus

by Max Bruch and Handel's Messiah: 'He did not say much about Bruch's work, but from his remarks, I concluded that he did not have a high opinion.' Tuesday the 2nd in the morning, he rehearsed The Daughter of Pohjola and The Oceanides, two works the orchestra had never played, as well as extracts from King Christian II. The afternoon, he took a short car ride with Stoeckel.

The evening, he attended the festival's inaugural concert at the Music Shed, in his button hole he work the sign of the French Legion of Honour and was applauded by the orchestra and the singers of the Litchfield County Choral Union when he made his entry. On the programme was a choral piece by Robbins Battell, Lucifer by Henry Hadley and Arminius by Max Bruch. Wednesday the 3rd, he rehearsed Finlandia, Valse Triste and The Swan of Tuonela, works that orchestra already knew well, and was photographed in the company of Maud Powell and Henry Krehbiel. During the lunch given by to the artists, he spoke at length with Henry Hadley. The evening, he heard Handel's Messiah, conducted, as Arminius had been the day before, by Richard Park Paine, music director at the Litchfield County Choral Society. The evening ended with a diner for twenty-five persons in honour of Henry Hadley.

Thursday the 4th, the last rehearsal took place in the morning. 'The afternoon, he took a car ride with me, from which we came in plenty of time to dress for the concert. As we went to the Shed together, he told me that he felt quite nervous, but after five minutes on the stand it disappeared. The Audience,

orchestra and choir rose to welcome him. (…) He bowed three times and raised his baton for the first bars of The Daughter of Pohjola. (…) As conductor, Sibelius was both elegant and imposing. Apparently he attached no great importance to marking time 1,2,3,4, his gestures gave the impression of someone reading a poem.'

Before an audience composed of Walter Damrosch, Olin Downes, Henry Krehbiel and Maud Powell, Sibelius successively conducted the evening of the 4 June The Daughter of Pohjola, four extracts from King Christian II, The Swan of Tuonela, Finlandia, Valse Triste and the world premier of The Oceanides, which was presented under its Finnish title Aallottaret and the English title of Nymphs of the Ocean.

The orchestra was principally formed by members of the Philharmonic Society and the Metropolitan Opera of New York. 'After the last piece, (…) the entire audience stood up and shouted with enthusiasm. The calmest person was no doubt the composer himself. He bowed several times with distinction which most characterised him, and carefully posed the bouquet presented to him on his rostrum. It was the colours of Finland, the flag of which had been posed at the rostrum with that of the USA.' Sibelius left the stage and collapsed into an armchair, exhausted with tears in his eyes, in Stoeckel's box.

He then listened to the second part of concert, 'but did not show much satisfaction with the overture of Die Feen (The Fairies) by Wagner, written in the style of Rossini in his opinion. He saw more merit in the rhapsody (posthumous and

entitled From the Prairie) by Coleridge-Taylor, but considered that it was preferable not to publish it, and the Coleridge-Taylor had in all probability come to the same conclusion, because though composed in 1909, he had never had it performed. He admired Dvorak's New World Symphony, sawing that he was pleased to have heard it again. (At the end of the concert), the choir, orchestra and audience sung the Finnish national anthem (in an English version) composed by Pacius, (then The Stars Spangled Banner).

He was very moved by this second manifestation in his honour, and he took me by the hand saying: 'Finland thanks you, you and your wife. I considered the this anthem as an honour to my country of birth, not to me.' He was the first of the guests to arrive at the White House, (where a diner was given in his honour). He was followed by Mr and Mrs Walter Damrosch of New York.'

The most important meeting for Sibelius in the USA was that with his supporter Olin Downes. It only went to increase Downes enthusiasm for Sibelius, and to whom Stoeckel, the 27 April, had announced the imminent arrival of the composer of Finlandia. In the Boston Post dated 7 June, Downes said the he had been in the presence of genius on just three occasions: in 1904 when Richard Strauss had conducted his own works in Philadelphia and Boston, in 1910 when Toscanini had conducted Tristan in Boston, and very recently in Norfolk. Concerning The Oceanides, he noted in this 'description' of the sea, Sibelius had better evoked Debussy than Handel,

Mendelssohn, Weber or Rimsky-Korsakov, adding: ‘Sibelius gives form and melodic interest to a work preoccupied essentially by colours and harmonies. (…) An Impressionist par excellence, he works less with lines and coordination of sound blocks than free sonorities reflecting natural phenomena. He remains closer than Debussy to the limits of tonality, and offers in the same style an infinite and eternal force.’

Another article of Downes appeared in Musical America dated 13 June, entitled Creative Genius in Music Honoured in Norfolk providing an interesting portrait: ‘He is not exceptionally tall, but his corpulence is considerable and his breadth immense, which in a person less well proportioned could betray the heaviness of the Nordic physic. On the contrary! I have seen few men whose face reflects to such a degree impulsions and sensations, in spite of a heavy jaw and rather large features.

His manner is impulsive, and he speaks very quickly. The experience of being bombarded by an interviewer with questions in French to a man speaking this language haltingly, abruptly, energetically, and in general ending before completing them, is easier to imagine than to describe.’ Downes saw in Sibelius a composer and conductor the living illustration of a paradox according to which the best style is not to have one.

He told his readers that the composer had attacked The Oceanides in the most ethereal pianissimo then rising from summit to summit, and that ‘after the crash of the great wave’,

he had built up to a final summit, almost twice as powerful and impossible to forget, though in the coda he almost reached the limits of silence.

Sibelius was able to read this article and that of the Boston Post before his departure, and was certainly pleased and flattered. The following phase of the Downes crusade in his favour came some months later. The 14 November 1914, Karl Muck gave a new performance of the Fourth in Boston, and the Boston Post reported: ‘No Frenchman, whether he is precious or ultra-modernist, has stepped aside to such a point of what is evident and foreseeable, and in spite of that this symphony is just as direct, just as intransigent, as ineluctable as all that has been produced up to now of that that which is representative of a man whose creations are always distinguished by their simplicity and their elementary force.’

Friday 5 June, the day after his performance, Sibelius gave Carpelan his impressions: ‘Splendid orchestra!! Outclasses all that we can hear in Europe. The blending in of the woodwinds is such that it is necessary to put your hand to your ear to hear them in ppp, even the English horn and the bass clarinet are there. The basses sing.’ He used Newport for several days as his base. Saturday the 6th, after the festivals last concert, Stoeckel brought him to Pittsfield, where he saw an Indian presentation and listened to a black trombonist who fascinated him and whom he called der Posaunist.

He spent Sunday the 7th in New York, where he could read in the New York Tribune of the same date an article written by

Henry Krehbiel very naturally concerning The Oceanides, Aeschylus and his Prometheus Bound: to the laments and cries of Prometheus nailed to his rock in this tragedy, speaking to the three thousand Oceanides, ocean nymphs, the children of Oceanus and his wife Tethys. In the same article, Krehbiel affirmed that Siblius, ‘nationalist in art matters’, gave a vision of his country comparable to those given by Tchaikovsky of Russia, Dvorak of Bohemia, Saint-Saëns (sic) of France, Elgar of England and Richard Strauss of Germany.

Sibelius almost surely did not appreciate these comparisons, and it was no doubt in order to put things straight that when a journalist asked him what he thought of his contemporaries he replied: ‘There is a composer that I very much admire, Arnold Schönberg, which does not prevent me from also having quite a high opinion of my own compositions’. At that time, expressing himself in this way on Schönberg was not so evident.

Monday 8 June, Sibelius went to Boston, where Stoeckel had planned a grand diner for the composers George Chadwick of the New England Conservatory, Henry Hadley, future composer of the symphonic poem The Ocean and Charles Martin Loeffler. The guests also included the choir master Richard Paine and the critics, Philipp Hale of the Boston Herald, and Luis Elson. ‘He did not monopolise nor direct the conversation, but was content to reply to the suggestions and questions of the others.’ Tuesday the 9th, Chadwick invited him to visit his Conservatory, where he heard several student

pianists working on his romance in D-flat major opus N°9 of 1899 and listened with attention to a young violinist practicing his scales. The evening, Stoeckel returned to Norfolk with Sibelius. Without any doubt Sibelius found this life of luxury to his taste: ‘I travel only in automobiles. I enjoy it very much. For once, I have enough domestics. Blacks, Whites and servants of all colours’ (to Christian, 10 June).

Friday the 12th, Stoeckel gave a banquet in Norfolk for two hundred and fifty guests attended by two hundred servants from New York. The guest of honour was the former President of the United States, William Howard Taft, who had been succeeded the previous year by a man who events were soon to project onto the international scene: Woodrow Wilson.

Sibelius discussed the political situation in Finland with Taft, and noted with pleasure that he was well informed. Saturday the 13th, he left in the company of Stoeckel for Albany and Syracuse, reaching Rochester the next day, then Buffalo, and finally the Niagara Falls, where he stayed twenty four hours, both on the American and Canadian sides.

‘The majesty of the place and the quantity of water went way beyond what Sibelius had expected. He contemplated this grandiose spectacle with the expression of a man profoundly taken by religious emotions. He evidently did not want to be spoken to, but a few hours after, the evening, he declared: ‘Of all that I have felt up to here, this grand spectacle is that which is nearest to true religion, music being that which comes just after it.’ (…)

During this excursion, Sibelius remained plunged in his thoughts, and I understood that he had that he had no wish to enter into conversation, for which he thanked me later, saying that he had tried to impregnate himself with this immense natural phenomena so as to represent it in a musical composition, before adding: ‘I must forget it. It is too solemn and too vast to be represented by any mere human creature.’

We went to a photographer, where he bought a few pictures of the Falls. He criticised most of them because you can see people and buildings. He said the objects of nature such as that should be taken entirely for themselves, however difficult it could to grasp. Sibelius and Stoeckel then returned to New York where they arrived in the evening of Monday the 15th.

Tuesday the 16th, they took the train for Newhaven, then proceeded on to Yale, where they were preparing for the ceremony that was to take place the following day. They found the time to visit the Peabody Museum and its collection of fossils. The 17th, to the sound of Finlandia, a procession led by Horatio Parker including Sibelius with a hat in the form of a beret, draped in a blue silk embroidered robe bearing the sign of the French Legion of Honour, made his entry into the Woolsey Hall.

During the ceremony, Valse Triste was played, and the orator saluted its composer who had been able to treat the legends of his country as Wagner had those of the Teutonic world: ‘He has

translated the Kalevala into the international language of music.' Sibelius received his diploma from the hands of Arthur Twining Hadley, specialist in political economics at Yale from 1899 to 1921.

The first to congratulate him was former President Taft: at least this is what he told Ekman twenty years later. Seated beside Parker during the banquet that followed, he whispered into his ear: 'I was concerned by this doctorate, and worried so much about making a faux pas that I had forgotten to take my breakfast.' Just before his departure for New York, Parker made him a gift of the score of his opera Mona.

That evening, Sibelius was Stoeckel's host at Delmonico's, where once again he ordered caviar. Later, the 11 January 1915, Stoeckel wrote to Sibelius that the maître d'hôtel of Delmonico's remembered him as a patron who knew his caviar.

Thursday the morning of the 18 June, the composer embarked aboard the President Grant, where Stoeckel had reserved for him an officer's cabin. This departure was precipitated by the fact that the 4 July, he was to conduct a concert at the Baltic Festival at Malmo. No doubt thinking of the Titanic that had sunk two years before, Sibelius wrote to Carpelan a few hours previously: 'If something should happen, tell Aino that to the end I had behaved like a man whom she could be proud of.'

The crossing, during which Sibelius sent a telegram of thanks to Stoeckel, lasted twelve days. It was just before their arrival

in Hamburg that the passengers of the President Grant learnt of the assassination in Sarajevo, Sunday 28 June. From Malmo, Sibelius went to Copenhagen, where he arrived the 2 July and where Aino awaited him with their daughter Ruth.

In an interview that appeared in the Danish newspaper Politiken of the 4 July, he said: ‘I have experienced more things in six weeks than I would have normally in several years. I was really stupefied to discover in the New World such a developed musical culture. I had believed that American musical life was limited to Boston and Ragtime. (…) If everything goes well, I should envisage crossing the Atlantic again. I solemnly promised to return there and to give (next year) a series of public concerts.’

* * *

Contrary to Dvorak with his New World Symphony, or Delius with Appalachia, Sibelius, whose sole visit to the USA was of a short duration, wrote no work inspired in any way by America. He could have dedicated The Oceanides to any other country.

The work, as has been seen, was conceived in three phases. Helsinki University has an incomplete original manuscript in three movements, like Debussy’s La Mer (1905), bearing in Swedish, by the hand of the composer, the notation ‘Fragment of a Suit for orchestra 1914/Predecessor of The Oceanides’. Consisting of only two movements, of more or less fragmentary but playable sketches, that continue without break.

It is a version made in Berlin in January-February 1914, which from the thematic point of view has nothing to do with the future Oceanides.

On the other hand it contains a motif drawn from a piece for piano dated from 1913, Till trånaden, and rather resembles to certain pieces of the composer’s stage music. The Allegro on the other hand contains, under a certain more basic form, several ideas later used in The Oceanides.

The intermediary version, called the ‘Yale’ version, is in a single movement, more richly orchestrated than the previous, this was completed in Ainola the 30 March 1914, and sent the 3 April, as a score in three separate parts, to Horatio Parker, who then transmitted it to Stoeckel. Just after Sibelius’ departure from America, Stoeckel loaned it to Yale University where it remains today.

The Sibelius Museum in Turku also has a copy of this original manuscript with a text of Stoeckel dated 8 July 1914: ‘This is the original score of Aallottaret. It was sent with the orchestral arrangements by Sibelius from Finland about two months before his arrival in May 1914. From this music, Sibelius wrote a note announcing that he had greatly modified the score and that he would bring the revised work with him. As a result this score was never used, and was given to me by the composer on his departure for Europe in June 1914. Neither the score nor the orchestral arrangements should be used or printed in any circumstances whatsoever, because they are my personal property.’

The ‘Yale’ version was heard for the first time in Lahti the 24 October 2002. Perhaps it was never considered ‘final’ by Sibelius himself. Several ideas for the Allegro were then worked on and extended; amongst those was a delicate final fanfare that is not found in the final version. Others were added, they are also absent from the final version: effects of waves by the woodwinds and strings, a melodic motif reused in the piano piece The Birch completed 7 October 1914. Ideas common to the three versions are given each time in different orders, the closest in this sense are the first and second, and not always on the same instruments.

The ‘Yale’ version is the only one of the three that could be qualified as impressionist. Clearly more ‘Debussy like’ than the final version, from which it does not have the elemental power, it remains however extremely interesting. The ideas taken up in the ‘famous’ third version appear in general under another form and above all in another order, at the point where they are least expected, which reveals itself as the most fascinating.

The third version, the only one published, was completed by Sibelius in April-May 1914, revised a little after his arrival in the USA and premiered under his direction in Norfolk the 4 June 1914. It is a fundamental re-composition of the Yale version. The ideas going back to the Helsinki manuscript still exist in it, and very subtly combined together. The orchestration is essentially the same as that of the Yale version. Dedicated to the Stoeckel couple, this final version was sent by Sibelius the 14 July 1914 to Breitkopf & Härtel, where, after a

slight and final revision it was published in 1915 under the title Die Okeaniden. Its Finnish title is Aallottaret (The Daughters of the Waves). This time it is a ‘symphonist’ version, and the supreme mastery of Sibelius can only be admired by the way he put into the order a material which had been previously treated in a fascinating but somewhat anarchistic fashion.

Sibelius never surpassed the alchemy and the sonorific seduction of The Oceanides. No other of his great works insisted on the same degree of ‘purity of sound’. Sibelius’ constant play of sonorities, especially in his later works, is particularly exhilarating in this piece. The Oceanides has been spoken of in terms of Expressionism and Symbolism, but only the later is really suitable.

Like with Debussy, the Sibelius’ structure of sonorities if often organised, and particularly in The Oceanides, by superimposed layers that wind and weave independently of each other, without duplicating each other and with, at each level, constant changes of intensity especially generators of interlink blends forerunners of the music of the end of the 20th century. ‘The temporal development is effected by Sibelius through a superposition of almost geological strata where the colour of the orchestra plays a determining role in the characterisation of each strata’, observed Hugues Dufourt.

In The Oceanides, Sibelius more than ever turns away from the rhetoric inherited from the 19th century. In this sense the work goes much further the Debussy’s La Mer, ‘the greatest symphony ever composed by a French composer’. Above at the

beginning, from the thematic point of view a certain alternation can be detected, perhaps explaining the title that had been envisaged of 'The Rondo of the Waves'.

The thematic elements are not however dramatically opposed to each other, in striking contrasts, but transform and succeed each other smoothly, which is important in the 'organic progression' of the discourse, in its fascinating fluidity. The same goes for the absence of accents in the storm, the asymmetry of motifs and phrases, which are often by an interlocked technique of tiling, superimposed layers moving at different speeds and pulsations at the same time mixing immobility and dynamism, and the absence of modulation in its traditional sense, replaced by subtle modifications of colour.

The musical tissue of The Oceanides remains a marvel of transparency. The sea does not exercise an evil force. Stefan Jarocinski writes that in Debussy's Dialogue du vent et de la mer, 'the terrible sound of the hurricane seems to announce death and destruction'. Man is effectively is the prey of unchained, hostile, elements. There is nothing of the kind in The Oceanides, even in its 'storm'. Nature manifests itself with an elementary power, but without threatening anyone, the universe of The Oceanides being a non-inhabited universe.

Contrary to La Mer and to the third movement of the Fourth Symphony, the work contains no evidence of a personal confession. It is in Tapiola that the destructive aspect of La Mer in found in Sibelius. The euphoric universe of The Oceanides is not supernatural. The 'Nymphs of the waves' do not lure into

their nets, they have none, and no sailor is lost. Contrary to the 'Wood Nymphs' of opus 15, to the 'Lorlei Hexe' in Schumann's leid based on Eichendorf's Waldgespräch, and the spirits of the forest in Sibelius' future Tapiola, they do not hurt or destroy any human existence. After the storm, there are no more Oceanides. Only the ocean itself remains, in its immobility and its immutability.

CHAPTER 14

1914

THE FIRST WORLD WAR HAD a limited signification for Finland at the beginning. No one could have suspected that in a little less than three years it would lead to the country's independence. Certain were embarrassed to see France and England, liberal powers, allied with Russia, but at the same time feared an attack by Germany against Saint Petersburg by the 'back door' passing through Finland. It has been seen that by prudence Russia had since ten years renounced incorporating the men of the Grand Duchy into its army.

In 1914 there was no mobilisation in Finland, but Russia reinforced its garrisons and in particular at the most strategic points. Most of the career officers, including General Mannerheim, fought for the Czar, but rare were their compatriots who volunteered for the Russian Army, above all doctors and ambulance personnel. Amongst those who hoped for decisive changes for their countries from the conflict many naturally turned towards Germany. From 1914 a camp was set up in Holstein, where from 1915 approximately two thousand young Finns, the majority being students who found themselves in Germany or Denmark at the start of the conflict, were given military training by Prussian instructors. Future

core of Mannerheim's 'White Army' during the civil war of 1918, their contingent—increased by elements who had joined them by passing through neutral Sweden—were finally put into action of the Eastern Front until 1917, as the 27th Prussian Jäger Battalion.

Amongst those who engaged in the Jägers was the composer and orchestra conductor Samuli Sihvo: he composed a march entitled Muistoja Pohjolasta (Memories of the North) in their training camp at Lockstedt. Sibelius—who in October 1917 also composed for the Jägers—was personally informed of the existence of this movement from February 1915, when he met one of their organisers in Ainola the Doctor Valter Osvald Siven, a specialist in nervous disease.

Finnish public opinion was very varied. The pro-Russians were not necessarily anti-German and the anti-Germans not anti-Russian and vice versa. By violating Belgian neutrality, the Germans alienated many liberal Finns. The attitude of the Anglophiles and Francophiles was not at all the same vis-à-vis the Russia and the links with this Empire remained numerous and close, both from the economic and cultural point of view. The war even reinforced certain links: with the impossibility of travelling to Vienna or Berlin, Moscow for example became the destination of the young generation of composers who wished to continue their studies, as well as future 'modernists' of the 1920s—such as Aare Merikano or Väinio Rautio.

The defeats of the Russians in Eastern Prussia did not fail to strike Finnish spirits. In November 1914, the Czarist regime was in addition ill-advised enough to announce new measures of Russification: customs and monetary union, educational conformity and so forth. No one in Saint Petersburg openly envisaged the abolition of Finnish nationality, and people started to ask themselves whether one day young Finns in the Grand Duchy would bear arms for Russia.

Sibelius continued to note his reactions in his diary. How would that affect me? My family needs money and my children too. My German editor can send me nothing because of the war. How will I manage? (…) They say that German ships are heading for our coast. And us here in Finland? Are we going to become spineless by absence of leadership? Effeminate as we

are! I would rather be like the Swedes. But our Finns?' (30 July). In H(elsing)fors: waiting.

The sound of boots in the air. Impossible to negotiate a loan. Refusals everywhere! Strange. As if I was out of action. ' (31 July). Sent a telegram to Breitkopf & Härtel. Have they received it? Climb down and contact M.M. (a patron). The new symphony starts to take form! Why am I always disturbed and never able to do what my heart was made for? (…) Marvellous letter from Axel! He is unique! But he ignores to what point my financial worries have reached (almost 90,000 of debts)' (1 August). 'Am I creating something new. A symphony? We'll see' (2 August).

As an integral part of the Russian Empire, Finland was official in war against the central empires (German and Austro-Hungarian), it did not prevent Carpelan, by his hate of Russia, to hard-line support for them: 'What has happened is awful, the violation by Italy of its obligations as an ally itself and the ignoble crime perpetrated by England against culture. The land of Luther, Kant, Goethe and Beethoven under the Muscovite yoke. Russia is the aggressor. (…) God save Germany' (to Sibelius, 7 August).

Sibelius, watched Russian troops marching past from the window at Ainola, was less interested in politics than Gallen-Kallela, Bertel Gripenberg or Werner Söderhjelm. Contrary to Carpelan, he had no 'home baked strategy'. Having travelled to several countries, he had no hate for any of them: neither for Russia, he had visited three times, where his sister-in-law had

family relations and where his eldest daughter and his son-in-law were soon to move for a time; nor Germany, where he had studied, where he had his publisher, with whom he had complex relations but deep down he considered always as 'the land of music'; nor France and England, to which like most of the Finnish elite he felt close.

* * *

In November he received a letter from Rosa Newmarch dated the 14th: 'I am not going to write to you about this so necessary cruel war! I think that you and I have had the same opinions on the so-called 'Kultur' of Berlin. I will simply tell you that here we are calm and determined.' The 28 November Sibelius replied simply in French: 'Souvent, très souvent, je pense à vous, Madame, dont le Coeur patriotique doit battre plus chaleureusement en ce temps.' He felt more than others the irremediable destructive nature of the forces that had been unleashed: 'I fear that what is in the air cannot be resolved by the war alone. The misfortunes of humanity are at a deeper level.'

This foresight and objective viewpoint were not universally shared by the musicians. Eighteen years younger than Sibelius, Anton Webern had a narrower conception of Europe and the world, and contrary to him did not understand that they were confronted with a crisis of civilizations. The 8 September 1914, he wrote to his 'master' Arnold Schönberg with a mixture of blindness, naivety and messianic vision. That characterised him

in both music and politics: ‘It’s can’t wait any longer to be called up. Day and night this desire haunts me: to be able to fight for this great, this sublime cause. Do you think like me that this war has no political motivation? It is a battle between angels and demons. Everything that we have discovered these last weeks about the enemy nations shows only one thing: their lies and their trickeries. (…) In contrast, the positions taken by our nations are honourable. Death to these devils. God is already looking after that. This victorious march of Germany to Paris. Glory, glory to this people! (…) Catholic France!

‘They have risen up like cannibals against the Germans and Austrians. (…) And the most ridiculous of all, these English! They who up to now have done nothing but make intrigues, once the battle starts they will run so fast that the cavalry won’t be able to catch them. Perhaps at the moment I write, the Germans are already in Paris. And the Russians, they too, will soon be thrown back. (…) Ah, everything will finish well. (…) If only I could take part in it. It would be with joy.’

In a later letter to his wife Helene (31 December 1914, Alban Berg appears more realistic: ‘(The war) terrifies me more than ever, now I have understood that it will be long. (…) The greatest surprise of this war will be rifles, they will make a frivolous generation understand the total vacuum in which they have lived.’

Schönberg spent the first tow months of the war in Berlin, where he had moved to for the second time in 1911. The 5 October he wrote to Berg:

'It is absolutely that Nedbal presents French, Russian and English music. We should protest. Do it!' And the 25th of the same month, his brother-in-law Alexander von Zemlinsky, then in Prague: 'I too am slowly preparing myself to be called up. (…) Here (in Berlin), I have practically no more contacts with anybody. More than ever my colleagues ignore me. They organise patriotic evenings in C major and 'still know no parties'. What do you think of Maeterlinck? I think him a bit superfluous, this mark of dilettantism and thus banality, the chatter of the pretended spiritual guides of the people.

'Now it is necessary to speak only by arms, and he who can't should hide himself in a corner so that we can forget him. However, it seems that certain gentlemen need, in order to get back on the right keel, to give a helping hand to their fading popularity, and many can't bear the absence of all society columns in the press. As for myself, the chatter of artists means nothing.

'But naturally, Mister Leoncavallo couldn't help opening his mouth. This individual, to whom in peace time rubbish was a crime against culture, and had himself treated old fashioned specimens as uncivilised gothic junk, was reserved about showing what kind of people Mister Hodler and company are. They will get the comeuppance when the time comes.'

Richard Strauss appreciated neither military pomp nor the noisy manifestations of patriotism, thought however demonstrating a sharp political conscious. Skeptical, even cynical, he judged events relative to their repercussions on

himself, this explains the letter he wrote to Gerty von Hofmannsthal, dated 31 July 1914, wife of his librettist, concerned before anything else about having the work on his new opera interrupted:

‘I received from Hugo in Vienna, a farewell card that naturally plunged me into a state of the most profound anxiety. Where had Hugo sent it from? Will he be transferred into an active regiment or will he remain with the reservists, far from action? They should really leave poets at home, there is an abundance of canon fodder. (…) I am still convinced there will be no world war, the squabble with Serbia will soon be over and I’ll still receive Act III of my Frau ohne Schatten (Woman without Shadow). What the devil do these dammed Serbs matter!’

Two days later however, he noted in his diary: ‘War and victory! Long live Germany! They won’t force us back!’ In a letter to Gerty the 22 August it was the same tune: ‘You realise that this country (Germany) and its people are just at the beginning of a great expansion, that they should absolutely obtain, and will obtain, hegemony over Europe.’ Six months later, from Berlin, he addressed a letter to Hugo von Hofmannsthal himself in still different terms: ‘My sister’s domestic wrote to her from the front: ‘Madame, Now I’ve had enough! The same goes for me: but who can see an end to it? We will never see the Louvre again, never again the National Gallery? And Italy?’.

New ambiguities appeared in a letter from Richard to Hugo (February 1915). It condemned the 'mediocre talents (who, treat) real artists as empty aesthetes and poor patriots, forgetting that if I had composed "Heldlenben", "Bardengesang", fighting and military songs, I am maintain a dignified silence in the face of these great events, whilst they, taking advantage of the "predicament", produce under the cover of patriotism inventions of extreme dilettantism.

'It is repugnant to read what is written in the newspapers on the regeneration of German art, whilst twenty years ago they reproached the most German of all artists, Richard Wagner, his "Romanesque ardours", and also on Young Germany, supposed to be purified and transfigured by this "magnificent" war, whilst our poor devils could only estimate themselves happy the day they are rid of their lice, their bugs and healed of their infections, without in addition taking into account purging them of their routine familiarity with death.' Strauss nevertheless added: 'As to the war itself, we have, I believe, every reason to envisage the future with satisfaction. An extraordinary confidence reigns in our navy, we will soon be finished with the Russians, and they say that moral in England is already at the lowest level.'

Very few great composers considered themselves, like the writer Romain Rolland "above the fray". It was not the case of Debussy:

'I am not going to write to you about German barbarianism. It has gone beyond all the hopes we could have had. It has even

suited them not to separate the brute from the intellectual – what touching unanimity! (…) I believe the right not to like the art of Richard Strauss and Schönberg will cost us dearly' (September 1914, to his former student the rich amateur Nicolas Coriono).

Neither Saint-Saëns nor Vincent d'Indy, who in a letter sated 10 October 1914 to his disciple Joseph Canteloube, declared of the Germans that he hoped 'this filthy race of liars, burglars and destroyers of art works be wiped out—they even destroy their own, in music!' This was on the contrary, to a certain extent, the case of Ravel and Bartok, and absolutely that of Busoni.

The 20 August 1914, Ravel wrote from Saint-Jean-de-Luz to his friend Cipa Godebski: 'And now if you like: Vive La France! But above all: down with Germany and Austria! Or at least what these two nations represent at the present time. And with all my heart: Vive the International and Peace! (…) And why not Vive Poland!'

He does not use the word 'Bosch', at least at this time, and the 7 June 1916, in even more reasonable terms, he was to address the recently founded Committee of the National League for the Defence of French Music: 'I don't believe it is necessary in order "to safeguard our national artistic heritage", it is necessary to "publicly perform contemporary German and Austrian works in France not yet in the public domain." It is of little importance to me that Schönberg, for example, is of Austrian nationality. He is not less a musician of great value.'

Far from making the bellicose ardour of certain of his compatriots his own, Bartok was disheartened to see Hungary engaged alongside the Austrians, whom he detested, against France and England, which he loved. Deploring at the same time the interruption of his research in folklore, he was concerned by the difficulties the peasant classes had to support as a result of the war, the 20 May he wrote to the Professor Ion Busitia, who had helped him in his research in Romanian folklore: 'It is with regret that I have waited so long to reply to your beautiful letter of January. The reason was my depression caused by the war, which alternates with a certain indifference. (…) It's all the same to me, as long as we stay friends with Romania. A devastation of my dear Transylvania would be terrible for me, moreover it would seriously reduce my chances to finish or continue my great task. I can't expect anything good from such an attitude, the future is very dark!'

Busoni, one of the rare personalities living in Germany kept a cool head, seeing the war as a 'real tragedy'. Meeting his friend Sibelius again, he noted in his diary the 2 October 1914: 'I was used to saying that after all, there are civilizations in the process of being born, or in the process of dying. Only the tiny portion of land between London and Rome, Paris and Moscow, could boast of a flourishing civilization, living, ripe and still young (is that what I usually say!). Now I could say that this way of seeing things was one of the errors of my life. The speed with which all the men between London and Rome, Paris and Moscow, have collapsed into primitive bestiality shows

that the civilisation that was credited to them was a gross illusion.'

In Germany, Sibelius was henceforth considered as an enemy subject, which was even worse was that the Germans also saw him as a nationalist. Certain circles in the Reich hope for nothing less than an anti-Russian revolt in Finland, followed by —why not?—a fraternity of arms between Helsinki and Berlin. In April 1915, Breitkopf & Härtel were brought to publishing the Song of the Athenians with German words in a collection called Deutsche Kriegs und Soldaten Lieder (German Wars and Soldier Songs), and presented the work as the national hymn of enslaved Finland! Certain examples were especially used for propaganda for neutral Scandinavia; the Skandanavisk Musikforlag (Scandinavian Musical Publications) in Copenhagen took charge of the distribution.

During the whole of the war Breitkopf & Härtel continued to promote as well as it could the music of Sibelius. In its January 1916 news bulletin, the publisher defined Sibelius, on his fiftieth birthday, as a master of the art of sound having untiringly marched along his own road, without however, avoiding certain obscure paths where it was not always immediately clear where they led, but which with perseverance, opened on his rich and profound universe creator of vast perspectives'.

In addition this news bulletin talked at length of a 'war time' article that had just appeared in the Berlin musical review Signale: 'How the years go by!' The 8 December, Sibelius has

completed his half century. (…) Given that originality is a virtue that is more and more rare, and that Jean Sibelius is indisputably original, he should be played more often in Germany. Hoping that no one will object (…) that he is a foreigner. First of all politics have nothing to do with art, then everything indicates that the Finns have no desire to be Russians, but would like to become independent. From the political point of view, it is therefore without the least regret that we could give a larger place to the fifty year old in concert programs in Germany.'

In Russia, no one doubted the loyalty of the Finns. In Russia and in England, the fact that the principal works of Sibelius were edited by a German publisher practically cut him off. Fortunately, the London offices of Breitkopf & Härtel were managed by the Swiss, Otto Kling, who continued to promote the popular works such as Valse Triste and Finlandia for the duration of the war.

Sibelius was more affected by the repercussions of this situation that was globally unfavourable to Russia (and consequently Finland) who had not signed the Berne convention governing authors rights, the rare performances of his works in Europe earned him practically nothing. While before the war, Lienau together with Breitkopf & Härtel had practically assured him of a regular income, this source of revenue now threatened to completely dry up.

The meagre rights from Breitkopf & Härtel however continued to arrive by the intermediary of Skandinavisk

Musikforlag. He turned towards two Helsinki publishers, Lindgren and Westerlund, then to Hansen in Copenhagen (who had commissioned Scaramouche), and supplied them in the following period with several stop-gap pieces for piano or violin and piano – composed with the sole objected of earning a living. Neither Lindgren nor Westerlund imagined asking him for anything more! Hansen was imply interested by short piano pieces and melodies.

This work involved a great loss of time with exhausting negotiations. 'This genre—miniature for piano—is one of those I must develop. Perhaps also for violin and piano. I suppose that with them and more melodies I could manage financially. My most important debts will be settled in another manner (diary, 1 October 1914). He started with the piano pieces of the future opus 75, first six then reduced to five pieces. They were amongst his best and each bore the name of a tree1.

From August to the beginning of November, he wrote not less than sixteen pieces of this kind. There was no more question of overseas tours. That foreseen in the USA in 1915, with which Sibelius had hoped to settle his debts and those of his brother Christian, did evidently not take place. Between July 1914 and June 1915 he left Finland only once: in March 1915 he went to Gothenberg, as in 1911 at the invitation of Wilhelm Stenhammar. In a way he found himself 'relegated to the periphery'.

Commissions were not lacking, but none gave him any enthusiasm. The men's choir Muntra Musikanter had requested a piece to enrich its repertory. In London, the dancer Maggie Gripenberg had revived the idea, which had emerged five years earlier, of a ballet on The Ritual of Killing Bears, an adaptation by Juhani Aho of various episodes of the Kalevala. And Aino Ackte still waited for the opera Juha.

As to the ballet Sibelius asked Carpelan for his opinion: 'And —my work!! I have the impression I'm surrendering tied hands and feet. They propose a ballet, and I could succeed in it. But – what do you think? I can't become a Vielschrieber (a prolific composer). That would be the end of my reputation and of my art. The only issue—that's how I see it—is to retract. Is it not? I absolutely need your opinion. Without doubt I'm too much of a hypochondriac. But why spoil a theme that is brilliantly suit to a symphonic work for a few dance steps—No! No!' (27 July 1914).

The Baron replied immediately: 'I strongly advise you to listen to those inner demons and refuse any commission whether it comes from the right, left or centre. Obey your genius, and hold firm to the symphonic path (orchestra or chamber music). It is your field. The present times, in my opinion are not made for opera (the ballet). But composing a (dance) 'step' accompanied by canons would be quite amusing' (30 July).

It was exactly what Sibelius wanted to hear: 'A wonderful letter and full of understanding from Axel! It is unique! But he

has no idea of the terrible worries caused by my financial obligations (almost 90,000 in debt)' (diary, 1 August). The 7th, returning to the subject, Carpelan advised him to hide himself in the wilds, 'without newspapers or sources of worry. (…) Listen to you inner voices, and pretend that you are no longer part of this world of anguish and suffering'. Advise that this time was impossible to follow: always alert for the latest news from Finland and abroad, Sibelius was too used to the world and its convulsions to be able to escape it!

Tawaststjerna recounts that from the end of 1914, near to his 49th birthday, when a new and difficult creative period commenced, Sibelius was on the contrary 'more and more attentive to his external appearances. Faced with the impossibility of ordering his suits and shirts in Paris, he addressed himself to the smartest tailor in Helsinki. His handmade shoes were of the most extreme elegance. He consumed incredible quantities of water for his daily ablutions —in spite of a lack of running water at Ainola, like almost every where else at that time—and spent hours in the sauna, at the same time frightened of catching cold when he came out.

His daughters remembered the discrete smell of perfume that enveloped his person when he appeared after having shaved. He became just as meticulous at the table. He could not support the least stain on the table cloth or the napkins. If he detected the least kitchen odour on a napkin that had just been ironed or starched, or on the handle of a bowl, it would be immediately sent to the kitchen.'

* * *

For the moment Sibelius sent nothing to Muntra Musikanter. In October Aino Ackte learnt that she should no longer count on Juha, and the 8 November, Sibelius regretfully returned the libretto Ritual for the Killing of the Bear to Juhani Aho. For him the Fifth Symphony was the most essential, or rather the Fifth and Sixth, because the sketches of that time clearly show that he had clearly undertaken no one symphony, but two. At least these sketches contained thematic elements that were to end up in the Fifth and in the Sixth, even in the Seventh and Tapiola.

The Fifth was not heard (in its finally form) until 1919, and the Sixth was finally heard in 1923. During these nine years, no other major work was produced. They were some good successes, amongst which were the Sonatine for violin and piano in E-major, the six Humoresques for violin and orchestra, the stage music for Jedermann by Hugo von Hofmannsthal opus 83 and several melodies, but nothing comparable to the Bard, Luonnotar and The Oceanides.

Like Richard Strauss's opera The Woman Without a Shadow, the birth of the Fifth Symphony in E-flat major took place during the whole period of World War I, and even went beyond it. The work on the symphony started at the beginning of the autumn of 1914. The State Archives in Helsinki contain musical sketch books of forty pages with an abundance of thematic sketches that in their great majority are associated

with Fifth, but also the Sixth, the Sonatine for piano and violin and a non-identified opera project. The thirty-seven first pages correspond to the period from August 1914 to June 1915, the last three to the summer of 1916.

In June 1915, Sibelius was still far from the version of the Fifth heard the following December, and even further that that of 1919. His diary witnesses the great efforts he put into it. "Worked on piano pieces. Symp. V progressing. Marvellous day' (17 September 1914). "Yesterday worked on the Symph, based on inspiration, nothing to do with the 'bourgeois' method'. I am often lost in this din' (19 September). The 22 September in a letter to Carpelan: 'Again I am in profound chasm. But I start to glimpse the summits that one day I will reach. Strange! Those against militarism let the military if the people exist or not.'

Caught up in the tasks necessary to earn his daily bread, Sibelius was obliged to a certain degree to put aside the Fifth Symphony. At the beginning of November 1914, he sent to Westerlund three pieces for piano for the sum of 700 marks each. Fifteen days previously, he had received 1,000 marks from this publisher and 600 marks from Lindgren for various pieces of work he had already sent.

He nevertheless had the impression that he was losing his time with such work. 'A marvellous day. Sunshine. A walk with Aino. New projects' (Diary, 2 December 1914). 'Caught a cold. Aino in Helsinki. (…) Once again money. Obliged to write small pieces. When will I be able to pursue my great

projects? Probably when I am dead' (3 December). 'Cold, grey, miserable day. Spoke on telephone with my publisher, which has put me in a hellish mood. What are we going to do? (…) The worse is that the publishers can publish nothings! The war!!!' (5 December). 'Worked on the new piece. Still completely in the clouds' (15 December). 'Worked on Fantasia I' (16 December). 'My small pieces for different publishers have exhausted me. What can I do? Really worried now about by artistic future. No end in view to the slush I have had to work on since the start of the war' (12 January 1915).

The 'new piece' mentioned the 2 and 15 December 1914 and identified as 'Fantasia I' was the future Sixth Symphony. At the beginning of 1915, Sibelius in addition envisaged a finale for the Sixth in doted with a pleasant theme which, transposed in E-major, finally became the main idea for the last movement of the Sonatine for violin and piano opus 80. In additions, in March or April, certain sketches of the Sixth were preceded with the mention 'Concerto for violin II/Concerto lirico'.

No doubt he wondered if the material he was working on was better adapted for a concerto than a symphony. As a result, at the beginning of April he offered Breitkopf & Härtel a new concerto for violin: 'But before embarking on such a project, I would like to know if in the case of acceptation of the work you will agree to pay me 5,000 reichmarks for an edition of 10,000 copies'. Breitkopf & Härtel's reply was evasive but courteous ('We would like to see the work, then we can discuss fees'), Sibelius finished by abandoning the idea of a second

concerto. It should be noted that the Concerto for piano N°1 in D-minor was undertaken in the form of a symphony, and inversely, the eighth Symphony of Beethoven had at the outset the form of a Concerto for piano N°6 in F-major.

'These are my best years,' noted Sibelius in his diary at the beginning of 1915, when he had two symphonies in progress. His relations with the outside world, including Breitkopf & Härtel, were not totally interrupted, but he still did not know what attitude to adopt.

The 1 January, Glaznounov arrived in Helsinki, and there on the 18th he conducted a concert of his works, with in particular his stage music for The King of the Jews opus 95, at which Sibelius was not present, but mentioned the same day in his diary: 'Marvellous day. Sun. Went out to walk. Very receptive. Worked on a new theme – all'antiqua. (…) This evening Glazunov's concert in Helsinki.' Four days previously, he saw 'Glazunov and Kajanus over a bottle of Champagne' at Kämp's' (Diary, 14 January), he felt excluded. Glazunov was in effect very much closer to Kajanus than Sibelius.

The 10 August, Glazunov's birthday, the author of Kullervo nevertheless made this commentary in the form a homage: 'Before this friend of Finland, I take my hat off!' His love of Finland, a country that he often visited, which Glazunov had shown by his Finnish Fantasy opus 88 of 1909, premiered the 7 November 1910 in Helsinki under his own direction, with on the same programme his symphony in F-major N°7, and his two Finnish Sketches, dedicated to Kajanus. In July 1909,

concerning his own opus 88, Glazunov had written in a sarcastic tone to Maximilian Steinberg, his compatriot and friend: 'I have succeeded in producing a piecette entitled Finland (the laurels of Sibelius prevented me from sleeping).

In March 1915, news arrived from England. The 23rd Bantock wrote to his 'Dear Väinämöinen', as he sometimes called the composer of Finlandia, that he had conducted his students orchestra in the first two movements of the Third Symphony, but not the finale, which was too difficult for them: 'In the present circumstances, it is evident that the arts are rather neglected, and it is no doubt the same in Finland. Everybody's energy is concentrated on the need to safeguard a place in the world where we can live and work in our manner, without being dominated by a foreign and brutal ideal. We hope that when all is ended to be finally free of this nightmare. Let us hope that the time will then come when we can see each other again.'

Contacts were also renewed with Busoni. After having hesitated for a long time, Busoni quit Berlin at the beginning of January for a tour in the USA. He crossed the Atlantic on a Dutch ship Rotterdam and arrived in New York the 20th. Again after hesitations he returned to Europe in September, disembarking in Genoa. One of the reasons for his return to Europe was Italy's entry in the war on the side of the Allies the 23 May.

Instead of staying in the country of his birth, which had in any case nothing to offer him, Busoni moved to Zurich, a city

that the war had transformed into a kind of international metropolis: many artists and intellectuals who did not have Swiss nationality moved there because of the hostilities. The conductor Volkmar Andrae, who had been director of the Tonhalle Orchestra, had found a position for him at the Conservatory. Busoni did not return to Berlin until 1920. ‘I had sworn not to set a foot, as long as the war lasted, in any of the warring countries and I kept my word,’ he wrote to his friend Edith Andrae in 1921.

It was in this context that Stenhammar, who wanted to engage Busoni for concerts in Gothenburg, wrote to his Sibelius the 15 July 1915 asking his to write to his friend, praising the merits of his orchestra. Sibelius did so the 23 July: ‘Your concerts in Berlin and Helsingfors have not left my mind (…) I have been asked to let you know the situation concerning musical life in Gothenburg, and I must say that to my knowledge, no other city of the North has such a musical public. This is due to Wilhelm Stenhammar, a great artist, a gentleman to his fingertips. His orchestra is marvellously run-in, and each time that I have worked with him, the miserable notes that I have produced have been grateful. I am sure that if you agreed to honour the people of Gothenburg, it would be a real joy for you. With all my best wishes, your most grateful admirer. Jean Sibelius’

Busoni did not go to Gothenburg, but Sibelius himself went for the second time in March 1915. Stenhammar had hoped to welcome his at the end of March 1914, but the 11 January of

that year, Sibelius had written from Berlin, where he was preparing his visit to the USA, to be excused: I am writing to once again beg the comprehension that you have always shown to my art and to me. It is impossible now. My conscience obliges me. But next year, when—I am convinced—I will have new works to present, it will be a joy for me to conduct in Gothenburg.' The 22 January, Stenhammar replied that many of his works had not yet been played in Gothenburg, so he could come without anything new in his bags, on which two concerts were fixed for February 1915. In the autumn of 1914, Sibelius asked Stenhammar to order from Germany the orchestral material for The Bard and The Oceanides. Tormented by the idea that he would not have any new symphony, the 1 December he backed out for the second: 'It is absolutely necessary that my new symphony is ready. Without this I cannot come.'

The reply of Stenhammar, dated 2 December 1914 was this time long, pressing and strongly argumented: 'Your last letter has put me into an embarrassing situation. (…) Apparently, you have fixed the idea in your head that it is impossible to arrive without a brand new symphony. It is certainly very flattering for Gothenburg, but in the present circumstances not very realistic. If such if the reason for your allergy, I can simply say to you that you have an abundance of new works to bring with you, in addition you must accept until new orders, our public in a great majority prefers older works, thank God, those that have just the slightest air of innovation, and concerning a very

cultivated minority, those already integrated into the ‘classical repertory’.

‘All this cannot reasonably prevent you from coming. I suppose however that your cancellation may have another reason, as was the case for the last season, a reason that I evidently respect—your need to work in peace and freedom. But, but—this need for freedom does it not risk going beyond anything else and become tyrannical? When you are plunged into something important, it could be useful to give up your seclusion and appear in public. You cannot come, you say, as long as your new work is not ready. Then you can. But are you sure? Are you sure that when the day comes, you will not have found new projects that will carry you away with the same force and in turn demand they be completed? Such an eventuality seems probable to me.

‘I have not yet announced your withdrawal to the orchestra board of directors, and I will only resolve this extremity after having once again implored you to remove this chalice from me. Last year, your refusal was accepted by the orchestra board of directors without the least objection. But now it starts all over! Can you see their point of view, with their practical sense, these gentlemen have entirely reason! (…) Being caught between you and the orchestra’s board of directors is very disagreeable, I have to defend their interests vis-à-vis you, and vice versa. (…) You are not obliged to come in February, you can come in March, and even in April. (…) Writing this letter has been a torture for me, it will also be one for you to read it.’

This missive did not fail to have its effect, and Stenhammar must have sighed with relief when he received Sibelius' reply dated 17 December 1914: 'My warmest thanks for your letter. Between the lines I detected once again your great appreciation for my music. I will come.'

The sale of the Sonatine for piano and violin in E-major to the publishers Lindgren, was completed the 12 March 1915, providing him with the money necessary for his journey. A few days previously, to encourage civil servants and reinforce the moral of his troops, the Czar Nicolas II had made a short visit to Helsinki. Sibelius noted in his diary: 'The emperor arrives. His majesty has had to travel incognito and with a strong guard. What an ironic destiny! Normal, in view of what is said everywhere' (9 March).

He left Helsinki the 14th, and his daughter Katarina aged twelve, who read Strindberg's Inferno, played the piano and dreamed of sledge outings in the moonlight, he with these words: 'Adieu now, and don't think so much of amour'). To avoid a crossing that had become dangerous because of the weather and above all because of the war, he took the train around the Gulf of Bothnia. In Stockholm, he spent some 'extraordinary moments' with Armas Järnefelt and his second wife Olivia nee Edström, and met by chance Adolf Paul, who, as holder of a Swedish passport, had abandoned Germany and its wartime rigours for the peace of neutral Sweden. Realising that Sibelius was going to Gothenburg to conduct a concert, Adolf Paul immediately joined him.

Two concerts were planned, one the 22 March and the other the 24th. The day after his arrival Sibelius wrote to Aino: 'Yesterday was at Stenhammar's, my old friend and admirer of Symph IV. Marvellous mutual understanding. Spoke a lot about you. Today, or rather right now, rehearsal for Oceanides' (20 March). The 22nd: 'Soon the concert. I saw all kinds of people. The Oceanides sounds marvellous. Stenhammar is captivated by my pieces. He is such a refined person.' Monday the 22nd, Sibelius conducted a popular programme for 'amateurs'. Scènes historiques, two extracts from Swanwhite, The Oceanides and the Second Symphony. 'Great success, in spite of my nervousness. Stenhammar was captivated by The Oceanides, a really fantastic piece. Yesterday I was invited to a grand supper at the Bratts.

They made me a gift of an old walking stick (in rosewood from Spain with a silver handle and very rare —200 years old), roses and a load of other things' (to Aino, 23 March). Wednesday the 24th, the programme was—at least the second half—for 'connoisseurs': Scènes historiques opus 25, the Nocturne from King Christian II, second movement of Rakastava, The Return of Lemminkäinen, the Fourth Symphony and The Oceanides. 'Conducted wonderfully. Programme well chosen, with rather brilliant pieces in the first part. (…) Oceanides marvellous!' (Diary, between 23 and 29 March).

Sibelius had not held a conductor's baton since his concert in Norfolk more than nine months earlier, and it was the European

premier for The Oceanides. As to the Fourth Symphony, it was the third time it was heard in Gothenburg, after two performances conducted by Stenhammar the 17 January and the 5 February 1913. In the Handelstidningen of the 26 March, at the cost of almost bending over backwards, John Atterbom almost made an honourable excuse: ‘The absence of more openly architectonic aspects of the classical symphony is certainly for very much in the impression of complication and confusion transmitted by a work which is not however without a substantial and harmonious internal structure.’

Others gave more praise. The Göteborgs Handels och Sjöfartstidning of the same date considered that Sibelius distinguished himself from, equally in his Fourth, Richard Strauss, who ‘in his naturalistic and sensational art (…) remained far from the aristocratic style that characterised (…) Sibelius’ works, even when it is rich in colour, ceremonious, funeral, (evokes) the memory of a great man—Beethoven?’

Shortly after his return the 28 March, he received a letter from Adolf Paul dated 3 April: ‘You conducted wonderfully well. (…) I forgot to tell you that I finished a new play that needs music. Will you read it? If somebody can get everything, it’s you. (…) Dear Janne, don’t let me down!’ Sibelius noted the impressions left by his visit: ‘Was really pleased to go to Gothenburg. And with such a result! Imagine that I almost decide not to go! And what a marvellous orchestral bath! Stenhammar filled me great joy with all that!’ (Diary, 8 April).

In the meantime he went back to work on the Fifth: 'The symphony continues to absorb my thoughts. When will I be carried away again by its great torrent?' (30 March). The same day he prepared a new thematic table for the work. 'It is as if God the Father had thrown down from the sky pieces of mosaic and asked me to put them in order. Perhaps it is a good definition of a composers work. Maybe not. Who knows?' (10 April). 'In fine form, thanks to the symphony. A cold and grey day, but the spring is gathering its forces' (20 April).

The 21st an entry of capital importance was added to his diary, because it showed to what point Sibelius, as a pantheist artist, identified his music with the deepest secrets of nature such as he could contemplate it in Ainola. 'Today at ten to eleven, I saw sixteen swans. One of the greatest experiences of my life! God, what beauty! There turned overhead for a long instant. Then they disappeared into the sun covered mist, at moments like a brilliant ribbon of silver. Their cries have the same timbre as wind instruments like that of cranes, but without tremolos. Swans are closer to trumpets, with a few elements of the sarrusophone. Like a refrain in a low register that recalls the tears of a small child. Mysteries of nature and misfortunes of life! The theme of the finale Fifth Symphony.

'Must now penetrate what has so long remained outside for me. Today, 21 April 1915, I have been transported into the heights.' Other entries quickly followed: 'Worked on the symphony, as far as ever from its final form' (22 April). 'The swans have not left my spirit and give life its lustre. It is

strange, but nothing in this world, in whatever art, literature or music, produces the same effect on me as these swans, cranes and wild geese. Their cries and their very souls. The symphonies: for me they are for me as many confession that correspond to different moments of my life. The reason they are so different each from the other. Nos mutamur in temporibus (Time changes us). Or rather: tempora mutantur et nos illis mutamur (the time changes and we change in them)' (24 April).

'Doubts as to my future. Can I reach home safely? Time is urgent. Everything is falling to pieces around me and I am alone – alone' (29 April). From then, Sibelius always associated this theme with the flight of swans. Towards the end of the following year, after the premier of the second version of the work, Carpelan mentioned 'his incomparable hymn to the swans' in a letter dated the 16 December.

For the moment life continued to claim its daily dues. 'I have no practical sense for managing daily expenses. I must earn about 3,000 marks a month, but apparently this is not enough. I see no light at the end of the tunnel, n one to go to. (…) Terrifying situation. But to worry Aino, when she has made such superhuman efforts to reduce expenses, would not be worthy of a man' (Diary, 20 January 1915). 'For women of today, love and happiness etc. depends on money and more money. Neither peace nor happiness when everything is not perfect at home, like at others. Living for an 'ideal' is an anachronism in our times' (29 January).

Their second daughter, Ruth, had become an actress at the Finnish National Theatre in Helsinki, 'never thought about money questions', which did not help things. She was often seen in the company of a distinguished colleague fifteen years older than her, Jussi Snellman. She married him the 21 July 1916. Eva, pregnant with her first child, spent two months at Ainola in the spring of 1915, whilst her husband was busy with his affairs in Saint Petersburg before settling in with his family. A daughter was born the 23 May, and was called Marjatta, respectively she was just seven, four years younger than her aunts Margareta and Heidi. 'So now I am a grandfather. Extraordinary!' noted Sibelius who was forty-nine. In all he was to have sixteen grandchildren, one of whom died at an early age in 1941.

With his 'take over of power' in the autumn of 1916 imminent, Schneevoigt frequently conducted in Stockholm. He invited Sibelius to perform, but was confronted with a refusal (Diary, 8 April 1915). The same month, Schneevoigt successfully presented the Second Symphony in the Swedish capital. The audience applauded after each movement, and even Peterson-Berger wrote a favourable account:

'In music, Sibelius is a kind of Finnish Byron, with in the background a romantic dandy's attitude, a certain Eastern European atavism, à la Tzigane. When he undresses, it is as if he unbuttons his fine ceremonial shirt to show, engraved on his hairy chest, heterogeneous specimens of a wild man. In his rich

and particular psychology, this music is typically a music of the future'.

Sibelius reaction was noted in his diary: 'Peterson- Berger gave a very interesting definition of me and my art' (1 May). And: 'As to America—I now doubt my ever being able to return there. It's a plot against me. Which reminds me of a strange critic received in Norfolk, forget all that. In any case, I won't go unless there is a lot of money in view. Strange all these intrigues! You can laugh, but they hurt for a long time. Yes—perhaps for ever. It is the vengeance of the gods!!' (8 April).

Some days previously, his daughter Ruth had played the role of Eleonora in Strindberg's Easter, and the 1 February, Richard Burgin , the great Polish-American violinist and conductor, fist violinist of the Helsinki Philharmonia since 1912 and future first violinist of Koussevitzky in the Boston Symphony Orchestra, had played his concerto in Helsinki. Aino and Eva went to the concert without him. No doubt he regretted staying at home, because the work was a triumph: 'It is as if little by little, the ears of "Encore" and others opened (to the concerto). Aino enchanted. Strange to observe to what degree Aino understands my pieces, and how from the artistic point of view she knows how to judge my music. But is this so extraordinary? When I composed, she was always there' (Diary, 2 February).

For the first time since 1908, he had recommenced smoking and drinking again, after having started with strong doses of

black coffee: ‘Soon I’ll be incapable of giving it up? Everyone should have his poison’ (8 April). Even before his visit to Gothenburg, he had spent an agreeable evening in his library with Arvi Paloheimo his son-in-law. ‘Arvi arrived unexpectedly. Smoked and drank a few drops of red wine with him. Tobacco excellent. However, I don’t think about being able to smoke very much in the future. I immediately felt it in my throat!’ (23 February).

At first he was prudent with wine, but at the beginning of May, he had taken up his old habits with cigars: ‘It is as if I had rediscovered my youth—I work better when I have the house to myself. Why?’ (29 May). He continued to smoke, persuading himself that his throat would ‘still last for a long time’ and that it would cure his ‘hypochondria’ (4 June). His doctor was reduced to confiscating his cigars for a time and threatened to do the same with his coffee.

His fiftieth birthday approached, and again he question his age. He was not enough of an optimist to believe that remaining young was a question of mind and mental capacity: ‘It is not true. The body is more often the decisive factor. These bald old cocks who parade about imagining that they are loved! They are the least to complain. All ages, like all seasons, have their distinctive signs. God, who wise I am, intelligent and above all young! You of course know, Jean Sibelius, that (…) ecstasy never dies! The sap still rises in you, like other fifty year old trees—and how! Der rüstige Alte (the hearty old man)! But the days are gone when we sat on a bench, holding hands

and swearing faithfulness for ever —I write that it is not so. This wiederholte Pubertät (back to puberty) in geniuses, which Goethe spoke of, flatters me' (Diary, 12-13 April). The day before (11 April), he 'met Erik (Eero Järnefelt) young and elegant' and found himself in comparison 'old and crusty'.

The 10 April, he noted: 'Again hypersensitive. Is it possible? I thought I had got rid of this weakness.' And also his son-in-law Arvi, a prosperous businessman, who arrived in Ainola was 'breathing the perfumes of Helsingfors. (…) Have difficulty to impose myself. The last in date was Arvi, who we all love. I am surely not the ideal father-in-law. In fact, impossible. I am reduced to confiding this bric-a-brac to my diary, and am an insupportable good for nothing.'

Then the 17th, after the premier in Helsinki on the 16th, under the direction of Heikki Klemetti, of an important symphonic poem by Leevi Madetoja for mens choirs, baritone and orchestra: 'Madetoja has had a success with his Sammon ryöstö (The Capture of Sampo opus 24). So!' Meaning: 'You also, dear Ego, produce a new master piece!'

The 26 April, a little over seven months before Sibelius, Gallen-Kallela celebrated his fiftieth birthday. Sibelius had not seen him since his return from Africa in 1911. Since that time, Gallen-Kallela had painted a lot, but without finding his past success. In the field of fine arts, the creation in 1910 of the Septem group, then the exhibition organised by this group in

1912, had marked the triumph of Post-Impressionism in Finland, whilst Expressionism was born under the name November in 1916. Neither found Gallen-Kallela's nationalist tendencies out of date, who like Sibelius often fell into moods of depressions.

However, from 1911 to 1913, in spite of a financial situation even more disastrous than that of the composers, Gellen-Kallela built, to the west of Helsinki in an area which is the present town of Espoo, a kind of chateau with an artist's studio he called Tarvaspää. Its architecture curiously amalgamated different elements that at first seem disparate, the wing that houses the studio was in the form of a medieval stone church, whilst the library juxtaposed an Italian loggia and so forth. Tarvaspää became a museum in 1961, on the thirtieth anniversary of the death of the painter, and as he had himself wished.

It was there the 26 April 1915 his fiftieth birthday was extravagantly celebrated. The morning Kajanus and his orchestra played different pieces including Finlandia, during the day almost all the cultural celebrities of the moment passed by, and the day finished with a grand dinner in the evening. Sibelius did no go. He was satisfied by sending a letter, on the part of himself and Aino, without a word of excuse for his absence:

'It is with profound emotion that I write, dear Gallen. To be fifty, to be sure, means nothing in itself, but it is the moment to sum things up. And have you not, maestro, already given to us

all, to this country, to the whole world? Please accept our thanks for everything, and from me, from the bottom of my heart, my most sincere congratulations. With my deepest friendship, and with my gratitude, your faithful admirer Jean Sibelius.'

Tawaststjerna considered that Sibelius felt once again marginalized. 'Worked on the first movement (of the Fifth). The newspapers are full of Gallen. An excess of sentimentality.' (Diary 23 April). And on the day of ceremony: 'Celebrations everywhere. I ponder over my own symbols. Transition of theme A to theme B in movement I. Erik (Eero Järnefelt) and others deplored my absence from Gallen's diner. My work on this symphony makes me someone impossible. And I am not sure of being able to finish this symphonic expression of faith – at least judging by the number of corrections and crossing outs. And always money worries in the background. I have just a few ahead of me – after stopping for six months. (…) Wouldn't be good company at this feast, better, out of simple politeness, to abstain. (…) Only my absence will be interpreted by a spiteful and stupid public, yes stupid, like 'jealousy' or God knows what' (Diary 26 April).

Not being present, Sibelius luckily did not hear the speeches made during the course of the dinner by Eino Leino and Robert Kajanus. They respectively declared that altogether that the arts, and in particular music, 'paid tribute' to Gallen-Kallela, and that Gallen had 'richly inspired all other arts'. Of course Sibelius heard of this: 'If I clearly understand, it is Gallen who

has given his impulsion to our Finnish music. And it is to him (Kajanus) that it owes its world wide reputation. (…) All that is starting to get on my nerves.' (Diary 27 April). Tawaststjerna wonders whether Sibelius 'would have remained calmly seated whilst Leino and Kajanus took over his role as founder of modern Finnish music?'

Gallen-Kallela on his side saw the celebration in his honour as a kind of burial, and the speeches as a kind of obituary. Some days later, he thanked Sibelius for his 'royal letter', continuing:

'You, Sibelius, were for me, when we set out on our respective paths, an equal and a close friend, and since, I have always considered you as a model to be admired. We have, each of us, so much to do that we cannot see each other, but I have often the impression that our spirits remain in contact. (…) I only succeeded in surviving the torrent of homage at the diner of the 26 April—I had hoped in vain to see you, you and your wife—by thinking of the marvellous hero of Cervantes, who also had not known fear. (…)

'These good people did everything to reduce my shyness and modesty to nothing. It will soon be your turn, and then be careful, very careful! At least try to avoid any comparison with the knight of La Mancha, because you have never considered it necessary to defend yourself against windmills and wine skins. Your letter was so beautiful that to hide my emotion, I have had to hide the depth of my feelings and gratitude in the above tale. Yours Gallen.'

Sibelius' reaction can be seen in his diary (7-8 May): 'Singular letter from Gallen. He declared that I was his equal 'when we set out on our respective paths'. But since!?' Meaning: 'Which of us is the greatest today?' The polite compliments and flattery of this exchange showed that twenty years after the symposium, Lemminkäinen and the journey to Tuonela, the relations between Sibelius and Gallen-Kallela had changed, though for posterity, their names remain inseparable.

The 8 May 1915, Sibelius asked Carpelan, to whom he had just sent the scores of The Hunt and At the Drawbridge, if he had received The Bard. Carpelan who was seriously ill replied by just a few lines of thanks, to which Sibelius noted: 'Carpelan writes with his hands, but not his heart' (13 May). A few days later the composer commented on the recent events in Europe in terms that recalled those used by the Baron in August 1914: 'Italy has entered the war. This country of villains that has betrayed the allies under whose protection it has reinforced itself. And this treason is considered normal, they even go as far as applauding it. What passion it rouses! Humanity seems to be sinking deeper into barbarism. What shame! (Diary, 26 May).

For the silver wedding anniversary of Eero and Saimi Järnefelt the 4 June, Sibelius composed a the melody Tanken (The Thought) for two sopranos and piano, to a poem by

Runeberg: it was sung by his daughter Ruth and one of the daughters of Eero, Leena , respectively aged twenty-one and eighteen.

In autumn 1914 Muntra Musikanter, the men's choir, as mentioned above had received nothing from him, and in compensation four pieces were produced in 1915. Two of these were first performed the 27 April, in the absence of the composer but in the presence of his daughters Eva and Ruth, who leaving the concert declared that it had been a fiasco. 'It breaks my heart when I hear my own children depressingly announce the news over the telephone. They very naturally detected something from the public that upset them. It has also happened to me, to Jean Sibelius (…) My isolation continues. (…) I am becoming like the contented Beethoven. I write music that is best not played. And for the moment, my friends (Toivo) Kuula and Selim P(almgren) have supplanted me in the public's favour. As for myself—my position is wavering, builder, your tower leans! And your debts are pressing. Poverty and misery. Poor Aino and the little ones. Fifty years, and year after year everything collapses' (Diary, 28 April). The next day his 'butler' Hesa (Heikki Sormunen) had the imprudence to say that the Järnefelt's potatoes were better than his own, which brought a new blow to his self-esteem and even made him envisage selling his land: 'But is this reasonable? Owning a piece of land has its advantages' (29 April').

Sibelius changed mood like a weathercock. 'Nervous attack, have stayed in bed all day' (30 April). 'Poul Knudsen has sent

me a new libretto for a pantomime, En Moder (A Mother) based on a story by Hans Andersen' (I May). 'Feeling a little better, though an enormous number of things irritate me—which is surely not normal. It's like a winter's day, it snowed in the evening —one or two degrees below zero. Cold' (2 May). 'My fate is not to take wide and safe paths as artists take with a sure and steady foot, where one moves up socially and economically. No! The musical world in general still considers me as a great artist, but here at home? My music 'does not pay'. And what doesn't pay is worth nothing in the eyes of my dear Helsingfors public. I have to live with it. And see how the others profit from my victories. Very rightly so, my dear old Jean. Become 'better and better'. Sunny day, but snow and cold. Worked on the symphony, on the melodies (Kyssen and Kaiutar) and a few new things' (4 May). 'Things are not going better with Aino. Her heart!' (9 May). 'Dispatched the two melodies this morning, Selim Palmgren refused to 'pianiofy' (transcribe for piano) Älskades vag (the second movement of Rakastava opus 14) Sic! Aino is getting better' (11 May). 'Rapallo (the name Sibelius that gave to the south part of his garden in memory of his stay in Italy in 1901), now planted with fruit trees' (14 May). 'Financial worries building up. Gidi's office (banker and cousin of Aino, Gideon Järnefelt at times looked after the affairs of the composer) has apparently had enough of all these miseries. And what now? Ruin?' (14 May).

Aged twelve his third daughter Katarina was going through a difficult period. She also kept a diary: 'Had a terrible scene

with Papa yesterday. Both of us lost our tempers. Mama said I should humbly ask pardon. (…) But I don't feel like submitting, far from it' (19 May). And the next day in Jean's diary: 'Aino has gone into town with Kaj, very difficult to bring up'. Then the 28th: 'Still another day waiting! Spring and clouds! Kaj sick (measles). Doctor and nurse! Planted potatoes! – Worked on my things. Troubled by this indolence. But it rather a pleasant indolence, which it has a certain influence on my work. This doesn't mean that it is less good. On the contrary. I think. In any case, the question of money forces me to act. There is always something. I am already smoking.' And the 29-30th, instead of collecting morels: 'My dear colleagues, Kuula, Melartin and others, produce great works by the shovel load, whilst I debate in my 'leftovers'. Will it ever be any different? Should I though in the towel? Never! Aino wants me to go and gather mushrooms, but it is impossible for the moment. My method of work?! (…) Forced myself, went out to gather mushrooms and spent a marvellous moment in the nature.'

At the beginning of 1915, in the midst of war, Rosa Newmarch unexpectedly disembarked in Helsinki accompanied by her daughter Elsie and the Otto Kling couple. She was going to Saint Petersburg to carry out a political and musical good will mission and for documentary research for to of her next books. Having acquired Messrs. J. & W. Chester, Kling was going to investigate the possibility of the continued promotion of Russian music in London in spite of the war. He had made the sea crossing from Newcastle to Bergen in

Norway 'haunted by submarines', and arrived in Stockholm Rosa Newmarch met with Armas Järnefelt.

'In general, the attitude of the Swedes towards the British was correct, but there was nothing cordial about it. The Gulf of Finland was filled with too many mines to risk crossing it, and we had to travel overland to Haparanda, where at that time the railway stopped. All kinds of strange vehicles waited to bring us to the Finnish border town of Tornea (Tornio)'. From Tornio the journey to Helsinki continued by rail for 'at least another week', passing through Tampere and Hämeenlinna.

Like Sibelius three months previously when he had gone to Gothenburg, Rosa Newmarch and her friends had gone around the Gulf of Bothnia, but in the opposite direction. Sibelius and Aino welcomed them in Helsinki and then in Järvenpää:

'Sibelius and his family made us warmly welcome as before with their hospitality. With the exception of the Fifth Symphony in E-flat major, the composer at that time consecrated himself to modest works, piano pieces, for violin and a few melodies the most part of which were published by Hansen in Copenhagen'. This visit turned out to be rather difficult: 'Speaking French all day. Her hatred of Germany' (Diary, 7-8 June). He would have preferred to speak in German, that he used for his discussion with Otto Kling who was Swiss and above all to not let himself be drawn into endless discussions on Germanic 'Kultur' or the question of Russian borders after the war. 'Our visit was brief because I was anxious to push on to Russia, but this was a happy

interlude at a time when even close friends were in deep disagreement'.

Sibelius observed events very closely. To remain in communication with the West, his only possibility was Sweden, and the perspective of seeing this country renounce its neutrality and joined the Central Powers, for whom King Gustave V had some sympathy, greatly preoccupied him. When Finnish journalists talked of rumours according to which anti-Russian currents were gaining strength in Stockholm, he reacted the same day: 'Political shuffling. Sweden!' (Diary, 19 June). When one month later the Swedish Prime Minister Hjalmar Hammarskjöld declared that remaining in peace could be impossible for his country, and not only in the case of invasion, Sibelius' concern increased: 'Sweden threatened!' (19 June).

During the summer of 1915, the Fifth made only a little progress. The composer was seriously worried, because the first audition was foreseen for his fiftieth birthday the 8 December. At the end of June, he spent a day with Walter von Konow in Hämeenlinna, where they delved into their childhood souvenirs. Sibelius had the impression that his friend had difficulty in understanding why he, von Konow, did not enjoy an international reputation comparable to his own: 'That transpires from his attitude and it depresses me. Even so we are good friends' (Diary, 2 July).

As often when he was deeply discouraged, he turned to Carpelan, who was preparing to leave Tampere to move back to

Turku, where he had spent his childhood: ‘Dear Axel, With this letter a sign of life. I hope your situation is supportable in these terrible times. Many things annoy me. Intrigues against me, etc. Have composed a lot of new works – almost forty – and am completely dry. Aino is suffering from insomnia. You can see from every point of view we are precipitated downwards. The children are well and often speak of Uncle Axel.’ This time Carpelan did not reply, he no longer had the force to.

In this jubilee year two biographies appeared on the subject of Sibelius, one by Erik Furuhjelm in Swedish and the other by Leevi Madetoja in Finnish. ‘Erik Furuhjelm is going to write a book on me,’ Sibelius noted in his diary in mid-June 1915. The first three chapters that had already been prepared gave quiet a detailed discussion—and for the period very valuable— on the works composed during his years of study in Helsinki, Berlin and Vienna. These three chapters formed the first half of the book, which was published at Christmas 1916.

In the second half, the years from 1892-1900 covered eighty four pages, and 1901-1915 only thirty three. It has been seen why the publication of the book was delayed for one year. However, this delay at least allowed Furuhjelm to briefly mention the first version of the Fifth. Very marked by nationalism, as had been Flodin’s brochure for the 1900 tour, the book also insisted on how Sibelius had been influenced by his home town and his affinities with nature.

Madetoja, who had spent the summer with his wife, the poetess L.Onerva whose real name was Onerva Lehtinen, on an

isolated island in Lake Keitele, near to Kuopio in central Finland, appears the 1 June: ‘I am writing a symphony, but it is very slow. (…) I hope that it will work out. (…) I am thinking about writing book for next Christmas, when you will be fifty, it will be about you and your work as a composer up to the present. Have you any objections? Do you think I am capable of this? I realise it is something delicate, it will be the first work in the Finnish language on the subject, be assured that I will try my best.’

Sibelius gave his approval, but was seized by doubts when Madetoja came to visit him to discuss the project: ‘Muss es sein? (Does it have to be? an allusion to Beethoven’s quartet). At which point Madetoja sent him a surprising questionnaire, which showed that even people who knew Sibelius well, or who thought that did, ignored almost everything about him: ‘Did you receive a musical education in Hämeenlinna? What age were you when you started to play the violin? Did you continue to have lessons of interpretation abroad? Other than symph. I, which of your works were played during the French tour?’ (11 September). Sibelius confirmed his agreement: ‘We spent a good moment together. A good fellow’ (Diary, 22 September).

Madetoja started work in Viipuri, where he directed the orchestra, but soon had to face up to reality: ‘All the publishers have given a negative reply. (…) To me it is completely incomprehensible. (…) Things must be bad when the publishers show such prudence for a project of this importance,

which concerns the country's greatest artist, and only think of financial considerations. Nevertheless, I hope that you are not too upset with me for having annoyed you so much with this matter' (14 October). In spite of this Sibelius had the 'satisfaction' of seeing a brochure of seventeen pages published in Copenhagen in 1915 by his Danish admirer Gunnar Hauch, who had welcomed the end of German musical hegemony and the emergence of a Nordic school with Sibelius at its head.

Only a few weeks remained to complete the Fifth. 'I saw cranes flying overflowing with music. The taught me spontaneity in sonorities again' (Diary). 'Can I finish the symphony for the 8 December? Dim prospects ahead! But we will see' (22 September). 'Again on the crest of a wave. (…) But the crash. Reaction after the exhausting work of these last days. (…) My symphony must absolutely see the light of day. Money and business must sort themselves out alone!' (26 September). He smoked a lot. 'Worries about my throat have hampered my inspiration. Am I hoarse or not? As far as I can remember, I have never had such a sombre period. If there is a cancer, a bullet in the temple will be the only way out. At least if I can't compose to the up to the end. After, something light, a comic opera or an operetta. But it doesn't work like that' (28 September).

His entourage suffered from his nervous stress. 'It pains me to see (Aino) in such a state. She is alone and has to get along by herself. How to work in such conditions?! Impossible to sleep recently without a sleeping tablet' (7 October). Ordinarily

the couple took a walk at about ten in the morning. Katarina knew that she should be dressed and ready for her piano lessons that lasted until eleven thirty, because no noise was tolerated after the walk.

At the next concert season Kajanus envisaged conducting the four existing symphonies: the First and Second before the fiftieth birthday concert, the Third and Fourth in the spring of 1916. His rivalry with Schneevoigt was greater than ever. Within the scope of his new Beethoven cycle, Schneevoigt conducted the Fifth Symphony the 7 October, six days later, Kajanus programmed it in turn, and as pièce de résistance in an 'additional concert' by 'special public demand'.

Schneevoigt was paid a salary of 12,000 marks, Kajanus only 8,000 marks. Sibelius, who pension did not reach 5,000 marks, attended Schneevoigt's 7 October concert. Between Beethoven's Fourth and Fifth, Richard Burgin played the Violin for Violin. 'Not bad at all, but rather slow, and the orchestra was not well prepared' (Diary, 12 October). The 13th, with relief he noted that his own Fifth was ready 'in its general form'. But the 14th:

'So many people, yes so many people, do everything to put down what I have accomplished. Very few do the opposite. (…) It is as if up to now my accomplishments = 0. In addition the usual impertinence of Bis put me in a bad mood. This vile and perfidious creature! Aino said it is as hard as life itself. How many times have I thought it myself?' At the end of October beginning of November, Kajanus twice conducted

Snöfrid. Sibelius stayed home, but learnt with satisfaction that each time the work was encored: ‘But to what good? A work of youth after all.’

The 2 November, the first movement of the Fifth was finally delivered to the copyist. The second movement (original version of the score noted Allegro moderato of the first movement of 1919) followed the 8th, and the third movement (original version of the second movement of 1919) in the middle of the month. The 17th, Sibelius noted that he had worked on the fourth movement (original version of the third movement of 1919). The day before, Katarina went into hospital, Aino had accompanied her and Jean remained alone for several days.

Katarina’s diary gives an idea of life in Ainola at the end of 1915: ‘Mama is with friends and Uncle Pekka (Halonen) is here, I don’t think the Papa appreciates his presence, because Papa is terribly taken up by his fifth symphony. Everything is upside down. (…) Papa is awake until five in the morning every day, then sleeps and stays in bed and pretends he is working in bed, until twelve or half past twelve.’ The 1 December, rehearsals commenced in Helsinki; the concert was to take place not in the National Finnish Theatre as Sibelius had first decided, but in the large hall of the University, where Küllervo had been premiered as well as most of his other works. A photo shows Sibelius rehearsing with the orchestra in the hall.

To celebrate his fiftieth birthday the first event took place at the Institute on the 6 December. Richard Burgin and the pianist Ilmari Hannikainen performed the premier of the Sonatine in E-major opus 80, still called sonata. The two string quartet movements in B-flat major, Kyllikki by Ilmari Hannikainen and finally Voces intimae. A few days previously Sibelius told Furuhjelm that ‘ideally, the sonatine, should be played by a young girl of sixteen’.

The 8 December Sibelius would have read in the Helsingin Sanomat a poem in his honour by Eino Leino and an article by Madetoja that up to that point the critics had paid too much attention to the nationalistic and programmatic aspects of his art to the detriment of his ‘purely musical’ side. Going to the main rehearsal of the evening concert, he would have noticed his portrait that decorated most of the shop windows.

Later in the afternoon Sibelius received a number of very mixed delegations at his hotel who had come to present their wishes to the ‘most illustrious of Finns’. Having succeeded in coming from Turku, Carpelan came in person, not without having sent his wishes in a letter dated the 6th: ‘Only now your highest and greatest period of creativity opens. (…) Thanks to she who has so carefully and so intelligently cared of your soul and thanks to whom you have been saved. (…) Everlasting glory to Aino Sibelius!’

The evening concert program that Sibelius conducted himself was composed of new works, at least for Helsinki. It started with The Oceanides, a work already heard in Norfolk and

Gothenburg. Then Kajanus presented the composer with a crown of laurel leaves. Richard Burgin then performed as soloist in the first audition of two Serenades. Sibelius was then presented with an official message bearing 15,000 signatures. Following the interlude he conducted the premier of the original version of the Fifth Symphony.

After the concert a grand banquet was given at the Stock Exchange, very near to the University. The building had been designed in 1911 by Lars Sonck, the architect of Ainola.

Kajanus gave a speech, which appeared in the Tidning för Musik and fully reproduced in Ringbom. For once Sibelius had nothing to say. '(…) Real poets express themselves in a language that is impossible not to recognise. Such is the impression drawn twenty five ago from the first works of the composer Jean Sibelius. (…) A good idea of what is thought abroad of his master works can be given from a small incident that I experienced some years ago in Berlin. I had met Christian Sinding. A well known composer and symphonist himself, he asked me this question, simple but typical: 'Tell me, Sibelius is he not the greatest symphonist of the moment?' (…) Our Finnish music did not exist as such until Sibelius, for the first time, struck his powerful chords. The little that had existed before him was nothing more than a weak outgrowth of the German school, lightly spiced with ethnic Finnish folk music. It was one of the first early and modest manifestations of a beautiful dream. (…) Barely had he broke this arid earth when a powerful rumble sprung out from the untamed

wilderness. Shovels and picks were no longer needed. Spring like torrents of Finnish music gushed forth. Jean Sibelius alone pointed to the way ahead. This took place in the spring of 1892. With his grandiose Kullervo, in a single stroke he transformed into reality the style of Finnish music that we dream about. As for all that with no a place in this thick score of about five hundred pages, he produced it under the form of other legends inspired by the Kalevala. (…) He is no turned towards his inner world, to deeper develop his art and hone his personal style. (…) As a Danish author noted, Sibelius is a solitary figure in the world of music today. (…)' Kajanus continued in affirming that Sibelius was nonetheless an important source of inspiration for future music.

The 10 December 1915, Schneevoigt and Kajanus directed a new concert, one with the First Symphony and the other with the Second. Between the two symphonies melodies were sung by Aida Ekman. Sibelius gave three concerts repeating the programme of the 8 December, the 12th at the National Finnish Theatre, the 18th at the University, and the 19th in the Folketshus, the headquarters of the workers movement, with in addition the premier of the final version of The Bard. The following 30 March, he conducted for the fifth and last time the original version of the Fifth. It was not heard again until half a century later, conducted by Jorma Panula. In 1995, Osmo Vänskä and 'his' Lahti Orchestra were authorised by the composers heirs to produce a commercial recording.

The celebrations ended Sibelius returned to his diary. ‘Celebrations for my fifty years! Symphony V! Etc. Yes, dear Ego: sic itur. Difficile est satiram non scribere (It is difficult to take all that seriously) Sine ira et studio. Wrote hundreds of letters of thanks. Received twenty paintings. A piano, a real carpet, etc. Official message from B&H! These things wear me out. Eager to get back to work. Horrible cold, 20 to 30 degrees below zero. Otto Anderson drew up a list of my “ancestors”, which made me sick. It is as if I were already dead.’.

Otto Anderson had in effect celebrated the fiftieth birthday by two special numbers, including a double number, of his review Tidning för Musick, and published in the first a Biografisk tabell (a genealogical tree) of the composer. It was quite a comprehensive document, especially on his father’s side, but it insisted too much on his Swedish descent. ‘Sibelius immediately realised that the Finnish language circles would with the own research not take long to underline his Finnish ancestry, and that risked making his genealogical tree a source of controversy. It was enough to make him sick’. His fears came true some months later.

Armas Järnefelt invited his brother-in-law to conduct the Fifth at the head of the Royal Stockholm Chapel, but Carpelan strongly recommended Sibelius against performing in ‘such a hole’, before ‘an incomprehensible public and ignorant critics’ (15 December). Sibelius replied to the Baron (Axel Carpelan) in the same vein: ‘They simply would not understand my Fifth in Stockholm’ (26 December). And two days later, in his diary:

'This petit bourgeois atmosphere of Stockholm in music matters! This Swedish insularity—this narrowness of view as to anything that is not theirs. How Armas can support it is an enigma for me. In spite of that Stenhammar is there— a pious man in this Sodom.'

Jean and Aino passed the day of the 31 December in Helsinki and then returned to Ainola to celebrate the New Year. Sibelius had fixed the idea in his head that the Fifth had to be revised. The 1 January 1916 he noted: 'The year 1916 opens in misfortune, great hopes and God knows what.' And the 5th: 'It seems that Axel is more full of life than ever. He spends his time studying philosophy etc. and occupies himself with musical aesthetics. Let us hope his health holds up.'

The 16th, he returned wishes to the Baron: 'For about a week after my concert, I have been tormented by a strong pain in my ears, and I have just spent a week in Helsinki to be cared for. (…) I will not go to Sweden for the moment. For several reasons, amongst which my work and the brevity of life. Have read Swedenborg, which has brought 'grist to my mill'. (…) As to my letters, you can dispose of them in the best way you think possible. Your suggestion to keep them for thirty years after (our death) seems very reasonable.'

Carpelan never completely recovered from his illness. He developed an inflammation of the lungs and in his delirium heard Beethoven conducting his Tenth Symphony at the head of an orchestra of trees and flowers, he himself had been transformed into a dragonfly and flew over his own funeral

procession (Letter to Sibelius dated 13 January). The composer's reacted with: 'Carpelan dying and I am becoming deaf' (Diary, 21 January). Then in a letter to the Baron: 'You cannot imagine how I felt after hearing that you were dangerously ill. The sun set for my music. To my great, great joy, I heard that you bravely fought for your health. And with success. My hearing has almost become normal. Fifteen days ago I was almost deaf (…) I have new plans, and am dying to seriously get on with them' (10 February).

In reality, Sibelius had not really given up the idea of going to Stockholm. The 7 January 1916, he wrote to Armas: 'Concerning the concerts, the perspectives are not good. Whatever happens, for the concert I suggest mirabile dictu the "successes" are symph II and the violin concerto + the unknowns Oceanides and perhaps a few Scène historiques or other older successful pieces. For my own concert (the second), if His majesty (Peterson-Berger) permits, I will conduct my own symp V, which will certainly be pulled to pieces by the person in question.'

Having got wind of this plans, Stenhammar immediately begged, if he went to Stockholm, to push on to Gothenburg. Sibelius replied that he would certainly do so, but was soon, as the year before, filled with doubts, as even though he had heard it five times already, the Fifth was not presentable. 'Have worked these last days to put the symphony into a publishable form' (Diary, 5 January). 'Still not satisfied with the form of the symphony. (…) My hearing depresses me. Kaj(an)us and

other "friends" now have a magic weapon against me—Sibbe can't hear—which will feed the appetites of those who want to screw the giant. But if they screw me there will be a fight' (17 January). 'Heavy atmosphere in the house. New and important financial problems. Regrets, self-criticism and recrimination. (…) Worked on a Liebeslied (Love Song) for violin, and in secret revising the symphony' (24 January).

The first of his concerts in Stockholm was fixed for the 18 February, and from there he was supposed to go on to Gothenburg. The two cities waited for a clear reply. He finished by resolving the problem and wrote to Armas the 26th: 'I have been waiting a long time for news, given the slowness of the post, and heard Mama (Elisabeth Järnefelt) say that you were not certain that the second concert would take place, which leads me to turn it down definitely. My first thought in saying yes was to give the concerts for my own benefit. In effect I depend on fees of this kind and their sum. I would have however come in spite of all for the sake of a friend, but since the beginning of the year I have been ill—my ears! It is impossible for you to imagine what it was like, for fifteen days I was almost deaf. And I think don't that my right ear is completely better. This is between the tow of us, say nothing of my illness.' He kept the real reason for himself: 'I have to admit that I am working on Symphony V again. Battle with God. I want to give my symphony a different form, more human. More earthly, more alive. The problem is when I worked on it, I was different' (Diary, 26 January).

He still hoped that a slight revision would be enough, and to change his ideas he started to work on the sixth again. ‘Worked on Symphony 6. Marvellous day. (…) The trees have started to speak to each other. Every thing is alive. Not a word from Axel. (…) Should I start to put things on paper, not only in my head. Yes – Yes – ! The doctor my illness is due to the flu. Let us try to put things into perspective’ (27 January). That day, Kajanus conducted Scènes historiques and the Third Symphony to a sparsely filled house, and in between Grieg’s two piano concertos. Sibelius was not present, but was represented by Aino and Katerina.

It was then, so as to reply to Otto Andersson, and with the support of the financier and businessman Karl Alfred Paloheimo (1862-1949), the father-in-law of Eva, the genealogist Eeli Granit-Ilmoniemi undertook a study of Sibelius’ ancestry. The 23 and 27 January, the Finnish language newspaper Uusi Suometar published its first conclusions, with more notably new information on his maternal line. Sibelius discovered that his surname had been adopted not by his great grandfather, as he had thought up to that point, but by his grandfather, it was therefore more recent than the family legend had led them to believe. To the general public of 1916, it was revealed that in 1818, the said great grandfather had been inscribed in the parish register as ‘Peasant. Johan Sibbe of Lappsträk’.

Seeing his family affairs displayed in the newspaper sent Sibelius into a rage: ‘He (Granit-Ilmoniemi) has treated the

question as a boor, grossly and summarily? (…) I have to get hold of myself, especially faced with all these Toms and Joneses. From philosophy, much philosophy, and thins will be alright' (2 February). In reality things were not going well at all: 'The family research of U. Suometar annoy me to such a point that I cannot think of anything else. (…) People who up to now have remained peacefully in their place are now behaving with familiarity and disdain. Why? (Because) by ancestors were in part peasants. – Under these conditions it is really difficult to keep an even keel (7 February). Once again he continues considering himself like a finished man and speaks of suicide again: 'But my children would suffer because of me'. His hang-up with the Fifth Symphony had much to do with his black mood.

* * *

A major compensation arrived the 5 February, Runneberg's anniversary. Ida Ekman arrived in Ainola and offered Sibelius, as a delayed birthday present a bank credit of 10,000 marks and an envelope containing the receipts for the payment of all his on going debts of 30,000 marks. 'Overwhelmed with joy. Never imagined such a things could happen to me' (Diary, same day).

He went back to work on the Fifth. 'Yesterday at my brother Christian's, this wonderful man. Attacked revision of symph V!! It is moving on slowly but well (2 February). 'Envisaging new orchestral works, with or without vocal accompaniments

(?) fantasises or? – (…) If only I could get back my capacity, my appetite and my power to work. It is as if I was finished. Always alone. Alone at home, alone in H(elsing)fors restaurants, alone on the road and in the train. Alone—alone (11 February). 'I still can't make any progress with my work. No doubt some illness. In spite of all that I still want to give a few concerts this season' (13 February). "Heard Brahms's variations (on a theme of Hadyn's), the concerto in G-major of Beeth(oven's) and T(chaikovsky's) conducted by Schneevoigt. Came home all wound up. Today Aino in bed. As to my work a little better, or rather my working method' (18 February). 'In Helsinki without the least contact. Like a sleepwalker' (19 June). 'Today feels the wings of death. No sympathy for life in H(elsing)fors with all its zealous apostles.' (21 February). 'Better state of mind, calmer. But this period of nervous stress has claimed its tribute and left indelible marks. Pulled to pieces by Saint Petersburg critics. New compositions planed' (23 February).

The 2 March, Kajanus conducted a programme consecrated to Sibelius with the Fourth as piece de resistance. 'We went over it several times, and it now seems to have penetrated into the spirit. (…) At this concert, Emil Forström gave me almost 13,000 (marks) raised at his club. Grandiose, when you know his friends are not millionaires' (Diary, same day). This time the Fourth met a more favourable reception from the public, and after the audition, Sibelius left his seat next to Aino went onto the stage and warmly shook Kajanus's hand. However, certain critics remained reticent. In the Hufvudstadsbladet of

the 3 March, Bis declared he had not appreciated neither one of the first two movements:

‘This contemplative language, this “profound poem” in prose, will it become the mark of future music, or the warm inspiration with which Sibelius gratifies us in The Swan of Tounela and (…) in En Saga (both works were played during the concert) will it be capable of continuing its supremacy over the contemplative? At the present time, when Sibelius’ Saga is capable of appealing to us, we willingly dream of the triumph of this kind of beauty, and it seems on this point the composer is in agreement with us, as he has shown with his Fifth Symphony.’ Sibelius found this critic ‘confused’, not without worriedly asking himself if, like it seemed to indicate, the Fifth constituted a ‘regression’ relative to the Fourth.

On the other hand, Evert Katila, in the Uusi Suometar of the 4th, did not hide his enthusiasm for he had felt for the Fourth: ‘Its architecture and its lines are very clear, it is with astonishment and admiration that one observes these impressionist thoughts advance inserted in a structure of the greatest rigour and finally in a logically entity that is nothing less than monumental.’

A week before, the 23 February 1916, Schneevoigt had conducted in Helsinki, with the participation of Aino Ackte, the Finnish premier of The Song of the Earth, Bis and Katila had already camped on opposite positions, but inversely. Bis had vaunted ‘the depth, the imposing formal mastery, the harmonic richness and the superior orchestration’ of the score, whilst

Katila found it ‘interminable, boring and banal’, and envied those who had the ‘moral courage’ to quit the concert hall before the end of this ‘desert of sound’. The two critics were also opposed on Scriabine’s Poem of Ecstasy, presented by Schneevoigt in the autumn of 1915. The work had made a ‘desolating impression’ on Bis, whilst Katila had detected a ‘grandiose, noble, incandescent spirit, with all its fantasies, dreams, struggles and victories’.

Another Finnish premier programmed during this period by Schneevoigt, clearly a great pioneer in repertory, was Debussy’s Rondes des printemps, the 13 January 1916. This provoked little rejection, but was not well understood. No one perceived its citations of popular music. The 14, Katila limited himself to qualifying it as ‘musical painting’ and in the Dagens Press Otto Wallin saw in it ‘a piece of atmosphere and situation, scattered with passing images, fragmented and aerial, light and constantly changing, representing French impressionism with dignity’.

Also on the 14th, in the Helsingin Sanomat, Otto Kottilainen was rather condescending, like an irritable French critic commenting The Swan of Tuonela or En Saga: ‘If music was capable of creating frames, then we would have a painting in the real sense of the term. Such works are not made to quench our thirst for music. One listens to them willingly, they procure an instant pleasure, then they are forgotten’.

Sibelius was apparently not present at any of these events, but surely noted the most recent productions of his compatriots. In

November 1915, after a long silence as a creator, Kajanus dedicated to him Sinfonietta in B-flat major, in four movements, in a Germanic post Romantic style but with a fairly light orchestration. Kajanus conducted the premier in the absence of Sibelius the 2 December 1916, less than a week before that of the original version of the Fifth.

The Fifth Symphony of Erkki Melartin, generally considered as his best, was premiered in January 1916. The 10 February, followed Madetoja's First that Sibelius attended: 'What world of beauty! Bis affirmed in the Huvudstadsbladet today that he (Madetoja) is influenced by me. This kind of remark will surely hurt our relations. I say this with a certain anger. What bother!' (Diary, 11 February). He was not entirely wrong, though bearing his share of responsibility: 'Met Madetoja, very adequate – it's sad – after his recent success. Kajanus smothered him with flattery, and he is not experienced enough to see through such things' (14 February). And shortly after: 'Madetoja is sulking about me. This is not what I taught him when he was my student.'

Nevertheless the young Finnish composers could count on him. It was thanks to his letter of recommendation of the 26 July 1914 that Väinö Raito had obtained a grant. The following 27 December, Raito had sent 'some examples of (his) work' and received a reply dated 7 January 1915. A year after Raito announced he was ready to present a first concert of his works. Sibelius again intervened on his behalf and thanks to him this concert took place the 11 March 1916 with Kajanus conducting

his orchestra. The programme consisted of Danse fantastique for orchestra, Poem for cello and orchestra and Concerto for piano in C-minor. Sibelius found Raito's beginnings 'very promising'.

A few days previously, he had analysed his relations with the younger generations as follows: 'It is as I had foreseen. The old rules are still valid. In the eyes of the public, my actions mount, but deep inside I feel total insecurity. I see how youth is rising up—Madetoja higher than the others (?)—and I should certainly admire them, but I don't have the egoism nor the aggressiveness to take care of my own future. And my contemporaries are dying away' (Diary, 9 March). Sibelius had just learned of Abraham Ojanperä's death, the 26 February, the baritone who had sung the leading role in Kullervo and also some of his melodies.

He conducted two concerts in March 1916, one the 23rd with Night Ride and Sunrise, Canzonetta, The Dryad, The Bard, the Second Symphony and as an encore Valse triste, the other the 30th the Daughter of Pohjola, Rakastava, Valse triste (by special request), and Rejoice My Soul (Laetare anima mea) and From My Very Heart (Ab imo pectore) respectively for their world premier (with soloist Ossian Fohström), and—for the fifth and last time—the original version of the Fifth Symphony.

In the Dagens Press of 25th, Erik Furuhjelm noted that the Second had been performed 'in an astonishingly quick tempo. I do not recall having ever seen the composer conduct so quickly. The performances of Kajanus—that could be generally

considered as models—are generally longer. In any case, this performance pleased me a lot. The first and last movements were given with energy and pep, and the tragic pathos of the Andante in a very evocative manner'.

Sibelius reacted with his usual ambiguity, and not without a certain sentiment of guilt: 'I have my concerts in H(elsing)fors behind me, and also a few of the friends of my youth. Not bad, except that my nerves are no longer up to it. I am going to get depressed soon. AllI had to put up with in H(elsing)fors? Such obnoxious individuals like these Apostles etc. But Kaj(an)us showed me how to treat them. (…) Wine and cigars with Arvi (Paloheimo). There's nothing I can do about it, impossible to live without these oasis' (Dairy, 6 April).

In spite of everything, Sibelius was played almost everywhere in the world. In December 1915, Joseph Stransky and the New York Philharmonia played The Oceanides. In January 1916, Oskar Fried conducted the Fourth in Berlin with the Philharmonia without great success, both Bruno Schrader of the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik and Heinz Tiessen of the Allgemeine Musikzeitung gave largely negative commentaries. In Rome, Arturo Toscanini conducted a magnificent performance of En Saga in February and the composer and pianist Alfredo Casella, writing in Musica dated the 10 February, qualified the work as poeticissimo and rejoiced at being able to observe that in the present 'sorry world' there existed a conductor 'of such a high and so mysterious quality of vision'.

In Stockholm, also in February, Armas Järnefet replaced the Fifth by the Second, and also included The Oceanides, the Concerto (again with Richard Burgin as soloist) and Scènes historiques. The Spanish composer Olallo Morales, living in Sweden since the age of seven, predecessor of Stenhammar as head of the Gothenburg orchestra and then critic of the Svenska Dagbladet, declared he was fascinated by The Oceanides. However, it was Peterson-Berger who set the tone in the Swedish capital. He appreciated the Second, which Sibelius already knew, but treated the concerto as a 'black sheep, a succession of good intentions whose promises were never fulfilled', and The Oceanides as a 'picture of sound at the most harmonious and interesting technically, something in the style of Böcklin', but without the least connection with Antiquity. Sibelius' reaction was: 'Pulled to pieces by the critics, who treat me like a good for nothing. They have decided to harass me. To harass me to death' (Diary, 24 February).

A few days after, he noted that the sonatine opus 80 'had been well received in Stockholm. Peterson-Berger nevertheless remarked that I had that I had dried up?! Is this so?! No!!!' (29 February). The 15 March, Busoni conducted the Second in Zurich. He then sent Sibelius a card post marked the 21st: 'Sempre affetuosamente e crescendo', with a postscript from his wife Gerda: 'The symphony was marvellous'. This cheered Sibelius up: 'Busoni performed Symph II with great success in Zurich' (Diary, 6 April).

The 17 April, he was present at a performance of Aida, and the following day a recital of the young tenor Wäino Sola who was later his principal Freemason brother: ‘Höstkvall rather good, but not Dolce far niente (opus 61 N°6). I congratulated him, but he did not really realise what it is. He sung too slowly and not lightly enough. These melodies must be sung to time and in sotto voce. Enjoyed life recently. Not without a certain melancholy. (…) Saw some cranes. Listened their cries again which mean so much to me’ (Diary, 19 April). ‘Twelve swans on the lake, on the ice. Watched them with binoculars!!! (…) And an eagle. Wonderful day!!’ (20 April). ‘After some splendid warm days (26 degrees or more in the shade), the snow has come back. (…) Went to Helsinki with Gidi Järnefelt to bury old Swan (Eero Järnelt’s father-in-law). Jussi Snellman had a rise in salary. He knows how to manage things in life’ (10 May). Ruth and Jussi Snellman had been engaged since Christmas 1915, this did not prevent Sibelius from wanting to see Ruth give up both Jussi and the theatre. ‘Ruth not very happy —held back tears because J(ussi). S(nellman). has not telephoned’ (Diary, 7 April).

The wedding was took place the 21 July 1916, and the previous Sunday a ball was held at Ainola. Partly to cover the costs, Sibelius sold six piano pieces to Lindgren for 6,500 marks plus two for piano and violin.

He gave the manuscripts to his future son-in-law who transmitted them to the publisher Westerlund, and went himself to collect his money the 7th. Three days later, he commenced

work on the stage music for Jedermann by Hugo von Hofmannsthal, which had been promised for some time to Jalmari Lahdensuo, the director of the Finnish National Theatre. ‘Will anything come out of it?’, he asked himself on the 11th. The 13th, he put it to one side: ‘Morning in the summer rain. Sunny again. Dolce far niente.’

At the beginning of August, Madetoja, who had just moved from to Helsinki from Viipuri as professor of music history and theory at the Institute and music critic of the Helsingin Sanomat, interviewed Sibelius in Ainola. His article appeared in the newspaper’s edition of the 10th. Madetoja reported:

‘We spoke of Scriabin, the late Russian composer (…) of the ultramodern system of the Viennese Schönberg, and more generally of the direction taken by new music’, he then put these words in Sibelius’ mouth: ‘All these experiences beyond the realm of beauty should be taken at their face value. Nevertheless, it is necessary to observe that we are progressing with giant strides or rather we are drawn in a direction the true nature of which will soon be perceived by the most perspicacious of music lovers. What is written today will be out of date tomorrow. The symphonies of Mahler, which a few years ago I considered marked their time, have little by little lost their capacity to surprise. For myself I only find in them outdated sentimental thoughts. Schönberg’s Gurrelieder, which I have just glanced through, are in spite of their ‘radicalism’ instrumented in an infantile and primitive manner. However, it should be noted that what I affirm today, the 8 August 1916 at

four o'clock in the afternoon, could very well take a completely different form tomorrow, if by chance I evoke the same questions.'

Madetoja then questioned Sibelius on his projects. He was confronted with a wall of silence, then: 'It is a subject that I have decided once and for all not to discuss. Experience has made me wise. Some time ago I was supposed to compose a melody based on Poe's Raven for Aino Ackte, for a concert tour. This was immediately telegraphed around the world. But after having considered it for some time, I came to the conclusion that this poem was impossible to put to music, or else as a melodrama. As the melody did not materialise, I naturally found myself in an embarrassing situation.' Sibelius was careful not to tell Madetoja that fragments of The Raven had ended up in the finale of the Fourth. To finish, he complained of the consequences of the war: 'Our country is so small, and I was used to moving in a much greater space. Right now I remember that it is about two years since I came back from my visit to America. I had many engagements both in America and in Europe, my head was overflowing with plans. But now all I am offered is to remain quietly at home.'

The declaration of Sibelius, particularly those concerning Mahler and Schönberg should be interpreted with prudence. In the preceding years, he had expressed himself in favour of Schönberg on several occasions, twice in Berlin in 1914 in his diary and then in the USA in reply to a journalist. In Berlin in 1914, he had in addition qualified Mahler's Das Klagende Lied

as ‘brilliant music’. Perhaps he had not, in his interview with Madetoja, digested the praise poured on The Song of the Earth six months earlier by Bis to the detriment of his fifth Symphony. In any case, in this interview, he was careful to put into perspective, as noted, his off hand opinions. In reality, the music of the ‘Viennese’ Mahler and Schönberg provoked for him a curious mixture of fascination, admiration and skepticism. Since 1913-1914, he had resolutely taken a different path, which he considered less pretentious, less artificial, and supposed to allow him, at the end of a period of pitiless self-criticism, to establish a deep intuitive relation with himself, marked by nature’s mysticism’.

* * *

The 24 August 1916, he completed the five melodies requested by Ida Ekman. During the first of four recitals the Ekman couple, in the presence of Sibelius and Aino, presented a panorama of the composer’s works in this domain. The cantatrice no longer had her voice of her early days, but Sibelius noted: ‘Ida Ekman sung marvellously. The new melodies opus 86 were a success’ (Diary, 8 October). A sixth melody, I systrar, I bröder (Ye sisters, ye brothers), a poem of Mikael Lybeck, was added to these in November 1917. The six were published in August 1923 by Hansen. ‘This marvellous singer (Ida Ekman) is also very agreeable in company. Simple, natural, versed in the art of conversation. I can’t support the gossip of my other singers’ (Diary, 17 January 1916).

But the revision of the Fifth continued to torment him: ‘Thought of death! I will never finish what I have dreamed of. (…) It is the end, glorious Jean Sibelius. Dammed Jean Christophe!’ (29 August). The 1 September in a letter to Carpelan he wrote: ‘I often ask myself if I am condemned to spend the rest of my days in complete isolation, far from the great centres of civilization, without ever rediscovering the pleasure that a first class orchestra always gives me when playing my works under my baton. But no doubt I have a too sombre view of reality. A composer such as I should always work in thing of the future. (…) I will soon be finished (with the stage music of Jedermann). Then I will give my Fifth a complete re-examination and finish with it. New projects and new ideas. Life is again deep and rich.’

The day fixed for the premier of Jederman approached, but the composer’s friends and family monopolised him. His sister Linda, who had spent two days in Ainola in June, asked him and Aino to come to the psychiatric clinic to see her. The 23 June he noted: ‘Lina here, I feel very depressed. Why? Just being with her and I see only the failures and vanity of existence. (…) All that puts me down and I become incapable of doing anything’ (Diary). And then: ‘How can I be of any use in the state I’m in?’ (5 September).

The 9 September, Heikka and Leena Järnefelt suddenly arrived at Ainola late in the evening in the company of their friend the write Frans Emil Sillanpää. Future Nobel Prize winner for literature Sillanpää had just started out with Eläma

ja aurinko (Life and Sun, 1916), a story proclaiming the importance and purity of instinct. The conversation was about Chine workers 'imported' by the Russian authorities for reinforcement work on the fortifications.

The next day Sibelius had had enough: 'Sillanpää is too self satisfied and too sure of himself! It ends up by annoying me! (10 September). He then went to Helsinki for a few days, to prepare Jederamnn with Jalmari Lahdensuo as well as for amusing himself in the company of his friends. He saw Hjalmar Procope again, and spent an evening celebrating with Viktor Hoving, a bookseller and cultural figure from Viipuri.

It became more and more difficult to resist his escapades in the capital. 'In town yesterday. Not without getting drunk. Evidently that can't continue. Must reduce alcohol to a strict minimum. Same for tobacco. Today, thoughts of death. Met Kajanus yesterday and enjoyed his company. He has dedicated his Sinfonietta to me. Listened to K. conducting Tchaikovsky's Sixth Symphony, this beauty that is slowly taking age' (21 September).

Sibelius started work on the score of Jedermann (Everyone) at the beginning of September and completed it the 6 October. The first performance took place under the direction of Kajanus the 6 November 1916 at the National Finnish Theatre, and not at the Swedish Theatre as had been his previous musical stage works, the scenery decorated in black. Others followed, but the 17 November, Aino wrote to her sister-in-law Linda: 'We have heard that Jedermann will not be played today

as the governor general has forbidden such a sombre work on the anniversary of the Emperor’s accession.’

Inspired by the mysteries of the Middle Ages, Hofmannstahl’s play was first performed in 1911, and translated into Finnish by the poet Hugo Felix Jalkanen. This ‘morality play’ teaches life on this earth is transitory. Jedermann, rich and egotistical, lives with his mistress Paramour. He amasses earthly goods and refuses to help those in need. Death comes to claim him, and he is saved from damnation by Good Works. Other than Good Works are other allegorical personalities such as Death, Faith, the Devil and Mammon.

At the end of 1916, Sibelius worked fiercely on his revision of the Fifth. ‘Wasted my time today at home. Can’t say that I am pleased to be here in Finland’ (Diary, 8 October). ‘Walked a lot. No consideration for my colleagues. Ignore their concerts. Must concentrate on myself. Il sacro egoismo’ (9 November). ‘I start to avoid those who look down on me and put Palmgren above me. And all these sniggering people’.

Amongst his ‘successors’, he continued to place Madetoja and Kuula at the head. The 9 November 1916, he noted that the three first movements of the revised Fifth were at the copyist and that he was working on the finale (references to the 1915 version, because the first two movements had already been fused into a single movement).

A few days later, he almost despaired, but the 24th, he noted that his revision work was at an end. Nevertheless he continued to have doubts: 'Can I continue to assure the needs of my family and reimburse my debts by composing? And what? The public is 'unfaithful'. I write these words at midnight and see things darkly. Perhaps things will clear up. In any case, I have composed too much. Need more time. Tormented by Ida Ekman's request for a duo+quartet. No news from Axel. Rheumatism. (…) Erik Furujhelm working on his "book on Jean S." and almost finished. Let's hope the result is not a disaster'. 'Have started Humoresques for violin (and orchestra or piano)'. 'The copy of the Symph. V has cost 500 marks (!). That hurts' (29 November).

The 2 December, Kajanus celebrated his sixtieth birthday in the presence of Sibelius and Aino, but not Gallen-Kallela, who did not leave his retreat in Ruovesi. A week later, the day of his fifty first birthday, Sibelius conducted En saga, Rakastava and the second version of the Fifth in Turku, in the presence of Carpelan, with who he then spent some 'very interesting moments'.

He then presented the second version of the Fifth in Helsinki on the 14th, preceded by the Third and followed by Pelleas and Mélisande. Of the three versions of the work, that of 1916 is the least documented, the only source that gives an overall idea of it is the part for the double bass in the archives of the Helsinki Philharmonia. A few observations are nevertheless possible. The first two movements of 1915 were joined

together to form a single movement, by taking out the last bars of the first movement and the sixty four first bars of the second, replaced by a dramatic climax in B-major almost identical to that of 1919. This 'climax' provoked the enthusiasm of Carpelan as well as a severe critic from Bis.

'The concert in H(elsin)fors was not really to my taste. No enthusiasm. I think there must be an intrigue against me. I was even given names. Many pretend to be my "friends". The paths of human hearts are strange. In any case, this damned war can only continue, and my solitude with it' (17 December). Bis blamed the climax in E-major that connected the two movements of 1915, the overall second movement and the exaggerated dissonances of the finale.

Sibelius found this critic 'inferior' and 'unjust', but read Carpelan's letter of the 15th with pleasure in which the Fifth was qualified as a work 'just as rich, just as original and just as beautiful as any other symphony of nature since Ludwig the Great'. 'Bis's critic was in Hufvudstadsbladet office two hours before the concert!' the composer affirmed in his reply to Carpelan, dated the 20th. During the performance of the Fifth in Turku the 8 December, Carpelan had contrary to Bis considered the 'connection' between the first two movements of 1915 an important improvement. After the first movement he whispered to his neighbour: 'Admirable transformation, from the formal point of view better than Brahms.'

Sibelius quickly realised that 'the battle for the Fifth was not yet won'. Thus he commenced 1917 exactly as 1916: ''Revised

mirabile dictu la Symph. V for Stockholm (Armas)' (Diary, 1 January 1917). It required three years, not one, to complete his revision. The 6 January, he announced to Armas that he was back stepping once again: 'Truly sorry. When I composed my symph V for my 50th birthday, I was pressed for time. The result is I have spend the year behind me revising it, but – I am still not happy. And I cannot, absolutely cannot send it to you. Try to find some kind of an excuse, for example that it is impossible to take the risk of sending my only copy of the score, or something like that. (…) Perhaps you could present Symph 4. It has been greeted in America, in England and by Oskar Fried as epoch making. Muck has played it four times in Boston and in New York with great success. And also Busoni, Fitelberg etc.' Then: 'I must forget it (the Fifth). But I must continue to work. No doubt the sun will rise again. (…) And it seems to be taking a long time. How did this happen? Several reasons. My way of composing has led me into a dead end' (Diary, 12 January). With which the Fifth was apparently abandoned for twelve or thirteen months, that is for all of 1917.

During the rehearsals for the second version, in December 1916, Kajanus had remarked certain faults: 'It is not surprising that the musicians and mediocre and the conductor nervous. How many times have I had the possibility of correcting his ears? But never in public, in front of the orchestra, as he had done to me. My nature and his are completely different' (Diary, 12 January). Kajanus announced he was coming to Ainola: 'No doubt he wants to take advantage of my popularity. To my detriment? (29 January). In reality Kajanus had had the idea,

with his impresario Edvard Fazer, to make a promotional and propaganda tour with his orchestra in England and France, countries which in spite of their alliance with Russia had to be carefully handled.

During this tour his intention was to present uniquely Finnish music. The political after thoughts of this business did not completely escaped Sibelius, but remained skeptical, further he had no interest to see himself programmed with composers whose international reputation was almost zero. '(Kajanus) wants to promote Palmgren, Madetoja and himself. I am here in my corner, to be precise, and I don't think my pride will allow it. I outclass them in standing. This tour in the West will surely result in nothing good' (30 January).

The project was evidently abandoned and Sibelius went as far as regretting his reaction: 'My nerves are gone. Sick as usual. Should absolutely get rid of such suspicions etc. concerning Kajanus. In the name of God, leave him be himself.' (5 February). Tawaststjerna spoke of this paranoia, and cited two other examples. During a visit of Ainola of Walter von Konow, the question of ancestors surged forth again. Jean felt offended when Walter brought up the question of his noble origins, and equally so when he read the monograph consecrated to him by the Swede Carl Göran Nyblom (Stockholm 1916).

The six Humoresques for violin and orchestra started to take form in his mind and five of the six were created in 1917. was ready the 14 February. The next day Sibelius went to Helsinki and sold it to the publisher Blomstedt for 2,000 marks. He took

advantage of his presence in the city to attend the rehearsal for Kajanus that included The Oceanides, Madetoja's First Symphony, and a new Concerto for piano by the young composer Ernst Linko, but was careful not to dally in the capital. In effect he doubted the judgments of others on his excesses, and above all the scenes that his escapades provoked with Aino: 'At the rehearsal today, so nervous that I thought I would never be able to conduct again! In the evening in a better state. Should not let myself go like that. Look at things in the face. (…) And live my own life, hang on or break. Contain and improve myself' (Diary, 15 February). Once again he reproached Aino for making his existence miserable. 'Times are so hard for her, and with me she suffers enormously. A sad and warm melody is sounding in me. I see to what point we love each other. Aino wishes to be relieved by death' (21 January).

Aino finished by leaving for Saint Petersburg—now Petrograd, to visit Eva and Arvi, who had a comfortable apartment in the centre of the Russian capital. 'I hope she had a good journey? The dear creature is exhausted' (Diary, 5 February). She had therefore left him alone: 'In town today. Drink and then depression. Terrible state. Especially because this weakness harms me in my own eyes and in those of others. At home, took a pill to calm my nerves'. 'Sunny. I miss Aino. But what would her life be like with me? I have no charm and everything is 'in suspense'.

I would have to suffer many other things. And rely on my dear compatriots Katila, Kajanus etc. which I have never done, and who I have to continue to avoid. Polite, but "noli me tangere"! I am feeling terrible! Nervous, no doubt for having played Strauss's Elektra on the piano' (18 February). Aino returned from Petrograd, and a few days later, Sibelius disappeared to Helsinki to 'gallivant etc. with (the painter) Faven etc.' The next day, Aino was so angry that her husband feared the worse. It was in this strained atmosphere that he composed Relgioso for violin (or cello) and piano that he dedicated to his brother Christian. The tension persisted. 'It is strange to see that there are moments in life when a projector seems to light our path and as a result we see clearly and distinctly our miseries. This evening, with Aino, I experienced such a moment. We should separate, but we have neither the courage nor the audacity' (2 March).

The day before in Stockholm, Schneevoigt conducted the Fourth Symphony. Peterson-Berger excelled in his attacks. According to him the work 'fasted forty days in the desert, or rather erred forty years in the arduous search of the promised land of living music, (…) and recalls a madman sitting fixed nattering to himself in indistinct and confused whispers'. As the previous year, Olallo Morales was one of those who saved the situation. For him, the Fourth exuded 'a kind of spiritual relationship with Debussy', and the art of Sibelius had become 'more introverted, more profound and more personal'. This art had partly lost 'its local Finnish colour on the surface' and had become 'more international'.

Morales also evoked the 'religious mysticism of this symphonic Voces intimae. (…) The voices evolved like as many solitary fragments, unaware of their mutual links. (…) They suddenly fall silent, like a suspended conversation, leaving the listener hanging in doubt'. In the Stockholm-Tidningen of the same day, the composer Sigurd von Kock found the symphony 'very captivating' but the references to Debussy contestable. 'More than ever Sibelius seems to camp in his own field.'

At the beginning of March, Aino was once more hospitalized. She soon reappeared, cried all day and recovered in a time to see her daughter Eva arrive in Ainola, who with her granddaughter of two years had left Petrograd after bullets had hit the ceiling of her dining room. The 12 March 1917, after several days of major strikes, the Petrograd garrison had

fraternized with the workers, giving Russia the signal for the 'February Revolution'.

CHAPTER 15

1917

SVOBODA! SVOBODA! (Freedom! Freedom!) exclaimed Eva Paloheimo, nee Sibelius, when she arrived in Ainola from Petrograd, in March 1917. The arrival of a liberal government in Russia was greeted with enthusiasm everywhere in Finland. The 16 March Sibelius noted in his dairy: ‘Great events have taken place in Russia. Can we decide our own destiny? That is the great question. All that weighs heavily on Finland.’ Then, not without irony: ‘Great things in these times, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity!’ (29 March). The days previously, Eino Leino, had written a hymn to liberty composed of a dialogue between the peoples of Finland and Russia. As to Maximov, the commander of the Russian fleet in the Baltic, he went as far as addressing the crowd in Swedish in the in the Senate square: ‘I salute free Finland!’

In a manifesto dared the 20 March, the provisional government of the Prince of Lvov, formed the 15th in which Alexander Kerensky, the most well know personality of the Russian Revolution, was the minister of justice, the illegal measures taken under Nicolas II were abrogated, ‘in the hope that the respect of law would unite the Russian and Finnish in reciprocal friendship’. There was no question of independence,

but Finland, still occupied by Russian troops, regained back its autonomy.

The governor general Seyn was arrested and transferred to prison in Petrograd, and those who had been imprisoned or deported were freed. It was in these circumstances that at the end of March, Katerina Sibelius aged fourteen, her uncle Eero Järnefelt and his daughters assisted at the triumphal return to Helsinki of Svinhufvud from Siberia and even shook his hand. The same day, Kerensky visited Helsinki to assure the Finns, at the same time exhorting their loyalty, of the new government's good will. Katarina, Ruth and their cousin Heikki Järnefelt also saw groups of Russian soldiers fraternising with Finnish workers and above all officers of the Baltic fleet shot down in the streets by members of their own crews who had mutinied.

'This hunt of Russian officers in the streets of Helsinki offered its citizens a spectacle that they watched with divided feelings. Their patriotism was satisfied, but that neither excluded compassion, nor fear for their own safety'.

Once again the situation was not simple, and a jubilant spring was followed by an anxious summer. For a little more than a century, the only link between Russia and Finland was in the person of the Czar. The Czar had been overthrown, did this link still exist, and if so under what form? For the moment the provisional government of Petrograd appointed a governor general, a man known for his liberal ideas and his sympathies for Finland, Paul Mikhail Stahovitch.

The Diet, where the socialists who had obtained an absolute majority of not only the votes in the elections of 1916, but also seats, chose Kullervo Manner as their president. As to Stahovitch, he appointed a Senate of twelve members, six 'bourgeois' and six socialists, and gave the presidency, with the decisive vote, to one of these, Antti Oskari Tokoi. As a result the socialists also had the majority in the government.

Tokoi was the first socialist in the world to become the head of a democratic government. Now those who favoured independence, though the Germanophile bourgeois were amongst them, were above all on the left. Therefore the double socialist majority, in the Diet and the Senate, bore the germ of new discords between Finland and Russia and very soon proof of this became visible. In May, Kerensky became minister of war and returned to Helsinki to address the troops, giving a kind of warning: 'Here in Finland, we should be very prudent, because our generosity and good will could be interpreted by Germany as weakness or powerlessness.' Some weeks after (18 July), under the impulsion of Kullervo Manner, the Diet voted by a huge majority a law transferring all the powers of the former Czars to itself, in other words supreme power, though however leaving the army and diplomacy to the Russians.

It was almost an act of independence, which led Kerensky to announce the dissolution of the Diet, who newly appointed as Russian prime minister considered his government as having inherited the power of the Czar as Grand Duke.

The consequence was a broadening in the split between the Finnish bourgeois and socialists. The socialists reproached the bourgeois for having, with the support of the governor general Stahovitch, supported the dissolution by the Senate, in the hope that new elections would be more favourable to them. Driven

by their more active elements, the socialists drew closer to the Russian Bolsheviks, which had the effect of frightening the bourgeois parties and inciting them, by fear of a ‘Red dictatorship’ in Finland, to avoid a rupture with Petrograd at any price.

All the conditions for a fratricidal conflict were now in place. They became even more threatening during the elections of the 1 and 2 October 1917 for a new Diet. Whilst remaining the leading party in the country the socialists lost their absolute majority in terms of seats, and a coalition of right wing parties was formed against them. The most radical tendencies of the socialists, who represented almost half of the population, were reinforced. At the end of the month an armed ‘Red guard’ backed by the Russian soldiers still present and a ‘White guard’ or a ‘civil guard’ later backed by the members of the famous 27th Jäger battalion armed by Germany, found themselves face to face and were more or less openly preparing to fight.

During the month of October, the Diet, this time with a bourgeois majority, prepared a second law to define the rule of the Grand Duchy. As in the previous system, it left to Russia military and foreign affairs. The reaction of the Russians to this project is unknown.

The 7 November (25 October), Carl Enckelldiplomat and Secretary of State for Finnish Affairs and General Nickolai Nekrasov, who had replaced Stahovitch at the end of September, took the night train to Petrograd from Helsinki to submit the project to Kerensky, but on their arrival at the

Finno-Russian frontier they learnt that the Winter Palace, the seat of the provisional government, had been besieged and taken that that Kerensky had fled. The government had fallen and was now in the hands of the Bolsheviks, which completely changed the situation.

The events of February-March 1917 in Russia pushed Carpelan to write to Sibelius a letter dated 9 April in a Cassandra like tone: 'Destiny has placed us in a vulnerable geographical and political position, and should expect to suffer a great deal. On the horizon I can see the sombre clouds of Slavic nationalism, who knows what they will bring on us? Perhaps sooner than we imagine. I expect nothing good (from the Russian government).

The continuation of the war by Petrograd signifies the victory of nationalism over socialism, which will no doubt be followed by red anarchy and its flames – without forgetting its consequence, reaction. Even if that does not happen, we here cannot escape, for a time, social tyranny.' Carpelan did not lack a certain clairvoyant, which was demonstrated in another letter to Sibelius that mentioned 'the harsh logic of geography which has placed Petrograd only three hours from the frontier' (9 January 1918). In speaking of 'social tyranny' Carpelan had for the moment only made an allusion to the will of the socialists, still in the majority in the Diet, to impose their programme.

In Sibelius' entourage, not everyone held the same disapproval. As a faithful disciple of Tolstoy, Arvid Järnefelt

expected great things from the February Revolution: ‘The Girondons are now in power, when will the Jacobins arrive?’

One Sunday in Helsinki, he and his friends slipped into the Kallio Cathedral (Berghäll), designed by Lars Sonck and, after the service, in spite of the protests of the presiding clergy, launched this message to a hypnotised congregation: ‘I belong to the upper class (…) and therefore present myself as its conscience. We recognise that our culture has foundered. We had believed ourselves capable of edifying you and leading you to a brighter future, but (…) all we have produced is terror and destruction.

At the point of surrendering our leadership, we beg you not to follow our example and not exploit what you have learnt from our downfall without putting this experience to the service of love’. Everyone considered that Arvid Järnfelt had lost his mind, but others took defended him, like Eino Leino, who saw in this speech ‘a historical-cultural event of the highest importance’, or like Elisabeth Järnefelt. At the age of seventy eight she wrote to her son: ‘Janne understands you and said that the church belongs everybody, the clergy are content to occupy the church and have proclaimed themselves owners.’

Sibelius could make such a proclamation in private, but in public he was more prudent, though not without admiring those who dared break conventional barriers and expose their convictions. In September, Arvid Järnefet was arrested and spent the night in a Helsinki cell. The next morning, he was put into a police prison van in the company of five prostitutes and

appeared in court. The affair was dismissed and he peacefully returned home, for the moment.

In April 1917, during the 'jubilatory spring', a Finnish week was organised in Petrograd, with an art exposition as the main attraction. A group of important cultural personalities visited the Russian capital. True to himself, Sibelius did not take part in the event. He could however read in the Hufvudstadsbladet that Gorki and Galen-Kallela greeted each other with an embrace in public, and that Gorki cried out in Finnish 'Long live Finland, I love Finland!', that Eero Järnefelt had spoken in Russian, and that Kajanus standing up in the ex-imperial box of the Mariinski Theatre had thanked their Russian hosts to the acclamations of the public.

Contrary to Kerinsky, Sibelius no doubt considered that the Finnish Diet with its socialist majority did not exercise sufficient pressure on Russia, fearing like many others an alliance between Finnish socialists and Russian radicals. 'Are we ready for freedom?' he asked himself in his diary the 28 April. Then: 'Finland is plunged into complete anarchy' (17 May).

He continued his work. 'I am at the end of my nerves. Terrible depression. – Another title for Humoresques. Dance lyric? – Becoming impossible for the people around me. Can't support them. Will finish in misanthropy. I who was once the most joyous companion in the country' (1 May). In the end he kept the title Humoresques, and the 3 May completed the second. The 8 May it was the turn of the Rondino for violin

and piano. He had, like his compatriots, suffered from the strict food rationing imposed by the circumstances.

At that time a packet in the form of a violin arrived in Ainola, it had been sent by the architect Torkel Nordman, from Pori (Björneberg), a port on the Gulf of Bothnia. There was not a musical instrument inside, but smoked mutton, dissimulated so as not to attracted starved postmen. With 'a thousand thanks for the delicious violin' the composer sent Nordman, who a passionate fan of choral songs, a manuscript of Fridolins dårskap (The Folly of Fridolin), for men's a cappella choirs to a poem by Erik Axel Karlfeldt. This anecdote is based on an untranslatable Swedish pun, in better Swedish 'smoked mutton' also means 'a mutton violin'. Sibelius qualified Fridolins dårskap as a 'pleasantry'.

* * *

Continuing on his effort, the 16 June Sibelius completed a new collection of melodies for Ida Ekman. It was a collection consecrated to flowers, the first three poems were by Frans Mikael Franzen and the latter three by Runeberg. These melodies were relatively brief, and their vocal scope limited, Ida Ekman did not have the same possibilities as she had earlier. They were premiered by her in Helsinki the 26 October and published by Hansen in December 1923.

The 10 June, Aino and Janne celebrated their silver wedding anniversary. At the beginning of July, Sibelius returned to

Helsinki shaken by the recent events: ‘Terribly unsafe everywhere. Where will this lead us to? Younger people will see better times, but you, glorious Jean Sibelius, you will rest in a tomb well before that. How sad! Absolutely no light. (…) One has rarely seen an epoch such as ours so empty of spiritual values. A composer has really nothing to do in it’ (Diary, 4 July). Two grandsons was born, Martti Jean Alfred (1917-1987) to Eva, and Erkki (1917) to Ruth. The 18 September, three new Humoresques were ready and Sibelius immediatly sent them to Lindgren, who paid the quite considerable sum of 6,000 marks. The last of the six was not ready until November 1918.

‘Walked. A beautiful autumn day. The neighbours are digging their potatoes. Stayed in bed yesterday. My nerves! Had been to Helsinki, ‘gallivanting’ but a marvellous time’ (20 September). ‘Katarina a school in Helsinki today. She has now left home, and my heart bleeds.

They want me to conduct Kiev. Impossible for the moment. Torn by doubt as to the form to give my new work. (…) The cranes have left the country. Autumn arrives. (…) Times are hard. Very little to be earned, money melts in my hands’ (23 September). Linda has come back to stay for a while in Ainola. ‘The first day went well. Then melancholy has taken over me.

Impossible to work on anything. Composed Lullaby for violin and piano and Bellis (Daisy) for piano’ (28 September). ‘Peace further away than ever. How will that end up? Poor country, will all its discords’ (14 October). He would have

preferred consecrating his time to his Fifth Symphony, but the circumstances did not lend themselves to the task, and the job of supporting his family remained indispensable. He became little involved in the controversies and struggles of the moment, contrary to Gallen-Kallela, who wrote to a friend:

‘I am not enough of an artist to detach myself completely from the problems (political), but they continually disturb me in my efforts to forget what is happening around my and be absorbed in my art’. Gallen-Kallela was campaigning to put an end to the Finnish-Swedish language fight, and reproached Finnish politicians for being too compromising vi-à-vis the Petrograd government: ‘It is that as soon as we have thrown out the hooligans here, we will have nothing more to do with Russia!’

* * *

Sibelius, who had a more or less realistic vision of the situation, received an unexpected telephone call in October 1917 from the doctor who was caring for his ear problem, Henrik Wilhelm Zilliacus, who enquired to know if he was willing to come to Helsinki to discuss a problem of great importance? Zilliacus, one of those who in 1914 had been called up for the Royal Prussian 27th Jäger Battalion, told Sibelius that ‘the morale of our boys over there was very low, and they had great need of encouragement from home’.

The battalion had fought on the German side against the Russians, but the Germans, in the eventuality of an armistice with the Russians, envisaged dissolving the Jägers. In Russia, its members ran the risk of being accused of high treason, and in Finland, the opinion was far from being entirely with them. In the Libau camp (Liepaja) in Courland (now part of Lativia), the Jägers idle and abandoned had organised a competition for the words of a marching song that was won by a lieutenant named Heikko Nurmio. His text was secretly carried from Courland to Sweden, then by motor boat from Umeå in Sweden to Vaasa in Finland, then to Helsinki in the skirts of a student to Zilliacus, who asked his famous patient if he would agree to setting it to music.

Sibelius's reply was immediate and affirmative, which given the situation was not without certain risks. He worked in 'an atmosphere of great patriotic exultation', at least this is what he told Ekman, and a few days later brought Zilliacus the March of the Jägers, in Finnish Jääkärien marssi or Jääkärimarssi in its original version for men's choir and piano. Zilliacus's wife immediately went to the piano, and Sibelius decided to replace the original conclusion in minor by an 'optimistic' end in major. They dared to send the manuscript to Libau and it was sent in the form of copies with text, again by a very devious route.

By prudence, because the Russians were still at war and Finland still under their control, the copies bore neither the name of Sibelius nor Heikko Nurmio, but were dated the 8

December 1917, the birthday of the composer. The secret, if there was one, did not last for long, those who sung it guessed who the author was. The song was sung behind closed doors the 23 October at a meeting in the secret headquarters of the Jägers in Helsinki, and after just a few bars the musicians immediately guessed the name of the composer.

The day of Sibelius' fifty second birthday, it was sung again, in a restaurant and again behind closed doors. The 28 November it was played in Libau by a young Jäger named Väiniö Palojärvi before the officers of the 27th battalion.

Conceived at the outset to boost the morale of a small troop of Finnish soldiers station far from their homeland, the March of the Jägers was some weeks later closely identified with one of the sides of the civil war of January-April 1918; that of the Whites. Nobody in the last months of 1917 could have imagined it, not the least Sibelius himself.

With its fervour, the March of the Jägers maintained a rather fierce tone from one end to the other. Sibelius orchestrated the piano part the 28 January 1918, and arranged versions for choirs a capella, and orchestra alone.

In spite of the events, social life in Helsinki continued more or less normally, with first of all a recital by Maikki Järnefelt-Palmgren. The 1st November, the soprano Elise Popowa, of the Mariinsky Theatre, sung in Helsinki with the Kajanus orchestra conducted by Karl Ekman.

Events were precipitated in Finland when the Bolsheviks seized power. By a small majority the Diet decided the instauration of a triumvirate that exercised a kind of regency. Not being able to agree on its composition, it decided to exercise all the powers of the state itself. The idea then progressed in 'bourgeois' circles, but regressed amongst the most radical socialists: the positions were inversed. In his diary Sibelius noted that he had just added his melody I bröder, I systrar to opus 88 and the piece for piano Campanula to opus 85, then spoke of the political situation: Threat of a general strike. Eva and Arvi here with their children. Also waiting for Ruth's little boy. House full, it's very agreeable. Difficult to progress with my orchestra pieces with these new uncertainties.

All attention is focused on the war and its consequences. Erik (Eero Järnefelt) here yesterday. Passed some good moments with him. Rainy +6°. Went for a walk today without an overcoat.' (13 November). For many Finnish social-democrats, the October Revolution was an example to be followed.

The Bolshevik government maintained close contacts with them, and a special envoy sent by Lenin encouraged them: 'Rise up, rise up now and put power into the hands of the organised working class!' A revolutionary central committee was formed in Helsinki. He launched a call to strike, and this commenced the 14 November, accompanied by numerous acts of violence. Peaceful citizens, mostly Swedish speaking, were

massacred by the dozen. ‘Will there be a revolution?’ Sibelius asked himself.

He could read the article written by Eino Leino wrote in the Helsingin Sanomat entitled ‘Red Week’ and described the events of the recent days: ‘The largest Finnish party attacks its own citizens with foreign bayonets. Is this an awful nightmare or is the terror real? Raids on peoples homes, arrests, freedom of speech stifled, the most elementary civil rights flouted, blood, dead bodies and looting.’

The socialists did not however take power and the general strike ended the 19th. In the eyes of the bourgeoisie it had compromised the entire Social-Democratic party, in spite of its internal dissensions.

Three days later Sibelius noted: ‘Saw a swan today. Rocked by the waves on the edge of the ice. (…) Terrible incidents provoked by the socialists, whose advance demoralizes us, we other patriots. What can we do’ (22 November). In the Helsingin Sanomat of the 24th, Juhani Aho protested against the possible amnesty for the crimes committed by the Reds during the strike, when on the contrary, Eino Leino started to change: ‘Where would we be today without (organised social-democracy)? In the most complete anarchy, in comparison to which, the suffering just experienced would be mere child’s play.’ And Sibelius: ‘There are moments in life when everything is blacker than black – darker than night. Time, they say, heals all wounds. But that which is incurable? (…) Aino, the dear creature, whom I love so much, who shares my

struggles, I pity her with all my heart. I have brought her so little happiness, and so many worries. I'm terribly worried. Strange that the source of all my suffering is none other than myself' (24 November).

At the Social-Democratic Party congress, which took place in Helsinki from 25 to 27 November, an orator named Stali—it was in Tampere, Finland in 1905, that he met Lenin for the first time—guaranteed the unconditional support of the Bolsheviks for Finland's struggle for independence. He advised his listeners to adopt Danton's tactics: 'Audacity, more audacity and always audacity!'

During this time the new Senate, in the majority 'bourgeois' presided by Svinhufvud, examined a project for a constitution, prepared by Kaarlo Juho Stalhberg, a trained lawyer and future president of the Republic. This project implicitly inferred independence. The 4 December, Svinhufvud declared in front of the Diet that Finland should take its destiny in its own hands and takes its place amongst the other nations of the world, adding: 'The Finnish peopled dare hope that Russia and its constituent assembly will not block our efforts.'

The 6 December, independence was proclaimed by the Diet, an act that was entirely within the objectives of the war foreseen by the German military high command. The Social-Democrats voted against, reproaching the 'government' of Svinhufvud of unilaterally aligning itself with the Germans. Kullervo Manner underlined that for his party, a future

independence could only be achieved 'in a spirit of reconciliation, in agreement with Russia'.

The diary of Sibelius did not mention a word of this. The 4 December, he worked on the Fifth. The 8th, Kajanus called by telephone to greet him on his fifty-second birthday: 'He conducted my Third Symphony very well. And Madetoja had written a particularly favourable report, which should be remembered' (Diary, 8 December).

This performance took place the 6 December, the day independence was declared, and it was on this occasion Madetoja qualified the Third as a 'Pastoral Symphony of the North'. In a letter on the 10th Sibelius, asked Carpelan about his health, and continued: 'Hier schrieb ich Noten in Nöthen' (Here I write notes in hardship: a play on words in German). Working partly for orchestra—my 'great things', and in part for den hiesigen Verlegern—my 'small'. Before yesterday I was 52, but the day passed without melancholy. Ein Lebenszeichen von Dir wäre mir sehr lieb, sehr lieb (I would very, very, much appreciate a sign of life from you).'Then, after a few days ill in bed: 'I got up today, but without being better. Is this the beginning of the end?! - Anarchy everywhere. My unhappy country. Many suffer, notably because of me meetings in H(eslsing)fors). Aino in town for Christmas shopping. I see everything in black for the moment. Misery and barbarity. I fear nothing will ever get better. I have the VI and VII in mind. And revisions of the V symph. If I fall ill and can't work, what will become of them?'(18 December). Here is the oldest

mention of the Seventh Symphony. The work does not explicitly figure in any sketch of that time, but very basic versions of certain themes already exist.

* * *

A terrible degree of anarchy. The socialists are on the march. Difficult moments for Axel in Turku. (…) Peace is further away than ever' (Sibelius, diary, 22 December 1917). Two days earlier, the Hufvudstadsbladet had reported troubles in Turku and an article in Izvestia reported the Commandant of the Russian troops had incited the Finnish proletariat to 'overthrow the bourgeois'.

On the last day of that year Sibelius was in a state of deep depression: 'You endure seeing others pay your debts and being reduced to charity. A nature such as your own should not have to go through that. But—you have never asked for anything—not even a postage stamp! (…) How your reputation suffers, you see it when you go to H(elsing)fors. But—these H(elsing)fors rabble-rousers should they really affect you—glorious Jean Sibelius. If Axel Carpelan no longer writes to me, I can understand it. But it pains me, pains me very much. My old friends (Järnefelt) etc. can no longer understand me. What can I do? "A bullet in the temple", they say in such a case. But I can't only think of myself, and not about Aino and the children. I can see that Aino suffers desperately. It is not worthy of a man to support everything for still more years. (…) Life cannot last much longer. (…) Is it wise to cut myself off

from the world? It will be soon one year since I last listened to an orchestra. (…) And Aino is more introspected than ever. (…) Weeks without smiles or laughter. Tears and more tears. Her whole life spoilt. And everything could have been so different! The certitude that this life is the only one that we will have and that there is nothing after gives me food for thought, and I come back to this terrible picture. The end of 1917. What could be more tragic? (Diary, 31 December).

The same day, after Svinhufvud and Carl Enckell had spoken with Trotsky in Petrograd, the government of Lenin recognised —partly under pressure from Germany —the independence of Finland. Sweden was the first to follow, then France, a day after it was the turn of Germany, and a little later Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary and the Vatican. England and the USA, who still hoped Russia would stay in the war, held back their decision. As to Finland itself, declared its neutrality in the world war. Sibelius was skeptical. 'Finland is a free country—or is at least on the way to becoming so. Strange! Difficult to believe it, after fifty-two years, having so often seen the hopes of political evolution of my country disappointed during the course of my life (Diary, before 7 January). Then: 'Germany has recognised our Republic. Problems for a Finnish concert in Stockholm. Lindberg telephoned me saying that a too large part of the programme was in minor. But what is there to do! It is our temperament' (7 January).

Concerning the recognition of his country's independence by Germany, Sibelius evidently hoped for a complete re-establishment of his relations with Breitkopf & Härtel. 'In Stockholm, the independence of Finland was celebrated in the person of Schneevoight, who conducted Finlandia. People pay really very little attention to our other composers! The performers always count more in their eyes, which depresses me every time. It is difficult to support. It becomes worse and worse' (19 January).

At the beginning of January the Diet voted for a special force to be put at the disposition of the government. The socialists were violently opposed to it, considering this measure, which was normal for the needs of a sovereign state, as a virtual declaration of war. The result of the vote was greeted with hostile shouts. Those with the most foresight, including Carpelan, understood that the commencement of a civil war was just a question of time. As a result the 9th, the Baron recommended to Sibelius and his family to quit Järvenpää as quickly as possible: 'We cannot escape from the most brutal anarchy, on the same monstrous model of the Russian Bolsheviks. The socialist hooligans have finally reached their objectives and are receiving supplies and reinforcements from the East. Not having the means to defend ourselves, we can only wait to be massacred and pillaged. (…) With such people it is impossible to build a free country. (…) Impossible also to set up our own militia, and even if we could, it would be powerless without defence faced with this Anjala1 revolt. (…) The destiny of Finland is fixed in the stars.'

The reaction of Sibelius: ‘Axel is very low because of the misfortunes that have descended on us here’ (Diary, 1 January). The 15th he sent warm greetings to the Baron for his sixtieth birthday, insisting on what the Baron’s friendship and assistance had meant for him. He had not however, forgotten his problems as composer. ‘Working on a symphony in E flat major (crossed out and replaced by E major). Nothing of the old V. Perhaps I will change my mind’ (Diary, 13 January). ‘The years exhaust me. Others are passing me by. Soon I will be forgotten. How to live here all dried up?’ (19 January).

He found the independence celebration ceremony organised the 13th at the Finnish National Theatre malapropos (Diary, 12 January 1918). Juhani Aho also estimated it to be ‘premature’. Moreover the newspapers announced that the March of the Jägers would be performed at a second ceremony, the 19th in the large hall of the University. The Social-Democrats refused the invitation, affirming that ‘their place was alongside the Russian comrades’.

The ceremony took place with a strong German presence, though it was still symbolic. But the German eagle was close to the Finnish lion, the colours of the 27th battalion of Jägers were very visible, and the linguist Jooseppi Julius Mikkola, specialist in Slavic languages, gave a highly nationalist speech, affirming the frontiers of Finland should be extended to the Arctic and the White Sea: ‘Our Scandinavian culture is dear to us, and German culture is strangely close’.

This discourse was preceded by Finlandia conducted by Kajanus, and followed with the first public performance of the March of the Jägers (sung in Swedish 'accompanied by orchestra' and encores), then Die Wacht am Rhein. The French consul walked out in a sign of protest. March of the Jägers was then performed again in Finnish, without orchestral accompaniment conducted by Heikki Klemetti. However, in spite of the imminence of civil war, nothing could get the Swedish language students and the Finnish language students to join together.

Evoking this ceremony, Juhani Aho noted: 'Judging by the speeches and the poems, you could have thought it was our 'Jäger' who had beaten Russia, without doubt with the assistance of Germany.' Sibelius remained at home: 'I refuse to sign March of the Jägers because as such it will have lost all commercial value' (Diary, 18 January). The 20 January however, the press revealed that he was the author, making him appear publicly as a White, which was true, even as a partisan for an alliance with Germany, for which he was much less so.

The day of the event, Finnish emissaries in Berlin with General Erich Ludendorff negotiated the return of the 27th Jäger battalion and the purchase of arms. The Reds on their side were armed by Petrograd. The 20 January, the Red Guards aided by Russian soldiers took over power in Viipuri, disarming governments troops and taking a certain number of hostages amongst the White sympathisers.

Several publishers then asked Sibelius for the March of the Jägers. 'The instrumentation required a great deal of work. (…) I smoked a lot, which is bad. (…) Aino still in H(elsing)fors with the children' (Diary, 22 January). He completed his own orchestration the 25th and through a friend in Stockholm, and the 24th sent the original version for choir and piano to Breitkopf & Härtel: 'This composition has had a great success here and has become very much in vogue.' This was lost on route, and was not found until the autumn of 1939 in Stockholm! The ad libitum version for orchestra and men's choir arrived at Breitkopf & Härtel in May 1918, apparently without the text, because the 23 May, the publisher asked the composer to send one 'if possible in Finnish and in German.'

His cellar being empty due to the restrictions, Sibelius asked the supplies department of the Senate the authorization to privately buy ten litres of Sherry. This authorisation was no doubt accorded, as the 25 January 1918, his letter to a well known restaurant in Helsinki seemed to indicate this. It was too late, he received nothing. The 27th, Katarina participated at an audition at her piano teacher, Martha Tornell. Many students were absent because they feared street fighting.

The 28th Sibelius noted: 'Disturbances in the street yesterday in H(elsing)fors. Red Guards with their Russian accomplices! What shame for our country and our people! Worked on first movement of symph VI.' For him like many Finns, the Reds were more than revolutionaries: they were traitors, because they were allied with the Russians who still occupied Finland!

An unjust condemnation: in the past, the majority of the Reds were ferociously opposed to Nicolas II policy of Russification, and many hoped and believed that Finland would constitute a 'free' socialist republic, like the Bolsheviks had promised. They were armed, but had no intention whatsoever of keeping their compatriots under the Russian yoke.

The 28 January, in the early hours of the morning, the Reds nevertheless seized power in Helsinki, deposing the Senate and nominating in its place a Council of Commissars of the People presided by Kullervo Manner. This coup d'état marked the beginning of the relatively short but bloody civil war (three months): about 25,000 deaths, of which 25,000 were Reds.

Svinhufvud managed to escape, and with a few companions, disguised as an engineer, took an ice-breaker that brought them to Tallin. From there, Svinhufvud reached Berlin. As to the Whites they did not remain inactive. An army was constituted at Vaasa, in Ostrobotnia, under the command of a general who Finland up to that point had heard very little, but who, as Sibelius before him, and after them the Olympic champion Paavo Nurmi, were destined to become national heroes: Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim, twice Head of State and three times Commandant in Chief of an army in war. Each time, he demonstrated the he was the man of the occasion, both for domestic and foreign affairs.

Born in Turku, in the Louhisaari Castle, in a noble family with liberal traditions and Swedish speaking, third of seven children, the Baron Gustaf Mannerheim spent his whole career

in the Russian army, more exactly in the cavalry. He participated as a volunteer in the Russo-Japanese War, and in 1906-1908 took part in an expedition on horseback of 14,000 kilometres across Asia: for Colonel Mannerheim, it was in reality, under the cover of a scientific expedition directed by the Frenchman, Professor Paul Pelliot, a secret mission in China. With the rank of Divisionary General, he was then posted to Poland.

As for many Finns, the First World War placed him in a dilemma: loyalty to the Czar, or hope that a Russian defeat would improve the situation in Finland. He opted for loyalty, fighting for the Russians, was decorated, and the 2 March 1915 received the command of the 12th Cavalry Division, charged with slowing the advance of the Austrians towards the Dniestr. After the entry of the Germans into Warsaw the 5 August, he participated with his corps defending the scorched earth policy ordered by the Grand Duke Nicolas.

He distinguished himself alongside the Romanians, notably in Bessarabia, and in June 1917 was promoted to the rank of Army Corps General. In September after the failure of the coup d'état against the Kerenski government, he seriously asked himself, whether if after all, his true place was at home back in Finland. The 27 September 1917, he was transferred into the reserve, and the 3 December after thirty years of 'loyal service' during the course of which he had never been an officer of the general staff, he left Odessa, where he had been in convalescence for a knee injury following a fall from his horse.

After a dangerous and eventful journey across revolutionary Russia and a week in Petrograd, he arrived in Helsinki the 18 December 1917, to start at the age of fifty as twenty three years later another general named Charles de Gaulle, the second part of his career: the most important and the most prestigious.

A conservative of liberal temperament, Mannerheim was to become a general of the counter-revolution, but also a spokesman for his country's desire for independence, opposed to both Russian Bolshevism and Germany imperialism, and as a high ranking officer concerned by legality, strictly respectful of civil authority together with his perspicacity in foreign politics.

Given his services in Russia, no one in Finland could have questioned his patriotism, and any doubts that subsisted were quickly dissipated. In the first days of 1918, he became member of the military committee founded by a group of former Finnish officers whose objective was, if necessary, to defend the independence of their country. The 7th January the committee became official, a measure that showed the determination of the government to created an armed force. The 14th January, Mannerheim—whose personality and qualities were appreciated, in spite of his imperfect knowledge of the Finnish language—was borne to the Presidency of the committee, which made him the future commander in chief of the possible armed forces. The 16th, Svinhufvud convoked him and asked him if the independence of the country could be preserved in the case of attack.

Following Mannerheim's affirmative reply, Svinhufvud verbally gave to him the task of organising an army. As Helsinki risked falling into the hands of the Reds at any moment, Mannerheim was of the opinion that this task could only be accomplished far from the capital. Mannerheim was a man of action. The 18 January, accompanied by four members of the military committee and a few senators, he took a night train under an assumed name passing for a commercial traveller. This journey turned out to be just as perilous as that he had made a month earlier from the Ukraine to Petrograd.

Several times he and his men were forced to undergo searches, checks and were threatened with arrest. Mannerheim arrived safely in Vaasa the 19th where he established his headquarters. The next day at the other end of the country, Viipuri fell into the hands of the Reds. The 27 January, the last act of the Senate presided by Svinhufvud was to nominate Mannerheim as Commander in Chief and to give the White Guard (or Civil Guard) the official status of as country's armed forces.

Russia had maintained powerful forces in Finland, in spite of Petrograd's recognition of the country's independence, which led Svinhufvud's government to suspect that of Lenin's of having accepted the recognition as a pretence, to accelerate the talks in Brest-Litovsk with Germany. Mannerheim's principal object was to attack and drive out the Russian forces. 'If he had chosen Ostrobotnia as his base of operations for the war of liberation, it was because it was better suited for overseas

communications, important Russian forces were there, and on the contrary the active of the Red Guards was weak'.

In the night of the 27 to 28 January, after having received orders and counter-orders from Svinhufvud, Mannerheim launched his own initiative with success against the Russian forces stationed in the south of the province. Whilst by coincidence the same night, the Reds took Helsinki. The war had commenced: civil for certain (above all the left), 'independence' for others (the right). These circumstances comforted Mannerheim in his plan – already in the course of execution- of abandoning to the Reds the provinces where they were dominant, that is to say the south of the country, with the risk of reprisals against the White militia who had taken up arms there, and to progressively form in the north and in the centre, behind a continuous front line, an army capable of re-conquering all the national territory. De facto Finland was very soon into two, the Whites holding the centre and west of the country, and the Reds the east and the south with its four major cities: Helsinki, Turku, Viipuri and Tampere.

Ainola was in the middle of the Red territory. 'Red Guards in action. General strike—criminal fires— murder after murder. This terrible rabble. Today at Westermarck's. Everybody is worried. (…) Aino still in bed. Impossible to work. When will we have the peace indispensable for this work? Wonderful day. Sun +3° and spring atmosphere. Nature rejoices and men are worse than beasts. Bought a wooden sledge – unusable. Did not worry Aino with this business. Studied Charpentier's Louise,

which had once impressed me. Less now. We change with the years. Social peace in invaluable. (…) No news from the outside world.

Everything is in the hands of the Reds, the telegraph, the railways, etc.' (Diary, 29 January 1918). 'Murder after murder! Not only those fighting. No educated person is safe. My turn will soon come, because as the composer of March of the Jägers I am persona non grata. (…) The banks are not authorised to pay money to anyone but 'workers'.

The only thing that waits for us is death, sooner or later. Should I continue my symph(onic) work or concentrate myself on small things that take less time? That is the question. This morning at the Westermarck's. Only found women scared to death. The courageous Eva here with money and to wheedle from the workers a paper certifying that these 'salaries' were due' (2 February). 'forbidden to walk (outside of my own property). Magnificent! But—what does that have to do with my symphonies?! (…)

The fighting is coming nearer! Mustn't think about how long I will live nor anything else of this kind. Strange to think that it was their name that made the biggest problem for my symphonies' (5 February). With a young woman Mimmi Holm, in charge of the telephone exchange in Järvenpää, and whose office overlooks the station and its surroundings, Sibelius had arranged a telephone alarm system: in case of suspect arrivals, she would telephone him.

In Helsinki after her piano audition of the 27 January, Katarina hide from the bullets under a stairway. A cousin of Paloheimo to whom she was attached, Erik Hernberg, left to join the Whites, in whose ranks he was killed, and it was with regret that she returned to Ainola. 'Mama cries without stop as soon as she thinks of the massacres in Kerva, Papa wanders around mumbling in German, the children (Margareta and Heidi) get on our nerves, and I have to keep them occupied. As for the rest, it's like being in prison' (Katarina's diary, 2 February).

Katarina reacted almost like her father: 'Another day of misery and worry. An insupportable wait. Worked on symphonies. (…) +1°. Mild and foggy. Aino very nervous and depressed. How is all that going to end' (6 February). Everybody is at their nerves end. The atmosphere in the house is affected by it. The rumours that are going around are more and more incredible. Have again modified my plans for the symphonies. Sic itur —! (7 February). Worked since yesterday on the V 1st movement. Nothing like the first. Walk in the sun +6°. (…) Shots fired in the distance.

The murder of Dr Schybergson really shook me1. And these brutalities and these killings in Kerava!' (9 February). 'Worked on the first movement of the symphony. Good day's work. Aino at the Haloneen's to congratulate thme on the birth of their daughter. The horrors experienced in H(sing)fors has made everybody nervous. Received a 'warning' during a walk nearby my place. Heavy snow, -6°' (10 February).

In reading the Red press, the only one authorised in the region, Sibelius learnt that in Brest-Litovsk, Trotsky had saluted the heroic Finnish working class: ‘The news of your victory has inflamed the hearts in all countries and reinforced those fighting against the war and capitalism. (…) Proletarian fraternity has forged new links between Finland and free Russia. We have now the same enemies and the same friends.’

The 12 February, Shrove Tuesday, a group of Red Guards searched Ainola looking for arms. ‘Grotesque faces, horrible. Would I be capable of fighting at 52? My nerves would not support it’ (Diary, same day). Whilst asking if certain demands of the Reds were justified, Katarina considered that this intrusion clashed with the peaceful atmosphere of Ainola: ‘Papa could not forget it. Me neither’ (same day). According to the declarations of Sibelius to Ekman, these guards were not from the same region and ignored whose house they were in.

The composer kept calm, and to comfort Margareta and Heidi, who had started to cry, played the piano. One of the Red Guards turned to the cook Helmi Vainikainen (1885-1979): ‘It must be nice to serve in a house where there is such nice music!’ (Ekman 1936, 247). Certain persons in the kitchen of Ainola sympathising with the Reds and asked what could have been said to the girls to make them cry. That did not prevent these ‘loyal servants’ from ensuring that there were no arms in the house, other than the old pistol that Sibelius kept in a drawer in the living room, the existence of which was known to

all in the house. ‘If (they) had betrayed me, my life would have been worth nothing’ (Ekman 1936, 247).

Sibelius was nevertheless very shaken: ‘I don’t think I will live long enough to put down on paper everything I have in my head—symphonies V, VI and VII. What unhappy time! Pity on our poor country! (Diary, 12 February). Juhani Aho, who passed all of the civil war in Helsinki, heard of this search: ‘They looked for arms at the Hjelt’s in Lepola, at Eero Järnefelt’s and at Jean Sibelius’. They were not even allowed to telephone, and each crossroad a guard was posted. (…) Whenever Sibelius took one of his walks to reflect over his compositions, he was stopped and asked for his pass. (…) The great composer is nothing but another bourgeois to them’.

The next day, six other Red Guards from Järvenpää or thereabouts, made a new search, not looking for arms, but food. 'What shame for my house! They forced me to open my drawers, and I saw the 'treasures' of this poor house exposed to the air. (…) A gang of bandits armed to the teeth – and I, an exasperated composer but without defence. They say that you should 'cede to force'. That's fine. But it is difficult when they profane your own home' (Diary, 14 February).

After thirty years in Ainola, Sibelius was suddenly confronted with an unpleasant reality and only saw the aspects of events that directly threatened him, whilst in Helsinki, Juhani Aho could move a little more freely and at times judge the situation more objectively. He observed the Red Guards leaving for the front: 'Many of them were rough and looked like hooligans, (…) but amongst them could be seen friendly honest workers, old family fathers in their Sunday dress, leaving to fight and defend their 'cause', that of the proletariat, the proletarians of all countries, and at the same time that of Finland, their Finland, of a workers republic. It was moving and not without a certain splendour'. For Aho, the Reds, having chosen violence were nothing less than rebels.

The 15 February, Helmi Vainikainen—a domestic at Ainola since 1907—went to Helsinki to buy medicines and cigars. 'Let us hope she will be successful. Without the sacrifice of a few cigars, my Gods will not be appeased. (…) To believe it is the moment to compose symphonies is the summit of naivety. (…) As to my hair, the choice is endless. Should I cut them and

resemble a caricature of Nero + a provincial actor?' (Diary, same day). 'New killings (Aminoff amongst the victims), it depresses me and upsets us. My brother Christian imprisoned but released' (17 February).

Head Doctor of the Lapinjärvi (Lappiviken) psychiatric clinic in Helsinki, arrested as Vice President of the Finnish Association of Doctors and interrogated by Eero Haapalainen (1880-1938), the Commandant in Chief of the Red Guards and Peoples Commissar of the Interior and of War, Christian Sibelius had replied to the latter that the Hippocratic Oath obliged doctors to care for their patients, whether they were Whites or Reds, adding: 'As to their political opinions, it is their own affair.' Satisfied by this reply, Haapalainen freed him.

Neighbour of Gallen-Kallela in Ruovesi, Alexander Aminoff had been shot dead during a search. As to Gallen-Kallela he had put on his skis and gone to the front, on the White side of course. After having fought for about two weeks in the region of Vilpula, to the north of Tampere, he was identified and immediately transferred to Mannerheim's headquarters, where he spent the best part of the war designing pennants, flags and medals. 'Your life is too precious to be sacrificed', the general would have said in a reproachful tone. Tawaststjerna imagined that if Sibelius had acted like his 'old friend', he would have heard Mannerheim say something like: 'Go home and compose a new symphony for us!'

In the middle of February, the situation had not changed very much from a military point of view, but living conditions

became more and more normal and more supportable in the White zone than in the Red zone that suffered from the indiscipline of certain troops (some fifteen hundred men or women were killed) and the passive resistance of a large part of the population, in particular civil servants.

In Helsinki the post and telegraph ceased to function, banks and schools closed their doors, and food became rare. Whilst Finland completely lacked a military tradition, obligatory military service was established in both zones. The 8 February, Mannerheim set up his headquarters in a train at Seinäjoka, an important rail junction to the south east of Vaasa. The Reds attacks against the front line culminating at the end of the month in a violent offensive in the direction of Haapamäki to the north of Vilppula, the object was to cut the White's line of communications between the east and west of the country.

Mannerheim's forces resisted, but were too weak to counterattack. From the 17th to the 25th however, the Germans having given their agreement, the 27th Jäger battalion disembarked in Vaasa: four companies of infantry, two companies of machine gunners and one pioneer company, a battery of artillery, a communications unit and a cavalry troop. Mannerheim addressed them in both Finnish and Swedish, these different contingents were uniquely composed of officers and non-commissioned officers, but instead of sending them directly to the front, as they wished, he first of all employed them as instructors, one of his principal concerns being training. His small army was thus consolidated in its numbers

and by the quality of its training; this coincided with the arrival of Swedish volunteers certain of whom were experienced staff officers.

At the same moment the Whites fiercely resisted all the Red attacks in Viipuri, though at the expense of heavy losses. The Reds had not received all the help they had hoped for from the Russians. In effect, the government in Petrograd had other preoccupations. The 11 February, faced with the refusal of Trotsky to sign a ‘peace of annexation’, the Germans had broken off negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, and re-launched their offensive, occupying all of Poland, the Ukraine and Estonia.

Some in Helsinki believed that to remain in Ainola had become too dangerous for Sibelius and his family. Kajanus went to Eero Haapalainen, to explain that Sibelius was in danger, and received a letter from him dated the 18 February to the Red commandant of Järvenpää: ‘I authorise Professor Robert Kajanus to travel to Kerava and to Tuusula to take the necessary measures for the protection and safety of Professor Jean Sibelius in Tusby or to organise his journey to Helsinki for him and his family, and order the responsible officers of the Red Guard to provide Professor Kajanus all necessary assistance.’

Verbally Haapalainen told Kajanus that he could not guarantee the safety of Sibelius if he were to remain in his home, and that it was best if he moved to Helsinki. The 19 February, Kajanus, escorted by the Red Guards left for Järvenpää. At Ainola, whilst the Red Guards smoked in the

kitchen, Kajanus tried his best to persuade Sibelius to move to the capital for the duration of the war, Sibelius commenced by refusing until Kajanus appealed to his patriotism. 'I wondered what Papa and Mama would decide', noted Katarina in her diary.

Sibelius finished by ceding and the next day five sledges loaded with baggage left Ainola for the station, Kajanus led the procession. 'Kajanus was magnificent—I admire him. We left in a tragic atmosphere. Helmi and Mama in tears, Papa agitated, Mama furious, Kajanus looked after everything, the children looked pale. I laughed, (because) I could not help thinking of Mr and Mrs Kiljunen1. But just before arriving at the station, occupied by the Red Guards, I also felt depressed, seeing only "enemies" everywhere' (Katarina's diary, 21 February).

As to Sibelius he recognised certain of the Red Guards posted on the road or at the station. 'The previous days, they had always saluted and exchanged courtesies. Now, they deliberately looked into the distance. Suddenly one of them crossed looks with the composer and a brief contact was made. The guard looked in the other direction. A chasm opened, and the man was no longer able to speak to the man (Aino told Tawaststjerna).

Sibelius, Aino and their three daughters moved into the psychiatric clinic, managed by Christian, as best they could in Lapinlahti (Lappviken). 'From the bottom of her heart, Aunt Nelma, (wife of Christian nee Swan, 1878-1970) pitied me

when we invaded her home in good order. Our muddleheaded family is not made for living town. Papa and Mama sleep in the furthest room, Maija and I in the children's room, Piu (Margareta) in the dinning room, Assu (Heidi) in the bedroom with Aunt Nelma, Uncle Kitti (Christian) and the young Christian. Elegant!' (Katarina's diary, 21 February).

The personnel of the hospital preferred taking care of the illnesses and wounds of the Reds, and during his two months in Helsinki, Sibelius lost twenty kilos. He received a card from Carpelan: 'Am optimistic in spite of everything that could happen. I was right about my predictions and warnings' (21 February). The reply from Sibelius, in two short ambiguous phrases to avoid any censorship: 'The flowers here grow fast, that is to say red. For other colours, we'll have to wait' (26 February).

So that the composer could work peacefully, Magareta and Heidi, and without doubt Aino, moved from time to time to Eero Järnefelt's place, who on the contrary to his brother-in-law owned a comfortable apartment in the capital, or to the edge of the city, to the wooden house of Karl Alfred Paloheimo, the father-in-law of Eva. As a result Sibelius suffered from a herabgesetztes Selbstgefuhl (wounded self pride): 'Difficult to be somewhere with the family divided in three. (…) Particularly when food is rationed to this point. (…) The only thing to do is to say nothing, say nothing, say nothing' (Diary).

The outside situation started to become clearer. The 3 March, after two months of negotiations, Germany and Russia signed what Lenin called 'the shameful treaty of Brest-Litovsk'. Russia renounced all intervention in Finland. On the 5th, the Soviet government recalled its Baltic fleet, which was in Helsinki and whose crews were engaged in political agitation. On the other hand the Russian soldiers who fought with the Reds were transformed into 'volunteers' and their officers into 'technical advisers'.

Hugues Colin du Terrail wrote: 'Legally, the Russian government could not be reproached for failing in its engagement. (…) Former Russian subjects also served under Mannerheim, and the White army included a Swedish brigade, even though Sweden was neutral, so neutral that its government, half liberal half socialist, had closed its territory to the transfer of arms to Mannerheim and decided to disarm White guards, Red guards and Russians in Åland to occupy the islands with its own troops.

For the Finnish socialists and the government (of Kullervo) Manner, the Breast-Litovsk treaty and the departure of the Russian fleet (was no less than) a tragic defection. (…) The Russian failure on the Finnish front and the collapse of the Bolshevik front before the German advance had opened their eyes. They knew they could not count on the Red guards for a decisive effort. But they could now throw 100,000 men into the battle, whilst Mannerheim's army was only 70,000 strong.'

Mannerheim had accepted the command of the Whites on the express condition that foreign aid was not called for. However, the representative of the Finnish government in Berlin, the former Senator and professor of chemistry Edvard Hjelt had been soliciting the German government for an expeditionary force.

When Mannerheim, on the eve of the signature of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, learned that the Svinhufvud government had approved this request, he was furious, 'red with rage' according to an officer in his entourage, Gösta Törngren, a Swedish major general, and offered his resignation. Contrary to Svinhufvud and others, he did not believe in a German victory in the war, and wanted at all costs to avoid linking Finland to any of the Central Empires.

He withdrew his resignation on certain conditions, which were accepted: the German troops were placed under his command, not interfering in Finland's internal affairs, but helping him in his struggle against external enemies. Mannerheim at once pressed Germany for immediate assistance and commenced his offensive the 15 March hoping for a decisive victory before the arrival of foreign help.

After a hard fight Mannerheim achieved his victory the 5 April by taking Tampere. At almost the same time (3 April) a German expeditionary force of 9,500 men under the command of General Von der Goltz disembarked in Hanko, behind the Reds. Von der Goltz wrote in his Memoires1 of having orders to 'liberate a totally unknown country from the Red terror'. He

met Svinhufvud in Berlin the 12 March, and crossed from Danzig to Hanko in the company of Jooseppi Julius Mikkola, ‘a fervent patriot’.

Svinhufvud succeeded in Vaasa, which for a time became the seat of the Senate. The Russian army had been replaced by ‘volunteers’, but the regular German army then entered into the fray. Goltz’s expeditionary corps reached the outskirts of Helsinki on the 11 April. The fighting continued until the afternoon of the 13th, and a German soldier mockingly praised them by saying that ‘only the Belgians were worse’. That evening von der Goltz ordered for the next morning ‘a solemn entry into the city to make German power felt’. It took place the 14th and after a speech von der Goltz showed himself at a window of the Kämp Hotel to ‘a crowd of several thousand acclaiming Germany, the Emperor Wilhelm and (myself)’. Kullervo Manner and the other people’s commissars retreated to Viipuri.

A second Germany expeditionary corps disembarked in Loviisa, encircling the important Red forces in the region of Lahti, where the German’s had more difficulty in gaining the upper hand than in Helsinki. The 1 and 2 May, the ran up against the main Red army, which effected a retreat towards the east, and made 20,000 prisoners. At the end of April and after fierce fighting, Mannerheim finally took Viipuri. Many Reds, guards or leaders took refuge in Russia, and Red terror was succeeded by White terror.

The events leading up to the White victory had been principally led by two opposite men, Svinhufvud and Mannerheim, men who each knew that one could not succeed without the other. Their collaboration had been difficult, and was to remain so in the future. 'On the one side was Svinhufvud, massive, rugged, plebeian, his appearance almost deliberately neglected, the unrighteousness of his character and the clarity of his judgement, dominated all those around him, a passionate anti-Russian who could not be more Finnish; on the other side the cavalry general (Mannerheim), patrician, supremely elegant and incredibly refined, always at the greatest of ease, very appreciated by women, and who did not seek to hide his sympathy for Russians and Swedes'.

During this time, in Lapinlahti, Sibelius composed and completed the 20 March the moving and serene cantata for mixed choir and orchestra Oma maa (My Own Country) opus 92, commissioned by the Kansalliskuoros mixed choir, which had nationalist tendencies, for its tenth anniversary. By Kuusta Samuli Kallio, born Samuel Gustaf Bergh, the greatest poet of the Finnish language before Alexi Kivi, the text in general praises the beauty of the North and in particular that of Finland. (Happy is the man who in his youth has never erred far from his own land (…) I will never forget the Nordic mountains, where once I dwelt and heard the song of the Sampo and the kantele. (…) That others praise the beauty of the Alps, the more beautiful, the more dear my country seems'). In a letter to Carpelan, Sibelius qualified Oma maa, the most strictly composed of his scores for choir and orchestra, as a song of

love to Finland’s nature and luminous nights’ (It has a duration of approximately twelve minutes).

‘They say that the decisive moment is just a few days away. Perhaps this evening Bombardments etc.’ (Dairy, 20 March). ‘Erik (Eero Järnefelt) has painted a portrait of K.A.Paloheimo, who is very good. Happy man! Terque beatus. Aino is worried about her eyes, and Kitty is bedridden most of the time. All those interested in my art are living in slow motion. (…) I have vegetated for four years – even though I have composed. But who knows what? In any case, during these dramatic times, the only thing I can put on paper is banalities’ (23 March).

The 9 April, at the time of the arrival of the German expeditionary force, Sibelius completed two pieces for violin and piano in his hotel room, Aubade and Menuetto. They earned him 2,000 marks, of which 500 was in counterfeit money. Then: ‘The sound of canons in Alberga (to the west of Helsinki). The 11th during the bombardment, I never imagined something as great. Horrible but grandiose. Will I still be alive tomorrow? The aerostats are throwing out proclamations. Shots to disperse the crowds etc. In spite of that full of hope’ (11 April). Seventeen years later, he spook to Ekman of ‘a crescendo that lasted almost thirty hours ending with a fortissimo that I could never have dreamt of. A great sensation!’

Also on the 11 April, Katarina still compassionate noted in her own diary: ‘Poor Reds—their leaders have abandoned them, the commissaros of the people have fled. (…) I pity the Reds more than I hate them. I hate the Whites more who rejoice in their suffering. (…) But pitying them is useless. Would they have had pity on us if they had won?’ During a visit to her sister Ruth in the Tolö district, Katarina saw the Red guards running and firing haphazardly, then a group of soldiers in green uniforms: ‘My God, Germans! (…) with shining helmets. (…) People ran in the streets waving white towels’ (12 April). And the next day: ‘Crowds thirsty for vengeance surrounded the Reds. (…)

At the Lappviken clinic, a sit down lunch for the German officers. Maija must have her hands full. ‘No, I am not over in

love with the Germans' (13 April). That day in the market place, she saw Red prisoners being embarked for the Suomenlinna Fortress (Sveaborg): 'They had their hands on their heads, and it was horrible to see them. What humiliation for them—to march like prisoners through the bourgeois bystanders. I almost had a fit of anger when I saw some girls pointing their fingers at them and shouting Bravo.'

She also saw White cadets, amongst them were the friends of Erik Hernberg, leaving the high school where they had been held prisoner. Amongst those freed was the composer Aare Merikanto. Then still on the 13 April: 'At night fall, Germans in their bivouac, people arrived with lights to give them food. It's wonderful to think that they are here to defend us. But the Reds were strong. They fought to the end. You see their Finnish character. Mule headed like the Devil.'

The 20 April, though the fighting in other parts of the country were not yet finished, Kajanus and his orchestra gave a concert at the University in honour of the German commandant, it was traditionally Germanophile, a Huldigungskonzert (a homage) with an appropriate programme: Wagner's Imperial March, Beethoven's overture Leonora III, variations of Hadyn's Emperor, Poco adagio cantabile of his quartet in other words Deutschland über alles, in a version for string orchestra, the funeral march of The Twilight of the Gods.

The second half entitled Gruss Finland's an Deutschland (Greeting Finland to Germany) began with Die Wacht am Rhein at which point went to the rostrum and conducted the

premier of his orchestral version of The March of the Jägers (it is not known if a men's choir was present or not for the piece). Finally the Finnish national anthem was played. In von der Goltz's Memoires (1920, page 64), whose wife was a niece of Oskar von Hase, the managing director of Breitkopf & Härtel, mentioned 'a concert led by the great Sibelius', and put this event 'amongst the many fine festivities organized for Germany and its army'.

Five days later, a concert in the same style ended with Finlandia, The March of the Jägers and Die Wacht am Rhein. The 28th a benevolent concert took place conducted by a German lieutenant named Werner von Bülow with Beethoven's Egmont overture, Schubert's Unfinished Symphony, Sibelius's Swan of Tuonela, Richard Strauss's Death and Transfiguration and the overture from Tannhäuser by Wagner.

The 16 May, Mannerheim made his formal entry into Helsinki, the crowd being able to admire his elegance and fine figure. The Senate at its last meeting in Vaasa had consented to this Roman triumph. It was designed to present the army to the government and the people. With Mannerheim riding on horseback at its head, the cortege left from the suburb of Tölo and made its way to the centre of the capital, along what is now Mannerheimintie.

The mayor greeted the general at a point where his equestrian statue now stands in front of the general post office facing the parliament building. The cortege continued to the Senate Square, where Mannerheim spoke, then after a religious

service, to the Esplanade, where the troops passed in review before Mannerheim near to Runeberg's statue. Borne to the head of an army that did not exist, Mannerheim was for the moment a national hero of White Finland though certain Reds considered him a butcher. In spite of that he was amongst those who did his best to limit the White terror.

It was opportunely decreed that the laws of Gustave III were still in force and in May 1918 Svinhufvud was proclaimed Regent. At the head of a new government, uniquely composed of monarchists, he appointed Juho Kusti Paasikivi as prime minister. The 30 May, Mannerheim offered his resignation which was accepted and the 2 June he voluntarily exiled himself in Sweden, thus marking his firm opposition to the pro-German stance of the new government and equally from the military point of view. A German military mission was foreseen to which he himself would be subordinated. In addition he suspected von der Goltz's interference in internal Finnish affairs.

Finland however had the wisdom of not entering into the war on the side of the Central Empires, as certain parties in Germany had hoped for. Nonetheless hose who sought a monarch turned towards Germany, the Finnish crown was first of all offered to one of Wilhelm's sons, Oscar, then in September, a few weeks before the armistice of Rethondes, to one of his brothers-in-law, Prince Friederich Karl von Hessen, who the newspaper Säveletär went as far as presenting as a

great lover of music. Friederich Karl accepted to be king, or rather did not refuse it.

The affair resulted in France breaking off diplomatic relations with Finland, the only country of the Entente who had recognised the independence of Finland. Finally Helsinki understood that the defeat of Germany was imminent, but also that Mannerheim constituted one of the rare trump cards of Finnish diplomacy, the only one. The Senate condescended to convoke him, and Mannerheim responded to the call. On his return to Helsinki the 8 October, he accepted a diplomatic mission to London and Paris, that he undertook as a private action. In London he learnt that Svinhufvud had resigned, he was elected as return on his return the 12 December.

The 14th Friederich Karl von Hessen officially renounced the crown and the German troops left the country. Mannerheim was more easily reconciled to the victorious Entente than Svinhufvud, though without obtaining from England and the USA, who was still backing White Russia, the recognition of Finland's independence. The 22 December 1918, after having received the authorisation to import wheat into his hungry country, he disembarked in Turku.

The Mannerheim's regency, to which Kajanus rendered homage by composing Surusoitto ja sankarilaulu (Funeral music and heroic song), last eight months, Gallen-Kallela became for a time his aide de camp, which led him to compare himself to Leonardo da Vinci in the court of the Sforzas in Milan. During these eight months, Mannerheim principally

concerned himself with foreign affairs. The question of Finland's intervention on the side of the Allies in the Russian civil war was constantly raised, but was confronted with the refusal of the Russian White generals to recognise the independence of the former Grand Duchy. In spite of that a corps of Finnish volunteers made a number of incursions into Eastern Karelia beyond the Russian border with the tacit approval of Mannerheim, but without the enthusiasm of the people.

Concerning internal matters the elections of March 1919 confirmed an anti-socialist majority, and it became clear that the country was turning towards a form of republican government. One of the principal points of disagreement concerned the role and the powers of the president. The social-democrats wanted these to be weak, whilst Mannerheim wanted the opposite.

The 17 July, Mannerheim approved the constitution. The 19th in a letter to his sister Eva Sparre, he deplored 'putting the interest of the parties before that of the public' which was omnipresent, adding: 'I hope I am exaggerating the seriousness of the situation. We have always the tendency to believe that our own ideas are the only efficient ones, when in reality, several paths lead to Rome.'

The presidential election took place the 25 July 1919. The social-democrats absolutely refused to see the White general become Head of State, and to avoid a schism, the centre parties, where Mannerheim counted several supporters, chose

the former Senator Kaarlo Juho Ståhlberg as candidate, then president of the supreme administrative tribunal and principal author of the constitution and who was republican though not without monarchist tendencies.

Supported by the left and centre, Ståhlberg was elected for a six year term with 143 votes, against 50 for Mannerheim. In a little more than two years, Finland had had at its head an emperor, a provisional government, two regents and now a president. Mannerheim and Svinhufvud temporarily withdrew one after the other from active political life. After having refused being the head of the army, Mannerheim was again a private citizen for a period of twelve years, until 1931, when Svinhufvud was elected as president of the republic. Other than his personality and action, he had made a major contribution to the establishment of Finland's independence, Germany's debacle and the weakness of Russian, two countries that could have put it in danger.

At the end of April 1918, when White victory seemed certain, Sibelius returned to Järvenpää with Aino and their three youngest daughters. His nephew, Heikki, son of Eero Järnefelt, returned from the front. He went to Ainola where the composer was 'very proud of him'. Honour, honour, honour!' (Diary, 30 April). The war was not yet finished, he feared reprisals. 'The Reds are agitating. Will I survive without being the victim of a murder? Having openly taken sides remaining composer, I should seek safety, for example in Germany. But they say that the situation there is even worse. (…) The Reds are thirsting

for vengeance' (13 May). The 20th, he assured Carpelan that he was staying at home, he would have been killed when the Germans arrived.

There is little doubt that he was exaggerating: sent on a mission to Berlin by the White headquarters, Gallen-Kallela declared to Adolf Paul, probably after having heard from a sure source before his departure, that Sibelius was 'condemned to death'. The 1 June, Adolf Paul told this to Sibelius, but pretending to take in lightly: 'God knows whether what Gallen said is true or if he was a little hazy going around the Gulf of Bothnia ingurgitating whiskey sodas.'

The fate of Toivo Kuula did not reassure Sibelius. A fervent partisan of the Whites, Kuula had celebrated Mannerheim's taking of Viipuri, in which he had participated, by a well watered meeting during which he had played his own march and accompanied Sibelius' March of the Jägers. Later in the day, during a brawl with the Jägers, he was shot in the head, he died the 18 May 1918 at the age of thirty five.

'Today my friend Toivo Kuula was laid down in cold earth. What a terrible fate for an artist! Much work, talent and courage – and then nothing' (Diary, 28 May). Amongst the other victims of the war were Madetoja' brother. The 1 June, Richard Faltin died. 'Fear dying before finishing the symphonies. They say: 'these things come in threes'.

At the beginning of 1918 Sibelius participated in several concerts in Helsinki, and directed The Oceanides, Devotion

and Cantique in their cello and orchestra versions as well as the Second Symphony. Von der Goltz was present, and in a note to Carpelan dated the 20th, Sibelius described him as ‘a friendly cultivated man. (…) He knew many of my works. It is also true of the other German officers I met – all real gentlemen. You know I have always had good contacts with the aristocracy, no doubt because they themselves and my Wenigkeit (modest person) inspire no mutual fear.

The day of the concert? Oscar von Hase wrote quite a long letter from Leipzig: ‘I have heard said that no longer very young, you have put yourself in the service of your country. Allow me to hope that you have overcome these difficult times.’ Von Hase continued by assuring Sibelius that he had followed with particular interest Finland’s struggle for independence and invited him to Leipzig the 27 January 1919 for the two hundredth anniversary of his publishing house.

The composer replied the 25 May: ‘The emotions I have felt in shaking hands with German heroes are not easy to describe – that is only experience once in a lifetime.’ Breitkopf & Härtel did not hesitate to use these words in their publicity for The March of the Jägers.

At the same time, news from Granville Bantock arrived from England. He had enclosed with his letter, posted in Birmingham I December 1917 and arrived in Finland six months later, an article full of praise by Ernest Newman that Sibelius mentioned in his letter to Carpelan of the 20 May. His symphonies unfortunately made no progress: ‘Would like to

advance my symphonies V and VI, must always stop to earn a living with small pieces. I must limit my expenses, but old habits don't die easily' (Diary, 13 May).

Then a pessimistic letter arrived from Carpelan who was still very ill: 'Now that the Reds are beaten , there will be a new front, the massacre of Swedes in Finland, then a capitulation before Moscow—and that will be the end of everything. (…) I wish you enthusiasm in your work and new grand ideas, which I hope, will bear fruit in the short period of time that remains for us' (17 May).

The 20th, Sibelius noted having thanked the Baron for his 'moving letter'. (…) To give him some pleasure be it modest, I told him of my musical projects.' Perhaps he also wanted to clarify his own ideas. Nevertheless in his letter to Carpelan of the 28 May 1918, Sibelius spoke at length, which was rare, of the three symphonies he had in mind: 'It is indispensable you keep your chin up. Being able to send you my newly printed works is vital for me. Let us hope that will happen soon. My new works—in part sketched out or planned! The Vth symph. in a new form—practically recomposed. Movement I entirely new. Movement II recalling the previous, movement III recalling the end of movement I, movement IV with the same motifs, but worked better. The whole, if I can express myself in this way, is a progression to the end. Triumphal.

The VIth symph, is of a wild and passionate nature. Sombre, with pastoral contrasts. Probably in four movements, and rising

towards the end in a sombre roar of the orchestra engulfed by the main theme.

VIIth symph. Happiness and vitality, with appassionato passages, in three movements, the last a ‘Rondo Hellenic’. All that with the usual caution. You understand. I am apparently destined to work with these three symphonies at the same time. As always, the sculptural element is the most prominent in my music. (…) Concerning the symphs. VI and VII, I cannot exclude modifying my plans relative to the evolution of my musical ideas. I am still a slave to my themes and bend to their demands. All that shows to what point I have evolved inside since the time of the IV Symphony. More than my other works, my symphonies are an expression of faith. Several other works for orchestra are also in planning. (…) You see, I am in full form.’

This often cited letter is interesting, but should not be taken too seriously. It precedes eighteen months work on the final version of the Fifth, five years for the Sixth and six years for that of the Seventh, and none of these correspond to the description he gave. In any case it indicates that in the spring of 1918, Sibelius was resolved to make a radical revision to the Fifth. More exactly he imagined going back to a structure in four movements, as in 1915, and to replace the Andante in G-major with pizzicatos from 1915 and 1916 by an entirely new passage, which he abandoned. The 1919 version is in three movements like that of 1916, and the Andante in G-major with pizzicatos remained, though considerably modified.

'Worked on the 1st movement of the V. Once again. Something good will surely come of it. In a classical spirit. The motifs require this' (Diary 28 May). 'Does my "classicism" interest anybody? It has no relation to the taste of the times, influenced by the post-Wagnerian pathos and for this reason appears theatrical to me, and in no way symphonic' (Diary, 3 June).

Then, after having read an article with some irritation in the Finsk Tidskrift entitled: 'Psychoanalyse and philosophy in art' and recalls certain Wagner's ideas ('If we live life to the full, we would not have need of art. (…) How could a happy and content person be preoccupied by artistic creation?'): (The adepts of Freud) do not understand what a symphonist aspires to, to mark forever the laws that govern musical matter, at times signifying something greater than 'dying for one's country', many could do it (die for one's country), like any potato grower and a heap of other things' (7 June). For Sibelius, composing was neither the reward nor the sublimation of unfulfilled desires, but an act eminently more positive. However, more than once he found this ideal inaccessible, or at least one of the most difficult to attain.

Once again he forsook the Fifth for a period of several months and found himself mixed with the vicissitudes of political life. Breitkopf & Härtel were convinced that The March of the Jägers would soon be transformed in a new gold mine, into a new Valse triste. As had wished Sibelius, the publisher asked a certain Theodor Grawert, 'head' of music in

the German army, to arrange the work for military music and this version appeared in June 1918.

The 2nd of the same month, having learnt that his letter had been lost, Sibelius sent Breitkopf & Härtel the original version for men's choir and piano, on which a luxurious 'war' edition in black and gold, with the imperial eagle, the arms of Hohenzollern and the motto 'Gloria and Patria', was prepared for the Jägers, 'for the benefit of their war wounded'. A delegation of Jäger officers visited Ainola, where the composer managed to keep a cool head. 'The perspective for the future remains sombre and worry me a great deal. Fear the worse. Letter from B&H. Was a long time in coming. All finland under the sign of war and militarism. No comprehension in the world for the struggles of a symphonist' (Dairy, 9 June). And the 1 July, as in August 1914 with a curious foresight: 'Have ceased to believe in the end of the war. It will be a thirty year war.'

Three weeks later, during one of his morning walks, he spoke with a workman: 'I was carried away and we left each other indifferently. He was sentimental and overflowing with pity for the suffering of innocent Reds. Everyone knows that in our prisoner camps they are dying like flies. But what can you do? An impossible situation' (20 July).

In fact almost 10,000 prisoners died in the camps where many Reds had been interned, Sibelius was torn between anguish before this tragedy and the fear of what could happen in the event of a new Red revolt. 'All these side glances and

hate from those who secretly sympathise with the Reds! It is like walking under a volcano. (…)

How can you find the peace of mind necessary for work when you are cut in two? Having some success here and there. Yesterday and the day before small pieces. Even some things for orchestra. And around me it's chaos' (20 July). Without thinking, he accepted become the member of a kind of national council for music, and even participated at one of its meetings: 'Spoke, gesticulated, and behave in a very aggressive manner. (…) My colleagues certainly contemplated this spectacle with astonishment' (12 August). At the end of September 1918, gallivanted three days in Helsinki, but found the time to go and listen to Kajanus rehearsing the fist two symphonies and Beethoven's air Ah perfido! The following month his state pension was increased to 8,000 marks a year.

CHAPTER 16

1918-1919

DURING THE SUMMER OF 1918, Kajanus was in the course of organising a Nordic music festival in Copenhagen for June of the following year. Two festivals of this type had already taken place, in 1888 in Copenhagen and in 1897 in Stockholm. A third was foreseen for 1914, but the war interrupted the plans. Once again, Sibelius felt put to one side: 'It is sad that Kaj(an)us has dug up the war hatchet against me as a composer. He sees me as the source of all evil. In effect as someone who has eclipsed him. But it not my fault if I am talented' (19 August).

There were other reason for irritation, the installation of electricity at Ainola, an important cause for cost, and the announcement of a Finnish music concert for the 10 September in Berlin under the direction of Schneevoigt. What's he doing sticking his nose in down there? Can't we protest?' (Carpelan to Sibelius, 26 August). Who replied: '(Nothing can be done). Evidently everything has been arranged. It's Schneevoigt's reply to Kaj(an)us organising a Nordic music festival. Originally, it was his idea. You see, all the old quarrels are coming back' (27 August).

The Berlin concert was in reality a political affair. Some days previously, in the same spirit of things a Hungarian music concert had taken place in Berlin. Reporting these events, the Volkische Zeitung of the 11 September did not hesitate to head its article ‘Political concerts’. Schneevoigt conducted Palmgren’s concerto The River, with his wife Sigrid as soloist, and Sibelius’ Second.

If the review in the Volkische Zeitung’ regretted, as usual, ‘the lack of formal rigour’ of the Second (Sibelius is greater since he has chosen the smallest of forms), that of Vorwärts on the contrary saw a perfect illustration of nationalism: ‘It is not simply a question of collection and adaptation of folk songs. Sibelius’ symphony contains neither motif nor phrase that is not born from the Finnish countryside or nourished from its own soil. But in the hands of the composer, together it is the object of a veritable renaissance’ (11 September).

In addition Vorwärts regretted the mediocrity of the reception given to the ‘very original’ Fourth two years earlier in Berlin. As to Adolf Paul, he considered that Schneevoigt had conducted the Second ‘too slowly. It is what I said to myself in thinking of the way I myself had conducted it in the past (January 1905) in the Beethoven Concert Hall during Busoni’s concert’ (to Sibelius, 11 September).

It was just two months from the Rethondes armistice. ‘Things are not so good for the Germans. From more than one point of view. Here, there is an oppressive calm’ (Diary, 2 October). ‘The future for a defeated Germany is sombre. The country is

literally falling to pieces. I could have never believed such a thing was possible. But we live in an unforeseeable world!' (27 November). Breitkopf & Härtel nevertheless continued to count on The March of the Jägers.

However, when Sibelius had the preface foreseen for the luxury 'war' edition in his hands, his heart stopped. Shocked by its military tone, which in any case, at the point in the war, was out of the question, the 2 November he telegrammed demanding this be changed, and then again the on 20th, tens days after the signature of the armistice: 'The words 'die Lügen der Entente' (the lies of the Entente) must be removed. (This modification) has been asked by asked by an authority I must respect, I must accept it.' Both the original version for men's choir and piano as well as that for orchestra and men's choir ad libitum was published by Breitkopf & Härtel in the unforgettable month of November 1918.

It was in this context, as mentioned above, that the absurd idea of electing Karl Friedrich von Hessen as King of Finland, the brother-in-law of Wilhelm II. The election took place the 9 October 1918, the day when Germany presented its demand for an armistice. 'Aino in town—Election of the king!!!' Sibelius noted with more stupefaction than enthusiasm in his diary the 10th. Like Eino Leino and others, he was not however by principal opposed to a monarchy.

* * *

Six Humouresques for violin and orchestra are dated from the last months of 1918 like Linnaea opus 76 No11 for piano, or The March of the Scouts (Partiolaisten marssi) opus 91b, to words by Jalmari Finne. In a completely different tone was the last of six Humoresques for violin and orchestra, completed after revision the 29 November. Pieces of great quality, the six Humoresques were premiered the 24 November in Helsinki with Paul Cherkassky as soloist.

At the same concert the final version of the Fifth Symphony was presented. 'These works are of great scope', Sibelius wrote to Carpelan the 20 May 1918, adding that they expressed 'the anguish of existence (…) intermittently lit by the sun'. No trace of violin concerto No2 envisage in April 1916. Lasting about twenty minutes, they show that Sibelius could create miniatures for violin and orchestra equalling in quality the best of his stage music, and with in addition a clear experimental dimension. It frequently recalls the 'popular' music of Bartok. Of a supreme elegance, with a discrete but efficient orchestral accompaniment, the six Humoresques are like the concerto opus 47 admirably written for instrumental soloist, in which they exploit all available resources.

The 25 October 1918, the Finnish Youth Choir gave, in the presence of Sibelius and under the direction of Armas Maasalo composer of religious music, the first performance of Oma maa. Evert Katila published an enthusiastic report, whilst Madetoja was disappointed. 'Oma maa was a success, but not for everybody. Even Madetoja+other critics had some reserves.

The start again. But from Katila, I found some grace!! (Diary, 29 October).

Sibelius received a letter from Glazunov, 'director of the Petrograd Conservatory' asking him to make an intervention to the Senate on behalf of the widow of Rimsky-Korsakov, her sons and her two granddaughters so that they could to spend some time at their property near to Viipuri. Glazunov made the same request to Kajanus. A month later Sibelius participate at the fiftieth birthday celebration of Hjalmar Procope. 'Drunk a lot, and met all the joyous wags of the town' (27 November).

His correspondence with Carpelan intensified, both realising that each letter to the Baron, who suffered from a hardening of the coronary arteries and had great difficulty in breathing, could be the last. 'My only consolation is that life will not last much longer. (…) I believe in courage, it is my tragedy' wrote Sibelius the 2 November. The 21st, Carpelan replied the Oma maa and the melody Teodora had been a sensation in Turku, adding: 'Everybody (here) deplores the misfortune of Germany, (…) as to the rest food rationing, lack of money and morale at its lowest. (The new) University of Åbo (Turku) is our only hope. We have already collected sixteen and a half million.'

Through the Baron, who ensured him of favourable financial conditions, Sibelius received a commission for a cantata for the inauguration of this new Swedish language university in 1919, to replace that in Turku founded in 1640 and transferred to Helsinki in 1828. He accepted immediately, knowing the this

university would be a home of Swedish culture, and making Runeberg's motto his own 'One nation and two languages', he ran the risk of alienating the more intransigent Fennophile circles. 'I will have all the Fennophiles against me. But what else can I do? (Diary, 9 December). 'The most important thing for me is to hold steady. My way of working is not affected by my age. I am not made for 'writing' music. For me everything is dictated by experience. The public here is no longer really interested in me. I should get used to solitude. In any case that corresponds to my deepest self. Glorious Jean Sibelius!! Alea iacta est! (Diary, before 9 December).

The 17 December he was present at the premier of Madetoja's Second Symphony (in E-flat major opus 35), conducted by Kajanus. 'It gave me much to think about' (Diary, 21 December). On this occasion he met Jarl Robert Hemmer, the writer who had been given the task of preparing the words for the Turku cantata: Jordens sång (Song of the Earth) opus 93. 'Saw a pile of people and drank some wine. This marvellous life is difficult to live.' A patron of the arts, Otto Donner, came to his aide with 10,000 marks. 'It is principally due to him that I have survived this year, because I have been and am still without income' (changed to 'without an income worthy of being mentioned') (21 December).

The 16 November, a month before the triumphal performance of Madetoja's Second, a composer in the line of Max Reger (with whom he had studied) and above all Scriabin had conducted a concert of his own works, with more notably

Danse macabre and a symphonic poem entitled La Dernière Aventure de Pierrot, Ernest Pingoud. Born in Saint Petersburg (where he had worked as a critic) of a Swiss father, and of French Huguenot descent, Pingoud had moved to Finland, fleeing the Russian Revolution, in 1918. His concert was an even greater scandal as almost no one had ever heard of him in the Finnish capital and such 'modern' music had never been heard in Helsinki. Accused of being a 'muscial Bolchevik', future 'modernist' of the twenties, Pingoud again confronted the public the 12 February 1919.

Sibelius noted in his diary: 'The others—the younger ones—seem to have overtaken me. But the most ridiculous for me would be to irritably proclaim my supremacy. No! Wait and continue to work patiently. Your doubts as to the kind of symphony will sooner or later resolve themselves. Not by speculation, but by working hard. That is to say by writing. (…) Therefore accept being in the background for the moment. It is like that results are achieved. And do not hesitate—magnificent Jean Sibelius—to recognise your great love for Beethoven. Divinities worse than that can be worshipped. In his music, it is the ethic, not the technique, which sometimes appears to be a little outdated, and not brilliant enough' (27 December 1918).

In Livonia, a Finnish volunteer corps contributed in pushing the Russian Bolsheviks beyond the key railway junction of Valga (Walk). Jussi Sibelius (1904-1940), nephew of the composer and son of Christian, was almost part of it. He ran

away from his school, crossed the Gulf of Finland to Tallinn, tried to join in the army, but was sent home because of his age, he was only fourteen. Jussi was to be killed in the very last days of the Winter War of 1939-1940. In Helsinki, the Opera opened again the 19 January with Aida. Mannerheim attended as Regent in the state box, and Kajanus made a sensation in giving his speech uniquely in Swedish and in addition conducted Finlandia. Kajanus continued his Beethoven cycle commenced the previous autumn and the 6 February conducted Sibelius' Second. The 23 February Schneevoigt conducted the Finnish premier of Schönberg's Transfigured Night. Sibelius did not leave Ainola, at the same time very much wanting to take up his overseas travels again: 'I cannot support the impossibility of being able to escape to the great world' (Diary, 7 January 1919).

The 23 January, Elisabeth Järnefelt celebrated her eightieth birthday. Sibelius and Aino went to Helsinki for the festivities: 'How I love her! A great personality, an exceptional personality. As for myself: herabgesetztes Selbstgefühl (wounded self-esteem)' (Diary, 22 January). For the occasion he had composed a brief melody for voice and piano to a text by an anonymous author: Mummon syntymäpäivänä (Birthday song for grandmother) JS136. Armas arrived from Stockholm and Arvid from Lojo – under escort because of the scandal he had made in the Kallio Church had finally resulted in being sentenced two months imprisonment for him. He was expecting to serve his sentence the following month, but was pardoned by Mannerheim.

Sibelius did not go Leipzig, in spite of the invitation he had received for the bi-centenary of the Breitkopf publishing house. The day of the celebration (27 January), Oskar von Hase wrote assuring him that they would continue to publish his works with the zeal that they had had for Haydn, Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Schumann. At the beginning of February, he went to Turku to personally present his cantata Jordens sång to the board of the future University (the work had given him the greatest of difficulties), and met Axel Carpelan for the last time. He promised the Baron he would come to see him again before his departure but did not keep his word.

After his return to Ainola he sent him this letter of excuse: 'Unfortunately I feel such disgust with myself, so ashamed and on edge that I did not want to impose a second visit on you' (13 February). The next day Carpelan replied: 'Concerning symph. V, I forgot to ask you if you revised the Andante (pastoral). There are twenty four successive bars of pizzicati, which seem to me to be a bit monotonous – for the remainder, it I found it enormously captivating, the same for movement I (that you reworked, you said). (…) Janne! Don't forgot that Åbo is a very small town. Don't smoke—that will make you il—don't drink—that produces the same effects— and could complicate life for friends who are working for you. I will explain later what I mean by that. – To live well, work on your new symphony, it will be the crowning of your life. Try to forget your financial worries for the time being, they will resolve themselves given time' (14 February). The only possible reaction for Sibelius was: 'What a friend! I confided in him in

Åbo! —Received 6,000 marks for the cantata, royal! Can now go back to work on the symphonies' (Diary, 16 February).

For the organisation of the Nordic festival in Copenhagen, Kajanus addressed himself to Fredrik Schnedler-Petersen, director of the Tivoli concerts and who had had a similar position in Turku. Schnedler-Petersen then asked Carl Nielsen, who in turn had asked Johan Halvorsen in Oslo and finally Stenhammar in Gothenburg. A kind of committee that grouped together the four Nordic countries was thus constituted, however each country kept its own programming committee.

The more the date approached the more nervous Sibelius felt. He had nothing new to present, and the Fifth still did not satisfy him. A telephone conversation with Kajanus seriously disturbed him: 'He was calm and sure of himself, and when I told him that I would not come, he did not consider this to be in the least a tragedy. In any case I won't go with old works. Should politely refuse. (…) Kajanus said: "We are not going there to present new works." But neither to be relegated to the shadows' (Diary, 17 February).

A letter then arrived from Busoni in Zurich dated 26 February. He also was preoccupied by the ongoing works: 'I have been questioned more than once on the subject of your Fifth Symphony, which is of great interest to me, thus if you could let me known, I would be infinitely grateful. No one can tell me whether it has been printed or where it has been published.' Sibelius replied (23 March): 'I still have your portrait painted by Eero (Järnefelt) on my desk, and when I

received your very kind letter, it was as thought the picture started to talk. It has remained silent for all these years, but has always encouraged me in my work. You were kind enough to enquire about my Fifth Symphony. It is not yet printed, in view of the fact that I have not published anything since 1914. I am proud of the interest you have shown in me.'

Carpelan had surely understood given the nature of his illness that he would never hear the Fifth in its final form. His letter of the 14 February seems to have electrified Sibelius, who replied the 23rd: 'Something great has happened in these last few days. I can see clear again. The first movement of my Fifth is (…) what I have best accomplished up to now. I can't understand my blindness. Strange that you should always be its advocate. No doubt I was too close, no doubt I was troubled by its 'false' sonorities, impracticable on certain instruments. Aino greets you. We now live in the hope that your spirit will overcome your suffering. I will tell you more soon. I am working very intensively on the other movements, everything will be ready soon. Your faithful and grateful friend. Jean Sibelius.' Carpelan replied with a kind of politico-artistic testament.

He commenced by recalling the words he had whispered into the ear of his neighbour at the concert of the 8 December 1916 in Turku—'Admirable transformation, from the formal point of view worthy of the best of Brahms'—and continued, still referring to the 1916 version in three movements: 'It seems to me that a few somewhat lengthy passages have slipped into the second movement. (…) And also there is something not quite

right between the second and third movements. A brief movement, perhaps a scherzo, would have given weight and coherence to the whole. But I am not entirely sure. The third movement made a formidable impression on me. (…) I do not have an absolute certitude on all of these points, except to say that overall, by if form and musical substance, the Fifth Symphony is really exceptional. To be frank, I was very worried when you told me that you were writing a new first movement, but I did not want to say anything, through lack of my own knowledge and self confidence. I was devastated by Bis's review—now I am calm and very happy. I now know that it will be a marvellous symphony. (…) Dear Janne! Take care of yourself! Stop smoking, it causes a hardening of arteries. You can drink ordinary coffee, but avoid wine, because it will destroy your nerves and your heart. The time will soon come when you can breath the air of Europe and gather new impressions—I simply hope that it will not be the air of the Entente'. This letter dated the 27 February 1919, was the last from Carpelan to Sibelius. Only a postcard followed.

The 22 March, alarming news arrived from Turku in Ainola. Sibelius wrote the same day: 'You have no idea how worried I am. But the hope you will overcome your illness never leaves me. (…) I am working on my new works. Today on the last movement of the Vth. New revision! It is still snowing here, but spring is already in the air. The willows have changed colour. Life is awakening. This life that I infinitely love, the manifestations of which leave their mark on everything I compose. Do your best and keep your chin up!'

This letter crossed the postcard also dated 22 March: 'Terrible attack, or rather four. Horrible suffering that no remedy can calm. (…) Yes, dear and marvellous Janne, adieu and thank you. God bless you, now and always. Fraternal greetings to Aino. Thank you for everything.' The Baron had the strength to address this message to 'Herr Professor Doktor Jean Sibelius, to his wife and to his children'. He died two days later, the 24 March 1919. The same day Sibelius noted in his diary: 'Axel +. Life seems empty! No more sun, no more music, no more love. Am now alone with my sounds! He succeeded in writing a card on his deathbed that I received today. Lucid to the end.' He kept his resolution to never attend a funeral. Aino represented him at Turku, but in his thoughts, he was present: 'Axel is now laid in the cold earth. What tragedy, what immense tragedy! Who will I now compose for?' (Diary, 29 March).

The almost four weeks following the death of Carpelan, Sibelius wrote nothing in his dairy. He was resolved to complete the Fifth at any price. 'Symphony V – mirabile, not to say horrible dictum, completed in its final form. Battle with God. My hands tremble and I can barely write. (…) Ah, if Axel was still alive! He thought of me to the end. Outside +2° and sunny. There is still ice. Migratory birds, I have only seen wild geese, but not the least swan' (Diary, 22 April). Six days later, he took a strange decision: 'Eliminate the second and third movements. The first movement is a symphonic fantasy and is sufficient in itself. It from there all my work has gone!!! Will I call it Symphony in one movement or Fantasy Symphonic –

Fantasia sinfonica I?' (28 April). A week later he abandoned the idea, which were not to become reality until the Seventh: 'Camelote! The symphony will be as foreseen in three movements. Entirely with the copyist. (…) Confession: I remade the whole finale. Now it is good. But this battle with God!' (6 May).

Three days previously, the 3 May, he wrote to Rosa Newmarch his one and only letter in English: 'Eva has a son and a daughter. Ruth, she also is married, has a son. Katarina is going to school and the two youngest children at still at home. My wife is very occupied by the garden and I have composed several things, including a symphony. But since 1914, I have published nothing.'

The same day (3 May 1919), Great Britain and the United States finally recognised the independence of Finland and de facto its government. Shortly before, France had re-established diplomatic relations. The relations between White Finland and Red Russia had not yet been renewed. It was in the Seurahuone Hotel in Helsinki that the White Russian General Ioudenitch planned his attack on Petrograd. Some in Finland simply dreamt of freeing Russia from the 'Bolshevik yoke' by joining the Russian counter revolutionary armies, which were

supported by the Western powers. Others went as far as entertaining the dream of a Grand Duchy of Finland that included Eastern Karelia, and pushed Mannerheim to march on Petrograd. The general was careful not to.

In spite of the importance that Karelia had once had for him and many of his friends, Sibelius did not believe in utopia. Besides he had little liking for official functions and event. When at the beginning of the summer Mannerheim invited him together with Aino and their eldest daughters to a garden party at the Kesäranta Residence, which had previously served the Russian governors and which as Regent was at his disposal, the composer declined the invitation, and it was Katarina who was sixteen who represented the family.

* * *

The great event at the end of spring 1919 was the Nordic Music Festival in Copenhagen. ‘They want my Second Symphony. I would have preferred the Fifth. The second was soon twenty years old. Kajanus’s Sinfonietta was just two years old—nevertheless the critics saw it as a discovery. That and many other things depress me—I don’t know why’ (Diary, May). ‘No work, yesterday or today. And in addition a costly visit to Copenhagen, which does not amuse me and will leave me broke for a certain time. All that for Kajanus’s cursed festival.

The papers said nothing about Marth Tornell’s student concert. In any case, it should not have taken place. But little

Kaj played my piano pieces well' (8 May). In reality, Kilpinen had mentioned the event in Uusi Suomi of the 7th, and spoke of Katarina as follows: '(Her) pretty talent was demonstrated in a few piano pieces by that great man her father.' Kilpinen also noted that Martha Tornell's students had played pieces too difficult for them, and that in general their level was quite low. Sibelius had other worries. The revision of his Jordens sång cantata was a 'nightmare'. Two more new pieces for piano were composed before the 6 May, Dance opus 94 No1 and consolation opus 75 No5, and at the end of the month a Promootiomarssi (Academic March) for small orchestra performed the 31 at the University by Kajanus for the end of the year ceremonies. 'Nothing in the papers. No one in the public has said anything. Only the orchestra applauded during rehearsals. Kajanus, who conducted wanted—of course—to through with it. He played it too quick, when I had expressly asked him to do nothing, n a way that its grandezza was lost. (…) And we prepare, Aino and I, for new insults in Copenhagen, where I was already so badly treated six years ago. Das Künsterleben ist voll von Kümmernissen. (An artists life is full of contrarieties)' (Diary, 2 June).

Janne and Aino arrived in Copenhagen Whit Sunday where they found the city empty telephoning in vain to different acquaintances. Janne consoled himself with marvellous black Cuban cigars. The 10 June the Berlingske Tidende published and interview with him: 'Why has your Fifth Symphony no title? A symphony has no need of one. How in the devil can it be called. It is pure music, not literature. What do you mean by

pure music? Musical thoughts. What do you mean by musical thoughts? Ideas that can only be expressed in music, of course. Is that not evident? If I could express in words what I express in music, I would natural use language. Music is sufficient in itself and is richer. It starts where the possibility of expression in language stops. It is why I write music. (…) How do you explain that in a symphony, a composer can for example paint the setting sun? At this point Mr Sibelius rises, and his hands, which up to here have underlined his words with nervous gestures, have started to wave in the air. This kind of thing makes me mad—we are not speaking of pure music. It is theatrical music. You have yourself written a piece for piano entitled 'The Sun is Setting'. (…) Alas yes, Mr Sibelius replied smiling. But this name comes from the publisher. It is an extract of stage music. (…) The death of Mélisande. An atmosphere of death. No, I had not the least thought of the sun setting. The atmosphere with which you impregnate a composition can therefore be interpreted in different ways? Naturally. I write what I know, and others they understand as they are able. It is why music, pure music, has no literary content. It is only from music, and that expresses nothing else but music. – Is it not so that Finlandia expresses the pains and aspirations of Finland? No, in any case it is not the way I see it myself. The work evidently possesses a patriotic content, but very objective. It so happens that I am Finnish myself. But it is evident, I do not see it myself.'

In the Nationaltidende of the 11th, Gunnar Hauch tackles a delicate subject, Sibelius and Nielsen. He cites Debussy as

representative of important modern movements ('He will probably survive') and Strauss ('His time will pass'), adding: 'They (Sibelius and Nielsen) had the force bring Nordic music out of the dead end in which it was enclosed, both had succeeded in their renewal through Nature. But Carl Nielsen is a sculptor, an adulator on lines and forms, and Sibelius is a master of colour and fantasy, a great lyricist. It is useless to seek which of them is the greatest, it is sufficient to note that Sibelius is by far the most brilliant. The whole world sees it, and he is the only one in the North that the world sees. (…) He is called the Strindberg of music.' Tawaststjerna notes that it was not the most diplomatic way to commence the Nordic Music Festival in Copenhagen.

The 10 June, Sibelius and Aino were invited to a private lunch at Nielsen's home with his wife Anne Marie, nee Brodersen, a sculptress of great talent that Carl had met in Paris in March 1891 and married two months later in Florence. In spite of being a woman, Anne Marie had won the competition in 1906 for an equestrian monument to King Christian IX, the 'father-in-law of Europe', who died in the January of that year at the age of forty eight.

The 10 June 1919, The Nielsens had also invited Kajanus and his wife as well as Stenhammar, who described the lunch in a letter dated the 12th to his wife Helga: 'Sibelius was in great form, clam and relaxed, without any trace of nervousness or irritability. He drank one schnapps, by gently though firmly refused all others, in spite of the exhortations of Madame Anne

Marie, he also refused a glass of Porto, though prudently drinking red wine, which we others drank like water, whilst he drank only two small glasses, he sparkled in such a spiritual fashion and with such fantasy that I could not stopped thinking of you, who not being amongst us could not like us enjoy such a rich conversation.

After a coffee by the sea, with nightingales and moonlight, we finished late in the night with an agreeable game of backgammon, we felt, in shirtsleeves, like the real descendants of Vikings. I almost consider Madame Sibelius to be just as charming as Jean. A when she tells me she considers herself as one of my old friends, it evidently does not displease me. She knows many amusing details about myself and the Stenhammar family. Jean has told her a pile of things about us in the evenings in Järvenpää. That makes me very vain, but it is very nice.'

At the opening concert, the 3 June, Selim Palmgren had a triumph with his piano concerto No3, called Metamorphosis. Charles Kjerulf, though a 'follower' of Sibelius, noted that the applause had been 'almost effusive', adding: 'Palmgren is so highly (and so justly) thought of amongst young Finnish composers that he is seen as the crown prince, the successor to the throne at present occupied with a powerful authority by Jean Sibelius, who we hope will continue to occupy it for a long time to come. (Metamorphosis) is already foreseen for Holland, Germany, Sweden and other countries.' In the Berlingske Tidende, Alfred Tofft saw a reflection of 'new times

in Metamorphosis (…) Palmgren has often been qualified as the 'Chopin of the North', which suits him both as a composer and pianist'.

The other Finnish works programmed during the course of the festival were Lyric Suite, a Quintet with piano by Erik Furuhjelm (Sibelius's biographer), Kajanus's recent Sinfonietta, melodies by Oskar Merikanto and the Trio by Toivo Kuula played by the three Hannikainen brothers; the pianist Ilmari, the violinist Arvo and the cellist and future conductor Tauno. Sibelius conducted his Second Friday the 18th, and in the Berlingske Tidende of the 19th, Kjerulf overflowed with enthusiasm: 'His long silhouette rose above the orchestra. (…) His baton is a veritable staff of Moses parting the waters. (…) Yesterday, before the orchestra, he almost had the air of a magician conjuring up demonic spirits. The breath of genius (…) all culminating in a royal homage to the greatest name in Nordic music at present—Jean Sibelius. The 20th, at the close of the concert, Nielsen's Fourth Symphony, called Inextinguishable, was conducted by the composer himself (it had been premiered 1 February 1916). In the Berlingske Tidende of the 21st, Alfred Tofft vaunted the 'steadfastness' and the 'complete absence of sentimentality' of a work with which, in his opinion, was the culmination of the festival. He could have added noted Tawaststjerna, the Fourth of Nielsen was superior to the Second of Sibelius, because that is what he thought, but happily he abstained.

During the reception that followed the concert, Nielsen saluted the participation of Finland in general and Kajanus in particular, which provoked a response market with patriotism: ‘We must still fight, but remain firm, and in no way can we lose our freedom.’ The next day Saturday, an extra concert took place in the Tivoli. Eight conductors succeeded each other on the rostrum, the last being Sibelius, who conducted Finlandia. It was at this moment the celebrated photo showing these eight conductors in a semicircle, in suits and summer hats, with the exception of Sibelius who wore a morning coat and a bowler hat.

Sibelius is on the left, and all the others except one have their eyes fixed on him. From left to right are: Fredrik Schnedler-Petersen, the director, who had conducted in Helsinki the previous April a concert of Danish music and who considered Sibelius, his past colleague in Berlin from 1889-1890, as his ‘preferred composer. (…) Few others have known how to conquer my heart like him’. Robert Kajanus, who according to Kjerulf ‘had an air of Jesus Christ’ and who had started to show his age (he had just had a slight heart attack).

Sibelius, who seemed to look at Nielsen, the greatest composer of the group after himself. George Hoeberg, a kind of giant leaning on a stick, the first head of the Danish Royal Chapel, with whom Sibelius had just examined at the score of Scaramouch. Erkki Melartin, fragile in appearance, appointed in 1911 as head of the Music Institute where thirty years earlier Sibelius had studied. Wilhelm Stenhammar, tall and

distinguished. Carl Nielsen, much smaller but overflowing with vitality. Johan Halvorsen, who in Berlin in 1890 asked if Sibelius had already composed a concerto for violin.

Sibelius, after his return to Finland where the Mannerheim regency had reached its end, drew some conclusions from his visit to Copenhagen, the were real or not: ‘Several papers tore me to pieces. My old friends Hetsch and Tofft! But Kjerulf was supported me. Much pettiness and great hospitality. Met in particular Hauch and (Ferenc von) Vecsey. Hauch wrote in a very warm fashion, but unfortunately the other critics hate him’ (Diary, 4 July).

The management of the festival refused to cover the costs of the receptions except those given themselves in its hotel, and when the bill for the Champagne arrived, Sibelius was furious and threw the money across the room, obliging Ilmari Hannikainen and his tow brothers to go down on their knees to pick them up and give them to Aino (recounted verbally by Margeret Kilpinen, as told to her by Ilmari Hannikainen, to Tawaststjerna). Jean admired the way that Aino, throughout the visit, had kept a cool head: ‘With out her, I would not have been able to go out, neither from the financial nor the physical point of views. (…) Drunk (Champagne) and good wine and ate good food! And behaved myself with Aino better than before’ (4 July).

Once again, he was unjust towards Kajanus: ‘(He) is getting old, which shows in two facets of his character, one for me, the other against me’ (12 July). He was confirmed in the certitude

that in the person of Carl Nielsen, Denmark possessed a composer of international stature who could be transformed into a rival, and that, in Denmark, his own position was less assured than in Sweden.

Contrary to Stockholm and Helsinki, Copenhagen was ‘more an outpost of Europe towards the North than a rampart of the North facing the South’. The Danish capital was later to welcome Schönberg in 1923, where the 30 January he conducted The Chamber Symphony opus 9, and in May, Hansen received the manuscripts for Five piano pieces opus 23 and Serenade opus 24, and in 1925 Stravinsky, whose Concertino for string quartet of 1920 was published by Hansen in 1923.

Sibelius had evidently given up any idea of emigration. He felt too Finnish to leave. He had been paid 3,000 Danish crowns by Hansen, ‘in part for Scaramouch and in part for other things’, but the visit in Copenhagen had cost him 5,000. ‘Living abroad with my family in these expensive times would be impossible’ (Diary, 4 July 1919). ‘Hansen was very kind, but I don’t think that there is a great future there’ (12 July). He wonders what will happen with his relations to Breitkopf & Härtel in a defeated Germany. Oskar von Hase finally discovered that during the war, he had ‘made business’ with other publishers including Hansen, his greatest competitor. He wrote to Sibelius the 9 September congratulating him for his creativity, but noting his surprise at the composer’s attitude

towards Hansen, recalling the terms of their contract of 1913, his publishing house had priority.

The 17th Sibelius replied that he agreed and that he had not forgotten his promises, but added that his financial situation was difficult and that henceforth in Finland, in order to live, it was necessary to spend in one month what had once been sufficient for one year. In August he had sold to Westerlund, for 3,000 marks, two piano pieces completed the 21 July, Sonnet and Berger et Bergerette Nos3 and 4, then two others dated the end of August, Granen (The Spruce) opus 75 No5 revision of a 1914 original, and Valse lyric opus 96a, revision of Syringa opus 76 No6 also from 1914.

The 25 September, Kajanus opened the season with a Sibelius programme, which included The Daughter of Pohjola, his Violin Concerto and the First Symphony. The composer stayed at home, and the 26th Bis wrote in the Hufvudstadsbladet that he remembered the time when Sibelius had composed the symphony ‘with Kajanus at his side, the pioneer and guide of young Finland, a man whose energy, experience and broad horizon had stimulated so much the young genius’.

These lines made Sibelius mad with rage: ‘Bis writes that Kajanus inspired etc. my first symphony. They say that suffering makes noble. Yes! Yes! No one told me the path to follow—and this is what this devil pretends’ (Diary 26 September). The next day he was calmer: ‘That kept me awake all night. Astonishing that my hair has not become all white! Have beaten the devil. No doubt I will become insensitive to

these kinds of things. In any case I will be at peace once I am dead' (27 September).

Completed the 23 September, the cantata Jordens sång was premiered in Turku the 11 October under the composers own direction. It was made of several sections each harmoniously bricked in with the other, most often in a lyrical ambiance and in a luminous G-major. The grouping of the voices is more varied than is usual. At the beginning, a succession of men's voices are heard in unison, those of the women also in unison, then those of men and women and finally harmonised in four voices. Later alternating unisons with the men's voices divided into four parts and those of the women divided into five.

The inauguration ceremony of the University was of course followed by a banquet. Finland had just introduced prohibition, but in spite of the presence of the recently elected President Ståhlberg and several members of the government, wine and strong spirits were surreptitiously served to the guests, instead of the officially served fruit juice. In the memoirs (1969) of the Swedish journalist and diplomat Kjell Strömberg, he described 'the literary and musical evening improvised in the suite of the master at the hotel.

It lasted until the early hours of the morning. We were quite tired, because we had much indulged on the drink, our famous host never stopped, he recounted with his inimitable verve different episodes of his life, and to finish he sat himself at the piano—we had brought one just in case—and played us the

fantastic finale of the very recent Fifth Symphony, singing certain themes with all the force his lungs good fetch.'

The 12th, Sibelius conducted the cantata opus 93 for a second time, then they gathered around the statue of Per Brahe, the founder in 1640 of the town's first university (and Finland's). Sibelius conducted tow passages of Pacius: Suomis Sång (Finland's Song) and the national anthem Vårt Land (Our Land). He took advantage of his visit to Turku to pass an agreeable moment with Walter von Konow, still the overseer of the castle, and said goodbye to the last surviving cousin of his father: Elin Arrhenius, in her nineties.

He returned home satisfied: 'The cantata was a success in Åbo. Unforgettable festivities. (…) Diners, lunches etc. Everything exceptional. Prepare the cantata for concert in November. Will see if the Swedish choirs let me do it' (Diary, 18 October). He had in effect foreseen the Finnish language Suomen Laulu choir for Helsinki.

It was then that Richard Faltin junior successfully operated on his youngest daughter, Heidi, aged eight, who a month earlier had broken her arm in a fall from a horse and almost lost the use of her left hand, a regrettable injury as she had started to show signs of talent as a sculptress.

* * *

The 24, 27 and 29 November 1919, under the direction of the composer, the Fifth Symphony was at last heard in Helsinki in

its final form, with in addition the audition of the six Humoresques for violin and orchestra (then called Impromptus), and Jordens sång. President Ståhlberg was present on the 24th. For the public it was a great success, but the new conclusion of the Fifth—six chords widely and irregularly spaced— surprised even the most fervent admirers of Sibelius. A member of the orchestra considered, based on word of mouth according to Tawaststjerna, that they spoilt the whole symphony. In reality they decisively contributed to maintaining the tension right up to the very end.

Of Sibelius' seven symphonies, the Fifth is that which gave him the greatest difficulty, as is seen by the three successive versions (1915, 1916 and 1919) and the four 'long' years, scattered with written references to the work both in the composer's diary and his correspondence, that separated the 'original' from the 'final' version. It is the only one, with the Second, to possess and indisputably 'triumphal' conclusion. Its psychological path is ascending and resolutely positive.

Its concentrated power and energy make it appear as the most 'Beethovian' work of Sibelius. Its E-flat major recalls Eroica in places, at the end of the first movement, and the beginning and end of the last. As a result it is the most played, the most 'popular' of the last four. Its often extrovert aspect as opposed to the Fourth. More 'accessible' than the last, it is nevertheless just as complex as it, even more, and finally more difficult to analyse. It and the two following 'witness the determination of the composer to pursue the implications of the magnificent

Fourth, rather than turn his back on his austere perfection to retire into a safe universe of what was better known and already experimented’. Concerning the number of musicians, the Fifth remains very sober according to the criteria of the time, just a third trumpet was added to the orchestra of the two preceding symphonies.

Much has been written in attempts to establish a whether the Fifth was in three or four movements. All commentators now more or less agree, with the exception of Parmet, that if the 1915 version possessed four movements, those of 1916 and 1919 were limited to three. The Fifth is with the Seventh a supreme example of the Sibelian technique, which consists of passing imperceptibly from one type of movement to another, with all that this implies in matters of tempo, of pace and rhythm.

CHAPTER 17

1919-1922

IN 1919, EINO LEINO DESCRIBED HIS FRIEND Sibelius as follows: ‘As a man, he can be very refined and charming, but also brusque and gruff, depending on his mood. His mind is as sharp as a razor and his imagination as quick as lightening, of the intuitive and impressionist kind, he resolves problems as though he was cutting the Gordon knot, his entourage is at times left with a lasting impression, but more often than not he smiles, because Sibelius’ verities are of a rather special kind.’

In September, Sibelius promised Stenhammar to go to Gothenburg for a third time, and the 12 December accepted the two dates proposed, the 8 and 10 March 1920. Stenhammar, who hoped to see Sibelius conduct the Swedish premier of the Fifth Symphony, wrote to him the 31 December that Gothenburg counted the days to his arrival, and asked him what he expected in payment. As in September 1914, the response had the effect of a cold shower. Sibelius came back on his promise: ‘Thank you for your telegram and letter. (…) Frankly it is impossible to undertake any travel whatsoever this spring. (…) Is it not possible to be represented by my symphony V on this occasion? (7 January 1920). The 20 January, Stenhammar

demanded an explanation. To which Sibelius replied the 26th he was held up by important work.

In reality there was only one work in preparation, the cantata for mixed choir and orchestra Maan virsi (Hymn to the Earth). He completed it the 28 January two days after his letter to Stenhammar. It had been commissioned by Heikki Klemetti for the twentieth anniversary of his choir Suomen Lalu, and after having at first refused, Sibelius had finally ceded before the insistence of Klemetti's wife, Armi, who after a visit to Ainola had implored him: 'Dear professor Sibelius, compose a cantata for us! You seem to hesitate, which saddens me very much, because I can see to what point that preoccupies my husband. (…) Without (this cantata) the celebrations of our twentieth anniversary will take place without being crowned' (12 December).

After the superhuman effort of the Fifth Symphony, Sibelius feared a decline of his creative faculties. 'If only I did not feel so depressed as symphonist—in fact there is nothing to encourage me. Curious passion as composer of symphonies' (Diary, 23 June 1920). He put the sixth to one side, not to come back to it until two and a half years later, in the autumn of 1922. After Maan virsi, he only produced secondary works.

In October 1919, he had noted the early versions of the 'principal theme' in a music sketch book and one of the more important themes of the finale of the future Sixth, respectively accompanied by the mentions Talvi (Winter) and Hongatar ja Tuuli (The spirit of pines and wind). Other themes from the

same music sketch book, certain of which were never used. Again drawn by the Kalevala, and again hesitating between symphony and symphonic poem, Sibelius undertook a symphonic poem entitled Kuutar (a name of the goddess of the moon in the national epic). Mention of it is made in his diary dated 4 March 1920. The work was abandoned, but the themes for the most part passed into the Sixth.

These hesitations were witnessed in the interview of 1919 by the musicologist Armas Otto Väisänen. Son-in-law of Gallen-Kallela, Väisänen, asked Sibelius if he had the intention of composing The Song of Väinämöinen for the Kalevala Music Society: 'I have made some sketches for this piece. But the subject is difficult to treat musically as a whole, as it brings together all the different forms of art. The passage of the poem where Väinämöinen starts to cry is in itself music, and poses less of a problem.'

Questioned on the episode of the Sampo, Sibelius replied: 'I will do something with it one of these days (even though the blacksmith Ilmarinen is generally considered as a fool). What is fascinating here is that nobody knows what the Sampo is. In music, the construction of the Sampo should be pianissimo—in the distance. Besides, everything would be thought of in symphonic terms. Music should not depend too much on a literary programme. The poem is simply a starting point.' Sibelius did not speak or write without thinking, because in 1926 the cantata Väinön virsi (The Song of Väinö) opus 110 came into being, his last work on words drawn from the

Kalevala, as a symphonic poem that interprets the spirit of the pines and the winds of the Nordic forests, Tapiola.

‘Have orchestrated Valse lyrique. This orchestration cost me an enormous effort, such that my hands tremble and I cannot work without having to stop from time to time. Only wine helps me – at the price that it costs now’ (Diary, 11 February 1920). Besides Maan virsi, he only produced a few insignificant pieces that year. Six bagatelles for piano opus 97, the first three—Humoreske I, Lied and Kleiner Walzer (Little Waltz)—were addressed to Breitkopf & Härtel the 23 August. The publisher had asked for a list of works written during the war. Sibelius had sent it the 10 July, taking care to add to opus 82—the Fifth Symphony—a note ‘Unpublished’. Breitkopf & Härtel to this list badly: ‘Quite frankly, it is with consternation that we have discovered the number of works recently acquired by other publishers’ (21 August).

Two days later in the guise of compensation offered Breitkopf & Härtel the piano pieces opus Nos1 to 3 for 1,000 Finnish marks. ‘We’ll see what they say. If I could only have part of this sum I would be satisfied’ (Diary, 28 August). Hellmuth von Hase proposed 1,000 German marks, which, given the disastrous financial situation of Germany was much less than before the war (about 600 Finnish marks instead of 1,250). Sibelius had no choice but to accept it, but telegraphed the 13 September: ‘Am obliged to sell my Fifth Symphony for 25,000 Finnish marks, could you let me know by telegram if

you wish to acquire it.' Breitkopf & Härtel: 'In the present circumstances, unfortunately impossible' (18 September).

The 8 September the publisher Hansen in Copenhagen had offered 3,000 Danish crowns for the Fifth, or the equivalent of 14,000 Finnish marks. Breitkopf & Härtel not having offered the least counter proposal, Sibelius had to accept Hansen's conditions and be content with 11,000 Finnish marks, given the change in rates. Relatively speaking the 'difficult' Fourth had earned him four times as much before the war. After the Fifth (April 1922) Hansen published the following two symphonies, and Sibelius did not return to Breitkopf & Härtel until Tapiola.

In October 1919, he had composed Autrefois opus 96b, a 'pastoral scene' for two sopranos (with the text by Hjalmar Procope) or tow clarinets and small orchestra entitled Pastoral. In October 1920, he arranged Autrefois for piano and for Breitkopf & Härtel composed the three last bagatelles of opus 97.

The appealing melody with a light waltz tempo Små flickorna (Young girls) also dates from 1920. The poet Hjalmar Procope treats the life of young girls in work in the city (typists, telephonists and seamstresses) in a light-hearted tone absorbed by their work and at the same time hoping for the arrival of a prince charming ('If a suitable one knocks at the door, we will open our windows, make a fine reverence and say thank you, like our grandmothers in times gone by'). The work appeared in the Christmas supplement of the review Lucifer.

Sibelius was irritated by new articles that appeared on his genealogy by as in 1916 Eeli Granit-Ilmoniemi. 'Granit-Ilmoniemi has published my portrait in the Helsingin Sanomat as well as that of a cabinetmaker by the name of Ojanen, the son of a distant cousin. Why? Not content to make me look like a peasant abroad, he is doing his best to discredit me in the society to which I belong by my education and my talent. It's insupportable for someone as sensitive as I! Here I am in the obscurity —the only one who comes to me is my sister, the mad one, mockingly' (Diary, 25 January 1920).

Already in 1919, Granit-Ilmoniemi, whose goal was to have Sibelius' Finnish side acknowledged had written: 'Jean Sibelius would not be what he is if Matti of Pekkala and Anna of Lassila were not an integral part of his being. In the same way, peasant blood flows in the veins of many of our musicians: Kuula, Merikanto and Klemetti'. Sibelius' reaction was: 'Granit-Ilmoniemi does it again. He compares me to Kuula, Merikanto and Klemetti—we are al sons of peasants. Me and Matti etc. All that paralyses me again. Why be concerned with things that happened two hundred years ago?' (Diary, 20 August 1919).

As one of the elements in the eternal 'war of languages', the controversy of Sibelius' Swedish and Finnish ancestors took place in a given political context. After the convulsions of 1917-1919, Finland went through a subdued period, though necessary, of stabilization. President Ståhlberg was not a charismatic personality, but in spite of that he made his modest

contribution to national reconciliation, which would have been difficult with Mannerheim. ‘A deeper gap between workers and bourgeois is widening in Finland compared to ur Scandinavian neighbours. The bourgeois have a tendency to assimilate the renewed Social-democratic party with the Reds of the civil war, and the social-democrats, whilst condemning the attempted revolution (during the civil war), do nothing to completely remove the threat, though they do not want to alienate the relations they have with the worker’s movement at the time of the autonomy’.

Amnesty laws were voted, though not without controversy, but a new Song of the Athenians, a new Finlandia and above all a new March of the Jägers were out of the question. No doubt Sibelius would have preferred Mannerheim at the head of the state, but he respected the integrity and impartiality of Ståhlberg. His daughter was a close friend with Ståhlberg’s daughter, Anne, and was often seen at the presidential home.

Foreign politics were largely reserved for, Rudolf Holsti, who was foreign minister for first time from 1919 to 1922, after having been the first diplomatic representative of Finland in London. In this domain several questions remained open, in particular that of the Åland Islands, the archipelago situated between Sweden and Finland at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia. Like the ‘war of languages’, this question was an obstacle to a regularising relations with Sweden.

At the end of 1917 Åland’s Swedish speaking population of 20,000 almost unanimously voted in favour of attachment to

Sweden, provoking great emotion in Finland. During the war of independence there was a very confused situation in the Islands due to the almost simultaneous presence, in this small region, of Russian troops, Red and White Finns, Swedes and Germans. In the autumn 1919 one of Sibelius' oldest acquaintances, an 'amateur genius', Sigurd Wettenhovi-Aspa succeeded in persuading the composer to publicly take up a position on the question of Åland.

A grand meeting was held in the town hall of Tampere organised by Wettenhovi-Aspa, who announced his intention of going to Paris and personally asking Clemenceau to intervene, whom he had already met at the beginning of the century. In a letter to Sibelius dated 14 October, Wettenhovi-Aspa had asked him to come personally to Tampere, or send a message.

Sibelius did not attend the meeting, but the message arrived in the form of a telegram in Finnish: 'For the Fatherland am ready for all.' As was typical a most sibylline message, but was provoked the enthusiasm of the audience, and a reaction from Wettenhovi-Aspa that showed to what point certain passions had been roused: 'Such words pronounced at such a moment are worth more than one hundred machine guns behind Petersburg. We have decided to let Petersburg 'fall'. First it is necessary to solve the question of Åland and put a nail in Sweden's coffin' (to Sibelius, 20 October 1919). By the treaty signed in 1921 under the auspices of the League of Nations, the Åland Archipelago, finally remained Finnish, but was demilitarised and given a status of autonomy.

On the eastern side, the situation was still delicate. At the end of 1919 and the beginning of 1920, Finland was still de facto still at war with Red Russia, itself plunged into civil war. The 17 September 1919, two months after his failure in the presidential election, Mannerheim undertook an international tour which took him to London, Paris and Warsaw. He went as a private citizen, but to the great displeasure of Helsinki, his visits took an indisputably political colour. For Mannerheim it was a question of participating little though it be in Finland's struggle against Red Russia.

The White armies came from several directions towards Moscow, the seat of the Bolshevik power, and it was during his visit to Paris in October-November that Mannerheim learnt that General Ioudenvitch's army had left Estonia in the direction of Petrograd. The West believed that the fall of the Bolsheviks was imminent, and with this in view Mannerheim, with his very nationalist tendencies, considered that Finland had every interest to avoid alienating itself with the White Russians, and therefore to participate in the march on Petrograd. Thus without going into details Mannerheim's strategy resulted in failure, mainly by the double refusal of not only Ståhlberg but also that of certain of his own partisans in Finland, to become involved in his plan, and that of the Whites to recognised, at least for the present, the independence of Finland.

Ståhlberg and his government did everything possible to put the 'white general' (Mannerheim) out of bounds. Ståhlberg was encouraged in this attitude by his wife Ester, fiercely opposed

to the former Regent. However, when Mannheim, following his European tour, disembarked in Turku the 5 February 1920, he was greeted with enthusiasm and a choir sang Sibelius' Isänmaalle (To the Fatherland).

At the year's end, against all expectations, the Reds won the Russian civil war. With the spring Helsinki showing its desire for conciliation allowed the reconstitution of the Communist Party under the name 'Workers Socialist Party', and in June peace negotiations were opened with the Soviet Government. The peace agreement was signed in Tartu, Estonia the 14 October 1920. The delegations of the two countries were respectively led by Paasikivi and Maxime Litvinov, future Commissar for Foreign Affairs of Stalin (1930-1939).

The Soviet Union recognised the independence of Finland once again, whose historical territory was augmented by a narrow strip corridor in the north giving access to the Arctic Sea, the Petsamo zone. As for the rest the frontier of 1812 remained unchanged. Finland lost all hope of annexing the Finnish speaking regions of Eastern Karelia, Moscow nevertheless promised to give this province a certain autonomy, which evidently never took place. 'A bad peace,' Mannerheim declared to his friend Tekla Hultin who was close to the conservative party.

A large place was reserved for Sibelius by Kajanus in his 1919-1920 season, producing in particular his five then existing symphonies. For the opening concert on the 25 September, other than the First he programmed the Concerto

(with Paul Cherkassky) and The Daughter of Pohjola. The Second followed the 18 December with works by Tchaikovsky, Debussy (the air from L'enfant prodige), Henri Duparc (Phidyle) and Wolf-Ferrari. In the intervening period (24 November), Sibelius conducted for the first time the final version of the Fifth.

The 15 January 1920, it was the turn of the Third, with in particular a work for soprano and orchestra by Kuula. The Fourth opened the concert of the 8 April 1920. Sibelius appeared on the stage and was much applauded by the audience. Willy Burmester the played in the concerto in G-minor of Max Bruch. In the Helsingin Sanomat the following day, Madetoja praised the 'depth of a work (the Fourth) already heard several times (and) followed with great interest', Sibelius and Kajanus were less certain.

The 22 April, at the last of the season's concerts, Kajanus conducted the Fifth and ended with Snöfrid. Sibelius was again present, it was the first that someone else conducted the Fifth, but as the journalist could not help remarking, he did not appear on the stage. The 23rd Madetoja wrote that the Fifth followed the path opened by the Fourth: 'His work is even more individualist, no trace is found of the habitual 'orchestral polyphony' or thematic development in the conventional sense. The themes of a great plasticity, though each leading a life of its own. Hans Richter said that this (method of composing) opened new kinds of possibilities of development for the genre (symphonies).

Sibelius attended other concerts during the season. The 29 January 1920, the young Wilhelm Kempff made his debut in Helsinki with Beethoven's concerto No4 in G-major. The concert ended with an improvisation on a theme in Dorian A-minor specially written for the occasion by Sibelius, and which was given to him in a sealed envelope. Kempff crowned his improvisation with a fugue for four voices. Sibelius was not present, but the envelope was brought by Aino. Bis compared the event to Liszt's concerts in Saint Petersburg, and Kempff as a pianist to Reisenauer, d'Albert, Bulow and the two Rubensteins.

In Helsinki the 3 March 1920, Alexander Siloti played three piano concertos, in the presence of Mannerheim though not Sibelius, then the 13th, conducted by Kajanus, Liszt's Totentanz (Dance Macabre). He had fled Petrograd with his wife Vera and his son Levko, and succeeded in crossing the Finnish border with just his evening dress in his baggage. 'Siloti was a brilliant success' (Sibelius' diary, 4 March). The 30 March, Siloti gave a vast recital with his protégé Ilmari Hannikainen in the presence of Sibelius and Aino. This concert was immortalised by a photograph showing Sibelius and Siloti seated side by side.

At the end of April, whilst her husband continued his tour in Finland, Vera Siloti visited Ainola. Before leaving for Antwerp with his family, Siloti recalled in German his happy memories of the composer, who in 1906 and 1908, during Siloti's Saint Petersburg concerts had premiered The Daughter of Pohjola

and Night Ride and Sunrise respectively: ‘The Bolsheviks have apparently extenuated me to such a degree that it is only now, after having finished my concerts, I realise how tired I am. (…) I hope that the passage to Antwerp will allow me to recover my strength, because on my arrival, I must take up these cursed piano exercises again! I greatly regret not being able to visit you, but my affection for you is no less! Meeting you has comforted me, because in your person you bring together a kind heart and talent. We will soon be together in Saint Petersburg, and you will perform one of your works in my concert series! (…) Could you do a few popular Russian melodies? Let me know with a postcard. (…) With my most sincere and warmest thoughts, yours, A. Siloti (27 May 1920).

At the end of March, Sibelius lunched at Mannerheim’s, who had just returned from his European tour and still very close to Gallen-Kallela. Mannerheim’s charm did not fail to impress him: ‘He is quite distinguished and very kind. Sent him my card today.’ Mannerheim also saw in Sibelius an exceptional figure, both for his music and as a man, as well as his role in society. In the summer of 1921, whilst waiting for the visit of important foreign personalities, he invited Gallen-Kallela for a few days: ‘If you come, we will try to get Sibelius and some others to join us in Helsingfors to show them (these personalities) something other than these ridiculous trappings of State. (…) It is important, in view of what we have to show them, that they leave with a good impression, which will not be easy’ (Mannerheim to Gallen-Kallela, 28 July 1921).

* * *

In 1920, the idea that Kajanus had had three years earlier, of developing a favourable opinion of Finland in the West by a musical tour, was partially transformed into reality, principally thanks to Carl Enckell, who had become the Finnish envoy in France. His season finished, the 13 May, Ascension Day, Kajanus gave a concert of Finnish music in Paris. Already three months earlier, the planned program had given Sibelius some concern: 'We are preparing some concerts in Paris. The Ambassador Enckell (…) and Kajanus + his Sinfonietta are the nervi rerum. Nothing from England' (Diary, 20 February 1920). Then: 'All the others with their forst works—me with my works from the last century (in reality from the beginning of the century). Why? Other worrying things, especially Aino. This wonderful woman, who up to now has had the best opinion of my colleagues, understands a bit late what the real situation is' (24 April).

At the Gaveau Concert Hall in Paris, Kajanus leading the Pasdeloup Orchestra, during the first part of the concert, conducted his own Sinfonietta, melodies by Melartin, Madetoja, Kuula and Sibelius sung by Anna-Hagelstam, two symphonic pages of Kuula's, and Palmgren's The River with Ilmari Hannikainen as soloist. It was too long: opened by the welcome speech given by Alfred Bruneau on behalf of the Academy of Fine Arts, the evening last three hours and did not finish until midnight. After the interval it was the turn of Sibelius' works with the Third Symphony, The Swan of

Tuonela and Finlandia. It was the first time since 1900 that one of his symphonies was played in Paris. But now it was the Paris of Stravinsky of Les Six and La valse by Ravel, trends with which Sibelius was completely out of phase.

The concert was an almost official function and it took place under the patronage of Madame Paul Deschanel the wife of the President of the Republic. In Courier musical dated 1 June, before going into some surprising musical comparisons, Gilbert Beaume did not fail to evoke the political context: ‘In a charming and improvised speech, (Mr Kajanus) remarked that French musical art since Rameau, Lully, up to Debussy and Ravel, was very appreciated and admired in his country, and that the Finnish government, in recognition of what France had

been the first country to recognise the independence of the country, had delegated him with the task of presenting the modern works of Finnish composers, and, modestly, he added that the said composers had above all the simple wish of wanting, to be considered as sincere artists impassioned by their art, by us (in France). (…) To end the concert, we heard the works of Jean Sibelius, which our Sunday concerts seem to ignore. (…) The 3rd Symphony is a powerful and solid work, a little related to Saint-Saëns and Vincent d'Indy, but with the orchestration of a Richard Strauss and of a Mahler. (…) Finlandia, which with the delicate Valse triste is the most well known work of the composer, is a hymn of wild and rude beauty, the same as the country that it wants to describe.'

The Figaro of the 17 May had a few curious comments: 'The music of these distant regions is worthy of a greater merit. It is original. No outside factor has yet spoilt it. True to its own folklore, it has resisted outside influences. The old German classics are almost unknown to it. In addition, Berlioz, Wagner, Debussy and the like do not exist for them. They are ignored. Should they be congratulated or blamed? He who would dare to say would be a brave man! In any case it maintains its naive and pure personality. It moves directly forward, simple, honest, melodic, without wasting time on the development of school techniques. Its symphonic pieces —having a quite detailed instrumentation—lack a clear plan, but their independent construction always produces an unforeseeable poetic savour.'

Jean Chantavoine wrote of Palmgren's concerto 'the course of this river, as it often happens on the Northern plains, shows a little incertitude and monotony'. He continues: 'The second part of the concert was reserved for Jean Sibelius, still little known in France, who is an artist of great class. His melancholic Swan of Tuonela and his poem Finlandia have already been heard in Paris, but his Third Symphony and his Song of Autumn, for soprano and orchestra, were new for us. This symphony in the transparent ton of C-major sung the pleasures of summer in a country where even heat-waves were temperate. Do not be disappointed or surprised that these joys do not go as far as exuberance; their calm serenity is even more touching, perhaps. The soft Andantino Alla Brahms (…) is charming, and the development of a kind of rustic choral gives the finale a more exquisite character with peaceful and healthy joyfulness. In short, one is in the presence of a work and an artist who we would like to see in Paris and get to know better. The touching Chant d'Automne makes a striking contrast with this summer symphony; autumn in Nordic countries is really a sad season, more poignant that the evident rigours of winter.'

The 21 May the Ménestrel's critic noted that Kajanus had 'commenced by himself, in conformity with the principals of true charity', and conducted 'a Sinfonietta, which does not in fact merit a diminutive label'. He saw a 'relentless stream' in Palmgren's concerto, but found the Third to be 'classical in form'. Gaston Garraud, who in 1900 had praised the First Symphony, passed over the Third in silence, barely mentioning

Höstkvall and The Swan of Tuonela in the same breath as Kajanus's Sinfonietta.

It should be said that at the same moment, Paris had been gratified by a concert of Norwegian music that included Sinding's symphony in D-minor No1, generally considered the best of his four symphonies, and inevitably Grieg's piano concerto. Le Ménestrel qualified Sinding's symphony as 'colourful, lively with great allure that our concerts would do well to adopt', and Jean Poneigh wrote in Comadia that decidedly, the ethic character of the Nordics had not the sparkle of the Slavs, the only exception being Grieg. He added that neither the Third Symphony nor even The Swan of Tuonela had made a great impression on him, and that in his opinion, Sinding clearly outclassed Sibelius in professional ability; a eulogy that in fact affirmed that contrary to Sibelius, Sinding produced banal Kapellmeistermusik.

These commentaries were reproduced for the most part in the Hufvudstadsbladet the 27 May, and had a depressing effect on Sibelius. 'The Paris concerts, a success for Kajanus's Sinfonietta and the others. As for myself, a mediocre success. Exactly as I had predicted. That weighs heavily on me. But what can I say, time heals all wounds. But, time is counted, and what have I done with my life?' (Dairy, 27 May). Only Katarina's excellent results on the piano comforted him: 'What a joy this marvellous girl has given us her parents' (Diary, same day). It was said that with a programme entirely dedicated to Sibelius with in particular the Fourth Symphony, still the

subject of scandal, and the supposedly impressionist Oceanides, Kajanus could have had a great effect in Paris. Nothing proves that these works could have made a success, but they would have presented Sibelius to the Parisians under a different light, and provoked reactions other than the usual clichés. It is nevertheless difficult to follow Tawaststjerna, when he affirms that by his concert of the 13 May1920, Kajanus put back several decades the adoption of Sibelius by the French.

The great even of the beginning of the summer in 1920 was the first industrial fair ever organised in Helsinki. An important step for Finland since its commercial relations with Russia had come to a stop, and it was urgent that it renewed its business relations with Western Europe. An inaugural concert with ten ‘gala’ concerts entirely dedicated to Finnish music took place between the 26 June and the 6 July, as well as numerous theatrical and opera presentations. These included Tannhäuser, Madame Butterfly and Carmen directed by Armas Järnefelt, a popular opera by Franz Lehar, and others productions.

Having promised to participate in five of the eleven concerts, Sibelius realised that he could not enjoy the most beautiful days of the year in Ainola: ‘I am arming myself for the fair and for the torments that will follow’ (Diary, 23 June). A photograph shows him conducting Maan virsi at the inaugural concert on the 26 June, on a wooden stage, in a top hat, before a crowd most of whom were standing.

In October, Kullervo, the opera by Armas Launis, was premiered under the direction of Armas Järnefelt, with a libretto by Launis, based on the Kalevala, the Kanteletar, the drama Kullervo by Alexi Kivi and the dramatic poem The Swan of Tuonela by Eino Leino1. 'Armas is vexed because I could not come to the premier of Launis's Kullervo. Always the same old story. They forget that such a journey costs me 2 to 3 days work + 1,000 Fmk. (…) Aino could have gone alone, but she didn't for money reasons – always the old same story' (Diary, 27 October). Aino and Katarina finally attended another performance. 'They have gone to see Launis's Kullervo, a great work. Strange that I have not attacked this myth (sic). My star has dimmed! Poverty and worries. Tragic' (1 November).

The 27 February 1920, Nielsen wrote to Sibelius announcing that he had just conducted En Saga in Copenhagen, and that the 3 and 4 March, he had conducted Finlandia in Amsterdam 'with the excellent Mengelberg Orchestra. Best regards from my wife to you and your dear wife.' Sibelius replied: 'Marvellous friend, thank you! I hope that everything is well with you. Greetings to your brilliant wife and to you. I have often been surprised to note how two geniuses like you can live so happily together. Your faithful Jean Sibelius.' A letter apparently indicating that Sibelius wondered what would happen if, like Anne Marie Carl-Nielsen (it was how the composers wife had herself called), Aino had led an independent artistic career. In reality, the married life of the Nielsens was not free of tension. At certain moments they had live separately for long periods of time, notably when in 1909,

Anne Marie had lived in Celle, near Hanover in Germany where she worked on the monument to Christian IX, which was unveiled the 15 November 1927.

In the middle of 1920, Stenhammar still hoped to present the Fifth in Gothenburg, if possible conducted by the composer: 'We are still ready to organised one or two supplementary Sibelius concerts' (6 August 1920). The reply was: 'Concerning Symph. V and the misery into which I am at present plunged, I will write soon. I would be very pleased to come to Gothenburg' (11 August). Once again, Stenhammar was disappointed. In April 1922, he left the Gothenburg concerts without having been able to welcome Sibelius for a third time in the city, and eighteen months later moved back to Stockholm, where in 1924 he became the head of the Royal Opera. One year later he was forced to leave the Opera after a stroke in the spring of 1925.

It was then the Norwegian pianist Alf Klingenberg, who during his studies in Berlin had met Sibelius, suddenly made his reappearance. Klingenberg had immigrated to the USA in 1902, and in 1912 had founded a music school in Rochester, New York, which had been recently bought by George Eastman of Kodak fame for the University of Rochester. The inauguration of the renovated school, re-baptised The Eastman School of Music, was planned for the autumn of 1921. Klingenberg was appointed rector and in order to add prestige to the teaching body, he offered Sibelius a chair of composition: 'You could teach composition for one year or

more to the up and coming geniuses of America, few enough not to be a burden on you, (…) and I will ensure that you have the time to conduct and perform your works performed by the excellent orchestras that we have here in America' (19 January 1920).

Sibelius replied that the offer was very interesting but having a state allowance, it would be difficult to give it up, and noted in his diary: 'Decided to leave his proposal in abeyance, one never knows what the future holds. If I were rich, my wildest dreams of composing could be accomplished. Still these awful money problems! And no solution in view' (28 February). During the summer Klingenberg in his search for new teachers passed through Stockholm, where he met Armas Järnefelt, who wrote to his brother Eero asking him to advise Sibelius to accept Klingenberg's offer, asking for a salary of 20,000 dollars as well as the guaranty of a certain number of concerts.

In September Sibelius met Klingenberg in Ainola, he based his negotiations on the advice of his brothers-in-law. He asked for an advance of 10,000 dollars to settle his affairs, compose new works for the five concerts foreseen and to prefect his English. They agreed, but Sibelius continued to be tormented by his doubts: 'This American project will produce nothing' (Diary, 4 November). Back in Rochester Klingenberg pressed him for a reply by telegram, and the 3rd, Sibelius noted in his Diary: 'Telegraphed… "Yes". Therefore alea jacta est. Let us hope that I have made the right choice at the right moment.' The newspapers triumphantly announced the arrival of

Sibelius, but Klingenberg knowing his man, knew that the victory was far from being won.

In the meantime Sibelius received a letter dated 17 July 1920 from Rosa Newmarch, who was on vacation in Geneva after visiting Prague, inviting him to conduct one of his works at the Queens Hall in London the 12 February 1921. She had written in the name of Robert Newman, director of the Queen's Hall orchestra for thirty two years: '(I saw at Chester's) several piano pieces that show you have been busy (and) heard that a new symphony was ready.' Sibelius asked for £150 'in view of the huge expense that such a visit now involves' (2 August), and Robert Newman, to help him from the financial point of view, arranged not only one concert at the Queen's Hall, but several.

At her request, Sibelius sent Rosa Newmarch a list of his recent works, including the Fifth Symphony and Oceanides, but without including the symphonic score, to her despair: 'Sending a list of works in not enough. (…) What I want, my dear friend, is your Fifth Symphony. Even Henry Wood has asked me to write to you on the matter, because you know that your works cannot be studied quickly like one of Haydn's symphonies' (15 November). It seems that Rosa Newmarch ignored that for Henry Wood 'a symphony of Haydn's, in its apparent simplicity, should be rehearsed in the smallest detail, whilst Tchaikovsky's Pathétique could if necessary be entirely executed without rehearsal'.

Sibelius was in one of his depressive periods. ‘I spent several days sitting and looking in front of me and ruminating black thoughts. Where will that lead me? To apathy and solitude. Poor Aino—what a terrible fate! Alone, all alone with her sick children. (…) My nerves are cracking up. Impossible to leave home, Aino would be abandoned. Though I can’t see what our company brings to each one of us. We are completely dead and she avoids my eyes, moreover the least of her movements is an implicit criticism of me’ (2 November).

‘I have arrived at a point of non-return. I have based my financial situation solely on composing and composing alone, in addition small pieces that never satisfy me, and consequently must bear the consequence. Autrefois is not right (…) to be revised. (…) What I am doing now is not worthy of me. If only Autrefois was right—but it’s not the case. (…) I can hear the tired steps of Aino and can already see her melancholic regard, impossible to continue like this’ (4 November).

It was only after Armas Järnefelt conducted the Fifth in Stockholm the 30 November (first performance outside of Finland) that he resigned himself to sending the score to London. As usual, the event was a source of anguish for him. ‘Armas conducts symph V in Stockholm tomorrow. Inclined to hypochondria today—once again. I can’t understand how I have been able to survive so long’ (Diary, 29 November).

The reports in the Swedish press were reproduced in the Hufvudstadsbladet dated 5 December and were not encouraging. The composer Ture Rangström (an admirer of

Finland), who had replaced the fiery Peterson-Berger, reported in the Dagens Nyheter that this new symphony illustrated: '(the Promethean fate) of Sibelius with singularly and striking force' and the last of Sibelius' symphonies shared together with Beethoven's quartets 'a disdain for the general public by an untiring search for originality of thought and a world of sound specific to himself, which did not facilitate things for the listeners'.

On the other hand another composer, Kurt Atterberg in the Stockholm-Tidningen, wrote that Sibelius was an old man for whom the future implied neither the pursuit of new ideals, nor new problems or fear when faced with the struggles of life. With any sign of the least concern, the composer contemplates the past with serenity (…) and envelopes it in a pastoral atmosphere'. Atterberg added that the brass had almost completely spoilt the performance, and that he need 'a lot of imagination to understand in terms of sound what the composer had wanted to say in the finale'.

On this point Rangström added: 'Järnefelt is not one of those who like the other Finnish conductor in Stockholm, Schneevoigt, who wants something at any price, but he is nevertheless someone who, if he wants it, can get it.' In the Svenska-Dagbladet, William Seymer considered that the symphony was 'less good relative to the expressionism of the previous one' but this was 'carefully dissimulated behind a screen of lines having no relation between each other, of non-resolved dissonances and (apparently of notes and motifs

arbitrarily disposed, with a certain cacophony. And however, the atmosphere became clearer (…) and the majestic codas of the second and fourth (first and third) movements reflected an unvanquished love of life. (…) In what measure will Sibelius' new style, that could in part be put on a parallel with Carl Nielsen, impose itself, only the future can say'.

In the Nya Daligt Allehanda, the 'veteran' Andreas Hallen found that though it was not lacking in originality, the work contained 'too many reminders of the futurist musical language of Scriabin and Busoni, which in our decadent times only a few zealots could understand'.

'Atrocious reviews in Stockholm for Symph V. Am supposed to be a 'dead man'. Ridiculous! (…) Armas wrote that he is 'overcome by the symphony'. So much the better! Independence Day today. Invited to Mannerheim's, to the French Ambassador (for diner) and to the National Finnish Theatre. Aino not invited by the Ambassador, therefore did not go out at all' (Dairy, 6 December). For his fifty-fifth birthday two days later, Sibelius received from the hands of the tenor Wäinö Sola, on behalf of a group of Finnish businessmen, a cheque of 63,000 marks. 'It makes me giddy' (10 December).

A few days later, he went to Helsinki, principally to hear Kajanus conduct the last concerts of a Beethoven cycle (Beethoven's 150th anniversary) that culminated with the overture of Leonora III and the Ninth Symphony. 'Spent a week in Helsinki, and suffering for it now, at home, terrible conscience. Can't understand myself anymore. If only I could

stop this feasting! But that would just be a pious wish! (18 December).

In November a contract for three concerts arrived in Ainola from London. Sibelius wrote a letter to Rosa Newmarch in French the 5 January 1921: ‘Serait-il possible que Monsieur Kling veuille m’arranger une “single bedroom” dans un hôtel pas cher’ (Is it possible that Mister Kling wants to arrange a ‘single room’ for me in a cheap hotel?).

At the end of the month he left Finland in the knowledge that his visit to London was to be followed by a tour in Norway. The 31st, on the crossing from Trelleborg in Sweden to Strassnitz in Germany, he wrote to Aino: ‘An extraordinary journey to Stockholm. It was really very nice of you all to have accompanied me to the boat. (…) I think I will put my English pounds into Katerina’s account (she was preparing to continue her piano studies in Stuttgart). Here in Germany the exchange rate of the pound is very high. I will probably spend a few days in Berlin to listen to the latest things and find out what has happen to the place’.

In Berlin he stayed with Adolf Paul and met the new director of Breitkopf & Härtel, Hellmuth von Hase. ‘His old father (Oscar von Hase) is dead. A great shock for me. They are going to revise all their contracts and readjust the exchange rates’ (to Aino, 7 February). In January, he was unanimously elected to the musical section of the Preussische Akademie der Künste (Prussian Academy of Arts), as an ordinary foreign member.

This was no doubt due to Busoni who had just accepted teaching in the Akademie.

On arrival in England the 5 February, after an exhausting journey, Sibelius was pleased to note that the immigration officer recognised him. But what of the London public? He had not performed in London since 1909, when he conducted the Fourth in Birmingham. The war years had been a break and music lovers of a certain age could have forgotten him, and the younger people knew nothing of him, or at least of his symphonies. Later, Ernest Newman remarked that the war had obliged Sibelius to 'start again from zero' in England.

The 20 March 1920, Henry Wood conducted the Fourth at the Queen's Hall (its second performance in England), and in the Musical Times of May, Alfred Kalisch wrote in very virulent style: 'It had not been favourable accepted and was no more acceptable on this present occasion. (…) The admirers of Sibelius are very impressed by what they call his concision, which is to say by a musical discourse that pitiless rejects all that is superfluous. This doctrine is perhaps valid on paper, but in this precise case, translated into practice, it is apparently equal to the suppression of all that is agreeable and pleasant. (…) It is difficult to say how it translates in a composition or per se, powerful or magnificent themes—or those that are neither one nor the other. Moreover, the work taken as a whole expresses a dull and unpleasant view of life in general. The programme notes tell us that the scherzo is joyful and

sweeping, I therefore ask myself what kind of music Sibelius would write to describe melancholy and unhappiness.'

In London he was immediately received by the Finnish chargé' d'affaires, Ossian Donner, and in his letter of the 7 February to Aino he said: 'We shall see how things develop in America. A telegram has informed me that (the Eastman School) opened in October. Rosa is totally opposed that I go (to teach in America), but has encouraged me to give concerts there. Busoni is here. We will appear in the same concert.'

Rosa Newmarch organised a reception for him at Claridge's on the 10th: 'Don't forget to be at Claridge's tomorrow, otherwise it will be Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. Kindly ask Mr Blom (the critic and musicologist Eric Blom, 1888-1959) to bring you. Bantock and Henry Wood will be there' (9 February). Amongst the other guests was Ralph Vaughan Williams: 'Ralph had just left when Sibelius asked who he was. They had been introduced to each other, but Sibelius' English was not up to the pronunciation of the name. When he realised it was another composer whose works he admired, he rushed down the stairs to catch him in the hall. Their meeting together was however a disappointment, because though they both were overflowing with good intentions, they did not succeed in developing a friendship, by their shyness and because the only language they had in common was their poor French'.

In the afternoon of the 12 February, in Busoni's presence, after the orchestra had been 'prepared' by Henry Wood and two

rehearsals, Sibelius conducted, the English premier of the Fifth. The same day in the Daily Telegraph, Eric Blom affirmed that the performance was one of the most marking events in a multitude of London concerts, adding: ‘To the great disadvantage of Sibelius, the majority of the people know him only as the composer of Valse triste and Finlandia, this new symphony is typically national and indisputably the composer’s most personal work. (…) Compared to the Fourth, which was performed here last year and treats the poetic aspects of nature, the Fifth seems to a large degree to reflect his experiences.’

That evening Sibelius wrote to Aino: ‘Strange feeling after seven long years to be in front of 5,000 people. (…) This 5th is a master piece. And sounded powerfully. The orchestra applauded. I was called back five times. The reviews have not yet come out, and I couldn’t care less. The work is good, which is the most important. (…) I was nervous, but I conducted well. (…) They want me to go to Paris. During the reception at Claridge’s (the best hotel in London), they told me Paris was mad about Sibelius. It is certainly exaggerated, but there is probably some truth in it. I have a very powerful clique against me. (…) I am going to Bournemouth for two days. We will be together for the rest of our life, won’t we? Don’t forget to hug the children.’

The Times of the 13 February reported: ‘In the new symphony, the plans are certainly greater than in the previous one, the conditions are richer and more abundant, they make a greater usage of mass orchestral effects. (…) Both as composer

and conductor Sibelius has a place apart, he is a solitary figure who tries with great pains to transform a reality into an ideal that is evident for himself, and equally tangible for others.'

As for Alfred Kalisch, once again he repeated his old habits in the March edition of the Musical Times: 'The hall was overflowing and the composer was greeted with enthusiasm. (…) The Fifth Symphony is not as concise (as the Fourth), and in part seems to be more complete, but once a peak seems to be reached, he interrupts it in the most abrupt manner, as if the composer is saying: "…they can imagine the rest'."

In Paris the Musical Courier published a report from its London correspondent signed G.R.: 'More warmly received by the public than by the press, this profoundly personal work, too distant from all traditional influences to please everybody, made in spite of that a considerable and immediate impression.'

The 15th, Sibelius was received at the Royal College of Music by its director, Hugh Allen, who had just replaced Hubert Parry, and conducted the student orchestra with En Saga. In Bournemouth, on Thursday the 17th he conducted the Third Symphony, En saga and Valse triste. The local critic commented the music was: 'more often of cold desolation, desiccated, even frozen like a view of the trunks of broken dry trees in a dead forest'.

The same evening Sibelius took the train back to London, where on the 19th at the head of Queen's Hall orchestra, he

participated in to concerts one at three in the afternoon and the other at seven in the evening, both programming Karelia, Romance in C opus 42 and Valse triste. Together with Bantock, he immediately jumped into the next train for Birmingham, where Bantock had arranged a long concert on Sunday the 23rd that included Third Symphony, Finlandia, En saga, Valse triste and Valse lyrique as well as the slow movement of the Concerto and four melodies.

Sibelius had to content himself with just one rehearsal. ‘To believe the musicians, my performance was excellent. Today reception, tomorrow in London. I still have two more concerts, one in Manchester and the other in Bradford. Friday we rehearse Symph IV (Queen’s Hall). Strange to find myself after all these years in a world that is my own. (…) Am worried about your health. (…) Stop worrying about the garden etc. and think about yourself. (…) Friday (26 February) concert in London. With Busoni. He played the Mozart’s concerto in A-major. Myself Symph IV’ (to Aino, 21 February).

The 23 and 24 February, he stayed with Rosa Newmarch in Oxford, where he met Hugh Allen, professor of music at the university. The Saturday morning, at the rehearsal for the concert scheduled for three o’clock the same afternoon, Rosa Newmarch was seated next to Busoni: ‘His commentaries on the work of his friend (the Fourth) with vigorous and enthusiastic’. A well-known photograph shows Sibelius and Busoni side by side in front of the Queen’s Hall, Busoni seen

face on, looks very gaunt, and Sibelius to the left of his friend (to the right in the photo), looks solid and a little taller.

Busoni was already ill, and his tours in France or in England, made necessary by his financial problems that were even more serious than those of Sibelius, exhausted him. After having heard him a few days previously at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, a young English musician cited by Dent said: ‘I will never forget the shock and horror I felt when I saw him come onto the stage. The whole audience seemed to tremble with him. Busoni literally had a cadaverous air.’ Contrary to Sibelius, Busoni found life in London depressing. Their simultaneous presence in the city was the cause of a few problems for Henry Wood which he brooded over in his memoirs: ‘’In general I could get by with Busoni when I was alone with him. But as soon as he met Sibelius I was on edge. It was impossible to know where they were going. They forget the time of the concerts in which they were supposed to appear, and barely knew which day of the week it was. (A friend) whom I asked to look after them and not leave them out of his sight spent two or three frenetic days following them from restaurant to restaurant, told me he had never been able to discover at what hour the went to bed and rose in the morning. They had an air of two irresponsible school children’.

The Times of the 26 February published a long article on Sibelius written by Bantock (‘He resembles one of the characters in the Kalevala’), and on the 28th in the same newspaper: ‘The finale was followed by rare applause, barely

enough to be polite.' Having already heard Sibelius conduct the Fifth in London the 12 February and the Third in Birmingham the 20th, the newspaper's critic however added: 'Without the least hesitation, this one, No4 in A-minor, is by far the best. It is distinguished from its sisters by the directness and simplicity of its lines – a simplicity that is simply disconcerting.'

On the contrary in the April edition of the Musical Times, Kalisch wrote: 'A piece of music is not a telegram. Sibelius' obstination is to be admired, as he continues to pursue something that he knows does not have the appreciation of everybody.' As to the faithful Busoni, on Sunday the 27th he sent a warm message to the hotel of his old friend of thirty years: 'Dear Sibelius, Thank you for your beautiful music these last two Saturdays. Could you tell me which of these two works has not yet been performed in Italy, and especially in Rome? Do you know if the Second has already been played1? I don't think I'll have another opportunity to see you again in London on this occasion, Schade für mich (A pity for me)!' It is not known whether Sibelius replied or not.

The same day, Sibelius participated in two Ballad Concerts at the Queen's Hall. The programme included, The Oceanides, extracts from King Christian II and Valse lyrique. Wood then brought him to Manchester, where he triumphed with Valse triste and Finlandia. Sunday the 6 March, at the end of four well filled weeks, he gave his farewell concert at the Queen's Hall, conducting The Swan of Tuonela, Festivo and Finlandia, which was encored. With the approach of his departure he

received a letter dated 7th from Rosa Newmarch that contained almost motherly recommendations: 'You know that I have waited a long time to see you break through here, and I am more certain than ever that it will happen. But I beg you not to waste your energy teaching young Americans harmony and orchestration "à la Sibelius".

They can find all they want in studying your works. You are a composer, not a teacher, and certainly one of the most noble and original. Telle est notre mission. Au diables les dollars! Spend the summer at Järvenpää, don't smoke too many Coronas (they are expensive!), don't drink too often (advice from your personal doctor Madame Rosa Newmarch!), and compose your Sixth (order from the Almighty). Your life will have a real meaning. You have not the right to freely dispose of the years that remain for you and they certainly don't belong to young Americans, do not deliver your scores with being sure of your copyrights.'

Knowing deep down that Rosa was right, Jean telephoned to Klingenberg: 'Will come to America only as conductor, and not this year.' Klingenberg replied by return: 'Terrible for me' (10 March). He immediately begged Sibelius to reconsider his decision, but he was already sailing to Norway, and the business was once again in suspense. Most perseverant and more and more motherly, Rosa Newmarch had given a letter to Sibelius for Aino: (I tell him off from time to time when he smokes too much and neglects his health, but I think that in general, he has been very reasonable during this visit.

Wherever he goes, he makes friends. (…) I hope that your husband does not go to America. I cannot imagine him like a teacher giving lessons, and think that his nerves are incapable of supporting such a life for a single year. There is of course the question of money, but what good is money if it results in an homme fini! (…) He will certainly be engaged here again for next season. (…) He is now fifty-five, a critical age in the life of a man, and in America he would have nobody to look after him' (6 March).

Perhaps Rosa Newmarch was a little jealous of the young pianist Harriet Cohen, who Sibelius had met during his visit. She had a strange power of attraction to which a number of composers seduced. Harriet Cohen recounts in her posthumous memoirs having seen Sibelius one evening in Pagani, the famous London restaurant, on Great Portland Street nearby to the Queen's Hall, in the company of the critic Edwin Evans, who made the introductions. '(Evans) told Sibelius that I Knew his music very well and particularly that for orchestra, and faced with the incredulity of my Finnish hero, he pretended that I could play his symphonic poem En Saga from beginning to end by heart. (…) I finished my meal at their table, then we went to look for the banqueting hall, where Evans knew an upright piano could be found, and asked me to play the whole symphonic poem. I saw that Sibelius was very touched. With the exception of his first symphonies, Finlandia and Valse triste, his music was not well enough known, and he asked me what had attracted me to such a degree. I replied that I had had a very open minded father who had made me study

contemporary music, both for piano and orchestra. I confessed that his music had something different. I remember telling him that there was something empty in me that had to be filled by his strange and superb sonorities, and that musically, my hunger was for exactly what he had to offer. 'My grandfather was born in Lithuania,' I told him. 'It is not far, as the crow flies, from Finland.' This sealed our friendship. But it was in Finland that I really got to know Sibelius'.

Harriet Cohen (1895-1967), from the winter of 1914-1915, played an important role in the life of Arnold Bax, who soon after left his wife for her. Bax affectionately called her Tania and many of his piano works were composed for her, the first was Symphonic Variations for piano and orchestra. The 23

November 1920, she performed the premier of the work at the Queen’s Hall under the direction of Henry Wood. Bax dedicated his beautiful symphonic poem Tintagel to her, and also Winter Legends for piano and orchestra—was originally dedicated to Sibelius—and Concertante for orchestra with piano for left hand. Vaughan Williams composed his Concerto for Piano for her, which she premiered in 1933, and Bartok dedicated Six danses en rythme bulgare to her, the last of six pieces in the collection, when Mikrokosmos was published in 1940.

* * *

The 10 March, Sibelius boarded the ship in Newcastle for Bergen in Norway. No doubt Sibelius imagined that he would return to London in 1922, but he was never to return to England or see his friends Rosa Newmarch, Henry Wood and Granville Bantock again, or Busoni. On arrival in Norway, he told the Bergens Aftenblad that he greatly appreciated Grieg and that they had much in common, and in particular their love of nature. He visited Bergen and its Hanseatic museum, and met at his hotel a violinist who played several folk melodies for him on a Hardanger, an instrument he did not know.

The 21st, He conducted the Second Symphony and his well known pieces including The Swan of Tuonela and Finlandia. The Morgenavisen of the 22nd praised his qualities as a conductor: ‘No extravagant gestures, on the contrary he conducted lightly and delicately. With his elegant beat and the

precise indications with his left hand, he obtained the results he was looking for.’ The Bergen Times of the same day reported that ‘the applause seemed to go on without end’. A laurel wreath was offered to the composer after the concert, and when Sibelius saw it he started, because the person carrying it seemed to be Grieg in person, in fact it was a cousin of the composer of Peer Gynt, the architect Schak Bull.

After a banquet and two receptions, they went in the early hours of the morning to Troldhaugen where Sibelius laid a wreath of the tomb of Grieg. In the evening of the 22nd, after new festivities he took the train for Oslo, and to the great annoyance of the other passengers, spent the night drinking the Whisky he had brought from England in the corridor with an old friend he had met by chance. As in Finland, Norway was under prohibition.

In Oslo, he spent a great deal of his time with Knut Hamsun and conducted three concerts, each time to a full house. In its welcoming article, the newspaper Verdens Gang affirmed that the two greatest Nordic composers of the moment were Sibelius and Sinding. Sibelius was not flattered, but had the satisfaction of not being placed below Singing as had happened a year earlier in certain Parisian newspapers.

The 31 March, he conducted his First Symphony and finished with The Song of the Athenians. In the Aftonposten of the 1 April, the composer Hjalmar Borgström, considered by Sibelius as one of enemies1, noted that he had already heard the First ‘played better by Halvorsen and Schneevoigt. Great

composers are rarely great conductors'. The same day Sibelius was received by King Haakon VII, and the royal couple attended his second concert that same evening, which included The Oceanides, Pelleas et Mélisande, The Swan of Tuonela and Valse triste. The next day in the Aftonposten, Borgström wrote that in The Oceanides, Sibelius had painted 'a marine idyll with simply marvellous orchestral colours and harmonious, intoxicating sonorities, which was literally fascinating to hear'.

His two month tour had done him well and he returned to Finland in form: 'Completely free. Comp. slowly maturing. (…) Ravishing spring' (Diary, 25 April). However, he had to settle the question of the Eastman School. The 8 April he wrote to Klingenberg: 'I can conduct my works reasonably well, but as a teacher— impossible. And there are two reasons. Dear friend, do what is necessary and try to make me understand.' Then: 'How can I get of this American expedition? Impossible to teach now. It would be a disaster for them in Rochester and for me as a composer. I understand Klingenberg, it is terrible for him. But is it better for me? I don't know enough English. Nor do I know how to play the piano. (…) To give up being a composer would be suicidal' (Diary, 14 April). Four more telegrams were exchanged between the 3 and the 9 May, the last from Sibelius: 'Have realised what the price of living in America would be. Impossible to come.' The affair ended there. Klingenberg engaged Sinding, then two years later Palmgren. Having understood that it was necessary to chose between America and the Sixth Symphony, Sibelius had naturally opted for the latter.

Two years after the Copenhagen festival, a Nordic festival was held in Helsinki in 1921. As the question of the Åland Islands had still not been solved, a certain tension persisted between Finland and Sweden, and some, including Kilpinen and Klemetti considered that the festival should be put back.

The 20 May, at the opening of the concert, Sibelius conducted The Return of Lemminkäinen. Other works performed were Madetoja's Second Symphony, Palmgren's concerto The River, passages by Kuula, Melartin and Axel von Kothen as well as to finish Kajanus's symphonic poem Aino. It was long. Katila considered that these works were not at all representative Finnish music of the day, and reproached Sibelius for having accepted that a piece that was typically 'end of concert', and in addition played at the four corners of the world, be played in the middle. The next day Voces intimae was played.

On the 23rd Denmark was more notably represented by one of Nielsen's older works Hymnus amoris for soli, choir, children's choir and orchestra.

The 25th it was Norway's turn with Svendsen's Second Symphony, which went back to 1874, and Sweden on the 27th with Alfven's Fourth, a magnificent evocation of the Stockholm archipelago that enthused Katila, and Stenhammar's Second Concerto. Nielsen, Halvorsen and Schnedler-Petersen were present though not Stenhammar or Rangström.

At the closing concert, amongst other works, Sibelius conducted his Fifth Symphony, The Daughter of Pohjola, Scènes historiques opus 66 and Snöfrid. He received an ovation and Nielsen in the name of the Musicians Union presented him with a crown of laurels. Schnedler-Petersen returned to Copenhagen with the score of the Fifth, which he conducted at the Tivoli with great success the 11 August. None of Sibelius' symphonies had up to that point been so well received in Copenhagen as the Fifth. 'It was as if we were on Olympus at the Nordic music festival. I was forced to put myself into it but was not in good form. (…) That will spoil the whole summer. But we'll see' (Diary, 2 August).

Having renounced the money that he would have received from America and having to reimburse a Helsinki bank for a loan before the 30 January 1922, Sibelius figured that a series of new miniatures would help him out of his financial difficulties. The 29 June he completed the Suite mignonne opus 98a for two flutes and strings in three movements: Petite scène, Polka and Epilogue for the London publisher Chappell. At first Chappell refused, then accepted, no doubt thanks to Rosa Newmarch, and paid £200, the equivalent to 52,000 Finnmarks. Then in November he completed Valse chevaleresque for piano. The 15 October, Hansen paid 500 Danish crowns for Marche académique from 1919, but did not publish it until 1962.

At the beginning of September 1921, Sibelius learnt with great pleasure that Herman Scherchen had conducted the

Fourth Symphony in Leipzig. The programme included Palmgren's concerto No3 Metamorphoses and to conclude Tchaikovsky's Pathétique.

The Leipziger Zeitung of the 1 September saw in the Fourth 'a sombre and passionate rhapsodic description, of very interesting sound structures, of Nordic melancholy. Its strange colours, its rhythmical freedom and the quality of the performance (…) all works very much in favour of a work for which Scherchen has done everything to reveal to the public its quality and beauty.'

The Leipziger Volks-Zeitung of the same date insisted on the modernity of the work: 'Its force resides in its sonorities and its painting of impressionist atmospheres, its weakness in its forms without real endings. (…) Beyond its wealth and its diversity of style the work appears homogeneous and very intense1.'

Two months later, the 2 November, in Berlin, in spite of his state of health, Busoni again took up his concerts that had been so popular from 1902 to 1909 and conducted the German premier of the Fifth Symphony. This was followed on the program by a suit, which he himself had arranged in August 1918 from Mozart's Idomeneo, five madrigals from Monteverdi and Beethoven's Eroica.

Adolf Paul, who had become a theatre critic, could not attend the main rehearsal that took place the previous day. In a letter to Sibelius dated the 2nd, he praised both the work ('striking

and magnificent') and the performance ('masterly'), and told him the Busoni came to him and said: 'Nun hast du wieder ein bisschen von unserer Helsingfors-Zeit zu hören bekommen (now you have heard a little from our Helsinki time)'.

Also present at the concert was Georg Boldenmann who also wrote to Sibelius: 'Busoni conducted well. Though a little more tern than under your direction in Helsingfors, the first movement was sublimely handled'. The reports were generally favourable. It was the last time that Busoni was at the head of an orchestra, he could not continue his new Berlin orchestral cycle, which was limited to this single event. A week later, Busoni thanked Adolf Paul for his support, adding: 'Once again, I was able to help Sibelius accomplish another step on his path (though it should not be necessary! But that is how the world is!), and I am pleased that everything went well. I hope that you told him of your good impressions (but I would like to know how he reacted to this act of devotion, he is so complicated and difficult to decipher, and our relations remain unilateral). They are all the same, I know their works, but nobody knows mine. I have a very high opinion of the Fifth Symphony. The Fourth is closer to my heart. I do not know the Third. I conducted the Second in Rome last April. In spite of our mutual affection he seems never to be really at ease with me, and at the same time shows a kind of obsequious puerility that troubles me. The last time I met him was last February in London. In spite of that I like him a lot.' (10 November). It was though Busoni had discovered the words Sibelius had written

in his diary ten years earlier: ‘Why does this great pianist insist on composing?’

Adolf Paul immediately alerted Sibelius. He copied and sent Busoni’s tirade, continuing: ‘Busoni is like you, he always feels he is being watched and embarrassed, and obliged to play a role—estarrt (lethargic). He was already like that when he was young. It should be taken into account. (…) If you break the ice, you will discover his warm nature and a heart of gold. Write to him quickly, a few friendly well meaning words’ (10 November). Sibelius did the necessary and the 20th wrote: ‘I thank you from the bottom of my heart. Paul wrote to, full of enthusiasm about your performance. Without you the symphony would have remained on paper and me eine Erscheinung aus den Wäldern (an apparition out of the forest).’ It was his last letter to Ferruccio Busoni.

As planned, Katarina left for Stuttgart to study the piano with Max Pauer. During her stop over in Berlin, Adolf Paul served as her mentor, and she played some of her father’s pieces for him on his piano. She immediately wrote to her mother from Stuttgart and her father reacted at once: ‘To me, my glorious daughter does not write. Perhaps, it was because I seemed distant when you left. But I did not want to show how upset I was. And worried. She now commences her own life. (…) Youth— composing—commences like that. New ideas and a new élan. Having turned my back on everything, to America and invitations to conduct, I must bear the consequences’ (Diary, 7 October).

A month earlier, Sibelius noted that his hand trembled to such a point that it was 'difficult to write and impossible to conduct' (6 September). He envisaged proposing a new suit to Chappell (17 October), but sent Valse chevaleresque, which the publisher turned down.

The 2 December 1921, he participated at the celebrations for the sixty-fifth birthday of Kajanus, and the 10 January 1922 proposed Valse chevaleresque to Hansen, who accepted it but only paid half of the asked for sum. The piano version appeared in November 1922, and the version for orchestra in June 1923. Aino detested this piece, which for her symbolised Jean in the Kämp restaurant drinking Champagne. She was not happy to see her husband composer such 'rubbish' then sell it for next to nothing. 'The contract (with Hansen) is acceptable based on present standards. If I refuse it, I will also lose this source of income. Terrible. Writing this piece was torture. I thought and persuaded Aino that this piece would be a gold mine, and here we are. The worse is the atmosphere in the house will be grim for sometime. And I should live and work here' (Diary, 5 February). 'My health is deteriorating, it is undeniable' (9 February). 'Thought about how difficult it must be to be the wife of a Sibelius. It was no doubt the same for mother and grandmother' (13 February).

The 16 February, Wilhelm Kempff played for the second time in Helsinki, under the direction of Kajanus in Beethoven's concerto in E-flat major. The 19th he visited Ainola. 'The day before yesterday Wilhelm Kempff had lunch here with Ilmari

Hannikainen and Martha Tornell. Kemppf played Bach unforgettably' (Diary 21 February). A month after Kempff's visit, Hansen tried to convince Sibelius to write a piano concerto. The reply was immediate: 'I have often thought of it, and on a number of occasions I was pressed to do it, by Busoni in particular. But I have always had the impression that everybody wants to see a concerto à la Tchaikovsky or Grieg, and not my Wenigkeit (my modest self). I will think of it seriously, it definitely interests me' (18 March 1922). But then: 'I have to take back what I said, in part because more than ever I am the slave of inspiration, and therefore cannot write what I want to, but what I must. No promises, but a hope' (Diary, 22March).

It recalls these words of Schönberg: 'I believe art does not come from 'I can', but from 'I must'. The artisan of art can. What is innate in him, he knows how to do, it is sufficient to be able to. What he wants to do, he can, good or bad, superficial or profound, fashionable or unfashionable—he can! But the artist must. He has not the least influence in the matter, it does not depend on him. But he must, he can. (…) The artisan of art can do what the artist has had to create.'

'Financial situation disastrous. Naive to have thought that I could produce piece after piece and that it would earn me money—in other words that I could live from composing. (…) Bitterly regret having refused America, but could not accept it. I will say nothing of the real reasons' (Diary, 22 February). The 7 February, he completed, for Chappell, two versions of the

Suite champêtre opus 98b. It was in three movements and was returned by the published with tart comments. 'God knows how I am going to manage financially. Aino suggested we sell some paintings, but they are presents, so that's not possible' (Diary, 25 March).

Hansen bought the Suite champêtre, and published the piano version in December and the string version in 1923. During the summer of 1922, Sibelius unsuccessfully offered Joseph Williams of London the Huit Petits Morceaux for piano, composed in May-June, and offered Carl Fischer of New York Suite caractéristique for strings and harp, completed the 8 August also in three movements (Vivo, Lento, Commodo). Huit Petits Morceaux was finally accepted by Fazer, and Suit caractéristique (for which a piano version exists) by Hansen. When he commenced Suit caractéristique he made this note in his diary: 'And now to serious things' (3 June).

Sibelius' star nevertheless continued to shine in the New World. The 21 October 1921, the American premier of the Fifth Symphony took place in Philadelphia under the direction of Leopold Stokowsky. Three weeks later, the 10 November, Joseph Stransky conducted it in New York, where it was judged to be more accessible and human than the 'problematic Fourth'. The 7 April 1922, Pierre Monteux conducted it in Boston.

For the Boston Evening Transcript of the 8 April, Henry T. Parker wrote an intelligent review presenting ideas that were to be largely developed in the 1930s and 1940s by Cecil Gray and

others such as Constant Lambert or Gerald Abraham. He announced that contrary to most of the Parisians, to the partisans of Schönberg or of Strauss in Austria and in Germany or young English or American eclectics, 'Sibelius, the individualist' belonged to no school, and as since his antecedents had been discovered, or his methods elucidated, there were content to explain him simply by Finland. 'It is easy for a critic to define a poet, a painter or a composer by his environment. (…) But a man thinks and feels in himself, by himself and for himself: this is how he composes music. The secret and the principal source of creation, is individuality. This quality manifests itself in Sibelius more than any other musician today, and it is this that makes him a phenomena. (…) Sibelius confides to his thematic cells the task of determining the form, though without renouncing the usual symphonic methods. It itself very interesting, the structure and style of this symphony remains dedicated to the service of beauty. (…) Once again, he has created music that honours his name.'

Sibelius would have never imagined he would outlive his brother. However at the beginning of 1922, the health of his brother commenced to seriously worry him. Christian became thin and pale, his easy going temperament and his sense of humour disappeared, and in May, Jeans fears were confirmed: 'Kitti's doctors told me today that his illness—that of Kitti's—was incurable. It is just a question of time. Impossible to translate into words what that means to me. Once again

confronted with inexorable fate' (Diary, 3 May). Christian was suffering pernicious anaemia.

He was then at the peak of his career and was considered as Finland's leading psychiatrist, the previous year he had been elected to the country's Academy of Science. His professional activities had never prevented him in being interest in the least details of Jean's life, but he always maintained a very low profile. An almost professional cellist, he never allowed himself, contrary to Carpelan, to criticise his work. 'The two brothers were close in spirit, and their tacit complicity. Often, Sibelius sat at the piano at Christian's and played him a new work. Without a word being said he sensed Christian's reaction naturally. That explained everything. To the end of his life, Christian enlightened Sibelius' terrestrial wanderings. (…) He was always ready to give him support, to console him and to encourage him'.

The 12 May, Scaramouch was performed for the first time at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen, in a production of Georg Poulsen with the stage sets painted by Kay Nielsen inspired by Leon Bakst and Picasso. Blondelaine was danced by the Norwegian ballerina Lillibil Ibsen, who had worked in Berlin with Max Reinhardt during the war. Contrary to the assurances that had been given, spoken dialogue was introduced, but Sibelius' score was very well received.

The 22 May, he noted in his dairy with satisfaction that Scaramouch had had a great 'success in Copenhagen', but was obliged to add: 'My brother Christian very bad. He will not

recover from this illness. How sad! Dear brother! Today has been a dream. But I am concerned about Kitti.' He had spent a few very pleasant days at Ainola in the company of Walter von Konow, and had received a letter from Adolf Paul, to whom he spoken of his brother: 'I cannot forget his how he played the cello, which still rings in my ears.' And finally: 'The 2 (July) my dear brother Christian is dead. (…) Devastated and alone' (Diary, before the 14 July).

Sibelius wrote to Adolf Paul, who immediately informed Busoni, that at his dying brother's bedside he had played the elegy from King Christian II. The 10 July he wrote to Rosa Newmarch in French: I lost my brother on the 2 July. He died from a serious illness that he had suffered from for several years. He was always very charmed by your interest in me and my work.' Christian's colleagues posed a wreath on his tomb with this inscription: 'He was the light in the darkness of thoughts.'

During this period Sibelius continued his efforts necessary for his survival. The 13 July he obtained a loan of 10,000 marks reimbursable four months later, but after a few weeks he was broke again. 'Worked on small pieces—my grand projects will never come to fruition (…) and when I am forced to compose it doesn't work' (Diary, 5 September). He had just completed Novelette for piano and violin opus 102. After a refusal from Fazer, he succeeded in selling it to Hansen for 300 crowns. Other pieces were supposed to follow, but Novelette

remained an isolated piece. It was published by Hansen in October 1923.

* * *

Freemasonry appeared in Finland under aegis of the Grand Lodge of Sweden in 1756. It was forbidden by Alexander I in decree of 1822. Exactly one century later it was officially reintroduced. The 22 August 1922, less than two months after the death of Christian, Sibelius was accepted with the rank of Grand Master in the new lodge 'Suomi Loosi', which was founded on the initiative of Finnish immigrants in the USA. It was dependent on the Grand Lodge of New York State and was the first lodge to be established in Europe by American freemasonry.

Sibelius had been encouraged to become a Freemason by Sigurd Wettenhovi-Aspa. The initiation was carried out by Arthur S. Tompkins, the Grand Master of the New York lodge, and it lasted from ten in the morning to seven in the evening, with a one hour pause for lunch. During the celebrations that followed, Sibelius came out of his silence, if Ostiak is to be believe asking: 'How, after today's solemnities, can we celebrate like this?' to which he received the reply: 'Because in Freemasonry, it is just as natural to be happy as to be solemn.' Which, according to Ostiak seemed to relieve him. Amongst the names of the personalities proposed as future members of the lodge were: Mannerheim, Lars Sonck, Pekka Halonen and Robert Kajanus.

Twenty-six other candidates were initiated at the same time as Sibelius, who was registered under No13. In 1922, he participated at six meetings of the 'Suomi Loosi' lodge, improvising, too long, in the opinion of certain, on the harmonium. After he was present less often. His main Freemason brother was the great opera tenor Wäinö Sola, who became a member in 1923.

Markku Hartikainen explained (to the author of this book), that for Jean Sibelius the adhesion to freemasonry was probably one of the means to fill the void caused by the death of his brother, and three years earlier that of Carpelan, his guiding hand and mirror. Having been deprived of his father at the age of three and the his Uncle Pehr just before the age of twenty five, Sibelius was essentially raised by women and who had suffered from the relative coldness of the Borgs, had not the least 'Sarastro' to guide him through life, that is if he ever had one. The almost total absence from his work of explicitly religious themes does not mean that 'religion' meant nothing for him.

He grew up in two very religious districts, 'sombre' in Hämeenlinna and 'luminous' in Loviisa. In addition he believed in symbols, going as far as ordering a horoscope. Everything else and in spite of appearances he needed human warmth. In Vienna during his studies, he had received a letter from Aino dated 'Vaasa, 27 December 1890' with these words in particular: 'Papa (General Järnefelt) has become so severe and so cold and his recent illness.' To which he replied the 2

January 1891: ‘You know, Aino, I am perhaps effeminate, but I have always wanted someone to caress me. At home (in Hämeenlinna), I was the only one who showed any tenderness, even though I was very shy by nature.’

The 14 August 1922, Sibelius was asked for a new musical work for ‘Suomi Loosi’ by a ‘brother’ Toivo H. Nekton, a Finn living in the USA, who had spoken during the initiation ritual on the 22nd, in English. He accepted; and in April 1923, Marche funèbre opus 113 No10 was apparently almost completed. Then he seemed to have forgotten his promise. Wäinö Sola successfully broached the subject again in the autumn 1926 and after having completed Tapiola; Sibelius set to work and received 10,000 marks from a lodge member, a pharmacist named Berndt Forsblom.

The result was eight pieces for the future Musique religieuse (or Musique maçonnique rituelle) opus 113. The morning of the 7 January 1927, Sibelius telephoned to Sola to invite him to ‘Suomi Loosi’ the same evening. Three pieces were performed for the first time by two of the lodge’s members: Wäinö Sola and Arvi Karvonen. These were followed the 12 January by all the eight Nos 1-7 and 10, that is six pieces for soloist vocal and harmonium, and two pieces for harmonium alone. In September 1928, Sola and Karvonen performed the six pieces for soloist vocal.

In 1922, Sibelius observed once again that even in his own country, his status was controversial. In the spring-summer number of Ultra, a recently founded paper, Ernest Pingoud

violently denounced the provincialism and nationalism which according to him cultural life in Finland in general was impregnated and in particular that of Helsinki, and cried ‘Let us throw open the windows to Europe’. More precisely Pingoud insisted that national art was incapable of reaching the summit, because it relied ‘on colour. (…) This is the infantile stage of all forms of art, of Heimatkunst. (…) It charms by its exotic colours and interests (…) foreigners. Its forms are underdeveloped’. Pingoud added that Finnish musicians, who like Raitio tried to escape beyond national borders, received no recognition.

Sibelius had also tempted the same approach, but he was nothing more than a Moses who having led his people as far as Canaan, left Joshua, his successor, the task of entering into the Promised Land. Finland now awaited its Joshua, a worthy successor to Moses. Pingoud continued in the Hufvudstadsbladet the 3 September, and Sibelius, who had not forgotten his comments on the Fifth in June 1920 reacted violently: ‘But—he is stupid—and as everyone knows “even the Gods cannot fight against stupidity”. It is really too much. But—what can be done?’

Pingoud’s career as a radical polemic ended there, but in an article in 1928, he raised a problem that in the future, according to different degrees, was to seriously preoccupy Finnish composers. He asserted that the World War had ‘questioned certain values’, and in particular that of the ‘bankruptcy of Romanticism’ and continued: ‘Sibelius’ work

(…) has not lost an ounce of its value, in fact it is the opposite. Nevertheless, new phenomena appeared, overall the mountainous summits of Sibelius' work appeared in a new light, or perhaps in a new perspective, in the regions once under his shadow, new and curious lights have emerged.

The consequences have not been not long in making themselves felt, and new life has appeared, a new Finnish music, more or less independent of Sibelius, has materialized.' Predecessor of Nils-Eric Ringbom, Pingoud as director of the Helsinki Philharmonic from 1924 to 1942, held an unusual position in the music of his country of adoption, by the fact that he was indifferent to all forms of nationalism, for reasons of his origin. Around 1940 he orchestrated several of Sibelius most well known melodies. He committed suicide by throwing himself under a train in Helsinki the 1 June 1942.

In 1919, Carpelan's death precipitated the completion of the Fifth Symphony. Perhaps that of his brother Christian had the same effect on the Sixth. 'Concert in Rome, 11 March 1923. Worked on the new piece that should be ready in January 1923' (Diary, 24 September). 'Worked, Today felt the richness of life and the grander of my art' (28 September). Other projects were in preparation in Stockholm, where Schneevoigt proposed a programme of Finnish music concerts. Werner Söderhjelm, who had become the Finnish Ambassador to Sweden, wrote to Hugo Lindberg, President of Music Council in Helsinki, the 8 October 1922, that he was ready to back the project 'on condition that Sibban has a role, that a whole concert is

reserved for him' and that there is no (a mark against Kajanus) 'neither symphony Aino (just a Sinfonietta)' nor worn or immature little works.

Lindberg convinced Sibelius to come and conduct, but the question he asked himself was which of the two Stockholm concerts would be put at his disposition for his start as leader in this city: that of the Concert Society, where Schneevoigt had been the principal conductor from 1915 to 1921, or that of the Royal Chapelle (at the same time the Opera), where Armas Järnefelt had been the leader since 1907.

A temporary compromise was agreed, but it gave satisfaction neither to Järnefelt nor above all Schneevoigt, who considered not without reason that he had been the initiator of the concerts; Sibelius would have the right to two concerts and would therefore conduct the two orchestras. Finally Schneevoigt won, and Sibelius would only appear in Stockholm with the Concert Society.

The 5 October, he attended a concert to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of Kajanus's orchestra. The concert included the overture of Cherubini's Anacreon, Haydn's cello concerto in D-major, Beethoven's Fifth. 'Everything went well, the celebration' (Diary, 14 October). More than ever Sibelius was plunged into his music: 'Worked on my new symphony' (same day). 'Roughed out the main lines. Will I be ready in time for the concerts at the beginning of next year? That is the question. I must!' (29 October). 'Mourning Kitti, difficult to compose and to concentrate' (12 November). A month later, he had to go

to Helsinki for a money problem. 'For nothing. (…) At my wits end' (16 December).

That autumn he composed for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of different factories in Säynätsalo, Andante festivo for string quartet. This solemn piece with its beautiful lyricism in G-major (with a passing modulation in B-major just before the end) in a way anticipates the beginning of the Seventh Symphony. It was preformed at Säynätsalo the 28 December1. Shortly after, the 14 January 1923, Sibelius noted in his diary: 'Movement I, II and III of Symph VI ready.' But also: 'The trembling of my hand is worst, my nerves also.'

The 6 February, Söderhjelm wrote to him that Stenhammar considered it essential that 'Sibelius makes him "second period" known to the Stockholm public and conduct his Fourth Symphony, fearing that he had not had enough rehearsals to transmit his ideas to the Concert Society orchestra. (…) Further, he regretted that none of his concerts would be performed with the Opera orchestra given its superior quality'. Attached to this letter was an invitation to dinner at the Finnish Embassy after the first concert. Sibelius replied the 9th: 'It will be a pleasure and an honour for us. I write "us" because I hope Aino wiil accompany me to Sweden. (…) For my second concert I will conduct my new symphony – the Sixth – that I am in the course of completing. I am as usual full of enthusiasm, but this work has been achieved at great cost to me.'

* * *

Sibelius conducted the premier of the Sixth Symphony the 19 February 1923 in Helsinki, in the second half of a concert opened by The Hunt (Scènes historiques opus 66) then by four recent works (also the world premier for the last three): Autrefois (subtitled Scène pastoral), Valse chevaleresque, Suite champêtre and Suite caractéristique. A very mixed programme, where four almost trivial pieces, with the exception of The Hunt, were side by side with an immense chef d'oeuvre. The concert was repeated the 22nd. After a long empty period, the Sixth inaugurated the ultimate creative period of Sibelius in beauty, composed of four major works with one each year from 1923 to 1926.

The Sixth Symphony has never been the most popular of Sibelius' symphonies, but certain consider it to be the greatest of the seven. In fact Cecil Gray wrote: 'The impression on first hearing risks being a little negative. The Sixth seems to avoid the peaks of enthusiasm of the Fifth and the desolate depths of the Fourth, it has apparently neither the ampler nor the nobility of the first two, or the freshness, charm, sprightliness and athletic grace of the Third. However, closer examination helps discover little by little its qualities ensuring it a position just as enviable as any other in the series.

One year earlier, Constance Lambert was even more categorical: 'For the moment, it is true that this fascinating study in half tones, both from the emotional and orchestral

point of view, is eclipsed by the ampler of the Fifth. Nevertheless I have the impression that the commentators of the future will consider its qualities of intimacy as more revealing of the real Sibelius, in the same way as many of us find Beethoven’s Fourth and Eighth more Beethovian that the even numbered symphonies, which are however more popular.’

J. H. Elliot was of the same opinion: ‘The more one becomes familiar with the Sixth Symphony, the more the lover of Sibelius feels he has found the real Sibelius in this music.’ And Robert Simpson writes: ‘The apparent simplicity of the Sixth hides much of its depth and even its power. (…) More one becomes familiar with it, the more one realises that it was achieved after long consideration.’

On the surface, it the most peaceful of the seven, and which ‘sings’ the most. It is that which evokes with the most precision, without being picturesque, the vast expanses and tranquillity of certain Finnish landscapes. Heikki Klemetti praised its ‘sonorific limpidity’ and its ‘transcendental serenity’, and Hepokoski sees in it ‘an almost pastoral meditation on the Fennian specificity’. At the same time it is the most evocative of the seven and that in which the material is the most abstract. But the underlying tensions are formidable, whether or not they are the result of the ‘sonata form’. The Sixth resolutely turns its back on the ‘frivolity’ of the twenties, and wonderfully illustrates these words Sibelius addressed to his publisher: ‘Whilst other composers give you all kinds of cocktails, I give you cold pure water.’

CHAPTER 18

1923-1924

THE 24 FEBRUARY 1923, TWO DAYS after the second hearing of the Sixth Symphony, Jean and Aino left Helsinki for Sweden and Italy. She had not always accompanied him during his overseas tours, but each time she did, her present had greatly encouraged and comforted him.

Interviewed the 25th, the day of their arrival in Stockholm, by the William Seymer by the Svenska Dagbladet, Sibelius speaking of the Sixth declared: ‘It is of a very peaceful character (…) and its basis, like that of the Fifth, are linear rather than harmonic. Like in most symphonies, it is in four movement, which nevertheless, from the formal point of view, are treated very liberally and in no way follow the usual format of the sonata. It is not for me to say (if it will be a success). With each new symphony, (…) I have won over new partisans and have lost old ones. In any case I do not consider the symphony as uniquely as composed of so many bars, but rather as an expression of a principal of life, as a phase in the life of some one.’ Seymer asked him how to define the Sixth in a single phrase and he replied: ‘The shadow spreads.’

He spoke of young Finnish composers with warmth, 'Kuula, full of temperament and death in such tragic circumstance. Madetoja and his magnificent, the young Kilpenen, who has only written long cycles of melodies to Finnish poems and who could be considered as a Finnish Hugo Wolf, Raito more abstract and whose Antigonus for orchestra (symphonic poem in three movements based on Sophocles, in 1922) that caused a great sensation in Helsinki, and many others.' To the question as to where he had been the best received as composer-conductor, he replied jokingly: 'I remember best a concert in Moscow back in the good old times.'

His first appearance at the Concert Society took place Thursday 1 March, to a full house and in the presence of the Crown Prince, the future Gustave VI Adolphe. On the programme were En Saga, Rakastava, The Swan of Tuonela and the Second Symphony. Peterson wrote that amongst the young girls present, many came to contemplate the composer of Valse triste, who they surely imagined as 'thin, pale, handsome, mondain with a Bohemian air', but instead they saw 'a rather solid man, bald, worldly and with the title of Professor on the programme'. Lunches, diners and receptions quickly succeeded each other. Saturday evening at Schneevoigt's, Sibelius stayed until four in the morning, and though he had absorbed a quantity of drinks, did not go beyond the phase of being 'lively in good humour' (Söderhjelm to Hugo Lindberg). Sunday the 4th, he was a triumph at the Concert Society matinee with the Elegy of King Christian II, Valse triste and

Finlandia. Schneevoigt most notably conducted a Beethoven concerto with Edwin Fischer as soloist.

Monday the 5th, after having rehearsed in the morning then attended an ‘elegant lunch’ in the company of a minister and several personalities, given by the President of the Swedish Royal Academy of Music, Sibelius conducted an important concert the same evening with The Oceanides, the Sixth Symphony, The Daughter of Pohjola and after the pause Les Fiancées du Batelier sung in German by the famous Swedish baritone John Forsell, three extracts from Palléas et Mélisande and Finlandia.

In the Dagens Nyheter of the 6th, Peterson-Berger wrote that the Oceanides ‘was nothing like the work conducted three years previously by Schneevoigt, (…) in this magnificent poem Homer’s Aegean Sea could be really heard.’ In addition he considered that the Sixth was ‘not only clear and comprehensible, but also of a discrete and singular, expressive and living. The three previous symphonies had been a torment for me, because of their lack of real ideas and melodies. If I had heard them (conducted by the composer), I would have probably appreciated them more’. William Seymer found that Sibelius with the Sixth ‘approached the conventional models’, but it was a ‘conventionalism modern, stylistically close to Carl Nielsen’ a kind of ‘modern Mozart’. (…) The strong personality of the composer had a marked influence on the orchestra’ (Svenska Dagbladet of the same day).

John Forsell, a ‘favourite of the public’, made his return after a long absence, if Söderhjelm (in a letter to Hugo Lindberg dated 10 March) was detrimental to Sibelius: ‘The Sixth Symphony has not been well understood (by the public), but the specialists admired it, the other pieces in particular Finlandia, were more warmly received, but the atmosphere was spoilt by the excessive applause and confusion that hailed Forsell. He was covered with flowers (…) and endlessly called back onto the stage, to the point he was obliged to make an encore with Les Fiancées du Batelier, a work that I have never very much appreciated. At the end, he took Sibban by the hand, the audience then realised that they had made an error and applauded loudly, but the evening was Forsell’s, there was not the least flower for Sibban.’ Tuesday the 6th, Sibelius conducted at Uppsala, and Wednesday the 7th, he gave his last concert in Stockholm, which included the First Symphony. Schneevoigt and Edwin Fischer conducted Brahm’s concerto in B-flat major No2.

In Stockholm, Sibelius sold the Sixth to the publisher Otto Hirsch for 4,000 Swedish crowns. The work was published by Abraham Hirsch in August 1924, before being acquired by Hansen in 1936. In the meantime Aino was worried about the state of the garden and her two youngest daughters. She reproached herself for having left them and telegraphed to Eva Paloheimo in Helsinki that she was ready to return hotel if there was the least problem. It was not necessary, and in a letter of the 10th to Hugo Lindberg, Söderhjelm made this important remark: ‘Aino thinks it was good that the concerts took place in

the Auditorium, because in music matters, Jean and Georg (Schneevoigt) got on better than the two brothers-in-law (Jean and Armas).' The next day giving credence to this point, Armas Järnefelt conducted Mahler's Eighth in Stockholm.

After stopping in Berlin at Adolf Paul's, Jean and Aino arrived Sunday 11 March in Rome, where Mussolini had just taken power. Schneevoigt had already conducted En Saga in 1910 and the First Symphony 1914, in Rome. The Swan of Tuonela had been quite often played, for example in February 1921 conducted by Victor De Sabata. Sibelius had not returned to Rome since 1901 when he had worked on the Second Symphony. Busoni had conducted the work at the Augusteo in May 1921, and now he himself prepared to do the same. The concert had been initiated by an old friend of the composer, Herman Gummerus, who had studied archaeology in Rome, and was now Finnish Ambassador, after having represented the Jägers in Stockholm during the war. He spoke Latin, Greek and seven other languages, and lived with his wife and two sons on the top floor of the Palazzo Massimo, on the Corso Vittorio Emanuele. It was there the Sibelius couple was lodged.

The eldest son, Edvard, in a book of memoirs that was published in 1974, recounted an outing in the outskirts of the Eternal City: 'The weather was mild and sunny, and Sibelius took off his heavy coat and was in ecstasy over the beauty of the surroundings. Olle gave him a branch of laurels, and was thanked with an autograph in his album. In spite of that he struck me as a taciturn and reserved man, with large and

massive features lightened at times by a broad smile, you have the impression that he lived in another world, indifferent to what happened around him, alone with his muse. Simply seeing him was a revelation, and no one else, at that time made such a strong impression on me.'

Bengt von Torne then lived in Rome and attended the one of the rehearsals of the concert, which took place on the 18 March, the programme included: Finlandia, Pelléas et Mélisande, The Return of Lemminkäinen and the Second Symphony. There were many articles in the press, often kindly, but not without the usual clichés. All considered that to establish a contact with the public Sibelius would have done better to have commenced with his already known works, such as En Saga or The Swan of Tuonela. It was the case, in Il Mondo, where Domenico Alaleona commented that Sibelius 'was as universal as he was national'. Presented by La Voce Repubblicana as the 'Director of the Conservatory of Helsinki', Sibelius remained for the majority of Italians as a curiosity from Finland, and to believe Gummerus, an exotic country of 'arrivistes and savages'.

After a week in Capri, Jean and Aino left Rome for Gothenburg, where two concerts were programmed. In Berlin he went to Busoni's, but according to Aino, Gerda told them that her husband was too ill to receive them. Sibelius was hurt. Later that afternoon Gerda telephoned to say that he was feeling a little better and they could come. Sibelius refused; something that he was to regret for the rest of his life.

They arrived in Gothenburg Thursday the 5 April, and they were lodged by the sister-in-law of Stenhammar, Olga Bratt. Stenhammar's son, Leif, had just returned from Germany, where he had studied conducting under Fritz Busch. Ture Rangström had succeeded Stenhammar as head of the orchestra. Sibelius had to rehearse two new symphonies that were new for the orchestra, the Fifth and the Sixth, something that had worried him as is shown in the letter that he wrote from Rome to Olga Brat the 23 March. The task was even more difficult as the position of the first violinist was vacant and several musicians were ill and had to be replaced, and in addition Sibelius had several invitations. After the last rehearsal on Tuesday the 10th, Stenhammar (who still lived in Gothenburg) gave a lunch in his honour. When Aino returned to the hotel she wrote to Katarina that 'Papa had completely lost the edginess he had had in Helsinki. Has someone the measles at home?'

The concert that took place the same evening included: The Daughter of Pohjola, the Fifth Symphony and the Sixth Symphony. On the 14th Julius Rabe wrote in the Göteborgs Handels och Sjöfarts Tidningen that the musical year reached its apogee that day. He underlined the contemplative aspect and 'chamber music' of the Sixth, and the 'contrasts' of the Fifth: 'Its four movements hardly do more the nuance its essential atmosphere. (…) Like the two preceding symphonies and the string quartet, the Fifth and the Sixth are rich in musical ideas and an abstract clarity that comes to profitably replace the sometimes brutal sensuality of the colours of his older works.

Few works of our times are at the same time also pure and expressive as those of Sibelius, one thinks of Beethoven and Schubert (the oppositions of major to minor in the Andante of the Fifth!).'

After the concert, fifty people gathered together for a diner at the Bratts. The wine flowed and they all enjoyed themselves a great deal, but Sibelius still in his tailed coat, threw himself on a sofa in the billiard room and slept deeply, whilst another guest disguised himself as a young bride. They woke him up to hear the long speech given in his honour by Rangström; he only half listened to it.

That did not prevent him from appearing punctually the next morning at nine for the rehearsal of the evening concert that included: The Oceanides, Rakastava and the Second Symphony, works that the orchestra fortunately already knew. 'Yesterday's concert excellent', Aino added to her letter of the previous day to Katarina, 'and the evening continued wonderfully to the early hours of the morning. (…) Papa is brilliant. We hope that everything is going well at home. Tomorrow we leave for Stockholm. The people here are very warm, friendly and have a great feeling for music.' Aino had no idea what was waiting for her.

That evening as the time of the concert approached Sibelius was nowhere to be found. They started to look for him, but he could not be found, and Aino panicked. They finally found him in a grand restaurant eating oysters and drinking Champagne. At the concert Aino settled into her seat only partly reassured

as Sibelius impeccably dressed appeared on the stage at the right moment. He commenced The Oceanides, but interrupted it after a few bars, thinking he was at a rehearsal. He then recommenced from the beginning. ‘I was terrorised, everything sounded chaotic to me’ (Aino told Tawaststjerna forty years later). The concert ended without any further incident, but after having received the usual congratulations, Sibelius seemed absent and depressed. As he left the concert hall, surrounded by his friends, he dug into the pocket of his coat and pulled out a small bottle of Whisky, which he then dashed threw onto the steps. The evening ended ‘harmoniously’, but for Aino it was the last straw.

Jean and Aino were back in Finland the middle of April and at the end of the month Sibelius gave a concert in Viipuri, where he was greeted by a crowd of dignitaries on his arrival. ‘The main square was densely crowded when Sibelius arrived by train. The violinist, Sulo Aro, recounted in 1995: ‘Such a crowd had not been seen since the return of Svinhufvud from Siberia’.

The 25 and 26 April, Sibelius conducted Vårsång (The Song of Spring), The Feast of Balthazar and the Second Symphony. This was his last major concert in Finland. After Italy and Sweden his existence seemed banal. ‘No reference point today. Why? Old age is appearing. Aino played to check the proofs (of melodies) opus 88. What a great spirit! (…) In Helsinki with two old friends. Wentzel Hagelstam is sixty. Gallen looks like an old diva: crazy. Everybody is leaving me, even those

who were the closest. Alone! Alone!' (Diary, 29 May 1923). During the summer, Wilhelm Kempf was invited to Ainola again, where he stayed some time. Seated at the Steinway, he played two works that he had prepared for his next recital: Schumann's fantasy in C-major and Beethoven's Hammerklavier, a work that Sibelius never tired of hearing. He persuaded the pianist to play it at least twice a day, sometimes early in the morning. Very impressed, Aino nicknamed Wilhelm Kempf 'Heroic Willy'.

The remainder of the summer was consecrated to the Seventh Symphony, the premier of which was foreseen in March 1924 in Stockholm. His financial worries were still there, and to make matters worse the German mark continued its disastrous collapse. The result was ten piano pieces composed from the end of 1923 to the beginning of 1924 to 'earn a living'.

In Germany inflation reached explosive proportions. In 1922, for four editions of Valse triste Sibelius received 640 German marks, a mere 9 Finnish marks. In autumn 1923 for 24,000 copies of he received 1,280 German marks, not even one Finnish mark. He received a postcard from Adolf Paul with a postage stamp of 200 million marks: 'My monthly rent is 302 billion and my gas bill 179 billion' (3 November). Fortunately for Sibelius, a foundation awarded him with a prize of 100,000 Finnish marks.

Adolf Paul immediately congratulated him: 'You are lucky not living on the moon like me, but in a country where people look after you, even if they can't do everything that you merit.

(…) If ever you come here, we will make a cure at Steinach's (A Berlin doctor whose elixirs of youth were vaunted as far as Helsinki)' (11 November). This time the postage stamp cost 400 billion marks. The composer's situation improved somewhat with his adhesion to the German Gnossenschaft zur Verwertung musikalilischer Aufführungsrechte (Association for the Performance Rights of Musical Works). At the beginning of February 1924, he received his first payment of 1,500 francs. In a letter dated 12 December 1923, Wilhelm Kempff told him that he had seen Scaramouch in Oslo and had been enchanted by it.

In Helsinki, the 22 November 1923, Stenhammar played his piano concerto in D-minor No2, conducted by Kajanus. During his visit Sibelius apparently stuck to him every second. The 14 December when Stenhammar returned to Stockholm he wrote to Olga Bratt saying that Sibelius realised that he should excuse himself for his behaviour in Gothenburg: 'The last day, (…) Kajanus invited me to lunch with Sibelius. (…) We had hardly arrived at the buffet when Sibelius brusquely pulled me to one side—you know how clumsy and bumbling he is and said "I have something to say to you. Firstly, I would like you to make me the great honour of accepting that I dedicate my Sixth Symphony to you—and even if the answer is yes, I regret, as you know, that we have no king here to decorate you—thirdly, when you see your sister-in-law Madame Bratt, tell her for me that I am living soberly and have moderated my consumption of strong drinks.'

Sibelius never really gave up his liking for alcohol. 'Life is finished for me, if I am in a good mood and drink a glass or two, I suffer a long time after it. This terrible depression—that Aino cannot understand but I have inherited. This "hypersensitivity", or this lack of self-confidence, which Aino and the children never sufficiently supported the consequences' (Diary, 3 October). 'What difficult moments these last days! Perhaps the most difficult of my life! (23 October). 'Worked on the new piece. Wonderful humour! Life is rich and profound' (31 October).

He went to Helsinki for the sixtieth birthday celebrations of Eero Järnefelt. 'Impressive festivities for a noble person. My work exhausts me and worries me. The new piece! Alcohol, that I have given up, is now my most faithful friend. And the most comprehensive! (…) Will I hold out until February? That is the question' (11 November). 'Lost several days during these last two weeks. The 60th birthday of Erik + the 60th birthday of Linda and the visit of Stenhammar to Helsinki. (…) At my nerves end. The new piece should be ready for my departure to Sweden' (30 November). 'Aino has been seriously ill for some time. She is suffering to the point of groaning. Now I will not finish my pieces. I hope to be able to finish at least one of them. It is vital. But – my life off the tracks. Alcohol to clam my nerves + my ideas. What a tragic fate for an ageing composer! Everything is slower than before, and self-criticism takes on impossible proportions' (6 January 1924).

Finally, the 2 March, he noted: ‘Finished Fantasia sinfonica (Seventh Symphony) last night. (Now at the copyist).’

The same night he wrote to Gilda Bratt in Gothenberg: ‘Your portrait is before me at all times, and my thoughts always go out to you. It is now half past six in the morning. I have finished a new work for orchestra and you are the first to be informed. “The song of Suomi’ contains the verse “in beauty, in pain”. You, Madame, understand what it means.’

And Aino? On a paper she kept, she noted: ‘He understands nothing. Sees everything from his own point of view. (…) For him everything is permissible. Why have I no wish to do something forbidden? No doubt he would understand better. In fact he does not want to understand. As long as everything is alright on the outside, everything is fine, it doesn’t matter if a fire is raging inside. Such is his opinion of me. It is necessary that I try to forgive without him asking. It is the only (way).’ Jean spent the night composing with the aid of Whisky. When she came down in the morning, Aino often found him with a bottle of Whisky by his side at the table of the dining room, leaning over a score. She moved the bottle away and left without saying a word. ‘Forty years later she could not speak of these scenes without a tear of despair’. One morning, Tawaststjerna continues, having got all of her courage together and finding Sibelius sitting peacefully drinking his coffee, she handed him an envelope in silence. He opened it and read:

‘Dear Janne,

Are you dear to me? Yes. When I think of all the beautiful moments of our life when we could and wanted to look into each others eyes, our hearts together. Now a barrier of sorrow separates us. I can do nothing about it. For me it is difficult to life seeing the impasse in which, once so strong, you are now. Can you really appreciate work that comes from artificial inspiration? (…) If you do not change, you are sure to destroy yourself. Is it really all that this wonderful work of God contains, which I have come to considering as sacred inside of me? Try to get rid of all these that is making you go down. Can't you see where it is leading you? Even if you can complete a work, it is not worthy of what you can do. (…) If only you knew what you are like when things are not clear in your head. Your means of judgement are paralysed, and believe me when I say that in such a state, you can create nothing lasting. Even if you think that everything is fine when you are conducting, it is not the case. The attentive listener can perceive the difference, and for your precious works, it is a kind of abuse. It is impossible for me to go to Sweden with you, because I will be incapable of supporting such incidents again, I realise that you choose to superbly ignore the advice of your only and real friend. I with your old works will stay here. Thus I can console myself, otherwise I will fall into despair. You are in the habit of saying "I am so miserable!" What effect do you think that has on me? It breaks my heart, but I am convinced that you can get rid of this vice again. After all, you have been endowed with the force of a great man. Can't your sense of honour work for you? Get together all that you have in

you that is beautiful and sacred. On my knees I beg you, and am convinced that you can do it if you wish. You partner in Life.'

In March 1924, Sibelius left for Stockholm alone, as some months later, in the autumn he left for Copenhagen and Malmo. In total he gave nine concerts in these three cities. He arrived in Stockholm on Saturday the 22 March, two days before his first concert, with in his bags the only copy of (handwritten) of the score of Fantasis Sinfonica. He was interviewed the same day at the Grand Hotel by a journalist of the Svenska Dagenbladet. The interview appeared the next day on the 23rd. 'Interview agreeable,' wrote the journalist, who added that 'Sibelius often seemed absent, dissimulating behind his regard inner thoughts or sudden ideas'.

He asked the composer if 'modernism' had influenced his recent works: 'No, but I am very interested by recent developments in the art, we have the young and talented Väinö Raito to represent the extremes. I rarely have the opportunity to listen to new music, and do not think that they will change me. In addition, modern musical life does not please me. It is an industry. Artists only speak of their royalties. There is no idealism, and the old Romantics have been metamorphosed into ordinary clear seeing individuals.'

Little time remained for rehearsals. Ernst Törnqvist, violinist in the Concert Society orchestra, spoke to Tawaststjerna of a 'nervous atmosphere'. Other than Fantasia Sinfonica the programme was the Concerto for violin with the soloist Julius

Ruthström, a student of Joachim and Burmester, which as strange as it may seem Sibelius had never conducted in its final version that dated from 1905. Monday the 24 March came between two holidays, and the concert hall was not completely full. Amongst the audience was the Swedish Minister of foreign Affairs. A German member of the orchestra told the correspondent of the Hufvudstadsbladet: 'Stockholm is a curious place, you can have an absolute triumph, like Sibelius last year, now its finished, he is no longer a sensation.' In reality, the two concerts that followed were sold out. The next day the 25th March, in a letter to Aino, Sibelius spoke of a 'great success. My new work is one of my best. (…) The musicians, Armas and Stenhammar, were full of enthusiasm and praise. I have just come back from a lunch given in my honour by Söderhjelm. (…) But I feel this visit is like a repeat of last year's. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your letter (that which he had kept all his life and had given to his daughter). It made me so happy, especially the last words. Everybody is asking about you and regret your absence.

Peterson-Berger's review appeared on Wednesday the 26th. He saw in Fantasia Sinfonica 'a kind of symphony reduced to a single movement' the form of which recalled that of Berwald and by its atmosphere Sibelius' earlier works inspired by the Kalevala. Overall it gives a 'powerful impression', but adds that if it had had a poetic epigraph or a title 'it would have certainly had a much stronger impact on the listeners. To be honest, only the great figures of European musical life today, the Germans Bach, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, had no need

of these links between the unconscious life and the conscious life of the soul'. That evening, Sibelius conducted the Fifth Symphony and Snöfrid, and the programme was completed by Adolf Wikund's piano concerto No1. Present at the concert were the Crown Prince, future King Gustave VI Adolphe, and his second wife Louise Mountbatten. The latter was a lover of Sibelius' music and at the funeral of Queen Louise in 1965 the Andante from the Second Symphony was played. On Sunday the 30 March in the presence of Princess Astrid, the future queen of Belgium, and Ingrid, future queen of Denmark, Sibelius commenced the farewell matinee with Fantasia Sinfonica and continued with the usual popular pieces: The Swan of Tuonela, Finlandia and Valse triste.

CHAPTER 19

1924-1926

HAVING FINALLY COMPOSED AND played the three symphonies that he had in his mind since 1914, Sibelius posed the question as to what he was to do next: ‘And now?’ He was already thinking of an Eighth Symphony, which appeared in a long letter he wrote to Schneevoigt, dated 29 May 1924, before he left Stockholm: ‘At our last meeting, you honoured me by promising to dedicate your next symphony to me, which should be more or less in the style of the Second. (…) But do you think, after all you have done so completely different, you really want to compose a symphony in the style of the Second, with its ample melodies and richly coloured orchestral sonorities? I know that if you embark on such a grandiose path, your many admirers will be delighted. I hope that in the not too far distant future, you will be engaged in America, a country made for your music, but where real apostles are rare.’

In Ainola, the situation had greatly changed, ‘Returned from Stockholm, where I had a great success. The horrible demon within me threatens to finish me. To escape from it is not in my power, nor that of Aino. What can I do? If only my nerves were better. But that has gone on for years, and therefore can’t change. Alone and with my ‘trembling hands’. The devil be

dammed!' (Diary, 5 April). 'Day lost. (…) this existence in the kingdom of death. (…) Aino is grim and very much effected. (…) If only I could find her a refuge in Helsinki, it would be easier for her. I could wait to die in this small corner of the countryside.' (6 April). The question of the protection of his rights in America by Hansen and his German publishers worried him as a tour of Scaramouch in the New World was foreseen. 'Surround by a gang of egotists – these publishers – I have difficulty in keeping up with events. Almost impossible. (…) From this point of view the younger composers, Selim Palmgren to begin with, will be the end of me. I want to compose great works, but I will get nothing from it. And these little pieces cost me more than they should. (…) I did not go to Rochester and should support the consequences' (14 May).

Fortunately Germany has got over its currency debacle and has come back to the gold standard. Thanks also to Breitkopf & Härtel received 720 gold marks or about 5,000 Finnish marks, instead of the 600 he would have received is the hyperinflation of 1923 had continued, for two editions of the romance for piano in D-flat major and Valse triste in its version for piano.

The 27 July 1924, at three thirty in the morning, Busoni died in Berlin, Sibelius learnt this when he opened the newspapers. Busoni with tears in his eyes, had listened to Mendelssohn's Romances sans paroles, played by one of his oldest students Michael von Zadora (1882-1946), at the same moment he heard an old coach pass beneath the open window. He

whispered into Gerda's ear: 'Horses hooves! That reminds me of Helsingfors. It was a wonderful epoch!'

In the middle of August, Sibelius received from Gunnar Hauch, one of the admirers of his music, an invitation to conduct two of his symphonies, the First and the Fifth. He accepted suggesting the Fifth be replaced by Fantasia Sinfonica. At the beginning of September he signed a contract for a concert at Bergen in Norway planned for the 25 April 1925. 'Rehearsal 19 (April), 1,000 crowns. Symph 7, The Oceanides, Rakastava, Lemminkäinen. In Copenhagen the 1 October. Rehearsals 29 and 30 September' (Diary, 5 September 1924). At this date he had therefore renamed the Seventh Symphony the Fantasia Sinfonica. It was at this time Katarina aged twenty-one married the business lawyer Eero Ilves). 'Wedding Kaj ravishing. Everybody happy. Huge expense' (Diary, 5 September).

Sibelius left for Copenhagen at the end of September. At a reception given by Asger Hansen on Saturday 27th, he was moved and impressed to find himself sitting beside Nina Grieg, the widow of the composer. As usual he was caught up in the society events. The Finnish-Danish association organised a celebration in his honour in which the Copenhagen Quator played Voces intimae. A newspaper reported that at the end 'after being lost in deep thought, listening to his inner voices, the maestro suddenly rose and embraced Miss Gunna Breuning-Storm (the first violinist)'.

Wednesday the 1 October, in the presence of King Charles X and Queen Alexandrine de Mecklenburg-Schwerin, the ambassadors of Finland and Norway, the Danish minister of education and several 'colleagues and friends' including Carl Nielsen and Louis Glass, Sibelius conducted the First Symphony. After the interlude, during which King Christian made him Commander First Class of the Order of Dannebrog, the concert continued with Fantasia Sinfonica, Valse triste and Finlandia. Broadcast by radio and connected to the telephone network, the concert was heard in thousands of Danish homes.

The next day several reports appeared in the press. The Berlingske Tidende wrote that Sibelius, though not a virtuoso with the conductors batten, obtained the maximum from the orchestra, and suggested inviting him to conduct Scaramouch at the Royal Theatre. 'In view of his popularity, people would be ready to pay a maximum, and a full house would be ensured. Above all there would be an authentic performance of this beautiful music.' Politiken considered the public had been able to fully appreciate his genius as composer and conductor, but in Valse triste, he appeared as a kind of 'Wayward Berlioz. (…) But if certain aspects of his personality belong to the present rather than to eternity, others are sufficiently important to make him one of the greatest composers of the times. Further, he is not one of those content to stand still. The Sibelius of Scaramouch and his recent symphonies is not that of his younger years – he is simpler, plus pure and deeper. With the Sixth, that we heard here this summer, this transformation has been completed.

In his Seventh, Sibelius continues of this path with a completely new score. Perhaps the inspiration is not as powerful and original as in the Sixth, but it is a work of great beauty, directly from the heart.' For this journalist and for the composer himself, Fantasia Sinfonica had become the Seventh Symphony. In the Nationaltidene, Gunnar Hauch wrote that the new symphony, in its form, was related to that of Beethoven: 'More than ever Sibelius appears as an aristocrat of the spirit, which does not expand through insignificant gestures. He maintains the imagination and temperament of his youth intact, but his style is very different. The epic dimension predominates, but with distinction and reserve, which to a degree recalls Cesar Franck, but with Sibelius, these qualities are borne by a much stronger personality.'

A second concert followed on Saturday 4 October. Sunday the 5th, Sibelius conducted in Malmö the southernmost town in Sweden, 25 kilometres from Copenhagen on the other side of the Straights of Øresund that connect the Baltic to the Kattegat1.

Monday the 6th, on the return from Malmö to Copenhagen, he sent a postcard to Aino: 'Great success in Malmö. After tomorrow my third concert in Copenhagen. Tickets sold out in one hour. Hauch absolutely like Axel Carpelan. (…) Am sending you 1,200 Swedish crowns.' In Copenhagen, there were not one but three concerts, the 8, 11 and 12 October, with on each occasion Valse chevaleresque between Valse triste and Finlandia.

The 9 October, Politiken qualified Valse chevaleresque as ‘pure music de salon, compared to Valse triste, inspired music de salon. (…) The orchestral concerts of Jean Sibelius have recommenced, and this sonorous Finland is followed fanatically by the music lovers of Copenhagen’. On the morning of Saturday the 11th, a long queue formed at the entrance to Hansen’s music shop, where the tickets were being sold for ‘tomorrow Sunday, which will certainly be the last concert of Jean Sibelius’.

The 13th, Politiken declared that in succeeding to fill a hall for a fifth concert, Sibelius had broken all Copenhagen’s records, and added that fortunately, this concert was the last, because otherwise ‘all the other concerts of the season ‘would have had to be cancelled for the sake of Valse triste’.

However, Thursday the 9th, between the third and fourth of the five concerts in Copenhagen, Sibelius was in a such state of exhaustion that Gunnar Hauch hurriedly brought him to see one of the most eminent doctors of the city. ‘After having examined me, he told me that I needed three or four months rest in Italy in the region of Naples for my heart. Arrive as soon as possible, and make preparations for four months. Telegraph to Hauch. (…) Has Carl Fs(c)her (the New York publisher) sent something to Järvenpää? (…) The tickets for al my concerts were sold out in forty minutes. To calm my nerves, I should stop conducting. (…) As to America I should go. Here they say I am the only living composer capable of making a successful tour in America. It’s a question of millions. But first I will stop.

If only you were here!! (…) Wilhelm Hansen sent 4,000 Danish crowns yesterday. (…) I have the money here, but use what I have sent. (…) To start, we will go to Florence. Don't forget you only need a visa for Sweden, in Denmark, Germany, Switzerland and Italy the police need to see your passport' (to Aino, 9 October).

Fearing for his health, Jean needed Aino at his side, but she remained silent. 'Why don't you write? (…) I am waiting for a telegram and your decision.' He returned to the doctor: 'Urine is the only thing in good condition. Only my heart needs a rest. My nerves also. Amalfi and Sorrento for five months. And as little work as possible. He has guaranteed me that under these conditions I will be completely better. (…) I don't know if I will go directly south or if I will go home first, to come back in for example in December. Still no news from you. I know you haven't forgotten me. (…) Will you come to the south with me? If yes, I will start by coming home to put my financial affairs in order. (…) This hotel (d'Angleterre) is very expensive. (…) It would no doubt be better if I go directly to Italy and you can join me later, but I don't want to travel alone. My six concerts (five in Copenhagen with Fantasia Sinfonica each time and that of Malmö) went very well, but they completely wore me out. (…) There is a lot of things that I would like to talk with you about' (to Aino, after 12 October).

A telegram finally arrived from Aino on Tuesday 14th, she would join him a little more than a week later, and they would be able to continue on to Italy together. Aino would have surely

been horrified to read the letter that Jean wrote to Adolf Paul the same day: 'You see, I need a lot of money, here in Copenhagen everything is very expensive and I only drink Champagne. As usual this life is beyond me. (…) I am going to go south and am waiting for Aino. Will stop in Berlin, where I hope to shake your hand.'

Sibelius also asked Adolf Paul to remind Lienau that he was waiting for eine Abrechnung (an account), but nothing came. Four days early he had written to Breitkopf & Härtel, but the publisher took time to react, and the payment that they ended up by sending did not arrive in Helsinki until November. Having spent all the money earned in Copenhagen, Sibelius left the luxurious Hotel d'Angleterre to find refuge in the seaside town of Fredensborg.

Thursday the 16th, he was visited by Gunnar Hauch and they spent a 'joyful day' together. The next day Hauch gave him a letter that had arrived from Finland, probably from Aino, and told him the price of a second class train ticket to Rome. Had Aino confirmed here arrival? Had she cancelled it? It still remains unknown. In any case Sibelius sent a telegram on Saturday the 15th to his son-in-law Arvi Paloheimo: Am returning home, ask Aino to stay there (Helsinki).' He was not to make his last visit to Italy until two years later, not in the company of Aino, but with Walter von Konow, and compose Tapiola there.

The 2 November, shortly after his return to Ainola, Sibelius wrote to Hansen pressing him to publish Sinfonica Fantasia: 'I

would like to be able to play it here and there.' Thus he had not given up the idea of making tours as a conductor. The publication contract had been signed in Copenhagen the 7 October. It was then he received several appeals for help from Adolf Paul: 'You, who have only to say the word to your princely and royal benefactors, could help me, if you want to, to help me get back on my feet. Tell them that my King Christian II with your music should be played at the Royal Theatre. (…) Do it my good Janne, for the love of my play, it merits it, and also for Tali (Paul's wife) and the children, who also need it! No doubt it will be a fiasco, which will give you a wicked pleasure!! They will also produce it in Stockholm, if you want. You have just to say the word—'I, Sibban, want it'—and the business will be settled' (15 October 1924).

His difficulties comforted Adolf Paul, a Swedish citizen living in Berlin, in his extreme right convictions and in his anti-Semitism. When a Berlin theatre having produced one of his old plays, Sibelius wrote to congratulate him and received the following reply: 'Excellent reviews in certain papers, but unfortunately not in the Jewish press, because I had once been a critic in the Tägliche Rundschau, (…) which the Jews could not support. (…) Not really a Misserfolg (failure), because money governs everything! To hell with it! (22 December). The Tägliche Rundschau a national-conservative and anti-parliamentary daily was founded in 1881, it was banned by the Nazis in October 1933.

‘1 January (1925). The New Year commenced with the usual gloom. Aino completely exhausted. A lot could be written about it. We should go away, but too many things are holding us here.’ Sibelius still did not know what to do, but neither Hansen nor Breitkopf & Härtel did not consider him as finished. As shown in a letter of nine handwritten pages, dated 25 January 1925, written to him by Hellmuth von Hase:

‘Very Honourable Herr Professor! I have before me a letter from the publishers Wilhelm Hansen of Copenhagen asking if Breitkopf & Härtel are ready, against payment of a considerable sum, to cede once and for all the whole of the works of Jean Sibelius. I have evidently written to Hansen that their proposition could not be taken into consideration. You also, very honourable Herr Professor, will be pleased to learn that we shall never abandon your works. Wilhelm Hansen cannot know to what point this is a question of sentiment for us. (…) I was not myself in the firm during all these years when it published and distributed the greater part of your great works throughout the entire world and without failure. But I was still a schoolboy when I heard my father and my brother Hermann) enthusiastically speak of the zeal, the warmth and interest with which the firm Breitkopf has dedicated to your music. (…)

When we celebrated your fiftieth birthday, you gave us great pleasure by recalling what we have done for your art. Already (in December 1913), you reassured us in writing that in the future B. & H. would have first refusal for your works. Then

there was the war, which – though it led the Finnish and German peoples to developing very strong friendly relations—marked our dealings with you by an involuntary halt. The grave economic crisis in which Germany was a victim, and which isolated it from the rest of the world, also affected musical publications and in particular our own very internationally oriented firm. (…)

We were therefore forced to accept with a heavy heart to see your works appear at other publishers. But now, as you know, fortunately the situation in Germany has very greatly improved. In November 1923, the mark has been stabilised, and since, everything is much better. (…) We have reconstituted our foreign branches. In spring 1924 I went to England and I have just returned from two months in the USA. In New York Mr Fischer told me that he was going to publish your works, thus ensuring their American copyright, and that he had the intention of presenting you as an employee of his firm. I smiled at Mr Fischer with a dubitative air. And now a letter arrives from Hansen, who also presents himself as 'the publisher of all the compositions of Sibelius to come'.

I consider that the moment has come to tell you that we have overcome all the difficulties of the past decade, and that as in the past you can rely on the solidity of our old firm. I therefore hope that you have not forgotten the links with our firm (…) and that you are not engaged elsewhere. (…) Our printing works has been entirely modernised, and I can say in god conscience that we are ready to reproduce your works for the

world markets. It would give me great joy if you could inform me of your tentative agreement to return to us, (…) and permit me to invite you to Leipzig very shortly.

I live with my wife and my two small daughters in a very pleasant, airy and peaceful suburb of Leipzig, and my wife and I would be delighted to receive you as our guest. We could discuss our publishing projects very peacefully. In addition I would be pleased to know what works are available or underway. The interest in Finnish music continues to grow here, and our firm is still considered the leader in the publication of the Finnish repertory, even more so since we have acquired the works of other Finnish composers. In the hope of receiving a reply relative to what has been written, I recommend to you, very honoured Herr Professor, as your very respectful and very devoted Dr. Hellmuth von Hase.’

Breitkopf & Härtel was to publish Tapiola, the last great score of Sibelius in 1926. But for the moment the composer noted in his diary: ‘Typical! For years I have worked nights, I have slipped into the kitchen to find something to eat. The cook Helmi knows. She always took care of me. Last night a few radishes and mushrooms in vinegar, which gave me a stomach ache and in addition is ruining my health more and more’ (17 February). Later in the year he promised Breitkopf & Härtel an orchestral work as well as pieces for piano and for piano and violin.

He had not conducted in Helsinki since the premier of the Sixth Symphony two years earlier. Mannerheim personally intervened so as to persuade him to take up his conductor's baton. It was for a charity event for the Children's Protection League founded by the general and the 25 March he conducted two of his suites: The Feast of Balthazar and a new suite for small orchestra, Morceau romantique on a motif by Jacob de Julin. It was to collect funds for the construction of a children's hospital.

Jacob de Julin, one of the benefactors, was an industrialist linked to Mannerheim. As an amateur composer, he was the author of the 'motif' from which Sibelius composed his very brief Morceau romantique, which remains unpublished. Another version exists for piano, which was published in 1925. After the performance, Mannerheim presented Sibelius with a crown of laurel leaves. One of the two autographed manuscripts was auctioned to an American for a considerable price.

Thousands of copies were printed of the other, which was arranged for piano, and sold all over Finland for the benefit of the hospital. It bore the double signature of Mannerheim and Sibelius. It was the last time that Sibelius appeared publicly in Finland at the head of an orchestra.

The 8 April, Lienau asked him whether he had 'any small pieces such as for Pelléas et Mélisande or Balthazar'. A suite based on Jedermann was envisaged, but nothing more. Shortly before, he received an invitation from England to conduct the

10 and 11 September at the Three Choirs Festival in Gloucester. He planned to conduct Fantasia Sinfonica and wrote to Hansen again asking them to publish it: 'The best is to call it Symphony No7 (in einem Satze)' (25 February).

Rosa Newmarch got wind of the project, and strongly advised him against perform in London: 'The Queen's Hall orchestra is in a crisis under Chappell. (…) You know how much I would like to see you at Queen's Hall if it was possible. Symphony music in London is not well at the moment from I don't know what kind of illness. Is it a reaction of real music from jazz? Is it an extension of broadcasting? Lack of conviction and spirit between critics? It is difficult to say. I would very much like to get to know your new symphony. I am intrigued to know what direction you have taken! Whether I will take it to heart like the Fourth?'. Sibelius did not go to England, and also cancelled the concerts foreseen in April in Bergen.

* * *

He received an astonishing letter from Hansen the 1 May 1925: 'Have you written music for The Tempest? The Royal Theatre in Copenhagen envisages a production of this play and would like to use your music.' It was not a sure commission, but almost. Without forgetting what he had written in 1901 to Carpelan, Sibelius prudently replied: 'Unfortunately I have not written any music for The Tempest.' The Royal Theatre was nevertheless insistent, and he finally accepted the task, and as for Scaramouch, the director was Johannes Poulsen.

Poulsen sent him a Swedish translation of Shakespeare's play, and the 27 June, Sibelius wrote to Adolf Paul: 'I am plunged into the work, and when it is finished I will come to Germany. I am in a hurry to see you, you and your other half.' He then received a telegram from Hansen: 'Can the Royal Theatre count on The Tempest for the 1 September? We will be in the middle of the rehearsals. 'The 15 July, Aino wrote to her sister-in-law Linda: 'Janne is better but he is working too much. Today, he went for a long walk. I can't see how he will finish his work in view of all there remains to be done. He has already sent part of it to the copyist. The whole summer will be consecrated to this hard work.' The score of The Tempest was relatively quickly written, and in all probability the essential part of the work was sent to Copenhagen before the 1 September. The 2 November, Sibelius announced to Adolf Paul: 'I cannot come to Germany before the end of the year or the beginning of January. It depends on the date of the premier of The Tempest in Copenhagen.'

At the beginning of January 1926, Poulsen went to Finland: 'My wife and I agreed to meet the composer in a hotel on the outskirts of Helsinki. The three of us stayed there for several weeks whilst he worked hard on the score. (…) Every morning, we talked about which scenes should have music, songs or recitatives, etc.—and all dined whilst continuing our conversations'. This enthusiastic report and no doubt somewhat exaggerated cannot refer to the work of composition itself, which had been completed, as has been seen, in the second half of 1925. There was however the coordination between the play

and the music, as well as questions of the production. On this point Sibelius received quite precise instructions from Poulsen. The first performance, in Danish, finally took place the 16 March 1926, in the absence of the composer and conducted by Johan Hye-Knudsen.

The Royal Theatre of Copenhagen was also the Opera House, and Sibelius had at his disposition a larger orchestra than that of the Swedish Theatre in Helsinki, in addition he had the use of a choir and vocal soloists. The Tempest is his vastest incidental stage music, the most ambitious and most evocative. Through his sense of nature, his mysticism, his subtlety of thought, his magic and supernatural side turning away from the real world, his characters that appear from nowhere and disappear in the ether, Shakespeare's last play could avoid appealing to the composer's imagination1.

Still unpublished, the original score complete for soloists, mixed choir, harmonium and orchestra is composed of thirty four independent and often quite brief numbers, in reality thirty five because two are almost identical, the total duration is a little more than an hour. The overture was published by Hansen in August 1929, then two orchestral Suites each of nine numbers, one for full orchestra (beginning of 1930), the other for reduced orchestra (November 1929).

To escape his sixtieth birthday celebrations, Sibelius wanted to go abroad. But it was not the case, the faithful Kajanus evidently wanted to mark the event. After having launched the season the 24 September with the Third Symphony, the

Concerto and The Oceanides, and programmed for the 9 November the overture of Karelia, the Concerto (with Arvo Hannikainen) and the Second Symphony, he conducted the 9 December the First Symphony, The White Swan and The Song of the Athenians. Sibelius spent the 8th with his daughter Eva Paloheimo in Helsinki. There he received the visit of the new president of the republic Lauri Kristian Relander, formerly member of the right wing agrarian party, who presented him with the Grand Cross of the White Rose.

A public appeal collected 275,000 marks, of which 150,000 was immediately put at his disposal. The other 125,000 was invested, which was to ensure him of a good income for the rest of his life. In addition the Diet increased his pension from 30,000 to 100,000 marks a year. From that moment his financial situation was improved for good. It is not known whether or not he attended the concert given by Kajanus on the 9th. The next day, the 10 December, the Seventh Symphony was published by Hansen. It had still not been heard in Finland.

* * *

The 4 January 1926, Sibelius received a telegram from New York: ‘Will you compose a new symphonic poem for me, performance for next November? The Symphony Society proposes 400 dollars for three performances. 200 dollars immediately, 200 dollars on receipt of the score. Walter Damrosch.’ Sibelius, who had not written a symphonic poem

since The Oceanides twelve years earlier, immediately accepted.

A second telegram from Damrosch quickly followed: ‘Waiting for your score with the greatest impatience. (…) Naturally you alone will decide the subject and form. I would just like to say that it should be about 15 minutes long, and in no case longer than 20. The result of this commission was Tapiola, a sublime poem of the Nordic forest of 17 to 18 minutes. In Finnish mythology, Tapio is the supreme divinity of the forest and Tapiola therefore signifies the ‘home of Tapio’, ‘there where Tapio lives’.

Sibelius commenced work immediately, and at the same time making preparations for his visit Italy, which he was to make with Walter von Konow and not Aino. The 20 March he embarked alone at Turku for Stettin. If he had left a few days earlier he could have stopped in Copenhagen for the premier of The Tempest. In Berlin he met Robert Lienau and Adolf Paul. More than ever in difficulties Paul could not meet Sibelius in town as he had pawned his clothes. Sibelius paid for them and went to Paul’s: ‘The children are charming and well brought up, Holgar in particular. (…) Tali (Paul’s wife) is remarkable. How she manages is a mystery for me’ (to Aino, postmarked 23 March).

He took the night train for Munich, and arrived in Rome the 25th or 26th. ‘Strange to arrive here without having to give a concert. (…) Someone (in the hotel) persists in massacring a rhapsody of Liszt’s. Insupportable. I must stop, (this pianist) is

really impossible' (26 March). His baggage took several days to arrive, which was a considerable worry for him, because it contained the sketches of Tapiola. Walter von Konow joined him on the 27th. 'We celebrated (his) sixtieth birthday yesterday. In a way he tires me. I try to isolate myself to be able to work' (to Aino, 30 March).

No doubt Aino had informed of certain unfavourable reviews concerning The Tempest, because he wrote: 'These reports are amongst the best I have ever read – Shakesp. And Sibelius the two geniuses are together. (The Finnish papers) have certainly poorly or incompletely translated them' (30 March). Then the 31st 'I agree with you as to the music of The Tempest. The best would be not to publish the stage music itself and to use some of the really good pieces. (…) I like my room here (at the Minerva Hotel), the service is impeccable. Last night I took several baths one after the other. Could we install a bathroom in the house?'

Tapiola progressed, but slowly. 'There is no hurry. Hansen is waiting impatiently (for the suites of) The Tempest. He telegraphed me again yesterday. He wants me to pass through Copenhagen, and I could on the way home, and discuss (with the Royal Theatre) the contract and the payment' (11 April). Then 'The music of The Tempest contains a multitude of motifs on which I could work in detail. Before taking into account the story, I should sketch them out' (to Hansen, 12 April). He did nothing, but it did not prevent him from seeing

in Tapiola the extrapolation of the most mysterious and most terrifying episodes of The Tempest.

With Walter von Konow, Sibelius then left for Capri, where they stayed a week. Capri pleased Jean so much that he proposed that he and Aino spend the whole of the following winter there, from November to January. A photograph shows him standing on a terrace in Capri, wearing a white suit, a starched collar and tie with a cigar in his hand. The 19 April after visiting Naples and Pompeii, the two friends returned to Rome. The next day von Konow left for Finland whilst Sibelius prolonged his Italian visit. On his return from Capri, he found a letter from Aino waiting for him dated the 5th: 'A new letter from American, from the daughter of Damrosch, she was surprised by your 'title' (Tapiola) and has asked us to telegraph back to confirm it, therefore it's urgent. The words 'the wood' does not correspond exactly to the word Tapiola, though not meaning 'cultivated forest'. In any case I think in the wood or perhaps in the forest would be better.' Sibelius replied: 'The forest would be better. Perhaps I should explain (to Damrosch) what Tapiola means' (19 April). Then: 'My work is going well, it should be excellent. (…) The Paris edition of the New York Herald mentioned my new work, this season (in Rome) they have played The Swan of Tuonela and En Saga.'

The 24 April Sibelius left the eternal city for the last time, taking the train for Berlin. There he met Helmut von Hase, who had come especially from Leipzig, and promised him Tapiola.

'I have seen that they want it from me. It's not surprising, in spite of my sixty years. I will go to the shops to study modern French and German music. Tapiola is already a fait accompli, I have worked slowly, but surely on it. (…) The hotel is quiet and comfortable. One important thing, I don't have a piano, which is best for this present phase of my work (the work on the orchestral score). I must finish Tapiola for the end of June' (to Aino, 29 April). In mid-May he was back in Finland.

Six weeks later, the 28 June, performed the premier of the cantata for mixed choir and orchestra Väinön viirsi (The Song of Väinö) at the Sortavala song festival, from which he had received the commission, and which was mostly composed in Italy. It was the last time that Sibelius put a text of the Kalevala to music. The old Väinämöinen gave fertility to the soil of Finland and Karelia by scattering it with the fragments of the Sampo, finally torn away from the people of Pohjola.

The 10 August, a telegram arrived from Breitkopf & Härtel: 'Send Tapiola as soon as possible.' About two weeks later, the work was completed, at least in its first version, and Sibelius sent it to Leipzig the 27th. The brief commentary that he wanted to join in explanation for the score, just outlined in German, he added: 'The motto should be better presented in German. Please be kind enough to help me.'

Immediately Breitkopf & Härtel informed him that the publication, the score and orchestral parts, would be available the 15 October. Sibelius panicked and for the first and last time of the year took refuge in his journal: 'Am worried about

Tapiola. The work is in the hands of B&H, but they are taking their time—it happens that I know my biographer W(alter) Niemann is amongst their 'advisers'. If only one could get rid of this 'connoisseur' who annoys me more than anyone else!

Tapiola—perfect—but if Runeberg had had to deliver Kung Fjalar (the tragic poem King Fjalar, 1840) 'in March', his work would have been very different. I regret having accepted this 'commission'. The Tempest and Väinön virsi are also commissions. Am I made for such things?! (…) Still on the 'downward slope'. Impossible to be alone. Drinking "wisky" (sic). My "physic" doesn't support it. Anguish—Anguish! Yes. Yes. No doubt Gallen's life and my own have sunk under the emblem of the country. I was someone different in 1896. But the critics and the public are stupider than God is wise' (10 September). Then: 'We were insolent, we masters of the 1890s and later—the path of Canossa—the cries of jubilation of our adversaries—our vanity. Which is the hardest in my life. And at my age. Glorious, glorious Jean! (14 September).

The 17 September, he finished up by telegraphing to Breitkopf & Härtel: 'Please suspend work on Tapiola, important cuts are necessary, send back the manuscript.' Disconcerted, the publisher replied the same day that the score was already engraved, that they had commenced to correct the proofs and that under these conditions, they were going to stop work on the orchestral parts.

The 21st Breitkopf & Härtel sent back the original manuscript with the engraved proofs of the score and a note in

pencil: 'For the love of God don't send the manuscript to America!' Sibelius was more and more troubled, especially by the fact that one of his great works was going to be conducted by someone other than himself, not in his presence, which had not been the case before with the exception of the final version of the Concerto, Night Ride and Sunrise, Luonnatar and The Tempest. But in addition and above all, Damrosch was preparing to direct Tapiola from an edited version, and therefore 'final', which had never happened before. After the return of the score, Sibelius would have been able to keep it longer to himself, with one or more postponements of its first performance, even stick in it one of his drawers for good, or throw it into the fire.

Fortunately another event came up. As had happened two years previously, Sibelius accepted an engagement to conduct in Copenhagen at the request of Gunnar Hauch for the beginning of October, during the official visit of President Relander, with in particular the Fifth Symphony. Having learnt two months earlier that the Danish Concert Society, founded by Louis Glass was to celebrate its twenty fifth anniversary with a series of concerts of Nordic music to be directed by Halvorsen and Kajanus amongst others, he declined explaining in a letter to Haucht dated 14 September hat he did not want to upstage these 'lesser stars'.

Hauch insisted and Sibelius arrived in Copenhagen the 30 September, the day of the first rehearsal. But in taking his coffee at the Hotel d'Angleterre, he was surprised to read an

article in Politiken by Louis Glass accusing him of sabotaging the Society's concerts by his simple presence, and monopolising the attention of the public. If the Danish king, added Glass, made an official visit to Helsinki, would the Finns use Nielsen? Evidently not, because Christian X should hear Finnish music and not Danish music.

Sibelius conducted his concert the 2 October before a full house, before the visit of President Relander, and not the 8th during his visit, as had envisaged Gunnar Hauch. The programme included the King Christian II suite, the Impromptu opus 19 and Finlandia. For the Impromptu, the women's choir was prepared by the young and promising musician Mogens Wöldike, who had a brilliant ahead of him. Why Sibelius had himself chosen this piece, when he could have selected the prelude of The Tempest, the score being available at Hansen's, is unknown. The other three works were suggested by Hauch. For an encore, he conducted Valse triste, which is how he ended his career as a conductor.

The 6 October, on his return to Ainola, he was faced with the problem of Tapiola. Having taken his distance, he ended up by resolving it, and the 18th Breitkopf & Härtel acknowledged the receipt of the revised score, adding: 'We are pleased to learn that you are satisfied with the poetic form given to the commentary of your symphonic poem.'

The 5 November, before the date foreseen, the publication was ready: Breitkopf & Härtel sent Sibelius three copies of the score, and the score with the orchestral parts to Damrosch in

New York: ‘We are doing everything to have performances in Germany.’ Tapiola had apparently miraculously escaped the fate of the future Eighth Symphony. Walter Damrosch led the Symphony Society’s orchestra at the premier of Tapiola Sunday 28 December 1926 at the Mecca Temple in New York, where the acoustics were not the most ideal.

As often, Damrosch preceded the performance with a short speech, paraphrasing the quatrain mentioned by the publisher in his short message to Sibelius the 18 October: ‘We see and we feel the infinite forests of sombre green, we hear the howling winds and the sounds from the North Pole itself, through these elements we perceive the ghost like shadows of Gods and the strange creatures of Nordic mythology, murmuring their secrets and making their mystical dances in the branches of the trees.’

In the USA the situation continued to develop in Sibelius’ favour. In Autumn 1924, Serge Koussevitzky had succeeded Pierre Monteux at the head of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, where he was to remain 1949, until two years before his death. The 1 January of the same year, after seventeen years with the Boston Post, Olin Downes was appointed, as successor to Richard Aldrich (1863-1937), as the critic of the New York Times, where he continued until his death in 1955.

Thus two of Sibelius’ keenest supporters were for a long time to occupy important strategic positions in American musical life. If however Downes had acted in favour of Sibelius for almost two decades, Koussevitzky, who was known up to that

point in the Franco-Russian repertory, had just commenced his conversion. But this conversion was soon to be total. In Boston, Koussevitzky quickly assured Sibelius of an even stronger position than that of the time of Karl Muck, and in the interval neither Henri Ribaud nor Pierre Monteux maintained it, in spite of the performance by Monteux of the Third Symphony in March 1921 and the Fifth on April 1923.

Downes first mentioned Sibelius in the New York Times the 1 February 1924. It was concerning the Concerto, but the article was essentially an enthusiastic report of the New York premier, at the same concert, by the Boston Symphony Orchestra led by Pierre Monteux, of Stravinsky's Rite of Spring. However, though he had greatly appreciated Stravinsky's three great pre-war ballets, Downes was on the contrary very much put back by his later works. 'From the Fire Bird to the Rite of Spring, (…) his path seemed perfectly clear, after which the humble commentator that I am, is incapable of following the singular and unforeseeable wanderings of the Stravinsky's muse'.

Downes wrote in the New York Times the 15 June 1924 after having heard the composer perform the premier of his Concerto for piano and orchestra harmony in Paris conducted by Koussevitzky. In the same article, entitled 'Parisian pre-premier for the new head of the Boston Symphony', Downes affirmed that judging by his Concerto, Stravinsky had become 'more and more capricious'.

Stravinsky embarked in Le Havre and arrived in New York the 4 January 1925, it was his first visit to the USA, a tour that was to last for ten weeks, which commenced with a month in the city. The 5 and 6 February, at his first two concerts, Stravinsky played his Concerto with the Philharmonic conducted by Willem Mengelberg. In the New York Times of the 6th, Downes praised the 'magnificent virtuosity' of the work, at the same time saying he found 'no emotion, but a raw energy, urgent, an imperious and sardonic spirit. (…) Can a music without the least echo from the heart of human passion exist? Perhaps. If it is the case, Stravinsky is without any doubt on the trail of a new music, abstract, of classical conception, drawing its existence from its vital force propelled by the conflict of melodic lines and the collision of violent rhythms.

This concerto is without equivalent both by the expression of an extraordinary brain and a certain stage of modernism.'

In the Sunday edition of the 25 January, under the title 'Stravinsky visits America at 43 years' Downes wrote that the author of Petrouchka had 'totally succumbed to apathy, lack of depth and the pretentiousness of the times'. These declarations were important: because not only did Downes not find in Stravinsky's recent works the qualities that he had discovered in Sibelius', but later, and more than once, he (and others) was to endorse Sibelius to the detriment of Stravinsky (and others), though not without adverse effects for their Finnish hero. But it was not yet the case, for the moment both Sibelius and Stravinsky were in the course of becoming firmly established in the USA.

The American premier of Sibelius' last three symphonies were all made by Leopold Stokowski in Philadelphia, the Fifth the 21 October 1921, the other two in 1926, the Seventh (still unheard in Finland) the 3 April then the Sixth on the 23th and 24th of the same month. During the 1925-1926 season Stokowski conducted the Fifth on no less than five occasions and Sibelius' other works seventeen times.

The 10 April Musical America found the Seventh 'severe, sombre and solidly written filled with a characteristic atmosphere and in general more secret than the Fifth, which was on the way to becoming popular'. The 1 May the same review wrote of the Sixth: 'The composer has abandoned all modern eccentricities and idioms, and treats harmony and

counterpoint with nobility and a refusal of sensationalism, which recalls Brahms. Overall, the score gives the impression of ‘pure music’ defying the most ingenious commentaries of a programme editor.’

At the end of 1926 the Seventh had its premier in Germany, successfully conducted in Wiesbaden by Otto Klemperer in November, and the Sixth its English premier conducted by Henry Wood at the Queen’s Hall the 20th of the same month. Perhaps believing that he would please his French readers, the London correspondent of La Revue Musicale spoke of a ‘pale symphony (...) where the spirit of the composer seemed to humour, in a sterile play of abstract combinations, or passages of scales, striking syncopated chords to I don’t know what indefinable logic, which leaves me cold’ (1 February 1927 number).

The Musical Times of January 1927 published under the initials E. B. a much more interesting commentary: ‘Sibelius, in any case since his Third Symphony, has never let himself be dominated by form. He plays it, submits it to his will at every instant. (…) With Sibelius, the manipulation of form always appears inseparable from invention itself, so that by simply treating orthodox symphonic schemes in a radical fashion, he could give the impression of reinforcing them. In reality, his radicalism goes so far that one can on the contrary perceive these schemes as incapable of surviving such a treatment. (…) As with the previous, in particular the remarkable No4, one is at the same time struck by Sibelius’ force and lucidity in his

aptitude to express without pretence to express exactly what he wants to, and nothing more.'

Rosa Newmarch was present at the main rehearsal: 'It is something absolutely new in your music. (…) Thank you for another healthy, fresh, strong and short work.' She had written to Sibelius in spring 1913 concerning Mahler's Seventh that Henry Wood had just conducted: 'What a strange mixture of things already heard, of moments of great nobility and others with the vulgarity of a Viennese music-café! With all these problems, it is at times very interesting, if it had not last so long.'

* * *

The day after the premier of the work, Damrosch telephoned to Sibelius: 'Tapiola enormous success. Enthusiastic congratulations' (27 December 1926). A letter followed: 'I consider Tapiola as one of the most original and most fascinating that has flowed from your pen. (…) No one other the a Nordic could have written this work. We are all captivated by the sombre forests of pines and by the mysterious gods and wood nymphs that live there. The coda with its icy winds sweep the forest make us shiver' (3 January 1927).

The critics were nevertheless mixed, and even Olin Downes was not entirely convinced: 'The melodic material is indisputably thin. (…) Sibelius created a powerful atmosphere and evokes with an extraordinary mastery the profound

mysteries of the wild spaces, the visions and special signs that the mythological eye can discovery in the shadows of the primitive forest. During these recent years Sibelius' melodic invention has never found the level of the first symphonic poems and the first symphonies, but (…) concerning form, his music has become more and more fascinating, passionate and personal'.

The 10 April 1927, summarising the past season, Downes wrote that for him, Tapiola was a disappointment, 'a work worth more for its style and technique than its inspiration'. In the New York Herald Tribune, Lawrence Gilman regretted not having heard the work of the same stature as these 'immense masterpiece' the Fourth Symphony, and in the Boston Transcripts of the 5 January 1927, Horatio T. Parker noted that 'it was only towards the end that the voice of the master of the North was heard that had once made such an indelible impression', adding however that the performance 'did not give the vision or reflection that this aging conductor was capable of giving'.

Tapiola describes less an action than a state, and 'raises the paradox of time and eternity in a more intense way than many other more 'radical' works with their contrasts between measured and non-measured material' (Whittall 1999, 64).

Tapiola is a perpetual source of marvel. 'Even if Sibelius had written nothing else, this work alone would have assured him of a place amongst the greatest masters of all time', Cecil Gray wrote in ecstasy and with reason. Two other key scores of the

20th century came into being at the same moment: Berg's Suite lyric premiered in Vienna by the Kolisch Quator the 8 January 1927, and Arcana by Varese first performed the 8 April 1927 in Philadelphia under the direction of Leopold Stokowski after Tapiola was premiered in New York the 26 December 1926. It is rarely noticed that Sibelius fell silent at about the same time as Varese, for good not as Varese, and for a similar reason, though felt differently: the lack of available material.

Sibelius spoke to Bengt von Törne of the red granite rocks in the Gulf of Finland: 'When we see them, we know why we are capable of treating the orchestra as we do.' It recalls Varese talking of the city, machine and industrial civilisation. Sibelius' music and that of Varese have in common their hate of the countryside and the glorification of nature, for Varese the sounds of urban civilisation created by man ('I would not like to live in a provincial city), for Sibelius the relation between elementary forces and man are absent. In the case of Mahler landscapes are sometimes without the presence of man, but in the last resort, the composer is there but always alone. The solo soprano without words in the Pastoral Symphony of Vaughan Williams (1922) gives the same impression. The solitude of an austere landscape as painted by Sibelius in Tapiola is on the contrary consecutive to his own abandon of the setting.

It is known that Varese thinks violins are too syrupy, of another age: 'Our times are striking, our times are those of speed.' Sibelius never renounces strings, but he draws deformed sonorities, steamroller effects announcing clusters of

the following generations, and the seismic effects of his orchestra. The music of Sibelius is topological1, at the limit it could be drawn out in length just as Varese's is in height.

The destructive pneumatic drills of Varese correspond to Sibelius' deviations. Both abandon the polyphonic configurations of the past, which was one of the reasons the Adorno condemned Sibelius. The French composer Hugues Dufourt, essentially for whom these ideas are essential, is one of those who drew attention to Arcana and Tapiola, master pieces of pure dynamism, made of shocks and explosions, of expansions and contractions. In the 1920s no one but Sibelius and Varese provided so much in this sense, at such a level and with such a hold on the future, an alternative to the Viennese school, whilst at the same time turning their backs on the ambient neoclassicism.

CHAPTER 20

1927-1933

AT THE TURN OF 1926 AND 1927, when he had just produced four of his greatest works, Sibelius did not consider his career as a composer finished. This is confirmed in his letter to Olga Bratt dated 20 December 1926: ‘Stenhammar’s illness worries me. I like him so much. Happily he has his marvellous wife, your sister.’ This letter also talks of a ‘new thing for orchestra that is not yet ready’, certainly the Eighth Symphony in the mind of Sibelius, and also of his next visit to Paris with Aino.

It is a fact that he worked intensely on the Eighth until 1937-1938 and surely later. During his life, he carefully avoided saying that the work would not be completed. In September 1933, its first movement was ready, in any case in a ‘first version’. Four years after, Sibelius considered that he could promise the score to Hansen (draft of a letter dated 2 December 1937). An invoice and a receipt respectively dated 2 and 23 August 1938 indicated that a symphony was then at the binders. The conductor Nils-Eric Fougstedt spoke of having it seen on a shelf at Ainola in 1947 ‘with separate choral parts’.

Sibelius did not imagine that no one would ever hear the Eighth. His creative capacities had not declined, and he was resolved to continue. The 'silence of Järvenpää' (that of his last thirty years) was not the result of a deliberate decision to stop composing. He was never disinterested in his own music or that of others, and never lived cut off from the world, in a kind of hibernation. In spite of the many propositions received he was never to reappear at the head of an orchestra.

Little by little he withdrew from public life. As time passed he concerts conducted by himself and by Kajanus ceased to dominate musical seasons in Helsinki, and Finnish music lovers were given an enlarged repertory. Sibelius' retreat was never entirely complete, and his standing was never affected, on the contrary. After having closely participated in the musical life of his country over forty years, he was progressively transformed into a national institution.

As Tawaststjerna notes, Sibelius' biographer today knows that no Eighth Symphony was ever to see the light of day, but around 1930 the composer did not know this and was persuaded that sooner or later, it would be finished. Sibelius' Eighth is certainly the only work, which never existed that was so much talked and written about. It continues today. In his moving novel called The Silence, the English writer Julian Barnes (born 1946) put the following words on Sibelius' lips, which better than all others explains the mystery of the Eighth Symphony: 'I did not chose silence, it is silence that chose me.'

* * *

In Paris, Jean together with Aino was lodged at the Hôtel Voltaire, 19 quai Voltaire, where he had already stayed in 1909. Since the concert with Kajanus in May 1920, he had been little played in Paris. In Le Ménestrel of the 25 February 1921 concerning Finlandia: ‘Neither master nor school are revealed in it.’ Also in Le Ménestrel René Brancour wrote that he had noted a ‘style à la Debussy with his inevitable muted trumpets’ in The Swan of Tuonela the 23 November 1923, no doubt he thought the work to be more recent than it was.

The 15 December 1924, Schneevoigt conducted the Second Symphony for the first time in Paris in the old hall of the Conservatoire, in a programme that included Mozart’s concerto No20 for piano in D-minor and Beethoven’s concerto No5 in E-flat major. The Courrier Musical of the 1 January 1925 reported it as work in which ‘concision is not the dominant quality, and in which too often a too evident Wagnerian influence is really felt, (…) unequal but lacks neither vigour nor poetry’.

Le Ménestrel of the 19 December 1924 wrote that the Second was ‘of an ultra-romantic conception, often pompous with quite vulgar motifs. The orchestration is heavy. Monsieur Sibelius has however, surprising effects that go to maintaining the attention of the listeners’. In conclusion Schneevoigt conducted Ravel’s La Valse, and the same review overflowed with praise for it: ‘He conducted it with new movements, from

the woodwinds he extracted effects of strength which we are not used to, this was very strange. Monsieur Schneevoigt has revealed himself to us as a great conductor.

During these years the brief article written by Georges Migot published in Le Revue musicale of March 1922 made its impression. An article that was not without errors. Migot spoke of Sibelius' 'operas', and affirmed that the The Swan of Tuonela was drawn from 'Lemnin Käinen'. He spoke of Kullervo and insisted that the Fourth Symphony 'considered in his country as the most beautiful' and even cites the principal themes, and taking it for the most recent. Sibelius according to Migot treated Pelléas et Mélisande 'with the intensity that could be made by a common soul', and could be defined as 'awakening in all of us the Ewigkeit (eternity) of Wagner, with

something finer of a Chopin brought by Nordic melancholy and a feeling of folklore similar to that of Grieg'.

Instead of consecrating himself to the Eighth, Sibelius worked in the Paris of the group Six, of Stravinsky of Prokofiev on the orchestral suites of The Tempest. The 22 January 1927, before leaving Finland, he had signed a contract with Hansen in which he was engaged to 'compose 2 suites for orchestra of scores in separate parts as well as well as several piano pieces of music drawn from The Tempest. The 11 February in Paris, he asked Hansen for a score of the Prelude, and the 15th asked him if he could, on his return at the end of March or the beginning of April, attend a performance in Copenhagen:

'It would be very important for me.' The score of the Prelude arrived in time, but it was only at the end of March that a performance of The Tempest would be organised especially for him at the Royal Theatre the 18 April. The 5 February, he wrote (in French) to Rosa Newmarch: 'Your very welcome letter gave me much pleasure. Above all your opinion on my Sixth Symphony. My wife and I are now in Paris for a few weeks and it is not impossible that we return via England. (…) Things have changed since the last time we met, above all in music. Most of the new works of the past have become old. I have partly written a new symphony a symphonic poem again, called Tapiola.'

At the end of February he was interviewed by Anna Levertin, the Paris correspondent of Suomen Kuvalehti: 'I have the

intention of listening to a lot of modern French music for my own pleasure—I think I have never so often been to concerts as here. Even on my deathbed, I will be curious to know which direction music has taken. What surprises me most in French music? Its enormous technical resources, the sureness of its touch and its openness. (…) A lot of old masters are played here, one could say forgotten, like for example the Italian Monteverdi. (…) Stravinsky is one of these composers who shuttle between and the main streams of today.' The 17 February at a Straram Concert he was surprised to have heard together, the overture of Mendelssohn's Hebrides and a symphony of Roussel's, the Second in B-flat major, which made a deep impression on him. On the same programme was Rimsky-Korsakov's Conte féerique, a concerto for piano by Vittorio Rieti and Honegger's Song of Joy.

Aino went more than once to the theatre, where she admired Sarah Bernhardt. The 22 February, she wrote to Katarina: 'We went to a concert of chamber music (at the Société nationale), the best was the Trois rhapsodies for two pianos by Florent Schmitt. A pianist and his wife played them magnificently. I almost fell off my seat (Pappa was also enthusiastic, not only me). (…) The next morning, Pappa rushed out to buy it for you.' Robert Casadesus also played Sept ésquisses by Pierre de Bréville.

The 20 March, Aino told Katarina that they had heard a Bach concerto for three pianos, 'the one that you play' at Colonne's and under the direction of the great Romanian conductor

George Gorgescu, to who Gabriel Pierné had left his place, and Mozart's symphony in B-flat major. On the same figured a divertimento by the Romanian composer Filip Lazar and Richard Strauss's Till Eulenspiegel. 'Marvellous! In a way we felt purifies by sound of motorcar horns and other disagreements of modern life. (…) After a time instrumentation such as it is practiced here becomes tiring. It always seems to spring out of an oriental source, then celestial atmospheres arrive, the flutes gémissantes and the trumpets with mutes.

Out of politeness, Pappa does not always say what he really thinks. In short, the musicians here are very much imbued with themselves, new composers surge out everywhere, who write in all imaginable kinds of forms. But they are all just as superficial as each other. (…) We will probably leave Thursday or Friday 25 and pass through Berlin. We will not go to Copenhagen, and no doubt will return via Sweden.'

Aino Ackte, who was also in Paris, gave a recital on the 12 March in the Salle Gaveau 'almost entirely consecrated, with the exception of a few charming Finnish melodies, to French music, and drew an audience worthy of a gala evening' (Le Ménestrel, 18 March). Aino Ackte complained in a letter of the 14 March to her husband Bruno Jalander of Sibelius' absence: 'He seems to only go where there is orchestral music. He did nothing to be played here. Apparently he told Enckell that it was not worth worrying about, because they don't like melodic music here, whilst theirs is architectonic. He is going back to

Finland soon, and I would not be surprised if in his next major works, something of the Moulin Rouge jazz does not turn up.’

In Berlin, Jean and Aino naturally met Adolf Paul, who was worried to see the composer with heavy bouts of coughing. Having abandoned Copenhagen for financial reasons and time, Sibelius never saw Poulsen’s production of The Tempest. On his return to Ainola he went to bed with the flu.

The 25 April, Kajanus conducted the Helsinki premiers of the Seventh Symphony, Tapiola and the prelude of The Tempest, in addition to Rakastava. It is not know whether Sibelius was present at this exceptional concert, the last in his country to contain so many new works of his. Madetoja was more drawn to the ‘vast perspectives’, the ‘heroic pathos’ and the ‘nostalgia of eternity’ of the Seventh than by the ‘ancient forests’ and ‘magic secrets’ of Tapiola. He felt its beginning as religious in the best sense of the term’.

Heikki Klemetti qualified Tapiola as a ‘picture of expressionist nature’, adding that the cries of Caliban in the prelude of The Tempest drown the games of the trolls in Tapiola. Concerning the prelude of The Tempest Karl Ekman wrote the one could ‘hardly speak of a melodic element’, the composer having painted the ‘natural forces of eruption’ in the work. He insisted on the unity of form in Tapiola, and remarked that in spite of its changes of tempo, it was impossible to divide the Seventh into clearly defined sections: ‘The composer did not want traditional symphonic architecture to paralyse his imagination.’

A week later, the 2 May, a new festival of Nordic music opened in Stockholm following those of Copenhagen in 1919 and Helsinki in 1921. It was inaugurated by a Finnish concert. Madetoja conducted his Third Symphony, and Kajanus several works including his new Overtura Sinfonica and at the end Sibelius'. The Seventh was already known in Stockholm, but one wonders why Kajanus had not presented Tapiola or The Tempest instead of this cantata of secondary importance and which was the only work of Sibelius'- heard during the festival.

As to Nielsen he conducted as in 1919 his Fourth Symphony called the Inextinguishable, and thus put Sibelius into the shadow. Peterson-Berger took advantage of this to let loose in the Dagens Nyheter of the 3rd: 'Aare Merikanto's Pan, Eric Furuhjelm's Exotica and Väinö Raitio's Nocturne was nothing more than 'international cacophonyism', and Kajanus's overture was 'kapellmeister music without the least idea', whilst Madetoja's symphony showed a 'weak sense of form'. As to Sibelius'- cantata, it was 'commissioned music hastily put together in which rare moments of inspiration can be glanced through a mass of facile sequences and other repetitions'. The only saving grace to his eyes was Palmgren's Suite Pastoral. Jordens Sång was more favourably received by Kurt Atterberg and Moses Pergament, but Curt Berg, in the Stockholms Dagblad of the 3rd found the work 'tern and monotonous'.

The next day the 4 May the same paper published an interview with Sibelius carried out in Finland: ‘The diversity of the critics’ views in Stockholm is quite surprising. (…) In general it could be said that these views are more clear cut than those we are used to in Finland. However, most of them are seem to me to be objective and interesting in their motivations. (…) But one can feel a little sad in noting that this objectivity lacks a certain degree of amiability. This is especially true of Peterson-Berger. (…) It is certain that in the present case, mediocre music was glorified. (…) It is regrettable that nothing really new was looked for, like for example Schönberg, which would help to much more quickly counter this type of music.’

In his final article, Peterson-Berger, who had always dreamed of becoming a Swedish Wagner, found ‘brutal and barbarous’ the pianistic accompaniment of Kilpinen’s six melodies, and not beating about the bush:

‘Impossible to remember a festival where the participants behaved like this, like hypersensitive old women, irritable and craving for glory. Three of the participating countries (Denmark, Finland and Norway), we know by experience, are know for their immense self-admiration and for the superior and indulgent regards that they cast on the third (Sweden), which welcomes them and is known for the admiration that it bears for everything that is foreign. (…) Evidently, no one dares mention the really important point, that is to say that there is no reason to celebrate anything if there is nothing to celebrate.’ Even in Finland, Kajanus’s concert provoked

surprise and embarrassment: ‘If really (…) Sibelius’ choral piece had been programmed without having asked the maestro himself which work he wanted to be played, or if he approved the said cantata, the whole affaire seems to be rather singular. Why this lack of tact directed precisely against Sibelius?’.

As often in such cases, Sibelius took refuge in his diary: ‘8 May 1927. Isolation and solitude push me to despair. Even my wife does not speak to me. Life is very difficult, because nobody spoke to me for the festival in Stockholm. (…) To survive, there is alcohol. Wine or Whisky! And that’s just the beginning of my troubles. (…) All my real friends are dead, my prestige is at its lowest. (…) Impossible to work. Must use the time that is left to me to the best. Wrote to Hansen about Scaramouch etc. The cellist Kindler wants me to write a piece for cello and orchestra for him. We’ll see. Tried to pass the day without alcohol, whilst many things annoy me and I have nobody to speak to. Aino said that it is my fault that I have no friends.’

Then the 9th: ‘Started the day with a sauna. (…) Nothing in me really works. Aino left for town. (…) No alcohol, but some too much. (…) Would like to compose, but impossible. My hands won’t stay still.’ And the 10th: ‘Aino’s saint’s day. We played duos together. (…) No alcohol, nor anything else. (…) Worked a little on the suites of The Tempest.’ The 11 May, he read in the Hufvudstadsbladet the declaration of Kajanus who affirmed that at the Stockholm festival, all the countries with

the exception of Denmark had been wrong to programme mostly ‘ultramodern’ works’.

Sibelius returned to his diary: ‘Wonderful day, but cold and windy. Walked. Found his self-promotion (Kajanus’s) so naïve. (…) He conducted my new pieces as though he hated me’ (11 May). ‘Composed a little – foreboding of cancer. No doubt imaginary. Wretched to annoy Aino with that. Serious trembling. No alcohol. (…) The evening my hands alright’ (13 May). ‘Walked with marvellous weather. (…) No alcohol, but tobacco in its place’ (14 May). ‘Walked. Worked in the evening until 2 o’clock in the morning. No alcohol’ (15 May). ‘Struggling; But can’t yet see clear. No Alcohol. Invited to conduct some Sibelius in Stockholm and Gothenburg. Aino and Heidi in town. Laura (Ruth’s daughter aged eight) sick again. (…) The suites of The Tempest exhaust me’ (17 May). ‘Worked on a choral and on the suites. Walked this morning’ (19 May). ‘Kaj (Katarina), this wonderful girl, here. Worked, walked, sin alcohol’ (21 May). ‘Sine alcohol. Worked on the suites. Difficult. Margareta student’ (23 May). ‘Sine alcohol. Worked on suites. Difficult. (…) Rita (Christian’s daughter) here’ (24 May). ‘Sine alcohol. Worked on suites. Difficult’ (25 May). ‘Baptism of Jan Karl. In Helsinki with family in automobile. Sine alc. Worked a little’ (26 May). ‘Worked all day. Bad weather 9+. Laura here. Aino at home. Smoked. Sine alc. (27 May). ‘A Whisky. Kai etc here. Rain’ (29 May). ‘Sine alc. Short walk. Aino in town. Worked a little’ (29 May). ‘Celebrated our 35th wedding anniversary with punch, wine etc. (…) Kaj played with so much expression’ (10 June).

'Weather cold. Rain and a little sun. worked on suites. (…) Should really refuse all commissioned work' (11 June). 'Alcohol now and again. Nice weather. Worked' (19 June). 'Worked these last few days. Very moderate consumption of alcohol' (22 June).

These notes show that in the spring of 1927, Sibelius had not given up from the 'professional' point of view. His notes were not so frequent until 1943-1944. He learnt from Hansen that the Royal Danish Ballet was to perform Scaramouch in Paris at the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées in Paris. He once again deplored they had decided to include the spoken dialogues, in his response (9 May). The Parisian premier of Scaramouch took place the 13 June. In its 1 July edition the Musical courier reported, without clearly indicating as to whether there was a spoke dialogue or not: 'Scaramouch is a dramatic pantomime in which Jean Sibelius has written a score that can be appreciated by its qualities that are not precisely ethnic (which is to say Danish). (…) Sibelius' score comments a violent intrigue. (…) The commentary is habile, varied, expressive and rhythmical as can be desired. There is no audacity, bad taste, but a solid romanticism exempt of affectation, vigorous, active and easily understood, where the accents are neither derived from the land or internationalism. Its principal virtue is openness, if not the picturesque dress.'

The 2 July Sibelius sent Hansen the first suite of The Tempest (opus 109 No2), asking for an advance of 1,500 Danish crowns. He added that a second suite (opus 109 No3) would

soon follow, which took place 6 August. The 3 October followed arrangements for piano of three pieces: Miranda, Danse des Nymphes and Scène. They were not published until 1929-1930.

* * *

Six months previously Sibelius had received a letter dated 'New York 18 April 1927' from Olin Downes the critic of the New York Times. After having spoken of their meeting in Norfolk 'in June 1913' asked that he send 'as many of his scores as possible' and continued:

'Would you accept a tour in the USA as conductor next winter performing your instrumental and choral works? I am writing to you out of pure artistic interest, but also in the name of (…) Mr William Brennan, manager of the Boston Symphonic Orchestra, he is convinced he can guaranty you a certain number of appearances at the head of the leading American orchestras – sufficient in any case to ensure you a suitable remuneration and it is possible that several appearances could be very profitable. (…) In any case, whether you come to America or not next winter, I have the intention of visiting you this summer in Finland.'

Downes reiterated his proposals in two other letters, the 23 April and the 21 May, indicating that he was leaving for leaving for Europe. Downes hoped that his presence, the Finn would compete with Stravinsky, who was more and more

popular in the USA. Sibelius hesitated during two months: ‘Thinking about the American tour that has been dangling before me. Difficult to decide, not really interested’ (Diary 10 June). The 16 August, a telegram arrived in Paris for Downes: ‘Very busy with new works, regret not being able to make a decision for the tour for the moment. Thank you for your kind letter and welcome to Finland.’

The 17 August in Salzburg, after having transmitted Sibelius’s to Brennan, Olin Downes again wrote: ‘I hope to arrive in Helsingfors the 5 or 6 September. (…) I speak very little German and not a word of Finnish. (…) I would be very pleased if one of your friends who can speak English could provide me with details on your recent works (prior to Tapiola) and help us in our conversation.’ Downs again requested Sibelius to ask his publishers to send his scores, ‘as many as possible, from the beginning to the most recent’, adding:

‘I would also like to know if your symphonies and other orchestral works have been arranged for piano for four hands. I know that the most recent, from the Fourth Symphony, are so orchestral that the piano can only partially reproduce the effects, but I would like them to be available in this form, considering that that an arrangement for four hands—which as a conductor you certainly detest—helps to get to know music better. Finally I would like to ask you if it would be possible, after seeing you, to go into the Finnish forests before returning to America, to hike for four or five days and to go fishing. (…) I would really like to see the real Finland, the forests and

rivers, more than the towns, and after having heard a lot of music—good and bad, above all bad this summer—I feel a strong desire to get it our of my ears, and if I could catch a salmon, one of my dreams would become reality—two dreams—three dreams—because I have dreamt of Finland so long—since I heard your music for the first time, (…) music that I know can only come from a marvellous country, Nordic, where there is enough space to be alone, in the middle of a grandiose nature, and I have also dreamed of you in your own country, and finally I have dreamed of big salmon! If there are no wild salmon, a sturgeon would do! Are there sturgeons in Finland? (…) In fact, I wonder if it would be possible, somewhere in the Finnish forests, in a lonely spot near a lake with fish, to buy a small wood cabin cheaply where I could come every year with a few books, a fire, perhaps a piano, and be really happy. (…) Excuse this long letter. I am writing to you as a friend. Frankly it is sometimes easier to write than to speak. Perhaps we could speak a lot, and as you are older than me, my company may not interest you. But I have often spoken to you through your music. (…) I only want to see you for a short while, to remember you as a man as well as an artist, and there will never be a wall between us both in your music. My experience as a listener tells me that it is the only grand and noble music produced now.'

With his 'man of the woods' aspect and almost ecological before its time, this extravagant missive speaks a lot of Olin Downes and of the profound reasons for his enthusiasm for Sibelius. Naturally dynamic and enthusiastic, he saw in him,

until his death in 1955, two years before that of the composer, a conquering Nordic hero, the preceptor of a distant but vital past, solid and epic, a kind of messiah of modern times reflecting the most precious American values and replacing the father he never had.

His reaction to Schönberg's Cing pièces pour orchestra opus 16, when he had appreciated La Nuit transfigurée, on the contrary shows what displeased him: 'As original and masterful a work as it could be, this music is sickly and disagreeable having neither the purifying greatness of tragedy nor the moral and spiritual elevation of great compositions that render all men similar'.

Sibelius was certainly bowled over by his letter of the 17 August 1927. His reply in two telegrams dated respectively 23 and 27 August, was as usual more than laconic: ‘Welcome to Finland. Sibelius’. The 6 September, Downes informed him from Berlin: ‘I will only have four or five days, but hope to see you and go fishing.’ He finally arrived in Finland the 10 September for the first of his five visits. Twenty seven years

later a colleague of his wrote in the New York Times, if he is to be believed, that he found Sibelius waiting for him in the lobby of his hotel in Helsinki and spent the evening and part of the night with him, 'Downes discovered the famous Scandinavian akvavit and Sibelius' legendary capacity to drink it. In each café the composer accompanied Downes with a bottle of Haig & Haig Whisky, where both conversation and drink overflowed. When the bottles were empty, in the small hours of the morning, Downes dragged himself to his hotel with his ideas somewhat blurred, whilst left the establishment as solid as the Rock of Plymouth'. Sibelius did not forget to bring Downes to Ainola, where he gave him a dedicated score of the Sixth Symphony, and left him in the care of his son-in-law Arvi Paloheimo for his excursions in the surrounding region.

On board De Grasse during his home crossing, Downes wrote: 'I hope that you, so great a man and so great an artist, will not take it wrong if I address you as a very dear friend. (…) I feel great fear and great weakness, even terror, at the idea of to the place where I work and live, (…) in a certain measure my summer in Europe, that I often passed alone (his wife and children had not travelled everywhere with him), made me apathetic, and not very willing to return there. But I have kept a priceless memory of the force, the spirit and the reality— the marvellous reality—of your music, and now yourself. Neither the man nor the music are mirages! Both are real, and the two have given me friendship and courage. After all, it is the handshake of a man that we have the most need. The things you have told me, I will always remember, and will signify for

me the force in my life, new hopes and confidence in the future. You see, I was not wrong, neither about Sibelius nor about Finland. (…) I count on returning to Finland and shaking your hand, or here when you come. But whether we meet again or not, I will know that you are always close, which will make me less alone in life. Olin Downes.' In the margin of the first page: 'Please give my best regards to Mrs Sibelius and to your daughters.' As to Sibelius he wrote in his diary: 'Olin Downes of New York here with me. Extraordinary critic' (12 September). During the summer of 1933, he told a common friend, the Finnish-American journalist Paul Sjöblom that 'Downes appeared on the scene like a revelation'.

Sibelius was not present at the concert conducted by Ture Rangström the 20 October 1927 in Helsinki with a programme that included Mitt land (My country). 'Declaration of love to Sweden', this work, the most vast of Rangström's four symphonies, had been premiered in Stockholm in 1919, and performed in Gothenburg the 14 January 1920 by Stenhammar to whom it was dedicated. Sibelius did however send a message of regrets and congratulations. A month later, he learnt of Stenhammar's death, who died in Stockholm the 20 November, from Olga Bratt. 'During my long life I have never met an artist as noble and idealistic as Stenhammar. I feel happy and privileged to have been his friend. He accomplished so much for my art! The world seems empty now that he has gone' (to Olga Bratt, 25 November). The religious ceremony took place the 23 November 'without the least pomp', but the Gothenburg Quartet played the slow movement from

Dissonances by Mozart and Malinconia opus 18 No6 by Beethoven. Stenhammar was cremated the 27th, and the 3rd Olga wrote to Sibelius: ‘One day Sten whispered into my ear ‘Do you know Sibb made a great thing of my quartet in A-minor and still keeps it on his bedside table.’ That you made something important of this work, which at the time he considered his best, gave him the most complete happiness that life could offer an artist.’

The 4 November 1927, The Tempest was produced at the National Finnish Theatre in Helsinki, in a Finnish version by Paavo Cajander, with the incidental stage music by Sibelius and his daughter Ruth in the role of Ariel. Laura Enckell, daughter of Ruth, recounted in 1999: ‘We watched mama. That has always stayed fixed in my mind because mama was flying. She was attached by strings. And once she even fell.’ In a letter from Aino to Linda, it appears that Jean and Aino had gone to Helsinki the previous day to be present at the main rehearsal. Also: ‘Janne is so attached to his work, and often so inspired, that it is a pleasure. At home every thing is fine now. He ordered ten bottles of Whisky and ten of Sauterne’. These bottles were not only intended for his consumption, but also for the many visitors and family members who came to Ainola.

The 8 December, the 62nd birthday of Sibelius, Henry Wood conducted the English premier Seventh Symphony at the Royal Philharmonic Society. The Musical Times of January 1928 reported that the concert took place ‘before many listeners, of which most had come to see Casals (in the Dvorak concerto).

For them the work of Sibelius was clearly difficult to swallow. In reality it was difficult for anybody. Music as hard and severe should be heard several times before it can be mastered. But even a first contact has shown its power. It is comforting to find a composer who refuses the least concessions, or popularity, or any of the fashions in which modern music takes pleasure.'

Sibelius arrived at the Excelsior Hotel in Berlin determined to progress with the Eighth Symphony. The 12 February he wrote to Aino that he had had a good journey, that he had seen no one in Stockholm, that Tapiola had been premiered in Gothenburg at the beginning of the month by Armas Järnefelt (the critics were half hearted) and was going to be played in Stockholm by Kajanus, that Adolf Paul was fine and his finances looking up (two months later he was broke again), and that he himself was reading with great interest Knut Hamsun's novel Vagabonds, which he had bought in Stockholm. He then moved to the Molkte hotel, and the 16 February heard the violinist Floritzel von Reuter play Paganini's Caprices:

'A great experience. (…) But it needs a virtuoso with divine gifts to render such music for it to be interesting. (…) I hope that my nerves will get back to normal. What a joy it will be for me to see my works completed' (to Aino, 17 February). Basically it was the Eighth. It is not know if there were others. At the Philharmonia Sibelius heard Schumann's symphony in E-Flat major, called Rhenania, and the 24 wrote to Aino: 'I am going to stay here three or four weeks more, then I will return

happy. I am working well here, without a piano, but I miss you terribly. (…) Paul is still the old friend who is dear to me! But we see little of each other. Less than before. (…) My new work will be wonderful. It is progressing well, but there is no hurry'. In the following letter, dated 1 March, but in reality written the 29 February he wrote: 'I would like Paul to write a text for Scaramouch. I have written to Hansen, and today I received the arrangement for piano.' In the same letter he mentioned that he had lunched with Robert Lienau, just returned from a visit to London, and that he was deep into the score of Stravinsky's Oedipus Rex: 'I did not let myself throw three or four marks out the window to attend the premier.'

Luise Wolff, the widow of the well known concert organiser Hermann Wolff, announce to him that the 18 and 19 his concerto would be played at the Philharmonia by Ferenc von Vecsey and Wilhelm Furtwängler, and offered him two tickets. Furtwängler had already conducted En Saga the 5 March 1923. Sibelius had just heard him play Berlioz's Fantastique and had been very impressed:

'My concerto (conducted) by Furtwängler is worth ten times more than a concert (of my own works). He is a conductor of great stature. (…) Klemperer is also here' (to Aino, 8 March). Klemperer had again conducted the Seventh in Wiesbaden. 'It is here (Berlin) the most prestigious series of concerts since Nikisch. (…) When I have new works, I will give concerts again' (to Aino, 10 March). In the same letter he asked Aino to

send him through the Deutsch Bank 10,000 Finnish marks immediately.

In his last letter from Berlin (15 March), he told her he had heard the Klinger Quartet in Beethoven's opus 132 in A-minor, and commented on how Peterson-Berger in the Dagens Nyheter had 'shot down' the premier of Tapiola in Stockholm: 'Impossible to take this man seriously. He spends his life attacking me. His style is brilliant, but he understands absolutely nothing of my music. Which will no doubt not prevent (this music) from surviving.

He delayed his departure to be able to attend the concert of the 19 March, but again he was put down by certain critics. In the Berlin Börsen-Courier of the 20th, Heinrich Strobel—who was to play an important role in Parisian musical life from 1938 to 1944 and become famous after 1945 as director of the contemporary music festival of Donauschingen—asked how Furtwängler had been able to programme this 'anaemic' concerto. In the Berliner Tagblatt of the same day, Alfred Einstein, future author of the reference book on Mozart, considered having heard 'in spite of its virtuoso configurations, a conventional work, a technical study from Mendelssohn to Max Bruch1.

The fact that Ferenc von Vecsey was on the decline, was no doubt one of the causes of these unfavourable commentaries. Nevertheless there are few composers over the age of sixty who suffered attacks as violent as those Sibelius had to support.

After his return to Ainola, he received a letter of comfort from Adolf Paul: 'That you are so angry with the more than stupid critics upsets me. Critics are always stupid (except of course when I am writing). And you and your art are situated much too high, in terms of art and in universal conscience, to be so touched by one or two disrespectful words written by idiots. (…) As soon as it appears, I will send you the article that I have written against this herd' (27 March). That autumn at the request of Wäinö Sola, Sibelius composed Siltavahti (The guardians of the bridge) JS 170a to a text by Sola for a New York choir. A promenade concert was programmed for the 1 September 1928 in London for two English premiers, Tapiola conducted by Henry Wood and Kodaly's suite Hary Janos conducted by the composer himself.

The Musical Times of October wrote: 'Amongst the most interesting new works that appeared last month was Tapiola by Sibelius. It is a strong, rugged, work quite typical of the style of the composer, which from the beginning holds the listeners attention1.

Tapiola was followed by the overture of Zampa by Ferdinand Herold, most probably to unwind the audience. Henry Wood repeated Tapiola at the Philharmonic Society the 18 April 1929, as well as Ernest Bloch's symphony No2 Israel, one of the composer's who liked Sibelius. The May issue of the Musical Times noted: 'These are works of authentic originality, and if the Finn appears a better composer than the cosmopolitan Hebrew, it is because he is more often content to suggest, rather

than completely enunciate and even less to underline. Israel (…) however made a great impression.

The 9 November 1928, Koussevitzky conducted the Third Symphony in Boston. The Boston Post wrote: ‘The Third of Sibelius, ahead of its time in 1907, is now modern’. Henry Parker the critic continued: ‘Did Igor the Great invent the rhythms that knot nerves and make blood run? These rhythms that struck from 1907 in the first movement of Jean Sibelius’s Third Symphony.’ A month later (4 December), Koussevitzky wrote his first letter to Sibelius:

‘You will have no doubt learnt with interest that I conducted your Third Symphony with great success in Boston. The work made such an impression that I have been asked to repeat it, which I will do in New York at the beginning of January, then again in Boston. In the course of the next season I will present your Seventh that I conducted two years ago. I would like to receive a few lines from you indicating if you have new works that have never been executed. Do you think that it would be excellent if you came to America? Given the profound sympathy that you have here, you would be received with the greatest enthusiasm. What do you think?’

Thus commenced a long correspondence, which lasted for several years and which caused Sibelius more than one moment of worry, because obviously Koussevitzky was waiting for the Eighth. The Russian-American conductor was not alone. At the same moment Hansen asked the composer what the position of the work was.

The 17 December Sibelius replied: ‘My VIII symphony is still in my head. When the time comes I will be delighted to speak to you about it.’ Harassment of this kind became more and more unsupportable, and were not without their effect in the non-appearance of the Eighth. Moreover Sibelius knew that the work, supposing that it was completed, would in all probability be performed, as the Seventh and above all Tapiola, not in Finland, but in his absence in London, New York or Boston, and under the direction of someone other than himself. Such perspectives only went to increasing his anxiety. But the impatience can be understood and even the at time maladroit questions of the admirers of the great Sibelius. So much was expected of him, and he demanded so much of himself, that he finished up prisoner of the dilemma ‘Either perfection, or non-completion’. It was the second alternative that finally won.

At this time the Fourth was not well received in Stockholm: ‘Difficult to swallow the destructive reviews when you are old. Peterson-Berger found my symphony IV without life or colour, empty of temperament and ideas. What more can be said?’ (Diary, 6 December 1928). His sixty third birthday was spoilt, but Koussevitzky’s letter, arrived shortly after, and boosted his morale: ‘How this life, the only one, is difficult to live! Symphony III had a great success in Boston with Koussevitzky. Will I always be condemned to this hypersensitivity? Yes! Terrible’ (Diary, 28 October). This entry and that of the 6 December are the only ones during 1928.

The 2 January 1929, he replied to Koussevitzky: ‘I received your letter with great pleasure, of great important to me. I can only regret not being present at the concert, and not having had the opportunity to hear and admire you. It is impossible for me to go to Germany for the moment. But we have plenty of time. I will soon publish new works.’ He immediately regretted being so quick and in another letter dated the same day, rectified it: ‘My new work is fat from being finished, and unfortunately I cannot say when it will be ready. I am sorry I mentioned it. All that I can promise, dear Maestro, is that you will the first to be informed.’

* * *

Whilst working on the Eighth Symphony, Sibelius completed at the beginning of 1929 his ultimate collection for piano and for piano and violin: Cinq esquisses for piano opus 114, Quatre pieces for piano and violin opus 115 and Trois pieces for violin and piano opus 116, twelve extraordinary pieces that opened up new horizons.

In the autumn of 1928 he proposed a work to the New York publisher Carl Fischer, no doubt Intrada opus 111a for organ, which he refused, though adding (5 October): ‘We would be more interest by works for piano, for vocal and piano, and for violin and piano than by compositions for organ or harmonium. We would suggest, if you allow us, to write several pieces characterised in the form of a suit for orchestra of at least three numbers.’

The 15 February 1929 Sibelius sent Fischer opus 114-116 as well as a suite for solo violin and strings, giving each piece a title in English, but indicating: ‘The above titles can be modified for better English. Though having practically ordered them, Fischer refused the pieces (7 September): ‘We must, regretfully, inform you that given the unfortunate state of musical publishing in the United States, it does not seem opportune to publish for the moment, in view of the high level of the works that you have submitted. For this kind of work, the market is very unfavourable, and we are in the obligation of returning them to you with our regrets.’

Sibelius then offered opus 114-116, but not the suite, to Breitkopf & Härtel, then withdrew opus 114, so that only opus 115 and 116 were published by them in December 1930. Opus 114 was not published until 1973 by Fazer, though not without some printing errors.

Shortly after, Sibelius received a letter from Olin Downes dated 24 April 1929. The critic informed him of his projects for the summer. He was on the point of leaving for Europe, with the intentions of spending a few days in Paris and then in Berlin, and finally two weeks in Moscow and Leningrad. ‘I intend to return to Berlin via Helsingfors. Before anything else I want to see you again, as well as Mr (Arvi) Paloheimo and other extraordinary people I met in Helsingfors. If I could one or two days there, I will do everything to catch a salmon, but I will have very little time.’ Downes in addition asked Sibelius to put him in contact, if he lived in Finland, with the Russian

painter Ilia Repin: ‘I would like to meet and speak with him about his memories concerning the great Russian composers that he painted, in particular Rimsky-Korsakov and Mussorgsky. I don’t know if he speaks French, but I suppose yes.’ Repine then lived near to Leningrad, and Downes succeeded in seeing him. He arrived in Helsinki during the last days of May and met Sibelius for the second time.

The 9 August, on his return to New York, Downes wrote to his idol: ‘Dear Friend and Great Master that I love and adore, I have just received your signed photo, which gives me great pleasure. It is really you, and just to contemplate it makes me happy. (…) Yes! It was at times stupid of me to importune you with my sober and egotistical thoughts, of my perpetual whining, but I that this time, this meeting, this visit has helped me even more than the previous, I will therefore be happier, always, for you – because I know you, I feel in my heart the grasp of your hand, and above all I heard your music. (…) I regret not having had the time to see Madame Sibelius and your daughters, they are so extraordinary and I love them very much. I hope to meet them the next time, and deep inside I know that it will be soon. (…) Here I am imprisoned in New York, where it is as hot as hell and swarming with fools and idiots. But a man is not a prisoner when his spirit is free. (…) Hail to you! You have made me proud of living, and I will be proud of dying. Of all that God has given me, nothing is more precious, nothing makes me happier, nothing is more precious for me, nothing makes me happier, than Sibelius.’

During the summer of 1929 the British conductor Basil Cameron appeared, then at the head of the Hastings Municipal Orchestra. In a letter dated the 10 September, he informed Sibelius that he was to conduct the Fourth Symphony in January 1930 at the Queen's Hall in London: (I would very much like to make the journey to meet you, with the hope that you would go over the score with me.' The meeting took place in October, and his letter of thanks. Cameron invited Sibelius to conduct The Swan of Tuonela or En Saga and above all the prelude of The Tempest at the Hastings Festival. Sibelius accepted, then had his son-in-law Arvi Paloheimo telegraph to say: 'Profoundly regret this hasty promise. Impossible to come this time.'

The 26 February 1930, In the presence of Rosa Newmarch in Hastings Cameron conducted the prelude of The Tempest and Night Ride and Sunrise. His performance of the Fourth the 16 January programmed with Richard Strauss's Don Juan and The Perfect Fool by Gustav Holst, resulted in a very enthusiastic commentary in the Musical Times of February: 'Londoners did not hear this music for the first time, the Sibelius' most recent work is so elusive that reappearing after an absence of several years, a symphony from his hand has the air of a completely new work. The symphony in A-minor is a remarkable composition by its total absence of exhibitionism.'

Sibelius replied to Rosa Newmarch the 10 March, in French, who had kept him informed that he was pleased to learn that Cameron had conducted so well, adding: 'He came to see me

and we spoke of England. I compose my music more for myself and feel very alone. There are many things in music today that are impossible for me to accept. (…) It seems to me that modern music does not progress, it is marching on the spot neglecting architecture.'

On his return to England, Basil Cameron spoke with Cecil Gray the Scottish composer and musicologist, then the critic of the Daily Telegraph. A great admirer of Sibelius, Gray had consecrated a chapter of his book A Survey of Contemporary Music to him with a special reference to the Fourth Symphony. Gray was on the point of leaving for Tallinn. Cameron's story led to his decision to cross the Gulf of Finland to meet Sibelius and interview him for the newspaper. After having telegraphed to the composer from Tallinn the 17 December announcing his arrival, he embarked for Helsinki the 31st.

Shortly after his return to England, he was commissioned to write a book on Sibelius' music by the Oxford University Press, informing the composer in a letter dated 22 March 1930: 'After having thought about it I gave my agreement, and started work immediately, but I want this book to be really good.' He added that he wanted a biographical section for English readers, indicating that it would be relatively short and discrete.

The 9 April he asked Sibelius for information on the two parts of the Lemminkäinen Suite and informed him that having

read the work of Walter Niemann, he considered that the author had to much insisted ‘on the national element in your works’, and what he had said of the symphonies was simply ridiculous. Knowing that Gray was going to write a book in which his symphonies would be placed at the centre of his works could only please Sibelius.

For a year Gray bombarded Sibelius with questions asking for information, before returning to Finland in October 1930 to study various manuscripts, including that of Kullervo. For the biographical section he turned to Furuhjelm for information. The book was published in December 1931, dedicated ‘To the people of Finland with warmth and admiration’.

Brilliant and provocative the book soon became a classic in the UK, where Sibelius’ position was very much reinforced. Though often questionable, his theses were largely adopted and in particular those concerning Sibelius’ symphonic construction.

Gray played a role in the UK similar to that of Downes in the USA. Rightly or wrongly his habit of taking the opposite position to preconceived ideas, he affirmed that after Beethoven, all German symphonic music had in one way or another erred against the symphonic spirit. ‘Therefore the truth is that the Germans are in reality the last in the world to attribute, as they do, the supremacy over all other races in matters of symphonic music, and pretend that they alone possess the secret of musical architecture on a grand scale’. In a certain manner Gray gave Walter Niemann his due1. He also

examined Berlioz and Liszt, qualifying Fantastique and Faust Symphonie as ‘disguised symphonic poems’, César Franck by judging his style ‘inapt for development’, Dvorak, Tchaikovsky and others, and finally Borodin.

This unfortunate even fallacious reasoning, resulted with a violent counter reaction around 1960, with the sudden arrival to the forefront of Bruckner and Mahler, even in England. Gray had however, other merits, including that of putting Sibelius amongst the limited few of the greatest symphonists of all time, beyond a simply Finnish context. He insisted on his new concepts in form and the diversity of his seven symphonies, but could not unfortunately avoid adding, at the risk of increasing the incertitude and anxiety of the composer: ‘I would not be in the least surprised if in his Eighth Symphony, which is said to exist, and which will probably appear before this book sees the light of day, he turns his back on his past successes in symphonic form and does something entirely different.’

Considering the best way of making the music of the country known abroad was to record the two most popular symphonies of Sibelius, the First and the Second, the Finnish government decided in the spring of 1930 to contribute 50,000 marks to the project. Sibelius designated Kajanus as conductor: ‘Many men have conducted (my First Symphony) over the last thirty years, but none have penetrated it so deeply or invested so much feeling and beauty as Robert Kajanus’ (2 May).

Kajanus therefore went to London, where in May leading the London Philharmonic Orchestra he recorded for Columbia the

two symphonies as well as the Intermezzo and Alla Marcia from the Karelia suite. In June 1932 a year before his death he recorded the Third, the Fifth, The Feast of Balthazar, The Daughter of Pohjola and Tapiola1. The Fourth had already been recorded in April 1932 in Philadelphia by Stokowsky and the two missing symphonies soon followed, again recorded in London, the Seventh in May 1933 by Koussevitzky and the Sixth in June 1934 by Schneevoigt. Thus the whole seven were available.

The first recordings by Kajanus did not entirely meet the approval of Olin Downes. In a letter to Sibelius dated 30 December 1930, he deplored the poor technical quality: 'For me, that of the Second Symphony is like those that could have been made ten years ago. The sound balance is often poor, and the best moments of your instrumentation cannot be fully appreciated. (…) They are far from the level that the American public is used to now. (…) I often play your symphony on my material, and I did so on Christmas night for a group of friends. I did this because I like your Second Symphony and I was able to explain to them why the recording was not fully satisfying, but I think you should insist that the next recording of your music in by Columbia Europe should be correctly made. Next Thursday, Toscanini is going to perform En Saga here, and today I should received the HMV recording of this work (by the New Symphony Orchestra conducted by Eugene Goosens), which I expect to be better than these symphonies. (…) Is it true that there is now an Eighth Symphony? In America, we only know seven.'

Sibelius replied the 19 January 1931: 'I was very interested by what you wrote about the records, though I know very little about it. Concerning my symphonies I and II, you should be aware that these were made on the instigation of Columbia, the costs were 6,000 dollars, of which 1,250 were paid by the Finnish government, to allow Robert Kajanus the grand doyen of our music, to play them for this purpose in London. You ask me what I have been doing for these last two years. Not only one work, but several. I like to complete my works in my head and not to put them on paper at once – for several reasons, not the least my worship of life and nature. I think however, that a new symphony will soon be ready to go to the printers – this information is strictly between us, for you alone.'

In 1927 His Masters Voice had engaged Walter Legge, a young largely self-taught musicologist to write the texts to accompany their recordings. In 1932 Legge persuaded HMV to found within the company under his responsibility a Sibelius Society, to record by subscription many of the composer's works, based on the model that had already been used by Hugo Wolf, Beethoven piano sonatas and Haydn string quartets. Six volumes appeared up until 1939. For the first two, recent performances of Kajanus were employed: the Fifth Symphony, The Daughter of Pohjola and Tapiola for volume I, the Third Symphony, and the Seventh by Koussevitzky for volume II. From 1934, the year of their meeting, until 1940, Legge produced all the recordings of Sir Thomas Beecham, including his famous Enchanted Flute in Berlin, and was his assistant at Covent Garden in 1938-1939.

'I loaned him the proofs and a score from Mahler's Song of the Earth, but two days later he asked me why I had inflicted on him this "monstrous child of the illicit love of Tristan and Isolde"'. (…) TB (Thomas Beecham) willingly accepted Sibelius, partly because Finland was good box office, and partly because he knew I was going to record works for the Sibelius Society, and at that time he was best placed to participate'.

Before meeting Legge in 1934, Beecham had in reality already inscribed four of Sibelius's symphonies in his programmes. Legge, the husband of Elisabeth Schwarzkopf found the Philharmonia Orchestra in 1945, with which until 1964 he made many memorable recordings conducted by Karajan then Klemperer, amongst others.

In July 1930, Koussevitzky returned to the scene. He wrote to Sibelius from Paris in January 1931 inviting him to conduct in Boston, and if he wished with identical programmes, announcing that he himself had conducted the Sixth Symphony four times in that same city, once in New York and once in Cambridge, Massachusetts: 'Rarely have I met in musical literature a work that gives me such joy1.'

Sibelius replied the 16 June: 'Your letter has given me great joy and great sadness. Joy at your proposal, sadness because—though I am in good health —I do not really want to conduct, my nerves no longer let me. Your, my dear Maestro, who by the grace of God was born to be a conductor seem to have finally ended up in good hands.'

Koussevitzky was however disappointed since the next season was that of the fiftieth anniversary of the Boston Symphony Orchestra: 'I count on performing your Fourth and Seventh Symphonies and I would like you to reserve something new that I could present in Boston. We are at present organising a museum for the Boston Orchestra, I would very much like to receive an autographed manuscript and a photo from you' (21 June). The reply gave Koussevitzky hope:

'It seems that after all I could send you a new work this season, but not in a printed form. As long as America has not adopted the Bern Convention, my works should be published in the form of arrangement because of the question of rights. I can copy the material here before sending it. How splendid, dear Maestro, if you were the first to present this to the American musical world. (…) I will naturally send you the photo. And a manuscript' (16 August). Sibelius saw the horizon clearing, and Koussevitzky believed in the imminent delivery of the Eighth: Warmest thanks for your promise to send your new work for our jubilee, and also your manuscript' (12 September).

Three months later he had received nothing and the conductor insisted in a letter dated 16 December 1936: 'Your First Symphony has been a great success. Unfortunately I have not been able to conduct it myself, having caught a cold, but my assistant Mr Richard Burgin performed it marvellously, he remembers how he had played it in Finland conducted by yourself. I hope to give the Fourth and Seventh this year.

The 7 March 1931, Gallen-Kallela suddenly died of pneumonia in Stockholm en route for Finland after a business trip to Copenhagen. His son-in-law Armas-Otto Väisänen asked Sibelius by telephone to compose a piece for the funeral. Sibelius accepted, then, only having a few days at his disposal was seized by panic. Väisänen remained firm and told him over the phone:

'You have given your word. The invitations have been sent and the programme printed. It has been announced that your music will be played. Everybody expects your music to be heard at the church. In addition, you are the one who will conduct the mourning'. Sibelius thought for a moment then replied: 'I will compose the piece.'

Though he had never been present at a funeral, he was one of those who conducted the mourning at the ceremony the 19 March in Helsinki. Surusoitto (Funeral music) for organ was played at the funeral and it was the last instrumental piece to be written by Sibelius. Dissonant and chromatic, the work is of an advanced and strange style, it seems to come from another world, but there is nothing frightening. After the Sibelius's death, the composer Joonas Kokkonen (1921-1996) asked Aino if Surusoitto if her husband had used, in part, material foreseen for the Eighth Symphony, she replied that she thought a certain relationship could have existed between the two works.

Adolf Paul informed of Gallen-Kallela's death wrote to Sibelius the 18 March: 'The death of Gallen has touched me very much. I had fortunately been able to see him again,

(recently) and renew contact with this strong personality, and relive part of my youth. I would have never imagined that he would have been struck down by illness. We are going to close the circle that he opened, and should always hold each others hand.'

Determined to complete the Eighth Symphony as soon as possible, Sibelius, as often is such cases, decided to Berlin to work. Without taking the time to listen to Kajanus conducted on the 30 May the Seventh, Sixth and Third, he embarked for on the 25th for Stettin and settled in the Hotel Continental near to the Friedrichstrasse station. From there he wrote to George Boldemann: 'I would very much like to see you, but the sea crossing has exhausted me. Perhaps you could indicate a room where I could work, modest, with agreeable people. And a bath.'

The 1 May he wrote to Aino asking how Kajanus had conducted the three symphonies and telling her that the following Sunday he was going to lunch with the Boldemanns. Then on the 8th: 'I am now settled in. Everything is fine, it is a long time since I have not worked so well. I have a servant—Amalia—a catholic who cooks very well for me. There are three rooms and a kitchen for Amalia. I hope there is no music! (…) Yesterday I was with Boldemann to order new clothes. I even went to visit Lazzi (Laci) is his clinic. Maija is adorable with her enthusiasm for Tolstoy. Tell Arvid. (…) For the moment I have no instrument, but later I will need one. I will ask my publisher to make the necessary arrangements. Having

taken my distance from the contrarieties of our artistic world, I note that everything is going well for me. (…) People beat their carpets and there are other noises, but as the level is not too high it does not worry me.'

Sibelius wrote that he had no piano and that he would need one soon, therefore the Eighth was quite clear in his mind, at least partly, because according to Aino, generally, he worked first without a piano then with a piano. He replied the 12 May to a letter received from Ainola: 'Here everything is as it should be, Amalia takes good care of me, and I can work. I am therefore in an excellent humour.' The the 17th: 'Don't let yourself be demoralised by the garden. If my music demoralises me, it is the way things are. But you should leave certain things as they are, accepting for example that certain parts of the garden do not need to be looked after.'

On the 22nd: 'The political situation worries me. How do you see things at home? (…) Here I live in my music. I am deep into my work, but worry depresses me. It would be terrible if all that forces me to interrupt my visit here. I expect to stay here until the end of June. Then home. We shall see what kind of turn the events take. The symphony is progresses with great strides, and I must finish it, as I am now in full spiritual form. Strange, the birth of a work. (…) The money questions will end up by solving themselves. But for the moment I need some. It will arrive soon. The symphony should bring in 30 to 40,000 marks. And I shall have other things ready at the end of the

year at the latest.' After reading this it can be understood why Tawaststjerna saw 1931 as 'a year of hope'.

'Lina Boldemann gave me a coffee machine. I just bought some coffee, or rather she did. I pay my way— rent to Holger. Money is flying away, but I am fine. I eat at home. Less expensive than outside. (…) I will soon need money. I have ordered a new suit, it is not yet ready, and went to Breitsprecher's to have some marvellous walking shoes made for home. There are of the same kind of sports shoes as Arvid's. I have paid for them. I have not yet bought new detachable collars' (24 May).

A week later he telegraphed: 'Sick am returning immediately. The thousand marks have not arrived. Send them by telegram' (31 May). The same evening Boldemann was more reassuring: 'Jean is much better.' Violent stomach pains forced Sibelius to spend a few in hospital, which was very costly. 'The doctor tells me I have serious pleurisy. (…) Lying here, I can see myself in the mirror. And I very much resemble Kitti at the end. (…) The "formalities' are really difficult before leaving this life! Adieu' (2 June).

He quickly regretted this letter, and especially the last word: 'I should have never sent the letter of the day before yesterday. But I needed to speak with you. I should have controlled myself better. Speak to me about you and your gardening. That is real poetry. They only play old things here. And it doesn't interest me to hear such and such a passage of Schubert's Unfinished. Can't they leave these masterpieces alone, such as

they are? My work is progressing, but slowly. It will be good!' (4 June).

His ultimate letter from Berlin, the last he sent to Aino from abroad, was the 10 June: 'I had to interrupt the treatment with Prof. Zuelzer. I could not support it until the end. He injected me with a new substance—Eutonon —which is still in an experimental phase. The Boldemanns + the charming Maija put a stop to it. I now have a good ordinary doctor, Dr. Scheff, as free of prejudice as Kitti. "Why inject poison into your body, when the body is completely healthy?" In any case, I feel better, (…) and it would be a pity to interrupt my work. It will be better if I stay until Pentecost. The weather in the Baltic will be ideal then'.

He recalled to Aino that she should write to Cecil Gray and continued: 'Yesterday, (Adolf) Paul came to diner. Amalia cooked a carp. And I prepared a salad, can eat again. Zuelzer forbid vinegar. He is a scientist, and he wants to make a name with Eutonon. For him it is vital. My life and that of others have only a secondary importance. I am now in a very god humour. Take care of yourself, light of my life.

At that time a young composer by the name of Günther Raphael lived and taught in Berlin. Sibelius never met him, but five months later after his return home he received a letter from him dated the 7 November 1931. Günther Raphael wishing to perform as a pianist in Helsinki, asked him, on behalf of his grandfather, who was none other than Albert Becker, to intervene in his favour. Sibelius gave a positive reply, because

the 23 November, Raphael thanked him in writing. Two and a half years later, in April 1934, again thanks to Sibelius, Raphael performed on the Helsinki radio.

Two months later the author of Finlandia received this pessimistic message from him: ‘I have been dismissed from my position as professor of composition (at the Conservatory of Leipzig) because I am not of pure Aryan descent’ (6 June 1934). The 16 August Günther Raphael informed Sibelius that in spite of his intervention to Richard Strauss, Wilhelm Furtwängler, Karl Straube and Sigmund von Hausegger, he could not get back his position. He therefore asked him if a position in Finland was open, adding: ‘(I am waiting) for your esteemed reply, which should be couched in terms as “apolitical” as possible, because letters sent from abroad to Germany are often opened.’ Sibelius recommended him to Hansen the publisher, and was thanked by Günther Raphael in a letter dated 15 August 1935.

George Boldemann, whose wife was Swedish and a professor of song, was Jewish, had to emigrate to Sweden with her and their grandson Laci in 1933, after having seen the direction in which the wind was blowing. As an indication of what was just another incident in daily life, the suit bought by Sibelius in Berlin that should have been sent to him in Finland had not arrived after several months. Boldemann made enquiries and discovered that it had been stolen by one of the shop’s employees, which provoked him to make the following remark in a letter to Sibelius: ‘Once a race of eagles, the Germans have

transformed themselves under the pressure of events into carrion crows—and there are also a lot of thieving magpies.'

Two months after his return to Finland, which he was never to leave again, Sibelius composed Rakkalle Ainolle (To my beloved Aino) for his wife's sixtieth birthday, short piano piece for four hands JS 161. Three generations of the Sibelius family can be seen in a photo taken in the garden of Ainola. For the grandchildren Ainola was a place for holidays: 'Grandfather was not talkative, but he liked to tell stories'.

* * *

The Eighth was still not finished. The composer having given no sign of life, Koussevitzky, whose jubilee was now past, wrote: 'Paris, 8 August 1931, I have not written as I did not want to disturb you. But I am already thinking about my season in Boston, and ask if your new work, which I wait for with impatience, is ready, can I hope that it will be premiered next season? Last season your Seventh Symphony was a great success, this year I will conduct the Fourth, for the moment I am studying the score. This symphony is very close to me, I feel it very deeply.' Once again Sibelius's reply gave him hope (20 August): 'If you wish to play my new symphony next spring, it will be, I hope, possible.' Koussevitzky exulted: 'Be assured that I will execute your new symphony with the greatest of pleasure new spring in Boston, and also in New York, if I could at least have the orchestra material in March' (14 September).

Ten days later, Olin Downes reappeared in a telegram: 'Ask SVP publisher send immediately score of your Eighth Symphony at my cost' (24 September. Hansen was also worried, Sibelius had informed him the 26 October that the Eighth was 'in his head'. The 18 December he noted in his diary: 'Worked on my Eighth Symphony, and I am full of youth. How can I explain it?'

However, he realised that he had imprudently gone too far. This can be seen in his telegram to Koussevitzky of the 15 January 1932: 'No symphony this season, have written to Cherkassy.' In his reply Koussevitzky showed no sign of impatience. He informed the composer of the triumph in Boston and elsewhere of the Second and Fourth, and thanked him for having given his orchestra the first presentation of the Eighth. Sibelius was a little more reassured: 'It would be good if you could play my symphony at the end of October. It would be the world premier. I will probably send you a hand written manuscript, because—as you have said—the publishers respect nothing' (6 June).

Olin Downes was not as discrete as Koussevitzky. The 18 June 1932, he wrote to Sibelius from Moscow announcing his arrival in Helsinki on the 24th: 'You know that I have never asked you to speak to me of your music or music. We have spoken of other things. But now I am asking you to speak to me, for publication, of your music, especially the Eighth Symphony, which it is said is finished, and what you think of music in general, etc. This is for two reasons. Firstly, I would

like to write about the Eighth before its execution by Koussevitzky, who I met in Paris. Secondly, I would like to include this subject, and speak of my next visit to you, in a radio broadcast that I will make for America, probably from Berlin or from Vienna, or Milan. (…) Do you know that Koussevitzky will play all your symphonies next season? His opinion on these has greatly changed since his arrival in America. It was in 1924. At that time I asked him what he thought about Sibelius' music, and he said "But it is so sombre." Now he is one of your greatest admirers, and when he tried last year, in vain, to get me to admire the latest works of Stravinsky, he said "Do you recall to what point I changed my opinion on Sibelius. Try to be as open minded for Stravinsky." To which I replied 'There is nothing in common. Stravinsky was a great composer. Sibelius is a great composer.' Is the Eighth printed? If so can I have a copy to bring to America?'

The popularity of Sibelius in the United States and the rumours that were going around about him can be seen in the letter he received from an admirer by the name of William C. Boyd. He was certainly very surprised: '25 July 1932. (…) I have heard said that you are coming back to this country for the performance in Boston of your new Eighth Symphony. (Doctor in chemistry, I would be very honoured) to invite you home to diner at a date that would be suitable for you to meet a few of my friends, also your admirers (no more than five or six). For us, you are by far the greatest modern composer, in addition your music from the personal point of view exercises an intense attraction, different from any other.'

It is difficult to imagine Sibelius, even present in Boston for the premier of the Eighth accepting such an invitation, from of fear of being asked where the Ninth was. In announcing to Koussevitzky in August 1931 the work would be sent soon, he had without realising it open a veritable Pandora's Box. The 2 July 1932, writing from Bad Gastein, the conductor, to whom the last letter from the composer of the 6 June had filled with hope, wrote: 'It is with great joy that I envisage executing you new symphony in Boston in October. In November I will also play it in New York. The best thing would be to send the handwritten score to Paris, where I will be staying until the 15 September. (…) I could then bring it myself to America.' Sibelius replied (14 July): 'I have unfortunately mentioned October as the month of the premier of my new symphony, but it is not certain, because I have had all kinds of interruptions. SVP do not announce any execution.'

In a draft kept to himself, he was even more prudent: 'October is uncertain and certainly too early. I do not know when the work will be ready.' Koussevitzky was not discouraged: 'I am counting on performing all of your symphonies in Boston this season (1932-1933), with one per programme, I would like to know if you are in agreement that they will be played in chronological order. Inform me at once if I can count on your Eighth in a month or six week's time. If I do not have it at the end of December, I will arrange it so that your symphonies are played in one concert in two, so that the season ends with the premier of your Eighth' (5 October).

Sibelius replied (26 October): 'For me, the best is to give the symphonies in chronological order. I do not know if I will be able to send the work for December. I will try. Unfortunately I have been obliged to promise the Royal Philharmonic Society the first performance in Europe. It will take place after your world premier. I will send you the handwritten score in December and the printed material some months later.

The contacts with the Royal Philharmonic Society had been made during the summer of 1931 through Basil Cameron. Invited to conduct concerts, Cameron had written to Sibelius the 30 June of that same year: 'Mr Cecil Gray has aid that you have without doubt written a new symphony. If it is the case, would you allow me to give the premier in London?' No doubt encouraged, Cameron went as far as enquiring the 12 July 1931, as to the length of the work, of its main tonality and the way it could be inserted into the programme.

The reaction of Sibelius was such that Cameron felt he should excuse himself. From Bayreuth, where he had heard Toscanini conduct Parsifal, he wrote on the 30 July, indicating that he hoped to give the Eighth the 3 December in his last concert with the London Philharmonic. The 15 September, still in a hurry, he wanted to know how many wind instruments, especially the rarer ones such as the English horn or the bass clarinet, would be necessary for the performance. Sibelius' reply can be imagined. Cameron was soon reduced to asking if he could conduct the Eighth Symphony during his tour to San Francisco in March 1932.

The Musical Times of January 1932 wrote: ‘The 3 December 1931, Mr Basil Cameron, in place of Sibelius’ new symphony, which is not ready, will give us two new English works, the Northern Ballad by Bax and Job by Vaughan Williams.’ Nine months later, in its October 1932 number, the same review gave its ready various details concerning the season that was commencing: ‘The 9 March the first performance of Sibelius’ Eighth Symphony, or, if it is not available, Tchaikovsky’s Second.’

At the end of June and the beginning of July, Harriet Cohen and Arnold Bax arrived in Helsinki from Stockholm in the company of the composer Balfour Gardiner. They were to visit the Imatra Falls, after which, Gardner went to Tampere, and Harriet and Arnold spent a day in Helsinki in the company of Sibelius.

In May 2003 a postcard was auctioned at Christie’s at the same time as Paul Wittgenstein’s archives. The postcard bore the postmark ‘Helsinki 5 July 1932’ and was signed Harriet/Jean Sibelius/Arnold Bax and addressed c/o Sir Henry Wood to Rosa Newmarch, this ‘unforgettable woman’ (Sibelius to Harriet Cohen). The pianist spoke of ‘divine moments’ spent with Sibelius and Bax, the three signatories in addition asked Rosa to give their ‘best wishes together to Sir Henry’.

During the first days of November 1932, having not received the Eighth, Koussevitzky conducted Tapiola in Boston then in New York, a decisive step in its progress in the United States. Henry T. Parker wrote in the Boston Transcript of the 4th:

'Leader, orchestra and audience, (…) all felt the beating wings of a masterpiece.' The same paper published a photo of Sibelius with this title: 'As strong as ten men.'

The Boston Post of the 5th reported: 'The world premier of the Eighth Symphony will be performed here next spring.' The 7 November Koussevitzky telegraphed Sibelius: 'Tapiola twice in Boston exceptional success with public and critics. Complete symphonic cycle commences this week with Symphony I'. But with his New Year's telegram: 'Am worried. Has the score of the Eighth been sent?' (1 January 1933). And the 10th: 'Very worried (…) Please send news.' The 17th Sibelius telegraphed: 'Regret impossible this season have written to Cherkassy the 2 January.'

This time Koussevitzky's reaction was different: 'Your telegram has greatly discouraged me, But, I understand perfectly that you cannot present a composition before being satisfied with each note that you will deliver to the world. Naturally my plans remain unchanged, and I continue the cycle of your symphonies, (…) hoping that the Eighth will arrive. If you send it in March, I could give it in April' (1 February 1933).

The 20 March, Stokowsky also promised to conduct the Eighth as soon as it was completed. And the 5 May, Sibelius noted in his diary: 'It is as if I have come home. To my art. Work, that is to say forge, the first "movement". Take differently, more deeply. My Bohemian side. Romantic.' Koussevitzky nevertheless finished his cycle, the first ever to

be made of the seven symphonies, without the Eighth. Naturally very disappointed Olin Downes wrote the 21 April: 'If you like, dear Maestro, give us the Eighth Symphony here next winter!'

Koussevitzky then went to England, where he conducted several concerts at the London Festival of Music, in which he programmed the 5 May the Seventh with the BBC Symphony Orchestra. The critic of the Musical Times wrote in the June issue that after the 'platitudes' of the finale of Tchaikovsky's Fifth, no other conductor would have been able to make heard 'this piece with its magnificent ruggedness in such an impressive and unified way, nor restore with such clarity its ampler and its originality. The great talents of Koussevitzky are manifested in it with infinitely more brilliance'.

The London performance of the Seventh by Koussevitzky was recorded and the 7 June, he told Sibelius of his impressions: 'I heard the records, and cannot say that the proofs entirely satisfied me. Certain things are good, but certain details and certain passages are not as clear as I would like them to be. However, these records have a distinctive quality, they are 'alive', and from this point of view they are better than if they had been recorded in special sessions. But it is for you (…) to judge if the recording is good enough for the records to be published, (…) if they do not please you they will be destroyed.'

Seventy years later this live performance remains a 'reference' for the Seventh. In the same letter Koussevitzky re-

examined the cycle he had conducted in Boston, without mentioning the Third Symphony: 'It would no doubt interest you to know the Fourth, Sixth and Seventh produced the greatest impression, that the Fifth produced the greatest enthusiasm, as to the First and Second they beat all the records of success and popularity. As far as I am concerned, the artistic joy that the performance of your works has given me cannot be translated into words. Write to my Parisian address to tell me if I could hope to have your Eighth for newt season, and if you will still allow me the pleasure of conducting the world premier.'

Sibelius replied the 3 July 1933: 'It is difficult to express the joy that I feel when I can hear you, dear Maestro. Though, I must admit only on records. Overflowing with life and so natural, and I do not know how to thank you1. Please no not speak of the new symphony. I will write to you on this subject later.' It was his last letter to the conductor on this particular subject, and he never wrote back as he had indicated.

Five months later in his New Year wishes, Koussevitzky in turn mentioned it for the last time: 'I would like to express here my deepest wish, by hoping that your Eighth Symphony will be given to the world before the end of 1934. (…) With all my wishes and warmest greetings. Yours sincerely, Serge Koussevitzky. 5 January 1934.'

The relations between Sibelius and Koussevitzky, whose Koussevitzky Music Foundation commissioned Bohuslav Martinau to compose his First Symphony in 1942, and at the

instigation of Fritz Reiner and Joseph Szigeti Bartok's Concerto for Orchestra in 1943, continued but differently, 'without diabolical forces in the wings'.

They met in September 1935, just before the seventieth birthday of the composer. Koussevitzky conducted Tapiola, the Seventh and the Second in Helsinki on the 13th and visited Ainola. It is not known if on this occasion the Eighth was discussed. Koussevitzky's telegram of thanks and the letter written after his return to the USA to Sibelius and his family did not mention a word of it, no doubt they had avoided any serious discussion of it. Without revealing all, the correspondence between Sibelius and Koussevitzky up until January 1934 and parallel events give the impression of both a ghost like and real Eighth Symphony that suddenly disappears. But not entirely, because its story was not completely finished. A document exists which proves that the composer had not remained inactive.

This is an invoice dated the 4 September 1933 addressed to Sibelius by his copyist of German origin Paul Voigt, who from 1893 to 1900 then from 1910-1911 had been second violinist in Kajanus's orchestra: 'Most honourable Maestro, Herewith I deliver my work completed and hope that you, Herr Professor, will be satisfied with the result. I would also like to draw your attention, Herr Professor, to page 2, because it is not very clear where the F key should be introduced in the bassoon and cello parts. The price is '8mk per page' 23 pages = 184 Fmk (Finnmarks).'

On the back, Sibelius drafted a reply in German: 'Many thanks, SVP do not bind it yet. Perfectly written. Title: Sinfonia No8. End: pedal point. Directly continue the Largo. The whole will be about eight times more. Please accept at least 10 Fmk per page.' It can be deducted from this document that in September 1933, the first movement of the Eighth existed, that it was followed after a pedal point by a Largo, and that Sibelius estimated that the complete work covered (23x8=) 180 to 190 pages of manuscript. That corresponds to the description given by Schneevoigt in his letter of the 29 May: vast symphony in several movements. Nothing more is known.

The copyist's invoice of the 4 September 1933 and the outline of Sibelius' reply constitute the last real traces, emanating from the composer himself, of the Eighth Symphony. A page of sketches and a melodic fragment mixed with the sketches of the Seventh also survived, and it is possible that certain non-identified sketches from the 1930s and after had been destined for the Eighth. To speculate from that on what the work would have been is however fruitless. As Tawaststjerna notes, that whilst 1931 was a year of 'hope' 1933 was 'critical'.

Replying to a questionnaire for International Who's Who in 1930, Sibelius indicated 'Composition Op. 1-118 (including eight symphonies)'. However, this reply was not sent. The published list of Sibelius' 'opus' stopped officially at No116, and unofficially at No117. Everything indicates that in one way

or another he continued to work, on the Eighth included, to the end of his days.

CHAPTER 21

1930-1940

IN THE 1930s THE UK AND THE USA on the one hand and Germany on the other were greatly interested in Sibelius, but for very different reasons. France remained ignorant of Sibelius, as can be observed by the commentaries provoked in Paris by En saga. The work was programmed at Pasdeloup the 6 February 1926 by Rhené-Baton, whose real name was René Baton, who wrote to Sibelius the next day: ‘Great success. Three encores, and I was applauded by the orchestra. It is very rare here that a first hearing is so warmly greeted. (…) It gave me great pleasure to conduct your work, which I liked enormously.’

Rhené-Baton conducted En saga again in October 1930. Le Ménestrel found this music ‘personal, well thought out and well written’. But when Toscanini conducted it at the Palais Garnier—the Opera during a radio concert broadcast the 16 November 1933, the same review considered that as a score it was ‘empty, colourless, having rudimentary writing and instrumental procedures’. In Volume XVIII of the Encyclopédie française (10 January 1936), Henry Prunières could only say: ‘Sibelius, after having won glory with his symphonic poems on Finnish themes, wrote immense

symphonies whose religious and human aspirations recall those of Gustav Mahler. They enjoy great success in Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon countries.'

At the head of the Concerts Pasdeloup from 1918 to 1932, Rhené-Baton was at that epoch one of the rare French conductors to sincerely appreciate Sibelius. He often conducted in the north of Europe, and the 20 April 1936 he wrote from Helsinki to the conductor: 'I will have the great pleasure of making acquaintance with two of your works that I have not yet heard, Tapiola and Pelléas and Mélisande.'

In the 1920s, Sibelius was less played in Germany than before WWI. The cultural climate of the Weimar Republic was not propitious to it. His music was considered out of date, not with the times and without logic. It did not have a place in a Berlin marked by Neue Sachlichkeit (New objectivity), by new conceptions in matter of theatrical music and flirting with jazz. It did not fall within the 'health German tradition' then fiercely defended, brandishing the notion of Einfall (inspiration), by a Hans Pfitzner, as well as in the controversy between Busoni and the critic Paul Bekker who with his vast cantata based on Eichendorff's Von deutscher Seele (The German Soul) of 1920-1921.

The Berlin review Signale of the 15 December 1920, wrote of a 'Finnish concert': 'In a pale orchestral piece entitled Les Oceanides, Jean Sibelius neglected the lines preferring the colours, supposed to replace thematic invention.' Sibelius had

his partisans in Germany, but they were mostly in the conservative circles.

The composer and conductor Eugen Bodart wrote to Sibelius the 7 December 1930, for his 65th birthday: 'In the times in which we live, unfortunately empty of culture, your name and your art refuse the sensations of the day and the caprices of fashion, which for those of us who think and fight, renders them even more worthy and dignified. May you, honourable Maestro, succeed in the future as you did in the past in exploring the depths, in your works, of the secrets of the Nordic soul. (…) Poor Germany is in a sad state, and we await the great man who can liberate it and save it from complete decadence'.

In this letter Bodart spoke of the 'Nordic' soul, not of the Finnish soul, and like many of his compatriots, he lived in the expectation of a 'great man'. 'Nordic thought' was an integral part of National Socialist Ideology and was developed in Germany in the 1920s. In 1921 a Nordische Gesellschaft (Nordic Society) was founded in Lubeck. Initially apolitical, it fell under the control of Alfred Rosenberg in 1933, a native of Tallinn and principal theoretician of the NSDAP.

Under the banner of 'Nordic thought' cultural events were organised with the performance of Sibelius' works in Lubeck in 1921, in Heidelberg in 1924 and Kiel in 1929. Sibelius was even invited to participate as conductor at the Nordisches Musikfest (Nordic Music Festival) held in Heidelberg in June 1924. The organisers wrote to Sibelius: 'We hope to find an

ally in the accomplishment of our objectives, bring together our musical peoples and Nordic musicians, as well as (…) contribute to the interlinking of Nordic and German cultures'.

Ignorant of the specificity of Finland, one of them went as far as affirming in a report to the senate of the university, that it was a question of 'reinforcing the links the unite Germanic peoples'. Sibelius commenced by accepting the invitation, then asked Kajanus to go to Heidelberg in his place. Denmark was represented by Carl Nielsen and Sweden by Kurt Atterberg. With Paul Hindemith as viola, the Amar Quartet played Voces intimae. The Fifth was also performed. Finally the city of Heidelberg had to finance the festival's substantial financial loss.

In his visits to Berlin in 1928 and 1931, Sibelius did not mention a word of the political situation in Germany. Independently of the dramatic events that shook the land of Goethe and Beethoven during his life, he appreciated German culture and music. However he very soon learnt of the situation of the Jews under Hitler. As his correspondence with Günther Raphael demonstrates, and the decision taken in 1933 by Georg Boldemann, to quit the country with his wife and grandson. The 8 December 1933, Sibelius' sixty eighth birthday, Boldemann wrote to him from Sweden that he with Linda and Laci shared a small room 'for three like refugees. (…) We will stay here as long as we have our personal freedom, otherwise we shall continue to wander from country to country'.

In August 1934, the critic Friedrich Herzog wrote in Die Musik: ‘When we speak of National Socialist music of the future, it is unintentionally tendentious. As a revolutionary music it will be progressive and new, as national music it will be German, as socialist music it will be welcomed from the bottom of the heart by all of our fellow citizens, without any distinction of age, of class or of sex.’

Founded in 1901, then ‘falling into step’ in 1933, the venerable review Die Musik with Friedrich Herzog as editor then from April to September 1936 as chief editor, became the official organ for sound art in July 1934, of a new organisation in Alfred Rosenberg’s movement: the Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde. Rosenberg had his own very specific ideas. ‘Contrary to Hitler, whose racist conviction were based on the one hand on the sworn enemy represented by the Jews and on the other hand by the idealised image he had of the German people, Rosenberg in his book The Myth of the XX Century, considered the people of the North, ‘purer’ of race, a positive example and a source of renewal for Germans whose very existence was threatened. (…) He noted that Northern Europe had not yet reached the degree of urbanisation and rejection of nature as had Central Europe, where the uncontrolled growth of great urban centres had provoked economic, cultural and racial ‘chaos’, would inevitably result in ‘collapse and Bolshevism’. Countering this evolution was the greatest mission of National Socialism’.

Another document from the Rosenberg Bureau said this: ‘The civilisation of Scandinavian peoples is defined by the fact that the towns play a relative secondary role. (…) And here the spirit of the North meets the spirit of a new Germany’. In a third document there is the question of ‘the heroic conception of the world offered by the North, once incarnated by great leaders and statesmen, today by remarkable polar explorers, courageous sportsmen and audacious scientists, demonstrated by Ibsen’s “Brand” and “Peer Gynt”, and which draws us to Jan Sibelius’s music’.

After the Nazi’s took power, Rosenberg and his organisations were determined, though not always successfully, to intensify cultural relations between Germany and Northern Europe. They could not fail to ‘meet’ with Sibelius, though for many years Grieg had been the musician seen in Germany as the ‘Nordic’ composer par excellence. From 1933, Sibelius was in addition considered as replying, in his most known works and those most easily assimilated, to the criteria preached more or less explicitly and often nebulously in the spheres of power. These people cited him as an example of a national composer in the service of his people, close to nature, to popular ideas, heroic and solidly romantic.

Others in Germany as elsewhere, were in spite of everything at this epoch, his advocates for purely artistic reasons, the two approaches could obviously be combined, as in the case of conductors such as Helmuth Thierfelder and Hans Weisbach. In the same way, it happened that a number of newspapers did not

speak of Sibelius in politico-ideological terms, but seriously, which did not necessarily mean positively. This was ‘because contrary to the majority of other composers favoured and supported National Socialism, he had created music of value and worthy of the attention that earned him the recognition of those who, experts in music, camped vis-à-vis the regime on the critical position’.

It should be noted that the anti-urban ideology of Rosenberg did not correspond in the least to the ideas of Sibelius, though Knut Hamsun, who over the years became a fervent partisan of the Nazis, praised the values of the earth. It nevertheless remains that Sibelius was played more in Germany during the Nazi regime than during the Weimar Republic, the twelve years of the ‘thousand year Reich’ could in this respect be divided into two distinct periods. ‘During the 1930s, the somewhat forced interest in Sibelius and his music was above all of an ideological nature, and largely due to the concepts of ‘Nordic thought’, whilst after 1940, the ‘Nordic movement’ losing much of its force and influence, the German government was forced, for political and propaganda reasons, to favour Sibelius more strongly’.

To start Finland did not play a role in the foreign affairs of the Reich, this changed in the second half of 1940 with the perspective of the war with Russia looming. The interest in Finland then significantly grew for the ‘country of a thousand lakes’; and the nationality of Sibelius the ‘most famous of

Finns' as such took on new importance for the cultural and political Germans leaders.

Adolf Paul, who had never made a mystery of his sentiments for the extreme right, wrote to Sibelius the 11 October 1935: 'In any case Berlin has always been your great love. And Germany now!' Sibelius did not share this enthusiasm. Officially he never spoke for or against the politics or ideology of the Germany of Adolf Hitler. He was invited to the country but declined. He did not correspond with the high level officials of the regime and prudently reacted to the 'honours' bestowed on him, especially in 1935 and 1936 near to his seventieth birthday. These 'honours' nevertheless witnessed the importance that, without necessarily express or containing any opinion whatsoever on his music, or especially appreciating it, by certain officials and organisations. Hitler certainly preferred Bruckner, Wagner and Liszt.

The 1 July 1935, Sibelius received the Brahms medal from the City of Hamburg, discerned to 'remarkably' outstanding personalities who had contributed to the musical life of the city, which was certainly not his case. The idea apparently came from the mayor Carl Krogmann and the director of the Opera Heinrich Strohm, who wished to give shine to the 65th international festival of the Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein planned in Hamburg from the 1 to 7 June.

At the outset only honours for German personalities participating in the festival had been envisaged, but the minister Goebbels intervened so that foreign musicians should

be taken into consideration. Richard Strauss proposed the Swede Kurt Atterberg, the Italian Adriano Lualdi, the Frenchman Albert Roussel and the Finn Jean Sibelius. The first was the secretary general, and the three others vice-presidents, of the Ständiger Rat für die international Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten (the Standing Committee for International cooperation of Composers), resulted from the forum founded in 1934 by Goebbels to counterbalance the ISCM (The International Society for Contemporary Music) in the musical affairs of the Reich and the exterior. Strauss had appointed himself president, after having 'heard' from a distance, the three vice-presidents. Goebbels informed him the 25 May that 'politically, nothing opposed the Brahms medal being awarded to the four foreigners in consideration', adding however that there should be an Englishman. The happy winner for the nomination to the permanent committee from England was Herbert Bedford.

Political considerations as well those of prestige therefore played a more important role than purely artistic reasons. It was a question of Germany showing a spirit of opening and friendship towards Europe. The 14 July Krogmann sent Sibelius: 'the thanks of Hamburg for (his) work in the permanent committee, which had greatly contributed to the success of the festival'. Sibelius had evidently neither participated in the preparation of the festival, during which the Karelia suit was played, nor the least activity in the permanent committee1.

Still in June 1935, Sibelius was invited to the Nordisches Musikfest (Nordic Music Festival) organised at the end of the month in Lubeck by the Nordische Gesellschaft. The director of the society's music section, Fred Domes, wrote to him the 15 June that the festival's 'importance and consecration could not be achieved without the presence of the most important composer of the North (…) accept our invitation. (…) We believe that the Nordic music festival must inaugurate a new era of real cooperation, and open new avenues for Nordic music such as you have encouraged it'.

Faced with the reticence of the composer, the society asked Madetoja to intervene but to no avail. Sibelius did not go. At the opening concert, Wilhelm Furtwängler conducted the Berlin Philharmonic playing the Seventh Symphony, in between Variations on a theme of Haydn's by Brahms and Beethoven's Fifth.

The Lübecker Volkbote reported this programme was 'clear and without ambiguity', and celebrated 'Johannes Brahms, Low German, and the Finn Jean Sibelius, each in close communication with Nordic nature, (as well as) Beethoven, a combative and heroic specimen of Nordic man'. Adolf Paul came especially from Berlin: 'Furtwängler surpassed himself. (…) Fire and flame. And the orchestra! No need to say more. (…) Indescribable enthusiasm' (to Sibelius, 27 June). The composer drafted a letter of thanks to Furtwängler.

Though having expressed the feeling of the North in music like no other, Sibelius never manifested a particular liking for

'Nordic thought', or for the Nordische Gesellschaft, which had sent him its seal of honour on his seventieth birthday in December 1935 and performed his works in most of the many Nordische Musiktage (Nordic music days). One of the most important also took place in 1935, from the 28 April to 2 May in Wiesbaden. The 28 April the Seventh Symphony was played and the 2 May The Daughter of Pohjola.

For the Allgemeiner Musikalische Zeitung of the 10 May the symphony 'brought out all the characteristics that distinguish the Finnish master, long recognised in Germany', and the symphonic poem presented him 'to his great advantage'. The Newspaper recalled that one of the objectives of the event was 'the reinforcement of racial solidarity which today leads us to seek contact with the Nordic nations', and also spoke of a speech by Aino Ackte, 'present by chance in Wiesbaden'.

Helmuth Thierfelder, the leading conductor in Wiesbaden from 1934 to 1936 was the organiser of the Nordic music days, had conducted Sibelius' works, from the beginning of the 1920s Thierfelder established himself over a period forty years as one of his most fervent supporters. In 1922 he dedicated an entire concert to Sibelius in Leipzig that included The Swan of Tuonela, Concerto, melodies and the Fifth Symphony. The 25 October 1933, after a performance in Viipuri, he wrote to the composer: 'I am in your debt for all that your works have brought me, and in the future I will remain your herald rendering justice to the ethical incomparable dimension of your compositions.' The 26 February 1921, then in 1936, he

conducted in Helsinki, which enabled him to meet Sibelius expressing the esteem and friendship he held for him.

The homage that Thierfelder paid Sibelius in the Allgemeine Musikzeitung of the 6 December 1935 on his seventieth birthday showed that he was not amongst the declared adversaries of the regime:

‘Young Germany congratulates (you), and from the bottom of the heart! It promises to put right all that in the past, dear septuagenarian, all that which concerns you that has been neglected. (…) The World War, the Anglo-Saxon countries, less exposed to the forces of disintegration as victors than us here, have already tried to understand you and your importance, whilst here, after the war, we have abandoned ourselves to sterile artistic trends cut off from the people. In communion with your people and your country, you have on the contrary, during this period, created one after the other magnificent orchestral works. (…) Keeping a special place in ones heart for the masters of Nordic and like music is more than ever felt as a duty by Germany.’

In 1938 Sibelius also received one of the highest distinctions of the German state: the Goethe-Medaille für Kunst und Wissenschaft (The Goethe Medal for Arts and Sciences), created in 1932 by President Hindenburg for the centenary of the death of the writer. That year it had also been awarded to Chancellor Heinrich Brüning, Gerhart Hauptmann, Thomas Mann and Wilhelm Furtwängler. The Nazis distributed it less generously than their predecessors of the Weimar Republic. It

was henceforth supposed to honour personalities ‘who had reached greater age or celebrating a jubilee within the scope of their work’, or ‘to crown an artistic or scientific career’. Foreigners were in principal excluded.

The opinions concerning each candidate were transmitted by the Preussische Akademie der Künste (The Prussian Academy of Arts) or the relevant section of the Reichskulturkammer (The Reich Chamber of Culture). Goebbels evidently had his word, and at times had the last decision. The 19 October 1935, an assistant of Bernard Rust, Minister of Education, addressed himself to the Music section of the Preussische Akademie:

‘An important body has suggested honouring Jean Sibelius especially for his seventieth birthday. An election to the Akademie or the Goethe medal is suggested. I would like your opinion, if possible by return or alternative suggestions that could be taken into consideration.’ The ‘important body’ apparently ignored that Sibelius had already been a member of the Akademie for fourteen years. The principal instigator of the affair was the Rosenberg Bureau.

The 22 October the director of its Northern section was Thilo von Trotha, a sincere admirer of Sibelius, wrote to the ministry of education: ‘The 8 December, the great Finnish composer Jean Sibelius will celebrate his seventieth birthday, which will be officially celebrated in Anglo-Saxon countries and Germany. In Germany Sibelius festivities will be organised on a large scale in different regions of the Reich by the Nordische Gesellschaft. Given the place of Sibelius in the present musical

world—important musicians often qualify him as the greatest living symphonist—we would be very pleased if the Goethe medal was awarded to him.' The 7 December a note from the ministry of education was sent to that of home affairs: 'Taking into account the time available, we will not investigate the Aryan ancestry of Sibelius, but I suppose, given the recommendations of the Bureau of foreign affairs of the NSDAP, that no objection will be raised on this point.'

It was finally the director of the Northern section of the ministry of foreign affairs, Werner von Grundherr, the former counselor of the embassy in Helsinki, who, after having assured them that the Aryan ancestry of Sibelius was superfluous, decisively gave his approval for the attribution of the Goethe medal.

The 26 November, the relevant document was signed by Hitler: 'In recognition of the great significance of your works, the mark of your love for your country, I award you the Goethe Medal for Arts and Sciences created for the President of the Reich von Hindenburg.' Sibelius had been a Freemason for thirteen years, but the German authorities were unaware of this fact, otherwise, he would have certainly not received the medal. The 7 December, the eve of his seventieth birthday, it was presented to him by Wipert von Blücher, the German ambassador to Finland. The ambassador reported that Sibelius had declared feeling very honoured especially by this medal.

In 1936 Sibelius was made doctor honoris causa of the University of Heidelberg. Forty two academics, politicians,

diplomats, industrialists and artists from different countries, though no other composer, received the honour at the same time. The University of Heidelberg was one of the most contaminated by the Nazi regime, as well as the state of Baden where it was situated. In 1936 it celebrated the 550th anniversary of its foundation.

The preparation for the celebrations was closely surveyed by Goebbels, who on the occasion ‘honoured’ it by his presence. However, the university wanted to be considered as the sole organiser, so that from overseas it would be seen as apolitical. For the same reasons it also decided to honour foreigners. Three Japanese, four Italians five Americans, five Scandinavians including one Dane, four Swedes and three Finns were awarded honorary degrees, but no British (who were struck of the list of candidates). That of Sibelius was proposed the 12 February at the last moment, by the vice-rector of the university, Johannes Stein, a doctor in medicine: ‘He (Sibelius) is the most important musical personality in the countries of the North and amongst their peoples. He creates from the latent source and immortal heritage of his country’s melodies, of which he is its greatest son. He works in the respect of the unequalled greatness of German music, and is inspired by it whilst seeking his own path. (…) Jan (sic) Sibelius is a true friend of Germany. He is in close communion with the German national-socialist, almost like no other in great friendly countries.’

Concerning this last point Ruth Maria Gleissner writes that in all probability, Johannes Stein, who was not interested in music, 'deliberately exaggerated, to complete his argument, in conformity with the laws of rhetoric, with a particularly convincing appeal. It is however possible that given the intense propaganda made by national-socialism in favour of Sibelius, especially in 1935 for his seventieth birthday, Stein had been sincerely persuaded that he could only be a 'friend' of the national-socialist state'.

A member of the SS from May 1933, Stein was a convinced Nazi, which counted a great deal during his brilliant career at the University of Heidelberg. 'Independently of the question of knowing whether Johannes Stein acted on his own initiative or that of the party, the affair clearly shows that the composer was of importance amongst influential national socialist partisans, and that they considered him as compatible with their political, ideological and musical-aesthetical ideas'.

Several candidates were rejected because of their links with Freemasonry, whilst Sibelius, as already in the case of the Brahms medal, was subject to no investigation. The faculty of philosophy finally honoured him as 'the creator and leader of Finnish music, who sung the immortal myths of his people in his music'. No mention was made concerning real or imaginary connections with Germany.

In a letter dated 30 June 1936, Sibelius informed them that he would not be present at the ceremony: 'At the present it is impossible for me to travel abroad.' After receiving the

diploma for his doctorate in September, the German ambassador Wipert von Blücher cited him in his report as declaring ‘this great personal distinction’ recalled his success in Heidelberg in 1901. Willingly or not, Sibelius extracted the affair from its national-socialist context. Inversely, the regime, by honouring an artist, whose international prestige was immense, but who no one could suspect as sympathising with their ideas, could make believe that the undertaking was not guided by political considerations.

In 1936 Sibelius was also invited to participate as guest of honour at the Musical Days organised in Braunschweig by the Hitlerjungend. The idea of inviting him apparently came from the cultural bureau of the Reichsjungendführung (The Youth Movement of the Reich). It head Karl Cerff submitted a proposal to the bureau and received this reply: ‘Your idea to invite Johannes Sibelius has received the full approbation of Reichsleiter Rosenberg. I would simply draw your attention to the fact that Sibelius now seventy years old, is not sure of being able to brave the efforts of the journey.’

Karl Cerff insisted, and Thilo von Trotha, who had meet Sibelius in Finland the previous March, transmitted the invitation to Sibelius the 21 September: ‘You can see to which point your star shines again I Germany, now that all of the ideas which refused not to allow our authentic German music to speak, but also your work. As you can see, it is the musical German youth that feels close to your work.’

Once again Sibelius refused. The 27 September, he replied to von Trotha: 'I thank you with all my heart for your very kind letter, with the invitation that is so flattering for me from the Hitlerjungend. Unfortunately it is impossible to accept this now, but by the present wish a brilliant success for the Musical Days in Braunschweig.'

'Once again,' writes Gleissner (2002, page 178), 'Sibelius succeeded the exploit of politely but firmly refusing his participation in an event representative of the national-socialist state, without giving any precise reasons, without taking a political position or offending those who had invited him'. The regime's propaganda could not employ the expression 'so flattering for me'. Accompanied by a message from Goebbels and Peter Raabe and the conductor Hermann Abendroth, leader of the Gewandhause Orchestra of Leipzig since 1934, Sibelius letter was fully published in the review Musik und Volk, with the exception however of the word 'now', which the Reichsjungendführung hoped would avoid giving the impression that it was National Socialist Germany that Sibelius refused to visit.

At Braunschweig, the 1 November Rosenberg gave a speech on 'The people and art', no work of Sibelius's was programmed, as was the case during the other Music Days of the Hitlerjungend. Hostile to 'late romanticism' the Hitlerjungend cultivated a preference in music to the Germanic tradition of Bach to Wagner as well as a repertory of marches, songs for large gatherings, and festive pieces by moderately

modernist composers such as Georg Blumensaat, a student of Hindemith, Max Trapp, Heinrich Spitta or Wolfgang Fortner. A good part of German youth was however attracted by the North, its culture and its myths, which greatly encouraged the officials of the regime.

Finally it appears that it was less Sibelius' music than his position in his country, his charismatic personality and his values that they were supposed to represent, which earned him the consideration of the Third Reich. 'What is significant in this sense is the fact that those who acted in (his) favour almost always came from Rosenberg's close circle, whilst the ministry for propaganda (that of Goebbels) had little to do with honours and praise (that Sibelius) received in the 1930s. (…) The artisans of the government's 'Realpolitik' did not yet see what could lead them to making special favours for a representative of Finland and put him to the service of their goals'.

Vis-à-vis the Anglo-Saxon countries, and especially England, certain spokesmen of the Nazis regime felt a clear inferiority complex. The composer was better known and appreciated in these countries than Germany, and for a long time. Whether they were pushed by political motivations or not these Germans were right in this sense.

In 1934, a book appeared in London, three years after that of Cecil Gray, was a landmark concerning its commentaries on Sibelius: Music Ho! A Study of Music in Decline by the composer, conductor and musicologist Constant Lambert. Principally interest by ballet, he worked with Diaghilev, the

cinema, Duke Ellington's jazz, French music from Charier to Satie, Constant Lambert wrote Music Ho!, a title borrowed from Shakespeare's Anthony and Cleopatra, a brilliant, provoking and stimulating work, often lucid and demonstrating an exceptional breadth of view, but also marked by social pessimism.

Like Cecil Gray's book, Music Ho! contributed significantly to the Sibelius cult of the 1930s and 1940s. Besides music, Lambert found his arguments in the world of visual arts and literature, offering for example an interesting parallel between Schönberg and James Joyce. 'It is a study of trends rather than musicians, and the individual works are cited less as such but rather as specimens of a particular trend', he wrote in the preface.

Frequently used since, the fundamental thesis of Music Ho! is that the musical revolutions of the 20th century, or at least, given the date of the book's publication, the first third, happened before 1914 with Bartok, the Debussy of Images for orchestra and Jeux, the Stravinsky of the Rite and Schönberg of Erwartung and of Pierrot lunaire, and that they had been followed after the war by a decade (the twenties) that was certainly 'vertiginous', but very much marked by dispersion and imitation, reaction and precocious senility. Of the five parts of the book, totalling eleven chapters, the first is entitled 'Pre-War Pioneers' and the second 'Post-War Copiers'.

The Musical Times of February 1934 wrote: 'Last season was prodigious for Sibelius. It can be said now that those that often

attended the concerts in London have a good knowledge of the seven symphonies, as well as several other works.' The 29 May, the 1 and 4 June, Schneevoigt and the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra1 gave three concerts of Finnish music at the Queen's Hall. On the programme were Sibelius' First, Second, Fourth, Sixth and Seventh Symphonies, three symphonic poems The Swan of Tuonela, The Daughter of Pohjola and Night Ride and Sunrise as well as Luonnotar (with the soprano Helmi Liukkonen), a work not heard in England since it was premiered at Gloucester by Aino Ackte in September 1913.

Schneevoigt also conducted pieces by Kuula, Klami, Madetoja and Raitio. An article that appeared in the Musical Times of July showed the contrary to Germany, England tended to draw Sibelius out of his national context, a vision that could only please the composer of Tapiola: 'Finnish composers have not disturbed Sibelius in his solitude. (…) Sibelius can be imagined as a general at the head of a national school of composers, and it has never been possible to prevent his music from being considered as the sublimation of the national idiom. (…) In reality Sibelius is as isolated in his country as in Europe.'

During their visit to London, Schneevoigt and the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra made studio recordings of the Sixth Symphony, and also live recordings of the Fourth and Luonnotar at their concert the 4 June. Walter Legge wrote to Sibelius in a letter dated 14 June 1934:

'Copies of these records have been sent to you today, and I am anxiously waiting for you to tell me that you are happy with them. I am certain that this will be the case, especially the Sixth. Write to me SVP as soon as you have heard them, because I am in a hurry to release them with your quartet played by the Budapest Quartet for the third volume of the Sibelius Society. (Your approval) will be important for the distribution of your music both in Europe and in America as well as Great Britain, especially concerning the two works (the Sixth and Voces intimae) rarely performed here for the moment. Ernest New, Cecil Gray, Arnold Bax and Harriet Cohen send you their warmest regards. I hope (…) that the Eighth Symphony is almost ready. Speaking of this, I have heard that you have written a concerto for cello. Is this true? Is the work published?'

Neither having been approved by Sibelius nor Legge, who found that the beginning of the finale of the symphony was too fast, the Schneevoigt versions of the Fourth and Luonnotar did not appear until 1976. Volume III of the Sibelius Society was therefore limited to the Sixth and Voces intimae. The 21 July 1933, when the Budapest Quartet worked on Voces intimae, Mischa Schneider, the quartet's cellist, wrote to Sibelius congratulating him and asking him a few questions.

During the summer of 1934, Walter Legge made his first of his four visits to Finland. On his return to England, he had a new phonograph sent to the composer by HMV. The 4 October, at the Leeds Festival, he made a live recording of extracts from

The Tempest suite with Sir John Beecham and the London Philharmonic Orchestra.

The 11 November Sibelius wrote to him: ‘The agreeable hours that we spent together made me very happy. (…) For the phonograph, I have 220 volts and an alternating current. I am very curious about the records. For the moment I have not received them.’ They arrived shortly after, and the 25th November, Sibelius wrote: ‘In the Prelude, the woodwinds and the brass should be louder and the strings muted. Canon. The canon in the middle is inaudible. Should be played a little softer. The ‘Choir of the winds’ is not integrated here, remove it. The ‘Dance of the Nymphs’ much slower, space at 112. ‘The Naiads’ slower, Andantino p. con moto, space at about 80. Many this are successful, like ‘Miranda’, where the firm hand of Sir Thomas is clearly felt. Several pieces are made to be recorded, others (like ‘The Oak’) not. The whole is rather confused, and the musicians should feel the music more.’

The new phonograph finally arrived in Helsinki and the 18 December he wrote a warm letter of thanks: ‘You can imagine, or rather you cannot imagine, the pleasure that your royal gift gives me. The perfection of this record player, a real miracle, stupefies me. The music of The Tempest now sounds completely different. It is sure that under the direction of Sir Thomas Beecham the prelude sounds excellent in this reproduction. It is also true for ‘The Oak’. For the rest, I can only repeat what I have already written. (…) The records

should be improved here and there. 'The choir of the winds' is now perfect.'

The 11 January 1935, Legge in turn thanked Sibelius: 'I am pleased to learn that the record player sounds so well and that you now find merit in the recording of The Tempest1. Sir Thomas Beecham is going to conduct your Fourth Symphony at the end of January. He has already had three rehearsals and is working hard with the records of Schneevoigt, but several things on the records do not correspond to the score. Sir Thomas has therefore asked me to get your reply to several questions. Here are the questions.' They were quite numerous and concerned especially the tempos and the nuances. Sibelius replied by telegram the 16 January and by letter the 17th, and especially in the letter with metronomic indications and a very precise commentary on the last six bars of the work. Sibelius' metronomic indications vary greatly from the tempos of Schneevoigt.

In more or less respecting the information sent by Sibelius, Sir Thomas Beecham conducted the Fourth in Edinburgh the 26 January, in Sheffield on the 28th and the 31st at the Queen's Hall in London. On that day a telegram arrived from Legge in Ainola: 'Beecham conducts radio your Fourth Symphony this evening 8h.15. Listen SVP he and I wait for critics with great interest.' The 1 February Sibelius wrote to Legge that he found the performance 'excellent. It is perfect. Listening to it I noted the following: Second movement (…) Tranquillo if this was a little softer the effect would no doubt be greater. Third

movement (…) strings even more largamente. Fourth movement (…) The passage between R and S could be more powerful. Though? It remains for me to express my deepest admiration for the masterly conducting of Sir Thomas. But for me it was unique and remarkable.

In the Daily Telegraph of the 15 December 1934, under the title 'A visit to Sibelius—Discussion around the table of a great composer', Legge described his visit to Ainola of the previous summer: Since four of five years, the musical world has waited for the completion of Sibelius' Eighth Symphony. Almost two years have passed since the announcement of its first performance in London, and there is still no sign of the work that is so waited for. I had hoped that face to face with Sibelius himself, I would find him disposed to tell me whether yes or no the new symphony had a chance of be materialised in 1935. (…) nut even though I had the possibility of spending a good deal of time in his company, I did not discover a single thing about this symphony, which was a little unwise to discuss with him. On all subjects other than his own music, Sibelius is a brilliant, enriching and amusing conversationalist.'

Sibelius had apparently told Legge that he recalled Brahms as a person 'with a not very recommendable air, scruffily dressed in a worn out suit bearing the marks of numerous meals and completely grey from the ash of his eternal cigars', of Hugo Wolf as 'a curious little man with a nervous air and a regard of the clearest and most extraordinary intensity' and of Bruckner as 'a dishevelled individual, a broad back and a squeaky voice,

very tall—we called him the hippopotamus with a nightingales voice'.

Legge also reported these words: 'In the course of my life, the musical world has moved three times. When I was young the Mecca of music was Vienna. Then until the war it was Berlin. After the war and until the Great Depression it was America. Now it is London, where music is more abundant and better than any other city in the world. Your tastes are more eclectic than any other place in the world, you allow young composers to be heard, and suffer less than any other country from national prejudices.'

Under the title 'Conversation with Sibelius' Walter Legge published other impressions in the Musical Times of March 1935: 'You are received with extreme generosity, almost embarrassing, and he prefers to discuss literature, painting or politics rather than speak of music.' To believe Legge, Sibelius declared that Verdi had written 'real theatrical music', that he did not understand why Ernest Bloch was so little appreciated, that in his opinion 'Alban Berg (was) the best work of Schönberg' and also: 'I wonder if Bax realises how lucky he is to have publishers who publish his pocket scores as soon as they are written.' This phrase did not fall on deaf ears. And Legge concluded: 'He refuses to say a word on the Eighth Symphony, that the whole world is waiting for, and for which emissaries arrive from America and London for news at Järvenpää, simple to hear him say "Don't count your chickens

before they are hatched' or Ich will nichts sagen (I won't tell you) or What will you drink?'

The 10 April 1935 Legge informed the composer that he himself and Sir Thomas Beecham envisaged organising a grand Sibelius Festival in London for his seventieth birthday: 'We would very much like to include in the programme of concerts (there will be five or six) as many little known works as possible. Especially Kullervo, Lemminkäinen and the Maiden and Lemminkäinen in Tuonela, which have never been preformed here. I know that the manuscripts exist. (…) Another question. It comes from Sir Thomas Beecham alone, and knowing how you detest discussing it, I hate myself for asking it, but he insists. Could we hope to give your Eighth Symphony in November?'

Sibelius replied the 20 April: 'The manuscripts of Kullervo, Lemminkäinen and the Maidens and Lemminkäinen in Tuonela do not belong to me. They were lost for forty years. I will send the as soon as possible1. But I do not recommend you give Kullervo. (…) I can say nothing about the Eighth Symphony. My best wishes to Sir Thomas Beecham, Ernest Newman and yourself.'

The 27 June Legge had the pleasure of informing Sibelius that he had persuaded Breitkopf & Härtel to publish the pocket scores of the First Symphony, the Fourth, Tapiola and the Swan of Tuonela. He also announced his next visit to Finland to hear Koussevitzky, and asked him to intervene so that Beecham was invited to Helsinki—in September if possible – 'so that he can

conduct at least one concert of your music there. Naturally I have said nothing to him, but I am sure that he would accept, and that nothing would be of more pleasure for him'. Sibelius replied the 4 July: 'I congratulate you for the pocket scores. I am delighted. Concerning the visit of Mr Koussevitzky in September, I have heard said that he will conduct certain of my compositions. However, I think it has nothing to do with my birthday, which is on the 8 December. A celebration is envisaged in one way or another, but for the moment it has not been discussed with me. Personally, I am against the least celebration, and if possible, I will not participate at any festival. (…) Further, I have never tried to influence musical life in Helsinki.'

Beecham who did not perform in the Finnish capital until 1954, conducted a concert in London the 7 November 1935 during which the Finnish Ambassador Georg Gripenberg, an intimate of Mannerheim, was received the Philharmonic Society gold medal awarded to Jean Sibelius. Beecham conducted the Sixth Symphony following a concerto grosso of Locatelli, the English premiere of the concerto for cello after Monn by Schönberg as well as Dvorak's Eighth. In the Manchester Guardian of the 9th, Walter Legge wrote that the Sixth had never been as well performed in London, and Schönberg's concerto, a pastiche, was neither successful or adroit: 'Its only interest was that it had been written by the composer of Verklärte Nacht, the Gurrelieder, Pierrot lunaire, Die glückliche Hand and the Variations pour orchestra. (…) In similar such pastiches, other contemporaries, for example

Stravinsky in Pulcinella and Strauss in The Bourgeois Gentleman or the Suite after Couperin, had shown more taste and style.'

The Philharmonic Society gold medal was awarded to Sibelius for his seventieth birthday. In Finland a book was published for the event by Karl Ekman junior, written in cooperation with the composer (its form as 'official biography' is undeniable), it was translated into English the following year and then revised in 1956. Great festivities were organised and Sibelius finally accepted participating, it was his last appearance in Public.

He left for Helsinki with Aino the morning of the 8 December. At the concert, the first part of which was broadcast in Finland and the USA, and at the banquet which followed were the former heads of state, Mannerheim, Ståhlberg and Relander (Svinhufvud was ill), the future president Kyösti Kallio, and the prime ministers of Sweden, Norway and Denmark.

The press celebrated the event on the first page, which was also the case of The Times of London, and telegrams of congratulations arrived from Richard Strauss, Vaughan Williams and Ottorino Respighi, conductors such as Felix Weingartner, Wilhelm Furtwängler and Otto Klemperer, the bassist Fedor Chaliapine, whilst in Denmark Armas Järnefelt conducted Finlandia, the First Symphony, extracts from The Tempest and The Liberated Queen. During the banquet, loudspeakers broadcast live from New York two movements of

the Second Symphony conducted by Klemperer. A photo taken during the concert shows Aino sitting between her husband and Mannerheim, and another, taken during the banquet Sibelius is seen sitting facing Aino from behind and in conversation with Mannerheim his neighbour.

The 14 December Sibelius thanked in French Rosa Newmarch for her wishes: ‘Me, with my seventy years, I almost don’t feel them, though my wish for peace to compose has become enormous. Peace, I really have it here, but this autumn has been very strange, interviews – often quite stupid -, photographers, visitors, etc. I am still thinking of a visit to England to see you.’ The next day, Aino added also in French: ‘Allow me to join in the congratulations for the birthday. Please accept the kindest wishes from our family and our house, where we have already lived four years alone, the tow of us. All the five girls are married and living in Helsinki. (…) The president of the Republic of Finland gave my husband a crown of laurel leaves on behalf of the Finnish nation. (…) You can image dear Madame, how happy I felt. (…) We stayed in town for a few days with our eldest daughter, but now we are already at home amongst our big trees and the white snow.’

In January 1936, Adrian Boult and the BBC Symphony Orchestra recorded The Oceanides, Night Ride and Sunrise and The Bard. The latter did not appear, though The Oceanides and Night Ride and Sunrise formed together with The Violin Concerto, recorded in 1935 by Heifetz, Beecham and the London Philharmonic, the IV volume of the Sibelius Society.

Sibelius found this records ‘marvellous’ and Heifetz’s performance ‘masterly’ (letter to Walter Legge the 2 April 1936). This first recording of the concerto greatly contributed to the renown of the work.

The following summer, Sibelius welcomed Olin Downes for the fourth time. Shortly after, in Paris, Koussevitzky had spoken with the journalist: ‘If you see Sibelius, ask him for the love of God I cannot have the Eighth Symphony. I am asking for it on my knees. Appeal to him to keep me informed.’ After his return to the USA, Downes published in the New York Time of the 20 September 1936 an article entitled ‘With Jean Sibelius in the Kingdom of Sagas’.

He described Sibelius as a man ‘of powerful stature and massive. His massive size is reflected by his forehead and by his jaw. But his eyes shone, and his traits were sensitivity and movement incarnated’. Concerning the Eighth Downes reported that he had nervously declared that ‘two movements were written’ and that ‘the rest were ready in his head’, but he neither liked ‘to precipitate things’ nor ‘deliver a score before it being completely satisfied with it’.

Downes insisted, asking in the name of the public, how many movements were foreseen and so forth. Sibelius, Downes continued in his article, ‘recognised the reason for my questions, disposed as he was to do something for a friend, but he was tormented. He murmured a few incoherent words. His face was agitated. On which, in despair, he turned towards me.

“Ich kann nicht” (I cannot), he exploded in German, and sighed deeply’.

CHAPTER 22

1937-1945

OLIN DOWNES DID NOT GIVE UP on the contrary. The 14 October 1937, in an incredible letter and more 'indiscrete' than ever, he even told Sibelius what his mother thought of the question: 'I very much regret not being able to come to Finland last summer. Another thing, which I think is very important. My mother and I often speak of you, she has again asked me where your Eighth Symphony is, and I told her that you I had decided to spare you from any mention of this work, since you are so often disturbed by the many people who question you on this subject.

This is what she replied: "Tell Mr Sibelius that what worries me more is not his Eighth Symphony, which I know he will finish in time, but his Ninth. He should crown his series of works in this form with a ninth symphony which will be the climax and the synthesis of all that he has accomplished, leaving us a work worthy of one of the rare persons who can be counted amongst the real inheritors and descendants of Beethoven." And dear Maestro, I beg you to take these words very seriously, even though they come from someone that you do not know personally. (…) I know that to complete your destiny as a creator, your spirit demands more than one more

symphony. I am more than ever impressed when the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Koussevitzky performed – superbly – your Seventh Symphony last summer at the Berkshire Music Festival. (…) More than ever I feel that the world and the future have need of at least two more new symphonies from Sibelius, it is why with my mother, I ask you to think not only of completing the Eighth, but also a climax that will be the Ninth.'

The year had commenced with an important work, it was the English premiere of the still unperformed Lemminkäinen suite. Schneevoigt should have conducted this, but he fell ill and was replaced by Henry Wood, who conducted it at the end of February 1937 at the Bournemouth Festival. After Wood wrote to Sibelius announcing the success of the work and informed him that he would programme the two pieces during the following season of Promenade Concerts. In fact Wood presented the seven symphonies (not in chronological order) during the 1937 season of Promenade Concerts, plus the Concerto with the Hungarian violinist Emil Telmanyi, who was for a time the son-in-law of Carl Nielsen, as well as several symphonic poems already known in England. 'As far as we can remember, only Liszt was honoured in this way during these last years,' the Observer noted without any after thoughts the 29 August 1937. The Times of the 27 August found the concerto 'mediocre', but was enthusiastic over Les Fiancées du Batelier.

The 10th September The Times compared the Sixth Symphony to the fugue in D-major from Book II of Bach's Well Tempered Clavier, and the Observer of the same date with the first movement of Beethoven's Waldstein Sonata, 'constructed on similar thematic ideas—especially the five finger exercise. (…) The symphony ended in a whisper, and the audience hesitated, was it the moment to applaud?'

Shortly after on the 27 and 29 October and the 1 November, Sir Thomas Beecham recorded the Fourth Symphony for the Sibelius Society's Volume V. The 19 November Legge probably filled with doubts telegrammed Sibelius for metronomic details. Sibelius replied the next day. Proofs were then sent to the composer, who replied on the 29th. 'I have just received the records. This symphony was not especially made to be recorded, it requires a balance that is different to that indicated in the score. The solo episodes are at times completely inaudible. Unfortunately, I can say nothing of the sound in general, the apparatus that you sent me is completely out of service after being repaired here. I must go—against my will—to Helsinki to listen to the records, and I will write to you in more detail. The tempos are good, but I prefer it softer in the last movement from letter S.' Two days later, the 30 November, Sibelius telegrammed to Legge, perhaps after having heard the records again: 'Records of Sir Thomas excellent. Cancel letter of 28/11.'

Forty years later, Legge related a story that no doubt been exaggerated and which dresses up the incidents related to this

recording. He writes that after having received a letter of four pages from Sibelius criticising the tempos and expression, he had transmitted the contents to Sir Thomas Beecham adding that certain passages should be repeated but that it would blow up the budget, then Beecham's secretary called his own asking her the private telephone number of Sibelius and that finally Sir Thomas had called 'Old Sib' and in all probability persuaded him to the send a telegram of congratulations.

Legge and Beecham then found themselves face to face with Beecham waving his telegram. 'At which point I read him the letter. With his most friendly smile, he told me: "You have won this hand, my dear fellow. We are going to record this dammed piece again, and I will pay the orchestra. I will take the symphony on a tour in the provinces, and you will participate at all the rehearsals with the score in your hand and the letter from this old bandit in front of you." When I remarked that the Sibelius' Fourth Symphony was a hard nut to crack for a provincial audience, he simply replied: "Let it to me." Every morning, he rehearsed the Fourth, and every evening he substituted it for the popular pieces that had been programmed, (…) congratulating the perspicacity of the audience for having asked him 'to play what was no doubt the greatest symphony of the twentieth century" – Sibelius' Fourth'.

In reality it was in January 1935 and not at the end of 1937 that Sir Thomas Beecham brought the Fourth to the provinces. In any case it was after having conducted it the 2 December 1937 at the Queen's Hall that it was recorded on the 10th. It

was this version that was included in the Sibelius Society's Volume V, with in addition, also conducted by him, The Return of the Lemminkäinen and six extracts from The Tempest. The 21st of the same month, Legge could not prevent himself from sending a telegram to Ainola: 'I have read that your Eighth Symphony was finished. Could Sir Thomas count on the first performance in London next year? Best regards from both of us for Christmas and the New Year.' The reply was not late in coming (24 December): 'News concerning symphony premature. Stop. Regards. Sibelius.'

In March 1937, just after that of Karl Ekman, another book on the Finnish composer was published in London entitled Sibelius: A Close-Up by Bengt von Törne. Like that of Ekman, this rather hagiographical book of memories often problematic, puts numerous declarations on the lips of Sibelius that have since been often reproduced that are not always authentic.

In 1938, the work of Bengt von Törne was the subject of a controversial article in the Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung, full of bad faith, condescending, arrogant and even insulting written by Theodor W. Adorno. This article was not a report, because underhandedly, the work of Bengt von Törne was not even mentioned. That this sometimes very naive work had irritated Adorno is comprehensible, but he should have criticised the author, not just Sibelius, and should have not imagined that all the opinions expressed had been dictated by 'the master' Sibelius to 'his student' von Thorne. In a letter to

Sibelius dated February 1940, George Boldemann saw things more clearly: ‘I very much regret the memories of your student. I know you for almost fifty years and often heard you speak of Wagner, for example, in a manner such that I cannot understand how this man has been able to accumulate such false ideas.’

Founded in 1932, the Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung (Social Research Journal) was the organ of the Institute for Social Research founded in 1923 and headed since 1930 in Frankfurt by Max Horkheimer. Adorno was born in Frankfurt, from his childhood he had a deep interest in music and philosophy and was marked by the works of Hegel, Marx and Freud. The 5 September 1920, at the age of only seventeen, he wrote to Schönberg that Pierrot Lunaire ‘signified—in spite of Mahler—the greatest feat of modern music’.

In 1925, he studied in Vienna with Alban Berg, then from 1930, worked closely with Horkheimer and his Institute, whose principal studies were the rise of Fascism and Authoritarianism in Europe. In 1933 Horkheimer moved to Switzerland then in 1940 immigrated to the USA where the Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung continued to be published until 1940 in New York.

In 1935, when Peter Raabe succeeded Richard Strauss as President of the Chamber of Music of the Reich, he himself was succeeded by a young conductor Herbert von Karajan as Director of Music in Aachen. Invited by Per Linfors of the Swedish radio, Karajan gave three concerts in Stockholm at the

beginning of 1938, the theme of one of the concerts was contemporary Nordic music with notably the Sixth of Sibelius. Von Karajan met Simon Parmet, brother of the composer Moses Pergament, at a rehearsal in the Swedish capital for a performance of the same work to be conducted by Parmet. This double event marked Parmet for ever and he remained very attached to Sibelius, and in particular the Sixth, making three recordings produced in 1955, 1966 and 1977.

In London it had become almost normal to consecrate a whole evening to Sibelius. The 2 December 1937, Beecham presented the three most difficult symphonies together on the same programme: the Sixth, Seventh and Fourth. Walter Legge wrote: ‘Before the end of the Fourth, the dour, grumpy, bust of Beethoven placed before the tribune at the Philharmonic Society concerts had more than once thrown a sardonic glance at the back of Sir Thomas, as if to say “What gloomy entertainment”. The rare persons who had left the concert hall at the end of this work must have been surprised to see that life still continued in the world. Sir Thomas had wisely completed the programme with the Karelia suite, to show that the Finnish Nestor had in reality a face of Janus, with a joyously Bacchanalian side – which these three symphonies hid. These works make no concession to the listner. (…) Together, they constitute the sum of Sibelius’ thoughts in matters of concision and symphonic construction. (…) Little music is so inhabited as these three symphonies, and none of these is so little influenced by other composers. Music so little civilised and so uncomfortable is really the antithesis of the personality and

way of living of Sir Thomas. The English base of Sibelius is, if it can be said, the opposite of these delicately engraved and so pertinently polysyllabic phrases. (…) His performance of the Six Symphony has taught us more of this inflexible score than ever before, he had opened a path through it without the least regard for the moments its offers to be brilliantly efficiently. London has never heard a comparable performance of this work. Sir Thomas also gave the best performance ever heard in London of the Fourth Symphony'.

Five months later, Legge proudly announced to Sibelius that Beecham wanted to hold a festival of his works in the autumn: 'There will be six concerts—five with a large orchestra and one with a small orchestra, string quartet and singers. Sir Thomas will conduct all of the concerts himself. We shall present al of the symphonies as well as the following works (Legge gave a list of most of the symphonic poems including the complete Lemminkäinen suite, the concerto and the romances for violin and orchestra, Luonnotar, Scènes historiques, In Memoriam, The Song of the Athenians, The Tempest, The Origin of Fire, Valse triste and Karelia). We hope to have Heifetz for the concerto and the two romances (serenades) for violin and orchestra, in short we shall spare no effort to make this festival worthy of you and your works. We hope for one thing more, your personally presence, to be honoured in the country where your works are so popular. The festival will take place in the last week of October and the first two weeks of November. Can I ask you in the name of Sir Thomas, and as a mark of personal favour to your thousands of English admirers and myself, to

consent to come to London for this great occasion? Everything will be done to ensure your comfort and tranquillity, and to make your stay as happy as you could wish it to be.'

The reply was not long in coming (17 May): 'Your letter gave me great pleasure. It is a splendid idea and very important for my music. Unfortunately I cannot promise to come to England this autumn. I will write to you later this subject. With my most cordial best wishes, your friend, Jean Sibelius.'

After having heard of the details of the project Henry Wood, who was considered as the doyen of English conductors and as appreciated as Beecham, who was ten years younger, tended to think that Beecham got in his way, wrote to Sibelius the 29 October: 'It is extraordinary for me to learn today in carefully reading the press that Sir Thomas Beecham—in capitals—is going to have what is called a SIBELIUS FESTIVAL. They seem to have inexplicably forgotten that during this difficult 1937 season of Promenade Concerts, I had myself given what in reality was a Sibelius Festival, and conducted your seven symphonies. I have the impression that since this great undertaking took place during a series of concerts, it went unnoticed, without anyone remarking it. Your friend is profoundly hurt by this. Anyway, I hope with all my heart to be able to perform your Eighth Symphony and other symphonies to come1.

The six concerts of the festival took place between the 27 October and 12 November 1938 with in addition Voces intimae, La Tristesse du printemps, Le Roi Christian II, Pelléas

et Mélisande and melodies sung by Aulikki Rautawaara. The 11 November, the concerto was performed not with Heifetz, but again by Emil Telmanyi.

The two serenades by the Finnish violinist Anja Ignatius, who five years later recorded the concerto in Berlin under the direction of Armas Järnefelt. Eva Paloheimo, Sibelius's eldest daughter, was present at one of the concerts, and Sibelius who was at home listened to certain of the concerts on the radio. Beecham's festival covered a large scope of works greater than that of Wood, and day after the first concert The Times reported:

'The concert hall was full, partly because Sibelius is the great name of the moment, and no doubt because Sir Thomas Beecham had not organised a festival consecrated to one composer unless the composer himself had made a profound and very personal impression on him. It is a good augur, and we can expect very outstanding performances.'

In Berlin, Adolf Paul had evidently heard of this prestigious series, remarking in his letter to Sibelius of the 15 December: 'Sir Thomas Beecham is in the habit of giving concerts here. Hoping that the next time, it will be uniquely of your works.' Beecham had decided he would no longer conduct in Germany thus there was no 'next time'.

On the heels of the festival, in November 1938 and in June-July 1939, recordings were made for the Sibelius Society Volume VI, all conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham, included

were En Saga, The Bard, In Memoriam, the prelude of The Tempest, three extracts from Pelléas et Mélisande and Valse triste.

* * *

In New York they were preparing for the World Fair and Olin Downes was the director of music. Downes developed an ambitious preparatory programme with an 'emblematic of the Fair's national, international and community aspects' with folk dances from six different nations and American folk music', and to finish Finlandia. The 15 May 1938, he did not fail to write to Sibelius:

'If between now and then your Eighth is ready, Doctor Koussevitzky, who will be at the Fair for two weeks with the Boston Symphony Orchestra, will accept conducting the world premiere here. You are therefore assured that the symphony will be very carefully prepared and played by what in my opinion is the best symphonic orchestra in the world. If we have this premiere, it will be broadcast throughout the whole world, and of course we will do everything to announce it to the public in advance. My last and most sincere wish, dear Maestro, is that this performance could taken place in your presence, with you here as our guest of honour. If you come, I would like you to be here for the rehearsals of the symphony, so that (…) Dr Koussevitzky could benefit in the smallest detail from your advice. (…) This will crown the Fair's music like no other event could, and we will go down in history as the

city that presented the world premiere of your Eighth Symphony.'

Downes of course received a negative reply, but in compensation Sibelius sent him the score of Jedermann. Through his son-in-law Arvi Paloheimo, he also recommended Schneevoigt as conductor in the case a concert of Finnish music was given at the Fair. 'He asks you to keep this information strictly confidential, (…) especially since a great many people ask him for a recommendation. Sibelius put Schneevoigt in the first category, given his technical experience and his competence'.

Downes wrote again the 22 December: 'Dear Maestro, this is to ask you to make the New Year a historic date for America and the whole world by conducting your music as a salute from Finland to humanity, broadcast by radio and the agencies of the World Fair of New York, the day when the president of Finland honours us by representing your great Republic. I know that this is a lot to ask, but please understand that you do not perform as a virtuoso in concert, but in the tranquillity and solitude of a radio studio.' This time Sibelius accepted and Downes delighted thanked him the 25 December: 'Dear Maestro, you have no idea of the joy that your acceptation to conduct for us gives me, Finland and the world.'

The 1 January 1939, for the inauguration of the World Fair, in a terrible snow storm, Sibelius accompanied by his son-in-law Arvi Paloheimo left Ainola for Helsinki. They arrived at the Finnish radio studios just in time, the storm having greatly

delayed them and worried Sibelius who was seventy three years old. The composer had chosen Andante festivo from 1922, in a version for string orchestra and timpani (for the terminal cadence) that he had in all probability just completed. The first violinist, Sulo Aro, who had already played under Sibelius in Viipuri in April 1923, recounted in 1995:

'Toivo Haapanen, the conductor, handed him the baton, and he went through the work once. Then it was recorded on tape. He made a nod of his head to indicate the start, then conducted with one hand in his jacket or trouser pocket. With the other hand he made large gestures, so that his trembling did not disturb him.' Sibelius gave the same impression to the hornist Holger Fransman: 'The work was for string orchestra, the woodwinds and the brass had nothing to do. However, we stayed, because it was Sibelius himself who was conducting. His hands trembled, but it did not matter. He took the baton with both hands, raised it above his head, and only then one of his hands disappeared. The maestro was not really a conductor, but all his movements were exactly according to the rules.' According to several eye witnesses the orchestra played 'with a stronger sound, more singing than usual'.

In his Memoirs Taneli Kuusisto, then assistant director of music at the Finnish radio recounted: 'Half an hour before the broadcast, the radio orchestra was ready, (…) and we checked that no outside person was present in the studio. At the moment foreseen Sibelius appeared, and with a friendly greeting took the stand with the ease of a young man. The Maestro raised a

hand. (…) The tempo was very slow. After a few bars, the conductor stopped the orchestra: “Very well! But it lacks grandeur.” Then there were a few recommendations. A new attempt, and the music was warmer. (…) The maestro seemed satisfied. Only once, in the central section, the conductor stopped the orchestra and asked: ‘More poetic, more human.” (…) The music ended. “Thank you gentlemen,” said Sibelius in a solemn tone, leaving the studio to wait for the broadcast which was imminent.’

Sibelius’ Andante festivo reached America a few moments later, by short wave radio from Berlin. Finland had been the first country to accept participating in the World Fair, and as a result had the honour of being the first to officially take part in the opening day ceremonies, notably with Sibelius’ music. The 27 December Olin Downes entitled one of his articles in the New Times ‘Sibelius to Open Salutes to Fair’ and the 2 January in the same newspaper was a message from the Finnish president Kallio in a column entitled ‘Finland Salutes US in Broadcast’, and in addition an article bearing the title ‘Finland’s Voice’ saluting the ‘happy choice’ of Sibelius to open the Fair.

The 5 January Arvi Paloheimo told Olin Downes of the expedition with his father-in-law, indicating at the end of the letter that on arriving home in Ainola, Sibelius had grumbled: ‘Does Olin Downes really know that what I did was for him, and only for him?’

Finland in proclaiming the message that accompanied the broadcast thus hoped to ‘contribute to peace and comprehension between nations’. However, Finland was soon to have great need of this comprehension itself. At the outset it was not implicated in the Second World War, started by the entry of the German army into Poland the 1 September 1940. Finland had cultivated quite close relations with Germany, but wished like the other Nordic countries to proclaim its neutrality.

It may be noted however, that after the German-Soviet pact of the 23 August, Sibelius’ concerto was less played than before in Germany and that of Tchaikovsky much more. This pact divided eastern Europe into two zones of interest. Situated in the ‘Russian zone’ Finland could not have its security guaranteed by Germany. In virtue of this pact and whilst the Phoney War commenced in the west, the 17 September USSR invaded the eastern part of Poland then commenced its ‘recuperation’ of the Baltic Countries. Finland having lived in a climate of optimism during the 1930s, the threat of a world war, in spite of the warnings of Mannerheim, had not resulted in a modernisation its defences.

The 5 October however, the Finnish government was invited to send a delegation to Moscow to discuss ‘real political affairs’. To ensure the security of Leningrad, the USSR had previously proposed an exchange of territory, presented various demands for Karelia and the Gulf of Finland, and in addition demanded a lease on the Hanko Peninsula in the south west of

the country, which would be transformed into a military base. Juho Kusti Passikivi, a great specialist in Russian affairs, led the Finnish delegation together with Väinö Tanner, the social-democratic Minister of Finance, and on the Russian side by Stalin and Molotov, no agreement was reached and the negotiations were finally broken off the 13 November.

The principal members of Aimo Cajander's government, including Eljas Erkko Minister of Foreign Affairs had pleaded for a firm position, whilst Passikivi and Mannerheim for more flexibility. Mannerheim was convinced that given the German-Soviet pact, Finland would find itself alone in a war against the USSR and such a war would signify the loss of its independence. After the 13 November, in Finland, unrealistically, everybody thought with relief that the situation would remain there. Mannerheim on the contrary considered the Cajander's government had acted irresponsibly and presented his resignation as president of the defence committee.

Before the end of the month the situation changed completely. Invoking 'the most classical of frontier incidents' the USSR attacked Finland without any declaration of war, thus commencing what is called in Finland 'The Winter War'. Mannerheim went back on his resignation and in spite of his age was appointed commander in chief of the army by president Kallio.

He established his headquarters in Mikkeli. As usual the USSR set up a puppet government on the 1 December in

Karelia headed by the veteran Otto Ville Kuusinen, who during his twenty years of exile had avoided all of Stalin's purges, and signed a pact of friendship and assistance with him, 'settling once and for all the questions of territory that had weighed of Finnish-Soviet relations'. The same day a coalition government of national union was formed led by Risto Ryti, who like his predecessor was a liberal socialist. This government included two other strong men: Tanner as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Passikivi as Minster without Portfolio.

Helsinki ad other Finnish cities were bombarded from the first day of the war and the 2 December, on the third day the New York Times reported: 'Sibelius' death denied. It was learnt today that rumours according to which Jean Sibelius, the Finnish composer, was killed in the Russian bombardments of Helsinki are incorrect.' And the 3rd, beneath a photo of the composer of Finlandia peacefully lighting a cigar: 'Sibelius is safely at home in the Finnish forest. Proud of his people and grateful to the USA.'

Then the 9th: 'Sibelius celebrated his seventy fourth birthday. Madame Aino Sibelius has spoken of several offers of refuge abroad. 'People abroad cannot understand that each Finn wishes to share the destiny of the nation within the borders of Finland, she said.' In the Musical Times of February 1940 reported these fanciful words: 'Sibelius happily safe and in good health, has completed his Eighth Symphony and authorised its performance. "This will contribute to support my valiant compatriots in their fight against the invader," he said.'

The 3 December 1939, Olin Downes telegraphed his idol: ‘Your music fights invincibly for Finland. We are going to collect money by giving concerts of your master pieces. Look after yourself as best you can, dear Maestro, all Amrerica prays for you and your noble country.’ And the 25th: ‘Happy Christmas and a victorious New Year for you and all the people in the country of heroes.’

The 17 February 1940, the French newspaper France Soir offered its readers in an article invented by Merry Bromberger: ‘Under the bombs, the musician Sibelius, an old man of seventy, composes a great work to the glory of Finland, (…) a work of great scope which is almost completed. (…) “I will never abandon Finland,” he said. “It is defended by Finns, is it not? I have complete faith in them. And the work that I am completing will not be premiered anywhere else but in Helsinki.” (…) The echoes of the bombs that are falling on Helsinki each day shake (his) small house in wood. A short time ago an explosion close to the house broke the windows of the chalet. Sibelius closed the shutters and returned to work and continued working, without a word.’

The war, which coincided with one of ‘the harshest winters known for thirty years’, was hard and was above all a bitter disappointment for the Russians. In the West, the aggression to which Finland had been the victim, which resulted in Russia’s expulsion from the League of Nations, won the almost unanimous sympathy of public opinion and even, in the case of

certain Westerners, a wave of interventionism and war against the USSR, allied with Germany, even in the Caucasus.

For the Daladier government in France it was a question of cutting off the “iron route” that Germany shockingly imported from Sweden. ‘The 19 December 1939, at the Supreme Allied Council, Daladier suggested demanding from Norway and Sweden a right of way for allied troops destined for Finland. After having hesitated, Sweden refused. The 2 March 1940, coming back to the question, Daladier proposed sending 50,000 men to Finland by Narvik starting on the 15 March. In any case it was too late, since on the 12 Finland accepted the Russian conditions’.

Numbers and equipment had finally won the battle. Having received aid from neither Sweden nor the Allies, the 28 February 1940 Mannerheim had recommended to the head of the government Ryti and the president of Finland Kallio to accept the latest Russian terms. The puppet government of Kuusinen was forgotten, and through the Treaty of Moscow, Finland, which had only been partially invaded, the front having abandoned Viipuri resisted to the end, saw its borders returned to those of the Treaty of Nystad of 1721 by ‘an honourable but heavy defeat’. Finland lost Karelia and Viipuri as well as certain territories in the north, and in addition was obliged to accept leasing the Hanko Peninsula at the entry to the Gulf of Finland.

The 28 March, in Paris, Horizons de France published in their collection Visages du Monde (Faces of the World) an edition

on Finland included a homage from Georges Duhamel, a copy of Mannerheim's order of the 14th, and for Sibelius's music, a contribution from Gustave Samazeuilh, once again full of good intentions but subject to caution. The previous number of Visages du Monde had been consecrated to Poland.

The territories ceded in the Treaty of Moscow were significant morally and economically speaking, as well as the fact that all the Karelians left their region to settle in other parts of the country. The patriotic spirit evoked by the Winter War had however very largely contributed to healing the wounds, which had remained since the civil war of 1918, and the independence of the country had been saved. Nevertheless many people in Finland considered that the Winter War had not resulted in real peace, but simply a ceasefire. They quickly undertook the fortifications of the new border and Mannerheim remained commander in chief of the armies.

The 1 March 1940, two days after the end of the war, Arvi Paloheimo suddenly died from a heart attack at the age of fifty-one. Very affected, Olin Downes telegraphed the 22nd to Sibelius: 'Unable to express the loss and shock caused by Arvi's unexpected death. In Finland he was one of my most noble and dear friends, please give my sympathy to his dear wife, with my thanks to God for knowing that you and Madame Sibelius and all the other members of the Sibelius family are still alive, and now we should work for the memory of Arvi and Finland.'

Sibelius' seventy fifth birthday was approaching and in October Downes reported what was being prepared almost everywhere in the USA. A the same time the New York Herald Tribune, of a liberal republican leaning and a more modest circulation than the New York Times, hired the composer Virgil Thomson as its music critic. He succeeded Lawrence Gilman and remained the newspaper's critic until 1954.

Essentially trained in Paris, where he had lived for a long time, a disciple of Nadia Boulanger, an enthusiast of Stravinsky and Erik Satie, Thomson had worked with and was a friend Gertrude Stein. He had known James Joyce, Jean Cocteau and Pablo Picasso. Contrary to Olin Downes to a great extent a self made man, he had studied at Harvard. More interested by the present than the 'grand repertory', Thomson declared in 1966 that he had above all been engaged by the New York Herald Tribune for his 'impertinent and elegant' way of writing about music, for the brilliance of his style and the iconoclastic side of his opinions. His first article appeared the 11 October 1940. The day before Thomson had heard John Barbirolli, the successor to Toscanini at the New York Philharmonic Symphony Society, conduct Beethoven's Egmont overture, Elgar's Enigma Variations and Sibelius' Second.

In his article he wrote: 'Living twenty years on the European continent largely spared me from Sibelius. The Second Symphony yesterday evening was the first heard by me for many years. I found it vulgar, overflowing with self satisfaction and provincial beyond all expectations. I know that sincere

lovers of Sibelius exist in the world, but I should say that I have never met them amongst provincial musicians. I also know that this works has an exceptional kind of popular power in symphonic literature. Even Wagner does work so well on the radio. This capacity to please the people is not different to that of a Hollywood A series movie. Sibelius has nothing naive about him, his is simply provincial. Let us leave it there for the moment.'

Thomson finished by citing, without departing from his elitism, the remark of a friend who had never previously attended one of these concerts: 'I understand now why the Philharmonic is not part of New York intellectual life.' It would have been impossible to take a more opposite and brutal position to the 'democratic', egalitarian, even common, convictions of an Olin Downes who was generally attentive to the vox populi.

Felt by certain as a heretical and blasphemous, and by others as more salutary, this article was the first very perceptible manifestation against the Sibelius cult in the USA, and a typical example of the contemptuous attacks against him, to be followed by others in the style of neoclassicism and 'boulangerie'. Five days later on the 15 October, Thomson heard the First conducted by Eugene Ormandy.

He reported in the New York Herald Tribune of the 16th that he found his melodic material of an 'inferior quality' and so on. Thomson was not satisfied with that. Around 1940 he noted with satisfaction, principally due to those intellectuals and

artists who had been driven from Germany by Hitler, that the USA ‘for the first time had become a home for intellectuals’, and moving further away than ever from the moral and educative preoccupations of Downes, he proclaimed in an article entitled ‘Intellectual Content’: ‘Tchaikovsky, Sibelius and Shostakovich are demagogic symphonists, because the expressive power of their works is greater than their purely musical interest. They do not hold the attention of an adult mind for long time.’

Exactly one year before Arnold Schönberg prepared a conference at the University of Chicago wrote ‘in favour’ of Sibelius and Shostakovich: ‘I feel that they have the air of symphonists’.

Settled in the USA since 1938, Adorno evidently did not miss the articles of Virgil Thomson and in particular those concerning Sibelius. Thus he sent him his still confidential Glosse of 1938, hoping that he would comment on it in the New York Herald Tribune, but received from him this disappointing and prudent letter (29 July 1942): ‘In organising on my desk this seasons letters that were still without replies, I noted that I had done nothing about your article on Sibelius. I am returning it to you, partly because the space reserved for music on Sundays has been so reduced that in any case I would not have the space to suitable treat it, and because in all truth, I do not like it very much. There are some good ideas in it and some fine phrases, but too much indignation. Its tone only risk generating more hostility against yourself rather than Sibelius.’

Parallel to the Sibelius cult in the USA was the development of that of Toscanini. Lawrence Gilman and above all Olin Downes were amongst the high priests. Rare were those who had criticised the way in which Toscanini had conducted an orchestra, but many were those who complained about his programmes that contained too many works of secondary interest, in particular those of obscure Italian composers such as Leone Sinigaglia, and in the opinion of some the too great importance accorded to the 'grand repertory'.

During the eleven seasons during which Toscanini was at the head of the Philharmonia, Beethoven, Brahms and Wagner alone formed forty percent of his programmes. Contrary to his rivals Koussevitzky and Stokowski, less attached to the 'grand repertory' than him, he never played the least note of Bartok, Berg, Hindemith, Mahler or Schönberg. Nevertheless, his programmes and the broadcasting of his concerts with the Philharmonia and from 1937 the NBC, attracted a huge following of listeners. In 1958 in an article entitled Die Meisterschaft des Maestro (The Mastery of the Maestro) that appeared in the review Merkur and then in Klangfiguren (Sound figures), Adorno wrote that with Toscanini, 'people felt taken care of, safe and protected, from the musical point of view'.

Toscanini conducted a Sibelius symphony for the first time on the 15 January 1938, it was the Second at the NBC. If only symphonies are taken into account only three performances of this work were conducted and one of the Fourth. In a letter

from Milan dated 10 November 1937 he wrote: ‘I spent the whole day at home studying Sibelius’ Second Symphony, that I have never conducted, and Tchaikovsky’s Fourth, which I have never accepted playing, because I don’t like it very much, but I have promised to conduct it in America (he never conducted it).’ Then the 14 January 1938, the day before his concert: ‘Sibelius’ symphony in D-major is a hard nut to crack. It is a beautiful thing. (…) There is a recording of this symphony by Ku (Koussevitzky) which is really scandalous. This record reduces him to less than nothing as musician and performer.’ And the 3 May 1940 to Olin Downes: ‘I regret that you missed Sibelius’ Fourth. (…) I have the illusion that it was well performed, in conformity with the intentions of the composer’.

The fourth and last performance of the Second by Toscanini took place the 7 December 1940, the eve of Sibelius’ 75th birthday, in a concert entirely dedicated to the composer and sponsored by ‘For Finland Inc.’, an organisation founded ‘to promote good relations between Finland and the United States and to contribute to the reconstruction of Finland devastated by the Soviets’. The same programme included The Daughter of Pohjola, The Swan of Tuonela, The Return of Lemminkäinen and Finlandia.

In the New York Times of the 8th Downes reached a peak of lyricism in his article on the combination of Toscanini and Sibelius. Never had the indomitable spirit of man been demonstrated with such brilliance than in the heroic peroration of the Second Symphony. Never had the Swan evoked to this

extent poetry and myth. Never the 'immortal' Finlandia had better demonstrated 'the immense aptitude of Sibelius to say simple things in such a direct and popular way, typical of a great master and supreme artist. (…) One can perceive in it the reverberations of all that is accumulated under the cover of civilisation'.

In Germany, the Germano-Soviet Pact still officially in force, the 75th birthday of Sibelius passed in silence, but nobody complained. The 12 December 1940, Fritz Zaun (1893-1966), the leader of the Städtisches Orchester of Berlin, wrote to the composer: 'Here in Berlin, unfortunately not much has happened today in honour of your art, therefore it is with particular pleasure especially here that I engage myself in favour of your works.' Zaun added that he had personally reproached the Berlin press for having ignored the birthday.

Robert Lienau had in any case had not forgotten the event. At the beginning of December 1940 he wrote to Sibelius speaking of old memories: 'In 1903 or 1904, Paul Juon, who had unfortunately recently died, told me of his enthusiasm after a performance of your Second Symphony: "You should hear it and publish it." It is why I have come to you so that one of your most beautiful works, the Violin Concerto, is today the pride of my publishing house! (…) God hope that peace will soon come back to this world, and that Lady Music will find its place again.'

However, in January of the same year, in the midst of the Winter War, Furtwängler and the Berlin Philharmonic

performed the Second Symphony on four successive occasions to a full house, which prompted one of the listeners Else Heppenstiel, who was literally transported, to write to Sibelius on the 17th of the month: 'The conductor was our very honoured and very dear Herr Prof. Furtwängler. (…) Ah how (…) this II Symphony conceived by your genius from the rehearsal penetrates our souls and senses! With this marvellous conductor, its marvellous themes (…) have immediately won over us, like the beautiful and rare flowers along a path. (…) The perfume of the sonorities subjugated and won all hearts in such a manner that the applause did not follow at once, but after there were applause, an exultation, and incomparable gratitude.'

Also in 1940, no doubt under the effect of the four concerts, Furtwängler wrote in his notes a striking homage to the Finnish composer: 'Sibelius is with Tchaikovsky the only non German to work in real symphonic terms. Amongst the Germans, there are finally Haydn, Beethoven, Bruckner and Brahms. Schubert is half 'disguised', Schumann entirely. Why the extreme rarity of this gift??? With Smetana, Dvorak, César Franck, Pfitzner there is only chamber music. From the opposite horizon, Liszt, Strauss from the beginning walk with "great strides"!'

In spite of the existence of the pact and his pretended friendship, Hitler commenced to prepare his offensive against the Soviet Union from July 1940. Finland therefore took on an importance capital, whilst at the same time the relations between Moscow and Helsinki again deteriorated. In June

1940, the USSR annexed the Baltic countries transforming them into Soviet Republics, causing Finland confronted with the demands of Moscow to fear the same fate.

In August, the date which if there had been no war, Finland would have held the Olympic Games, military discussions took place in Helsinki, lead on the German side by an emissary of Goering. As a result within a few weeks Germany had sent significantly more war material to Finland than the allies during the whole of the Winter War. Feeling encircled Sweden proposed to Finland that their two countries join together in a union of neutral countries, but both Berlin and Moscow opposed this project.

At the end of the year, President Kallio having resigned for health reasons, Molotov warned Passikivi the USSR would not accept he be succeeded by Tanner, Kivimäki, Svinhufvud or Mannerheim. Almost unanimously the prime minister Risto Ryti was elected president the 19 December ending Kallio's mandate, who under normal circumstances would have been in office until the end of 1943.

During their meetings in Berlin in November 1940, Hitler and Molotov each understood that the interests of Germany and Russia in Finland had become irreconcilable. Molotov demanded a free hand for future operation against Finland, to which Hitler replied he did not want a new conflict in the region. The principal Finnish leaders noted this incompatibility, in particular that of the question of the Petsamo nickel mines.

This was a decisive step in their acceptation of a close cooperation with Germany. In no circumstances did they want to see a second war with Russia, and were persuaded that Germany would be able to protect their country against another Russian attack. In addition they feared seeing, in the case of a Germano-Soviet confrontation, a ‘neutral’ Finland transformed into a battleground ideally suited for the two foreign armies.

In the first months of 1940 the evolution of the situation inexorably advanced. In May German troops were already operating in the north of Finland, regions which Berlin considered as a kind of prolongation of occupied Norway and Finland pertinently knew that it was going to be implicated in Hitler’s war. There were some conditions, including the continuity of their independence and the assurance that Germany would attack first, which is what happened the 22 June 1941.

Four months previously, Sibelius had received a letter dated 15 February 1941 from Adolf Paul who was gravely ill and was to die in October 1943. Adolf Paul saw in Hitler the ‘unknown soldier’ who from the debris of Bismarck’s Germany had reconstructed a ‘unified, strong and powerful nation’. In his letter he wrote: ‘I think you will be pleased to learn that in recognition of my activities as a writer in German and Swedish over the last fifty years, I have received the Verdienstkreuz erster Klasse vom Orden vom Deutschen Adler (Cross of Merit of the Order of the German Eagle First Class), with a black, red and white ribbon to wear around the neck. I will certainly have

no opportunity to wear it, but I am pleased to have received this recognition. My dear old friend, this will be my last letter. Thank you for all our youth, for your music, for always. Eternally yours.'

No treaty of alliance was signed between Helsinki and Berlin, the Finnish leaders 'waited for the Soviet reaction to the German attack. After the provocations of the German air force, the Soviets started bombarding several Finnish objectives, the prime minister Johan Wilhelm Rangell was forced into the realisation that the country was once again in a state of war with its eastern neighbour'.

Finland it was proclaimed 'continued' the Winter War of 1939-1940, and therefore was engaged in a war that was distinctly different from that of Germany's. Having the same enemy the two countries found themselves in a situation of 'co-belligerence'. Refereeing to the German intervention in the civil war of 1918, both sides spoke of the 'fraternity of arms', though giving the term neither the same meaning nor the same implication. Certain Finnish units found themselves under German orders, but Mannerheim, who was once again in his headquarters in Mikkeli, refused to take the least German soldier stationed in Finland under his own command.

The 1939 border was quickly reached and the city of Viipuri was retaken at then end of August. Finnish troops penetrated as far as Eastern Karelia, which was condemned by certain leftist circles and in particular by Tanner, who had returned to the government as minister of trade and industry. Mannerheim

however maintained his refusal to allow the Finnish army to participate in the siege of Leningrad, a city that he liked, this having been one of his conditions in accepting the role of commander in chief of the army.

As a realist and understanding that after the war Finland and Russia would always be neighbours, he had informed the Germans in August 1942, whose victory he had commenced to doubt, as long as Germany had not taken Leningrad, he would not attack the railway to Murmansk and the Arctic Ocean that alone allowed the supply to Russia of material from Great Britain by sea. Such an action would Have in all probability caused a break in relations with the USA, which had entered into the war against Germany and Japan since December 1941. Given the democratic traditions of the country, the national socialist ideology or such was never cited in the internal affairs of Finland, contrary to what was the case in Slovakia, Romania or in Hungary. Germany, which from July 1942 had considered that Finland should be handled 'with care', also avoided any interference in this sense.

The 13 July 1941 the New York Times reported that Sibelius, in a declaration to Associated Press had appealed to the USA asking them to understand the 'difficult' position of Finland: 'In 1939 my country was attacked by the Bolsheviks. The enlightened American people had then understood that not only were we fighting for our freedom, but also for that of all western civilisation, which for us was of great help to us. The barbarian hordes from the East having attacked us again in

their attempt to Bolshevise Europe, I am convinced that the intelligent and freedom loving American people will understand and be able to take into account the present situation, being aware of the fact that Bolshevisation cannot destroy freedom and civilisation on this continent.' Sibelius who had been prompted by his government to make this declaration avoided all allusions to the German partner.

The United States having not yet entered into the war the declaration was 'passable'. The 6 December however, independence day, Great Britain, after having bombarded Petsamo, declared war on Finland 'to please Russia' motivated by the fact that Finland had advanced beyond the 1939 border.

The next day Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and Hitler declared war on the USA. Washington did not break diplomatic relations with Helsinki until the end of June 1944, but the two countries were never at war with each other. A letter however appeared in the New York Times of the 15 October 1942: 'Though not part of those who with Erika Mann think that all music of the Axis should be banned, since for me, this would be using a Hitlerian tactic, I consider that we should abstain from playing Finlandia, which is none other than the Finnish national anthem, a country that is actively fighting against our allies. I insist on the fact that it is Finlandia, and not Jean Sibelius, which should be forbidden for the duration of the war.'

In German government circles, rumours of a separate peace treaty between the USSR and Finland started going around in

the spring of 1942. It was precisely at this moment, and for several reasons, that the first German Sibelius-Gesellschaft (Sibelius Society) was formed, thus Germany in a way was courting Finland. The 12 March, Goebbels noted in his diary: 'The Finns have asked us to do more for Sibelius. I consent to the foundation of a Sibelius-Gesellschaft.'

In fact, the Nordische Gesellschaft of Alfred Rosenberg and Goebbels ministry of propaganda was competing for the control of this Society. From the winter of 1941-1942 the two organisations, independently of each, other had discussions on this subject with the secretary of the Finnish diplomatic representative Hans R. Martola, the composer Yryö Kilpinen and the German conductor Helmuth Thierfelder. Thus minister put the Nordische Gesellschaft before a fait accompli.

The 10 February, Heinz Drewes, Goebbels' right hand man for music, cancelled, at the last moment, a Sibelius concert organised by the Nordische Gesellschaft during which the German premiere of the complete Lemminkäinen Suit was foreseen. The reason invoked was that given the minister of propaganda soon envisaged the creation of a Sibelius-Gesellschaft, no grand concert consecrated to this composer could take place before the inaugural ceremony. This sudden cancellation, announced in a note dated 9 April to the Nordische Gesellschaft, was 'extremely disagreeable', because the announcements had been made and the tickets ordered.

A message dates back to the 21 February from Herbert Gerigk, Rosenberg's music director, to the head of the same

organisation, shows that this rivalry was not simply due to a question of prestige: ‘To my knowledge it is the first time that the Ministry for Propaganda has directly founded a society for a composer. Is it not necessary that at least the Nordische Gesellschaft is associated with the foundation of this Gesellschaft and be represented on its board? Otherwise we run the risk of seeing an important part of cultural links with the North becoming the exclusive domain of the Ministry of Propaganda.’

The Sibelius-Gesellschaft was founded with Heinz Drewes as its president with almost all discretionary powers, his own principal private secretary Waldemar Rosen, a sincere admirer of Sibelius, as its secretary, and Hans Draeger head of the North Section at the Ministry for Propaganda as its treasurer. Of the five other members of the board two others were also from the Ministry of Propaganda, two from the Rosenberg circle including Gerigk who was responsible for archives, and one from the musical world, Gerhart von Westermann the director of the Berlin Philharmonic.

In other words it had fallen under the control of Goebbels. The honorary members were Wilhelm Furtwängler, Fritz Zaun, Heinz Tietjen the director of Prussian Theatres, as well as the composer Paul Graener who was the vice-president of Reich Music Chamber, and Nikolaus von Reznicek.

The Sibelius-Gesellschaft officially came into being the 9 April 1942. The following day an official ceremony took place at the Berlin Philharmonic which was elaborately prepared and

broadcast by Helsinki radio. On the back of the stage placed in the centre was the Finnish flag flanked by the German flag. Amongst those present was the Finnish ambassador Toivo Mikael Kivimäki as a result of the persuasive efforts of the German Ambassador in Finland, Wiper von Blücher, and Katarina Ilves Sibelius' third daughter.

Drewes who wanted to maintain the autonomy of the Society relative to the Nordische Gesellschaft, proclaimed in his inaugural speech that 'it was necessary that a spiritual framework should exist in which close relations be maintained and developed with the heroic music of the Finnish people, our ally, and all the Germanic North2'. Die Musik reported: 'At the beginning of his speech Dr Drewes transmitted the best wishes of the Reich Minister Dr Goebbels to the Society and for its work, for which Reichsleiter Rosenberg also has a particular interest.'

Fritz Zaun conducted the Karelia suite, the First Symphony and the inevitable Finlandia. Sibelius sent a broadcast message. He spoke of his own specific field, music, and carefully avoided and allusion specifically related to the international events of the moment: 'The great appreciation for my country and the interest in my music that in this moment of common destiny demonstrated by the foundation of the "Deutsche Sibelius-Gesellschaft" makes me very proud and happy. From the forest of Finland I salute Germany, the radiant (this last word was added after to the handwritten draft kept in the National Archives of Helsinki) land of music.'

Pleased by the new situation, Hellmuth von Hase wrote to Sibelius the 4 May: ‘For us (Breitkopf & Härtel) it is of particular satisfaction to see the German government decide to intervene on its own initiative in favour of your work in Germany, as we have already done for more than last forty years.’ Then, after having been appointed Finnish consul in Leipzig: ‘It is of immense pleasure for me to be able to serve the interests of your country in this way.’ In August, Hellmuth von Hase visited Finland on the initiative of Kilpinen and met the composer in Ainola. The 25th of this same month, Sibelius together with Aino Kari, the maid at Ainola since 1911, made a day-trip to Helsinki by car, which he had not visited for eighteen months.

The Sibelius-Gesellschaft was indisputably a ‘forum for politico-cultural propaganda’ directed towards the country of a thousand lakes, but during its two years of real existence1, in conformity with its statutes, it undertook serious artistic activities. For it this was the ‘best way for Germany to understand the work of Sibelius the great Finnish composer’ and to ensure ‘a greater dissemination and a greater recognition’ of his music.

At Hanover in May 1942 it backed or organised grand ‘Finnish Musical Days’, no longer ‘Nordic’, together with the Nordische Gesellschaft and the Kraft durch Freud organisation, then in the autumn of the same year at Wiesbaden, and in August-September 1944 at Marburg-an-der-Lahn. At Hanover the programme included La Reine libérée and the Song of the

Athenians performed by a Luftwaffe choir, the Hitler Youth choir and the trumpet ensemble of an infantry regiment. Helmuth Thierfelder the German premiere of the complete version of the Lemminkäinen Suite in the presence of Heinz Drewes, who did not fail to inform Goebbels.

The 6 June he wrote to the composer: ‘I firmly believe (…) being sufficiently well trained to give the best performance possible of the symphonist Sibelius, whom I so deeply venerate.’ In Wiesbaden the concerts were conducted by Carl Shuricht and Toivo Haapanen. In 1943 Haapanen conducted The Swans by Väinö Raitio, Palmgren’s concerto The River and the Concert overture by Klami as well as different little known works of Sibelius such as Rakastava, Luonnotar and Höstkväll.

On the instigation of the Society, the Grossdeutscher Rundfunk (German radio) broadcast a cycle of concerts from December 1942 to June 1943 in six parts entirely dedicated to Sibelius1. The first was conducted by Toivo Haapanen. Eugen Jochum also conducted with the Hamburg Philharmonic and Wilhelm Furtwängler with the Berlin Philharmonic. During this cycle recordings were made in February 1943 with Furtwängler conducting En Saga and the Concerto with Georg Kulenkampff, as well as of the Seventh Symphony with Jochum. Furtwängler conducted his own programme four times from the 7 to the 10 February and on both occasions before an audience of 2,000. One of the concerts was broadcast on the 14th, and Lienau informed Sibelius, ‘I was there.’

As the archivist of the Sibelius-Gesellschaft, Herbert Gerigk gathered together a large quantity of documents, in particular copies of all the published works of Sibelius available on the German market. As has been seen he never completed the biography of the composer that Drewes had asked for. The Society produced only one book that of Tanzberger. A letter from Gerigk to Drewes of the 26 May 1943 spoke of a ‘small volume’ entitled Deutsche Soldaten besuchen Sibelius (German soldiers visit Sibelius), of which there is no trace. The National Archives of Helsinki has a long newspaper article bearing the same title, with a secondary title ‘I met Strauss and Bruckner’ signed Anton Kloss which no doubt dates from April-May 1943. Perhaps the Sibelius-Gesellschaft envisaged a separate and enlarged article.

In any case this article was a typical example of propaganda designed to show Sibelius as an enthusiastic partisan of Germano-Finnish ‘brothers in arms’, an admirer of the German army and convinced of its ultimate victory. Anton Kloss, a war correspondent and member of the SS, put these words into Sibelius’ mouth: ‘I am happy to be able to live in a time when justice will finally be brought to the world, and especially because I know Germany well and the German man. I wish with all my heart that victory will come soon. I do not doubt that it will be yours.’

A year previously, in the spring of 1942, Thierfelder went to Ainola for a second time. This visit resulted in articles in at least three different German newspapers, one of them bore the

title 'As a composer I have always remained Finnish'. Another appeared in the Hannoverscher Anzeiger the 9 and 10 May during the Sibelius-Gesellschaft festival in Hanover, entitled 'Visit to Sibelius! Dr Helmuth Thierfelder at the Finnish composer's home'. The declaration that Thierfelder put into the mouth of the composer of Finlandia spoke neither of Drang nach Ost (Push to the East) nor totaler Sieg (total victory).

It demonstrated once again, especially in the last phrase, the sense of degree and diplomacy that Sibelius possessed, and also of the prudence shown by Thierfelder:

'Life is now worth living! We Finns have certainly hard years behind us, and at present we live with the restrictions as a result of events that Germany and other European countries also suffer from. But who thinks of complaining, when we have before us a luminous objective, that of final freedom. We Finns are happy and proud to know that our valiant solders can fight alongside the splendid German Wehrmacht. We do not doubt for a moment that the war will end with a European spirit.'

During these years of war, Sibelius received more messages from Germany than any other country1, and of all the letters that arrived from Germany during the Nazi period, about 60% written between 1941-1943, the writers spoke of their sympathy for the 'valiant and heroic Finnish people' and their concern for their fate. Certain went as far as seeing in the composer's music an expression of the 'spiritual links' maintained with the 'brothers in arms'.

Gleissner cited an eighteen year member of the Waffen SS writing to Sibelius the 10 July 1944: 'I do not know if you will receive these words or whether you will throw then in the waste paper basket without reading them, but it is of no importance, because I believe I would have written them anyway, even more than if I had been forced to write them, even if you were already long dead. (…) It was a few days ago. I was on sentry duty during the night, before me as far as I could see, was the immensity of Russia. The noise of battle had just ceased, an almost perceptible silence reigned. Russia was still, we also stopped firing, as if the universe was listening to nature breath. I do not know if you can transport your mind to this instant, but suddenly sounds rose in me that said exactly what I felt in the night over a country tortured and impregnated with blood. They were the first bars of your Finlandia. Only after, I believe I have understood your work. No doubt you dreamt of the same thing when you wrote it—the destiny of your country and its struggle.'

In his declarations to Thierfelder, which were more or less exactly reproduced, Sibelius thought of the safety and well-being of Finland before anything else. He may have wondered to himself, like so many others, whether the country could survive, and if so how. In February 1943, he told Santeri Levas, 'I am engaged on a great work and would like to complete it before my death. But the inhumanity of this war renders my work more and more difficult. It is impossible to sleep at night if I think about it.' The following September, the turn of events and the pressure exercised on him from all sides caused him to

return to his diary during a period of about four months, which he had completely abandoned his diary since 1935. A few other entries were made until showing that he really continued to think and feel events around him.

His imagination continued to pursue him, but it did not prevent him from having a certain lucidity. Attributing his 'clairvoyance' to his condition as an artist, he had perfectly understood with whom his country had been linked, and was greatly disturbed. In addition the Eighth Symphony still occupied his mind. The 6 September he noted, 'This primitive thought, this anti-Semitism etc. are things which at my age I cannot accept. My education and my culture are incompatible with the times in which we live.'

Then, 'Madame Liesegang here with Funtek. She sung well' (8 September). 'The tragedy begins. My thoughts weigh on me and paralyse me. The reason? Alone, alone. (…) Aino should be protected. My long career has been bad for me, my art, my life. But am I to blame? No'. 'I feel better when I confront the vacuity of life. The symphony does not leave my thoughts. Our critics are useless. Only very few understand what I have done and what I wanted to do in the symphonic field. Most of them don't even know what it is. The German radio only plays old things sleeping in the cobwebs. All that to 'improve' the taste of the present day public. But in general it is no more than historic curiosities. A talent like mine, not say genius, could not live with buttermilk etc. It needs other ingredients' (13 September). 'What hell I have lived through! My fragile nature

and the pain that I have involuntarily caused to Aino, my adorable wife. She tries to be courageous and gay and not show to which point all that has affected her. Das grosse Unglück (What great misfortune)' (15 September). 'I am nothing of what I should be in the world of today. Neither by my origins nor my temperament and nor by my nature. (…) My origins—God knows what these genealogists dream up' (16 September). 'Very afraid. The inheritance I leave to my children. What can I do? (17 September). 'In certain countries like Germany, the 'Aryan laws' are nothing more than a pretext to get rid of the intelligentsia. Otherwise there would not be 'racial purity'. – Aino calm and sad. She also has her own opinions.' (19 September). 'From this spiritual chaos, perhaps something healthier, truer and better will emerge. How have you, Jean Sibelius, been able to take seriously these 'Aryan laws'? As an aristocrat of culture, you can fight these stupid prejudices. They have left me in the dark about my maternal grandfather and my paternal grandmother. Granit Ilmoni(emi)!' (20 September). 'All that seems very mean. These puerile Rassenbestimmungen (Racial laws), charlatanism. As an artist I have the advantage of being able to take advantage of the best side of my ancestors' (22 September).

'Yesterday a great moment—like the caress of a brighter world. Heard the symphony dedicated to me by Vaughan Williams. From Stockholm conducted by Malcolm Sargent. Civilised and human! Very grateful. Vaughan Williams gave me more than anyone could imagine. A tragic destiny has struck my country. We must live with brutality and barbarity—

otherwise we will sink.' 30 September. 'Niente! Today three enemy planes flew over the house. Beautiful day—in my opinion, that not everyone shares. Pompeii in ruins, as always – all that is of value is destroyed' (1 October). 'Niente! (3 October). 'Heard this evening a "European concert" from Germany. All the composers were represented by their best works—me by Finlandia. Henceforth they consider me as a 'fait accompli'. Very depressing, because Adolf Paul, the friend of my youth, is dead. The critics here—like in Sweden and in Germany—have shown themselves to be very reserved when my symphonies are played. Very different from the Anglo-Saxon world. As a symphonist, I am really not made for these people here. Life is soon finished. Others will come and outclass me in the eyes of the world. We are condemned to die forgotten' (5 October). 'The Sibelius-Gesellschaft has given a concert in Berlin with Aune Antti and with other Finnish composers on the programme, me at lagging behind' (23 October).

'Set your sights high – such is the challenge of life. Learn to do it if it is not innate, such is the objective of life' (6 January 1944). 'Since its appearance in 1935, Ekman's book has spoilt my existence and been the source of all kinds of unpleasantries. Impossible to count the sleepless nights that have resulted for Aino and myself. Ekman put words into my mouth that I had never spoken. Even worse he is tendentious. Ida Ekman had asked me to allow Karl (her son) to write and publish this book about me. In other words, Karl risked falling into a depression —as she described it. I am fed up with serving as a target' (14

January). All that followed in Sibelius' diary were a few undecipherable non-dated fragments, with to finish however, 'What musical possibilities the Kalevala offers!'

Georg and Lina Boldemann sent food parcels to Ainola and letters were exchanged. Aino to Lina (20 November 1941), 'My husband is again coughing a little and I dare not leave him. (…) At the moment we also have a place in Helsingfors, but we reuse to immigrate in these worrying times.' Jean to Georg (20 October 1943), 'I should now confess the following. When I set out, I had the firm resolution to only present myself in public through my music. As you no doubt know it is what I have accomplished. Even when the great newspapers of the world—such as the Times and the New York Times, just to mention the most important—have asked me to speak of my thoughts on questions of music. To 'appear' at soon 78 years old in Husmodern (Modern House) would be unsupportable for me. In no case would I therefore allow any paper whatsoever to discuss my personal thoughts. A few months ago Röster I Radio (Voice and Radio) published my telegram of congratulations to Tor Mann for his performance of the Second Symphony. I can neither forget nor pardon his indiscretion. Isolated from the great world outside, (…) I can only defend myself by silence. (…) These last ten years, I have only written to a few rare friends by my own hand. Amongst my dearest friends are Georg and Lina Boldemann.

From Aino to Lina (2 September 1944), 'You amicably ask how things are going (with Jean). To my great pleasure, he is

much better. He goes out several times a day, and his solid nature makes him immediately forget the difficulties and the blows that he receives.’ In the same letter Aino then spoke of problems of food, recounting in particular how a Swiss friend sent coffee, and ended with, ‘We were very pleased with your signed card of Ella Eronen. I am one of her greatest admirers. And when she declaimed “Vårt land” (the Finnish national anthem) in Stockholm, we heard it on the radio, and were grasped by the gravity in her voice and her interpretation.’

In 1943 Sibelius told Jussi Jalas that he still hoped to complete a ‘certain work’ before his death. According to the notes taken by his son-in-law, he continued to work of the Eighth in February 1945. The following August, he told Jalas that he had burnt the work ‘once’. After the death of Jean, Aino confided to Tawaststjerna, ‘In the 1940s there was a great auto-da-fé in Ainola. My husband put a certain number of manuscripts together is a laundry basket and burnt them in the living room fireplace. In this way extracts of the Karelia suite were destroyed—later I saw the remains of torn up pages—as well as many other things. Therefore I don’t know what he threw into the firs. But after my husband was calmer and little by little his humour got better. It was a happy period.’

Therefore between February and August 1945 the Eighth Symphony, after having being ‘completed’ several times, more particularly in 1938, disappeared once and for all. Other than a melodic fragment mixed with the sketches for the Seventh , the only thing that remains is a sketch of a passage in the score.

The Helsinki University library possesses certain unidentifiable sketches from around 1930, which are no doubt related to the Eighth.

During the War of Continuation the Finnish army underwent the same fate as the German army. The 4 June 1942, Mannerheim's 75th birthday, Hitler made a surprise visit to Finland to reinforce their 'co-belligerence', and during the reception organised in Berlin to celebrate the same birthday, the old general von der Goltz reappeared. Mannerheim was then made Field Marshal of Finland. From December 1941, a war of position settled in on all the Finnish fronts, and in 1942 became a time of waiting.

After Stalingrad (February 1943), the objective of the Finnish leaders was to get Finland out of the war. Ryti was re-elected President and Rolf Witting who was minister of foreign affairs and very engaged with Germany was replaced by Henrik Ramsay, managing director of the shipping company Höyrylaiva Oy, who was known for his good relations with the Western powers. Germany constituted the most serious obstacle to the Finnish aspirations to peace and as a result there were moments of great tension between the two countries.

During the peace conference in Teheran in November-December 1943 between Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt, Finland's independence was more or less guarantied. In March 1944 Finnish-Soviet talks opened in Moscow, led by Paasikivi and Carl Enckell for Finland. Germany reacted violently and

the talks were not conclusive due to the harsh conditions demanded by the Russians.

Finally 1944 was the most dramatic year of the war for Finland. In February Helsinki was bombarded. The 9 June three days after the Allied landing in Normandy the Russians launched an extremely violent offensive in Karelia, whilst Germany, to remind Finland of its dependence on them, halted all its supplies to the country. President Ryti ‘personally’ promised that no separate peace would be concluded and Germany recommenced its aid, thus a Russian invasion was avoided as well as the possible disappearance of Finland from the map of Europe.

The last battles of the War of Continuation took place in approximately the positions as those of the Winter War and the result of each of the two conflicts very similar. In both cases Finland won a kind of ‘defensive victory’ that allowed it to gain enough time for Moscow to conclude that there was nothing to gain from continuing the war. Not being on the road to Berlin, Finland was perhaps, for a time, geographically favoured.

By the intermediary of Stockholm, Russia let it be known in July 1944 that it was ready to negotiate and that it no longer demanded an unconditional surrender or occupation. Ryti resigned and the 4 August 1944 Mannerheim succeeded him as president. He alone had the necessary moral and political authority to put an end to the hostilities. Under these conditions the armistice was signed the 4 September eight months before

the collapse of Nazi Germany, thanks to the absence of ‘ideological collaboration’ between the different Finnish governments and Berlin. Finland returned to the 1940 borders. It ceded Petsamo, thus losing direct access to the Arctic, and a twenty year lease on Porkkala in the region of Helsinki, in place of Hanko.

Above all it Finland engaged itself, in the case they had not quit its territory before the 15 September to turn against its former German partners. In the night of the 14-15 August, the Germans attacked the Finnish garrison of Suursaari on the Gulf of Finland, thus they were saved the initiative of launching an attack themselves. In this way a third war commenced, the Germano-Finnish War, which continued until April 1945. To a certain extent it was more terrible because the retreating Germans completely sacked Lapland and its capital Rovaniemi.

A report by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration qualified it some months later as the ‘most devastated region of Europe’. At the end of the war Finland was bled white, in territory and men, but free, its institutions were intact without having experienced enemy occupation. Of all the European countries that had participated in the Second World War, only Great Britain and Finland were not occupied. There was not a ‘Bolshevisation’ of Finland, contrary to what Goebbels had gleefully foreseen in his diary the 30 March 1945. Amongst the problems that remained to be solved was the settlement on a reduced territory of some 420,000 refugees from Karelia, about 11% of the total population.

The 6 April 1945, a correspondent of the New York Times in Stockholm reported a telephone conversation of ten minutes with Sibelius, which conformed that he had rejected 'with typical Finnish pride and determination' the offer of a group of English musicians to organise a benefit concert for him, 'I am in the same boat as the rest of my compatriots'. This was said with quite a firm voice giving the impression of being in good physical condition. (…) An extremely proud man, too proud to admit being hungry'.

The next day in the same newspaper was a column entitled 'The New York Philharmonic Society sends 1,000 dollars to the 80 year old Finnish composer who by his pride has refused a British proposal for his benefit'. Sibelius was not really starving, but a photo taken at the end of 1944 and a letter from Aino to the Boldemanns of the 10 October 1945 showed that he had become clearly thinner during the war. The photo was taken by the brilliant young Eliot Elisofon for Life magazine, to show the American public to what point the rigors of war had transformed Sibelius. The 31 January 1945 he wrote to Lina and Georg Boldemann, 'Let us hope that I live long enough to see my overseas contacts come back to normal'. The the 18 July to Lina, 'I consulted an optician in Helsinki yesterday and he diagnosed cataracts in both eyes. My vision has gone down considerably.'

The 4 March 1946, Mannerheim resigned for health reasons. Passikivi who had been prime minister since November 1944 succeeded him as president. Re-elected in 1950, the date when

Mannerheim's mandate should have normally ended, he continued until he died in 1956 after a total of ten years as president. His name became linked with Finnish foreign relations with Russia during this period called the 'Passikivi line', a policy of 'good neighbourly relations', but with Western democracy at the same time and close relations with the West.

Finland followed a policy of prudence, refusing for example adhesion to the Marshal Plan and, for a time, to the Nordic Council, but contrary to an idea still widely held, Finland was never communist or part of the Soviet bloc. The peace treaty with London and Moscow signed in Paris in 1947 was nevertheless followed by a friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty in 1948, Passikivi's force of persuasion during this year of the Prague coup and the Berlin embargo having won over the Finnish parliament. The treaty remained officially in force until 1991, but its military clauses were minimal, and its signature had a good result since the war reparations due to the USSR were reduced. Payable in goods, the reparations were entirely paid by September 1952, greatly contributing to the reconstruction Finnish industry. The detente following Stalin's death in 1953 resulted in the Russian withdrawal from Porkala. The Helsinki Olympic Games in July-August 1952, symbolised to the world Finland's spectacular recovery.

CHAPTER 22

THE LAST YEARS

ONE OF THE STRANGEST ASPECTS of Sibelius' position during the Second World War was his role as cultural ambassador, without ever have a foot out of home. From 1945, Finnish governments had the double problem of removing the stigmatism of collaboration with Nazi Germany during the war and not appearing to be manipulated by the USSR. They succeeded, and cultural events or such, including the Olympic Games of 1952 and even the election of a Finnish Miss World in 1957, were determinant. The popularity of Sibelius for concerts or records still counted for much in Finland's reputation overseas, the composer, was once again enrolled, and was transformed into an almost obligatory attraction for important visitors to the country. On occasions he received several visitors in a single day and assumed this roll with good grace.

Replacing the German's from the beginning of the 1940s, several delegations from the Union of Soviet composers did not take long to succeed each other at Ainola. These were semi-official delegations, and both the members of these delegation and Sibelius conducted themselves in a diplomatic manner after the conflict that had opposed their respective countries.

During the post war years and at the beginning of the Cold War, the USSR made every effort to make its relations with Finland appear ‘neutral’ and as a model of cooperation with the West, and it was largely due to music that Finno-Russian relations took form.

From the 2-21 March 1946 the Leningrad Philharmonic orchestra conducted by Evgeny Mravinsky and the German conductor Kurt Sanderling gave nine concerts in Helsinki. The event was even more notable by the fact that it was the foreign tour of the orchestra and that it coincided with the resignation of Mannerheim.

The Helsingin Sanomat reported the 7th, ‘Professor Jean Sibelius sent a telegram to the leading conductor Mravinsky wishing the Leningrad Philharmonic Orchestra a warm welcome to Helsinki. The leading conductor Mravinsky thanked him for the telegram on behalf of the orchestra and himself, and wished Professor Sibelius welcome to the orchestra’s concerts.

The 20 March, Mravinsky, Sanderling and the violinist Galina Barinova, who the 17th had played the Concerto conducted by Sanderling, were brought to Ainola by Jussi Jalas. They were served real coffee, real tea, cakes with strawberry jam and three start Cognac. Sibelius thanked Sanderling for having put and kept Night Ride and Sunrise in his repertory, which he had conducted the 14th.

Already in February 1945, the composer Dimitri Kabalevsky had wanted to visit Ainola without success, probably because a Soviet minister should have accompanied him, and also because the same day (9 February) the Finnish premiere of Kurt Atterberg's Eighth Symphony was broadcast, conducted by the composer himself in Helsinki to conclude a concert consecrated to recent Swedish music which Sibelius did not want to miss.

No doubt there was high level pressure and the visit took place the 15 February. 'The first Russians ever to visit the house,' noted the faithful maid Aino Kari. After a correspondence developed apparently following a letter from Kabalevsky to Sibelius dated 'Moscow, 30 March 1945'. Kabalevsky informed Sibelius that he had transmitted his greetings to Miaskovsky, Prokofiev, Shostakovich, Gliere and Khatchtourian, and told him that they were preparing a performance of several of his works for Radio Moscow, including The Tempest and the Fifth Symphony, but unfortunately the score of the symphony was not available. Sibelius replied, thanking Kabalevsky for his visit and his letter, adding that Shostakovich's First Symphony had been performed with success in Helsinki, and that the war in Europe was almost at an end, he hoped to receive and send the scores and in particular the orchestrations of the Fifth.

In January 1946, Sibelius wrote to Kabalevsky that a letter he had sent to him in September 1945 had been returned, also that he was very impressed by the great progress made by Soviet

music during the time of the ‘separation’ of their two countries. ‘It is with great interest that I recently listened to my works being performed on the radio from Moscow. There are clearly excellent musicians in Russia.’ The correspondence continued until October 1955 when Sibelius who was almost ninety thanked Kabalevsky for the photos he had sent of his visit the previous summer. During the summer of 1955, Sibelius was also visited by Kurt Atterberg, fixing a meeting for his hundredth birthday in 1965, and also the Russian composer Youri Chaporine.

Some time before, in April-May 1955, another Russian composer Aram Khatchtourian had conducted certain of his works in three Finnish towns: Helsinki, Tampere and Lahti. He also visited Ainola and noted his impressions, ‘On the way I thought of my discussion with this “living classic”. (…) Who was he? How would he greet me? What should I talk to him about? I cannot hide the fact that I was profoundly touched by the simplicity and the cordiality with which Sibelius met us, my companions and myself. He came to greet us, alert and perfectly upright, a little severe, but only at the beginning. Taking me by the shoulders, he looked at me lengthily in the eyes, as if he wanted to read in my regard the reply to one of his thoughts. A firm and cordial handshake followed, and a warm and free conversation commenced immediately, talking about everything, and of course music and musicians.

Rightly or wrongly, the USSR made a ‘positive’ image of an artist ‘close to the people’, just as it required of its own

composers. In his account Kabalevsky also believe it necessary to write, ‘Amongst Finnish composers there exists talented artists who follow the solid achievements of Jean Sibelius, the traditions linked to folk music. However, negative elements should be mentioned in the work of a few Finnish composers who have been influenced by Western reactionary and formalist theories.’

Such was the position of West Germany after 1945, where Sibelius suffered from two serious handicaps, the first was to have been ‘preached’ by the Nazis, and to appear ‘like a late Romantic’ and in any case surpassed by a Bartok or a Hindemith, whilst Karlheinz Stockhausen and the Darmstadt school were recognized. Then in 1968 Adorno’s Glosse was added to the difficulties of Sibelius’ music in Germany. From this date there is not a word written in Germany without Adorno and his Glosse being mentioned in one way or another.

After 1945 in France, Sibelius was caught between the neoclassicism still largely present and the Domaine Musical of Pierre Boulez. Between the end of 1945 and the beginning of 1946, the composer Paul le Flem made a conference tour in Sweden and Finland on the subject of French music.

The 7 January Jussi Jalas, who had become friends with the composer of Aucassin and Nicolette maintaining a fairly regular correspondence with him and his family, conducted a concert with the ORTF Orchestra at the Théâtre des Champs-Elyséés in Paris, which included Romance opus 42 and the obligatory Swan of Tuonela, as well as the first presentations in

France of extracts from The Tempest, Tapiola and the Fifth Symphony. In the February-March edition of La Revue musicale, Suzanne Demarquez spoke of 'Sibelius' solid, harmonious, passages, enveloped in a very evocative Nordic mist'.

In return, the composer and conductor Manuel Rosenthal was invited to perform in Finland. René Leibowitz an apostle of a rather dogmatic serialism, but also a keen follower of Satie and Offenbach, published an article and a pamphlet in 1955, the year of Sibelius' ninetieth birthday, in the worst taste entitled 'Sibelius the eternal old man' and Sibelius the worst composer in the world', paraphrasing with less talent Adorno's Glosse. In 1961 in an interview with Tanzberger, Leibowitz said that he had intended it as a joke and only knew to any extent Sibelius' Fifth and his Concerto. Later, by including Luonnotar amongst his four 'reference' works, the three others were from Bartok, Alban Berg and Charles Ives, on the programme of the Royan Festival in 1976, Harry Halbreich surprised and disconcerted 'musical' France.

However, the event was greeted by all, and soon, Hugues Dufourt was able to note with reason that 'by breaking the barrier put up by the Parisian critics' and allow Sibelius to take his place, it had been necessary that 'serialism had run its course' and above all the 'extinction of the inter-war period of materialism'. (…) By putting giving the spirit of the people a form, a specifically Finnish feeling, Sibelius had not marginalised his music, on the contrary he had introduced it

into the European concert'. And when in March 1922, Pascal Dusapin preceded his world premiere of his operatorio La Melancholia with the Fourth Symphony very few commentators were offended.

In England in 1944-1945, Sibelius recovered the popularity he had had in 1940 for ten or fifteen years, before temporarily going out of favour around 1960. Rosa Newmarch had died in 1940 and Henry Wood in 1944. The 2 August 1945 Basil Cameron again asked where the Eighth was, and Cecil Gray the same just before Sibelius' eightieth birthday. The 27 December 1946 Vaughan Williams wrote 'Please give us the Eighth soon!'. Then he asked again the 16 October 1947, 'Please give us a new symphony!'

The preface in the collective work published by Gerald Abraham in 1947 announced, 'The choice of Sibelius as the leading contemporary composer to be included in this series of books (after Tchaikovsky and Schubert and before Grieg and Schumann) is justified in itself. In England and in the USA, he is in fact almost generally considered as one of the greatest masters of the 20th century and certain would say with hesitation 'the greatest'. In the winter of 1948-1949, Sibelius was invited to participate as the guest of honour at the 1949 Edinburgh Festival, which he refused on the pretext that his doctor forbid him to travel, and in October of the same year the Philharmonic Society asked him if they could hope to hear the Eighth at the Festival of Britain foreseen in 1951.

The 8 December 1945, the day of his 80th birthday, Sibelius learnt that the Finnish government had increased his annual pension from 100,000 to 300,000 marks. He received congratulations from eighteen Russian composers including Prokofiev, Shostakovich and Kabalevsky, and in Turku Otto Andersson organised an important exposition with manuscripts, concert programs, autographed letters and publications. Naturally a grand concert was held in Helsinki that both Armas Järnefelt and Georg Schneevoigt wanted to conducted, which led to a rather comic situation.

Nils-Eric Ringbom, the head of the Philharmonic from 1942 to 1970, suggested to them several months in advance to share the programme. Schneevoigt immediately replied that Järnefelt had already conducted the concerts for the 70th and 75th birthday celebrations and that there was no question of that the 80th should be a ‘family affair’.

The two conductors finally accepted conducting one after the other, but they both demanded ending the concert with the Second Symphony. Järnefelt’s request arriving first, Ringbom suggested to Schneevoigt conduct the beginning of the programme with the full Lemminkäinen Suite. Schneevoigt accepted, but on the condition that that it was at the end of the programme and not at the beginning. Järnefelt then pointed out that his brother-in-law Sibelius had always wanted the Second at the end of concerts.

The 19 September, Ringbom sent an ultimatum to Schneevoigt, which he only replied to the 25 October,

accepting. Thus the 8 December the concert commenced with Schneevoigt and the Lemminkäinen Suite and ended with the Second Symphony conducted by Järnefelt.

The 80th birthday took place, as did the 85th and the 90th, with numerous messages, declarations and official as well as unofficial tributes from musicians everywhere, politicians and simple admirers.

The 8 December 1948, the day of his 83rd birthday, Sibelius was interviewed for the radio in Ainola. As to Helmuth Thierfelder, who was excluded from any professional activities for his role under the Nazi regime, he renewed contacts with Sibelius again the 8 December 1947, ‘Having watched how the world congratulated you for your 80th birthday last year, whilst I alone, in my poor country, forcibly prevented from working like my other colleagues, was very painful for me. But very certainly in the near future I will be allowed to practice my profession once again.’

This was the case in April 1951, when Thierfelder conducted in Tampere. At least until 1955 he did not fail to congratulate Sibelius for each of his birthdays, keeping him informed of his activities and at times those of his country, ‘The separation of Germany is a national disaster and one day it will be necessary to find a peaceful solution’ (8 December 1952, 87th birthday). According to Thierfelder, Sibelius said, ‘There is nothing more beautiful in the world than Mozart’s symphony in G-minor.’ He also said on another occasion that he was astonished that an admirer of Mozart such as he had never put a foot in Salzburg.

Robert Lienau still cherished the hope that his catalogue of Sibelius' works would be enriched, 'Yesterday I read in the newspaper that you were working on a new symphony, to be exact the Eighth. That would be no small event for our Lienau publishing house! But aren't you engaged to Hansen in Copenhagen?' (1 March 1947). Lienau continued to pay the composer royalties each year, but those from the DDR were more or less blocked. Sibelius wrote the 29 July 1953 that as it seemed impossible to pay him it would be just as well to forget them. He added these words that were typical of him, 'I hope with all my heart that the day is not far when everything will be well in Germany, and the vibrant culture of your country will flourish once again.'

Olin Downes manifested himself again in December 1945 with birthday wishes and Sibelius replied the 2 January 1946, 'I can sincerely assure you that of all the messages of congratulations received from the other side of the Atlantic yours was particularly welcome. As you know, few critics in the world have understood the spirit of my music like you, and without any doubt no one has done so much for it as you. When today, at the age of 80, I look for my real friends you are certainly one of the best.' The 15 December 1948, for his 83rd birthday, Downes wrote that he had just participated in a radio programme with Koussevitzky on the Seventh Symphony, adding, 'I have a record here of one of your airs, Arioso, sung by Aulikki Rautawaara and recorded by Telefunken. Here in New York there is a good cantarice, a certain Mrs Goerll, a friend of my good friend the musician and composer Edgar

Varèse. She would like to get hold of the orchestration for this air, which she would like to sing across America. Neither she nor Varèse have succeeded in discovering who published these orchestrations, nor where they can be found. Varèse has therefore asked me to write to you asking how or where Mrs Goerll could possible obtain this music in its orchestral version. If you find the time to let me know, he and Mrs Goerll would be very grateful.' Sibelius replied the 16 January 1949 advising Downes to contact Westerlund in Helsinki.

The following 15 April, Downes recommended Sibelius to the great Canadian photographer of Georgian origin Yosuf Karsh, 'not just a simple technician but a veritable artist. (…) I dare to ask you if you would allow him to take a few photographs of you, which he would prepare with the greatest care and submit for your approval before making the least use of them. (…) He plans to be in Helsinki from the 5-8 July.' Karsh was famous for his portraits of statesmen, intellectuals and artists, and in particular that of Winston Churchill which appeared on the front page of Life magazine in 1941. He arrived as planned in Helsinki in July 1949 and present Sibelius with a score given by Vaughan Williams of his Sixth Symphony (1948). He then took a series of the most magnificent photographs of Sibelius in his old age.

In 1960 he published one of these in Portraits of Greatness. 'It will be my last chance to have a good photograph, he said to me (but without sadness) allowing me to return the next day. (…) My favourite photo shows the composer with his eyes

almost closed, listening to music flowing from his imagination, his hands lying lightly on his chest. For me, this portrait echoed the powerful and sombre accents of Finlandia'. Often reproduced, this splendid photograph of Sibelius at the age of 83 with his eyes closed decorates the cover of Volume 5 of the Swedish edition of Tawaststjerna's biography.

Downes had hoped to be present at the first of the Sibelius festivals (or Sibelius Weeks) that took place in June from 1951 to 1965 in Helsinki (the year of the centenary), but had to abandon his plans. The composer wrote expressing his disappointment ('I would have liked to shake your hand after so many years,' 18 May 1951) and the 12 October wrote again, 'They say that the times change and we change with them, the same goes for the good old Kämp Hotel, where I never go now. The room where we used to go does not exist any more. It is no more than a memory, as so many things in this world.'

In one of the last letters from Downes to Sibelius (22 May 1952), he wrote, 'Here in Paris there is a lot of music, especially at a festival called "L'oeuvre du XX siècle" (The work of the 20th century), said to represent the music of the 'free nations' of the Western world. There was however no symphony of Sibelius on its programmes. There was not even a symphony of Vaughan Williams, no great work of the greatest composer of the two Americas, Heitor Villa-Lobos of Brazil, or many others. But three programmes were entirely consecrated to Stravinsky1. One thing that remains fresh and intact in Paris is the chi-chi! There are the pretences and hypocrisies that I

met when I arrived here for the first time in 1924 after the First World War. I find that extremely tiring. I am also physically tired (as a member of the jury at the Queen Elisabeth Piano Competition, Downes endlessly shuttled backwards and forwards between Paris and Brussels). I have never worked as much as here, and it is the last time that I come to Europe as the correspondent of a newspaper. Basically I came here with the wish to meet you again, and I hope that you will not be too tired or too busy to see me when I am in Finland. (…) In any case it will be wonderful to be in the same place as you again. (Between the two of us, I find Ormandy's interpretations of your symphonies only moderately good!) Aufwiedersehen dear Maestro.'

The fifth and last meeting between Sibelius and Downes took place in June 1952, during the second Sibelius Week, during which Downes was present at Ormandy's performances. To his great disappointment, he could not return the following year for the third Week in 1953, 'After all it seems I cannot hope to see you or listen to M. Jalas conduct your Fourth Symphony, that which I prefer and which I rarely hear performed correctly' (16 June, from Stockholm).

Shortly after Sibelius's 85th birthday, Wilhelm Furtwängler and the Vienna Philharmonic present concerts in Stockholm (25 September) and in Helsinki (27 September) with En Saga on the programme on both occasions. The Stockholm concert, which also included Haydn's symphony in G-major No94 known as The Surprise and Beethoven's Fifth still exists on a

CD recording. Thus two versions of En Sage by Furtwängler exist, that of Berlin in 1943 and that of Stockholm in 1950. After his Helsinki concert, Furtwängler visited Ainola. Several photographs show him with Sibelius, the most well known shows them shaking hands.

Later in the year, impressed by this unique meeting and the 85th birthday celebrations that took place everywhere, Furtwängler noted, as he had done in Berlin in 1940 after his performance of the Second Symphony, 'At a time like today, where the pursuit of artistic is so often questioned, the monument to humanity, in what is so great and undying, edified by Sibelius with his music is even more precious. Filled with admiration, the world pays tribute to a man who has done more for his country than what a musician is normally given to do.'

The other photograph, taken on his 85th birthday, shows Sibelius with Paasikivi, both of them smoking a cigar. The president of Finland, who did not consider it below him to make the journey to Ainola, bestowed the country's highest civilian honour on the composer of Finlandia. In 1951 Isaac Stern probably accompanied at the piano played the Concerto in Ainola.

On his return from the USA Ormandy wrote on the 27 August to Sibelius that he had received from Breitkopf & Härtel the authorisation to conduct the complete Lemminkäinen Suite in America and that he had sent to Ainola, as promised, a record played for listening to long playing records. Ormandy returned

to conduct in Helsinki in 1952, in 1955 (with the Philadelphia Orchestra) and in 1965. A photograph from that time shows the members of the Philadelphia Orchestra under the rain in front of Ainola, with Sibelius, Ormandy and Eva Paloheimo on the front steps.

After his meeting with Sibelius in 1954, during a press conference at the Kämp Hotel, Beecham replied to a journalist who had asked what kind of impression the composer had made on him, ‘I still thought that he was like a boxer’. Some time after Sibelius asked Beecham to record The Oceanides, the only recording that existed (that of Boult from 1936) was a little to quick for him. ‘Of course I’ll recorded The Oceanides and any other piece you choose’, the Beecham replied the 5 March 1955.

The 24 November, in a radio programme just before the 90th birthday, Beecham talked of different works, including ‘this strange piece, really very strange, The Oceanides, which in passing he asked me to record. I don’t know why. I will ask him one day why he had especially asked for that. Of course I will do it, naturally.’ The recording took place in December, and the result was a ‘reference’ for the work.

The 8 December, Sibelius’s 90th birthday, Beecham conducted a memorable concert at the Royal Festival Hall in London that Sibelius listened to live in Ainola, the programme included Swanwhite, the Fourth Symphony, Pelléas and Mélisande and Tapiola. Before the interval Sir Thomas Beecham was made First Class Commander of the Order of the

White Rose of Finland by the Finnish ambassador to Great Britain.

Messages and tributes accumulated as the years passed, about one thousand two hundred just for his 90th birthday, including one from Gerda Busoni. The French violinist Ginette Neveu for example wrote the 23 January1947: ‘I was greatly moved to think that my performance pleased you, since my regretted master Carl Flesch introduced me to your magnificent concerto, which I have never ceased to play, especially in England, France and Belgium, and perhaps you know that I have made a recording in London at His Masters Voice (in November 1945 under the guidance of Walter Legge, with the Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Walter Süsskind).’

In May 1950, the Swedish composer Hilding Rosenberg said that the Fourth Symphony had made one of the greatest impressions of his youth on him. For the 83rd birthday in December 1948, the Baritone Lawrence Tibbett and the soprano Marian Anderson, who Sibelius had recommended to Olin Downes in 1935, helped to send to Ainola from America, in the name of the National Arts Foundation, an enormous quantity of cigars.

In November 1953, it was Harriet Cohen who, on behalf of Winston Churchill, sent cigars to the composer. She wrote the 3 December, ‘You can imagine I miss Arnold Bax terribly. Former President Truman was amongst those who sent their wishes for his 89th birthday. For the 90th birthday the conductor Hans Rosbaud, who had given the premiere of

Boulez's Marteau sans maître, a great apostle of 'contemporary' music and in particular of the Vienna School, announced he had conducted the Fourth and the Fifth in Baden-Baden, 'The universe of your music opened in all its depth for me, which fills me with joy. It is with conviction and inner enrichment that I engage myself for your art.' In March 1957 Rosbaud recorded a magnificent Tapiola with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra and in then in June 1959 conducted a memorable Fourth in Helsinki.

The six years of war formed a pause in the history of Finland and especially from the point of view of music. Finnish society was deeply transformed and after 1945 a new generation of composers appeared whose orientation strongly differed in general from that of their predecessors. The object here is not to make an inventory but it is impossible not to mention Einar Englund one of those who fought on the front. He made a name by ostensibly turning his back on romantico-national tradition, especially with his first two symphonies, that of 1946 bore the title Symphony N°1 or 'War Symphony'. At the beginning influenced by the Stravinsky neoclassicism, by Shostakovich and by Bartok, Englund published his memoirs in 1996 significantly entitled, to his eyes at least, Skuggan av Sibelius (In the Shadow of Sibelius). Bartok was said to be the 'modern' composer most appreciated by Sibelius, probably not for the same reasons as Englund. The composer of Tapiola said to Santeri Levas, Bartok was a great genius, but he died in poverty in America. I don't know what he thought of my music, but I have great consideration for his.'

The complexes felt and the critics formulated by Englund and a few others vis-à-vis the ‘cult’ of Sibelius if not his art were not shared by all. In 1999 Bergman told Vesa Siren, ‘Jussi Jalas telephoned me saying that the Master had heard my concert over the radio and wanted to see me. I was astonished and wondered why I had this honour. I don’t remember exactly which concert it was but it was in the 1940s, in any case I went to Ainola.

‘Sibelius immediately said that he was pleased to meet me, and that he had heard said Finnish composers worked in the shadow of Sibelius. “I now know that there is someone who does not want to be in my shadow and who does not need to

be.” This visit lasted two hours, he served me coffee and Cognac, and I noted that his hands trembled quite a lot. Knowing my tendency as a composer, he told me that in his younger days he had a great enthusiasm for Schönberg’s music, and he seemed very happy that something new was born in his country. I did not meet him again, but he often sent me his greetings via Jussi Jalas after reading my articles or hearing my music on the radio.’

In April 1950, after his second visit to Paris, where he had spent six months, Uuno Klami said that in France there was also a Schönbergian school, adding that in his opinion, given its purely theoretical side, it did not correspond to the artistic temperament of the French. In any case during the 1950s he was the only important Finnish composer who did not adopt the serial technique.

A telegram arrived in Ainola in December 1953 dated the 8th, ‘We salute you with the most profound admiration and affection for your (88th) birthday. We celebrated it by listening to the recordings that we just completed of your Fourth Symphony and Tapiola, which we will send to you hoping that it will please you. Walter Legge. Herbert von Karajan.’

Legge wrote to him again the 1 September 1954, ‘Some time ago I wrote to you to tell you that we had recorded your Fourth and Fifth and Tapiola with Herbert von Karajan and the Philharmonic Orchestra1. (…) Of all the important conductors, Karajan is in my opinion he who penetrates your music the most deeply. If you have been fully satisfied with the

performance of these recordings, I would be infinitely pleased if you could write to me and let me know. What I intend to do in fact is record all your symphonies so that they come out for your 90th birthday2. (…) You will have probably forgotten, but in 1937 you were kind enough to send me metronomic indications for the end of the Fourth Symphony, they turned out to be invaluable for us during the recording of the symphony, and for me this was very gratifying to learn that several American critics had noted that for the first time, the marvellous last two pages of the Fourth Symphony appeared under a completely new light.'

Sibelius replied the 15 September, 'It is with pleasure that I inform you of my enthusiasm for these recordings. As you know I have always had a great admiration for Mr von Karajan, and his magnificent interpretations of my works have given me the greatest satisfaction. Especially the Fourth Symphony, his great artistic sense and the inner beauty of his interpretation have greatly impressed me. Kindly give him my very great thanks.'

Then the 11 May 1955, 'You have no doubt wondered why I have not written to thank you for the excellent recordings of my Fourth and Fifth Symphonies. I have now listened to them several times, and all that I can say is that I am happy. Karajan is a great master. His interpretations are superb, technically and musically. In the presentation text, (…) I noted the phrase 'God opens his door etc.'. In my correspondence, I have often used the expressions already used by the addressee, which was also

the case on this occasion. That my words have been taken seriously surprises me. The Sibelius Festival approaches, and all Finland, commencing with myself, is waiting for Elisabeth Schwarzkopf. I know of her great work from her records, and I am delighted she will sing here in June. Please give her my sincere regards and my admiration. During the Sibelius Week, Elisabeth Schwarzkopf sung Luonnotar amongst works.

Legge related that Sibelius considered von Karajan as the ‘only one who could play exactly what I wanted to say’, and how the composer had told her at their last meeting, ‘Karajan is the only one who really understands my music. Our old friend Beecham always made it sound as if he had learnt and conducted it from the first violin score’. The question remains as to whether these two stories told by Legge and especially the second be taken seriously or not?

From 1947 Legge and von Karajan had envisaged recording the Seventh. At the beginning of 1953, Legge had even thought of recording Shakespeare’s The Tempest with Sibelius’ stage music. The 23 March Sibelius’ reacted to this project, ‘The music for The Tempest (…) was composed on the basis of Danish words. (It) is not suited to the English original, but the Danish text should be translated by someone really competent. (…) I composed the two suites freely interpreted from the stage music, evidently vaster than these.’ Nothing was undertaken, but the recordings of Sibelius’ works up until 1955 by von Karajan are, whether it is liked or not, and in spite of some singularities, had become legendary. It was also the case of

several of the following, made from 1965 with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra.

The recordings of von Karajan that Sibelius had heard were certainly a source of great pleasure in his last years. Invited by the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (Music Friends Society) to a concert in Vienna, the 13 October he replied to Rudolph Gamsjäger the secretary general of the society, ‘It would be a great experience for me to see the old and good city of Vienna as a guest of your Society, known throughout the entire world. But to my great regret, I have to tell you that my great age does not allow such a journey. I consider your invitation as a great honour, and sincerely regret being unable to accept it. Please give Herrn Professor Karajan my warmest greetings. I can say that it would be a great pleasure to hear him conduct. I have recently received his recordings of my symphonies No4 and No5, which are absolutely remarkable.’

‘A few days before the 20 September, my father felt a little tired, which did not prevent him from taking his daily walk and went to bed that evening a little earlier than usual. No one suspected that this time it was something unusual. (On his previous walk the 18th), my father was in the garden under the clear autumn sun, when some cranes arrived, flying very low in a triangle and making their cries like the sound of trumpets, (…) one of them even fly around the house. My mother came running, and later described the expression of profound happiness when he exclaimed, radiantly, ‘They are here, the birds of my youth.’ (…) The morning of the 20 September was

as usual. My father dressed and sat at the table facing my mother when my mother suddenly saw that he was slowly collapsing to the left, the sign of a cerebral attack! It was around one o'clock in the afternoon. The doctor was immediately called. My father was unconscious. This situation continued all day, from time to time he murmured something, but never really gained consciousness. My sister Eva Paloheimo and myself had already arrived in Ainola, the other girls came later. A nurse came. But towards nine in the evening, my father left us without any pain. By chance at this same instant, his Fifth Symphony was being played in Helsinki by Malcolm Sargent. My father had already been pleased to hear this on the radio.

Thus began the words of Katarina Ilves, the third daughter of the composer, written at the request of Ernst Tanzberge. The 19 September, Sibelius had written to Tanzberger, and had spoke to Malcolm Sargent on the telephone. Aino had been a little worried to see him go to bed earlier than normal, instead of waiting for the late news in Swedish at eleven as he usually did. From a later account by Katarina, it seems that Sibelius was half conscious when she and Eva arrived at Ainola in the afternoon of the 20th. Eva whispered into his ear, 'Papa, it's Eva and Kaj.' To which he replied in a whisper 'Eva and Kaj', his last words. At the time of Malcolm Sargent's concert, Aino wanted to switch on the radio, hoping that the sounds of the Fifth would bring him back to conscious, but decided not to. At a quarter past nine in the evening, the doctor declared him dead.

The Finnish government having finally decided that Sibelius would have a national funeral, the coffin was transported during the evening of Sunday the 29th to the Cathedral of Helsinki. The funeral ceremony took place Monday 30 September at midday, in the presence of the President of Finland, members of the government and representatives of many different countries. Aino and President Urho Kekkonen placed a wreath on the coffin, and a speech was given by Yrjö Kilpinen as member of the Finnish Academy. The ceremony ended with The Swan of Tuonela and In Memoriam. The coffin was borne from the cathedral by several Finnish composers, and a long procession set out through the streets of Helsinki, lined on both sides by students and an immense crowd.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book could not have been written without the immense quantity of information and historical facts published on the Internet and in the world press collected over a period of years as well as the many books written by numerous biographers and musicologists to mention a few Grimley, Hepokoski, Barnett, Tarnow, Goss, Tawaststjerna and Vignal, which involved months of translation, rewriting and research.

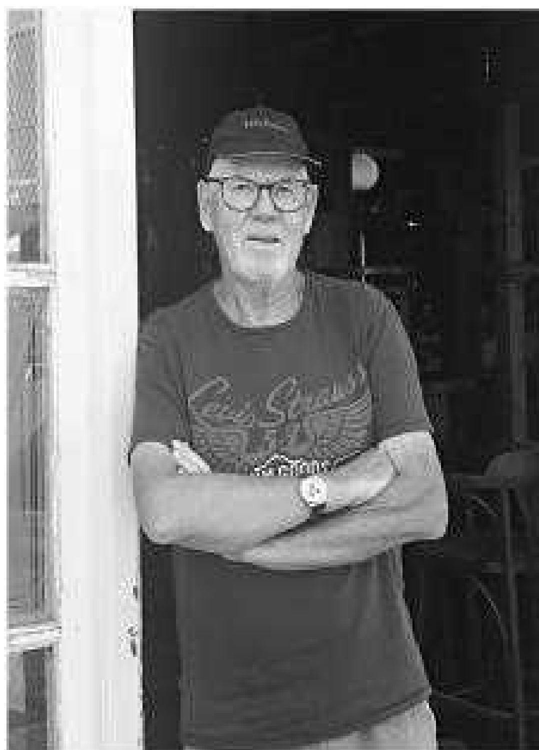
I present my thanks and excuses to all the willing and unwilling contributors to the information included in this book, I am neither the first or the last to add my grain of sand using the information supplied by others especially those who lived in those times. I have tried to verify all the facts, but this is an impossible task. In my humble opinion most data is subjective.

This book is distributed free of charge in the interest of all those who seek to learn more about Europe and Finland in particular and the great creators who have contributed to its wealth of culture.

With my very sincere thanks to all contributors, direct and indirect, knowing and unknowing, willing and unwilling.

John Francis Kinsella

Paris, June 20, 2021



Other books by John Francis Kinsella

Fiction

Borneo Pulp

Offshore Islands

The Legacy of Solomon

The Plan

The Prism 2049

The Lost Forest

Death of a Financier

The Turning Point 2007-2008

The Collection

A Redhead at the Pushkin

The Last Ancestor

Cornucopia

A Weekend in Brussels

The Cargo Club

100 Seconds to Midnight

The Gilgamesh Project

Book I The Codex

Book II La Isla Bonita

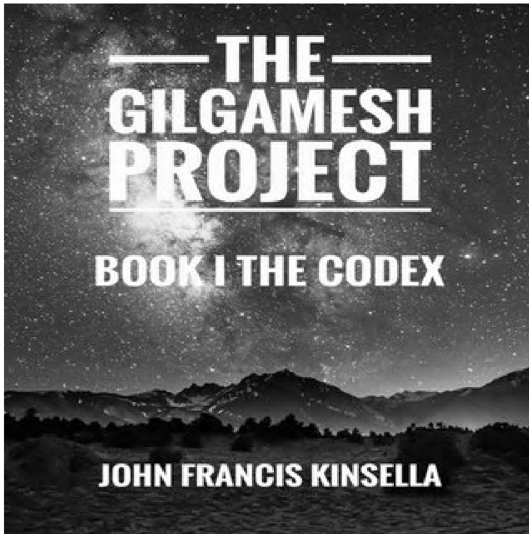
Book III La Villa Contessa

Book IV Ibiza

Book V Cuba

AUDIOBOOK

Book I The Codex and Book II La Isla Bonita are now available in Audiobook form, narrated by the author. They can be found at many well-known distributors.



Non-fiction

An Introduction to Early Twentieth Century Chinese Literature

Translations

Le Point de Non Retour

The Sorrow of Europe

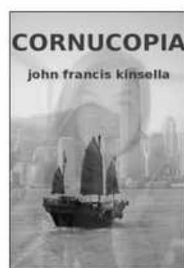
The Temple of Solomon

Jean Sibelius A biography

Understanding Architecture

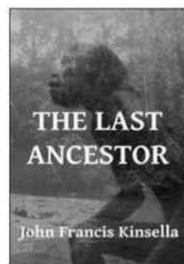
L'île de l'ouest

a
REDHEAD
at the
PUSHKIN
john francis kinsella


CORNUCOPIA
john francis kinsella

A WEEKEND
IN
BRUSSELS
John Francis Kinsella

THE
COLLECTION


THE LAST
ANCESTOR
John Francis Kinsella

JOHN FRANCIS KINSELLA
BORNEO PULP

THE PLAN
2009-2010 the crisis bites
john francis kinsella

OFFSHORE
ISLANDS
JOHN FRANCIS KINSELLA

THE
TURNING
POINT
John
Francis
Kinsella

This is an authorised free edition from
www.obooko.com

Although you do not have to pay for this e-book, the author's intellectual property rights remain fully protected by international Copyright law. You are licensed to use this digital copy strictly for your personal enjoyment only: it must not be redistributed commercially or offered for sale in any form. If you paid for this free edition, or to gain access to it, we suggest you demand an immediate refund and report the transaction to the author.