

## Sibelius in the Context of the Finnish-German History

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### Introduction

The life and career of a composer cannot be considered as an isolated case without taking into account the wider context. The history of ideas and ideologies is always part of any serious enquiry into an artist's personal history. Therefore we must bear in mind at least four points when considering the actions of artist and his or her country. Firstly, as the eminent Finnish historian Matti Klinge has observed, "the biggest challenge for understanding history is trying to situate oneself in the preconditions of the time-period under scrutiny while remembering that it did not know what the posterity knows." [1] Writing history is not primarily a task whereby the historian provides lines for actors to speak, but rather is an attempt to understand and explain why something happened, and to construct a context including all of the possible factors involved in a certain historical process. Secondly, supporting (or not opposing) an ideology prevailing at a certain time does not mean that the supporter (or non-opponent) is committing a crime. We could easily condemn half of the European intellectuals for supporting Fascism, Nazism, Communism or Maoism, or just for having become too easily attracted by these – in their mind – fascinating, visionary ideologies to shape European or world history. Thirdly, history has always been written by the winners – and thus, historiography tends to be distorted by exaggerating the evil of the enemy and the goodness of the victor. A moral verdict must be reached when we are dealing with absolute evil, but it is rare to find exclusively good or bad persons or civilizations; therefore history is rarely an issue of black and white. Fourthly, it has been said that "The great nations have always acted like gangsters, and the small nations like prostitutes." [2] It is easy for the big victorious countries to condemn the small ones, especially when the latter were on the "wrong" side. And we must ask: who cared about the fate of the small countries? For instance, the Baltics for decades have accused the Allies of having left them on their own, of having betrayed them, during World War II because of the politics of the great powers, resulting in the occupation of the Baltic countries by the Soviet Union. Finland's destiny in the game of the big powers could have been the same: to be occupied either by the Soviet Union or Germany; but it was a survivor, owing to its forced alliance with Germany and some fortunate turns of history.

We know that Stalin's plan to occupy Finland was sketched immediately after the Winter War in 1939–40, and that the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Molotov, according to the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, had asked Ribbentrop in Berlin in November 1940 for permission to occupy Finland. Finland's chances of survival were thus minimal. The Finns – perhaps with the exception of the extreme Finnish Communists – were afraid of the probable invasion of the Soviets during the period of 1939–45, and Germany was their only ally, although far from a reliable or desired one. In this situation, Finland was at the mercy of the big powers, when no aid was given by the Allies, in order not to irritate Stalin, nor by the Scandinavian countries, because of their "understandable egoism," well understood then by J. K. Paasikivi, a future President [3] – an egoism itself caused by the pressure of Germany and the Soviet Union.

### Prehistory with Germany

Finland's path to war alongside the Germans in WW II – its *Waffenbrüderschaft* – had a long prehistory, reaching back to the time of the medieval Hanseatic League. Finland's Reformation under the Swedish monarch's jurisdiction during the sixteenth century was linked, of course, with Germany, since the reformer and the translator of the Finnish Bible, Mikael Agricola (c. 1510–57), studied under Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon. The first liturgical and hymn books were printed in Germany. During the nineteenth century, indeed well into the twentieth century, practically all Finnish printed music was engraved in Germany.

Finnish nationalism fuelling the drive for independence was imported from Germany to Finland by the Hegelian philosopher and statesman Johan Vilhelm Snellman (1806–81), as was the Herderian idea of a national epos, the *Kalevala* (1835, 1849), created by Elias Lönnrot (1802–84). When the first generation of Finnish musicians was sent to study abroad in 1850s and 1860s, financed by the Finnish government or Senate, these students attended the principal conservatoires of Germany, primarily the Leipzig Conservatory. The founder of the Helsinki Music Institute (since 1882) and the teacher of Sibelius, Martin Wegelius (1846–1906) was a fervent Wagnerian, who attended the first Bayreuth Festival. The curriculum of the Helsinki Music Institute followed the German model, and German repertoire was at the core of its instruction.

Thus, with regard to the pro-German orientation of both Sibelius and Finland, there was a long tradition. As early as the nineteenth century, Finnish engineers and medical doctors studied in Germany and Switzerland; they created a scientific network by participating in conferences and inviting guest professors to Finland; additionally, German scientists were often requested to provide evaluations regarding applications for Finnish professorships. A total of 270 scholars from Helsinki University made foreign visits 322 times in 1939–44: 128 of these visits were to Sweden, while Germany held second place with 88 visits.[4]

### **Sibelius's relations with Germany**

It is thus no wonder that Sibelius, too, studied in Berlin and Vienna in 1889–91, and during his early career was strongly influenced by Wagner. Sibelius visited Germany 28 times and always wanted to win appreciation there. His main publishers were German: Lienau and Breitkopf & Härtel, a fact that proved an obstacle for him in France when trying to secure performances there from the 1910s to the 1930s, as the German publishers did do "only a little or nothing in order to make Finnish music to be present in Paris." [5].

The Finnish Civil War in 1918 determined Sibelius's close relations with Germany for the rest of his life. One dimension of his pro-German orientation, shared by almost all Finnish intellectuals, was the fear of Bolshevism, as his and his family's lives were threatened by the Reds during the Finnish Civil War, which was initiated by the Reds with the support of Russian soldiers. In 1917 he composed the *March of the Finnish Jäger Battalion* 'in a mood of a high patriotic fervour' [6] for the Finnish volunteers who were sent to Germany in 1915 to be able to assist when the moment came for Finland to detach itself from Russia. In the Civil War, the White army and the Jägers were assisted by German troops in the spring of 1918 to achieve victory over the Reds.

His encounter with the German soldiers in 1918 was a uniquely solemn moment in Sibelius life. He wrote to the director of Breitkopf & Härtel, Oskar von Hase, that "those emotions I felt on shaking hands with your German heroes cannot easily be described – one only experiences them once in a lifetime." [7] Sibelius characterized the troops' commander, Count von der Goltz, as "a cultured and urbane person... who had heard many of my compositions. I have had dealings also with other German officers, who are real gentlemen." [8] The same kind of emotions were kindled once again in Finland by German officers staying there during the so-called Continuation War from 1941 to 1944, as will be discussed shortly.

Finland's close contacts with Germany already then, during the 1918 war, were strengthened further by the decision of the Finnish Parliament to appoint a German king in Finland – a plan that came to nothing when Germany lost the war. Actually, when in late May of 1918, an appeal for support of monarchy was published, Sibelius's name was on a list with his very good friends, like Werner Söderhjelm, Robert Kajanus, Eero Järnefelt, and Eliel Saarinen. [9] It was symptomatic that in January 1918, when Finland's independence was celebrated at a festive occasion in the Swedish Theatre of Helsinki, the German flags were hanging with the Finnish lion flags both outside and inside of the building; the same flags decorated also the Helsinki University's Great Hall, when a concert was given to honor the German troops in Helsinki! It is also interesting that perhaps for the first time already then Count von der Goltz used in his speech the concept of "comrades-in-arms" (*vapenbrödrarskap*). [10] (Something similar happened, when a Finnish Music Festival was arranged in Wiesbaden in 1943: in a picture from a concert, the Finnish composer Ernst Linko is at the piano accompanying the Finnish soprano Aune Antti – the Finnish flag surrounded by swastika flags. [11])

### **Sibelius and Nazi Germany**

It is easy to think that Sibelius's life from 1928 onwards was finally in order, after Finland had signed the Berne Convention on copyright and when his music was being played regularly all over the world. At the same time it is shocking, however, to read about the setbacks he experienced when trying to get his music published, both in Europe and in the USA, as well as the trouble he had trying to get his best works performed in Germany as late as in 1935, as happened in Hamburg connected with the Tonkünstlerfest des Allgemeinen Deutschen Musikvereins. Sibelius was not given any special honor, as from him only the 40 years old *Karelia Suite* was performed, which irritated the composer, who wrote the following diary entry: "An internat.[ional] music festival in Hamburg, in which I was 'represented' by the *Karelia Suite* comp.[osed] in 1894, which depresses me. Because I have not 'understood' the games behind the coulisses, I have to suffer from my deeds." [12] Instead, the "Songs of Death" (*Lieder um den Tod*) by Yrjö Kilpinen, who was already then enjoying a brilliant career in Germany and elsewhere, and really was the Nazi-minded composer of Finland, was held "sensational", whereas Sibelius's name was not even mentioned in the review of the Musik magazine. [13]

The turning point came in the very same year, 1935, when Sibelius received the Goethe Medal from Hitler. During the 1930s, Sibelius received further distinctions and titles from Nazi Germany and many invitations to visit Nazi Germany's music festivals, and also to extend greetings and articles for various purposes, but it is important to note that in general he reacted only in a formal way to these honors and invitations from Germany, preferring to stay home and receive his medals and decorations in Helsinki, delivered by the German ambassador to Finland, Wipert von Blücher.[14]

In 1934 he was chosen by Richard Strauss as one of the three vice-presidents of the Ständiger Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten, along with Adriano Lualdi and Albert Roussel.[15] Although Gerhard Splitt says that all three had accepted the invitation, Ruth-Maria Gleißner has not found any documentary evidence of this acceptance in Sibelius's personal documents, nor is it obvious how Strauss would have succeeded in obtaining Sibelius's approval, although it is possible that a third person, like Kilpinen, the Finnish ambassador in Berlin or the German ambassador in Helsinki, acted here as an intermediary.[16] No documents have come to light indicating that the nomination meant anything at all to Sibelius; at any rate he did not – to our knowledge – participate in its activities, although his name was exploited in this way for German propaganda purposes.[17]

Accepting the Goethe Medal from Hitler in 1935 has been interpreted as a shameful act. But was there anything to be ashamed of, since in 1932 the medal had been awarded to Gerhardt Hauptmann, Thomas Mann and Wilhelm Furtwängler? Although the New Germany under Hitler was not the same as Weimar Germany, and some nominees decided to decline the medal – as did Romain Rolland – others, at least in Finland, perceived a continuation from the old regime to the new one, and thus it was possible to accept the Goethe Medal from Hitler, much in the same way as foreign composers or musicians had to become members of the Reichsmusikkammer – Sibelius included – in order to continue their activities in the Germany. And since Sibelius could continue his relations with the new composers' organizations, like the Stagma and Reichsmusikkammer, founded by the Third Reich to substitute for the older organizations, the Genossenschaft deutscher Komponisten and Gema, to which Sibelius had also belonged (1907– and 1918–), in order to guarantee his royalties from Germany, it is logical that he accepted and appreciated the Goethe Medal[18]

We have to remember that in 1935 Hitler's Germany was still admired widely in the world; the Berlin Olympic Games in 1936 were, for example, not boycotted by France, Great Britain or the USA, as most countries still did not want to isolate Germany politically, although there was also great controversy in the USA, in the UK and also in some Scandinavian countries about participating in the Olympics, again in Finland there was no such discussion. Anyway, Sibelius received the Goethe Medal from the German ambassador in Helsinki, Wipert von Blücher, as a logical continuation of his relations with Hitler's Germany. It is significant that Sibelius benefitted from the medal on just one occasion, in 1936, when he fought to secure better royalties from Stagma, the new German office for performing rights.

In 1935 Sibelius was approached by officials from the City of Hamburg, as he was awarded by the Brahms medal of Hamburg along with Kurt Atterberg, Albert Roussel, Hans Pfitzner, Emil von Reznicek and Siegmund von Hausegger, among others.[19] Sibelius, naturally, had done nothing for Hamburg, although he received this award for being one of the Vice-Presidents of the Ständiger Rat, and once again he received the medal in Helsinki, much in the same way as Roussel, who was given his medal in Paris by the German ambassador in France.[20] In 1936 Sibelius was awarded an honorary doctorate by the University of Heidelberg. The Finnish pro-German and Nazi-minded professor of mathematics Rolf Nevanlinna received the same honor. He was as disappointed by the absence of Sibelius from the award ceremony as he was pleased by his own invitation, as reported by his pupil and biographer Olli Lehto .[21]

Furthermore, in 1936, Sibelius was invited to attend the Reichsmusiktagen of the Hitler Youth, but again he managed to avoid accepting the invitation with some cleverly formulated words in his letter of thanks.[22]

The Nordische Gesellschaft, a society for economic and cultural exchange between Germany and Scandinavia (including Finland), founded in 1921 and later in the 1930s directed by Alfred Rosenberg, who was also the editor-in-chief of the Völkische Beobachter, was a cleverly camouflaged organization to propagate National Socialist ideology and the 'Nordic Thought' (Nordische Gedanke). Its main proponents in Finland were the writer Maila Talvio, the linguist Jooseppi Julius Mikkola and the professor-poet Veikko Antero Koskenniemi. The organization tried several times to involve Sibelius in its activities, and its invitations did not commence only in the 1930s but much earlier in the 1920s. During the 1920s, Sibelius received several invitations to conduct his works at Nordic music festivals: from the Nordische Woche Lübeck ("Nordic Week Lübeck") in 1921, from the Nordische Musikwoche Heidelberg in 1923, which was postponed to 1924, and in Kiel in 1929.[23] Even if these festivals had nothing to do with National Socialism, or only with its embryonic beginnings, in the sense of the "Nordic Idea" – in order to "bring closer the Nordic and German cultures" – it is noteworthy that Sibelius unhesitatingly declined all these flattering invitations in which he was characterized, for instance, as "the leading and supreme figure among the Nordic composers." [24]

Sibelius received from Heidelberg four letters between 1923 and 1924, also one from the mayor (Bürgermeister) of the city, but nothing changed: Sibelius stayed at home to the bitter disappointment of the German organizers, who also expressed their disappointment in their letters. In the Nazi period, these invitations began with the Nordisches Musikfest, held in Lübeck in 1935, and some articles on him appeared in its magazine *Der Norden*, but Sibelius never performed any services for it. At Christmas 1936 he received the famous "Lübeck marzipan", along with 42 other Finns, although he had done nothing for the society.[25] Likewise, in 1939 he rejected a proposal to write an article dealing with his personal relation to Germany[26] for the yearbook of the Nordische Gesellschaft, entitled *Zwiesgespräch zwischen den Völkern* ["Dialogue between the Nations"].

Sibelius's many rejections of invitations to visit Germany in the 1920s seem strange – although he did travel to Berlin later in 1931 – because he thereby lost at the same time possibilities to promote his music in Germany, where he always wanted to be appreciated! This attitude can only be explained by his own personality, since he always felt somewhat embarrassed when put in the limelight. For instance, so early as in 1915 after having survived his 50th birthday celebrations, he made the following entry in his diary: "I have become tired of these courtesies. Longing for working, which only makes life valuable." [27] The other thing is that even if he sometimes made exceptions, he had already early in his career decided not to express himself in literary form, only through his music. He explained his attitude to Georg Boldemann (October 20, 1943): "When I began my career, I made a strong decision to be productive only in my music. I have always – as You know – kept to this decision. Even when the big global newspapers (for instance *The Times* and *New York Times*, to mention the biggest ones) have asked me to publish my opinions on musical matters. [...] I have thus absolutely rejected all the attempts to publish my private thoughts in any newspaper. [...] I can at the moment defend myself only in remaining silent. [...] During the last ten years I have personally written only to very few friends. And among them are my dear friends Georg and Lina Boldmann." [28]

### **The German Sibelius Society**

The establishment in 1942 of the German Sibelius Society (Sibelius-Gesellschaft) was a major event, although it has to be remembered that the first Sibelius Society in the UK had been founded as early as 1932 to promote Sibelius's music and recordings of it there. The timing of the founding of the German Sibelius Society was closely linked with the political situation, although it also drew upon on a mutual aspiration of Nazi Germany and Finland to increase cultural exchange between the two countries – an attempt to strengthen the Finnish comrade-in-arms policy (*Waffenbrüderschaft*), and thereby help bolster belief in the success of the war on the eastern front. Sibelius's speech, broadcast on the radio, is interesting for its use of apposite clichés.[29] but does not include anything exceptional, since it was in full accord with Finnish war policy; probably the formulations were chosen in cooperation with some high-ranking politician from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[30]

Sibelius's statement is given here in its complete and final version both in original German and in English translation:

"Mit tiefer Freude danke ich für Ihre warmen Worte Herr Generalintendant. Die grosse Sympathie für mein Vaterland in diesen Zeiten der Schicksalsgemeinschaft und das Interesse für meine Musik, die auch durch die Gründung der "Deutsche Sibelius-Gesellschaft" zum Ausdruck gekommen, machen mich stolz und glücklich.

Aus den finnischen Wäldern sende ich meinen Gruss an Deutschland, das strahlende Land der Musik." [31]

[With deep joy I thank you for the warm words, Mr General Intendant. The great sympathy towards my fatherland in these times of common destiny and your interest in my music, which has become evident also with founding the "German Sibelius Society", make me proud and happy.

From the Finnish forests I send my greetings to Germany, the radiant land of music.]

Instead attending himself, Sibelius sent his daughter Katarina Ilves, wife of the banker Eero Ilves, who looked after Sibelius's financial affairs in Germany.

PLATE 1. The greeting of Jean Sibelius to the inauguration event of the German Sibelius Society in April 1942.

Mit tiefer Freude danke ich für  
Ihre warmen Worte. <sup>Der Generaldirektor</sup> Die grosse Sympathie  
für mein Vaterland in diesen Zeiten  
der {Schicksalsgemeinschaft} und das Interesse  
für meine Musik, die auch durch die  
Gründung der „Deutsche Sibelius-Gesellschaft“  
zum Ausdruck gekommen, machen mich  
stolz und glücklich.

Aus dem ~~finnischen~~ ~~Walden~~ sende ich  
meinen Gruss an Deutschland,  
~~das Land der Musik.~~  
Das strahlende Land der Musik.

### Germans who were in contact with Sibelius

Sibelius had contacts with some important figures in Nazi Germany. Since after 1931 he did not visit Germany, he met only individuals who visited Ainola or those he could meet in Helsinki. They included Hellmuth von Hase, director of Breitkopf & Härtel, who visited Sibelius in 1942; Anton Kloss, SS war reporter, who visited Sibelius in July 1942 and wrote an article on Sibelius published in September of that year; [32] Günther Thaer, translator of the *Kalevala*, who visited Ainola in 1935 and wrote on Sibelius for the *Völkischer Beobachter*; and Helmut Thierfelder, conductor, who had performed Sibelius's music as early as 1922 and met him several times in the 1930s and 1940s.

Among those with whom Sibelius corresponded were Hermann Gerigk, NSDAP musicologist and conductor, leader of Rosenberg's Music Department, who was supposed to visit Sibelius in 1942 and had been suggested as a potential Sibelius biographer; Heinz Drewes, president of the Sibelius-Gesellschaft (1942–), who planned to visit Ainola, although this plan never came to fruition; and Ernst Tanzberger, musicologist, who wrote a dissertation on Sibelius in 1943 and a Sibelius biography in 1962.

However, it has to be understood that Sibelius, although being pro-German, like probably most representatives of the Finnish scientific and cultural elites, for historical and artistic reasons was not a Nazi enthusiast, not at least compared with confirmed pro-Nazi Finns like Yrjö Kilpinen, Rolf Nevanlinna and others. Sibelius was, by contrast with many Finnish intellectuals, university professors, and artists, whose positive and supportive attitudes towards Nazi Germany were clear, obvious and unequivocal, much more cautious and reserved. Sibelius himself was always a wonderful host for all who were allowed to visit Ainola, regardless of their nationality; although there was a constant flow of visitors, their number had to be limited to a minimum as Sibelius grew older. The list of people with whom he corresponded is impressive indeed, including hundreds of people from all over the world, not limited to certain countries, although most of his correspondence and contacts with people were with Anglo-American, Scandinavian and German institutions and individuals.

### Sibelius's Appeal to the People of America

Sibelius was always ready to support the war efforts of his country to maintain its independence, much in the same way as he had been active in 1899–1918; these were difficult years in Finnish history, and during this period he composed dozens of pieces that openly or in a concealed way were meant to strengthen the strivings for independence. During

World War II, he helped his country in 1941 by addressing the American people via the Associated Press (13th July). His statement appeared in the *New York Times* under the rubric "Sibelius Appeals to U.S. To Understand Finn Case," and ran as follows:

"In 1939 my fatherland was attacked by the Bolsheviks. Enlightened American people then realized we were fighting not only for our freedom but for all Western civilization and they gave us valuable assistance. Now that the barbaric hordes of the East are again attacking us in their attempt to Bolshevize Europe, I am convinced that freedom-loving, intelligent American people will rightly understand and appreciate the present situation, realizing that the Bolshevization of Europe would annihilate freedom and civilization in this continent."

As this wording echoes the typical formulations used in speeches by high-ranking Finnish politicians, Sibelius's appeal was probably written by the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Compare this statement, for example, with President Risto Ryti's Diaries (27th October 1941):

"We are afraid and mistrustful of Bolshevism, which represents, in our opinion, a great cultural danger, and it would be a disaster for both Europe and world if it were to assume power. I am afraid that friendship with Bolshevism can become a misfortune for America [...] We are engaged in our own fight for our independence. The Germans' fight against the Russians will benefit the whole world if Germany is able to repel the danger caused by the Bolsheviks in Europe and in the world." [33]

Sibelius thereby placed his name and fame at the service of the Finnish nation and was happy about the Finnish-German "brotherhood-in-arms," as it was thought to protect Finland from Soviet occupation; but Sibelius never supported Nazi Germany at an ideological level, neither with his statements nor by means of visits to Germany. Sibelius never admired Hitler or the other Nazi leaders, and was extremely cautious in his utterances with regard to anything connected with the NS State. After the war Sibelius even made the following confession:

"I do hate dictatorship and war; even the thought of tyranny and suppression, slave labor and the persecution of people, destruction and mass murder make me sick in soul and body. This is one of the reasons why for more than twenty years I have created nothing, although with a peaceful heart I could have given the audience something." [34]

### **Newspaper articles on Sibelius in Germany**

It is against this background that we have to understand the content of his statements to German journalists whose words, put in his mouth, are probably at least partially unreliable. In connection with the founding of the Sibelius Society, the following sentences can be found in newspaper articles, although it is necessary to read first the warning included in a letter by his friend Helmut Thierfelder: "not everything that the newspapers write gains my approval, though it is mostly good and important." [35]

"I have already admired Germany for a long time, although my love did lack reciprocity [...] Germany and Finland have enjoyed a special bond in all the decisive epochs of the Western history [...] We Finns do not doubt even for an instant [...] that the war will end in Europe's favor." [36] Note that Sibelius does not say "in the signs of the New Europe" ("in einem europäischen Sinne"), which would have been a typical Nazi slogan, as used by Rosenberg and others!

"I am happy to live at precisely the time that will bring justice to the world, especially as I know so well Germany and the Germans. I wish you from the bottom of my heart a prompt victory. I do not doubt that you will accomplish it!" [37]

By 'justice' Sibelius obviously meant the defeat of Bolshevism, which had already threatened Finland and the Western world for more than two decades. The words put into his mouth closely resemble a telegram sent by Mannerheim to Hitler (June 4, 1943): "The Finnish army, inspired by the comrades-in-arms connection, gazes with admiration and trusts the proud and strong German army, being totally aware of the significance of the present battle of destiny." [38] And this was written by Mannerheim when diplomatic relations between Germany and Finland were at their worst – and, even then, the pretence had to be maintained, notwithstanding the inclination of the Finnish politicians to step back from the war and from the forced alliance with Germany. The statements by Sibelius and Mannerheim are similar and employ foreign policy protocol language, needed in the common battle against Bolshevism. However, to draw a conclusion from this that Sibelius was a Nazi sympathizer is simply erroneous. He was happy to see German soldiers and journalists, but he was always a good host to anybody who visited him, including English and American guests. [39]

### Some testimonies by the family members

Of course statements by Sibelius family members are not totally impartial, but it is still necessary to gain an impression of how they perceived the composer's opinions on world politics and, especially, his attitude towards Germany. Here are some illuminating evaluations, which prove that Sibelius had his own thoughts and opinions, and could not easily be fooled.

Laura Enckell (Sibelius's granddaughter) stated in 1965:

"Sibelius carefully followed politics and sometimes he grew impatient, for instance when he read for the first time what had been written in Finnish newspapers about Hitler's actions. My grandmother [Aino] was a good partner in this issue, as they had opposite views [...] Grandpa was in no respect Hitler-minded, as it has been erroneously thought because he received the Goethe medal from Hitler. But Hitler was admired, as he put Germany on its feet. At that early stage it was commonly believed that he was improving the life of the German nation." [40]

Erkki Virkkunen (Sibelius's grandson) recounted in 1997 that "Grandma admired Hitler a lot, but Grandpa said that 'he [Hitler] is no Christ to be adored and greeted in that way'." [41] This is compatible with the fact that Sibelius's wife Aino, despite her strong commitment to Finnish language, subscribed to the extreme right-wing Swedish-speaking Finnish newspaper *Svensk botten* ("Swedish Botnia", 1937–). [42] Therefore it is easy to believe the claim by Sibelius's grandson Timo Kirves: "When Hitler's cruel deeds were disclosed, this caused Grandma a great shock." [43]

Merike Ilves (Sibelius's granddaughter): "My grandmother was a rather ardent person in political issues. Mannerheim was her great idol. Also Svinhufvud was appreciated in our family. The attitude towards Germany was fairly positive during the war years; my father [Eero Ilves] was also German-minded. However, Sibelius in cultural issues was connected to England. In political discussions he was more conciliatory than Grandma." [44]

### Helmut Thierfelder

When Sibelius was enthusiastic with the German conductor and SS officer Helmut Thierfelder (1897–1966), it was not because Sibelius was a Nazi-minded opportunist, but because Thierfelder had been promoting his music in Germany and other countries since 1922 and continued to do so after the war! Thierfelder visited Finland as a conductor at least eight times, in 1931, 1933, 1937, 1942, 1951 (twice) and 1957 (twice), [45] and was received rather positively in the Finnish newspapers. If Sibelius praised him, this was nothing exceptional: he did the same with many American conductors too – indeed always with those musicians who were qualified enough, and understood his music.

His letter of recommendation for Thierfelder from 1938 has been found in German archives. [46]

PLATE 2. Sibelius's recommendation letter for Thierfelder in 1938.

(F)

Doktor Hellmuth Thierfelder hat mehrere Male hier in Helsinki dirigiert. Es ist mir eine Freude hiermit zu bestätigen wie sehr ich sein Stilgefühl und durchaus lebende, plastische Kunst schätze.

Järvenpää, den 2. Febr. 1938.

Jean Sibelius

Nor was this an isolated case, as in the 1930s and 1940s, even in the 1950s, he continued to give recommendations, mostly to young Finnish composers or musicians, although he complained about having issued too many of them in an unpublished letter from 1945.[47] In the very same year that he wrote his letter for Thierfelder, 1938, he also gave a recommendation to the Finnish-Jewish conductor Simon Parmet![48]

PLATE 3. Sibelius's recommendation for Simon Parmet in 1938.



Mr. S I M O N P A R M E T is a particularly prominent  
Finnish C O N D U C T O R and musician whom I should  
wish to recommend in the warmest terms.

I would particularly wish to emphasize the deep understanding  
and love with which Mr. S. Parmet has devoted himself to the  
execution of my works.

It would , therefore , be very dear to me, if some Managing  
Director in New- York could arrange an opportunity for Mr.  
S. Parmet to conduct Concerts in America - and thus make it  
possible for him to prove before an American public, what  
an excellent musician he is.

Järvenpää in F I N N L Ä N D,

20th of April 1938

J E A N S I B E L I U S.

### **Anti-Semitism in Finland**

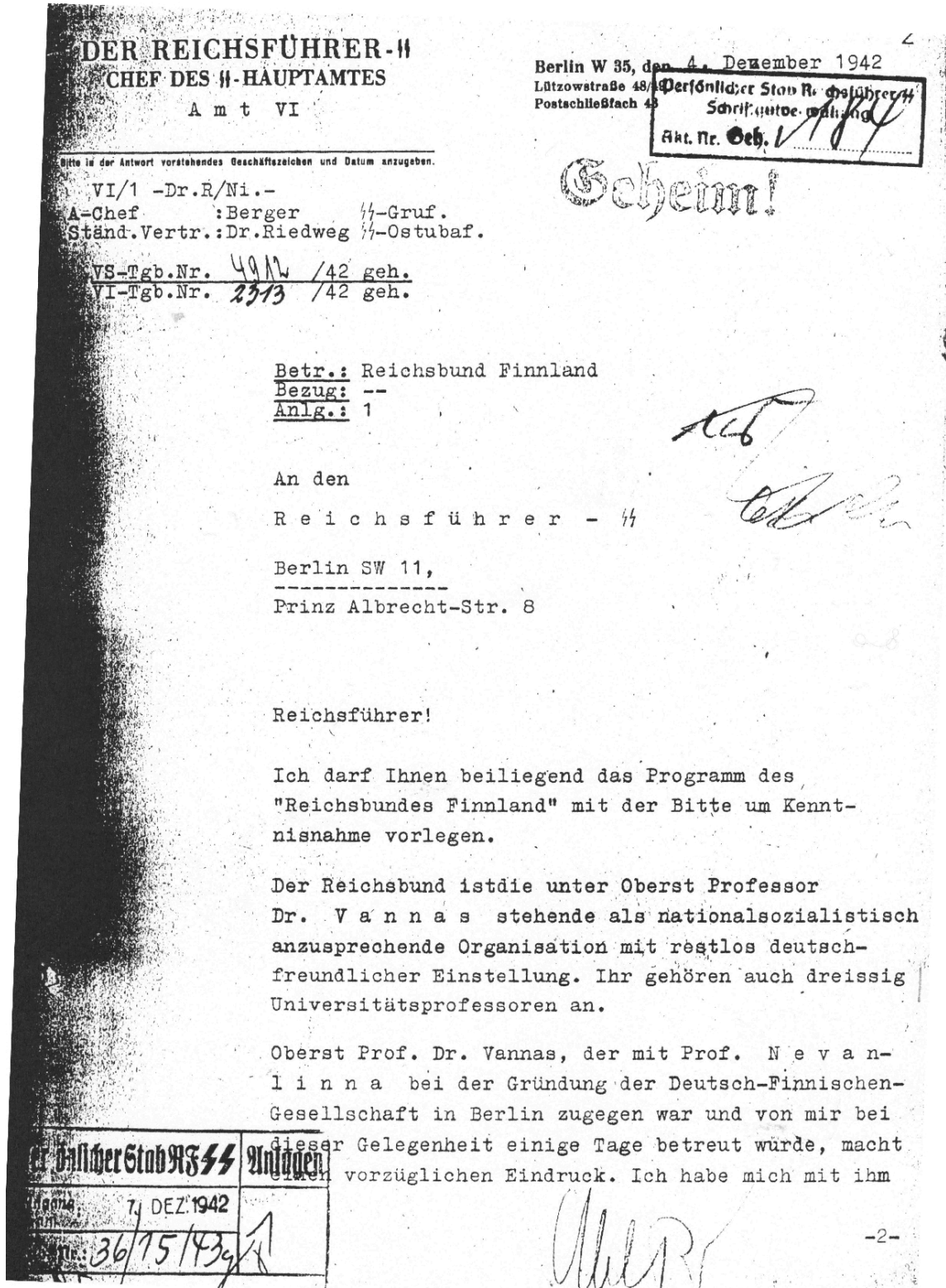
There seems to be a prevalent tendency nowadays to view Sibelius as a Nazi and even an anti-Semite. This view must be strongly contested. Such thinking may have arisen owing to the confusion of German-mindedness with Nazi-mindedness, or from assuming that when Sibelius had contacts with anyone associated with the SS, it automatically indicated that he supported Nazism with its disgusting racial ideology.[49]

Actually in Finland, instead of anti-Semitism, an anti-Bolshevist attitude was widely prevalent. Since it was commonly thought (although without proof) that there was an organic connection between Jewishness and Bolshevism, some sort of anti-Semitism could have gained impetus from this assumption. However, "Anti-Semitism in Finland, influenced by the German National Socialist Movement and its rhetoric [...] remained a marginal phenomenon and was supported only by extreme right-wing groups." [50] The papers and magazines that tried to import anti-Semitism to Finland enjoyed only a small circulation – some thousands of readers – whereas the general public did not agree with the extremists and took a neutral attitude towards Jews.[51] When Heinrich Himmler visited Finland in the summer of 1942 with a list of Finnish Jews, Prime Minister Jukka Rangell said: "We have no Jewish problem," [52] which put a stop to German demands to deport Jews from Finland. The sad history of expelled eight Jewish refugees, transferred from Finland either to Tallin or to Germany in November 1942 and killed by the Nazis, is a special, although shameful case, which resulted from an administrative decision of the leader of the Finnish Secret State Police, Arno Anthoni, and the Minister of Internal Affairs Toivo Horelli; anyway the deportation activity was immediately stopped when information concerning this event had spread to members of the Finnish Government and newspapers started writing about it and condemned what had happened.[53]

The relationship of Finnish scientists to Germany and National Socialism has been researched to some extent in Finland. There was an association in Finland, Suomen Valtakunnan Liitto ("Reichsbund Finnland," 1942–), the leader

of which was a professor of ophthalmology named Mauno Vannas. The ideological orientation of this association was openly National Socialist. During the Continuation War (1941-44) some thirty professors at Helsinki University were members of this association, including its rector, the world-famous mathematician Rolf Nevanlinna.[54]

PLATE 4. Gottlob Berger's letter to Heinrich Himmler December 4, 1942.



The programme of the association, in eighteen paragraphs, says for instance that 'our land has to be liberated from all Jewish influence' (paragraph 17), and paragraphs 1 and 14 support the 'Greater Finland' ideology.[55] Among the founding members of the association were among others the sculptors Wäinö Aaltonen and Jussi Mäntynen, the geographer Väinö Auer, the writer Lauri Haarla, the composer Yrjö Kilpinen, the linguist J.J. Mikkola, the film director Risto Orko and the folklorist Väinö Salminen.[56]

### **Yrjö Kilpinen**

If any Finnish composer was an ardent supporter of the New Germany, it was Yrjö Kilpinen (1892–1959), who was the active Finn in the Ständiger Rat and one of its founding members, along with Richard Strauss and Emil Nikolaus von Reznicek (from Germany), Friedrich Bayer (Austria), Emil Hullebroeck (Belgium), Peder Gram and Nils O. Raasted (Denmark), Carol-Bérard (France), Maurice Besley (England), Adriano Lualdi (Italy), Ludomir Różycki (Poland), Adolf Streuli (Switzerland), Jaroslav Křička (Czechoslovakia), Kurt Atterberg (Sweden) and Jón Leifs (Iceland).[57]

According to the Finnish Prime Minister Edwin Linkomies (1943–44), "the composer Yrjö Kilpinen was famous in Germany, and in his opinion he was very close to the National Socialists;" in addition to this, Kilpinen "was very well known for his Nazi sympathies [...] and wanted the Germans to assist the IKL [Isänmaallinen kansanliike, "Patriotic People's Movement"] in its aim to establish a dictatorship of one party." [58] The anglophile President Risto Ryti had a conversation with Kilpinen, after which he made the following diary entry (May 19, 1941): "Kilpinen was here to discuss his ultra-German ideas. We had a heated discussion and totally disagreed on all the issues." [59]

According to a diary entry (September 2, 1941) by the future President Juho Kusti Paasikivi, who was always a wise, realistic politician and an honest man, "we have good relations with the Führer and the leading German officers, but Ryti is afraid of the Nazi party and he was worried that they [the Germans] will extend the spread of the Nazi party into Finland too." [60] Moreover the American ambassador Arthur Schoenfeld wrote in his report (4th July 1941) that "Ryti is somewhat worried about the possibility that the activities of the Nazi party would be intensified in Finland." [61]

### **Sibelius's Jewish Friends: Ida Ekman and the Boldemanns**

Sibelius was remote from, and had no contacts with the Finnish circle of Nazi sympathizers, who aimed to substitute democracy and parliament with a dictatorship without any parties – except their own, of course! He was friendly with many Jews; we have already mentioned his letter of recommendation on behalf of Simon Parmet. His favourite singer was Ida Ekman (1875–1942), Morduch by her Jewish family name. Sibelius appreciated her natural singing and preferred her to Aino Ackté's dramatic and pretentious art. The German-born businessman Georg Boldemann (1865–1946) and his Jewish wife Lina were good friends of Jean and Aino Sibelius beginning in the early 1900s. They had been compelled to escape to Sweden as early as 1933. During the war (1941–45), the two couples had a constant exchange of letters: Aino and the Boldemanns were worried about Sibelius's health, and from Sweden packages of food, coffee, butter, sugar and the like flowed to the Sibelius family until 1954, as there was a serious shortage of these types of foodstuffs in Finland.[62]

It is revealing to read the letters that Georg Boldemann sent to Sibelius before the war from 1935 to 1938, on the basis of which Sibelius was well-informed on the Germany's current state. In his letters Boldemann told Sibelius openly what happened in Germany, sometimes with humorous tone. For instance, he wrote in 1935, after Sibelius had received the Goethe Medal:

"I am really delighted that now You have finally received the honorary citizen rights also in Germany. It helps me to some extent, when I myself have lost my simple citizen's rights there at the same time. Such a genuine Aryan like me with wonderful cartilages at the occiput (which shall imply fidelity and adherence, as a phrenologist said to me, who once examined my skull and burst out saying very excitedly: 'I have had ten thousand skulls in my hand, although none that would have been as wonderfully racially!'. "[63]

Boldemann's letters deal also with the German racial theories, as his musically talented grandson Laci Boldemann,[64] living still in Germany with his father Holger, had to suffer from his 25% Jewish inheritance. Georg Boldemann spoke about the "anti-Semitist psychosis prevailing in Germany," [65] when trying to get Laci escaped from Germany to London. Of course having Jewish friends does not prove that Sibelius was not anti-Semitic, as was in the case of Wagner. It also strange that in his own letters Sibelius never commented the situation in Germany.[66] On the other hand, Sibelius promoted the book *Naturröstens hemlighet* ["The Secrecy of the Natural Voice"] on singing pedagogy of Lina Boldemann by writing a praising preface for its alleged English edition.[67]

## **Günther Raphael**

Thomas Schinköth accuses Sibelius not having helped the German-Jewish composer Günther Raphael (1903–1960) in arranging him a position or some work in Finland in 1934.[68] However, Sibelius had helped his German colleague in 1931, and Raphael's music was played by the Finnish Radio Orchestra seven times before, during and after the war: in 1932, 1936, 1938, 1941, 1950 and 1952.[69] If Finland had been an anti-Semitic country, this would not have happened at all. Accordingly, accusing Sibelius of anti-Semitism or Nazism is too simplistic an explanation. Of course the Aryan paragraphs, the content of which Sibelius was to condemn, although as late as in 1943 in his diary, had been well known all over Europe since their declaration in 1933, and this might have had some influence on the cautious behaviour of the elderly composer Sibelius.

Sibelius was reluctant to write some lines about his teacher in Berlin, Albert Becker, at the request of Raphael, who was Becker's grandson, but this was Sibelius's usual attitude towards most of the appeals he received. He reacted in the same way to appeals to write articles or smaller writings for both German institutions during the 1920s and then for Nazi institutions during the 1930s. He explained his reluctance to write 'anything but music' many times in his letters, although he made sometimes exceptions from his principle. One interesting testimony of Sibelius connected to his reluctance to publish anything save his music, can be found in his letter to Georg Boldemann (October 20, 1943).[70]

But in 1934, when Raphael asked Sibelius about the possibilities to come to Finland and find a job as a teacher, it is easy to understand why Sibelius answered in the way he did. He said: "Dear Sir, After I have discussed with those in question, I would find it impossible to make any living here, as the possibilities are too small." [71] Raphael asked about the possibilities, and these were non-existent. If he had said yes, Sibelius would have burdened himself with the task of arranging something impossible; dozens of Finnish-born composers already found it difficult to earn a living. In addition, Schinköth tells us that the Finnish organist Elis Mårtensson had reacted to Raphael's earlier request in similar way to Sibelius.[72] Sibelius's behaviour was understandable also because the Finnish Immigration Law from 1933 was very strict, permitting foreigners only a limited stay in Finland, and the Ministry of Inner Affairs had always the right to expel a person, whomever it wanted to do so, especially if the person could not find living.[73] In the most recent study on this issue it has been stated that the "Finnish policy on aliens was restrictive. It concentrated on preventing the entry, and, failing to do this, ensuring the swift removal, of any person considered – for a wide spectrum of possible reasons – a 'disagreeable alien'." [74]

## **Sibelius and German royalties**

That Sibelius received royalties from Germany in the period 1933–45 has been difficult to understand and accept for some scholars.[75] Without that money his income would have been remarkable smaller, as more than half of his yearly income during the Nazi time came from the Stagma.[76] . Of course it is possible to speculate, what sum of money had been enough for his and his family's welfare, when after 1927 Sibelius was finally, after 40 year's of debts, a man without debts, as Finland had joined the Bern contract in 1928, which caused Sibelius an increasing flow of royalties. Sibelius had also his pension from the Finnish State, the level of which was in 1925 approximately 25.000 euros without any taxes, although its value decreased heavily during the 1930s and 1940s.[77] In any case, he was a composer who composed pieces to be played, and for which he could justifiably expect to receive royalties, money that belonged to him. To this end, as early as 1918, he had joined the Genossenschaft zur Verwertung musikalischer Aufführungsrechte (Gema), the German office for royalties. From Gema he received also a pension of 1,200 Reichsmarks, starting in 1929 when he was 64 years old.[78]

PLATE 5. Gema's letter to Sibelius, January 5, 1929.

# Kuratorium der Pensions- und Unterstützungskasse der Gema

Genossenschaft zur Verwertung musikalischer Ausführungsrechte

Eingetragene Genossenschaft mit beschränkter Haftpflicht

Sitz der Gema: Berlin W 8, Friedrich-Ebert-Straße 21<sup>II</sup>

---

Dr.R./Sch.

Berlin W 15, den 5. Januar 1929

Kurfürstendamm 22  
(Bismarck 5010)

Herrn

Jan S i b e l i u s

J a r v e n p ä a

-----  
Finnland

Sehr geehrter Herr !

Namens und im Auftrage des Kuratoriums der Pensions- und Unterstützungskasse teile ich Ihnen ergebenst mit, dass Sie ab 1. Januar d.J. bei der Gema pensionsberechtigt sind. Da Sie am 18. Dezember 1865 geboren, am 16. Dezember 1918 in die Gema eingetreten und als Mitglied der Klasse 6 a eingeschätzt sind, sind die im § 3 unserer Statuten vorgesehenen Bedingungen erfüllt. Das Kuratorium hat daher, ohne die formell notwendige Anmeldung Ihrer Ansprüche abzuwarten, die Auszahlung der zur Zeit RM. 1.200,- jährlich betragenden Pension mit Wirkung vom 1. Januar beschlossen. Die Rate für das I. Quartal in Höhe von RM. 300,- erlaube ich mir anbei in einem Verrechnungsscheck zu übersenden, mit der Bitte, beifolgende Quittung unterzeichnet an das Kuratorium zu meinen Händen zurückreichen zu wollen.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

*H. R. R. R.*

Vorsitzender des Kuratoriums der  
Pensions- und Unterstützungskasse  
der Gema

1 Scheck  
1 Quittungsformular

In 1933, he joined Stagma, the newly founded Staatlich genehmigte Gesellschaft zur Verwertung musikalischer Urheberrechte, which controlled almost all of Sibelius's royalties; even those coming from other countries were delivered to Sibelius only via Stagma's procedures. In theory this could have functioned perfectly well. In practice, however, Sibelius had constant problems in getting his royalties in time or at all, and he or his representative – either his secretary Santeri Levas or, mostly, his son-in-law, the bank director Eero Ilves – tried to clarify the situation when something unexpected happened with the money transfers or regarding the sum received. At the National Archives and the National Library there are more than one dozen documents concerning Sibelius's dealings with Stagma. For instance, he regularly had to give proof of his citizenship; the Stagma bureaucrats were still asking for this as late as 1941.

For instance, we have a letter of complaint from Sibelius (May 4, 1936), in which he requests that the full value of his music be acknowledged, and that he should be paid accordingly: he even refers to his Goethe Medal awarded to him by Hitler to convince the Stagma officials of the true value of his music and its level of appreciation everywhere.[79] The exchange of letters with regard to royalties continued at least until late 1941, notwithstanding Sibelius's standing in Germany. If the foundation of the German Sibelius Society finally put an end to this endless begging for royalties, it is no wonder that Sibelius was happy with the Society.

PLATE 6. Sibelius's letter to Stagma May 4, 1936.

Järvenpää, den 4. Mai, 1936.

An den Berufsstand der Komponisten,  
Stagma  
Staatlich genehmigte Gesellschaft  
zur Verwertung musikalischer Urheberrechte  
Berlin, Charlottenburg 9  
Adolf-Hitler-Platz 7/9/II

Ich habe in einem Briefe von dem 25 April 1936 Mitteilung darüber bekommen dass seitens des für mich zuständigen Wertungsausschusses ein Anteil aus den in diesem Verfahren für das Geschäftsjahr 1934-35 zu verteilenden Beträgen nicht zuerkannt werden konnte.

Laut Abs.VIII der Ausführungsbestimmungen sind der Aufwertung jedes Bezugsberechtigten u.a. die Bedeutung seines Schaffens für die Stagma, der kulturelle oder künstlerische Wert seiner Werke, die Werbekraft seines Namens gegenüber den Musikveranstaltern und schliesslich, falls ein erfolgreiches Schaffen vorliegt, sein Berufsalter zugrunde zu legen, soweit diese im Ergebnis der Programm-Verrechnung nicht bereits ihren Ausdruck finden.

Es hat mich peinlich überrascht dass der in Frage kommende Wertungsausschuss, der doch die Aufwertung auf oben gegebene Regeln zu gründen hat, nichts wertvolles in meinem Schaffen gefunden hat. Es ist ja schwierig für jedermann selbst den objektiven Wert seiner Arbeit zu schätzen. Doch wurde gerade im letzten Jahr die Bedeutung meines Schaffens, wie Sie wissen, überall anerkannt und zwar in einer ganz ausserordentlichen Weise. Die höchste Form der Anerkennung, die einem Komponisten zu Teil kommen kann, die Goethe Medaille, wurde mir, begleitet von einem persönlichen Schreiben von dem Führer und Reichskanzler Adolf Hitler erteilt.

Ich bin beinahe mein ganzes Leben Mitglied zuerst der Genossenschaft Deutscher Tonsetzer und

dann der Gema gewesen und wenn die Stagma im 1933  
gegründet wurde hatte ich Veranlassung zu glauben  
dass man Wert daran legte wenn ich mich bereit erklärte  
mich auch der Stagma anzuschliessen trotz der immer  
wachsenden Schwierigkeiten in Überweisung von mir aus  
dem Auslande zukommenden beträgen.

Ich glaube dass in dem Verwertungsverfahren  
ein Versehen gemacht worden ist und bin überzeugt dass  
der Berufungsausschuss mir die mir zukommenden Rechte  
erteilen wird.

Mit ~~höflich~~züglicher Hochachtung

Esko Helen Peltomäki  
Wien 10.11.43



### Some parallel cases in Finnish literature: Haanpää, Sillanpää, and Paavolainen

We can make comparisons with three figures from the world of literature. Pentti Haanpää (1905–55), one of Finland's most important writers of the twentieth century, represented leftist and pacifist thinking. He satirically criticized the outpouring of Finnish patriotic nationalism and the Greater Finland ideology in his novel *Korpisotaa* ("War in the Backwoods," 1940), which was published also in French translation ("Guerre dans le Désert Blanc," 1941). He mentioned in his short stories the name of Hitler, both with his real name and with a caricature-like name "Aatu Heitto", but only in Finnish language. Although opposing the policy of the NS-state, the New Europe ideology and satirizing the unfortunate war operations of the comrades-in-arms in Lapland, it is interesting that at least one of his short stories was published in the newspaper *Reich* in late 1942. There were some attempts to make a translation of *Korpisotaa* in German, but because it was not "as encouraging to their readers as it should be," these attempts came into nothing. About the German translation of *Korpisota* in Vienna with the Karl H. Bischoff Verlag even a contract was signed in 1943, but evidently even this publication process was stagnated. However, Haanpää did not feel it problematic at all to receive a fee in January 1943 from the Germany he had mocked heavily.[80]

The literary destiny of Frans Eemil Sillanpää (1888–1964) in Germany, the sole Finnish Nobel prize winner in literature to date, was totally different.. He was a courageous man who, irritated by the events of his time, published a small piece entitled "A Christmas letter to dictators" in the newspaper *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti* (December 24, 1938), in which he criticized strongly the Great Comrade [Stalin], Der Führer and Il Duce. In the mid-1930s he had had a fixed position also in Germany. His novel *Ihmiset suviyössä* ("People in the Summer Night," 1934) was received favorably in the German press, at least in the Rosenberg's magazine *Der Norden*, which was of utmost importance. H[einrich] Jessen wrote of the novel: "Finland has found in him the best describer of its landscape. [...] The novel is like the flowing life of the summer night, which is the highest praise that can be given to a book. [...] It is a beautiful and strong book by a great poet, of whom Finland can be with [full] reason proud." [81] However, after Sillanpää's criticism of Hitler in the newspaper article, translations of his novels were cancelled and their sale was blocked. The reprint of his novel



*Nuorena nukkunut* ("The Maid Silja/Fallen Asleep While Young," 1931) with the German title "Silja die Magd"(1932/1940) was destroyed.[82]

Perhaps the strict handling of Sillanpää can be explained by the case of writer Olavi Paavolainen (1903–1964). After the Germans had founded a poets' house (*Dichterhaus*) in Travemünde for Nordic writers to make cultural propaganda and promote the 'Nordic Idea' in the Scandinavian countries and Finland, Paavolainen was invited there for the summer of 1936. Paavolainen visited in addition to the Dichterhaus, the Nuremberg Rally, "the Rally of Honor" in September 1936, and other holy places in Germany. On the basis of his experiences, which express a mixture of dazzledness and repression, Paavolainen wrote a book *Kolmannen valtakunnan vieräana* ("Guest of the Third Reich," Preface dated November 19, 1936) in which he describes what he had seen: the cults of youth and paganism, adoration of nature and ancestors, Nordic idea, the manly militarist culture, the suppression of women, and the grandiose effects of the mass meetings with their light shows and torch processions etc. The latter ones impressed him deeply, although at the same time, he could go behind the coulisses and analyze the spiritual state of Germany with its violence, race theories, anti-Semitism, anti-Christianity, childish mysticism of history, the ridiculousness of the Nordische Gedanke, its "enormous escape from reality to the world of illusions and myths." [83] In the view of Germans and the German propaganda the invitation of Paavolainen was a serious accident, and the German ambassador in Helsinki, Wipert von Blücher, reported that the "book was among the most dangerous that had been written in Finland on Germany." [84]

Thus protesting or criticizing the New Germany was impossible or at least for nothing – as its result was always a disaster from the point or position of the critical one or the institution or even country he or she represented. This was seen also when the Finnish philosopher Eino Kaila (180–1958), otherwise a very pro-German thinker, who had made pro-German propaganda both in Finland and Germany, defended in October 1943 Niels Bohr persecuted by the Nazis in Denmark [85] – which caused a diplomatic crisis between Finland and Germany, as the Finnish Prime Minister Edwin Linkomies has related in his memoirs. [86] Sibelius was wiser not to become involved in any sort of difficulties between Germany and Finland, the common war policy of which against the Soviet Union he supported, as we have seen. He was not always consistent: he could have been less self-oriented and tried to live more modestly in order to remain morally pure (in the eyes of the future generations). But to condemn him as guilty of Nazi cruelties because he was paid by the German copyright office is to exaggerate the role and possibilities of an individual, even if he was Sibelius. Receiving German royalties during the Nazi time and supporting Finland's fight for its independence alongside the Germans were not criminal acts. He never defended any aspects of the Nazi ideology. He could easily have composed a hymn or a march to the NS State or the SS troops, as did Kilpinen, for instance, if he had been so inclined. [87]

[1] Matti Klinge, *Nainen kävi parvekkeella. Päiväkirjastani 2007–2008*, Helsinki: Otava, 2008, p. 235.

[2] This quote has been attributed to Stanley Kubrick, although its origin probably is much elder; see <http://m.imdb.com/name/nm0000040/quotes>

[3] J. K. Paasikivi, *Jatkosodan päiväkirjat 11.3.1941–27.6.1944*, Porvoo–Helsinki–Juva: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 1991, pp. 113–114. Paasikivi's idea was that the Finns had to be realistic in international politics: as every country acts only for her own benefit, in the same way also the Finns had to further only their best, their "right and duty being egoistic."

[4] Marjatta Hietala, 'Tutkijat ja Saksan suunta', in *Tutkijat ja sota, Suomalaisten tutkijoiden kontakteja ja kohtaloita toisen maailmansodan aikana*, ed. Marjatta Hietala, Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2006, pp. 30–39.

[5] Helena Tyrväinen, " 'National', 'archaïque', 'nordique', 'modal' : le 'Grieg finlandais' se présente à Paris", in *Musurgia*, 2008, XV:1–3, p. 119–140, Actes du Colloque International Jean Sibelius. Modalité, langage, esthétique (Paris, 5–7 novembre 2007); quoted in p. 129, where the conductor-composer Rhené-Baton says in 1920: "éditeurs allemands ont fait peu de choses ou rien de tout pour que la musique finlandaise pousse pénétrer à Paris."

[6] Karl Ekman, *Jean Sibelius. En konstnärs liv och personlighet*, Helsingfors: Holger Schildts Förlag, 1935, p. 237; it is interesting that the episode of Sibelius as composer of the Jaeger March has been omitted in the English translation of the book, "Jean Sibelius. His Life and Personality" (1938), tr. by Edward Birse, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

[7] Sibelius's letter (25th May 1918), quoted in Erik Tawaststjerna, *Sibelius Volume III 1914–1957*, ed. and tr. Robert Layton, London: Faber and Faber, 1997, p. 129.

[8] Sibelius's letter to Axel Carpelan (20 May 1918), in *Korrespondensen mellan Axel Carpelan och Jean Sibelius 1900–1919*, ed. Fabian Dahlström, Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland, 2010, p. 422.

[9] Anders Huldén, *Finlands kungaäventyr 1918*, Lovisa: Söderström, 1989, pp. 48–49.

[10] Erik Tawaststjerna, *Jean Sibelius, Åren 1914–1919*, ed. Gitta Henning, Keuru: Söderström & Co Förlags AB, 1996, p. 249; orig. in *Hufvudstadsbladet* April 24, 1918.

[11] Einari Marvia (1943): "Wiesbadenin suomalaisilta musiikkipäiviltä. Tohtori Toivo Haapasen kertomaa.", in *Musiikkitieto* 10/1943, pp. 98–101.

[12] *Jean Sibelius Dagbok 1909–1944* (2005), p. 334; in orig. Swedish: "Internat. Musikfesten i Hamburg där min 1894 komp. Kareliasvit op 'representade' mig har gått mig till sinnes. Då jag ej har \*känt\* till spelet bakom kulisserna får jag stå mitt kast."

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 490; indirectly here Sibelius is hinting to the intrigues, caused possibly by Kilpinen.

[14] Ruth-Maria Gleißner, *Der unpolitische Komponist als Politikum. Die Rezeption von Jean Sibelius im NS-Staat*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002, pp. 158–167.

[15] Gerhard Splitt, *Richard Strauss 1933–1935*, Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus Verlagsgesellschaft, 1987, p. 182.

[16] Gleißner 2002, pp. 125–126.

[17] In the case of Roussel we know, that he participated at least in one conference of the Ständiger Rat, held in Vichy 2.–9.9.1935. In his speech he expressed the wish that the co-operation of composers would make it easier to have 'an exchange of ideas', although 'barriers were rising between the European countries'. See *Albert Roussel, Lettres et écrits*, ed. Nicole Labelle, Harmoniques Flamarrion, 1987, pp. 168 & 322–323. Lualdi was an enthusiastic supporter of Mussolini, and at the First Congress of the Ständiger Rat he made a speech about 'the work achieved by the fascist regime on behalf of music', quoted from Harvey Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, New York & London: W.W. Norton, 1988, p. 21.

[18] According to the report of Wipert von Blücher, Sibelius had told him, when he received the medal, in Helsinki in December 7, 1935, that 'gerade die Goethe-Medaille für ihn eine hohe Ehrung bedeute' ('the Goethe medal meant for him an especially high honor;') quoted in Gleißner 2002, p. 166.

[19] Gleißner 2002, pp. 149–154.

[20] Marc Vignal, *Jean Sibelius*, Fayard, 2004, p. 1010 & note 1.

[21] Olli Lehto, *Korkeat maailmat. Rolf Nevanlinnan elämä*, Helsinki: Otava, 2001, p. 139.

[22] Gleißner 2002, pp. 177–181.

[23] The letters from these organizations to Jean Sibelius are preserved at the Sibelius Collection of the Finnish National Library, Coll. 206:47; see even Gleißner 2002, p. 71.

[24] "an der engeren Verflechtung nordischer und deutscher Kultur. [...] der führende und überragende unter den nordischen Komponisten," letter from Heidelberg's Universitätsmusikdirektor Dr. Hermann Poppen to Jean Sibelius, July 30, 1923, preserved at the Sibelius Collection of the Finnish National Library, Coll. 206:47.

[25] Britta Hiedanniemi, *Kulttuuriin verhoffua politiikkaa. Kansallissosialistisen Saksan kulttuuripoliittikka Suomessa 1933–1940*, Helsinki: Otava, 1980, pp. 96 & 200.

[26] Gleißner 2002, pp. 155–156.

- [27] Jean Sibelius, *Dagbok 1909–1944*, 2005, p. 240; in orig. Swedish: "Jag tröttnat på denna uppmärksamhet. Längtar efter arbetet. Det som skänker värde åt lifvet."
- [28] Erik Tawaststjerna (1997): *Jean Sibelius. Åren 1920–1957*, Keuruu: Söderström, p. 338.
- [29] Tomi Mäkelä, 'Poesie in der Luft'. *Jean Sibelius. Studien zu Leben und Werk*, Wiesbaden etc.: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2007, p. 389.
- [30] The radio speech can be heard on the link:  
[http://www.sibelius.fi/suomi/elamankaari/sib\\_kahdeksannen\\_tuhoaminen.htm](http://www.sibelius.fi/suomi/elamankaari/sib_kahdeksannen_tuhoaminen.htm)
- [31] The speech is found in the Finnish National Archives, Sibelius-perhe, box 34.
- [32] *Deutsche Zeitung im Osten* (10 September 1942); see Timothy L. Jackson's article.
- [33] 'Käymme omaa erillistä sotaamme'. *Risto Rytin päiväkirjat 1940–1944*, ed. Ohto Manninen & Kauko Rumpunen, Helsinki: Edita, 2006, p. 143.
- [34] E. Michael Salzer, September 23, 1957, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, p. 14; also in Gleißner 2002, pp. 39–40.
- [35] Letter from Thierfelder to Sibelius (19 May 1942) is preserved in the Sibelius Collection of the National Library of Finland, Coll. 206:38.
- [36] *Hauptstadt Hannover* (12th May 1942).
- [37] *Deutsche Zeitung im Osten* (10 September 1942).
- [38] Quote in Finnish in Markku Jokisipilä, *Aseveljiä vai liittolaisia? Suomi, Saksan liittosopimusvaatimukset ja Rytin-Ribbentropin-sopimus*, Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2004, p. 190.
- [39] See for instance the report on the visit of the Yale Glee Club at Ainola in December 1940 in *Musiikkitieto* 12/1940, p. 92.
- [40] Vesa Sirén, *Aina poltti sikaria. Jean Sibelius aikalaisten silmin*, Helsinki: Otava, 2000, p. 505.
- [41] Ibid.
- [42] Erik Tawaststjerna, *Jean Sibelius. Åren 1920–1957*, ed. Gitta Henning, Keuruu: Söderström & C:o Förlags AB, 1997, p. 294.
- [43] Sirén 200, p. 542.
- [44] Ibid.
- [45] Einari Marvia & Matti Vainio, *Helsingin kaupunginorkesteri 1882–1982*, Porvoo–Helsinki–Juva: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 1993, p. 780.
- [46] Letter by Sibelius to support Thierfelder (2nd February 1938): "Doctor Hellmuth Thierfelder has conducted many times here in Helsinki. It is a great pleasure for me to confirm how much I appreciate his sense of style and his thoroughly living and flexible artistry."
- [47] Sibelius's draft letter to an unidentified friend (8th August 1945), in the Finnish National Archives, Sibelius Family, box 36.
- [48] Sibelius's letter of reference for Simon Parmet, in the Finnish National Archives, Sibelius Family, box 36.

[49] Sibelius's diary entries from September 1943 show that he could not accept anti-Semitism and the Aryan paragraphs; see Sibelius 2005, pp. 335–336.

[50] Oula Silvennoinen, 'Suomalaisen antisemitismin luonteesta 1930-luvulla', in *Hyljättiin outouden vuoksi. Israel-Jakob Schur ja suomalainen tiedeyhteisö*, ed. Simo Muir & Ilona Salomaa, Helsinki: Suomen Itämainen Seura, 2009, p. 216.

[51] Jari Hanski, *Juutalaisviha Suomessa 1918–1944*, Helsinki: Ajatus Kirjat 2006, p. 413.

[52] Quoted in Taimi Torvinen, *Pakolaiset Suomessa Hitlerin valtakaudella*, Helsinki: Otava, 2004, p. 184; orig. 'Wir haben keine Judenfrage'.

[53] Ibid., pp. 186–200; see too Antero Holmila, "Finland and the Holocaust: A Reassessment", in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Volume 23, Number 3, Winter 2009, pp. 413–440.

[54] Letter of SS Gruppenführer Gottlob Berger to Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler (December 4, 1942), located in the Rolf Nevanlinna Collection of the National Library of Finland archives.

[55] The 'Greater Finland' ideology was born in the late 19th-century, but its heyday were the 1920s to 1940s. Its main goal was to unite the Finnish-kindred people around the Baltic Sea under the command of Finland into a big state on the basis of alleged common geographic, linguistic and cultural roots. In the most enthusiastic version the 'Greater Finland' would have included Estonia and Ingria, the East Karelia with Ladoga and Onega lakes and extending to the White Sea and the Kola peninsula, and even northern parts of Sweden (Torne Valley) and Norway (Finnmark).

[56] Henrik Ekberg, *Hitlers trogna följeslagare – den finländska nazismen 1932–1944*, Ekenäs: Schildts, 1991, pp. 231–233, 241.

[57] Fred K. Prieberg, *Musik im NS-Staat*, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982, p. 209.

[58] Edwin Linkomies, *Vaikea aika. Suomen pääministerinä sotavuosina 1943–44*, Helsinki: Otava, 1970, pp. 49, 96.

[59] 'Käymme omaa erillistä sotaamme', 2006, p. 87.

[60] Paasikivi 1991, p. 122.

[61] "Käymme omaa erillistä sotaamme", 2006, p. 117.

[62] Erik Tawaststjerna 1997, pp. 337–339.

[63] Georg Boldemann's letter to Sibelius, December 6, 1935, is located at the Finnish National Library's Jean Sibelius Collection, Coll. 206.4.

[64] Laci Boldemann was a talented composer (1921–1968), whose music has been recorded and is still performed in Sweden and the Swedish-speaking Finland. His daughter Cecilia Boldemann has written a halfly fictitious novel on the life and difficulties of his father as soldier in Nazi Germany's army and escaping it in *Tibastens sång*, Skellefteå: Ord&visor förlag, 2011.

[65] Ibid.; the letter is from November 23, 1938.

[66] Sibelius letters to Georg Boldemann are located in the Sibelius Museum Turku.

[67] This is told in Lina Boldemann's letter of April 2, 1945, when she thanks Sibelius for having written his recommendation for the book; the letter as well Sibelius's recommendation from March 27, 1945, are located in the Finnish National Library, Coll. 206.4.

[68] Thomas Schinköth, *Musik – das Ende aller Illusionen? Günther Raphael im NS-Staat*, Neumünster: von Bockel Verlag 2010, 2nd edition, p. 71.

[69] Antero Karttunen, *Radion sinfoniaorkesteri 1927–2002*, Keuruu: Yleisradio Oy, 2002, p. 264.

[70] Erik Tawaststjerna (1997): *Jean Sibelius. Åren 1920–1957*, p. 294, Keuruu: Söderström.p. 338; in regard to the letter, see my footnote 28 and the text part connected to it.

[71] Schinköth 2010, p. 72; in original German: 'Lieber Herr [...] fände ich dass es unmöglich ist hier eine Existenz zu gründen für Sie, die Verhältnisse sind zu klein. Ergeben Ihr Jean Sibelius.' However Schinköth has left unreproduced the first words of the letters: 'Nachdem ich mit ma[s]gebenden [Persönlichkeiten] gesprochen [habe],'. I am indebted to professor Timothy L. Jackson for delivering me the letter from the Raphael-Nachlass and to professor Ilkka Oramo for deciphering the letter in its entire content (personal communication by e-mail January 18, 2011).

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[73] Torvinen 1984, pp. 78–80.

[74] Oula Silvennoinen (2013): "Beyond 'Those Eight': Deportations of Jews from Finland 1941–1942", in *Finland's Holocaust. Silences of History*, ed. by Simo Muir & Hana Worthen, p. 199. Palgrave Macmillan.

[75] Timothy L. Jackson, 'Sibelius the Political', in *Sibelius in the Old and New World, Aspects of His Music, Its Interpretation and Reception*, eds. Timothy L. Jackson, Veijo Murtomäki, Colin Davis & Timo Virtanen, Berlin: Peter Lang, 2010, pp. 69–127.

[76] Typewritten private document on Sibelius's tax declarations and taxing receipts from 1925 to 1944, collected by Markku Hartikainen, whom I am indebted of receiving this document.

[77] See [http://www.sibelius.fi/english/erikoisaiheet/raha/raha\\_01.htm](http://www.sibelius.fi/english/erikoisaiheet/raha/raha_01.htm) (read May 14, 2015).

[78] See Gema's letter to Sibelius (5th January 1929), located at the National Archives, Sibelius Family, box 2.

[79] See Sibelius's letter to Stagma in the Sibelius Collection of the Helsinki University Library.

[80] See Haanpää's correspondence with his publisher in *Pentti Haanpää Kirjeet*, ed. Vesa Karonen & Esko Viirret, Helsinki: Otava, 2005, pp. 300, 317, 320, 335–339, 349 and 352–353.

[81] H[einrich]. Jessen (1936): "F. E. Sillanpää: 'Menschen in der Sommernacht.' Inselverlag Leipzig.", *Der Norden* 13/8, pp. 367–368.

[82] Panu Rajala (1993): *Korkea päivä ja ehto. F. E. Sillanpää vuosina 1931–1964*, pp. 171–173. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

[83] Olavi Paavolainen (1936): *Kolmannen valtakunnan vieraana*, pp. 94–126. Jyväskylä–Helsinki: K. J. Gummerus Osakeyhtiö.

[84] Hiedanniemi 1990, p. 99.

[85] Eino Kaila (1943: "Tanskan juutalaisten kohtalo", *Uusi Suomi*, October 5, 1943, pp. 295–296.

[86] Linkomies 1970, p. 282.

[87] Peter Frankland makes this notion in his review 'Jean Sibelius, Deutschland and the Third Reich' of Sibelius in the Old and New World, 2010, in *United Kingdom Sibelius Society Newsletter* No. 67 (July 2010), p. 34.

**Veijo Murtomäki**

Veijo Murtomäki was born in Pyhäjärvi Ol, Finland, in 1954. He studied at the University of Jyväskylä (B.A. in 1977), then at the Sibelius Academy, graduating with an MA in organ (1980) and music theory (1982). He continued his studies at the University of Helsinki, obtaining a Ph.D. in musicology (1991). Since 1983 he worked as a lecturer in music theory at the Sibelius Academy; he became assistant professor of music history in 1989 and full professor in 1998. He has been a member of the board and chairman of the Finnish Musicological Society. In addition he has worked as a music critic for *Helsingin Sanomat* since 1984 and has been a member of the editorial board of the *Jean Sibelius Works (JSW)* critical edition since 1996. His publications include monographies *Symphonic Unity. The development of formal thinking in the Symphonies of Sibelius* (1993), and *Jean Sibelius ja isänmaa* ["Jean Sibelius and Fatherland"] (2007). He has written approximately 100 articles on Classical and Romantic Music as well as on Sibelius in different journals, periodicals and anthologies. Editing works include *Sibelius Forum* (with others, 1998), *Sibelius Studies* (with Timothy L. Jackson, CUP, 2001), *Sibelius Forum II* (with others, 2003), *Sibelius in the Old and New World* (with Timothy L. Jackson, Peter Lang, 2010). Scholarly interests consist of music of the Classical and Romantic eras, especially the criticism of the various established canons and deconstruction of the nationalism in music of the long 19th-century. Sibelius studies form a continuous subject area, emphasizing the importance of lesser-known works and work groups in his oeuvre as well as the relations between music and politics.