

## Source studies with *Lemminkäinen*

Tuija Wicklund

For the present, only the final versions of the four movements of Jean Sibelius's *Lemminkäinen*, Op. 22, have been published: *Lemminkäinen ja saaren neidot*, *Tuonelan joutsen*, *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa* ja *Lemminkäinen palaa kotitienoille*.<sup>[1]</sup> However, Sibelius revised the work – or at least some movements of it – twice and now all the complete early versions are finally to be published within the complete critical edition 'Jean Sibelius Works' (JSW).<sup>[2]</sup> Therefore, for the complete edition, I have carefully studied the sources and determined the number and nature of distinct versions of the movements. In the course of my research, I made some new discoveries concerning the movements *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa* and *Tuonelan joutsen*.

Let us begin, however, with some background information on the composition process, revisions, and the sources of *Lemminkäinen*. Sibelius finished his *Lemminkäinen* late in 1895. The work was premièred in the following spring, more precisely in April 1896. The reviews were complimentary and the audience enthusiastic. One critic, Karl Flodin, even rated *Lemminkäinen ja saaren neidot* as "number one" among all Sibelius's compositions. He complained, however, about the length of the other three movements. Perhaps owing to this criticism, and other factors, Sibelius decided to revise the work in its entirety, and it was premiered in its new form the following year, in November 1897. This time, however, although other critics remained pleased, Flodin was dissatisfied and wrote quite harshly:

"This kind of music seems purely pathological and leaves impressions, so mixed, embarrassing and indefinable in nature, that have very little in common with the aesthetic feeling of pleasure, which all the fine arts – music above all – should evoke. ... But I say straight out that such music as *Lemminkäinen* episode dejects me, and makes me unhappy, torn and apathetic. Is it the purpose of music to evoke such sentiment?"<sup>[3]</sup>

*Lemminkäinen* was to be performed a few weeks later (29th November) in another Finnish city, Turku, but – perhaps because of the critique – Sibelius withdrew two parts of it. The withdrawn movements were the opening movement *Lemminkäinen ja saaren neidot* and the movement that was then placed second, *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*. The two remaining movements, *Tuonelan joutsen* and *Lemminkäinen palaa kotitienoille*, were successfully performed thereafter and also published a few years later, in 1901, by Breitkopf & Härtel.

The two withdrawn movements disappeared for nearly 40 years. According to his diary, Sibelius planned revisions, which he did not execute at that time.<sup>[4]</sup> Instead, he donated the manuscripts to the newly established Kalevala Society in 1921. Then, fourteen years later, in 1935, Finland celebrated the Kalevala's centenary and these withdrawn *Lemminkäinen* autographs were found in the Kalevala Society's safe. Permission to perform these long-lost parts of *Lemminkäinen* was asked from and given by Sibelius. The entire work was then performed several times in 1935 and for these performances also new orchestral parts were made. Soon afterwards, new copies of the scores were produced as well to keep the autographs safe. These new copies were owned by the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra from then on.

### *Lemminkäinen in Tuonela*

The publishing contract including *Lemminkäinen ja saaren neidot* and *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa* was signed in 1939 with Breitkopf & Härtel; in September of the same year these two newly found movements were performed in a concert in the context of the New York World's Fair. This performance was the première of the third and final versions. For this occasion, Sibelius made some changes to the scores, especially to *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*. Its autograph, particularly the middle section, was heavily revised. Sibelius scraped away some of the old notation and therefore some passages of the early version are illegible. Fortunately, other sources survive too and help to fill in the score.

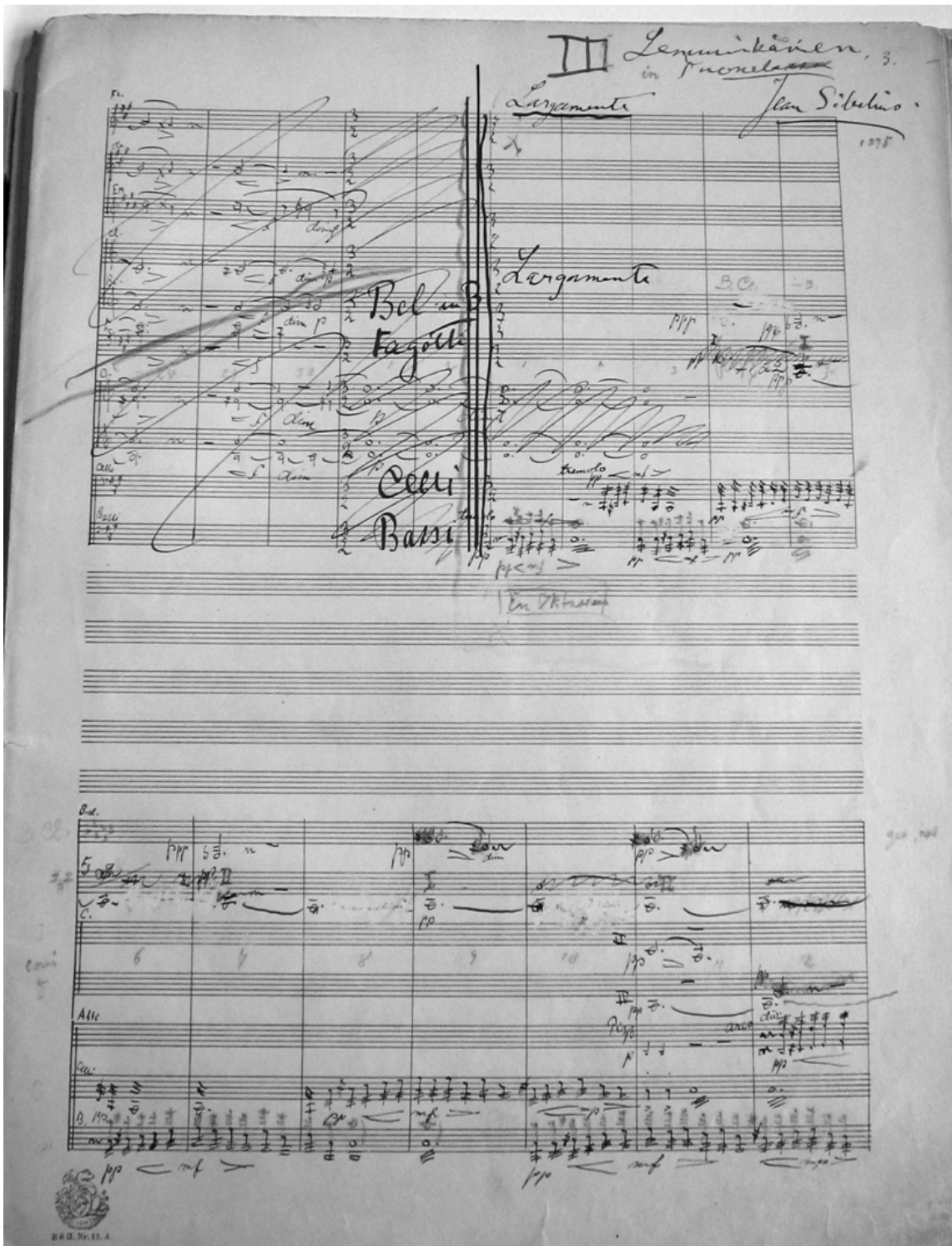
The publication process started thereafter but was interrupted by the Second World War, and therefore remained incomplete until 1954, 15 years later. This lengthy process also resulted in new sources as is illustrated in example 1 representing the stemma of *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*.<sup>[5]</sup>

Example 1. The stemma of *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*.

	<b>A</b> autograph score 1895	
		<b>B</b> orchestral parts 1896 with corrections 1897
<b>D</b> Score copy summer 1935 with corrections 1939 <b>D-2</b> facsimiles of <b>D</b> 1951 at the earliest	Sibelius's changes 1897 (= 2nd version)	<b>C</b> orchestral parts spring 1935 with corrections 1939
	Sibelius's changes 1939 (= 3rd version)	
<b>E</b> engraver's copy summer 1939		
<b>F*</b> proofs (lost) 1941 and 1947	<b>G</b> draft of ending, 9 bars Sibelius 1941	
<b>H</b> Score copy 1948		
<b>I</b> first edition B&H 1954		<b>J</b> first edition of the parts B&H 1954

Source **A**, the autograph manuscript, was used for all three versions of the work. During the first revision, right after the first performances, Sibelius removed some pages from this autograph, crossed out passages and made some minor corrections on the oldest version in black ink. In the later revision in 1939 Sibelius similarly removed some pages, scraped out some of the older notation and made alterations – but this time in pencil. Owing to all these layers of corrections, the three versions are not completely visible in the score any more and therefore the early orchestral parts are of immense value. Example 2 shows the first page from the autograph score, where all the correction layers are visible: the first five bars belong to the first version, removed in 1897, when Sibelius also made other ink corrections in the horn and bassoon staves; the second version began from bar 6 of this page, but underwent corrections in 1939 made in pencil (see especially the basses) and by scraping.

Example 2. *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*: autograph manuscript.



In addition to the autograph, three other, later manuscript copies of the score survive, in the stemma designated with letters **D**, **E**, and **H**, as well as two sets of orchestral parts, designated with letters **B** and **C**. And, of course, finally the first editions appeared (**I** and **J**).

The sources from **A** to **D** include the early versions of *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*. These surviving materials were scattered around five different archives. The autograph score (**A**) is preserved in the National Library of Finland (in Helsinki), the copies made in 1935 in the Helsinki City Archives (score **D**) together with the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra Library (parts **C**). The earliest set of orchestral parts (**B**), however, can be found mostly in the Sibelius Academy Orchestra Library (in Helsinki), but for some reason partly in the Sibelius Museum (in Turku).<sup>[6]</sup> All this may have been misleading for some scholars, because some sources have hitherto remained unnoticed. In the case of

*Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*, the essential part, preserved in Turku, is the harp part. It clearly belongs to the same set of parts (**B**), because the paper is similar to that in the rest of the parts and it was also copied by Ernst Röllig, the same copyist who made the whole set of parts.[\[7\]](#)

The early parts (**B**) show both of the early versions, but this harp part definitely belongs to the very first (not the second) version of the work for the following reasons:

Firstly, when the part is compared with the second version, presently seen in the autograph score and in the old orchestral parts, it does not match. The number of bars differs as well as some of the tempo indications and rehearsal letter placements. Since the harp part was not corrected to match the second version, it was obviously omitted at that point. This may also explain why this part was found separately. Secondly, the first and second trumpet parts from 1897 have a cue including the harp. These cues appear, however, under the correction slips pasted on the pages of the surviving early version representing the second version. Thirdly, the harp is mentioned in one of the reviews of the very first performance in 1896. The unidentified critic wrote:

"Then follows an especially touching episode in A minor with a charming melody (where Lemminkäinen's mother is cradling the well-known [hero] to the life he once had), which the oboes begin, followed by bassoons, clarinet, violins and so forth, all accompanied by a harp."[\[8\]](#)

In addition to the different instrumentation, also the length and form of the first version were different. As example 3 shows, the first version had a 32-bar introduction, not found in the second version. The A sections were roughly the same length in both versions. The major difference appears in the middle section, which was 70 bars longer and included the harp in the first version.

Example 3. *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*: form of the first and second versions.

<b>First version</b> 1896	<b>Introduction</b> 32 bars	<b>A</b> 1196 bars	<b>B</b> 183 bars	<b>A</b> 272 bars
<b>Second version</b> 1987	-	<b>A</b> 1189 bars	<b>B</b> 113 bars	<b>A</b> 275 bars

Sibelius removed the introduction while revising the work for the first time. He cut out the pages from the score and therefore they have not survived. Only the five last bars of the introduction remain on the page where the revised versions begin (see Ex. 2). But the orchestral parts do survive and were corrected by crossing out the introduction. Therefore it has been possible to reconstruct the score of the introduction from the parts. Example 4 shows the beginning of the introduction, which includes only winds.[\[9\]](#)

Example 4. *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*: the beginning of the first version.

The image shows a page of a musical score for the beginning of the first version of 'Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa'. The tempo is marked 'Largamente'. The score is for a full orchestra and includes parts for Flauto I & II, Oboe, Corno inglese, Clarinetto in A, Clarinetto Fessso in Bb, Fagotto I & II, Corno in F (I, II, III, IV), and Tromba I & II. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/8. The score begins with a series of rests for the woodwinds and strings, followed by a melodic entry in the Oboe and Clarinetto in A. The woodwinds play a rhythmic accompaniment. The strings play a steady accompaniment. The score is written in a standard musical notation with various dynamics such as *mf* and *ff*.

The middle section underwent the most exhaustive revision. Here, too, Sibelius cut out pages from the score. While the beginning of the score consists of nested bifolios, from the middle section on there are only loose folios. This section originally included the harp, but no vestiges of it remain visible in the score of the second version, which also suggests that these pages were notated anew. As mentioned, the harp part survives. But, unfortunately, not all the other orchestral parts have survived completely. For some reason the third trumpet, together with the first and second trombone parts, were notated anew for the second version. The other parts were corrected to match the second version by crossing out passages and pasting in some correction slips with the new music. Luckily, the correction slips were glued only from the sides, not all over; in consequence I have been able to reconstruct the passage.

The string parts, however, are an exception. They are longer than the other parts and therefore probably, except the viola, they were corrected to match the second version by throwing away one leaf including the old music and replacing it with a new leaf. Therefore it has not been possible to reconstruct the middle section entirely; unfortunately some gaps remain. Example 5 shows the beginning of the reconstruction. Those staves including the missing passages have been left empty, that is, without rests, in order to be distinguished from those parts that contain 'real' rests. Compared to the revised version, most of the material in the middle section is familiar, for example the melodic ideas, and the greatest difference, apart from the length, is found in the orchestration (not only in the harp part).[\[10\]](#)

Example 5. *Lemminkäinen Tuonelassa*: the beginning of the middle section of the first version.

The musical score is organized into two main tempo sections: **Moderato** and **Moderato assai**. The instruments and their parts are as follows:

- Flute I & II**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section.
- Oboe**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section.
- Corno inglese**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section with the instruction *Moderato assai (poco a poco meno moderato)* and dynamics *pp* *dolce e semplice*.
- Clarinete in A**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section.
- Fagotto basso in Bb**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section.
- Trombe I & II**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section.
- Tromba in C**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section.
- Trombone I, II, III**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section.
- Tuba**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section.
- Triangolo**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section.
- Piatti**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section with dynamics *p*, *mf*, *f*, and *ppp*.
- Grande cassa**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section.
- Arpa**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section with dynamics *p* and *pp*.
- Violino I & II**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section with dynamics *ff*, *molto dim.*, and *ppp*.
- Viola**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section with dynamics *ff*, *molto dim.*, and *ppp*.
- Violoncello**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section with dynamics *ff*, *molto dim.*, and *ppp*.
- Contrabbasso**: Resting in the Moderato section, then playing in the Moderato assai section.

### *Tuonelan joutsen*

Until now it has been believed that nothing of the early version of *Tuonelan joutsen* had survived and that all that was left were the printed score and parts of the final version. This, however, is not quite true. When I was examining the *Lemminkäinen* file boxes in the Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra Library, I found two hand-written parts at the bottom of the box. What immediately struck me was the handwriting, which is by Ernst Röllig, the same copyist who copied all the other parts for the early versions of *Lemminkäinen*. These parts proved to be the first and second desk parts of the first violin for *Tuonelan joutsen*. Example 6 shows the first page of the part.

A comparison between the hand-written violin part and the printed version reveals some differences. Naturally, when only one instrumental part survives, it is impossible to say much about the differences in orchestration or harmonies, but at least something is revealed of the form. As can be seen already on the first page of the part, some changes appear. These were probably made only after the work was published in 1901. Namely, the title page indicates that this originally *Pult 1* (desk 1) designated part was used as desk 10 at some later event and therefore it was corrected to match the printed version, which it does with these corrections. It is not absolutely certain that Sibelius revised this movement twice, that is, right after the first performance and again for the published version; it may be that only one revision took place and thus only two versions of *Tuonelan joutsen* existed.

This early version was initially 35 bars longer than the printed version (102 bars); thus Sibelius shortened it by about one quarter of its length. During the revision three major cuts were made in the work: just after rehearsal letters B and G, and before rehearsal letter H.<sup>[11]</sup> The first difference occurs from bar 16 on, with the present rehearsal letter B, which was added to the part later in red pencil. Bars 16–17 differ already somewhat and are already crossed out in the part, although only some minor differences appear in the two middle staves in bars 16 and 17. In the part at the rehearsal letter B (b. 16), there is no *f* for *forte*, but the nuance is still *p*. Between the present bars 17 and 18, a cut of four bars was made. An *accelerando* appears during the bars that were cut out; the two first bars of the cut are the two last bars in example 6, and the following two bars of the cut repeat the last one. Then *a tempo* (which in this case is *Moderato*, not *Andante molto sostenuto*) appears again in the bar corresponding the present bar 18, where the music continues as in the printed score.

Example 6. *Tuonelan joutsen*: the first page of the first violin part.

2. *Moderato.*

a. *consordino* *mf cresc.* *f dim.*

b. *consordino* *mf cresc.* *f dim.*

c. *consordino* *mf cresc.* *f dim.*

d. *consordino* *mf cresc.* *f dim.*

*dim.* *f* *dim.* *p*

*dim.* *f* *dim.* *p*

*dim.* *f* *dim.* *p*

*dim.* *f* *dim.* *p*

*dim.* *f* *dim.* *p*

*poco à poco accelerando e crescendo*

*poco à poco accelerando e crescendo*

*poco à poco accelerando e crescendo*

*poco à poco accelerando e crescendo.*

Part. 2

After this point, the old and new versions coincide again for quite a long time, up to bar 74. Then a passage of nine bars follows in the early version, but the first violin has rests here. Unfortunately, therefore, what the rest of the orchestra was playing remains unknown. In the revised score, this nine-bar passage would appear just on the page break, that is, two bars after rehearsal letter G.

The third cut appears quite soon after the second one; only nine bars separate these cuts. Actually, it comes quite near the end of the work; there are only about 20 bars left. This last cut is the longest one, containing 22 bars. As example 7 shows, it begins with a similar kind of *tremolo* texture as appeared already earlier in the work, but no exact match can be found.



Example 7. *Tuonelan joutsem*: the beginning of the third cut.

After this, the cut continues with a *pizzicato* texture also familiar from an earlier similar passage that appeared from bar 58 on. This cut-out repetition begins a fourth [enharmonically] lower than the earlier one. However, it changes to correspond to the earlier passage after nine and half bars. In other words, the cut-out texture corresponds to the earlier one from the fourth note in bar 65 on, marked with *f*, where the harp starts playing. Also the harmonies correspond from there on in both places. The differences lie in the order of pitches in the first and third *divisi* as well as in the fact that the last bar contains only rests (the one corresponding to bar 70, three bars before rehearsal letter G). After this cut-out repetition the music of the early version continues from rehearsal letter H to the end of the work nearly the same way we know it today. Only the chord beginning from H lasts for one bar longer and some differences occur in articulation, dynamic and doubling. It seems that with these cuts Sibelius compressed the form by reducing repetition – a typical procedure of his revisions in general.

As we have seen, it is important not only to dig right to the bottom of each and every file box, but above all to examine every single source and every little detail extremely carefully. Even some tiny details may reveal interesting aspects and connections to larger contexts – or, indeed, it may even change the whole picture.

[1] The titles in English are *Lemminkäinen and the Maidens on an island*, *Lemminkäinen in Tuonela*, *The Swan of Tuonela* and *Lemminkäinen's Return*. For more details on the titles and texts (from the Finnish epic *Kalevala*) provided for the audience of the premiere, see the JSW volumes I/12a and b. For instance, the choice of lower or upper case letter for the word saari/Saari refers to a different rune of *Kalevala*.

[2] *Lemminkäinen* will appear [appeared in 2013] in two volumes by Breitkopf & Härtel, JSW I/12a and 12b, with the final versions in the latter volume. All the complete early versions will appear as properly edited versions in the other volume together with passages, reconstructed from the orchestral parts, that were deleted during revision or that cannot be completed for other reasons. For more information on JSW, see [www.nationallibrary.fi/culture/sibelius.html](http://www.nationallibrary.fi/culture/sibelius.html).

[3] “Detta slags musik värkar rent patologiskt och kvarlämnar intryck, så blandade, pinsamma och till sin natur odefinierbara, att det mycket litet ha gemensamt med den estetiska känsla af lust, som all skön konst och främst musiken bör väcka... Men jag förklarar utan omsvep att en sådan musik som Lemminkäinen-illustrationerna nedslår mig, gör mig olycklig, söndersliten och apatisk. Är det musikens mening att väcka en sådan stämning till lifvs?” in *Nya Pressen*, 2nd November 1897.

[4] These movements are mentioned at least in the revision lists of February 1910 and August 1911.

[5] Sample pages of the autographs and other sources will appear as facsimiles in the JSW volumes as well as detailed descriptions of the sources.

[6] Copies of source **E** are preserved at the National Library, source **G** at the Sibelius Museum, and source **H** at the Sibelius Academy Library.

[7] In addition, the second desk of the bass part of this same set is preserved at the Sibelius Museum.

[8] The harp plays only in the middle section. “Så följer en särdeles tilltalande episod i a-moll med en tjusande sång (därpå Lemminkäinens moder vaggar den så välbekante till det lif han fordom ägde), som oboen börjar och som fortsättes af fagotterna, klarinett, violiner etc. med ackompagnement af harpa.” pseudonym H.M. in *Hufvudstadsbladet* on 14th April 1896.

[9] The entire introduction as well as the middle section, reconstructed from the parts, will appear in the JSW volume I/12a.

[10] The early version has also been recorded (BIS-CD-1900/02). The recording is based on the reconstruction by Colin Davis from North Texas University, who has included his own additions in the missing portions. Unfortunately, he has left out the harp and also combined the first and second versions. See Colin Davies: “Sibelius’s ‘Lemminkäinen in Tuonela’. The Significance of the 1896 Original Version” in *Sibelius in the Old and New World*, ed. by Timothy L. Jackson, Veijo Murtomäki, Colin Davies, and Timo Virtanen (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010).

[11] All bar numbers and rehearsal letters refer to the ones in the printed version by B&H.

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Tuija Wicklund gained her Master of Music degree from the Sibelius Academy, Finland, with music theory as her main subject. She has taught music theory and analysis in various institutes, including the Helsinki Polytechnic Stadia and Sibelius Academy. Currently she works as an editor for the ‘Jean Sibelius Works’ complete critical edition, and edited four volumes of tone poems including *Skogsrået* (*The Wood-Nymph*), *Vårsång* (*Spring Song*) and *En saga*, the latter two in two versions apiece, as well as *Lemminkäinen* also in two versions. Currently she is preparing an edition of Overture E major and *Balettscen*. Wicklund gained her doctoral degree at Sibelius Academy, Helsinki in 2014 with her thesis *Jean Sibelius’s En saga and Its Two Versions: Genesis, Reception, Edition, and Form*.  
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