

Tchaikovsky's Revisions of Early Works

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I. Introduction

The works of Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky have received considerable attention in musical analysis, with a larger focus on the later works (especially the Sixth Symphony and the final years of Tchaikovsky's life)¹. That does not leave his earlier works untouched, but there is still much to be analyzed about the early parts of his career. Perhaps the most revealing sources that we have about his early compositional style are the revisions of these works. Tchaikovsky was known to have edited many of his works in the 1860s and 1870s, but the scores for both original and revised versions are not always available.

There are four main orchestral works of interest which have published revisions:

- The First Symphony, written in 1868, revised in 1874.
- *Romeo and Juliet* Fantasy Overture, written in 1869, revised in 1870, revised again in 1880.
- The Second Symphony, written in 1872, revised in 1879.
- The First Piano Concerto, written in 1875, revised in 1879, revised again in 1890.

For all four of these works, the last version is the one most performed and recorded today². Existing literature about these works focuses on these versions, a perspective stemming from the view that the composer's final version of a work should be considered definitive. This paper provides an analysis of the revisions, primarily in the Second Symphony and *Romeo and*

¹ See e.g. Brown 1978–1992 (vol. 4), Poznansky 1995, and Taruskin 2009.

² See Langston and Sauerteig 2022 (456–468, 470–482, 692–729, 899–960) for a list of known recordings of the last version of these works.

Juliet, in order to detail and explore the musical style that Tchaikovsky developed from the early stages throughout his career.

This paper is split into six sections. In Section II, we discuss the background of Tchaikovsky's early career and the main works of interest. In Sections III and IV, we analyze the revisions of the Second Symphony, focusing on the first and fourth movements. In Section V, we analyze both revisions of *Romeo and Juliet*. In Section VI, we provide general remarks about the content of Tchaikovsky's revisions and how they reflect his development as a composer.

II. Background

The 1850s and 1860s featured conflict within Russian musical culture. Several musical conservatories were established in Russia, including the St. Petersburg Conservatory and the Moscow Conservatory. These schools, founded by the brothers Anton and Nikolai Rubinstein, spread the influence of the German tradition to musicians in Russia, including Tchaikovsky, who attended the St. Petersburg Conservatory from shortly after its opening in 1862 until 1866 and taught at the Moscow Conservatory after his graduation in 1866 until 1878. But several composers dissented from the views of the conservatories, believing that the creation of a distinct Russian tradition was more important than the adoption of ideas imported from Western Europe. A group of composers called "The Five"—consisting of Mily Balakirev, Alexander Borodin, César Cui, Modest Mussorgsky, and Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov—sought to broaden the reach of their style, national in nature and separate from the styles taught in the conservatories.

Tchaikovsky had working relationships with members of The Five, most notably Balakirev and Rimsky-Korsakov. This placed him at the intersection of the two conflicting schools of thought, a position that manifested itself in several aspects of his music. His frequent usage of folk songs in his works reflects his relationship with his national heritage of both Russia

and Ukraine, while his training meant that these folk songs were often treated through forms and techniques learned from the conservatories. Tchaikovsky often applied his theoretical skills to his compositional practice, also writing a book expounding on his view of harmony as he taught it at the conservatory³. Many aspects of Tchaikovsky's compositional style have also been extensively analyzed, with Tchaikovsky's originality of harmonic and melodic structures being shown to be categorized by context and style⁴. But there is not much discussion of the style prior to revisions, so it is useful to focus on particularly the original version of the works which were later revised.

There are two obstacles in the analysis of Tchaikovsky's revisions of the four works of interest. The first and more important issue is the lack of verifiably accurate scores for many original versions. The *Complete Collected Works*, a critical edition of most of Tchaikovsky's works published by Soviet editors between 1940 and 1990, included an edition of the original versions of these works. For the First Symphony, the 1874 version is given in full, but only excerpts are given for the 1868 version where the score differs. For *Romeo and Juliet*, both the 1869 and 1880 versions are given in full because of the substantial differences between them, but once again the 1870 version is provided only in excerpts. Similarly, for the Second Symphony, the 1879 version is given in full while only excerpts are given for the 1872 version⁵. But for the First Piano Concerto, only the 1875 version is given, with the revisions of the 1879 version provided in footnotes (the definitive 1890 version is not present at all in the *Complete Collected Works*).

³ See Neff 1998 for a discussion of his theoretical skills and Tchaikovsky 1872 for the composer's book describing harmony.

⁴ See Zajaczkowski 1987.

⁵ Specifically, the first and third movements are given in full, while the fourth movement only has the removed portions (as we will later see, no new material was added in the fourth movement as part of the revision).

There is still a question as to whether the edition in the *Complete Collected Works* is accurate. The 107 volumes in the collection were edited by several different editors, and it is known that some of the volumes had inauthentic edits with varying standards. Researchers at Tchaikovsky Research, an online project organized by Tchaikovsky scholars, have compiled more accurate scores for the two symphonies using manuscripts, though only the corrections for the Second Symphony are public⁶.

The second obstacle is the miniscule number of recordings of the original versions of the works. For example, the only known recordings of the 1868 version of the First Symphony and the 1870 version of *Romeo and Juliet* are radio broadcasts performed by the BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra in 2007, which are not publicly archived⁷. The rest of the original versions fare slightly better. Both the 1872 version of the Second Symphony and the 1869 version of *Romeo and Juliet* were recorded by Geoffrey Simon and the London Symphony Orchestra in 1982 and 1981, respectively, but this is the only known recording of the original version of the Second Symphony. Again, researchers at Tchaikovsky Research have reconstructed audio files of the original version of many works⁸. This is useful for study of how the works sound, but without an extensive set of instrument-performed recordings, there is a lack of performance history to analyze.

With these issues in mind, we choose to focus on two of the four works of interest: the Second Symphony and *Romeo and Juliet*. There are several reasons why the revisions of these two are of higher interest than those of the First Symphony and the First Piano Concerto. The most important is that the amount of material that was recomposed is significantly higher for the

⁶ The edition produced by Tchaikovsky Research can be found on the International Music Score Library Project.

⁷ The BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra did not respond to a request for comment.

⁸ See Tchaikovsky Research, "First Thoughts."

Second Symphony and *Romeo and Juliet* than the other two, or any other revisions that are currently known.

Tchaikovsky describes his revision of the Second Symphony in an 1880 letter to Sergey Taneyev⁹:

At present I am occupied in revising my 2nd Symphony. The first movement I have written afresh, except for the introduction and coda, which remain as before. The first theme of the Allegro is different, but the previous first theme has been turned into the second. This movement is now more compact, shorter and not so difficult. If anything deserves the epithet impossible, then it's this first movement in its original form. My God, it's so difficult, noisy, disjointed and confused! The Andante is left unchanged. The Scherzo is radically altered. The Finale has received a huge cut, that is to say, after the big pedal point before the recapitulation of the first theme at the end of the development, I have jumped straight to the second.

This letter provides direct motivation for the revision of the first movement, but does not give reasons for the changes made to the later movements. The first, third, and fourth movements were all shortened through removal of passages and recomposition of sections. This suggests that Tchaikovsky was concerned with the proportions of the symphony and how an audience might perceive such lengthy movements.

On the other hand, there is reasonable documentation for the composition and revision of *Romeo and Juliet*. Tchaikovsky and Balakirev exchanged several letters and conversations about the work in 1869–1871, in which Balakirev provided criticism about the themes. In the first revision, themes are altered or entirely changed, positioning of themes is strategically modified, and the ending is made stronger. Balakirev still had concerns, but Tchaikovsky did not believe

⁹ Translated to English by Luis Sundkvist. See Tchaikovsky Research, “Letter 1396.”

that it was worthwhile to revise again at the time¹⁰, partially due to his work on the opera *The Oprichnik*. Only a decade later did Tchaikovsky return to revise the work by improving the coda yet again to its strongest form.

As a result, the primary revision occurs in the 1870 version—much of the well-known content from the overture stems from there, not the final 1880 version. According to Modest Tchaikovsky, the composer’s “higher significance in the world of art” is a result of this revision, as the 1870 version found its way across Europe and to other cultural centers of Western classical music at the time¹¹.

With the First Symphony and the First Piano Concerto, the changes were much smaller in scope. Most changes were reorchestrations or decorative modifications, with only slight material additions or removals. Furthermore, there is already considerable scholarship on the revisions of the First Piano Concerto, including detailed descriptions of the revisions¹² and justification for the authenticity of the 1890 version¹³. In what follows, we focus on the larger revisions to evaluate Tchaikovsky’s adjustments.

III. Second Symphony: First Movement

We begin our analysis with a study of the first movement of the Second Symphony. This is perhaps the most substantial revision that Tchaikovsky completed. The only sections that were preserved were the introduction, coda, and a small passage in the development. There are many avenues through which this revision can be analyzed, including a mapping of sections and

¹⁰ See Tchaikovsky Research, “Letter 156” and “Letter 235.”

¹¹ See M. Tchaikovsky 1906 (vol. 1, 120).

¹² See Feofanov 1985.

¹³ The preface of the edition in the *Complete Collected Works* presents doubt as to whether Tchaikovsky made the revisions in the 1890 version or other performers did without the composer’s approval. In Langston 2022, several sources are compiled which show that the first appearances of the 1890 version were likely produced with Tchaikovsky’s knowledge.

themes, a study of the development of themes, and a comparison with other works written around the time of the revision. We choose to focus on a specific case of comparison of sections.

In both versions, the movement begins with a desolate folk song theme played by a solo horn. Following this introduction in the 1872 version, a gentle theme appears in the higher voices with the tempo marking *Allegro comodo*. At the same time, lower voices in the woodwinds and strings create an agitated feeling through the use of syncopation and the *passus duriusculus* (Example 1). This theme is in C minor, though chromatic motions make the tonal region ambiguous. The subsequent secondary theme is similar, with melodic content derived from the first theme and harmony also full of instability.

In the 1879 version, the first theme is instead an aggressive set of outbursts with the tempo marking *Allegro vivo*. This theme fully commits to the agitated state that follows the horn solo, heightening the contrast between the sections. Then, the secondary theme provides a divergence with a soft and chorale-like passage (Example 2). In fact, the melody of this theme is a modified version of the original first theme. Whereas the theme in the 1872 version is bulky in orchestration and constantly moving rhythmically and harmonically, the 1879 instance as the secondary theme in E \flat major features a light woodwind texture with stable harmonic rhythm.

Even here, the original second theme is not fully erased. Tchaikovsky condenses that theme from 1872 into a snippet of just a single measure, played by the violins at the end of the phrase of the new second theme (m. 92 in Example 2). This cameo appearance is just a small glimpse into how Tchaikovsky envisioned preserving the unity of the work in his revision. The rewriting of this movement served more as a reworking of themes, preserving the main statements (the folk song given by a solo horn at the beginning and end of the movement) but dramatically altering the story that lies in between.



Example 1. Second Symphony (1872), First Movement, mm. 53–58



Example 2. Second Symphony (1879), First Movement, mm. 87–92

IV. Second Symphony: Fourth Movement

We now turn our attention to the finale of the Second Symphony, which had considerably fewer revisions than the first movement, but noteworthy ones. This movement is in sonata form and is based on the Ukrainian folk song “журавель”, or *The Crane*. One transcription of this folk song was as part of a collection of folk songs compiled by Mariya Mamontova and arranged by Tchaikovsky in 1872.

По - ва - дил - ся жу - ра - вель, жу - ра - вель

На бабь - и - ну ко - но - пель, ко - но - пель.

Та - кой, та - кой жу - ра - вель Та - кой, та - кой длин - ный,
 Та - кой, та - кой зо - бас - тый Та - кой, та - кой но - са - тый

Ко - но - пель - ку щип - лет.

Example 3. *The Crane*, as arranged by Tchaikovsky in *Children's Songs on Russian and Ukrainian Tunes* as Set 1, Song 18.

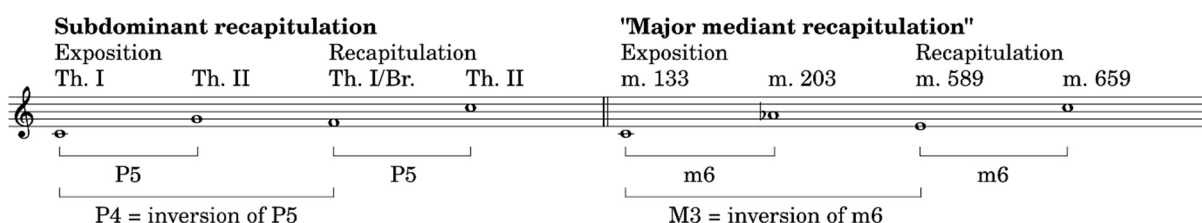
There are three principal themes in the movement of the symphony:

- The “Crane” theme from the folk song (mm. 1–4 of *The Crane*, Example 3), used as the primary theme within the first theme group. It first appears in the introduction, then it is stated in its main form in mm. 25–28. This theme is repeated an extraordinary amount, sometimes exactly as initially stated, other times transposed or slightly altered.
- A theme modified from the secondary theme of the folk song (mm. 9–12 of *The Crane*, Example 3), used as a subsidiary theme within the first theme group. This will be referred to as Theme I(b). It is first stated in mm. 49–56.
- The secondary theme, first stated in mm. 203–218.

Tchaikovsky’s main revision of this movement was to remove a large section of the recapitulation. The cut occurs at m. 509, where in the original version the first theme group continues for another 146 measures. The revision instead goes straight into a brief transition leading to the secondary theme. But to describe the revision as just the removal of a section

ignores the story of why this section existed in the first place and why it was even conceivable that it could be removed.

The movement is in C major, the parallel major of the key that begins the symphony. Unlike most major key sonata forms which modulate to the dominant for the secondary theme in the exposition, this movement modulates to A \flat major, the \flat VI of the primary key. This is not the first time that Tchaikovsky applied an unusual secondary theme key; in the finale of the First Symphony, the primary key is G major while the secondary key is B minor. But that modulation is not too distant from the original key—when transposed down a fifth (as secondary themes often are from exposition to recapitulation), the resulting key is the relative minor, which is used by Tchaikovsky to successfully modulate back to the original key in the First Symphony. In the 1872 version of the Second Symphony, Tchaikovsky opts for a process similar to the subdominant recapitulation¹⁴, modulating to E major (the III of the primary key) at m. 589 during the first theme group of the recapitulation. The rest of the first theme group is then stated exactly as it appeared in the exposition, except transposed up by a third. A visualization of the intervallic relationships described here is provided in Example 4.



Example 4. Intervallic relationships between keys in recapitulation modulation techniques. Measure numbers are as in Second Symphony (1872), Movement 4 and refer to locations of appearance of the key¹⁵.

¹⁴ The subdominant recapitulation involves modulating to the subdominant during the first theme group of the recapitulation, allowing the (transposed) bridge to work exactly as before to modulate to the dominant of the subdominant, or the tonic as desired.

¹⁵ The introduction (m. 1) and beginning of the exposition (m. 25) are both already in C major, but m. 133 is the location that corresponds to the later section in E major at m. 589.

The presence of E major is extremely important here. The three most prominent notes in the movement are C (being the tonic, this is unavoidable), A \flat , and E. These three notes form an augmented triad through their major third/diminished fourth (M3/d4) relationship that leads to symmetry in the movement. One self-contained example of this is in mm. 161–168, where the Crane theme is shifted back and forth between the three notes because of a sequence by a major third¹⁶. When this passage appears in mm. 617–624 in the recapitulation of the original version, it is now transposed up a third—which does not change the focal notes or the melodic notes, as seen in Example 5.

A prominent example of this symmetry is in the minor mode passage of the first theme group, shown in Example 6. The first appearance of E as a tonic in the movement is at m. 105, when the Crane theme is stated in E minor (the iii of the primary key). The corresponding moment in the recapitulation occurs at m. 561 in the original version and is in G \sharp minor, which is enharmonically equivalent to A \flat (Example 7). As a result, the M3/d4 relationship between the three notes avoids introducing new harmonies in this passage.



Example 5. Second Symphony, Fourth Movement, mm. 161–168; Second Symphony (1872), Fourth Movement, mm. 617–624

¹⁶ This passage plays a role in the development of the Crane theme, as discussed in Auerbach 2012 (95). The notes form the whole tone scale containing C, which underlines much of the movement. Thus, an explicit statement as in this passage is not surprising.

Example 6. Second Symphony, Fourth Movement, mm. 104–112

Example 7. Second Symphony (1872), Fourth Movement, mm. 560–568

The tonal direction in the recapitulation in the 1872 version provides a different build-up to this moment—see mm. 104 and 560 in Example 6 and Example 7. In the exposition, the excerpt at m. 105 follows a statement of the Crane theme in C major. This statement ends with a C-E dyad on the downbeat of m. 104, which acts as a predominant chord in E minor in the role of a pivot chord. In the recapitulation, the preceding passage is a statement of Theme I(b) in the key of E \flat , ending on the second half of the first beat of m. 560. This E \flat tonic chord similarly functions as a pivot chord, but directly as the dominant of G \sharp (A \flat) minor.

Recall that this first theme group in the recapitulation eventually modulates to E major. It is thus surprising that the chromatic lower neighbor key, E \flat major, is used to propel the tonal

action forward. But the contrast between mm. 104 and 560 reveals the elegance of these key choices. Because the passage before m. 105 ends on the downbeat of m. 104 while the passage before m. 561 ends midway through m. 560, there is less time to move harmonically from the preceding passage to the minor mode passage in the recapitulation. Linking them through a dominant-tonic relationship provides a concise method of pivoting into the desired key of G# minor.

But why must this goal be G# minor? In the exposition, this minor mode passage (in E minor) leads to a “fake bridge” (mm. 125–132) that serves as a transition back to the Crane theme in C major. To end up in E major after this fake bridge in the recapitulation, the minor mode passage must start in G# minor. This is precisely what Tchaikovsky does, leading to a successful “major mediant recapitulation” as in Example 4.

This analysis provides ample reason for the existence and harmonic behavior of this section from mm. 545–658 in the original version. What has not been explained is why it would be removed in the 1879 revision. There are numerous possible explanations, but a few stand out—one of which is the sheer duration of the E major material. The first theme group has several properties that make this an issue. It contains immense repetition of the Crane theme in the tonic key, it contains material resembling closing material despite not concluding the exposition, and it is the longest part of the movement—it lasts around 200 measures, while the secondary theme is around 50 measures, the development is also around 200 measures, and the coda is under 200 measures. When the key of E major has been centered for around 100 measures with strong repetition of the tonic in both the Crane theme and the closing-like material, it causes the reemergence of C major in m. 659 to appear more strongly as the \flat VI of E major rather than the tonic of the entire movement, an issue that is questionably resolved only

when definitive closing material in C major appears. By truncating the movement, Tchaikovsky avoids this issue by never departing from C major in the recapitulation, fully committing to the statement.

Another perspective which reveals more insight into the removal can be gained by analyzing the developmental goal of the movement. As explained by Brent Auerbach, the repetitiveness of the movement follows the structure of block composition that is used to achieve the developmental goal. Auerbach defines block composition as repetition “sans development, with its essential melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic/metric content unchanged.” The Crane theme is zoomed in on, with the first three notes forming a “*do re mi*” motif that appears in several tonicizations all throughout the movement. The goal that the development reaches towards is to sequence the *do re mi* motif exactly in whole steps, which would form motivic parallelism¹⁷.

The developmental goal is reached at the end of the development in mm. 445–460 and is used freely in the ending of the recapitulation and the coda in m. 611 onwards (1879 numbering). With most of the exposition restated in the recapitulation of the 1872 version, we revisit many of the first steps of developing this motif towards the goal. It is as if the goal was set aside and reconstructed without actually finishing the construction in the recapitulation. The omission of a large portion of the first theme group keeps the goal intact from the end of the development and makes it more connected with the appearance in the coda.

That is not to say that the final version of this movement is the “strictly better” one and the original “incorrect.” There is treasure in the way Tchaikovsky navigated the passages and harmonies needed to transplant the first theme group into the key of E major and successfully loop the movement back to C major. The way that the keys of C, A♭, and E are juxtaposed and

¹⁷ See Auerbach 2012, Example 16 (99).

balanced in large proportions forms symmetry in the tonal development of the movement. But there is also skill in recognizing when to remove such parts of compositions, and Tchaikovsky's revision of this movement demonstrates as much.

V: *Romeo and Juliet*

The *Romeo and Juliet* overture is a work in sonata form in which the form and narrative are intertwined. Again, there are three principal themes at play in this piece:

- The friar theme, which is entirely recomposed in the 1870 version¹⁸ (Example 8).
This serves as the introductory theme in both versions.
- The feud theme, used as the primary theme (Example 9).
- The love theme, used as the secondary theme. This is first stated in mm. 184–192 in the 1870/1880 version (mm. 156–164 in the 1869 version) as displayed in Example 10, but previously alluded to in mm. 68–83 in the 1869 version.



Example 8. Original Friar Theme: *Romeo and Juliet* (1869), mm. 1–4; New Friar Theme: *Romeo and Juliet* (1880), mm. 1–4



Example 9. Feud Theme: *Romeo and Juliet* (1880), mm. 112–115

¹⁸ The designations “original friar theme” and “new friar theme” will be used to denote the different themes from the 1869 and 1870 versions, respectively.



Example 10. Love Theme: *Romeo and Juliet* (1880), mm. 184–191

In the 1870 version, the exposition and most of the recapitulation are preserved, solidifying the feud and love themes as the centerpiece of the overture. Additionally, ten measures in the development are preserved (mm. 274–283 in 1869 numbering, mm. 325–334 in 1880 numbering), mainly serving as a transition towards the climax of the development. The rest of the material is rewritten. The original friar theme, perhaps too jovial and majestic in nature, is scrapped and replaced by a darker woodwind theme. The structure of the development is completely reworked, with the climax being changed from a conflict between the three themes (mm. 286–309 in 1869 numbering) to only a conflict between the friar and feud themes (mm. 335–352 in 1880 numbering). Finally, the coda is restructured to focus on the love theme, beginning with a dreamy allusion to it in B major before revealing a dark reworking—effectively providing the death of the love theme. The 1880 revision switches the order of these two statements, letting the brighter and more hopeful statement ring at the end.

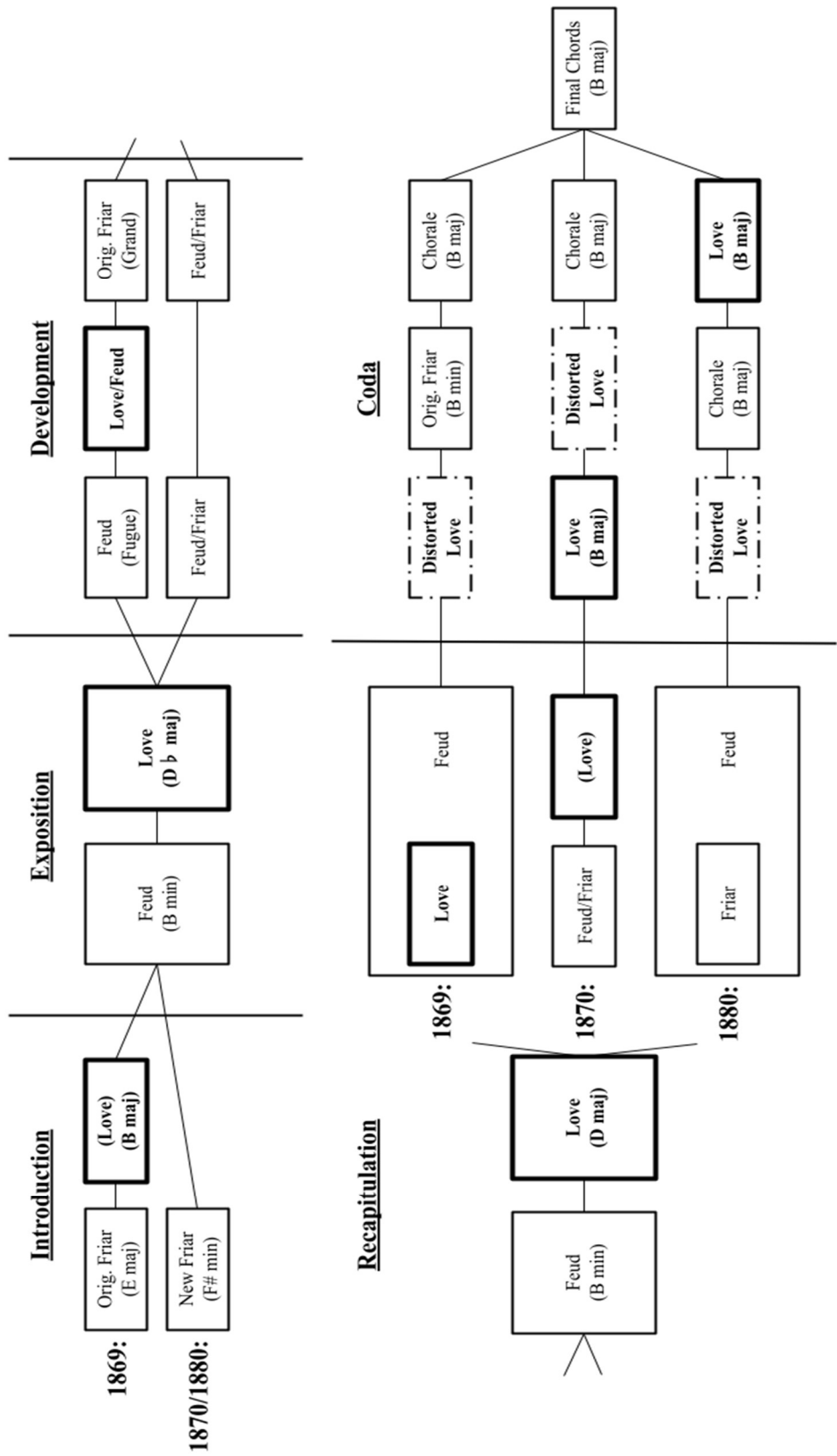
Thus, Tchaikovsky's placement of the love theme is a process that takes place over both revisions. Crucially, the final adjustment in the 1880 version is prepared and supported by the changes made in the 1870 version. In all versions, the bridge leading to the love theme loosens the rhythmic and dynamic tension of the B minor primary feud theme, eventually settling on a

static harmony of a dominant seventh in D major (mm. 176–183 in 1880 numbering)¹⁹. This makes perfect sense if the secondary theme were to begin in D major, the relative major of the minor tonic key. But no, Tchaikovsky reinterprets the dominant seventh with a root of A as a German sixth with a root of B $\flat\flat$, which places the love theme in the key of D \flat major at m. 184.

In the 1869 version, the love theme is first introduced in the introduction at m. 68. This occurs in the key of B major, quite tonally distant from the eventual statement as the secondary theme in D \flat major. This key makes more sense from a strict harmonic point of view relative to its neighboring passages—the original friar theme is in E major, so having a passage in the introduction in B major is just one step away on the circle of fifths. It is also used to transition into the feud theme in B minor, the parallel minor. But this harmonic precision undercuts the transitional moment at the secondary theme by providing rigidity to the tonal organization of the introduction and exposition. The conventionality of the modulations in the 1869 version does not prepare for the magical moment of the D \flat key change. In addition, the fact that the love theme has already been stated further weakens that moment. The curtain reveal shows the audience something that has already been seen, but the moment calls for a fresh and delicate theme.

The 1870 revision fixes all of these issues. The new friar theme is in F \sharp minor, with only transitional material separating the friar's portentous presence from the feud theme. This modulation from F \sharp minor to B minor is still well-connected as a minor dominant relationship but is far more mystical than the dominant and parallel key relationships used in the 1869 version. And now, the love theme is heard fresh for the first time at m. 184, adding to the charm of the section and work as a whole.

¹⁹ This concept of a “static harmony link” between sections—the use of a decelerating and constant harmony to connect sections—is thoroughly discussed in Zajackowski 1987 (2–10). Tchaikovsky uses this strategy in various other points of the overture too, though with more direct harmonies (and not always for modulation).



Example 11. Outline diagram for differences between the 1869, 1870, and 1880 versions of *Romeo and Juliet*.

Referring to Example 11, there are more locations where the love theme is removed. The original version featured a conflict between the feud and love themes in the development (mm. 286–294 in 1869 numbering) before jumping into a grand statement of the original friar theme, the climax of the development. After the revision, the development avoids the love theme entirely, saving its beauty for the recapitulation (this time in the key of D major²⁰) and closing material. Diminishing the over-saturation of the love theme in the 1869 version makes it immensely clear in the 1870 version that the important programmatic moments are in the true thematic statements and the conclusion.

The 1880 version takes this even further, solidifying the coda as an important and powerful point of the movement. In all of the versions, the coda appears to kill off the love theme by distorting it with minor and diminished intervals—referencing the death of the lovers in the Shakespeare play. But in the final version, Tchaikovsky lifts the love theme back up at m. 510, providing a hint that the love between the titular characters transcends even death. Instead of having the last true statement of the love theme be followed by the distortion as in the 1870 version, Tchaikovsky desires to have this theme transcend the conflict that is present throughout the work.

Turning a negatively charged conclusion into a powerful, positive ending had been done by Tchaikovsky before: in the finale of his 1876 ballet *Swan Lake*, the famous swan theme (which is already a transfiguration of the opening phrase of the ballet) is suddenly transformed into a major mode statement with the full force of the orchestra. At this point in the ballet, the princess Odette has been condemned to remain a swan forever and chooses to die, and her lover Siegfried also chooses to die by jumping into the lake. The two ascend into the sky, remaining

²⁰ This is the “correct” key of modulation in the exposition, but not the recapitulation. A statement of the love theme in the tonic of B major is only found in the coda.

together in love. In applying the same technique to *Romeo and Juliet*, Tchaikovsky finishes the magic that began with the D \flat modulation in the exposition by lifting the love theme into B major, the true tonic of the overture, and preserving the theme of the star-crossed lovers.

VI: General Conclusions about Tchaikovsky's Revisions

Tchaikovsky made his revisions mostly independent of each other, but they still had several consistencies that reveal some development of his compositional style. One noticeable class of changes is the general removal of fugal passages, pushing his textural style away from the specific methods learned and taught in the conservatories and towards a balance between homophony and antiphony. One prominent example of this is at the beginning of the development in the 1869 version of *Romeo and Juliet* (mm. 245–273), which serves as a buildup to the climax. In the 1870 version, the climax is instead reached by unraveling sequencing, a technique that Tchaikovsky uses in a large number of later works. Another removed fugal passage is in the 1872 version of the Second Symphony, in the first movement at mm. 241–262.

Another class of changes is the clarification of the goal of a piece. The analysis of the first and fourth movements of the Second Symphony and the coda of *Romeo and Juliet* demonstrates the importance of this type of alteration. The passages that fill the body of the first movement of the Second Symphony are given drastically different characters by shifting the themes around and introducing a new first theme, creating a different trajectory from the first statement of the folk song to the last. The usage of the developmental goal in the coda of the Second Symphony is only strengthened by uniting the entire recapitulation in C major, just as the progression of the love theme in *Romeo and Juliet* is only strengthened by reuniting the lovers in the coda of the overture.

We can also look to some of Tchaikovsky's other works for better knowledge about the revisions. The manuscript score of the 1872 version of the Second Symphony was destroyed after the 1879 version was made, demonstrating the will with which Tchaikovsky wanted to push his compositional power forward through his revisions. Such an act was quite deliberate and extreme—Tchaikovsky is only known to have destroyed the scores of four of his works: the original version of the Second Symphony, *Fatum* (composed in 1868), and both of his works based on Alexander Ostrovsky's play *The Voyevoda* (an opera composed in 1868 and a ballad composed in 1890). The commonality between these works besides the Second Symphony was criticism received from his associates and sometimes audiences. Tchaikovsky's response to such criticism is thus consistent in that he seeks to either revise or remove the works to obtain the satisfaction of his peers.

All together, these revisions provide unique insights about Tchaikovsky's thoughts in composition during the early years of his career. It is through the study of these revisions that we are able to get a better grasp on the process and evolution of his compositional style. There is still much to be discussed about Tchaikovsky, with prior discourse primarily focused on notions of "differentness" from other composers and the Western European tradition. By tracking how the works of Tchaikovsky differ from each other and from themselves, we illuminate many more possibilities for the understanding of his music. This provides yet another perspective on Tchaikovsky's compositions, contributing to the pursuit of unbiased analysis. Through the revisions of these early works, we are able to see directly how Tchaikovsky's music is the result of an attentive craft.

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