#### Behind the Image, Beyond the Image

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# Two Diaries of 1962: Robert Craft – Xenia Stravinsky

# Memorial Literature as a Historiographical Source of Igor Stravinsky's Portrait

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**Abstract** Igor Stravinsky has a unique status as a cosmopolitan composer. He was called 'Russian European', 'the exile to an alien culture', 'the prodigal son of Russian art'. However, his national self-identification has always remained in question. Discourse about his belonging to one of the other nations appeared in the Russian field only after his 'return' to the USSR in 1962 for 21 days. This research is based on the diaries who accompanied Stravinsky during his tour in USSR: Robert Craft (American Conductor and Stravinsky's secretary) and Xenia Stravinsky (Stravinsky's niece). Comparing the two diaries provides an exciting opportunity to discover a new vision of Stravinsky's portrait from two opposite points of view, Soviet and American.

**Keywords** Igor Stravinsky. Robert Craft. Xenia Stravinsky. Return to USSR. 1962. National identity. Russian European.

**Summary** 1 Introduction. – 2 The Return of Stravinsky. – 2.1 Circumstances of Igor Stravinsky's Arrival in the USSR. – 2.2 The Criticism of the Composer's Work and his Image in the Soviet and American Chronicles. – 3 Semiological Analysis of two Diaries of 1962. – 3.1 The Image and Time of Stravinsky. – 3.2 Russian Language of the Early Twentieth Century and the Stravinsky's Speech. – 3.3 Soviet Musicians. – 3.4 The Church and Faith. – 4 Conclusion.



e-ISSN 2784-8868 ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-588-9 The event of the life of the text, its true essence, always develops on the boundary between two consciousnesses, two subjects. (Bakhtin 1986, 106)

#### 1 Introduction

Igor Stravinsky's figure was discovered many times in monographs of different musical experts all over the world. His unique status as a cosmopolitan composer creates variable discourses. Stravinsky was called 'Russian European', 'the exile to an alien culture', 'the prodigal son of Russian art'. We can find some answers about the composer's national self-identity in his philosophical and artistic view. Nevertheless, it is still an open question who he really was. The problem of cultural-historical belonging and self-identity became a primary theme at the beginning of the twentieth century among Russian émigré.

The most common method to analyse the national status of a person is territorial belonging. Often an artist or a writer lives somewhere and writes his creations in a language that is not common and does not belong to this territory. There are many examples: Vitold Gombrovich lived in Argentina for a long time, then in France, but he was a Polish writer: Paul Celan was a Romanian-born German-language poet and translator: Adam Mickiewicz was a Polish writer, but still, he was regarded as a national poet not only in Poland and Lithuania but also in Belarus (Kobrin 2015). Extending this line, we can say the same about Igor Stravinsky. He was born in Oranienbaum in the Russian Empire. He lived for 26 years in France and then 31 years in the USA. The composer died in New York but was buried in Italy, in Venice. This makes us wonder whether he was Russian. French or American composer? An answer to this question could be found in his memoirs. However, the only autobiography he wrote, *Chroniques* de ma vie (I. Stravinsky 1935), was written and published when he was 53 years old and living in France, without knowing about coming changes in his private life and the whole world.1

In that period, Stravinsky was in the Looking-Glass, in a space that could accept neither his Russian blood nor his forward-looking European views. His 'world of art' was free of political, physical or language barriers.

<sup>1</sup> In 1935 Stravinsky was still a citizen of France, where he lived with his family. Nevertheless, 1938-1939 brought tragic events. Tuberculosis (a deadly disease that was a cruel fate for the whole Stravinsky family) claimed the lives of two family members: first, Igor's daughter (Lyudmila died in November of 1938), then his first wife (Yekaterina died in March of 1939), and then his mother suddenly died in June of 1939. There was nothing that kept him in France. Besides, a successful tour in the USA, a course of lectures in aesthetics at Harvard University which the composer held, and, last but not least, the beginning of World War II, motivated Igor to move to the USA.

Stravinsky was free of borders, or it is better to say that his borders were very flexible and changeable depending on the idea of his artistic act (Castelnuovo 1987). His artistic experiments belong to an interdisciplinary field. They can be described as a transgression that 'aims to the limit' (Foucault 1994) and overviewing the inner and independent experience of the artist. His artistic and national position can be criticised from the same point of view: in Russia, he was not taken seriously as a composer; in Europe, he was a man of an 'alien' culture. At the same time, he spoke about himself like in the following example:

– Я никогда не говорил ничего плохого ни о советской музыке, ни о советских музыкантах, – заявил Стравинский. – Все эти высказывания приписывались в интервью со мной недобросовестными журналистами. У меня же не было ни сил, ни времени опровергать их... (X. Stravinsky 1978, 86)

I've never said anything terrible neither about Soviet music nor about soviet musicians, – claimed Stravinsky. – All these statements were made by unethical journalists who interviewed me. I had neither energy nor time to disprove them...

Stravinsky's self-identity evolved to change in different periods of his artistic career. Still, the discourse about his belonging to one of the other nations truly appeared in the Russian field only after his 'return' to his motherland. However, by then, his country did not exist anymore. In 1962 he came back to a new 'empire' of the Soviet regime for 21 days.

A unique source as memorial literature – two diaries – helps to research his national and artistic identity more objectively and in more depth. The first diary belongs to Igor Stravinsky's secretary, a conductor Robert Craft, and the second, 'everyday notes', belongs to his niece Xenia Stravinsky. These two historiographic sources allow us to analyse an artistic environment, a daily routine, and a musician's lifestyle [fig. 1].

<sup>2 &</sup>quot;Русская музыкальная жизнь сейчас остановилась. В России не выносят меня. Петрушка было исполнено в Петрограде в те же дни, что и здесь, и я видел, что в газетах мое сочинение полно сравнений в битьем посуды" (Nowadays, Russian musical life has stopped. I'm disliked in Russia. Petrushka was executed in Petrograd at the same time as here, and I saw that my composition was often compared with smashing plates in newspapers) (Varunts 1988, 12). Unless otherwise indicated all translations are by the Author.

<sup>3 &</sup>quot;За границей меня постоянно пытаются отправить обратно в Россию - это происходит довольно часто с теми, кто пересекает границы собственной страны. Соперники стараются видеть в нас 'чужестранцев'" (Overseas, they always try to send me back to Russia - this happens quite frequently with people who cross the borders of their own country. Rivals try to see -aliens- in us) (Varunts 1988, 85).

The author of the first diary is Robert Craft. He met the composer in 1948 when they began their creative collaboration. In the beginning, he had the role of the Maestro's assistant, but then he became an equal partner. Craft compiled the librettos for *The Flood* (1962) and A Sermon, a Narrative and a Prayer (1960). After Stravinsky's death, Craft continued to compose and perform, and he sustained a close relationship with the composer's wife, Vera. In 2002 Craft's memoirs, An Improbable Life, were published. In this book, he told about his life before, during and after his friendship with Stravinsky. He laid particular emphasis on the way Stravinsky influenced his life. Together with Stravinsky, Craft published many of books on music and art. Special attention deserves Conversations with Igor Stravinsky (1962), Dialogues and a Diary (1963), Themes and Episodes (1967) and Retrospectives and Conclusions (1969). The books include records of conversations between Craft and Stravinsky, various interviews, essays, excerpts from diaries, etc. Nowadays, it is hard to say if these books reflect the thoughts of Stravinsky because many experts believe that Craft inserted in the books too much on his behalf.

The diary that belongs to Xenia Stravinsky gives absolutely another sight on the composer's arrival. Xenia kept an everyday diary that recorded every event all her life. She lived in a house where the Stravinsky family had settled since 1881, and where Igor spent most of his 'Russian years'. Xenia inherited a part of the family archive from her grandfather Fyodor Stravinsky (the composer's father). He was a famous opera singer from the Mariinsky Theatre who had a wide variety of connections in the artistic world of Saint Petersburg and held the richest library of that time. Xenia devoted herself to holding the family's memory and continuously offered help and assistance to Stravinsky's art researchers. Her diary was published in her book *X.Y. Stravinsky about I.F. Stravinsky and his family*, but in 1978, it was censored. Fortunately, manuscripts and first versions of the book remained in the archive.

In her diary, Xenia wrote only about those things and people that she personally saw and me. The text of letters and diaries provides comments, containing essential information partially taken as from the family archive as from Xenia's research. This gives her book the possibility to combine the genre between memoirs and essays. None of the historians controverted the value of memoirs literature as a historical source. The importance of memories for a complete recreation of historical reality and for 'reviving' the historical description

<sup>4</sup> This habit was inherited mainly from her family. Her grandfather Fyodor Stravinsky kept accountant books, which had records about some spending and notes that we can consider diaries. Then this practice was continued by his wife, Anna Stravinsky, and their kids as well.



Figure 1 Robert Craft, Xenia and Vera Stravinsky. 1962. Photograph. Moscow. Courtesy of Stravinsky Family Fund

was emphasised in every possible way. However, usually, this complex of sources is used by researchers only as supporting, illustrative material, not as a self-standing source. The role of memoirs has three main functions: improve our vision of historical facts, insert necessary specifics and give an emotional colouring to the research (cf. Chernomorski 1959; Tarle 1961; Mints 1979; Sidorzov 2000). Interestingly enough, the ability of memoirs is not only to carry 'live' information about past facts but also to give historians a 'concealed coded' way of knowing things that used to be or could be ignored. However, using this historiographical base through the analysis of diaries of two opposite cultures' representatives (who hardly spoke to each other because they did not have a common language, but still both were very close ones to the composer) gives the image of Igor Stravinsky in a new perspective.

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note that Xenia spoke only one foreign language, French. She knew English very badly and understood only some phrases. Robert Craft knew neither French nor Russian. That is why during the Russian tour, he was accompanied by an official translator, Alexandra Afonina.

# 2 The Return of Stravinsky

# 2.1 Circumstances of Igor Stravinsky's Arrival in the USSR

Over the years of separation from the motherland, many reasons had accumulated that impede Stravinsky's return. The composer's eldest brother lived in Russia, but they had lost contact due to political circumstances. Igor was very close to his brother Yury in the days of his youth. This is proved by a great number of letters, as well as family photos taken in Ustilug and Pechisky (estates where the family spent their summer). The war started in 1914, and Igor stayed abroad. Revolution and civil war in the latest years became the reasons why Stravinsky did not come back. In 1925, Tatyana Stravinsky (Yury's daughter) visited her uncle in France. She stayed there more than half of a year, after which her whole family had the intention to move to Europe. But Igor didn't help his brother with those plans. In 1937, the contact between the two families was completely lost.

After the war, in 1945, Yury's widow (he died just before the war in 1941) Yelena Stravinsky tried to renew contact with Igor. In a letter she wrote was a request to find the composer's address. The envelope was addressed to Dmitry Shostakovich, whom she called with the word *Tovarisch* (rus. 'comrade'). It is quite impossible that Yelena didn't know his name. Most likely, this was due to the all-encompassing fear and stigma *Muddle instead of music* (Zaslavsky 1936). In his answer, Shostakovich gave the requested address and added:

<sup>6</sup> His music was played in Russia in this period, and in 1925 Anatoly Lunacharsky wanted to invite Stravinsky to the USSR. The issue was discussed in the Politburo. It was resolved: "Not to object to the arrival of Stravinsky, Prokofiev and Borovsky". In August, Stravinsky received a letter from Nadezhda Bryusova, the poet's sister and vice-rector of the Moscow Conservatory. She wrote to him on behalf of Lunacharsky: "The Government agrees to your return to Russia. It agrees to give you full amnesty for all previously committed offences, even if such has occurred. At the same time, the Government cannot give guarantees of immunity in the event of any future counter-revolutionary behaviour". Stravinsky replied coldly in French, referring to the absence of a typewriter with a Russian font: "Madame, I was amazed to receive your kind letter sent on August 10, since I have never made such requests...". He declined the invitation due to high employment. During Stalin's time, Stravinsky was no longer invited (Abramov 2021).

<sup>7</sup> Igor Stravinsky can be excused because his situation was also very hard: four children, a sick mother, a seriously ill wife, absence of stable income. Of course, he didn't know his brother's situation in Soviet Russia. Yury couldn't work as an architect because he was of noble birth. He had an illness that had a significant effect on him. Furthermore, the country progressed with hunger and punitive measures.

<sup>8 &#</sup>x27;Relatives in abroad' was a severe difficulty of a life of a prewar person, almost deadly danger. Tatyana her whole life concealed her visit to France in the 20s and tried not to make mention of this in questionnaires, and her son Roman never told his wife that he was a grand nephew of Stravinsky until he came.

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Figure 2 Dmitry Shostakovich, Letter to Yelena Stravinsky. September 29, 1945. Moscow. Courtesy of Stravinsky Family Fund

"My name is Dmitry Dmitrievich" [fig. 2]. Correspondence between members of the Stravinsky's family was renewed in February 1947, but soon it was lost again because of Yelena's death.

The international situation in the late 1940s and early 1950s was the time when Joseph McCarthy launched a campaign in the United States that persecuted everything avantgarde, and when the bourgeois press covered life in the USSR in a particularly distorted manner. Stravinsky's name was used by unfair journalists, ascribing to him the most fantastic statements concerning the USSR and Soviet music. The composer didn't have the time and strength to confute all of them. It is known that Stravinsky allowed himself several insults concerning the Soviet music culture in *Poetics of Music in the Form*  of Six Lessons (I. Stravinsky 1970). Obviously, such statements provoked some reaction among the Soviets. But in 1961 in Los Angeles, a meeting between Stravinsky and some Soviet composers resolved a lot of misunderstandings from both sides. <sup>10</sup>

In Stravinsky Family Fund had conserved a typewritten interview with a conductor Gennady Rozhdestvensky and Igor Stravinsky in 1962, which took place at the airport in Canada.

Я хотел поехать в Россию в июне месяце, или в мае. Приезжали русские музыканты, композиторы из Союза русских композиторов, Хренников и другие, и нанесли мне очень милый визит. Я был очень рад с ними познакомиться, и они меня просили и им отплатить визитом. Я сказал, что с радостью и через год, они сказали, когда Вам 'стукнет' 80 лет, пускай 'стукнет' это в России, а нигде в другом месте. Я говорю, что с наслаждением, если только буду в состоянии осуществить, но оказалось у меня большие препятствия в смысле разных ангажементов в июне, и я решил отложить и сообщил им, что с удовольствием приеду; и теперь я собираюсь поехать в сентябре.

I wanted to come to Russia in June or in May. Khrennikov and other musicians from the Union of Russian Composers paid me a lovely visit. I was thrilled to meet them, and they asked me to visit them as well. I told them that I would be happy to do that in a year. They answered that when I 'turn' 80, let it be 'turned' in Russia and not in some other place. If only I could do that it would be my pleasure, but it turned out that I had big obstacles in terms of various engagements in June, and I decided to postpone; now I'm going to come in September.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> In 2003, Tikhon Khrennikov, in an interview devoted to his ninetieth birthday, remembered: "Со Стравинским мы познакомились в Америке во время фестиваля, на котором выступали вместе с Кара Караевым. Игорь Федорович пригласил нас к себе на обед. Во время этой неофициальной встречи на его роскошной вилле я и пригласил композитора на родину. Мы решили добиться того, чтобы Игорь Федорович встретил в России свое 80-летие. Но в юбилейные дни его чествовали в Белом доме. Поездка осуществилась чуть позже. Встречали его восторженно, и я рад, что Стравинский попрощался с родными местами и ушел из жизни не врагом, а другом нашей общей родины" (I met Stravinsky in America during the festival, where we performed together with Kara Karayev, Igor Fyodorovich invited us for dinner. During this informal meeting in his luxurious villa, I invited him to the motherland. We decided to make sure that Igor Fyodorovich could celebrate his eighty's birthday in Russia. But on anniversary days, there was a celebration in his honour in the White House. His journey was realized a bit later. He was met enthusiastically, and I am happy that Stravinsky said goodbye to his home grounds and that he left this world as a friend of our common motherland) (Khrennikov 2003).

<sup>11</sup> Rozhdestvensky, Interview with Stravinsky in Canada 1962.



Figure 3 State Symphony Orchestra of Moscow Philharmonic. Concert directed by Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft (USA). Monday October 8, Tuesday October 9, season 1962-63. Leningrad. Courtesy of Stravinsky Family Fund

Stravinsky arrived in the USSR in 1962. This visit was announced in all official meetings not as a result of an exchange of artists with the USA but as a guest of the Soviet government. It is interesting that on posters and handbills of the concert the word 'USA' was printed only after the name of Robert Craft but not after Stravinsky's name [fig. 3]. However, American authorities had another point of view, At breakfast in the American embassy with Foy Kohler and Yekaterina Furtseva, an ambassador told that, as a Russian-American, Stravinsky was the only member of cultural links for both countries. The position of Igor was truly unique, as he was one of the few Russian artists who reached great heights in world prestige, after the giants of Russian literature of the nineteenth century. At the same time, he was persona non grata in Russia till the 1960s.

#### The Criticism of the Composer's Work and his Image 2.2 in the Soviet and American Chronicles

Stravinsky arrived to USSR in the autumn of 1962. This visit was observed in many articles and different interviews with the composer. Still, all articles in the press had different and specific political colouration. It was due to the Cold War events and the beginning of the Caribbean Crisis. However, the criticism of the composer's work in the Soviet press had a more positive overtone than before. In 1929, A Book about Stravinsky was published by composer B. Asafyev under the pen name I. Glebov. The author examined the composer's work in details. He wrote not only positive feedback about Stravinsky but also some critics. For example, Asafyev described Stravinsky as a "brilliant technician-innovator" in the book. And at the same time, some contemptuous comments, saying that he used up created epoch and culture to the bottom (Asafyev 1977, 2).

In the post-war period, Stravinsky was defined as the main formalist by the Soviet critics. In articles of that period, the composer's music was described as opposed to Soviet musical ideas and was specified as a degrading one. He was accused of 'changeability' and 'bourgeois fashion conformism'. However, after the composer's return in 1962, he was politically rehabilitated.

In the American chronicle, Stravinsky's portrait was quite stable. It was mentioned that his music was incomprehensible but interesting. For example, in a 1937 article, his music was noted as "not the most soul-satisfying fare conceivable", 12 but at the same time very intriguing in his 'Stravinsky-ation' variations of music from the previous century. In a 1952 article it was mentioned that in his writings there is no classic "traditionalism, which any educated fool can see, but its great individuality of utterance [...] new texture and mood".13 Ralf Parker wrote a curious article in 1962. He was among the composer's minders during his tour. He wrote that there was uncertainty about the composer's coming to the USSR right to the end in view of the fact that it could be forbidden to play his music in Russia. Parker made a special emphasis on the fact that Stravinsky was incredibly happy to work with the Russian orchestra: "performed by Russians, he had discovered new possibilities in scores".14

As a counterpoint to Soviet and American chronicles, the diary records of Robert Craft and Xenia Stravinsky provide an idea of what was 'behind the image' broadcasted by the press. This material allows us to understand Stravinsky profoundly and reveal the compos-

<sup>12</sup> Concerts: Stravinsky and Dushkin in Joint List 1937.

<sup>13</sup> New Stravinsky Opera Published in Vocal Scores 1952.

<sup>14</sup> Parker Stravinsky in Russia 1962.

er's Russianism more fully than ever (according to Craft). His stay at home on a visit<sup>15</sup> made possible to see how the surrounding reality influences his creative process:

The picture of him *has* been given background, and the background does wash out a great deal of what, therefore. I had supposed to be 'traits of character' or personal idiosyncrasy. And perhaps I can now see the Soviet point of view of I.S.'s expatriate years as pillar-to-post course from circus to Hebrew canticle to – and indifferently – Roman Catholic Mass. (Stravinsky, Craft 1963, 233)

# 3 Semiological Analysis of two Diaries of 1962

Comparison of two diaries gives an exciting opportunity to find concealed and encoded information, which was evident only for people of the Thaw's era or time of John Kennedy. The role of the authors and their biography affect the interpretation of the texts. The image of the main character of the narration is transforming during the reading and shows decrypting signs. It allows the reader to travel through this code (Barthes 1989). These crossing descriptions of the same fact give a unique semiological base for the representation of the portrait of Stravinsky as the cosmopolitan composer. It is the transformation of the text that reveals a variety of contexts and arises in 'communication' between the two authors. If we consider these diaries as a semiotic system, it will be possible to open the plane of content after the plane of expression (Lotman 1970; Klejn 2011). Also, thanks to two conflicting views, Soviet and American, we can decrypt parallel signs (semiological analysis and interpretation) and give a new opinion of the composer's visit. In this article, we will analyse only several theses: the image of Stravinsky, Russian language and Russian speech. Soviet musicians, and the Church and faith.

First of all, essential to analyse the structures of diaries. Records of Robert Craft, dedicated to the coming of Igor and Vera Stravinsky and the author to USSR, contain a detailed description of twenty-one days (from September 21 to October 12) and the whole travel Moscow-Leningrad-Moscow. The first two weeks are described by Craft in much more detail. Perhaps this is due to the fact that during the trip he performed not only the role of secretary and composer's assistant but also conducted several concerts. Also, in the beginning, he described in every detail his impression of the 'exotic country' (it had only just started an epoch of unseen freedom after

**<sup>15</sup>** In the answer to Mariya Yudina's letter Stravinsky wrote: "How strange - 'at home on a visit'. Our tragedy is that we can be only invited to this 'motherland'" (Abramov 2021).

the 'secret' speech of Khruschev in 1956<sup>16</sup>). Xenia Stravinsky writes about this in her diary:

Вера Артуровна и Роберт были утомлены и под конец совершенно измучены этой трехнедельной круговертью, с ее обилием встреч, осмотров, приемов, посещений, знакомств, разговоров и, конечно, репетиций, концертов. Оба были как выжатые, постаревшие на несколько лет. Но Игорь Федорович не проявлял признаков усталости. Я видела его все время бодрым, радостным и даже как-то помолодевшим. (X. Stravinsky 1978, 164)

Vera Arturovna and Robert were tired and, in the end, absolutely exhausted by these three weeks circular motion with its vast amount of meetings, sightseeings, dinners, visits, acquaintances, talks, and of course, rehearsals and concerts. Both were as squeezed oranges and became older. But Igor Fyodorovich didn't show any evidence of tiredness. I saw him cheerful all the time, joyful and even younger.

The diary of the composer's niece Xenia Stravinsky is unique. As we said before, it has detailed comments concerning various subjects, descriptions of private conversations with her uncle, and it includes just a part of the trip. The diary finishes on October 9. Xenia lived and worked in the city on Neva river and couldn't come back to Moscow with the  $trio^{17}$  where they stayed the last three days before leaving the USSR forever.

<sup>16</sup> On February 25, 1956, on the last working day of the 20th Communist Party Congress. The general secretary Nikita Khruschev gave a report *On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences*, in which terror of Stalin and punitive measures were discussed additionally. In spite of confidentiality, news about the report was spread instantly: first in the Eastern bloc countries. Then the text was published in the USA, and almost at the same time it was pushed in USSR.

<sup>17</sup> Xenia in her diary called *trio* the guests from the USA: Igor Stravinsky, his wife Vera and Robert Craft.

#### 3.1 The Image and Time of Stravinsky

The beginning of the two diaries has different tones. Robert Craft describes an aircraft touchdown and a meeting with delegation at the airport in a satiric style. Xenia writes with the accuracy of time, with a sense of flutter and even fear. Craft interestingly describes landscapes, which they fly over. His disrespectful comment caviare et merde has quite a curious explanation that can be found only in notes of Xenia:

#### Robert Craft

#### **Xenia Stravinsky**

characterizes as a combination of caviare (X. Stravinsky 1978, 100)18 et merde. (Stravinsky, Craft 1963, 224)

Nearing Moscow, we fly low over forests At 15 o'clock Mariya Veniaminovna picked turning yellow, meadows still green, meupinataxi. On our way to the airport, lakes, boat-busy rivers and canals; an we were overtaken by opened trucks full unexpectedly rich and tidy landscape of soldiers in Napoleonic dresses of 1812. to one who has imagined something They were going to Borodino, where was muddy and sprawling - the Russia I.S. taken place the filming of War and Peace.

Indeed, the filming of War and Peace, directed by Sergey Bondarchuk, started on September 7 in 1962. In the beginning, they shot the scene of the city's arsonists (the episode was included in the last fourth series). So, the picture of 'caviar and shit' turned out to be just only decorations to the film. Another remarkable moment is a moment of welcome:

#### **Robert Craft**

#### **Xenia Stravinsky**

Craft 1963, 224)

I.S. emerges, bowing deeply - a gesture Igor Fyodorovich appears. He takes off out of another era, as his dark glasses are the hat, welcomingly waves it and smiles. glaringly symbolic of another kind of life He wears a black coat, a grey felt hat, and (Hollywood, I regret to say). (Stravinsky, sunglasses. Vera Arturovna and Robert Craft follow him. (X. Stravinsky 1978, 102)19

Photos of 1962 have portraits where Stravinsky was wearing sunglasses [fig. 4]. Robert Craft comments on this image as an exclusively American habit. In the 1950s, sunglasses were a symbol of improving quality of life and self-esteem. They were perceived more as a pres-

<sup>18</sup> В 15 часов за мной заехала на такси Мария Вениаминовна. По пути в аэропорт то нас обгоняют, то мы их, - открытые грузовики, полные солдат в наполеоновской форме 1812 года. Они едут на Бородинское поле, где идет съемка фильма Война и мир.

<sup>19</sup> Появляется Игорь Федорович. Он снимает шляпу, приветливо машет ею, улыбается. На нем черное пальто, серая фетровая шляпа, темные очки. За ним Вера Артуровна и Роберт Крафт.

entation of yourself than protection from the sun. "You look through your glasses... And all the others look at them" was the slogan of an advertising company Tura.

However, this American image, cold and distant, which scared the composer's niece from the very beginning, 20 quickly faded away, and Igor changed into a man of 'that very epoch', who came back 'home'. The composer showed all that Russianness that was hidden even from the eyes of his secretary. Extracts from both diaries are noteworthy. They allow us to analyse Stravinsky's particular traits of behaviour and character.

#### **Robert Craft**

Craft 1963, 230)

from the depths, but because of his lost. (X. Stravinsky 1978, 143)<sup>21</sup> change of nature in Russia, and the perspective of it from Russia outside. (46)

#### **Xenia Stravinsky**

Forty-eight hours ago, in Paris, I would Uncle immediately turned out to be so have denied with full conviction, that I.S. close. Already in a few days, I felt as if could ever be at home here again, not in I'd known him for a very long time. The the political Soviet Union, but in 'Russia'. face of Igor Fyodorovich didn't look like Yet, even a half-century of exportation my father's face, but at the same time, can be forgotten in a night. (Stravinsky, they were alike in manner of speaking and gestures. He had my father's hands, and he spoke in the pitch of a voice that I.S. does regret his uprooting and exile we had in our family. The voice of 'family more than anything else in his life, which blood' was so strong that all the time, I I say not because of a few emotional felt joy and great happiness, as if I had speeches, even though they have come found someone close, whom I considered

<sup>20 &</sup>quot;Когда я ждала дядю, то не знала, какой он. Меня очень пугало, что он знаменит. Я не принадлежу к тщеславным людям, которым импонирует общение со знаменитыми людьми. Наоборот, я никогда не стремилась к сближению с ними. Но ведь это был брат моего отца, которого я так любила!" (When I was waiting for my uncle, I didn't know what kind of person he was. The fact that he was famous scared me a lot. I don't belong to vain people who are appealed by interaction with famous people, quite the opposite, I've never aimed to become close with them. But this was my father's brother, whom I loved so much!) (X. Stravinsky 1978, 143).

<sup>21</sup> Дядя сразу «оказался» такой родной, свой, близкий. Уже через несколько дней я чувствовала, будто знаю его очень давно. Лицом Игорь Федорович не был похож на моего отца, но одновременно так неуловимо схож - и манерой говорить, и жестами. У него были совсем папины руки, говорил он таким же тембром, как у нас в семье. Словом, голос «родной крови» был так силен, что я все время ощущала радость и большое счастье, как будто обрела кого-то близкого, кого считала потерянным.

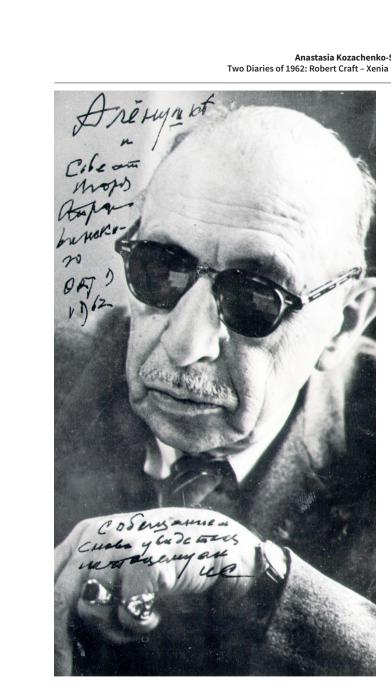


Figure 4 Potrait of Igor Stravinsky, dedicated to his grandniece Yelena Stravinsky. 1962. Photograph. Leningrad. Courtesy of Stravinsky Family Fund

Almost immediately, Stravinsky and his wife Vera were happy to be in the Soviet reality. They fully felt that they had regained their homeland and were proud of everything Russian.

#### **Robert Craft**

His 'defense of Russia', too, is virtually New high-rise buildings in the suburb complete. "What a beautiful factory. area of the city were commented as: Chudno apartment house". (Stravinsky, - What beautiful houses! Craft 1963, 232)

To right and left, everything is 'chudna' or cornices: 'krassiva', and he has a story to tell about - These are Russian houses, how sweet! each building. (249)

#### Xenia Stravinsky

He joyfully spoke about simple wooden houses with carved platbands and

(X. Stravinsky 1978, 119)22

In these passages, one can see the image of Russia, where it appears in the spatial category of the endless steppe; time stratifies and becomes conditional. The sign of time has become a research topic of many philosophers. Theodor W. Adorno explores Stravinsky's time as a metamorphise into space. From his point of view, time disappears from the composer's music (Adorno 2001). Another example is Ezra Pound's treatise on harmony. He was a passionate apologist of the composer's methods of handling time. He writes that Stravinsky creates in his composition the so-called time-space, which obeys horizontal lines of counterpoint, and it is a best-designed figuration in time (Pound 2000). Perhaps, in this regard, Craft notices that changes in Stravinsky are strongly associated with the sense of this Russian timescale, whereby visitors come to teatime and talk till midnight.

Stavinsky complains that believes about USSR sometimes run to absurd visions specially in abroad. Craft writes that Moscow is undoubtedly not 'gloomy' and people are not 'depressed' or 'unhappy', at least not more than in other countries. Leningrad seems deserted and melancholic. Late in the evening, it looks like Venice in wintertime. He finds through urban landscapes barns and Russian houses (izba). Among megalopolis residents, he sees people in headscarves, caps, and high boots going to work. These images Stravinsky used in ballet Petrushka. And it explains why the composer felt at home even if he came back to 'the country which doesn't exist anymore'.

<sup>22</sup> Одобрительные комментарии вызывали новые многоэтажные жилые массивы на окраинах: - Какие чудесные дома! Про домики московских пригородов, эти незамысловатые деревянные домишки с резными наличниками и карнизами, он радостно говорил: - Это русские избы, какая прелесть!

#### 3.2 Russian Language of the Early Twentieth Century and the Stravinsky's Speech

Many people mentioned that Igor Stravinsky became a different man when he spoke his native language even though he was fluent in several European languages. It is necessary to separate the concept of 'language' and 'speech' as social from an individual, essential from incidental. Stravinsky's Russian speech is a distinctive feature of his individuality, which definite sign system of meaning with acoustic connection (Saussure 2004). Symbiosis of the native language of the composer and staying at the place of his birth gives us a new way to discover his portrait. Some found that the Russian language of the composer was a bit different, that he spoke with an accent, but this statement is not correct. He spoke the same language as the intellectuals in the early twentieth century. This way talked the aged immigrants in the west, e.g., Stravinsky's brother and his wife, but their diction modernised little by little. It was said that in Hollywood, Stravinsky could speak Russian all day long nearby his Russian family if he had such an opportunity. Stravinsky often used diminutives words that annoyed people abroad. Craft described this unique Stravinsky's feature language of the past century as endemic.

Tonight, for example, he has asked the waiter for a spoon-chik, which V. considers a "petit-bourgeois solecism of a very revealing kind", even though she has always held that I.S. is a pure hundred-percent Russian whose "international sophistication was invented by and is an imitation of Diaghilev". I.S. has begun to call his niece Xenia, "Xeniochka", and this seems remarkably inapposite. (Stravinsky, Craft 1963, 233)

During the composer's 'absence' in Russia, the language suffered severe changes. The vocabulary was transformed significantly. It was due to the social-political changes and the increasing influence of scientific and technical revolution on formal and speaking language. A lot of words that denoted significant notions became unnecessary. The separation of the church from the state, the destruction of churches, the abolition of teaching the law of God in educational institutions also led to the oblivion of the church, liturgical vocabulary, and, accordingly, Russia of the composer's youth. The composer's wife mentioned several times that while being in the USSR, Stravinsky used 'childhood's phrases'. In the Stavinsky family, the Russian language was never forgotten despite all linguistic changes of his native speech on political and social levels. It is noteworthy that all his children (Theodore, Sviatoslav, and Milène) who left Russia being kids spoke and wrote Russian without spelling and style mistakes.

#### **Soviet Musicians** 3.3

Stravinsky's Russian tour had great success in Moscow and Leningrad. There were four concerts in the great hall of the Moscow Conservatory and two in Leningrad in the grand hall of Philharmonic. The state Philharmonic Orchestra of the USSR performed the first two Moscow concerts. There were such compositions in the programme as *Ode* (1943), *The Rite of Spring* (1913), *Orpheus* (1947). In two other concerts, there was a change. The State Symphony Orchestra of Moscow Philharmonic performed with the programme, where were Symphony in Three Movements (1945), Capriccio for Piano and Orchestra (1929), Feu d'artifice (1908) and Suite from Petrushka (1911). In Leningrad, the programme was a bit different: Feu d'artifice (1908), Le Baiser de la fée (1928) and Suite from The Firebird (1910). Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft conducted all the concerts. Rehearsals with orchestras were every day and were quite successful. According to notes in the diaries of Craft and Xenia, musicians were highly experienced. It was the first time Igor Stravinsky worked with an entirely Russian orchestra [fig. 5]. Despite some mistakes, it was an extraordinary experience.

#### Robert Craft

Xenia Stravinsky

does with an American orchestra, and (X. Stravinsky 1978, 114)23 it is less loud, though still deafening, though still deafening in this small and live room. [...] This is very agreeable to I.S., and so is the general sobriety; the violinists do not weave with passion as Russian violinists are wont to do abroad. (Stravinsky, Craft 1963, 227)

Am ensemble being harder working that Uncle tells us that he is delighted with the European orchestras generally. And orchestra. The rehearsal was successful. Le Sacre, played with an emotion I can He liked the orchestra; many musicians describe only as in-Teutonic, is a different were great. Members of the orchestra piece. The sound does not glitter as it were very kind to the famous compatriot.

Valery Popov, one of the musicians from the State Symphony Orchestra, described his work with the Maestro. He remembered that Stravinsky characterised the performance of the Russian orchestra as 'negligent' (tuba was off-key, cymbals were late, etc.). Still, he liked the Russian version of his music: e.g., the daze effect at the beginning of the composition (solo of bassoon) and the whole nature of the

<sup>23</sup> Дядя рассказывает, что очень доволен оркестром, репетиция была удачной. Оркестр ему нравился, многие музыканты - великолепны. Оркестранты очень сердечно и с энтузиазмом отнеслись к прославленному соотечественнику.



Figure 5 Valerian Bogdanov-Berezovsky and Igor Stravinsky in Philharmonic grand hall. 1962. Photograph. Leningrad. Courtesy of Stravinsky Family Fund

performance. The Russian composer concluded that the Russian orchestra played Russian music in a Russian manner (Popov 2014, 77).

During the tour, musicians called Stravinsky by name and patronymic, which gave the composer and musicians a common ground, according to Craft. Robert mentioned that family relations were established between them which is exceptionally usual for Russians (Stravinsky, Craft 1963, 229). Tribal naming model (name, patronym and surname) is a feature of the Russian language, and it is not coincidental. It has sacred meaning from the Orthodox Christian Trinity (the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit) as opposed to the West European (the Father, and the Son, or Madonna, and Child). In the Russian language, there are several types of patronymics, with different suffixes. Patronymics that in modern Russian end with -vich/-vna were not so common before the Revolution and were the prerogative of noble families. Later, the tribal naming system was used in the Soviet Union and became a prioritized way to call unknown people or members of one family (Verbitskaya 2015). In her diary, Xenia called the composer more often 'Igor Fyodorovich' and less 'uncle'.

However, not all of the music performances were successful. The trio was invited to visit Stravinsky's ballets in the State Kremlin Palace during their stay. But the compositions were poorly prepared because of clashes between orchestras during tours.

#### Robert Craft

including length, seems to: the *tempo* is strange and the by Prokhorov, displeased her. sound unbalanced - a shout of "Viva As soon as the curtain was drawn, I Khrushchev" comes from somewhere addressed my first question full of fear: below. [...] At the end of the Firebird, - Well, how about Orfey? Khrushchev stands to applaud, but I.S. – Not good, but I understand. This music has vanished before the first curtain call, is still unknown here. (Stravinsky, Craft 1963, 236)

#### **Xenia Stravinsky**

The music and the staging are hardly The day before the concert, M.V. Yudina, recognizable, especially in Petroushka, who worked on the exhibition for which is much less "Russian" to us. The Stravinsky's arrival, called me from Firebird is the best-performed and best- Leningrad and asked: "For goodness received but, then, it is the prototype sake, make sure that Igor Fyodorovich of the Soviet ballet in many respects misses the first ballet - Orfey". She still sentimentality, hasn't heard a new conductor. It was a and, I regret to say, musical quality. postwar composition, which was never [...] When the *Firebird* begins – or performed here before. But even *Orfey* 

After the end of *Petrushka*, I asked again: "Well, how about it?" Uncle's face was gloomy, upset.

- Shame on them! Why couldn't they learn this composition? I can understand that Orfey is a new ballet, but this one has been on stage for 50 years! This ballet is a well-known!

The Firehird started Decorations looked small. Last notes had hardly played, he stood up for a moment and said:

- Let me go, hurry up, hurry up... let's go! I let him pass and chase after him. He went to the exit quickly with a walking stick. I managed to get his coat and run out to the car. (X. Stravinsky 1978, 116-17)24

24 Накануне мне звонила из Ленинграда М.В. Юдина, работавшая там над оформлением выставки к приезду Стравинского, и просила: «Бога ради, устройте так, чтобы Игорь Федорович не попал на первый балет - "Орфей"». Она еще не слышала нового дирижера, но даже у Прохорова «Орфей», это послевоенное сочинение, никогда еще у нас не исполнявшееся, ей не нравился.

После занавеса мой первый вопрос со страхом:

- Ну, как «Орфей»?
- Не важно, но я понимаю, эту музыку у вас совсем не знают.

После конца «Петрушки» я опять спросила: «Ну как?» Лицо у дяди было мрачное, расстроенное.

- Как им не стыдно. Почему они не могли разучить эту вещь? Я понимаю, «Орфей» - новый балет, но этот идет уже 50 лет! Это всем известная вещь!

Началась «Жар-птица». Декорации выглядели мелко. Не отзвучали еще последние ноты в оркестре, как он уже привстал и сказал:

Пусти меня, скорее, скорее... идем!

Я пропустила его и бросилась за ним. Быстро, с палочкой он прошел к выходу. Я успела на ходу надеть на пего пальто, и он вышел к машине.

This story didn't have resonance. All people who saw and knew about this didn't say anything. Stravinsky understood that he was invited to the USSR as a special guest and that criticism of the staging in the State Kremlin Palace could influence his further journey in Russia. Xenia mentioned that somebody told the orchestra that Stravinsky remained pleased with the performance. But they didn't believe it, because they knew that the music sounded terrible. Later, someone called a composer's niece and asked why Stravinsky didn't show up after the show as he did previously after other performances. But Xenia had to answer this question evasively.

#### 3.4 The Church and Faith

The influence of orthodox traditions on Stravinsky's art is a complex issue. It was analysed in various researches (Alfeevskaia 1973: Glivinski 1992; Ponomareva 2011; Baranova-Monighetti 2021). According to the accountant books of the composer's father, the Stravinsky family was not very churchly but adhered to certain traditions. Stravinsky sometimes diverged from the church, but he always stayed an Orthodox Christian. In France, in Paris, he was a parishioner of the church of Alexander Nevsky on Daru street. As he remembered, it was a Russian quartier with its Russian shops, bookstalls, restaurants, cafes, jewelry, and antique shops (Varunts 1988). At the same time, he didn't accept severe restrictions of any religion, as he believed that "everyone should pray in their own language because God, unlike humans, understands any language" (Varunts 1988, 211). During the visit to the USSR, Stravinsky was asked if he had ever accepted Catholicism. He answered that those were only another speculation of the press.<sup>25</sup> In both diaries we can find the theme about the church, including the visit to the Novodevichy Convent:

#### Robert Craft

This excursion, at V's insistence, is, I think, We were in a quartal of old Moscow,

#### Xenia Stravinsky

against the wishes, unexpressed, of Novodevichy Convent, with a bell tower, Alexandra and Karen. The Novodevichy, dome, temples, churches surrounded decaying behind ancient walls, is an with fort walls. Involuntarily Igor island of the old Russia. [...] a priest in Fyodorovich wanted to go there and a white cassock is officiating before an visit the convent. Our car stopped in elderly congregation. A few of the more front of the gate. Uncle couldn't walk fervent lie kowtow in the prostrate far. We wandered near the entrance and

<sup>25</sup> As Xenia says, the reason was that the orthodox church service allows only vocally choral music without background music. But Stravinsky, in his art, tended towards joining of vocal and instrumental principles, and precisely in that way, catholic compositions Messa (1944-48), Canticum Sacrum (1955) and There (1957-58) with lateen text were created.

against the wishes, unexpressed, of unremarkable: it had decorations and Alexandra and Karen. The Novodevichy, holy images of the 19th century. Igor decaying behind ancient walls, is an island Fyodorovich was walking around the of the old Russia. [...] a priest in a white hall, stopping and looking at the sacred cassock is officiating before an elderly icons. We took a walk in an old cemetery, congregation. A few of the more fervent which was around the church, looking lie kowtow in the prostrate crossficall at monuments of the nearest graves. position I.S. sometimes used to assume There were remarkable tombstones of at his own devotions in the little Russian the beginning of the past century, and Church in Hollywood. This unexpected names on them could tell a Russian man look behind the door had driven a wedge, a lot of things. (X. Stravinsky 1978, 109)<sup>26</sup> however slight and transparent, between the LS's and their escort, though the visit was in no outward sense opposed be them, and paraphs we are mistaken even in having felt their silent resistance. (Stravinsky, Craft 1963, 228-9)

This excursion, at V's insistence, is, I think, came inside a church, which appeared

The relationship of the Soviet Government with the church at that time was very complicated. There was a massive propaganda campaign, including the so-called renegade parade, when a fairly noticeable number of clergymen and seminary teachers publicly declared their renunciation of the faith and the Church at the suggestion of the Soviet authorities. Probably this was one of the reasons why Karen Khachaturian and Alexandra Afonina reacted quite negatively to visit the convent and tried to convince Craft that such places were nothing more than a survival of past times. The destruction of the monastery was because of the administrative reform in 1961. The priests and the parish rector were removed from the management of economic activities, and all work was transferred to the churchwarden. This was an important step by the Soviet Government to acquire instruments of control over the church. Xenia's note is very restrained for apparent reasons. However, the commentary<sup>27</sup> on the tombstones speaks of the composer's memories of lost Russia. Stravinsky could see graves of Anton Chekhov, Fyodor Chaliapin, Vladimir Mayakovsky, etc.

Островок древней Москвы. Новодевичий монастырь с колокольней, куполами. соборами, церквушками, окруженными крепостными стенами. Невольно Игоря Федоровича потянуло туда, и ему захотелось проехать к монастырю. Наша машина осталась у ворот. Далеко ходить дядя не мог. Мы побродили близ входа, зашли в действующую церковь, которая оказалась малопримечательной: с убранством и иконами XIX века. Игорь Федорович побродил в притворе, останавливаясь и разглядывая иконы. Прошлись по старинному кладбищу, которое окружает церковь, разглядывая памятники ближайших могил. Есть среди них примечательные надгробия начала прошлого века и имена на них, много говорящие русскому человеку.

<sup>27</sup> There was a specific directive concerning the attitude of the Soviet person to the church. The book was published during the Soviet era and was censored.

Stravinsky almost did not visit other cathedrals or churches during the tour. The Soviet Government did not plan it. But one of the notable places he saw was the St. Nicholas Naval Cathedral in Leningrad. This visit became possible only for one reason. The preparations for the scheduled family dinner in the childhood home of Stravinsky on the Kryukov canal were delayed. Alexander Yakovlev, the husband of Xenia and her nephew Roman Dobrotin decided to make a short excursion for the *trio* near the house. Notes of Craft that he made in his diary are pretty impressive:

In his reminiscences, I.S. has hardly mentioned the green, white, and gold Nikolsky Sobor, <sup>28</sup> which is an architectural marvel even in this city. The omission is surprising because the Nikolsky is so near his home that the belfry, a separate building, can be seen from the street in front of his house; and not to mention that belfry – he never has – is like living a block from. But not mentioning, the Taj Mahal. (Stravinsky, Craft 1963, 254)

This comment cannot be valid because the St. Nicholas Naval Cathedral was the closest to an apartment on the Kryukov canal. First of all, the priest Ilya Kedrov, who performed the rite of baptism for newborn Igor, served in that cathedral. Secondly, the funeral service and liturgy of the composer's father took place in St. Nicholas Naval Cathedral. Whole family attended this sad event. It was evidenced by numerous newspapers (Peterburgsky listok No. 322 1902; Novoe vremy No. 9772 1902; Peterburgsky listok No. 306 1903). It is striking not only this omission, which was not known Stravinsky's bibliographer but also Craft's records about visiting the cathedral by the composer's relatives:

I.S.'s niece's husband and son-in-law accompany us, albeit with an air of derring-do. They have lived a block away most of their lives, and both are architectural engineers, <sup>29</sup> but they have not ventured inside the church before. (Stravinsky, Craft 1963, 255)

Of course, both of them visited the cathedral several times. Besides, Roman Dobrotin came from a family of churchmen. Perhaps, Craft was mistaken because of the complexity of translation. But we should not exclude the fact that it could be the fear of Soviet people, to acknowledge that they had visited the cathedral before.

<sup>28</sup> Nikolsky Sobor (in Russian) - St. Nicholas Naval Cathedral.

<sup>29</sup> This statement is also incorrect – Alexander Yakovlev (1909-1997) was an architect, later the deputy chief architect of the Leningrad region. And Roman Dobrotin (1928-1980) was a scientist, at that time – a candidate of chemical sciences – and later a professor at Leningrad State University, director of the Apartment Museum D.I. Mendeleev.

#### 4 Conclusion

The diaries of Robert Craft and Xenia Stravinsky are unique historiographic sources. They help to examine the image of Igor Stravinsky from two different cultural angles and give the idea about the Soviet daily life of Khrushchev's times and their characterization from the American point of view. This question supposes independent systematic research. We would like to mention three particularly interesting points. First of all, Craft notes a special multi-nationality in Moscow³⁰ while in the USA, there was racial segregation:

The costumers – Indians in saris among them, a party of Italians very happy to find *espresso* on the menu, and Chinese who are the 'best dressed' people in the room. (Stravinsky, Craft 1963, 225)

In front of us are turbaned heads from the faces, yellow faces, square faces, slant-eyed faces. (236)

Secondly, during numerous meetings with Soviet composers, Craft concludes that American and European musicians openly show their dislike to each other. At the same time, Russians cooperate and work together as one professional unit even if they do not like each other. In one of many conversations between Craft and Afonina, she pointed that in the USSR there is no a personality cult.

Thirdly, interesting to examine characteristics given to the Russian nation:

Russian are: hospitable; sentimental; optimistic (more than Americans, at any rate); patient (an amazing capacity to stand on queues, especially in Leningrad); garrulous (I.S. has not stopped talking since he arrived); direct (the compliments, not to say encomia, they tell in their toasts), but not frank (they will hide the reason for something they do not wish to reveal, like dogs burying bones); fundamentally friendly (they are more friendly to us than we are to them, certainly, even though they are the more suspicious of political sentiments). (Stravinsky, Craft 1963, 261)

<sup>30</sup> The idea of the Soviet Union, in principle, implied a combination of different nationalities. The appearance of foreign guests was quite noticeable. In January 1960, the Central Committee issued a decree on expanding cultural ties with Africa south of the Sahara. In February, the Patrice Lumumba University was established in Moscow, named after the Congolese independence leader Patrice Lumumba. From 1959 to 1960, only 72 students were from the Black Continent and studied in the USSR. Then in 1961, there were more than 500 of them.

Craft imposed this sheds light on many of the composer's behaviors. Stravinsky's garrulousity appears in long speeches and interviews. The frankness is expressed in soul-baring, when Stravinsky confesses to his weaknesses, in some misunderstanding of surrounding events or people. Sentimentality reveals especially impressively in Leningrad, in the city of the composer's childhood, and also in the composer's willingness to get his motherland back.

I am certain that to be recognized and acclaimed as a Russian in Russia, and to be performed there, has meant more to him than anything else in the years I have known him. And when Mother Russia restores her love, forty-eight years are forgiven with one suck of the breast. (Stravinsky, Craft 1963, 247)

This journey through the deeply personal memories of two close people to Stravinsky creates a multi-level map of symbols and signs. It helps to deep in the discourse of Stravinsky's definition as either a Russian or a cosmopolitan composer. To study the theme of national identity, it is necessary to examine three factors: sources (i.e. origin, education, interests); context (i.e. environment, social and cultural situation, impact of current cultural streams) and art as the most powerful marker of national identity. It is not without reason that the Department of Immigration, put in the first place the place of birth, and citizenship in the second. However, Stravinsky's trip or 'return' to his homeland in 1962 is fundamentally important for analyzing the transformation of his visual-musical gesture and provides the key to the study of his cultural self-identification.

#### **Abbreviations**

- Vera Stravinsky Igor Stravinsky's second wife
- I.S. Igor Stravinsky

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