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Rachmaninoff's Piano Works and Diasporic Identity 1890-1945: Compositional Revision and Discourse

Renee MacKenzie, *The University of Western Ontario*

Supervisor: Nolan, Catherine, *The University of Western Ontario*

: Sylvestre, Stéphan, *The University of Western Ontario*

: Kinton, Leslie, *The University of Western Ontario*

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Musical Arts degree in Music

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Abstract

This monograph examines the post-exile, multi-version works of Sergei Rachmaninoff with a view to unravelling the sophisticated web of meanings and values attached to them. Compositional revision is an important and complex aspect of creating musical meaning. Considering revision offers an important perspective on the construction and circulation of meanings and discourses attending Rachmaninoff's music.

While Rachmaninoff achieved international recognition during the 1890s as a distinctively Russian musician, I argue that Rachmaninoff's return to certain compositions through revision played a crucial role in the creation of a narrative and set of tropes representing "Russian diaspora" following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. These revisions produced multi-version works that exist alongside each other, offering an invaluable lens through which to examine the complex nature of Rachmaninoff's own sense of national identity and how that identity attends the performance and appreciation of his music. I examine the confluence of composition revision, national identity, and several discourses as they are articulated surrounding these works. I use Pierre Bourdieu's conception of "cultural capital" to argue that Rachmaninoff consciously intended his works to construct what I term "diasporic capital."

I contextualize my analysis with a brief history of Rachmaninoff and a discussion of diasporic capital embedded in his music. The main part of the monograph consists of three detailed case studies: an analysis of the first movement of Piano Concerto No. 1; the first movement of Piano Sonata No. 2; and the first movement of Piano Concerto No. 4. I consider historical, artistic, and cultural aspects of the composition and reception of each work, and how Rachmaninoff's revisions created a site of constructing diasporic capital.

Keywords

Music, Rachmaninoff, Russia, National Identity, Russian Revolution, Soviet Union, United States, Exile, Russian White Émigré, Compositional Revision, Pierre Bourdieu, Diasporic Capital, Habitus, Intertextuality, Extra-Musical Significance, History, Biography, Music Formal Analysis, Discourse, Concert Program, Concert Review, Personal Correspondence, Charity, Semiotics, Nostalgia, Memory, Diaspora Studies, Blair Johnston, Pandiatonic Idioms, Equal-Interval Idioms, Piano Concerto, Piano Sonata

Acknowledgments

I am deeply thankful to many individuals for their support throughout this project. The Faculty of Music at Western University has provided an exceptionally valuable, stimulating, and challenging place to study piano performance. I would like to thank my committee: Catherine Nolan, Leslie Kinton, and my piano instructor Stéphan Sylvestre. From my initial program discussion with Catherine Nolan, to the course *Contexts of Music Analysis*, to Catherine becoming the chair of my monograph committee, I have greatly benefitted from her experience and expertise. I have appreciated her insightful suggestions and comments, and her wide breadth of knowledge on differing and multidisciplinary topics. Leslie Kinton's piano performances inspired me from a young age. Both in class and out of class, he has offered a wellspring of insight into new ways of listening to and thinking about music and countless other topics. The prospect of studying with Stéphan Sylvestre drew me to Western in the first place. As my piano instructor, I have found his musical insight and expertise both as pianist and as pedagogue to be significant and inspiring. I feel privileged to be Stéphan's student. As well, I have relied on his counsel and criticism throughout the research and writing process of this monograph. Throughout my time at Western, Stéphan has been an invaluable mentor, advisor, and instructor.

During my years at Western's Faculty of Music, I have enjoyed working with numerous outstanding teachers and musicians. I have learned a great deal from each one, notably Brett Kingsbury and Peter Lea.

I would also like to thank my doctoral colleagues in music performance. I have benefited from Western's encouraging student culture, and my individual relationships

have made this program so much more fruitful. I would like to thank Natalia Skomorokhova in particular, for reviewing my Russian translations.

In August of 2016, I spent a rewarding week at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. I would like to thank the exceptional staff at the Music Division for their assistance during that time. I am also thankful to Ettore Volontieri of the Rachmaninoff Foundation, from whom I received full support to research and copy materials from the Library of Congress's Rachmaninoff Archives.

I would like to express my thankfulness to my parents.

To my husband and our precious children, thank you and I love you.

“I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.” Philippians 4:13.

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Preface

I would like to explain my personal position in relation to Rachmaninoff, his music, and the topic of diasporic capital found in my DMA monograph. I am not a Russian, and my life experience is very removed from the early aristocratic destitution, national and international professional success, and Russian émigré experience of Rachmaninoff. Yet as an outsider to his culture, I became interested in Rachmaninoff's music as an expression of beauty that reflected conservative values that I share, his personal story, and his steadfastness against the destructive currents in the world during his lifetime.

I can only identify with Rachmaninoff as a member of a diasporic community in a limited sense. I was born and raised a Canadian, on a farm outside Owen Sound, Ontario. Culturally, my experience is tied to the postwar Dutch immigrant community in Ontario, and the Canadian Mennonite community. Music was part of my homeschool education, and I studied in Wiarton with the piano teacher Arlene MacNay from an early age. It was through her that I first came into contact with the Russian school of piano music.

As an undergraduate music student at Wilfrid Laurier University, I explored Prokofiev, Scriabin, and Khachaturian's repertoire, including his piano concerto. My piano instructor Anya Alexeyev, as well as Mrs. MacNay, both encouraged me to perform Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition* (unbeknownst to each other), which I performed for my graduation recital. I found the traditionalism of Rachmaninoff appealing, and during my Masters degree I began to explore more of his compositions. Throughout my DMA, Rachmaninoff's works have taken my focus both in course work and in performance.

Chapter One. Introduction

1.1 Rachmaninoff and Diasporic Capital

They say that S[ergei] Vas[ilyevich] had a physician who told him that his heart was tired. How true this is, and how so like him. Specifically his heart is tired from feeling sorry for others. He has become tired from yearning [*toska*] for Russia. So of course, we understand all of this very well... When he was leaving for New York and Philadelphia this year, he developed edema of the eye. But, nothing will happen to him because he still must return to Russia... (Natalia Rachmaninoff to Alfred and Jane Swan, May 3, 1943, Zelensky 2009: 71-72).¹

When Natalia Rachmaninoff began writing this letter to Russian family friends in 1943, she did not yet know that her husband's health had already settled into terminal decline. In describing the Russian composer and pianist Sergei Rachmaninoff's heart, his wife ties it to homeland in a revealing way. This letter points to the ability of music to act as a forum for remembering, performing, and reconstructing homeland. She describes his heart as tired: in "feeling sorry for others" (his fellow Russian exiles), and in "yearning for Russia" (a pre-revolutionary "old Russia" of nostalgic perfection). She also expresses a romantic certainty of a return home. For her, and for Rachmaninoff's audience, these themes saturated Rachmaninoff's post-exile music and life. Really, Rachmaninoff's heart had been tired since facing exile after the Bolshevik Revolution back in 1917.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the exiled Russian composer and pianist Sergei Rachmaninoff pursued an international career that saw his fellow Russian "white

¹ Сказали что у Серге был доктор и сказал что у него устало сердце. Как это верно и положе на него. Именно сердце устало жалеть людей. От тоски по России устал. Так что нам все пониятно... Когда он уезжал в Нью-Йорк и Филадельфию в этом году, у него развился отек глаза. Но с ним ничего не случится, потому что он все равно должен вернуться в Россию.
Natalia Rachmaninoff later added to this letter: "he did not return!, 1943." Translated by Natalie Zelensky.

émigrés” as well as general audiences imbue his music with a particularly Russian brand.² While Rachmaninoff had already achieved popularity during the 1890s as a distinctively Russian musician, I argue that following his 1917 exile Rachmaninoff’s music, particularly his revised works, played a significant role in the creation of a narrative and set of tropes representing “Russian diaspora.” Considering Rachmaninoff’s revision process and notions of Russian diaspora in his revised works involves three conversations: first, historical context, second, formal analysis, and finally, textual discourse. Simply put, the context, the score, and the discourse.³ Each of these conversations draw from the sociological terms capital and habitus.

Through performances and print media, Rachmaninoff’s works became replete with a form of value I call “diasporic capital,” which is based on Pierre Bourdieu’s influential sociological work on cultural and social capital.⁴ Whereas Bourdieu describes cultural capital as a system of value based on cultural assets—which may be converted into economic capital and back into cultural capital—diasporic capital refers to a similarly intangible system of value based on the experience of diaspora.

But while performance and print media represent the most obvious means of creating such value, how did Rachmaninoff’s own compositional output contribute to the creation of such value? Rachmaninoff’s return to certain works through revision arguably

² During the 1917-1922 Russian Civil War, which immediately followed the Bolshevik Revolution, the two largest forces were the pro-Bolshevik “Red Army” and the diverse, anti-Bolshevik “White Army.” The term “White Russian” came to identify pro-Tsarist Russians, and the term became “white émigré” when applied to members of the Russian diaspora. For a discussion of Russian “white émigré” discourse, see Raeff 1990: 4-5; Williams 1999: 147.

³ These three categories appear as the subsections of each of my three case studies.

⁴ A discussion of Bourdieu’s theoretical terms will be included in this monograph’s methodology section.

played a role in the transformation of Russian identity in his music during this period. My investigation of Rachmaninoff's music and the experience and discourse of exile has important implications for understanding the lived experience of individuals, ethnic groups, and nations facing refugee emergencies.⁵ Through a "diasporic capital" analysis of the artistic, cultural, and historical aspects of the composition and reception of Rachmaninoff's Piano Concerto No. 1, Piano Sonata No. 2, and Piano Concerto No. 4, I will consider these questions of compositional revision how:

- Rachmaninoff's work in general represented (and was invested with) a particularly diasporic "Russian brand," narrative and set of tropes, to himself, to Western general audiences, to fellow "white émigrés," and even to Soviet Russians;
- Rachmaninoff's revisions of his Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 1, Piano Sonata No. 2, Op. 36, and Piano Concerto No. 4, Op. 40, represent both a kind of compositional "returning to Russia" and a development or adaptation of his "habitus" – his subjective position/repertoire of social interaction in geographical-historical context; and

⁵ I became interested in studying Rachmaninoff's music from the perspective of "diasporic capital" after reading of a news story that implied a diasporic cultural resonance in Rachmaninoff's music. The term "the next Rachmaninoff" appeared in a news article describing a child piano prodigy, who was also a Syrian refugee and had been given uncommon welcome in Turkey as well as citizenship (Jones 2014: 1). Regardless of the extent of this comparison in terms of actual performance, technique, or musicality, that sixteen-year-old Tambi Cimuk was given such a title indicates the significance of the diaspora narrative to how the music of Rachmaninoff is perceived.

- Rachmaninoff's revisions of the above-mentioned works represent the production of "diasporic capital," and has led to their canonization as both multi-version and inter-textual works.

Rachmaninoff's multi-version works offer an example of how music informs identity, and constructs culture in a diaspora, one which has implications for how individuals and nations can deal with refugee crises.

1.2 Need for Study

There is now a substantial body of literature related to Rachmaninoff's life and works, but little of this directly addresses the discourse of exile. This DMA monograph will engage in theorizing a concept of "diasporic capital," a term that is as-yet underdeveloped in other disciplines and not yet approached in music.⁶ Diasporic capital represents a central aspect of the composition, discourse and reception of Rachmaninoff's music, post-1917.

This study considers the intersection of compositional revision and tropes of "Russian diaspora" in the post-1917 works and revisions of Rachmaninoff. My research combines textual historical studies, formal analysis of scores, and discourse analysis in sources such as Rachmaninoff's personal correspondence, concert reviews, programs, and other print media.⁷ My DMA monograph's focus on Concerto No. 1, Sonata No. 2, and Concerto No. 4 has led me to consider archival research at the Library of Congress to be

⁶ For examples of other scholarship that explores diasporic capital, see English 2010 and Raj 2007.

⁷ Discourse analysis refers to a group of analytical approaches that study forms of communication, broadly defined. This may include written, vocal, or gestural communication.

essential to this research.⁸ Because few researchers have explored the resources of the Rachmaninoff archive at the Library of Congress, my fieldwork in this archive offers an original interpretation to the scholarly narrative of Rachmaninoff's post-exile revisions.⁹

1.3 Literature Review

An excellent history and overview of the field of Russian music may be found in Richard Taruskin's introduction to *Defining Russia Musically*, entitled "Others: A Mythology and a Demurrer (By Way of Preface)." In addition to an overview of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Russian music history, Taruskin considers the "myth of otherness" attached to Russian music at great depth. The topic is a good starting point for any examination of Russian music and musicians, since:

[Russian music's] tardy growth and tardier professionalization, remote provenance, social marginalism, the means of its promotion, even the exotic language and alphabet of its practitioners have always tinged or tainted Russian art music with an air of alterity, sensed, exploited, reveled in, traded on, and defended against both from within and from without" (Taruskin 1997: xiv).

Taruskin warns scholars of Russian music to "treat otherness not as immutable or essential fact but as myth... as an operational fiction or assumption that unless critically examined runs a high risk of tendentious abuse" (Taruskin 1997: xxix). In this monograph, while I will attempt to discuss the "Russian" qualities of Rachmaninoff's

⁸ To research and copy materials at the Rachmaninoff Archives of the Music Division, Library of Congress, I have obtained the full support of Ettore Volontieri of the Rachmaninoff Foundation.

⁹ The Rachmaninoff Archive (ML30.55a) at the Music Division, Library of Congress, includes the only manuscript of the original 1926 version of Concerto No. 4 in existence, a work that is arguably under-studied and under-appreciated, as well as an invaluable collection of other manuscripts (75), published scores (150), correspondence (3000), professional documents (5000), concert programs (50), press clippings (600), and other documents.

music as myth and not abstract fact, it is clear from the quoted litany of abuses in the discourse of “Russian otherness” that such discourse is integral to the field in question.

There is now a substantial body of literature related to Rachmaninoff’s life and works, but little of this literature deals directly with the discourse of exile or Russia. A review of the state of Rachmaninoff scholarship is found in the “Foreword” of Cannata’s *Rachmaninoff and the Symphony* (Cannata 1999: 13-16). Robert Threlfall and Geoffrey Norris provide detailed information on each of Rachmaninoff’s works in *A Catalogue of the Compositions of S. Rachmaninoff* (Threlfall and Norris 1982).¹⁰ Fritz Butzbach wrote an important study of Rachmaninoff’s Piano Concerto No. 1 (Butzbach 1979).¹¹ Geoffrey Norris’s article “Rachmaninoff’s Second Thoughts” provides another detailed discussion of Rachmaninoff’s revision process, including Piano Concertos No. 1 and 4, and Symphony No. 3 (Norris 1973: 364-68).¹² Morley Grossman offers an important account of Rachmaninoff’s revision process specific to Concerto No. 1 (Grossman 2006). In his article “Rachmaninoff’s Revisions and an Unknown Version of His Fourth Concerto,” Robert Threlfall offers another comparative analysis of the revisions of Piano Concerto No. 4 (Threlfall 1973: 235-37).¹³ Geoffrey Norris wrote the entry on Rachmaninoff for *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Norris’s article is a useful

¹⁰ This work includes many crucial details not found in other Rachmaninoff biographies and research guides. Threlfall and Norris discuss Rachmaninoff’s sketches, compositional processes, publishers, and general aspects of his work.

¹¹ Butzbach compares the original and revised versions of Piano Concerto No. 1 in detail and traces the compositional development from 1899 sketches.

¹² Though briefer than Butzbach, Norris’s article is one of the few analyses of the versions of Piano Concerto No. 4.

¹³ Threlfall demonstrates that Rachmaninoff shortened Concerto No. 4 with each revision and offers an important introduction to this topic.

introduction to Rachmaninoff's life and music, and a welcome replacement to the famously disparaging 1954 *Grove* article.

Reviewing Rachmaninoff's many biographers, including Sergei Bertensson and Jay Leyda (1956),¹⁴ John Culshaw (1949), Barrie Martyn (1990),¹⁵ Geoffrey Norris (1976), Michael Scott (2008), and Victor Seroff (1951), I am struck by how often the early Rachmaninoff biography by Victor von Rieseemann (1934) is both denigrated and used as a reference. In this monograph, I follow the reasoning of Michael Scott in reappraising the value of Rieseemann's work and including it. Scott lays the responsibility clearly: "Rieseemann's account has always enjoyed a somewhat ambiguous reputation, not least because of another biography... by Sergei Bertensson and Jay Leyda, which appeared in 1956" (Scott 2008: 157). Scott outlines Bertensson and Leyda's account of Rachmaninoff's disapproval of the Rieseemann biography, over "several embroideries and invented quotations." Interestingly, Scott argues that neither Bertensson nor Leyda had personal experience relating to this biography. Likely their account came from their acknowledged assistant, Sophia Satina, who was in the US when Rachmaninoff and Rieseemann met in London to review Rieseemann's draft in April 1933. Because "Rieseemann's book has been poached upon freely by every other biographer, including Bertensson and Leyda," Scott includes the text of Rachmaninoff's endorsement to Rieseemann, included in the Rieseemann biography:

My dear Mr. Rieseemann.

¹⁴ Bertensson and Leyda follow Rachmaninoff's life and works divided into two periods, separated by his 1917 emigration. The book's extensive endnotes make use of primary sources available to the authors through Bertensson's personal relationship with the Rachmaninoff family.

¹⁵ Martyn focuses on stylistic aspects of Rachmaninoff's music more than earlier biographies such as the Bertensson and Leyda.

I have read with interest the manuscript of your book and wish to thank you for the sympathetic understanding with which you have treated our intimate talks at Clairefontaine. If you have over-emphasized the importance of some of my achievements I am sure it is only because of our long and close friendship. Believe me, sincerely, Sergei Rachmaninoff (Rieseemann 1934: 10).

Rieseemann's biography has been most invaluable to this monograph.

Of the 207 English-language dissertations that appear in ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global for a search of the term "Rachmaninoff," 93 are directly relevant to the composer. These dissertations examine the composer's compositional idiom, nationalism, performance practice, recording career, reception, influence, and employ a variety of analytical approaches. None offer an analysis of the discourse of exile in his music. However, several follow scholarly approaches that have influenced my research. Rebecca Mitchell's work covers the major cultural figures and discourse in Russian music leading up to Rachmaninoff's emigration (Mitchell 2011). Natalie Zelensky offers a unique combination of multi-disciplinary diaspora theory applied to New York white émigré music culture and diaspora discourse (Zelensky 2009). Robin Gehl's discussion of Rachmaninoff's career in the United States highlights his connections to the white émigré community in the US, including important statistical information regarding his performances and charity work (Gehl 2008). David Cannata and Leanne Nelson both offer useful analyses of the versions of Piano Sonata No. 2 (Cannata 1993; Nelson 2006). These studies argue that Rachmaninoff's compositional revisions carry a discourse connected to the impact of "exile" on his career, as in the loss of homeland. Scott Davie's Masters thesis gives a valuable comparison of the versions of Piano Concerto No. 4 which incorporates useful musical examples from the 1926 manuscript that are generally unavailable (Davie 2001).

There are two important Rachmaninoff archives. One is held at the Glinka Museum of Musical Culture in Moscow, which contains manuscripts, corrections, documents, dedications, and photographs. The other Rachmaninoff archive is held at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC. In addition to manuscripts, sketches, reviews, private correspondences, concerto programs and newspaper articles, the Library of Congress archive holds the original 1926 manuscript of Concerto No. 4.

Following the example of much of this fine scholarship, I will use the Library of Congress system of transliteration. Exceptions include the cases of Russian proper names that have widely-recognized English spelling, such as Rachmaninoff, Tchaikovsky, or Medtner.¹⁶

1.4 Methodology

In this DMA monograph I will engage with three case studies that pertain to aspects of Russian national identity, revision, and diasporic capital in Rachmaninoff's music. For each of these case studies I will analyse the first movements only, to allow cohesion of analysis and a reasonable scope. The first study considers Piano Concerto No. 1; the second study looks at Piano Sonata No. 2; and the third and final study examines Piano Concerto No. 4.

Chapter One outlines Rachmaninoff's life and influences to provide the necessary background to a discussion of his style. It will also discuss his post-1917 revisions in relation to his membership in a Russian diaspora. This leads to a literature review and discussion of methodology based on Bourdieu's terms of habitus, field, and cultural

¹⁶ Mitchell (2011) gives an argument for this practice. For information on the Library of Congress transliteration system, specifically for Romanization of Cyrillic text, see Library of Congress 2012.

capital. Chapter Two encompasses an analysis of the first movements of each of the three works in question: Piano Concerto No. 1, Piano Sonata No. 2, and Piano Concerto No. 4. Each analysis section will be subdivided into three subsections, related to the three questions posed in the introduction:

- Compositional context and Russian tropes,
- Revision process and habitus development, and
- Reviews, correspondence, and diasporic capital.

In each case study, these subsections are interrelated by logical hierarchy. The first subsection on historical context lays the foundation for the second subsection on formal score analysis of each version, which together lay the foundation for the final subsection on discourse connected with habitus and diasporic capital found in relevant written texts. Chapter Three offers a summary of my analyses. Bourdieu called for the acknowledgment of what he called “capital in all its forms” (Bourdieu 1986: 280-281). I argue that a specific kind of capital is developed in the context of a diaspora, in which a group or generation recreates itself in a foreign geographical context following a mass exile.

My methodology involves a synthesis of: 1) archival primary sources, 2) the existing literature, and 3) diverse theoretical approaches, primarily musical analysis and Bourdieu’s terms capital and habitus, but also semiotics, nostalgia, and diaspora studies. Crucially for this study, I incorporate archival research at the Rachmaninoff Archive, Library of Congress, in addition to the existing literature.¹⁷ I synthesize these theoretical

¹⁷ The materials of the Library of Congress’s Rachmaninoff Archive include the 1926 original version of Concerto No. 4, along with other manuscripts, sketches, reviews, private correspondences, concerto programs, and newspaper articles.

approaches to investigate how Russianness, identity, and music are represented by and about Rachmaninoff's multi-version works. Together, these methods allow for an assessment of the place of Rachmaninoff's revised piano works as part of the construction and development of Russian identity.

My theoretical tools will primarily consist of formal musical analysis between pre-exile original works and their post-exile revisions and the application of Bourdieusian terms of habitus and diasporic capital. However, it will also incorporate an interdisciplinary vocabulary of semiotics, nostalgia, and diaspora studies in relation to Rachmaninoff's musical idiom. First, I argue that extra-musical association with specific musical idioms warrants discussion. Among others, Mark Slobin informs my vocabulary with the concept of "code-layering," which describes how certain sounds evoke a range of meaning for listeners (Slobin 2003: 288). Second, extra-musical discourse plays a key role in analyzing these codes. Natalie Zelensky, building on the work of Bourdieu, Clifford Geertz, and Michel Foucault, points to a "dialectic between music reflecting and constructing meaning" (Zelensky 2009: 22).¹⁸ Further, Thomas Turino observes that in the context of diaspora, music serves as a widely-recognized symbol of identity: both as a shared (musical) text, and as a context of musical performance (Turino 2004: 6). Turino's approach to semiotics and musicology emphasizes the interplay between individual and communal meaning in identity construction and indicates that music making is significant in the construction of habitus (Turino 2004: 8).

¹⁸ Zelensky points to emotional responses given by her white émigré interviewees, saying these emotional responses to music were critical "especially for later-generation Russians who no longer understand the linguistic content of [Russian] songs, but nevertheless are imbued with a feeling of "Russianness" through music" (Zelensky 2009: 22).

Applying this interdisciplinary vocabulary to Rachmaninoff's revision process and diasporic capital involves approaching music as a text that symbolizes identity:

- as layered with personally-dependent meaning, and
- as the site of constructing meaning.

The discourse found in programmes, concert reviews, and personal correspondence emphasizes the separation of Rachmaninoff as the white émigré from the Russian homeland, and the ability of music to transport him and his fellow Russians back to that time and place. This discourse often promises to take listeners back to “old Russia,” creating an imagined community of Russian émigrés who understand these musical codes and their extra-musical significance.¹⁹

Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theorizing of habitus and the forms of capital are central to this study. Bourdieu's theorizing of the forms of capital is well-known and popular for good reason in multi-disciplinary studies. When Bourdieu called for the acknowledgment of “capital in all its forms,” this included cultural capital such as educational qualifications, degrees and other honours, and social capital, such as social connections and honorary titles (Bourdieu 1986: 280-281). These theories of cultural production and hegemonic discourse may be extended further to include other identifiable elements of cultural production by an individual or cultural group. All cultural and social capital is legitimized or not by the discourse of the group's members.

¹⁹ Anderson (1991) introduces the concept of the “imagined community” in his study on the origin and maintenance of national identities, *Imagined Communities*. Anderson's study extends to all formations of national identity, particularly the nation state, but his concept is also relevant to the study of refugee or exile communities. Anderson's study focuses on the role of print media such as newspapers in the creation of imagined communities, their membership, and discourse. However, music and other media arguably also play a vital role in such imagined communities.

In such contexts as the Russian diaspora of the white émigrés, there is the development of “diasporic capital.” Like the forms of capital outlined by Bourdieu, diasporic capital is imbued with value by group members, and may be converted into economic capital and other forms of capital.

Bourdieu describes his conceptions of all human sociological interaction in the following equation: “(Habitus x Capital) + Field = Practice” (Bourdieu 1984: 101). Habitus and capital together make up the individual, subjective side of human behaviour; the field refers to any objective social structure such as institutions, governments, and universities; and together they comprise human sociological practice. In other words, overall social interactions (the practice) can be understood by considering an individual or group’s repertoire of social interaction (the habitus) and the objective social structures they inhabit (the fields). In this conception, Bourdieu allows for the real impact of social structures on individual choices, without losing sight of human agency and responsibility, which may be seen in considering cultural capital and habitus.

Cultural capital is generated by habitus and represents the content of the field. Habitus is perhaps the most contentious and least understood of these terms. Bourdieu describes habitus as “a system of dispositions common to all products of the same conditions” (Bourdieu 1990b: 59). Habitus is an individual’s repertoire of social interaction: in short, everything you know, do, say, and think. Habitus can be understood as a complex discourse of one’s subjective position, practices, and behaviours within his or her geographical and historical context. For the present study, it is important to note that, in Bourdieu’s conception, habitus construction must adapt in accordance with abrupt changes in one’s geography and history.

Habitus as a methodological tool links the apparently oppositional elements of agency (the subjective) and structure (the objective), by posing a view of agency that is constructive toward social structures, while being shaped by them.²⁰ Although individuals each possess a unique habitus, Bourdieu argues that these exist within a group habitus. “The habitus—embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history—is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product” (Bourdieu 1990a: 483). Habitus theory allows for circumstances to be internalized as a new layer of one’s habitus. Rachmaninoff’s post-exile construction of habitus produced music that functioned as diasporic capital for displaced Russians and sympathetic non-Russians.²¹ He also contributed to a complex “Russian diaspora” group habitus.²²

Applying the Bourdieusian terms of habitus and diasporic capital to a musical analysis means presupposing that a musical work may be read as a text, one that represents the composer’s habitus at the time of composition. Since Bourdieu argues that the effect of habitus within social fields is the production of cultural capital, it would be helpful to know if Rachmaninoff intended the construction of diasporic capital in his works. Intriguingly, in a 1932 letter, Rachmaninoff includes this poem when asked to define music:

²⁰ There are four important aspects of habitus as a method that make it particularly useful: Bourdieu posits one’s habitus as 1) embodied, 2) simultaneously capable of agency and structured, 3) multi-layered at individual and societal levels, and 4) multi-layered for past and present experiences.

²¹ Rachmaninoff enjoyed popularity among general audiences, regardless of being of Russian background or not. There is a lack in Rachmaninoff scholarship of exploring why U.S. and Canadian audiences were drawn to his sold-out performances every year (Gehl 2008: 54).

²² Diaspora as a theoretical concept implies multiple locations, displacement, and a sustained imagined homeland. The effect of diaspora on habitus is dislocation. Rachmaninoff arguably exemplified Russian diasporic habitus.

What is Music? How can one define it? Music is a calm moonlight night; a rustling of Summer foliage; Music is the distant peal of bells at eveningtide! Music is born only in the heart and it appeals only to the heart. It is Love! The Sister of Music is Poetry and the Mother – Sorrow! (Rachmaninoff to Walter Koons, 13 December 1932, Box 40, Folder 23, Sergei Rachmaninoff Archive, Music Division, Library of Congress).

This statement points to Rachmaninoff's own view of music as signifying the composer's habitus and experiences. He sees music as ineffable; as simply *being* a rural Russian summer evening scene; as born of sorrow, as kin with poetry, and as authentically existing only in the heart. Although the purpose of this monograph is not to provide a program-note interpretation of Rachmaninoff's revisions, it argues that Rachmaninoff's own discourse on the nature of music allows for his revisions to be read as his habitus, and to serve as a site for performing diasporic capital. Rather than attempting to preserve his pre-1917 works in their original "purity," Rachmaninoff continued to be compositionally productive and indeed saw the act of composing (including revising) as a means of expressing his own current personality and desires. Yet his post-1917 composing career is certainly marked by the revising of earlier works, works tied to Russia.

In the case of multi-version works such as Concerto No. 1, Sonata No. 2, and Concerto No. 4, the literary concept of intertextuality offers insight into the interaction of multiple texts, including different versions composed at different times, of a single musical composition. The multiple-version canonic status of the works that Rachmaninoff revised offer an interesting example of intertextuality. Coined by French linguist Julia Kristeva in 1966, intertextuality as a method is based on the view that no text is an entity unto itself. Rather, literary texts are interdependent through quotation (Cuddon 2013: 454). Interestingly, quotation may be direct and intended by the author, or

simply interpreted by the reader. The indeterminate canonic status of the two of Rachmaninoff's versions of Sonata No. 2 have led to other performers constructing new, intertextual versions. This is evident in Rachmaninoff's accommodating Vladimir Horowitz's own version, which combined the 1913 and 1931 versions (Horowitz 1989).

1.5 Scholarly Contribution

Most discussions of Rachmaninoff's post-exile compositions undervalue the three works under present consideration, and others which he subjected to revision, specifically with the narrative of: bad reception, followed by revision, followed by abandonment. However, Rachmaninoff's personal correspondences challenge the seemingly ubiquitous narrative that Rachmaninoff revised these works because of unfavourable reviews (Bertensson and Leyda 2001: 249). On the contrary, Rachmaninoff revisited these works several times throughout his later life. This study will bring together many strands of the discourse of Russian representation in Rachmaninoff's revised works to explore their significance in Rachmaninoff's catalogue of works. It also considers Rachmaninoff's maturing style in melodic and harmonic language, his approach to form and orchestration, and offers an interpretation of his revisions as texts of habitus development and sites of diasporic capital construction.

Chapter Two. Rachmaninoff's Compositional Revisions: Identity, Diaspora, and Negotiating Habitus

2.1 Historical Background

An understanding of Rachmaninoff's works and revisions, habitus, and production of diasporic capital, must take into consideration his life, his personality and the setting in which his personality developed. Before proceeding to a detailed history, I will outline the essentials. His training occurred within the Russian conservatory system, introduced to Russia in the 1860s by Anton and Nicolai Rubinstein on the model of those in Western Europe.²³ The Russian conservatories demanded exceptional technique and emphasized the Austro-German canon, Lisztian virtuosity, and Russian heroes like Tchaikovsky or the Russian National School. Rachmaninoff studied with Nikolai Zverev in Moscow, who instilled in him a strict regimen of practicing, before studying at the Moscow Conservatory with Alexander Siloti, his first cousin and a student of Nicolai Rubinstein and Franz Liszt. Rachmaninoff's musical education coloured the virtuosic musical language found throughout his works in later life.²⁴ After emigrating from Russia in 1917, Rachmaninoff committed much of his time to a career as a concert virtuoso, establishing an international reputation and financial stability. Yet his performance career demanded industrious practicing and extensive touring, with only a few new compositions.

²³ Rubinstein founded the Russian Musical Society in 1859, Saint Petersburg Conservatory in 1862. His brother Nicolai founded the Moscow Conservatory in 1866.

²⁴ Rachmaninoff's writings of the time outline his musical style—including tempo, note duration, treatment of rhythm, rubato, form and structure, fidelity to the score, dynamics, sound quality, and pedalling.

Rachmaninoff was born on April 1, 1873,²⁵ at the Semyonovo estate in the Starorussky uyezd (district), in the Russian Empire.²⁶ The second son of an aristocratic and educated family of six children, his parents were both amateur musicians.²⁷ His father, Vasily Rachmaninov played the piano, and his mother, Lyubov Rachmaninova,²⁸ taught him piano for a time. His paternal grandfather studied piano with John Field.²⁹ Among his siblings, his sister Elena attended Moscow Conservatory for voice, where she died tragically young.³⁰ Because his father failed to manage the estate, the Rachmaninoffs were forced to sell their home at Oneg and move to Saint Petersburg. This financial and

²⁵ Dates in Russian history before 1918 are complicated by the Imperial Russian use of the Julian calendar, as opposed to the Gregorian calendar, which was adopted across western Europe during the early modern period and is still in use. Simply put, Russian dates were twelve days earlier than Western dates during the nineteenth century, and thirteen days earlier during the early twentieth century. For example, Rachmaninoff's birthdate was March 20, 1873, Old Style (Julian), and April 1, 1873, New Style (Gregorian). The Bolsheviks adopted the Gregorian calendar in Russia in 1918, proclaiming Monday, February 12, O.S., to be followed by Tuesday, February 26, N.S. Throughout this monograph I will use only Gregorian dates.

²⁶ This fact was established by Geoffrey Norris in 1993 (Norris 2001). Many biographies continue to mistakenly record his birthplace as Oneg, near Novgorod.

²⁷ Several but not all genealogical sources give his siblings' order of age from oldest to youngest as: Elena, Sophia, Vladimir, [Sergei], Arkady, and Varvara.

²⁸ Russian surnames indicate gender by ending with "a" for women. For example, Rachmaninoff's uncle was surnamed Satin, but his aunt went by Satina. Further, Russian middle names always stem from the person's father. For example, Sergei and his brothers all had the middle name Vasilyevich, whereas his sisters had the middle name Vasilyovna.

²⁹ Field was born in British Ireland to Protestant parents, and spent his adolescent years in 1790s London, where he became the most prominent student of Muzio Clementi. His professional relationship with Clementi brought him to Russia in 1803, where he spent the majority of his adult years as a composer, concert performer, and teacher. John Field's presence in Russia is often considered an important step to Russia's entrance into the tradition of Western music.

³⁰ Elena died at the age of 20 in 1885 and had already been predeceased by her sister Sophia. Sergei's brothers Vladimir and Arkady would live to 1913 and 1945, respectively. Sergei's youngest sister Varvara died in Russia during the mid-late 1920s. Rachmaninoff's parents, Vasily and Lyubov, lived to 1916 and 1929, respectively.

social catastrophe would prove to be a blessing in disguise for Rachmaninoff: his now lost family status would have required Sergei to follow the family tradition of military service. With that door closed, pursuing a career in music became a possibility for him.

In 1882, on the advice of Rachmaninoff's former piano teacher Anna Ornatskaya, he attended the Saint Petersburg Conservatory.³¹ There he received a general education in languages, history, geography, math, and Russian Orthodox doctrine, as well as music (Norris 2001: 3). His immaturity at the time led to academic failure in spring 1885. Rachmaninoff's mother followed the advice of his elder cousin Alexander Siloti, professor at the Moscow Conservatory, to send Rachmaninoff to Siloti's former teacher in Moscow, Nikolai Zverev.

Zverev ran a small music boarding school in his home, where Rachmaninoff studied under vigorous discipline starting in September 1885, and continued to board following his September 1886 entry into the Moscow Conservatory. In addition to lessons and practicing, he and his two peers at Zverev's enjoyed exceptional opportunities to attend concerts, operas, and plays, and to perform weekly concerts that were attended by the leading musicians of Moscow and famous visitors. Of these musicians, Anton Rubinstein made the most lasting impression on Rachmaninoff, and Rachmaninoff would make frequent references to Rubinstein for the rest of his life. During January and February 1886, Rachmaninoff attended Rubinstein's seven-week

³¹ The Saint Petersburg Conservatory would change its name with the name changes of the city. On September 1 (August 19, O.S.), 1914, Saint Petersburg was renamed Petrograd, to eliminate the name's German associations in the context of the Great War. On January 26, 1924, Petrograd was renamed Leningrad, five days after Lenin's death. Finally, the first post-Soviet Russian presidential election on June 12, 1991, occurred simultaneously with a mayoral election and referendum on the name of Leningrad, which was renamed Saint Petersburg.

“historical concerts” series, performed at Nobility Hall, Moscow Conservatory on Tuesday evening and repeated at the German Club on Wednesdays mornings (Grossman 2006: 10).³² Of Rubinstein’s performances, Rachmaninoff later observed that:

In this way, I heard the program of these historical concerts twice, and was able every Wednesday morning to re-examine my impressions of the previous evening... It was not so much his magnificent technique that held one spellbound than the profound, spiritually refined musicianship, that sounded from [each work] he played... Once he repeated the whole finale of the Chopin Sonata [B-flat minor], perhaps because he had not succeeded in the short crescendo at the close, as he would have wished (Riesemann 1934: 51).

It is important to bear in mind that Rachmaninoff wrote these words, which interpret Rubinstein as a musician that sought “profound” perfection through repeating and correction—performed revision—in the context of his exile.

Rachmaninoff began attending the Moscow Conservatory in the fall of 1886, studying piano with Siloti, counterpoint with Taneyev, and harmony with Arensky, while still boarding with Zverev.³³ He received the Great Gold Medal, Moscow Conservatory’s highest honour, upon his graduation in 1892.

Significantly for Rachmaninoff’s development as a composer, there existed a rivalry between the Saint Petersburg and Moscow Conservatories. Sabayenev notes that the “catechism of Chaykovski and Nikolay Rubinstein” dominated Moscow:

Moscovites hated and did not know Wagner, disliked the Russian National School in the persons of Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakoff, and Mussorgski (especially the last), maintained a skeptical attitude toward Liszt and Berlioz, considered Brahms a nonentity, and worshipped Chaikovsky as the people of Saint Petersburg never worshipped him either before that or later (Sabayenev 1927: 104).

³² Rubinstein repeated these programs in Saint Petersburg every weekend (Grossman 2006: 10).

³³ During the 1889-90 school year, the sixteen-year-old Rachmaninoff moved from Zverev’s home to live with his local extended family, the Satins. The Satin family would become like a second family to Rachmaninoff.

Although some of Sabayenev's assertions may be overstated—Rachmaninoff worked with and came to admire Rimsky-Korsakov before his exile, and his teacher Siloti had himself studied with Liszt in Weimar—he does an excellent job of illustrating Moscow as the more traditional music centre, as well as less progressive than Saint Petersburg, which was dominated by the Russian National School of the “Mighty Handful.”

Rachmaninoff embarked on a career as a conductor and freelance composer, earning Tchaikovsky's admiration for *Aleko* in an episode that is often recounted in biographies as a public endorsement and passing of the torch.³⁴ He composed and premiered the soon-to-be inescapable C-sharp minor prelude in Moscow, a work which would quickly become known worldwide through Siloti and expanded his reputation (though not earning him royalties). In November 1893, Tchaikovsky's sudden death inspired Rachmaninoff to dedicate his *Trio élégiaque* No. 2 in D minor to him. Rachmaninoff's budding career met a setback in 1897, when the panned premiere of his Symphony No. 1 in D minor began a three-year period of depression and professional inactivity (Bertensson and Leyda 2001: 73). He credited his recovery in early 1900 to hypno-treatment from Dr. Nikolai Dahl.³⁵ His career resumed in 1901 with the successful premiere of one of his most enduringly popular works, the Piano Concerto No. 2.

The next decade and a half (1901-1917) saw Rachmaninoff marry (his cousin Natalia Satina, May 12, 1902),³⁶ become a father (his daughters, Irina and Tatiana, were

³⁴ Rachmaninoff composed the opera *Aleko* in 1892 as his graduation work at Moscow Conservatory. The premiere occurred in Moscow at the Bolshoi Theatre on May 9, 1893.

³⁵ Rachmaninoff's appointments with Dr. Dahl were suggested and encouraged by the Satins, showing that as a young adult he remained close with the Satins.

³⁶ Due to the Russian Orthodox Church's refusal to perform the wedding, the Rachmaninoffs were wed in an army chapel at the Sixth Tavrishesky Regiment outside Moscow, beyond the jurisdiction of the church (Gehl 2008: 27).

born on May 27, 1903 and July 4, 1907, respectively), and pursue a productive composing career. Rachmaninoff participated in a Russian nationalist music discourse that connected Russian folk music, Russian Orthodoxy, and national identity. His music was given broad historical import by his contemporaries, who saw in it ideas of progress, nationalism, and tradition within a discourse concerning Russia's role in the world, musical and otherwise.³⁷ The premiere of Concerto No. 1 took place in 1892 at Moscow Conservatory. Rachmaninoff worked on the original Piano Sonata No. 2 during 1913 between Rome, Berlin, and his Russian country estate, Ivanovka (Norris 2001: 711).³⁸ Rachmaninoff's productivity may have been connected to the stability and purpose he experienced at the time through his role as husband and father, and the apparent stability of Russia and Europe (Martyn 1990: 24).

This period saw the composition of his cello sonata (1901), more than fifty piano works, including two sets of preludes (1903, 1910) and two sets of *Études-tableaux* (1911, 1917), two piano sonatas (1907, 1913), a Concerto No. 3 (1909), nearly fifty art songs, the Symphony No. 2, *The Isle of the Dead* (1909) and the choral symphony, *The Bells* (1913). The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5 and Russian Revolution of 1905 caused Rachmaninoff to settle temporarily in Dresden from November 9, 1906 to April 1909. Before re-settling in Russia, he spent the 1909-1910 concert season in the US, where he premiered his Concerto No. 3 with the New York Symphony Orchestra under Walter

³⁷ For a detailed consideration of discourse of Russian identity in the reception of Rachmaninoff in Imperial Russia, see Mitchell 2011: 279-309.

³⁸ During this period, he also completed several other works, including *Études-tableaux* op. 33 (1911), the "choral symphony" *The Bells* op. 35 (also 1913), and the *All-Night Vigil* op. 37 (1915).

Damrosch. After a period back in Russia, Rachmaninoff became uneasy about events following the February 1917 Revolution.

The outbreak of the Great War brought a coalescence of cultural activity impacted by the war effort. But the sudden death of Scriabin in April 1915 came to be seen by members of the music community as a sign of the spiritual defeat of Russia itself (Mitchell 2011: 36).³⁹ After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the subsequent Civil War of 1918-1922, Rachmaninoff joined approximately 1.5 million Russians in fleeing Russia during the 1917 Revolutions and subsequent Civil War, with 20,000 joining Rachmaninoff in the United States (Zelensky 2009: 46). Rachmaninoff came to be embraced by many as the definitive Russian composer and an epitome of “old Russia” for the white émigré community (Bertensson and Leyda 2001: 71). Among members of the Russian émigré community, Rachmaninoff symbolized the Russian nation in the sense of the word *narod*, which denotes the Russian folk in the sense of both “nation” and, more specifically, peasants (Mitchell 2011: 301).

When the Bolsheviks seized power in the October Revolution, he decided to take the first opportunity to flee, which came in December with an invitation to concertize for a year in Denmark and Sweden. Starting with the 1918-1919 concert season, Rachmaninoff settled in the US and pursued a relentless performance career which continued until his death. It is clear in Rachmaninoff’s own writing, that before his exile

³⁹ In the Great War context, all levels of Russian society joined into a unified purpose. Nationalist rhetoric combined anti-German patriotism with Russian Orthodoxy in compositional styles. Rachmaninoff composed *All-Night Vigil* exceptionally quickly during January and February 1915, dedicating it to Stepan Smolensky of the Moscow Conservatory and Synodal School. The work premiered in Moscow with the Synodal Choir on March 23, 1915, shortly before Scriabin’s death on April 27. The *All-Night Vigil* received ecstatic reception in the strained context of war (Martyn 1990: 255).

he considered himself a composer first. As he wrote: “I wonder if I should... make up my mind to abandon composition altogether and become, *instead*, a professional pianist, or a conductor, or a farmer” (Bertensson and Leyda 2001: 179-180, my italics). However, after his exile, he found that providing a stable income for his family required that he pursue a career as a virtuoso pianist. In the remaining twenty-five years of his life, Rachmaninoff performed 1,643 concerts, of which more than 1,000 were in North America. During February 1943, Rachmaninoff felt too exhausted to continue his scheduled recitals that season. He was soon diagnosed with cancer and died at his home in Beverly Hills on March 28, 1943. Interestingly, Rachmaninoff did not seek U.S. citizenship until the year of his death. Until the advent of the Second World War, it seems Rachmaninoff hoped for the fall of the Soviet government in his lifetime and considered himself a permanent exile.

Rachmaninoff revised his Concerto No. 1, Sonata No. 2, and Concerto No. 4 in the context of his post-1917 exile. His connections with the white émigré community were personal as well as professional, as he donated a great deal of charitable assistance to Russian white émigrés and Soviet civilians throughout this period.⁴⁰ Rachmaninoff revised Concerto No. 1 in 1917—the year of his emigration—and 1919, Sonata No. 2 in 1931, and Concerto No. 4 in 1926, 1928 and 1941. Russian émigré discourse acknowledged Rachmaninoff as essential to their group identity (Mitchell 2011: 308). In my analysis, I will demonstrate that it was also inscribed in his music.

⁴⁰ For a detailed account of Rachmaninoff’s charitable work for ordinary Russians throughout the 1920s and 1930s, see Gehl 2008: 157-181.

2.2 Pianism and Compositional Style

As a pianist as well as composer, Rachmaninoff gained a widespread reputation as faithful defender of the Romantic tradition. His piano style draws from Romantic composers such as Chopin and Liszt, featuring lyrical melodies, rich sonorities, and elaborate technical figures (Gillespie 1965: 276). Rachmaninoff's music often features themes of longing and peace (Culshaw 1949: 48). These twin themes feature deeply in his own personality.

Mitchell describes extra-musical associations in Rachmaninoff's music, such as the use of Russian folk elements, widespread discourse of his "Slavic" nature, and his popularity that "suggested an innate connection to the Russian *narod*" (Mitchell 2011: 301). Additionally, commentators generally recognize two aspects of Rachmaninoff's musical style as particularly "Russian." These are the evocation of Orthodox Church bells and the melodic influence of Russian Orthodox chant music (Crocicci 1973: 7). These elements also take meaning in the context of the Russian diaspora as a space of national memory. The Roman Catholic plainchant *Dies Irae* played a pervasive role in his works as well, found in more than twenty of his compositions (Culshaw 1949: 51). Like many other composers, Rachmaninoff conceived of the *Dies Irae* as representing evil and composed using *Dies Irae* programmatically (Coolidge 1979: 203).

In addition to these two compositional techniques, it is arguable that the most recognizably "Russian" attribute of Rachmaninoff's music came from the moods his music depicted, such as pessimism and gloom. The Russian word *toska*, a word that is important to understanding Rachmaninoff's music, encompasses such ideas, and operates as a "favourite Russian mood." Minor keys and modal melodies predominate in

Rachmaninoff's compositional style, a tendency which many of his contemporaries identified as "Russian" (Frolova-Walker 2007: 29-42). Vladimir Nabokov defines *toska* as:

A sensation of great spiritual anguish, often without any specific cause. At less morbid levels, it is a dull ache of the soul, a longing with nothing to long for, a sick pining, a vague restlessness, mental throes, yearning... In particular cases it may be the desire for somebody of something specific, nostalgia, lovesickness (Steinberg 2008: 819).

Before the composer's exile in 1917, Rachmaninoff's music was dismissed by many Russian music critics of the time as "salon music," not to be classed among Russia's greatest music. An influential music discourse in pre-1917 Russia directly criticized negative moods in Russian public life as degenerate and backward (Steinberg 2008: 820). Yet in the context of the Russian diaspora, Rachmaninoff's combination of *toska*, pessimism, grief, and "traditionalism" combined with individual impressions of a shared Russian identity, greatly shaped by Rachmaninoff's diaspora-influenced habitus.⁴¹ For members of the Russian diaspora as well as non-members, Rachmaninoff's music came to represent an idealized Imperial Russia, or simply put, "old Russia."

Rachmaninoff described himself as a "stranger in an alien world" at the end of his life. He resisted the changes of compositional trends and styles that emerged during his own lifetime, as well as the proponents of those changes. His Romantic personality self-consciously informed his compositions and views toward the composer-composition relationship:

⁴¹ The influence of Rachmaninoff's individual habitus on the "group habitus" of white émigré Russians points to the interrelationship of individual habitus and group habitus in Bourdieu's theory. This allows for diasporic capital to be formed, based on a community of individuals interested in producing and trading such a form of value: the authenticity of Russia before the Bolshevik Revolution.

I am not a composer who produces works to the formulas of preconceived theories. Music, I have always felt, should be the expression of a composer's complex personality. A composer's music should express the country of his birth... It should be the sum total of a composer's experience (Piggott 1978: 56).

For Rachmaninoff, the expression of the composer in his or her works represented a fundamental imperative: “a composer's music *should* express” these aspects of his own personality. When criticized for writing antiquated music, he scorned the anti-traditional spirit behind so-called “twentieth-century music,” saying:

The poet Heine once said, “What life takes away, music restores.” He would not be moved to say this if he could hear the music of today. For the most part it gives nothing. Music should bring relief. It should rehabilitate minds and souls, and modern music does not do this. If we are to have great music we must return to the fundamentals which made the music of the past great. Music cannot be just color and rhythm; *it must reveal the emotions of the heart* (Brower 1926: 8, my italics).

For Rachmaninoff, music's true or authentic role involves revealing the composer's heart, and for him personally, in conscious opposition to “modern music.” His works feature impassioned virtuosity, and despairing, introspective melodies (Norris 1980: 555). Rachmaninoff clearly intended for his music to reveal his own heart, which may be interpreted as his deepest social behaviours—his habitus, making Rachmaninoff's work consciously intended to construct cultural capital, “old Russian” capital, and even diasporic capital.

2.3 Concert Performance Style

Rachmaninoff's repertoire pointed to his own character as a Moscow Conservatory-trained musician. Rachmaninoff's repertoire included his own works first and foremost, but also was characterized by the canonic Romantic composers: Beethoven, Chopin, Schumann, and Liszt (Kammerer 1966: 158). He also included works by Mozart, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Grieg, Borodin, and Tchaikovsky. His

favourite modern compositions were the early works of Debussy, Ravel, and Poulenc, as well as his Russian colleagues Scriabin and Medtner.

Rachmaninoff's sister-in-law and cousin, Sophia Satina, described Rachmaninoff's daily practice regime as consistently four to six hours a day, starting with one hour of scales and individual finger exercises (Norris 1980: 555). Discussing how to prepare a work for performance, Rachmaninoff said: "You must take the work apart, peer into every corner, before you can assemble the whole (Norris 1980: 555). Central to Rachmaninoff's views on preparing a performance, he would determine the climax "point" for each piece. Following, he would determine the structure logically on either side of the "culminating point." He explained to Marietta Shaginian:

Maybe at the end or in the middle, it may be loud or soft; but the performer must know how to approach it with absolute calculation, absolute precision, because, if it slips by, then the whole construction crumbles, and the piece becomes disjointed and scrappy and does not convey to the listener what must be conveyed (Crocicci 1973: 6).

In this letter, Rachmaninoff indicates that if the performer fails to approach the climax of the work properly, and by extension the climax itself and its resolution, then the work collapses, and fails to communicate its message. In other words, performance may represent to Rachmaninoff a compositional realization of the work—with performance and composition as two sides of the same coin. The composer's personality, purpose, and heart characterized every aspect of the piece. Further, the attention to both individual details and the overall story surrounding the "culminating point" indicates a view that he himself—his musical style, personality, national identity, and experience—must permeate the piece. The critic Rafael Kammerer linked Rachmaninoff's performance style to that of Anton Rubinstein, specifically in phrasing, accentuations, and

emphasizing inner melodies. As already discussed, Rubinstein's influence on Rachmaninoff's playing dated back to attending Rubinstein's "historical recitals" during Rachmaninoff's Zverev period and continued throughout his life (Norris 1980: 555). Rubinstein's influence on Rachmaninoff's technique indicates a further link of himself to "old Russia" when he found himself in exile (Bertensson and Leyda 2001: 294).

2.4 Virtuosity

In his own lifetime, critics generally praised Rachmaninoff's pianistic technique and virtuosity. John Gillespie described Rachmaninoff as "a spectacular pianist equal to any of the leading twentieth-century virtuosos" (Crocicciata 1973: 8). Looking back on his post-exile career in 1933, Rachmaninoff himself wrote:

For the past fifteen seasons I have played about 750 concerts. Before I became a person of jubilees I played 70 or 80 concerts a year. But as I approach the age of jubilees, I've had to scale down a little. Concerts require very serious preparation. I work with pleasure on the compositions of other composers. When I work on my own—it is more difficult. Only a month, a month and a half, is left for rest (Gillespie 1965: 276).

Rachmaninoff here points to his first fifteen seasons as a Russian exile involving prodigious amounts of concerts, in which he displayed his proficiency as a pianist. Interestingly, he describes working on his own compositions as more difficult. This indicates that exile changed Rachmaninoff's relationship with his own works, in a way that did not affect his relationship with other composers' works. It could be possible to read into this letter that Rachmaninoff grew to dislike his own works and to prefer the works of others during his post-exile period. However, several correspondences included in the following section suggest that the difficulty Rachmaninoff felt towards his own works lay in his feelings of yearning (*toska*) for Russia.

2.5 Exile

Rachmaninoff's departure from Bolshevik Russia in December 1917 and settlement in the US in November 1918 meant for him statelessness, a new career, and the need to adapt his habitus to the new structures governing his life. Rachmaninoff followed the advice of his Russian colleague, Josef Hoffmann, in pursuing a performance career. This required Rachmaninoff to acquire a concert repertoire comparable to those of other piano virtuosos of the time (Piggott 1978: 83). As a pianist, he built an eminent reputation across the US and Western Europe, working hard to build up a repertoire that he continued to expand every summer.

Although his antipathy to the creators and enthusiasts of “modern music” produced some critical opposition to Rachmaninoff, he also enjoyed much in the way of critical affirmation. The words of Hofmann and Medtner both applaud Rachmaninoff in ways that point to the composer's personal significance as expressed in his music. On Rachmaninoff's music, Hofmann exclaimed:

Rachmaninoff! The man whose art is as pure gold; the sincere artist, equally admired by musicians and the public. He is indeed simple, unassuming, truthful, generous (Bertensson and Leyda 2001: 295).

Hofmann's words, such as referring to Rachmaninoff's music as pure gold, and his performance as truthful and generous, do more than describe Rachmaninoff's music—they assert and build cultural capital, both Rachmaninoff's as the composer worth so celebrating, and himself as a knowing appreciator of Rachmaninoff's music. Medtner also expressed enthusiastic respect, expressing what Rachmaninoff's music signified to him:

Rachmaninoff strikes us chiefly by the spiritualization of sound, the bringing to life of the elements of music. The simplest scale, the simplest cadence—in short,

any formula—when “recited” by his fingers acquires its primary meaning. We are struck not by his memory, not by his fingers, which do not allow a single detail in the whole to slip by, but just by the whole; by the inspired images that he reconstructs before us. His gigantic technique, his virtuosity, serve merely for the clarification of these images. His rhythms, the movement of sounds, betray the same expressive declamation and relief as each separate sound of his touch... His rhythm, like his sound, is always included in his musical soul—it is, as it were, the beating of his living pulse (Brower 1926: 1).

Like Hofmann, Medtner in this quotation contributes to the cultural capital invested in Rachmaninoff’s music. Medtner’s discourse also points to Rachmaninoff’s formidable technique as “a means to an end”: namely, inspired images, “reconstructed” through music. These images, Medtner leaves unnamed and infinitely personal to the listener. Yet he also connects the sounds and rhythms of Rachmaninoff’s music to the composer’s personality.

The 1926 book *Modern Masters of the Keyboard* provides an interesting description of a Rachmaninoff performance:

His tall figure bends over the keyboard, as he sits a few seconds in utter stillness before beginning. Then his large hands, with their long, shapely fingers, find the desired keys with no perceptible effort, and weave for the listener enchanting pictures, now bright, now sad and filled with longing (Brower 1926, Quoted in Crociata 1973: 6).

Clearly the pictures suggested to listeners by Rachmaninoff’s music, whatever they may be, involve longing. The first and most obvious possibility may be “old Russia.” Rachmaninoff’s correspondence indicates that he also felt longing for the absence of his own composing, for him inextricably joined to “old Russia.” As his concert tours began to provide him with a prosperous income,⁴² and enabled further composition, he found it

⁴² After losing all his material property in his emigration from Russia, his success as a pianist made him by 1925 the second highest paid musician in the United States, after Paderewski. For a summary of Rachmaninoff’s income taxes as reported in various issues of *Time*, see Gehl 2008: 57.

difficult to adapt his compositional habitus to his new circumstances and social structures (Norris 2001: 53). He wrote to his friend Alfred Swan:

With all my travels and the absence of a permanent abode, I really have no time to compose, and, when I now sit down to write, it does not come to me very easily. Not as in former years (Piggott 1978: 84).

Due to his concert tours, rigorous practicing, travelling, and performing, Rachmaninoff certainly had limited time to work on composition. Yet even during the summer periods that proved compositionally productive, nostalgia changed his feelings toward composition. When asked if concertizing affected his composing, he wrote:

Yes, very much. I never could do two things at the same time. I either played only or conducted only, or composed only. Now there's no opportunity to think of composition. And somehow, *since leaving Russia, I don't feel like composing*. Change of air, perhaps. Forever traveling, working. Instead of hunting three hares at once, I'm sticking to one. No. I do not regret it. I love to play. I have a powerful craving for the concert platform. When there are no concerts to give *I rest poorly* (Piggott 1978: 84, my italics).

Rachmaninoff seems to be saying that, more than having no opportunity to compose since his exile, his distance from Russia diminished his desire to compose. Interestingly, he mentions a craving for the concert platform instead. Keeping in mind Bourdieu's theorizing of the habitus needing to adapt to abrupt changes of circumstances, it seems that for Rachmaninoff composing became burdened with the homeland lost in diaspora. At the same time, performing allowed expression of that homeland in a more accessibly self-consoling way.

In concerts and the public, Rachmaninoff presented a severe and sombre personality. A critic in *Recording Review* described a Rachmaninoff performance:

He is somewhat dour—an image that was accentuated by his gaunt frame, chiseled face and cropped hair. With no outward show he would address himself to the works of the masters he so revered. Only when he had reached the end of his program would the tension ease, and he would smile and “play to the

galleries.” Invariably, his last encore would be his Prelude in C-Sharp Minor, which had become synonymous with the name “Rachmaninoff” (Swan and Swan 1944: 174).

Professionally, every aspect of his performance style was characterized by discipline (Norris 1980: 555). His technique displayed rhythmic control, a refined legato, and independence in complex textures (Norris 1980: 555). In contrast with his performance style, his friends and family recorded Rachmaninoff’s personality as typically affectionate and kind (Brower 1926: 2). Yet the sombre aspects of his performance style are present in the post-exile works and revisions he produced.

2.6 Post-Exile Compositions

In addition to the revisions that Rachmaninoff completed of the three works under consideration in this monograph, he produced just six new works over a period of twenty-five years (December 1917-March 1943). These included Piano Concerto No. 4, Op. 40 (1926), *Three Russian Songs*, Op. 41 (1926), *Variations on a Theme of Corelli*, Op. 42 (1931), *Rhapsody on a Theme of Paganini*, Op. 43 (1934), Symphony No. 3, Op. 44 (1936), and *Symphonic Dances*, Op. 45 (1940). The piano works, Op. 40, 42, and 43, feature a condensed piano style, described by some as neo-classical (Crocicciata 1973: 6).

As an émigré, all of Rachmaninoff’s remaining major works would be composed during annual summer breaks, including Concerto No. 4 and *Three Russian Songs* in Dresden, the *Variations on a Theme of Corelli* outside Paris, the Symphony No. 3 in Villa Senar, and the *Symphonic Dances* in Huntington, Long Island in the context of the Second World War.

Rachmaninoff offered few detailed clues as to the extra-musical significance behind his compositions in public. Yet throughout his life and especially upon becoming

a white émigré, he consistently described the uniquely Russian essence of all his works. In describing Stravinsky's European career, Richard Taruskin refers to the tried and tested Russian "ploy of parading Self as Other" and of "a show of national character, predicated on its reception as exoticism, [that] was the calculated basis of its international appeal" (Taruskin 1997: 107). Yet I argue that Rachmaninoff's music, rather than exhibiting exoticism, served as a medium for a very personal navigation between creative originality and a commitment to the past. Further, these two aspects allow Rachmaninoff's revised works to serve as a forum for remembering, performing, and reconstructing "old Russia," however removed from the individual listener's experience.

Chapter Three. Case Studies

3.1 Diaspora at the Door: Concerto No. 1, Mvt. 1

3.1.1 Compositional Context and Russian Tropes

Rachmaninoff began composition of Concerto No. 1 during his penultimate school year of 1890-91. He completed most of the work from July 15-18, 1891 at Ivanovka, the country estate of the Satins, his adoptive extended family. Upon completion, he wrote to his conservatory peer and close friend Mikhail Slonov “I am pleased with it [Concerto No. 1].” Considering Rachmaninoff’s future inclination toward revision, it is interesting that he continues:

Although I cannot say that for my latest song [“Do you remember that evening?”], which I think has not turned out very successfully. Nevertheless, I definitely don’t want to change it. For me changes are always unpleasant and distasteful (Rachmaninoff to Mikhail Slonov, July 20, 1891, Scott 2008: 32).

For Rachmaninoff, this time represented a happy period in his life—perhaps the only happy circumstances prior to his marriage—in which he experienced belonging as part of the Moscow Conservatory culture and the Satin family. Rachmaninoff’s perspective as an exuberant, posturing eighteen-year-old student on revising works—at least as seen in what he expressed of it to his peers—would undergo momentous change in the context of revolutionary upheaval a quarter century later.

The context of Concerto No. 1’s original composition occurred after a change in Rachmaninoff’s residence. Following an October 1889 argument at Zverev’s home—likely stemming from Zverev’s disapproval of Rachmaninoff’s decision to pursue composition rather than performance—Zverev took the initiative in relocating the sixteen-year-old Rachmaninoff to his local family (Riesemann 1934: 72). In November, Rachmaninoff moved into the home of the family of his father’s sister, Varvara Satina.

Curiously, he chose not to accept his mother's invitation to return to Saint Petersburg.

Michael Scott, quoting Riesemann, surmises that:

Although he would have liked to study piano with Rubinstein, his problem was the presence of Rimsky-Korsakov on the board of staff, which... "would have looked like a betrayal of Tchaikovsky and Taneyev" (Scott 2008: 27).

It seems that by the age of sixteen, Rachmaninoff already identified with the meticulous counterpoint style of the Moscow school rather than the new and free folk-music style of Saint Petersburg, represented by the "Mighty Handful" of Balakirev, Cui, Borodin, Mussorgsky, and Rimsky-Korsakov. The Saint Petersburg group resisted the influence of western European music and sought to demonstrate a Russian quality. In Moscow, Tchaikovsky and the Rubinsteins belonged to a pan-European, traditionalist group.⁴³

Living with the Satins in their Moscow home, Rachmaninoff benefited from the discipline he had learned from Zverev coupled with increased personal freedom. This combination allowed Rachmaninoff to produce his first student compositions.⁴⁴

Rachmaninoff's compositional productivity increased when he moved with the Satins in late May to spend the summer of 1890 at the Satins's country estate, Ivanovka, for the first time. Ivanovka contrasted with the forest environment of his childhood home, the urban landscape of Saint Petersburg and Moscow, and the cliffs and beaches of Crimea which he had seen recently with Zverev and his fellow boarders. He later remembered:

The steppe was a seemingly infinite sea of fields of wheat, rye and oats stretching in every direction to the horizon, wavering and shimmering like water in the balmy summer haze (Bertensson and Leyda 2001: 26).

⁴³ For more information on the Saint Petersburg and Moscow compositional schools, see Frolova-Walker 2007.

⁴⁴ For example, he composed a two-movement string quartet under Arensky, which was performed the following year at a student concert.

Outside the city of Tambov, 450 kilometres southwest of Moscow, Ivanovka comprised a farm, as well as family and guest houses, orchards, stables, and a private park (Scott 2008: 28). He met his four cousins for the first time, including his future wife, Natalia, and her sister Sophia Satina.⁴⁵ Unlike the social change then present in Russian cities, in Ivanovka and other country estates serfs remained in their traditional, dependant social positions. Rachmaninoff would compose Concerto No. 1 in this context—away from the nascent labour discontent and university radicalism—where the feudal system of Imperial Russia endured.

Returning as a student to Moscow Conservatory for the year 1890-91, Rachmaninoff found himself affected by a growing animosity between his piano professor, Siloti, and Taneyev's successor as Director, Vasily Safonov. Siloti announced his leaving at the end of the year, and Rachmaninoff decided to demonstrate his loyalty to Siloti by completing his piano finals a year early, before he left. Safonov acquiesced, indicating Rachmaninoff's favoured position among the Moscow Conservatory's leadership (Bertensson and Leyda 2001: 39). Cellist Mikhail Bukinik recalled later that:

His successes in Arensky's free composition class are common knowledge, what an extraordinary sight reader he is, what a perfect ear he has, and his love of Tchaikovsky is contagious (Scott 2008: 30).

Rachmaninoff's emerging personality in this episode may be interpreted as both courageous and traditionalist. Curiously, when his peer Scriabin requested the same privilege he was rejected, precipitating his dropping out of the Conservatory (Grossman

⁴⁵ Sophia Satina remained close to the Rachmaninoff family, and became a biographical authority on the composer until her own death in 1975. Bertensson and Leyda, Martyn and others, acknowledged her assistance as an important primary source.

2006: 14). Rachmaninoff's traditionalist positioning toward Tchaikovsky's music may have gained him Safonov's approval.

Rachmaninoff wrote to his cousin Natalia Skalon on March 26, 1891, saying that he had started working on his Piano Concerto No. 1: "I'll probably finish it later in the spring, and orchestrate it during the summer" (Rachmaninoff to Natalia Skalon, March 26, 1891, Scott 2008: 31). First, he completed his Conservatory finals at the end of May 1891.⁴⁶ During the summer of 1891, Rachmaninoff stayed at Ivanovka with Siloti, while the Satins were at Saratov. After completing a transcription of *The Sleeping Beauty* for Tchaikovsky, he proceeded to Concerto No. 1.

Vera Skalon's correspondence confirms that Siloti spent the summer of 1890 at Ivanovka practising the Grieg concerto, and its influence is clearly heard in the piano's opening fanfare and descending introduction of Concerto No. 1 (Seroff 1951: 26). Concerto No. 1 also bears resemblance to Tchaikovsky's and Arensky's concertos (Scott 2008: 32).⁴⁷

During the summer of 1891, in which he composed Concerto No. 1, Rachmaninoff basked in his successes of the school year. The Conservatory staff permitted him to take his piano examinations a year early, and he passed with flying colours. Ivanovka figures greatly in this work. When he finished the original Concerto No. 1, he was discovering in the Satins's home the stability and sense of belonging that

⁴⁶ This comprised Beethoven's Sonata in B-flat minor and *Waldstein* Sonata (Op. 53) and the first movement of Chopin's Sonata in B-flat minor (Op. 35). The following day, he earned the highest marks in his class for his fugue examinations.

⁴⁷ Although Rachmaninoff performed Rubinstein's Concerto No. 4 at a student concert that February, and both Rubinstein's Concertos No. 4 and 5 were then popular, neither seem to have influenced Rachmaninoff's Concerto No. 1.

he had lacked throughout his volatile, unpredictable childhood. In the turmoil of October 1917, Concerto No. 1 doubtlessly summoned memories of a more secure, settled time. By then, Ivanovka represented an imminently-lost home.⁴⁸

Rachmaninoff's first public performance took place in a Vostriakov Hall concert on January 30, 1892, in which he performed his own Prelude and *Oriental Dance*, Op. 2 and *Trio élégiaque*, as well as works by Chopin, Liszt, and Tchaikovsky.⁴⁹ He concluded afterward that he disliked concerts: "they are extremely disagreeable, boring, and time-consuming" (Riesemann 1934: 131). Rachmaninoff's early indifference to performance led to his original Concerto No. 1 seeing only one performance—and that of only the first movement—in a Conservatory student concert on March 17, 1892 (Martyn 1990: 48). In an amusing anecdote, Mikhail Bukinik—Rachmaninoff's peer and orchestra member under Safonov—later remembered that:

Safonov, who conducted, generally took it upon himself to change anything to make it play better, and most students, only too happy to have their compositions played, did not dare contradict him. But now it was Safonov who had difficulty. Sergei not only refused to accept any of Safonov's alterations but drew his attention to errors he made in tempi and nuance (Scott 2008: 34).

This kind of self-confident, unyielding behaviour, however possibly exaggerated, hardly indicates an uncertain personality inclined to "rewriting weaker works," as

Rachmaninoff's later revision process is surprisingly interpreted by many writers.

Rachmaninoff contented himself with composing a remarkable, increasingly

⁴⁸ Shortly after Rachmaninoff's emigration in December 1917, his belongings at Ivanovka were seized and the estate itself was destroyed. Only since the collapse of the Soviet Union has Ivanovka been rebuilt as a Rachmaninoff museum.

⁴⁹ The programme began with *Trio élégiaque* and included Chopin's Study in A-flat (Op. 10 No. 10), Study in C minor (Op. 10 No. 12), and Scherzo in B minor; a Liszt study, and Tchaikovsky's Barcarolle (Op. 37 No. 6) and Nocturne (Op. 10 No. 1) (Scott 2008: 34).

sophisticated catalogue for the next twenty-five years. Revising did not gain his attention until his personal, professional, and national situation transformed, when the strains of the Great War brought the collapse of Russia as he knew it.

On February 26, 1917, the Russian Revolution took place in Petrograd, following demonstrations that developed into a general strike. The Russian armed forces were at the front fighting in the Great War, and the Imperial government was overthrown. The government resigned, and the Tsar was forced to abdicate. On February 26 also, Rachmaninoff gave a recital in Moscow of which he donated half of his proceeds to the army's sick and wounded. The following day, Russia was reorganized as a republic. In March, Rachmaninoff performed as soloist in three Moscow concerts. On March 13, he performed Tchaikovsky's B-flat minor Concerto under Koussevitzky for the Union of Artists. On March 20, he performed Liszt's E-flat Concerto. On March 25, under Emil Cooper, he performed Tchaikovsky, Liszt, and his own Concerto No. 2, in aid of the wounded. These charity concerts were his last in Moscow.

During spring 1917—while his family stayed in Moscow, where his daughters were in school—Rachmaninoff left for Ivanovka to assist with planning crops. He later remembered that:

The impressions I received from my contact with the peasants, who felt themselves masters of the situation, were unpleasant. I would have preferred having friendlier memories (Riesemann 1934: 184-5).

When the school year ended, the Rachmaninoff family moved together to Essentuki in the Caucasus. He wrote to Siloti on June 1:

I've spent about 120,000 rubles at Ivanovka. But am prepared to write it off—I can see another crash coming. Living conditions in Essentuki are so much better than in Ivanovka that I've decided not to return. I've about 20,000 rubles left but I fear another crash, everything affects me and I can't work. I am advised to go

abroad temporarily—but where to? How will it be possible? Can you ask [foreign minister] Tereschenko for his advice? Can I count on getting a passport for my family, if so might we go to Scandinavia? But it makes no difference where—anywhere will do! Could I obtain a passport by July? Can I take any money with me? Please do talk to him! Perhaps he could suggest something! Have a talk with him please do, only send me an answer quickly! (Rachmaninoff to Alexander Siloti, June 1, 1917, Scott 2008: 112).

In this letter, Rachmaninoff makes clear that he intended to leave Russia from the first outbreak of revolution, and to settle in the nearest non-combatant country. Siloti either never received the letter, or Rachmaninoff never received his reply.

In August, the Rachmaninoffs moved to Cimiez in the Crimean Peninsula.

Rachmaninoff made his last performance in Russia at Yalta on September 5, playing Liszt's Concerto in E-flat (Scott 2008: 112). By then, the February revolution had clearly not achieved a stable government or rule of law.⁵⁰ The Russian army also suffered defeat in Galicia by Austrian-Hungarian forces. Anarchy began to break out across the country, and an attempted coup by General Kornilov failed. It was in this context that Rachmaninoff, no longer writing new compositions, began revising Concerto No. 1. He was in the middle of revision on the night of November 6, 1917 (October 24, O.S.), when Bolshevik forces overthrew the government and established the Soviet Socialist Republic of Russia, which after several years of civil war would expand into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The following day, Rachmaninoff found himself required to attend meetings with other tenants and take his turn guarding the house at night (Scott 2008: 113).

⁵⁰ The Kerensky government produced by the February 1917 revolution proved to be an unworkably diverse coalition.

Rachmaninoff revised the work to be economical and sparse, although representative of his maturing as a composer over twenty-five years. It is interesting that Rachmaninoff would turn to revision at this junction. Rieseemann proposes that:

The work shows no trace of the Moscow street fighting in October 1917, which took place while it was being revised; the world of imagination proved more powerful than the world of stark reality. What happiness to be an artist! (Rieseemann 1934: 235).

Rieseemann's assertion that Rachmaninoff found in revision a consolation may be confirmed by Rachmaninoff himself. Appalled with the direction Russia was taking, which was even changing his adoptive home of Ivanovka, Rachmaninoff himself noted that:

Almost from the very beginning of the revolution I realized that it was mishandled. Already by March of 1917 I had decided to leave Russia... The outbreak of the Bolshevik upheaval still found me in my old flat in Moscow. I had started to re-write my First Concerto for pianoforte, which I intended to play again, and was so engrossed with my work that I did not notice what went on around me... I sat at the writing table or the piano all day without troubling about the rattle of machine-guns and rifle shots (Rieseemann 1934: 184-185).

By the time Rachmaninoff completed the revised version of Concerto No. 1 on November 10, political circumstances ended the possibility of his accomplishing any further work in Russia. The flood gates of the Russian diaspora soon burst open, and Rachmaninoff simply took the first opportunity to bring his own family to join it and become white émigrés.

During the Great War, Rachmaninoff's *All-Night Vigil* represented a unique and timely union of several Russian religious and folk traditions. Yet Rachmaninoff found it difficult to compose further as the war situation unravelled. Like other prominent Russian musicians, Rachmaninoff gave performances dedicated to the war effort (Mitchell 2011: 357). He found that "I still have in me a need for creative work, but the desire to bring it

out, the ability to bring it out—all this has gone forever!” (Martyn 1990: 262).

Interestingly, the revision of Concerto No. 1 that he did manage to complete indicates a compression of structural transitions and a thinning of piano and orchestral texture—both characteristic of Rachmaninoff’s later revisions as an émigré—already occurring prior to his imminent exile.

3.1.2 Revision Process and Habitus Development

Rachmaninoff revised Concerto No. 1 during October 1917 (O.S.), the month of the Bolshevik Revolution. Because of the circumstances of his emigration in December 1917, there are now two published revised versions of Concerto No. 1, one published by the exiled composer in 1919, and one published by the Soviet Union in 1965 as part of their “Rachmaninoff Complete Works.”⁵¹ Both versions are based on Rachmaninoff’s main work during October 1917, and this section will consider his revision process largely between the 1891 original and 1917 revision. However, because his un-proofed revised manuscript was eventually acquired by the Central Glinka Museum of Musical Culture in Moscow, when the State Publishing House of the Soviet Union published the work in 1965, they based it on the manuscript acquired by the Glinka Museum (Norris 1976: 110). This unauthorized version—I will refer to it as the 1917 “interim version”—contains discrepancies largely in polishing which Rachmaninoff would have made for publication (Grossman 2006: 48). Rachmaninoff published his authorized revision of Concerto No. 1 in 1919 in New York through Boosey & Hawkes. Because October 1917

⁵¹ Grossman (2006) refers to the Soviet-published unauthorized version as the “1917 version” and the American-published authorized version as the “1919 version.”

saw the bulk of his revision work, I will consider this period to be the chronological setting of my discussion of revision and habitus.

Bourdieu theorizes habitus as enduring long after the objective conditions that initially shaped its emergence disappear (Bourdieu 2001: 13). For Rachmaninoff in 1917, he embodied his impending loss of homeland through an approach to revision that would gradually develop throughout his experience as a white émigré.

Concerto No. 1 follows traditional sonata form, and its compositional style bears the influence of Rachmaninoff's Moscow Conservatory training under Taneyev. The piece features motivic thematic construction, with three motivic elements derived from Theme 1-Section A of the first movement pervading throughout, creating unity between the movements.⁵² These motives, shown in Figure 1, include the:

- 1) Opening, ascending four-notes outlining the tonic triad,
- 2) Three-note motive, descending semitone, rising diminished fourth, descending semitone, and
- 3) Ascending perfect fourth.



Figure 1: Piano Concerto No. 1, Theme 1-Section A (Showing Motives)

⁵² Grossman includes useful tables that summarize Rachmaninoff's revisions to the Piano Concerto No. 1. They include his revisions of: structure by section and measure; sectional insertions, deletions, expansions, and contractions; sparser orchestrations of melody and harmony; sparser piano figurations of melody and harmony; denser orchestrations of melody and harmony; denser piano figurations (by far the shortest list); revisions of durations; and revisions of articulation and touch (Grossman 2006: 87-108).

The movements of the 1891 original version, *Vivace*, *Andante cantabile*, and *Allegro scherzando*, are renamed in the 1917 revision to *Vivace*, *Andante*, and *Allegro vivace*.⁵³

Overall, Rachmaninoff shortens the first movement by 17 measures (40 removed, 23 added), the second movement by 4 measures (13 removed, 9 added), and the third by 22 measures (29 removed, 7 added).

1. Structural Revisions

My analysis will begin with Rachmaninoff's structural revisions, and then consider textural revisions. Rather than giving a complete formal analysis—one is included in the appendices—the present analysis will be strictly concerned with his revisions. Grossman shows that deletions of sequential episodes and repetitive material dominate his structural revisions (Grossman 2006: 82). His textural revisions of duration, articulation, and register indicate an overall trend toward textural sparseness.

Rachmaninoff's structural revisions to Concerto No. 1 involve removing and replacing extended, transitional material, particularly sequential passages.⁵⁴ Two such sequential passages recur several times in the transitional sections of the original but are removed in the revisions: *Animato* passages which are in triple-meter, and *Moderato* passages. The *Animato* passages, shown in Figure 2, operate as sequential extensions, appearing in the original version in the transition to the Development (mm. 74-81) and the transition to the Cadenza (mm. 217-230).

⁵³ Here, and in other places, if neither the interim nor final revised version is specified I am referring to both. Both published revisions resemble each other exactly in terms of measures and structure.

⁵⁴ One example of an extended pattern of repetitious material that Rachmaninoff simply removes is the Theme 1-Section B of the Recapitulation, which is shortened from 17 measures to 12 measures.

The image shows a page of a musical score for the first movement of Rachmaninoff's Piano Concerto No. 1, measures 74-75. The score is in 3/4 time and D major. It features six staves: Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Cor Anglais (Cor.), and Piano. The Piano part is marked 'cresc.' and features a complex sequential pattern of triplets. The other instruments play sustained chords with some melodic movement. The tempo marking 'Animato' is at the top.

Figure 2: *Piano Concerto No. 1, 1891 Original Version: mm. 74-75 (Transition to Development)*

Rachmaninoff replaces the first *Animato* section with a solo piano sequential pattern based on a chromatically ascending figure, shown in Figure 3. This structural revision creates increased overall structural unity and musical variety.

The image shows a page of musical notation for the piano part of Rachmaninoff's Piano Concerto No. 1, 1919 Revised Version, measures 71-74. The score is written for piano (Pno.) and is in 2/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The tempo/mood is marked 'poco a poco cresc.'. The notation includes complex chordal textures, slurs, and dynamic markings. There are also some performance instructions like 'rit.' and 'V' (Vivace) visible in the lower system.

Figure 3: *Piano Concerto No. 1, 1919 Revised Version: mm. 71-74 (Transition to Development)*

The second *Animato* section, found in the original transition to the Cadenza, is simply removed.

The *Moderato* passages appear in the original version's Development (mm. 82-98) and transition to the Cadenza (mm. 225-230), in both cases following an *Animato* section. They are characterized by a descending four-note motive, shown in Figure 4. Rachmaninoff replaces the *Moderato* passages with sequences of increased variety and length, marked *Vivace* (mm. 75-108 and mm. 215-224), partially shown in Figure 5.

Figure 4: *Piano Concerto No. 1, 1891*
Original Version: m. 82 (Development:
Introduction)

Figure 5: *Piano Concerto No. 1, 1919*
Revised Version: mm. 75-76
(Development: Introduction)

The *Moderato* passages operate as transitional, sequential passages, with a descending four-note motive that seems to be based on the falling triplet figures of the concerto's introduction, shown in Figure 6.

Figure 6: *Piano Concerto No. 1, 1891* Original Version: mm. 3-4 (Introductory Triplet Figures)

Interestingly, the four-note motive of the *Moderato* passages alternates with restatements of the “horn call” motive from the first two measures of the concerto, shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7: *Piano Concerto No. 1, 1891* Original Version: mm. 1-2 (“Horn Call” Motive)

The revised *Vivace* sections that replace the *Moderato* sections in the revised version, shown above in Figure 5, are based more clearly on the triplet figures of the opening than the four-note motive of the *Moderato* sections.

Rachmaninoff's other structural revisions occur in the first two sections of the Cadenza and in the Coda. In the original, the Cadenza begins with a *Con agitazione* section, which consists of extended chordal passages of harmony based on augmented triads and is shown in Figure 8. In the original, this is followed by a *Commodo* section, which consisted of an extended sequential episode based on the motive of the transitional *Moderato* section.

The image shows a page of musical notation for the Cadenza section of Rachmaninoff's Piano Concerto No. 1, 1891 Original Version, measures 231-239. The score is for Piano and Orchestra, marked 'Con agitazione'. It features complex chordal passages with augmented triads and dynamic markings like 'ff'. The notation includes a piano part and an orchestral part with various instruments.

Figure 8: Piano Concerto No. 1, 1891 Original Version: mm. 231-239 (Cadenza)

Rachmaninoff chose to completely replace these sections. His revised Cadenza begins with a section marked *poco rubato e pesante* (mm. 225-268) and based on introductory material. The Cadenza continues with a section marked *Maestoso* (mm. 269-277) and based on Theme 1. These sections are shown partially in Figures 9 and 10, respectively.

Figure 9: *Piano Concerto No. 1, 1919 Revised Version: mm. 225-228 (Cadenza)*

Figure 10: *Piano Concerto No. 1, 1919 Revised Version: mm. 269-270 (Cadenza)*

These changes increase the variety of figuration, harmony, and register, and reinforce the unity of the piece.

The Coda sees a similar revision process, in which the sequential sections of the original (mm. 287-312) are removed and replaced with a revised Coda that refers to thematic material from the introduction, Theme 1-Sections A and B, and Theme 2 (mm. 278-295).

The removal of the entire sections which I have described, and the overall structural reduction of the Exposition and Recapitulation, seems to have been balanced by sectional insertions to the Development. These sectional additions in the revised version include: 1) a developmental episode that references thematic materials (mm. 93-108); 2) a transition between developmental episodes of Theme 2 (mm. 119-224,

marked *Breit*); and 3) transitional material that leads to the transition to the Cadenza (mm. 210-214).

2. Textural Revisions

Rachmaninoff's textural revisions to Concerto No. 1 may be seen most clearly in Theme 1-Section A. The piano's accompaniment from the original version, with its simple, broken chords, is revised in the 1917 interim version to be more virtuosic, chromatic, and with an increased variety of register. The 1919 revised version sees the accompaniment further nuanced with decoration and theme-accompaniment balance. These three versions are shown in Figures 11, 12, and 13, respectively.

The image displays a musical score for the first movement of Rachmaninoff's Piano Concerto No. 1, specifically the original 1891 version of Theme 1, measures 24-25. The score is arranged in four staves. The top staff is for the Piano, showing a complex, chromatic accompaniment with a first ending bracketed and numbered '1'. The second staff is for the Viola, marked 'unis. pizz.' and 'mf'. The third staff is for the Violoncello, marked 'p' and 'pizz.'. The bottom staff is for the Contrabass, also marked 'p' and 'pizz.'. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#) and the time signature is common time (C).

Figure 11: Piano Concerto No. 1, 1891 Original Version: mm. 24-25 (Exposition: Theme 1)

The musical score for measures 24-25 of the 1917 Interim Version of the Piano Concerto No. 1. It features four staves: Piano (Pno.), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabasso (Cb.). The piano part has a melody in the right hand and a rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. The viola and cello parts play a simple, repetitive accompaniment. The score includes dynamic markings such as *mf*, *p*, *pp*, and *dolce*.

Figure 12: Piano Concerto No. 1, 1917 Interim Version: mm. 24-25 (Exposition: Theme 1)

The musical score for measures 24-25 of the 1919 Revised Version of the Piano Concerto No. 1. It features four staves: Piano (Pno.), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabasso (Cb.). The piano part has a melody in the right hand and a rhythmic accompaniment in the left hand. The viola and cello parts play a simple, repetitive accompaniment. The score includes dynamic markings such as *mf*, *p*, *pp*, and *dolce*.

Figure 13: Piano Concerto No. 1, 1919 Revised Version: mm. 24-25 (Exposition: Theme 1)

The increased virtuosity and nuance seen in the revisions to the opening measures also appear in the revisions to Theme 1-Section B. The original Theme 1-Section B carries the labels *Vivo* and *Con leggerezza*. However, the simple, regularly grouped and repetitive piano left-hand and string accompaniment of the original, shown in Figure 14,

creates a relatively heavy sound. This is especially so when compared to the revised version, shown in Figure 15.

The image displays a musical score for the first movement of a piano concerto, specifically the exposition of the first section (Theme 1-Section B). The score is written for six instruments: Piano, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabasso. The key signature is G major (one sharp) and the time signature is common time (C). The tempo is marked 'Vivo'. The piano part begins with a dynamic marking of *pp con leggerezza*. The string parts (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabasso) all have a dynamic marking of *pp*. The score shows the first two measures of the music, with the piano part playing a complex, flowing melody and the strings providing a harmonic accompaniment.

Figure 14: Piano Concerto No. 1, 1891 Original Version: mm. 32-33 (Exposition: Theme 1-Section B)

The image displays a page of a musical score for the Piano Concerto No. 1, 1919 Revised Version, specifically measures 32-33. The score is arranged in a standard orchestral format with six staves. From top to bottom, the staves are for Piano (Pno.), Violin I (Vln.), Violin II (Vln.), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The Piano part is written in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and features a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The tempo and character markings are 'Vivace leggiero' and 'p' (piano). The string parts (Vln., Vln., Vla., Vc.) are marked 'pp leggiero' and 'uniso' (unisono), indicating a light, delicate texture. The Cb. part is marked with a rest, indicating it is silent in this section. The key signature is two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is 3/4.

Figure 15: Piano Concerto No. 1, 1919 Revised Version: mm. 32-33 (Exposition: Theme 1-Section B)

Rachmaninoff's revises Theme 1-Section B with a lighter, more transparent texture.

Leggiero is marked in all the orchestral parts, with *Vivo con leggerezza* replaced with *Vivace scherzando*. Instead of the accompanimental function remaining in the piano bass clef left hand, Rachmaninoff gives it to the strings, emphasizing the light texture with eighth notes separated by eighth rests. The melodic material is revised to be distributed evenly in both hands of the piano. Further lightening of the texture comes with the removal of the Violin 1 references to Theme 1.

Similarly, Rachmaninoff revises the restatement of Theme 2 in the Exposition to provide increased textural contrast. In the 1891 original, shown in Figure 16, this section

only achieves such contrast by reduced dynamics, and little dynamic activity.⁵⁵ The restatement also sounds quite dense in the piano due to the sextuplet-against-triplet rhythms, and the low, unvarying bass line. The only melodic change from the first statement of Theme 2 appears to be the octave doubling. Further, the wind doublings and rhythmically static strings provide little contrast.

The image displays a musical score for the restatement of Theme 2 in the first movement of Rachmaninoff's Piano Concerto No. 1, 1891 original version, measures 69-70. The score is arranged in a system with five woodwind staves (Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon, Cor Anglais) and a grand piano (Pno.) staff. The woodwinds play a simple melodic line, with dynamics marked *p* and *pp*. The piano part features a complex rhythmic pattern with sextuplets and triplets, marked *p*. The key signature is two sharps (D major), and the time signature is 3/4.

Figure 16: Piano Concerto No. 1, 1891 Original: mm. 69-70 (Exposition: Theme 2 Restatement)

In the revision of this section, shown in Figure 17, Rachmaninoff intensifies the contrast between and within the phrases. He replaces the simple and dense orchestration

⁵⁵ In the 1891 original, the Theme 2 first statement has *mf* for melody, *p* for orchestral accompaniment, *ppp* for piano; the restatement has *pp* in all orchestral parts, and *p* in the piano.

of the original version with more soloistic part writing, for example in the clarinet and flute parts. For increased variety between parts, Rachmaninoff includes contrasting articulations in the winds (*legato*), upper strings (*pizzicato*), and piano (*staccato* eighths and *legato* triplets). He creates more variety between this phrase and the first statement of Theme 2 by revising the piano figuration using a more linear, stratified approach characteristic of his now developed idiom. The cross-rhythms of the 1891 original he replaces with more discreet rhythms on three concurrent voice levels. Instead of an octave doubling of Theme 2, he uses a more contrapuntal voice-leading presentation, featuring closed position and common tones. Finally, he removes the bass line's lower octave and extended the upper range.

The image displays a musical score for the piano and woodwinds of Rachmaninoff's Piano Concerto No. 1, 1917 Interim Version, measures 66-67. The score is arranged in a system with five staves: Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Trumpet (Cm.), and Piano (Pno.). The piano part is written in both treble and bass clefs. The woodwind parts are in treble clef. The score includes dynamic markings such as *p*, *pp*, and *m.g.*, and articulation markings like *SOLO* and *legatissimo*. The piano part features complex rhythmic patterns, including triplets and sixteenth notes, with dynamic markings like *p*, *pp*, and *m.g.* The woodwind parts have *SOLO* markings and dynamic markings like *p* and *pp*.

Figure 17: Piano Concerto No. 1, 1917 Interim Version: mm. 66-67 (Exposition: Theme 2 Restatement)

Texturally, Rachmaninoff revises Concerto No. 1 throughout the first movement.

For reasons of scope, I will organize these textural revisions into eight overall categories:

- 1) simplified figuration, often involving reduced voices and removed cross rhythms;
- 2) soloistic treatment of thematic material, with varied instrumental timbres;
- 3) linear approach to articulations;
- 4) inclusion of articulations and touch designations to clarify material;
- 5) re-orchestration to clarify material;
- 6) varied presentations of themes and motives;
- 7) reduction of note-lengths, often with rests inserted, to lighten texture; and
- 8) changes in register to clarify orchestration.

Throughout his revisions of Concerto No. 1, Rachmaninoff maintains the overall framework and thematic materials of the original version, while updating the work to his further-developed personal style and enhanced harmonic vocabulary. He tightens the structure in certain key sections, and thoroughly revises the texture throughout the work. One of the most striking revisions appears in the Coda, which in the original is quite lengthy and provides a sense of closure. In his revisions, Rachmaninoff greatly contracts the Coda, giving it a jarring, abrupt character. It is tempting to hear in the revised Coda a representation of Rachmaninoff in 1917, leaving Russia in a hurry. Rachmaninoff's revisions to Concerto No. 1 create an overall increased structural economy, textural thinning, and more sophisticated approach to piano figuration and orchestration.

Although the impact of Rachmaninoff's revisions to Concerto No. 1 may be summarized as updating his early work and realizing its dramatic and expressive potential, the revised Concerto No. 1 does not simply replace the original. Both versions retain the Op. 1 designation and exist alongside each other. The intertextual nature of this two-version Op. 1 creates a rich ground for dialogue between and about the different versions, one which would continue and develop through Rachmaninoff's post-exile

period. In later programs and advertisements, the exile-revision relationship in Rachmaninoff's music became an arena for building cultural capital:

In October, 1917, with bloody fighting in the Moscow streets outside his study windows, he revised the youthful work. The revision was so drastic that little more than the fresh and charming themes of the earlier concerto could be traced (Third Program, October 17-18, 1941, *The Philadelphia Orchestra Journal: Season 1941-1942*, Box 55, Folder 2, Sergei Rachmaninoff Archive, Music Division, Library of Congress).

Rachmaninoff himself continued to adapt the work in performance, especially when he introduced it into his concertizing repertoire in the 1937-1941 concert seasons. In the context of impending exile, the complex interplay of past and present in Rachmaninoff's habitus displayed itself in a dramatic reworking of Concerto No. 1 as a pensive consolation.

3.1.3 Reviews, Correspondence, and Diasporic Capital

Within three weeks of the Bolshevik revolution, mid-to-late November 1917, Rachmaninoff received an invitation for a ten-concert tour of Scandinavia. This tour presented him and his family with an escape to neutral countries—his first international tour since the outbreak of war. He accepted and secured passports and visas. He could bring only 2,000 rubles cash, which had become worthless overseas (Scott 2008: 113). Before leaving Russia, he gave Sergei Koussevitzky the revised Concerto No. 1 for publication. He stopped in Petrograd on December 23, 1917 (December 10, O.S.)—a day that would have been dark even without the power cuts imposed by the new government—his last glimpse of Russia. Since the train service was disrupted by the revolution, the only travel option was through Finland by a sledge.⁵⁶ In an interesting

⁵⁶ Rachmaninoff arrived in Stockholm with his family on December 24, 1917, N.S, after two weeks of travel. In the New Year, they departed for Copenhagen. From February 15

anecdote years later, the stage director Feodor Komisarjevsky invited Rachmaninoff to return on behalf of the Soviet government. Rachmaninoff replied that “If you want to stay in a brothel go ahead; I will not” (Seroff 1951: 161). A Soviet Russia had replaced the Russia that Rachmaninoff knew, and the “old Russia” could continue for him only by awaiting the Soviet government’s overthrow—only in a diaspora.⁵⁷

As early as the fall of 1917, Rachmaninoff enquired of the US consul in Moscow as to the possibility of doing US concerts.⁵⁸ As Rachmaninoff pursued a performance career—rather than composing or conducting—in the initial years of his exile for obvious financial reasons, he also had artistic reasons. He turned down choice conductor offers for the Boston Symphony Orchestra and Cincinnati Symphony, as that career choice would have involved learning the works of contemporaries with whom he clashed over style. He also expected that he would gain professional satisfaction from performing, writing five years later from a changed perspective:

Five years ago, I thought I would get satisfaction playing the piano; now I realize that this is unattainable” (Rachmaninoff to Evgeny Somov, January 27, 1923, Box 41, Folder 22, Rachmaninoff Archives, Music Division, Library of Congress).⁵⁹

to July 10, 1918, he performed 12 concerts largely in Copenhagen and Stockholm, largely featuring his own Concerto No. 2, Sonata No. 2, preludes from Op. 3, 10, 16, 21, 23, 32, and 39, and the Concerto No. 1s of Liszt and of Tchaikovsky. The next year, he performed 15 concerts across 12 Scandinavian cities between September 18 and October 21, 1918, before embarking for the US.

⁵⁷ On March 3, 1918, Soviet Russia hastily signed the Treaty of Brest Litovsk with Germany, which forced the independence of Finland, Poland, and the Baltic states. By ending their presence in the war, the Bolsheviks secured their rule over Russia.

⁵⁸ At that time, he was told “they were more concerned then about the war than about concerts” (Martyn 1990: 292).

⁵⁹ Пять лѣтъ назадъ, начиная играть, я думалъ что емогу добиться удовлетворенія в Ф.п. дѣлѣ; теперь убѣдился что это дѣло несбыточное.

Yet based on this letter, he clearly had initial expectations of finding worth in performing. Going into exile was Rachmaninoff's choice after all, as was settling in the US to pursue a new performance career. On December 8, 1918, Rachmaninoff performed for the first time in the US as a Russian émigré, starting his Providence, RI concert with his own arrangement of *The Star-Spangled Banner*.

Some US reviewers recognized the discourse of exile in Rachmaninoff's performances as early as his 1918-19 season. After his first appearance in Boston, a reviewer in *Boston Daily Globe* wrote that:

He returns the same introspective figure, tall, a trifle more stooped, his close-cropped hair a little more gray, still indifferently awkward in walk with a suspicion of a limp, with the air of a man who had suffered, who had seen strange and terrible things, who could not yet escape memory of them (No Author, "Rachmaninoff is a Master Pianist," *Boston Daily Globe*, December 16, 1918).

Yet others interpreted Rachmaninoff differently, his adulation for his "greatest hit." In a *New York Times* review for Rachmaninoff's first émigré period New York recital on December 22, the reviewer wrote jocularly:

No! He did not play it at Carnegie Hall yesterday afternoon. That is the doubly distinguished composer and pianist, did not play his celebrated Prelude in C sharp minor, though the Rachmaninoff 'fans'—and there were hundreds of them in the audience—clamoured for the favourite piece of Flatbush 'flappers'. They surged toward Sergei in serried masses. They clustered about the stage. They raised aloft their arms as they supplicated the Russian to give them his recollection of the Henselt concerto (James Huneker, "Rachmaninoff Raises the Roof," *New York Times*, December 22, 1918).

Among Rachmaninoff's earliest acts of asserting Russian authenticity residing in diaspora, he performed the revised Concerto No. 1 during the 1918-19, 1919-20, and 1921-22 concert seasons. After a Boston recital on January 10, 1919, and a New York recital on January 12, he premiered the revised version of his Concerto No. 1 on January

26, 1919 with the Russian Symphony Orchestra under Altschuler in New York. He played a third Boston recital on February 22, 1919, which featured an all-Russian programme including works by Scriabin and Medtner. Rachmaninoff's first US season finished with three charity concerts. Rachmaninoff's works—particularly his revised works—did not immediately hold a reputation of being connected to his experience of diaspora. A 1918 review in the *New York Times* wrongly asserts that his revision of Concerto No. 1 took place in Scandinavia, a mistake that would never be made a decade later:

From Boston today C. A. Ellis announces that Serge Rachmaninoff, just from Russia, will make tours of America this season and next... Mr. Rachmaninoff, who is now in New York, brought with him the score of his third symphony [The Bells] ... During his stay in Scandinavian lands he revised his first piano concerto, written when he was nineteen years old. He has in manuscript an "Evening Mass," and also a series of songs without words, for voice and piano, produced in Moscow" (No Author, "Plans of the Musicians," *New York Times*, November 24, 1918).

By the time that decade had passed, and Rachmaninoff's own personal experience of exile had passed into recent history—as well as the experience of the white émigré diaspora as a whole—the popular narrative of Concerto No. 1 as a revised work had changed. According to the program notes for Rachmaninoff's March 18-19, 1927 performances in Philadelphia:

Rachmaninoff's four piano concertos represent a creative span of thirty-five years. The First Concerto, in F-sharp minor, Op. 1, was written in his student days at Moscow, and the composer first played it there, where he was eighteen years old, under the direction of Safonoff. He revised it in 1917, before he left Russia. No new thematic material was introduced, but the original subject-matter was freshly developed, and the instrumentation recast. Mr. Rachmaninoff played the revised version in New York on January 28 and 29, 1919, with the Russian Symphony Orchestra (Lawrence Gilman, Program Notes: The Philadelphia Orchestra, Season of 1926-1927, March 18-19, 1927, Box 55, Folder 2, Rachmaninoff Archive, Music Division, Library of Congress)

That narrative completely transformed over the course of the second decade of his exile. After setting Concerto No. 1 aside as he composed his Op. 40-44 and revised other works, Rachmaninoff returned Concerto No. 1 to his concert repertoire during the four concert seasons from 1937-38 to 1940-41. In a 1938 *New York Times* review, Rachmaninoff's Concerto No. 1 clearly carries a complex discourse of "old Russia," which casts the work as "prophetic" of the composer-to-be, who yet remains connected to old Russia:

Then Mr. Rachmaninoff came and conquered, with his early concerto that he wrote as a boy of 18 in Saint Petersburg and has later extensively revised and reorchestrated. It may be that the revisions accorded the composition by the artist arrived at the maturity of his thought and imagination have to do with the uneven effect of certain places. Or this may be simply the inherent inequalities of an early work. It can be said that *this work is strikingly prophetic of the composer that was to come*, and that it is extremely interesting to see the elements here of a great composer's later development... Yet it swept the audience. Much of this was due to the composer's magnificent playing, always in the grand and romantic manner, always with something of a Byronic melancholy, and the clang of saber and spur, and the uniformed gentleman to be seen in a box with his fellow students *at some musical première in the old Russian capital, the scene of Rachmaninoff's youth* (Olin Downes, "Virtuoso Concert at Carnegie Hall," *New York Times*, December 30, 1938, italics mine).

The above review also describes in glorious language Concerto No. 1 as encompassing Rachmaninoff's entire Russian period, from the original version of his student years to the revision completed at the door of exile. Another *New York Times* review from 1942 consolidates this sentiment into a single sentence:

Though this is Rachmaninoff's official Opus 1 and was composed in 1890-91, it was extensively revised in October, 1917. The revision made in Moscow during the days of the revolution is the version used in this recording. Like most of Rachmaninoff's music, it has charming themes worked out with the consistency of purpose and style that have marked the composer's creative career (No Author, "Other Reviews," *New York Times*, February 8, 1942, italics mine).

Long since the composer's death, Concerto No. 1 has become so laden with themes of Rachmaninoff's experience of exile that diasporic capital is embedded into how the work is discussed. A *New York Times* review from just under twenty years ago indicates that Concerto No. 1 cannot be performed without reference to the experience of exile. What is more, it cannot be performed without *performing* Rachmaninoff:

Many listeners to Rachmaninoff's orchestral works say that they find themselves waiting for the piano to come in. No matter how high the quality of the composer's ideas or how great his orchestral skill, *it is hard to shake the feeling that the picture is not complete without a protagonist: Rachmaninoff at the piano.* Despite his severe haircut and forbidding demeanor, Rachmaninoff spoke in his music with almost embarrassingly naked emotion, and the piano is his voice... Rachmaninoff composed his First Concerto at 18, published it as his Opus 1, then revised it 26 years later (David Wright, "Rachmaninoff Makes Converts of His Critics," *New York Times*, May 10, 1998, italics mine).

3.2 Diaspora and Intertextuality: Sonata No. 2, Mvt. 1

3.2.1 Compositional Context and Russian Tropes

When Rachmaninoff composed the original Sonata No. 2 in 1913, he held a prominent position in Russia's official musical culture of the time. The overwhelming spirit of his reception in Russia as a national fixture may be seen in a February 14, 1908 review by Iulii Engel for a Moscow Philharmonic Society concert:

Rachmaninoff again appears before the Moscow public as composer, conductor, and pianist... And Rachmaninoff is worth an entire concert devoted to his works. Despite his thirty-four years he is one of the most significant figures in the contemporary music world, a worthy successor to Tchaikovsky... Successor, and not imitator, for he has already his own individuality! (Bertensson and Leyda 2001: 144).

Engel emphasizes Rachmaninoff's musical importance by connecting his works to Tchaikovsky's in terms of a progression. Such a review takes it for granted that Rachmaninoff expressed and performed his personality through his works, and that he represented his country in a profound way. Yet interestingly, Rachmaninoff's establishment in Russian musical life during the quarter century prior to his 1917 exile occurred simultaneously with his increasingly international life, in terms of international concerts, residence, vacations, and composing trips.

Rachmaninoff's first tastes of musical life outside Imperial Russia came in short episodes: during his post-1897 depression, Siloti arranged for the young twenty-six-year-old conducting and performance engagements in London in April 1899; shortly after his recovery under Dr. Nikolai Dahl, he composed and stayed with Chaliapin and his wife in the Italian Riviera resort of Varazze during June 1900; and following his wedding in 1902, he and Natalia spent the rest of the year from May until October on a honeymoon across Europe, seeing Vienna, Lucerne, Venice, and Bayreuth (Scott 2008: 57-61).

Chaliapin influenced Rachmaninoff to begin composing operas, which led to a contract to direct the Bolshoi Theatre beginning with the 1904-05 season. It was in this position that he experienced the 1905 Russian Revolution, which like the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution prompted Rachmaninoff to go abroad. Before his final Bolshoi performance in February 1906, he explained to Telyakovsky, his employer, his reasons for leaving:

All the political events the previous year had had a most unfortunate effect on the orchestral players; discipline, once so good, was deteriorating...getting a proper response to a conductor's demands was virtually impossible... players were not concerned with art but with all sorts of intrigues... (Scott 2008: 70).

After leaving the Bolshoi Theatre, the Rachmaninoffs vacationed in Italy in May and June 1906, before returning to Ivanovka. He wrote to Morozov soon after: "There's only one way out, to compose and go abroad for the winter" (Rachmaninoff to Nikita Morozov, August 22, 1906, Scott 2008: 71). Thereafter, Rachmaninoff composed many works in western Europe, long before his 1917 exile.

His relocation to Dresden from November 1906 to May 1909 saw Rachmaninoff compose undistracted.⁶⁰ His international reputation grew with increasing numbers of international concerts, including participating in Diaghileff's first *Saisons Russes* in Paris, May 1907. During this period, Rachmaninoff still spent summers at Ivanovka, travelled to Russian engagements as well as western European ones, and embarked on a long-planned 1909-10 tour of the United States.⁶¹⁶² In his US concerts, Rachmaninoff

⁶⁰ 1906-9 saw Rachmaninoff compose Symphony No. 2, Piano Sonata No. 1, and *The Isle of the Dead*.

⁶¹ Rachmaninoff arrived at New York in fall 1909. Modest Altschuler—a conservatory friend—met him at the pier (Scott 2008: 83). Now based in New York, Altschuler had already organized the Russian Symphony Orchestra in 1904, initially with Russian Jewish émigré musicians who had fled pogroms.

⁶² Anton Rubinstein resigned from leading the Saint Petersburg Conservatory in 1867, due to tensions with the Balakirev-led "Mighty Handful" and its supporters on the

played all-Rachmaninoff programs for the first time. Scott summarizes his reviews from this tour:

It is worth noting the general attitude of the American critics to Rachmaninoff... as composer, none seems to have cared much for his music; although to judge from the number of concerts where he played either his Second or Third Concerto, the public must have done (Scott 2008: 86).

Rachmaninoff's expressed his sentiments to his younger cousin, Zoya Pribitkova:

You know in this accursed country, where you're surrounded by nothing but Americans and "business"—they're forever doing "business"—clutching at you from all sides and driving you on, it's extremely pleasant receiving a letter from a Russian girl (Rachmaninoff to Zoya Pribitkova, December 12, 1909, Scott 2008: 85).

He returned to Russia on February 6, 1910, and soon used his new income to finally purchase Ivanovka from his brother-in-law and cousin, Alexander Satin. His return to Russia met with critical and popular success at home (Scott 2008: 87). Rachmaninoff served as conductor of the Moscow Philharmonic starting on October 6, 1912, but soon decided to take another European composing trip. After spending December 1912 in Berlin and early January 1913 in Switzerland, he began work in Rome.

Rachmaninoff composed his original Sonata No. 2 during 1913 in Rome, Berlin, and finally Ivanovka (Norris 2001: 711). In a sense, even in travelling to Italy Rachmaninoff meant to pursue Russian musical tradition:⁶³

Conservatory faculty. Balakirev's ally, Rimsky-Korsakov, succeeded him as director. Rubinstein began touring throughout Europe, increasingly featuring the works of other composers. After being approached by Steinway & Sons, Rubinstein gave a tour of the United States during the 1872-73 concert season. His contract with Steinway had him give 200 concerts at the unprecedented rate of \$200 per concert in gold. He gave 215 concerts total over 239 days. Though he never repeated this tour, it set a precedent for Rachmaninoff.

⁶³ Rachmaninoff sought the *Hotel Constanzi* in Rome. This was the site where Tchaikovsky had stayed from December 20, 1879 to March 9, 1880, and composed *Italian Capriccio*, revised his Symphony No. 2, arranged his Piano Concerto No. 2 for

I was able to take the same flat on Piazza di Spagna that Modest Tchaikovsky had rented for his brother in 1880. It is only possible to compose when one is alone and there are no external disturbances to hinder the calm flow of ideas; these conditions were ideally realized in the apartment in Piazza di Spagna. All day long I spent at the piano or the writing desk, not until the sinking sun gilded the pines on the Pincio did I put down my pen. I finished my Second Piano Sonata and the choral symphony *The Bells* (Riesemann 1934: 170-171).

In late March 1913, the Rachmaninoffs relocated to Berlin so his daughters could receive medical treatment for typhoid. In Berlin he continued to compose, until returning to Ivanovka where he completed Sonata No. 2 in August and September of that year. According to Michael Scott: “so elaborate was the piano-writing that it would hardly be surprising to learn that it was a transcription of a piano concerto” (Scott 2008: 98). Rachmaninoff dedicated Sonata No. 2 to his surviving fellow boarder with Zverev and conservatory friend, Marvin Pressman. He first performed the work in Saint Petersburg on December 16 (December 3, O.S.), 1913, months before the crisis that descended Europe into World War.

The critical response hailed the work as mature and well-crafted (Norris 1973: 365). Boris Tyuneyev:

Although it is the composition of a mature and great talent, you will find Rachmaninoff the lyricist in it only to a very small degree—rather the contrary; there is about it a certain inner reserve, severity and introspection (Scott 2008: 98).

Sonata No. 2 and *The Bells* became Rachmaninoff’s last new works before the outbreak of the war that shattered his homeland as he knew it. For the first time in 1914,

two pianos, and composed the orchestral work *Montenegro* for Tsar Alexander II’s silver jubilee. Tchaikovsky also gave a tour of the United States in May 1891, primarily in New York. He conducted his *Festival Coronation March* at Carnegie Hall’s inaugural concert for the New York Music Society, on May 5. He attended a May 9 performance also at Carnegie Hall by Adele aus der Ohe of his Piano Concerto No. 1 with Damrosch conducting.

Rachmaninoff composed no new works during the summer at Ivanovka—he may have started his Concerto No. 4, as we will see later. The outbreak of the Great War between July 28 and August 3 doubtless had an impact. It also postponed a British tour planned for fall 1914 as a follow-up to his spring 1914 British tour.

Rachmaninoff revised Sonata No. 2 starting on June 20, 1931. For nearly a decade following his 1917 exile, Rachmaninoff composed little, and practised and concertized much. The newly-composed Sonata No. 2—as well as the revised Concerto No. 1—appeared in his repertoire for at least the first five concert seasons from 1917-1922. Following this, Rachmaninoff's compositional efforts focused on Concerto No. 4 and *Three Russian Songs*, both appearing in 1926, with the former revised in 1928 for further performances. Only after this would Rachmaninoff return to Sonata No. 2 and produce a revised version.

With his daughter Irina's wedding to Prince Peter Wolkonsky in Dresden on September 24, 1924, Rachmaninoff decided to reorient his life to Europe, cutting his 1923-24 concert tour by half to thirty-five performances.⁶⁴ He began to spend summers at Le Pavillon, a rented manor in Clairefontaine outside Paris, that evoked Ivanovka (Norris 1976: 65). During the summer of 1930, Rachmaninoff decided to build a permanent home in Switzerland.⁶⁵ Now that returning to Russia seemed impossible, the Rachmaninoffs purchased an estate at Hertenstein, on Lake Lucerne, which they called Villa Senar (after their initials, Sergei and Natalia Rachmaninoff).

⁶⁴ Tragically, Wolkonsky died in August 1925 aged 28 and Irina became a widow at age 22, before the birth of their daughter, Sophia (Scott 2008: 137).

⁶⁵ Rachmaninoff's friend Oskar von Riesemann approached him to write his biography in the summer of 1930, and while at Riesemann's Lake Lucerne home in Switzerland the Rachmaninoffs were taken by its beauty.

During the summer of 1931 at Le Pavillon—during construction of Villa Senar—Rachmaninoff first composed *Variations on a Theme of Corelli*, and then began revising Sonata No. 2 on June 20, 1931. At that time, he wrote to Swan that:

I look at my early works and see how much there is in them that is superfluous... Even in this sonata so many voices are moving simultaneously and it is too long. Chopin's Sonata lasts nineteen minutes and in that time all that it was necessary to say has been said (Swan and Swan 1944: 187).

His use of the terms “early works” and “superfluous” in his comments to Swan seems interesting. His most commonly performed works—Concertos No. 2 and 3—were older works than Sonata No. 2. Yet he associated Sonata No. 2 with these terms, and therefore in need of revising, revisiting, and perfecting. A common thread that runs through Rachmaninoff's revisions to Sonata No. 2 includes simplification and clarification of both structure and texture. It is possible that his desire in 1931 to return to a Russian-period work through revision was occasioned partially by learning of his mother's death in Russia on September 19, 1929 (Scott 2008: 151). Even more immediate, though, was the “Tagore controversy” which led to the Soviets banning his works in 1931.

On October 9, 1930, the roots of an open controversy between Rachmaninoff and the Soviet Union came when the well-known Indian philosopher Rabindranath Tagore gave an interview with the *New York Times*. Tagore described his dreams for the future of then colonial India in relation to what he saw as Soviet educational progress. What made this interview conspicuous was its concurrence with a Soviet purge of political dissidents, inflicting imprisonment, death, and Siberian banishment. Rachmaninoff and other white émigrés, especially, resented Tagore's comments.

Sometime after arriving in New York on December 10, 1930, Rachmaninoff joined political discourse concerning Russia for the first time since his exile. His name

appeared with two others as authors of a *New York Times* letter of January 15, 1931, criticizing Tagore:

In view of the misunderstanding which may thus arise, we wish to ask whether he is aware of the fact that all Russia is groaning under the terrible yoke of a numerically negligible but well-organized gang of Communists, who are forcibly, by means of Red Terror, imposing their misrule upon the Russian people? ... He cannot be ignorant of the fact that the Communist rulers of Russia... have been penalizing dissenters by exiling them to the extreme north, where those who by a miracle are able to survive the severe climate are compelled by force to perform certain work... At the very time of his visit in Russia, forty-six Russian professors and engineers were executed by the OGPU without any pretense of trial... At no time, in no country, has there ever existed a government responsible for so many cruelties, wholesale murders and common-law crimes in general as those perpetrated by the Bolsheviki (Iwan I. Ostromislensky, Sergei Rachmaninoff, and Count Ilya L. Tolstoy, "Tagore on Russia: The 'Circle of Russian Culture' Challenges Some of His Statements," *New York Times*, January 15, 1931).

After concluding their purges, Soviet propagandists began to attack Rachmaninoff on March 9, 1931, with a review of a Moscow Conservatory performance of *The Bells* under visiting white émigré conductor Albert Coates. *Vechernaya Moskva* exclaimed:

The music is by an émigré, a violent enemy of Soviet Russia: Rachmaninoff... On the podium was conductor Coates, formerly of the Maryinsky, who deserted Russia in 1917 and now returns with a foreign passport (Norris 1976: 69).

Pravda issued this attack:

Rachmaninoff, the former bard of the Russian wholesale merchants and the bourgeoisie—a composer played out long ago, whose music is that of an imitator and reactionary. A former estate owner who, as recently as 1918, burned with a hatred of Russia when the peasants took away his land—a sworn and active enemy of the Soviet government (Scott 2008: 160).

Soon after, the authorities at the Leningrad and Moscow Conservatories imposed a ban on performances of Rachmaninoff's works. In a June 1930 interview with *The Musical Times*, Rachmaninoff ended saying "only one place is closed to me, and that is my own country—Russia" (Norris 1976: 69).

After performing his revised Sonata No. 2 during the 1931-32 concert season, Rachmaninoff and his wife settled into their newly built Villa Senar in May 1932—following the wedding of their younger daughter Tatiana to Boris Conus in Paris.⁶⁶ He took a break from revising for the rest of the 1930s, and composed his last new works: *Rhapsody on a Theme of Paganini* (1934), Symphony No. 3 (1936), and *Symphonic Dances* (1940). The 1932-33 concert season saw Rachmaninoff partake in two major jubilees: the fortieth anniversary of his professional debut, which occurred eleven months late on December 22, 1932 in New York; and a double celebration of his sixtieth birthday and fortieth anniversary on May 5, 1933 in Paris. That season also saw the US recognize the Soviet government of Russia in November 1932, fifteen years after the revolution. In an interview with the *New York Evening Post*, Rachmaninoff said:

You cannot understand the hopeless homesickness of us older Russians. Even the air in your country is different... No, I cannot say in what way [it is different] (*New York Evening Post*, December 26, 1933).

Along with this sea-change so soon after his Sonata No. 2 revision, Rachmaninoff may have not yet renounced his Russian citizenship, but he did finally adopt a permanent Ivanovka-style home at Villa Senar.

3.2.2 Revision Process and Habitus Development

Rachmaninoff revised Sonata No. 2 during the summer of 1931, following the Soviet decision to ban his music in Russia.⁶⁷ In considering Rachmaninoff's revisions and their personal significance in terms of the development of Rachmaninoff's habitus, I

⁶⁶ Boris was the son of Rachmaninoff's Moscow Conservatory friend, Julius Conus. Boris and Tatiana had a son the following year, Alexander.

⁶⁷ The ban would last for approximately three years, although the date of its end is uncertain.

turn to Bourdieu's goal in theorizing habitus: understanding that an individual's or group's habitus shapes the "mechanisms" that govern their social structures, as well as being shaped by them. Further, habitus involves a complex interplay between past and present. In other words, how individuals or groups maintain or develop their behaviours involves active choices in relation to their social structures, past and present. I argue that Rachmaninoff's decision to revise Sonata No. 2 shows the interplay between his agency and his changing circumstances. Rather than social determinism, Bourdieu's conception of habitus allows the subject's personal responsibility or agency, without denying the shaping influence of objective circumstances (Bourdieu 1990b: 116). Interestingly, Rachmaninoff located in his music enduring characteristics:

Even with the disaster of living through what has befallen the Russia where I spent my happiest years, yet I have always felt that my music... remained spiritually the same, unendingly obedient in trying to create beauty (Bertensson and Leyda 2001: 351).

By revising Sonata No. 2, Rachmaninoff produced a multi-version work, with a 1913 Original Version and 1931 Revised Version, which together may be read as a text representing his habitus, past and present.

Rachmaninoff's Piano Sonata No. 2 includes three cyclic movements—*Allegro agitato*, *Lento*, and *Allegro molto*—and the first movement follows sonata form. The work exhibits fascinating motivic development throughout, but this analysis will focus on the first movement. In this section concerning Rachmaninoff's revisions as a text that represents his developing habitus and the construction of diasporic capital, I will four subsections of analysis:

1. An explanation of extra-musical references (bell effects and chant references),
2. A motivic analysis of the first movement of the 1913 Original Version,

3. A summary of structural revisions (first movement), and
4. A summary of textural revisions (first movement).

Both versions of Sonata No. 2 present two musical idioms that are generally linked to Russian national identity, and Rachmaninoff's compositional style—bell effects and Russian Orthodox chant references. For the present study, concerning Rachmaninoff's revisions as a text that represents his developing habitus and the development of diasporic capital, I will include a motivic analysis that considers extra-musical references. Therefore, I will begin with an explanation of bell effects and Russian Orthodox chant references, then a motivic analysis specific to the 1913 Original Version. Following, I will again consider Rachmaninoff's structural revisions, and finally his textural revisions, found in the 1931 Revised Version of Sonata No. 2.

1. Bell Effects and Russian Orthodox Chant References

In the recently made Rachmaninoff documentary, *The Joy of Rachmaninoff* (2016), the host, Tom Service, offers viewers a taste of the bells of St. Sophia's Church in Novgorod, which Rachmaninoff heard as a child. In this moving scene, he quotes Rachmaninoff in describing that:

The sound of bells dominated all the cities of Russia I used to know. They accompanied every Russian from childhood to grave, and no composer could escape their influence (Rachmaninoff, quoted in Whalley 2016).

In Sonata No. 2 Rachmaninoff uses a full range of bell effects—with several passages featuring different chords that are treated in a stratified or oscillating manner. For example, the climactic concluding measures of the Development show instances of overlapping high and low bell effects, shown in Figure 18.



Figure 18: *Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 111-116 (Development: Overlapping Bell Effects)*

Barrie Martyn points out that such bell effects appear in nearly all of Rachmaninoff's compositions, regardless of where they were composed (Martyn 1990: 30). Among Rachmaninoff's piano works, Sonata No. 2 is especially saturated with bell effects.

Russian Orthodox chant also influenced Rachmaninoff's compositions. In another clip from *The Joy of Rachmaninoff*, host Tom Service discusses the centrality of chant to Rachmaninoff's Russian identity as a composer, with specific reference to his 1915 sacred work, the *All-Night Vigil*:

No composition represents the end of an era as clearly as the *All Night Vigil*, written as Bolshevism swept the land. Within three years of its composition, the Soviet Union had banned all religious composition. And that was that, the lights went out on a mind-boggling half-millennium of Russian church music: and the last act was Rachmaninoff's (Whalley 2016).

Rachmaninoff also draws influence from Russian Orthodox chant music in Sonata No. 2, in the structure of melodic lines. Such melodies move largely in stepwise motion, with an interval of a third or more being extremely rare (Riesemann 1934: 221). For this reason, Rachmaninoff's melodies often have a limited scope, emphasizing a pitch from which the melody departs and returns. In Sonata No. 2, this is seen in Theme 2 of the first movement, shown in Figure 19.

Figure 19: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 37-41 (Exposition: Theme 2)

2. Motivic Analysis

Rachmaninoff establishes unity between the movements through the creative recurrence throughout the work of two motives within Theme 1, as shown in Figure 20. These motives include:

1. A dotted-eighth note, sixteenth note, quarter note figure that outlines the B \flat minor chord, which is heard melodically within the opening three chords that imitate a bell and its overtones; and
2. A chromatically-descending melody beginning on F, which has Motive 1 built into it.

Figure 20: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 1-4 (Exposition: Theme 1, Showing Motives 1 and 2)

Through motivic analysis of Sonata No. 2, it becomes clear that Motives 1 and 2 of Theme 1—both treated with bell effects themselves—recur throughout the piece in varying textures, often transformed, inverted, and overlaid simultaneously with each other contrapuntally. For this reason, I will refer to Motives 1 and 2 specifically more often than “Theme 1,” which exists more as a formal area of the movement and may be subdivided into several smaller subsections.

Prior to the first statement of the sonata’s Theme 1-Motive 1 in m. 1, the sonata opens with a descending, arpeggiated B \flat minor chord (with passing notes) that lands on the first note of Motive 1: a thundering, octave-doubled B \flat , shown in Figure 21.



Figure 21: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: pick-up to mm. 1 (Cascading Figure, showing Motive 1)

Marked *Veloce*, this “cascading figure” serves to lead to the tonic of Motive 1. Following the first statement of Motives 1 and 2, a rhythmic variation of the cascading figure appears in m. 4—shown below in Figure 22—and again in m. 8 following the second statement of Motives 1 and 2.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Rachmaninoff employs multiple types of cascading figures to lead to Motive 1 throughout Sonata No. 2. Although they do not always resemble the opening cascading



Figure 22: *Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: m. 4 (Exposition: Rhythmic variation of Cascading Figure)*

Throughout the opening Theme 1 section (mm. 1-13), three consecutive statements of Motives 1 and 2 (mm. 1-3; 5-7; and 9-13) are interspersed with oscillating sextuplet figures, based on the cascading figure (m. 4 and m. 8). When the first statement of Motive 2 comes in mm. 2-3, it clearly resembles Motive 1, only more melodically developed. Each of the three statements of Theme 1—m. 1, m. 5, and m. 9—sound as if they are gaining momentum, with the half-note rest in the left hand between Motives 1 and 2 in the first two statements removed in the intense third statement.

After the intensified, contracted third statement of Motives 1 and 2 in mm. 9-10, the second half of m. 10 sees a lyrical transition based on Motive 2 appear in which several contrapuntal voices proceed down by steps chromatically, lasting until m. 13. This leads to a series of largely two-measure segments in which bell effects become increasingly complex (mm. 14-15; 16-17; 18-19; 20-22; 23-24; 25-26; 27-28; 29-32; 33-34; 35-36). These segments function structurally as a thematic extension, and merit detailed discussion.

figure, because of their consistent goal of leading to Motive 1 they will all be labelled as cascading figures.

The thematic extension develops Motives 1 and 2 from m. 14, and it may be subdivided into three areas: mm. 14-22, mm. 23-28, and mm. 29-34. The first subsection involves the series of 2-measure segments, containing Motive 1 in descending thirds in mm. 14-15 simultaneously with descending chromatic harmony adding a layer of Motive 1. A similar figure appears in mm. 16-17 with sextuplet accompaniment in the right hand—a further transformation of Motive 1. Motive 1 is again emphasized in mm. 18-22 with in the right hand through chords that build to a climax in m. 23. In the second subsection, mm. 23-28, both Motives 1 and 2 appear. Two plagal statements of Motive 1 appear (m. 23 and m. 25), interspersed with a cascading figure (m. 24 and m. 26), shown in Figure 23. The cascading figure measures here are based on an extended version of Motive 2 in the right hand with various spellings of Motive 1 in the left hand, before joining the right hand with Motive 2. The cascading figure then continues through mm. 27-28, shown in Figure 24.

Figure 23: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: m. 24 (Exposition: Overlay of Motives 1 and 2)

Figure 24: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 27-28 (Exposition: Shortened Overlay of Motives 1, 2)

In the third subsection (mm. 29-34), shown partially in Figure 25, Rachmaninoff merges Motives 1 and 2 into ascending figures that create a complete transition of colour, marked *p*, so soon after *ff* in m. 23. Motive 2 is outlined by the notes of the melody, while utilizing the rhythm from Motive 1. Motive 2 appears inverted in the inner, arpeggiated line.

Figure 25: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 29-30 (Exposition: Merging of Motives 1 and 2)

A cadenza-like Transition passage follows (mm. 35-36), shown in Figure 26, that further transforms Motive 2 with octatonic figures. Motive 2 reappears in the left hand one final time as a melodic anticipation, prior to Theme 2.



Figure 26: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 35-36 (Exposition: Transition with anticipation of Theme 2)

Unlike the Theme 1 section, which sounds entirely as if it were built upon bell effects, Theme 2 provides a lyrical contrast based on Russian Orthodox chant references—as if the listener stood outside the church during the bells of Theme 1 and has now entered the church. Theme 2 occurs in mm. 37-41, in Db major, shown in Figure 27. Its chorale texture contrasts with the brilliance of Theme 1. Yet Motive 2 is again developed and inverted in the accompaniment in m. 40 while a variation of Motive 1 appears in the melody. This melody is an excellent example of the influence on Rachmaninoff of Orthodox choral singing.

Figure 27: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 37-41 (Exposition: Theme 2)

Rachmaninoff extends Theme 2 in mm. 40-42, with a rhythmic augmentation of the rhythm of Motive 1 and descending chromatic lines in measure 42, which is followed by a restatement of Theme 2 in mm. 43-48.

An extension concludes the Exposition from mm. 49-69, which may be divided into three subsections—mm. 49-51, 52-61, and 62-69. The first subsection, mm. 49-51, sounds like an immediate extension to Theme 2, and contains two descending lines of Motive 2 in the soprano voice. The second subsection, mm. 52-61, proceeds through measure pairs of increasingly complex bell effects (starting at m. 52, m. 54, m. 56, and m. 58) based on Motive 1's descending third motion and Motive 2's descending chromatic opening. In mm. 60-61 Rachmaninoff adapts these figures into a new cascading figure sixteenth notes—alternating with triplets and sextuplets—leading toward a double statement of Motive 1 (mm. 62-65), which opens the third subsection. Finally, the melodic and rhythmic tensions relax in mm. 66-69, leading to the Development and shown in Figure 28. Here, the transitional Motive 2 becomes syncopated in the right hand and the rhythmic texture thins, with Motive 2 also appearing in the offbeat eighth notes in the left hand.

Figure 28: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 66-69 (Final Transition to Development)

The Development which follows is subdivided into three areas: mm. 70-84, mm. 85-106, and mm. 107-120. The first subsection (mm. 70-84), shown in Figure 29, contain polyphonic variants of Motive 2 of Theme 1 in D minor. Increasingly chromatic accompaniment to Motive 2—as different statements of Motive 2—overlap polyphonically amid unstable harmonics. Rachmaninoff uses accents to highlight each successive voice that he wants highlighted.

The image shows a musical score for the development section of Rachmaninoff's Piano Sonata No. 2, measures 70-73. The score is in D minor, 9/8 time, and features polyphonic variants of Motive 2. The tempo is marked 'Poco più mosso.' The dynamics range from pp to mf. The score shows overlapping statements of Motive 2 in different voices, with accents highlighting each successive voice.

Figure 29: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 70-73 (Development)

Motive 2 is raised a whole step to E minor in mm. 75-78, with Motive 2's final statement in this section in mm. 79-80.

A variation of Theme 2 material appears at the end of the first subsection of the Development, seen in Figure 30. Here, an incomplete statement of Theme 2 in E \flat major in mm. 82-83, is followed by a rhythmically augmented statement of Motive 1 in m. 84.

The image shows a musical score for the Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version, measures 81-84. The score is in B minor and 3/4 time. It features a development section with an incomplete statement of Theme 2. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, various dynamics (p dolce, pp), and tempo markings (rit., a tempo, largo un poco). The score is presented in two systems, each with a treble and bass staff.

Figure 30: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 81-84 (Development: Incomplete Statement of Theme 2)

The second subsection of the Development, mm. 85-106, begins in B minor—a minor third lower than the first subsection, and linked chromatically with octave displacement. Here Motive 2 continues until measure 99, when Motive 1 returns in C minor. In mm. 101, 103, and 105, the left hand plays ascending dominant seventh chords of Ab minor, Bb minor, and C minor, respectively.

The final subsection of the Development, mm. 107-120, begins in E minor and contains impressive bell effects through chromatically descending sevenths and thirds. The subsection begins in E minor, with bell effects in the left hand through chromatically descending sevenths and thirds. In m. 111, the right hand contains descending chords until C minor arrives in m. 113 with increasingly heavy textures, pealing bells resounding dramatically. Measure 117 sees an Eb major chord in the right hand over C# diminished chords, that soon becomes a *ff* series of chordal tritones, perfect fourths, and perfect fifths, of increasing intensity, leading to the Recapitulation's Bb minor arrival at m. 121.

The cumulative effect of the chromatic bell passages and tonal instability concluding the Development comes to a clear resolution with the dramatic Bb minor

chords of the Recapitulation's Theme 1 section. Here, Theme 1 appears in B \flat minor, shortened from 12 measures as found in the Exposition to only 8 measures. The transition to Theme 2 begins in m. 129, which is likewise compressed from the Exposition and only contains Motive 1. The melodic anticipation of Theme 2, which is two measures in the Exposition (mm. 35-36), is lengthened here to four measures (mm. 136-140).

A statement of Theme 2 appears only once in the Recapitulation (mm. 141-146), compared to twice in the Exposition (mm. 37-42; 43-48). However, the statement of Theme 2 in the recapitulation is cut short after four measures in G \flat major (mm. 141-144), then is partially repeated in E \flat major (mm. 145-146).

The Extension of Theme 2, in mm. 147-168, follows the same format as its equivalent in the Exposition. It may be subdivided into three areas: mm. 147-152, mm. 153-158, and mm. 159-168. The first subsection (mm. 147-152), begins in E \flat major with Motive 2, similarly to the equivalent subsection of the Exposition, mm. 49-51. The second subsection (mm. 153-158), follows its equivalent in the Exposition, mm. 52-61. The final subsection (mm. 159-168), shown in Figure 31, expands upon its Exposition equivalent, mm. 62-69, shown in Figure 32.

Figure 31: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 159-160 (Recapitulation: Extension's Final Subsection)



Figure 32: *Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 62-63 (Exposition: Extension's Final Subsection)*

The final subsection's chordal figurations over the pedal effects alternate between B \flat major and B \flat minor, but with the tonic not clear until the Coda begins in m. 169. This creates a delay in the Recapitulation's conclusion, compared with the Exposition.

The Coda (mm. 169-184) contains right-hand accompanimental bell effects utilizing Motive 1 in rhythmic diminution, with Motive 2 in the left-hand melody, shown in Figure 33.



Figure 33: *Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 169-170 (Coda, Showing Motive 1 in Right Hand and Motive 2 in Left Hand)*

The movement concludes with a statement of Motive 2 in B \flat minor, shown in Figure 34.

The last note, an F, creates a chromatic link to the second movement, which is beyond the scope of the present study.



Figure 34: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 182-184 (Coda, Motive 2's Last Statement)

Overall, the motivic unity of this movement involves pervasive appearances of such Russian musical codes as bell effects and chant references. But their treatment in the movement's revised version changes dramatically. The question of how Rachmaninoff's revisions alter these Russian musical codes has an impact on the discourse surrounding his music.

Blair Johnston offers an extensive formal analysis of Rachmaninoff's music, which proves helpful regarding questions of revision and discourse in Sonata No. 2 (Johnston 2014). In addition to motivic development, the first movement of Sonata No. 2 sees two modal idioms placed in specific contexts which shape the piece's drama: 1) pandiatonic figures (i.e., bell effects) and 2) equal-interval figures (i.e., diminished-seventh, augmented, and octatonic figures). Johnston argues that Rachmaninoff, like his contemporaries, applied a structural treatment of dissonance in many of his works:

Pandiatonic idioms in Rachmaninoff's works have introductory, expository, or post-climactic associations, whereas equal-interval idioms tend to be intensifying and climactic (Johnston 2014:14).

Consistent with Johnston's argument, pandiatonic bell effects appear in Sonata No. 2 in introductory, expository, and post-climactic sections, and sound associated with rest, elation, and release. Johnston points to three forms of pandiatonicism in Rachmaninoff's

works, which include 1) oscillation between two diatonically related triads, 2) extended tertial, diatonic chords, in which most pitches of a diatonic collection can be heard simultaneously, and 3) diatonic co-centers, in which multiple tonics or modal centers are suggested by a passage (Johnston 2014: 14).

Conversely, sections of intensification, digression, and climax, are marked by the appearance of equal-interval idioms, as well as dynamic and rhythmic intensification. For example, Rachmaninoff places diminished chords at moments of climax or intensification—especially during transitional Extensions and the Development. Often Rachmaninoff marks equal-interval idiomatic intensification with dynamic rises to *f* or *ff* and rhythmic complexity. Even though the music in these sections may not be uniformly equal-intervallic, the tension remains high throughout. Rachmaninoff clearly associates equal-interval organization with textural and dynamic intensity. Comparative structural analysis of the original and revised versions of Sonata No. 2 indicate a modification to the movement's dramatic arc, with an altered ratio of pandiatonic to equal-interval idioms.

3. Structural Revisions

As with the structural revisions section for Piano Concerto No. 1, this section does not provide a complete formal analysis—one is included in the appendices. In considering the structural and textural revisions that Rachmaninoff applied to Sonata No. 2 in 1931, it is interesting to consider how these revisions impacted the work's motivic development, extra-musical associations such as bell effects and Russian Orthodox chant references, and the structural drama of pandiatonic and equal-intervallic idioms.

As seen in Figure 35 below, in the original and revised versions the structure is identical in both the Theme 1 and Theme 2 sections. The asterisks indicate equivalent revised sections in the two versions. These areas differ in texture between the two versions, but Rachmaninoff's structural revisions or compressions appear in the transitions and Development only. All of Rachmaninoff's structural changes to Sonata No. 2's first movement involve transitional compressions, with no structural expansions at all.

Original 1913 *Shows affected mm.	Revised 1931 *Shows affected mm.
Exposition Theme 1 Extension Theme 2 Extension *mm. 52-65	Exposition Theme 1 Extension Theme 2 Extension *mm. 52-53 (14 mm. compressed to 2 mm.)
Development Subsection 1 *mm. 70-84 Subsection 2 *mm. 91-96 Subsection 3 *mm. 113-120	Development (Compressed) Subsection 1 *mm. 58-66 (15 mm. compressed to 9 mm.) Subsection 2 *mm. 73-74 (6 mm. compressed to 2 mm.) Subsection 3 *mm. 91-96 (8 mm. compressed to 6 mm.)
Recapitulation Theme 1 Extension *mm. 133-140 Theme 2 Extension *mm. 147-168 Coda	Recapitulation Theme 1 Extension (Compressed) *mm. 109-111 (8 mm. compressed to 3 mm.) Theme 2 Extension (Compressed) *mm. 118-124 (22 mm. compressed to 7 mm.) Coda

Figure 35: Comparative Structural Analysis, Piano Sonata No. 2, Original 1913, Revised 1931

In summary, Rachmaninoff compresses the:

1. **Exposition's Extension of Theme 2**, which transitions to the Development, from 14 mm. to only 2 mm.;
2. **Development's** three subsections by a total of 12 mm.;
3. **Recapitulation Extension of Theme 1** from 8 mm. to only 3 mm.; and
4. **Recapitulation's Extension of Theme 2**, from 22 mm. to only 7 mm.

The Revised Version shows Rachmaninoff removing the effect of transitional structural regions that are characterized by equal-interval idioms, with associated dynamic and rhythmic tension.

The transition from Theme 2 to the Development is compressed from twenty one measures to nine measures (or mm. 49-69 in the Original Version compared to mm. 49-57 in the Revised Version). Considering the content of both transitions, the 1931 Revised Version shows Rachmaninoff choosing to remove the effect of developing themes and motives in structural regions characterized by equal-interval idioms and associated heightened dynamic and rhythmic tension. Instead, the transition functions as a means by which to proceed to the following section. With Rachmaninoff's revision of the work, the transition no longer furthers structural development.

In the transition to the Development of the 1931 Revised Version, Rachmaninoff keeps only portions of material that were related to the main themes. An example may be found in Figure 36 and Figure 37, respectively.

The musical score for Figure 36 shows two systems of piano music. The first system is marked 'a tempo' and '3 vez bass', with dynamics ranging from piano (*p*) to mezzo-forte (*mf*). The second system continues the piece, marked with mezzo-forte (*mf*) and then *dim.* (diminuendo). The notation includes various chords and melodic lines in both hands.

Figure 36: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1931 Revised Version: mm. 52-56 (Transition Leading to Development)

The musical score for Figure 37 is more complex than Figure 36, spanning five systems. It begins with a 'Tempo!' marking and a piano (*p*) dynamic. The piece features intricate textures with triplets and sixteenth-note patterns. Dynamics include mezzo-forte (*mf*), *rit.* (ritardando), *molto moroso* (very slow), and *dim.* (diminuendo). The notation is dense, with many accidentals and complex rhythmic figures.

Figure 37: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 52-65 (Transition Leading to Development)

In mm. 58-67 of the revision, Rachmaninoff compresses previous themes and motives into a smaller timeframe, also seen in Figure 36. By compressing this material, Rachmaninoff greatly reduced the expansiveness associated with the original version.

The next revision Rachmaninoff makes is a compression of the transition from Theme 1 to Theme 2 in the Recapitulation as seen below in Figures 38 and 39. The section is compressed both in terms of structure and texture.

Figure 38: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1931 Revised Version: mm. 105-110 (Recapitulation: Transition)

Figure 39: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 133-40 (Recapitulation: Transition to Theme 2)

In both versions, the same motivic material is used. However, in the original version Rachmaninoff used the transition as an opportunity to further develop material while progressing from one area of the sonata to another.

Finally, Rachmaninoff compresses the transition from the Recapitulation's Theme 2 to the Coda, the largest compression by far. Here Rachmaninoff takes the original version's 21 mm. extension (mm. 147-168) and compresses it to only 7 mm. (mm. 118-124). In the revision, this transition begins (mm. 118-19) and ends (mm. 123-124) the

same way as the original version's transition. Figures 40 and 41 show the latter half of the transition to the Coda as found in the two versions of the movement.

Figure 40: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1931 Revised Version: mm. 123-124 (Transition to Coda, latter half)

Figure 41: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 159-168 (Transition to Coda, Latter Half)

The effect Rachmaninoff achieves throughout his structural revisions is to essentially remove the climaxes from the movement's structure. In the Revised Version, the climactic structural function, and associated equal-interval idioms and rhythmic/dynamic intensification found in Original Version's climaxes are removed.

4. Textural Revisions

Texturally, the Original Version generally consists of thicker chords with a richer sound. In the Revised Version, Rachmaninoff consistently thins the texture, removes repeating, similar chords, and reduces rhythmic complexities and chromatic accompaniment passages. Rachmaninoff's textural revisions to the first movement of Sonata No. 2 may be categorized similarly to those found in Concerto No. 1, including:

- 1) simplified figuration, often involving reduced voices;
- 2) decreased dynamic levels, creating more pronounced sectional contrast;
- 3) linear approach to articulations;
- 4) simplification of articulations to clarify material;
- 5) clarification of musical designations such as Italian terms;
- 6) varied presentations of themes and motives;
- 7) reduction of note-lengths, often with rests inserted, to lighten texture; and
- 8) changes in register to clarify orchestration.

The thinner texture of the revised version may be seen quite clearly by comparing the opening of the two versions, shown in Figures 42 and 43, respectively. The latter contains simplified figuration with reduced voices.

Figure 42: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 1-4 (Theme 1)

Figure 43: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1931 Revised Version: mm. 1-4 (Theme 1)

An example of a texture change involving a register change may be found in Figures 44 and 45. The melody opening the Development section is placed one octave higher in the Revised Version, with a resulting change in timbre.

Figure 44: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1913 Original Version: mm. 69-70 (Development)

Figure 45: Piano Sonata No. 2, 1931 Revised Version: mm. 57-58 (Development)

Texturally, the common thread that runs through all of Rachmaninoff's revisions to Sonata No. 2 is the reduction and clarification of the texture. This points to a change of style exceeding simply a change of harmonic vocabulary. While the 1931 Revised Version of Sonata No. 2 certainly resembles the original version, the revision sees Rachmaninoff employ a tightened and less elaborate compositional style.

The revised work features both simplified structure and texture, with dramatic implications. I argue that the structural changes to the work's sequence of idiomatic material—leaving sections of pandiatonic idioms intact and sections of equal-interval idioms greatly reduced—represents a dramatizing of Rachmaninoff's habitus. Whereas in 1913 Rachmaninoff inscribed in Sonata No. 2 a performance and representation of his personal and national Russian identity, in his 1931 revision to the work he inscribed a remembering and reconstruction of his lost homeland. Like Concerto No. 1, both the original and the revised versions retain the designation of Op. 36 and co-exist as an intertextual work ripe for future revisions.

Both versions of Sonata No. 2 reflect Rachmaninoff's compositional viewpoint at the time of composition. Fisk argues that, through the juxtaposition of disparate harmonic elements, Rachmaninoff captures:

The poignancy of his longing for a never-to-be-recovered world and mode of expression, and thus the existential complexity of his own cultural and historical position: that of an endangered species in a new world, a composer who responded to every new discovery by adapting it to the musical language he had learned in his homeland at the end of the nineteenth century; but one whose music not only was written but could only have been written in the twentieth (Fisk 2008: 265).

Rachmaninoff arguably maintained his late-Romantic compositional style during his post-1917 period as an exile. Referring to European avant-garde composing, he said, “the old language is sufficiently rich and resourceful” and that “there is no need for you to seek new paths” (Ding 1991: 18). The 1913 Original Version sounds more expansive and developmental in nature, and the 1931 Revised Version sounds more direct and economical in its development of themes and motives—both versions sound structurally and texturally effective in performance. Barrie Martyn (1990) and others argue that the

revised version is not meant to be easier, but rather that it is meant to portray a performance-oriented approach. Although this may also be true, applying idiomatic analysis with a habitus framework to Sonata No. 2 indicates that Rachmaninoff revised Sonata No. 2 shaped by his changed political and social circumstances as an exile, and as an active response to those circumstances.

3.2.3 Reviews, Correspondence, and Diasporic Capital

Discourse found in contemporary concert reviews, personal correspondence, and programs, emphasize not only Rachmaninoff's separation from his Russian homeland, but also the essential Russian character of his music and its ability to transport listeners back to "old Russia." For example, a 1932 telegram to Rachmaninoff from the Board of the United Russian National Organizations ends with these words:

We are all the more anxious to convey to you our message of welcome as in your creative work you have invariably and most gorgeously interpreted the national spirit of Russia (Executive Board of United Russian National Organizations to Rachmaninoff, Dec 17, 1932, Box 52, Folder 23, Rachmaninoff Archives, Music Division, Library of Congress).

Such discourse indicates an imagined community of Russians who understand the musical codes found in Rachmaninoff's music and their extra-musical significance.

Unlike Rachmaninoff's revision of Concerto No. 1 in 1917, his revision of Sonata No. 2 in 1931 occurred in circumstances that had become impossibly distant from knowing Russia as a real home. After the initial trauma of exile and the reestablishment of lives, nostalgia for "old Russia" became central to Russians in the diaspora, and part of an idea of preserving "true" Russian culture against its destruction by the Soviet government. Rachmaninoff's contemporary and fellow exile, Ivan Bunin, gave a 1924 speech in Paris in which he described the "mission of the Russian emigration" calling for

Russians scattered abroad to protect their inheritance from the Godless usurpers of Russia, declaring:

What is our mission? ... In whose name do we act? ... Despite our failings and weaknesses, we act in the name of our Divine image and likeness. We also act in the name of Russia – not the Russia that sold Christ for thirty pieces of silver, or the Russia that has destroyed, robbed, murdered, and wallowed in the vileness of all kinds of evil deeds... but another Russia... There was once a Russia, a great home bursting with goods and things, peopled by a great and mighty family in all respects... dedicated to honouring God, the memory of the past, and everything that bears the name of... culture (Zelensky 2009: 97).⁶⁹

Here, there is already evident a merging of such disparate concepts as religion, culture, nation, and memory into a discourse that authenticates the now “lost Russia” and discredits the contemporary Soviet Union.

Among members of the Russian émigré community, Rachmaninoff symbolized the Russian nation in the sense of the word *narod*, which holds romantic, nationalist connotations for Russians. In 1930, Ilia Britain wrote Rachmaninoff a letter exclaiming that “for us Russians, you are not only our pride, our genius. You are a symbol of Russian creativity, of Russian culture” (Mitchell 2011: 422). Mikhael Bakunin, of the Centre International de Lutte Active Contre le Communisme, wrote Rachmaninoff after a Paris performance which he gave, declaring that “in two to three days [you] create a unity of Russian hearts” (Mitchell 2011: 422).

Interestingly, although Rachmaninoff revised the work only once, he would be approached by pianist Vladimir Horowitz interested in further revision of Sonata No. 2 at the end of his life. Rachmaninoff first knew of Vladimir Horowitz through a letter

⁶⁹ For a discussion of Russian “white émigré” discourse, see Figs: 538; Raeff: 4-5; and Williams: 147.

received on January 1, 1922 written by Felix Blumenfeld, a Russian colleague at Kiev Conservatory:

Since August 1918 I have had a graduate student, an extremely talented youth of seventeen, who is a passionate admirer of your music and of Medtner's (Felix Blumenfeld to Rachmaninoff, December 28, 1921, Scott 2008: 145).

Shortly after Rachmaninoff arrived in New York in December 1927 for performances, Horowitz also arrived for his US debut. Alexander Breiner of Steinway introduced the eager young Horowitz to Rachmaninoff on January 2, 1928, ten days before his debut at Carnegie Hall. When Horowitz approached Rachmaninoff about his intention to combine the two versions of Sonata No. 2 in late 1942, near the end of Rachmaninoff's life, Rachmaninoff gave his permission to do so. Rachmaninoff wrote: "You are a good musician. Put it together and bring it to me and we'll see how it is" (Scott 2008: 162). Horowitz continued to experiment with different combinations of Sonata No. 2 through the 1960s, and Russian specialists like Van Cliburn have taken up the tradition of revising Rachmaninoff's Sonata No. 2 (Walker 1980: 126).

In each of the three movements, Horowitz uses more original material than revised. His version is largely distinctive, unique, and unpredictable. It is a detailed combination of the two versions, favouring the dense chordal language of the original version in an innovative amalgamation of the two versions that is meant for performance. Horowitz never leaves out a virtuosic passage of colourful sonority. In the first movement, Horowitz follows the revised version until the Development, and then turns to the original version for one such passage. Horowitz's approach is complex, picking and choosing between the two versions for the density of bell effects, examples of virtuosity,

or for ways by which to modify the work's structure. With Rachmaninoff's consent, Horowitz clearly felt creatively free to blend the two versions of Sonata No. 2.

We may wonder as to Rachmaninoff's reason for accommodating Horowitz's innovative performance of Sonata No. 2. Rachmaninoff clearly did not consider his 1931 Revised Version of Sonata No. 2 to be the undisputedly authoritative version of the work, attested by Rachmaninoff's approval of Horowitz's integrated version later in life. I argue that this approval was tied to the dialogue Rachmaninoff carried on with Russia throughout his life, and which even near the end of his life is indicated by contemplations such as the following:

There is another burden, heavier still, unknown to me in my youth. It is that I have no country. You must know that I was forced to leave my homeland... where I really did achieve great success. Now, the whole world is open to me. Success apparently awaits me everywhere. But one place and one place only remains closed to me, and that is my own country, the land where I was born. True, I have my music, and my memories... If it is true that a composer's music is the sum total of his experience, then it must express his love affairs, his religion, above all the country of his birth. And I was born in Russia (Rachmaninoff, quoted in Palmer 1998).

In another quote of this period, Rachmaninoff describes his desire for his lost homeland, and its connection to his changed relationship with composition:

But nothing could give us back what we most desired: our homeland. For the exile, whose musical roots have been annihilated, there remains no desire for self expression. A friend wrote about his feelings of being a nobody, such feelings are probably unknown to me, he said. How wrong he is: I am filled to the brim with such feelings. I still wrote music, of course. Somehow, it did not mean the same to me (Rachmaninoff, quoted in Palmer 1998).

Perhaps Horowitz represented to Rachmaninoff a longed-for connection with his lost country.

3.3 Diaspora and Memory: Concerto No. 4, Mvt. 1

3.3.1 Compositional Context and Russian Tropes

Rachmaninoff's Concerto No. 4, more than any other work that Rachmaninoff revised throughout his post-1917 period, represents a complex combination of diasporic capital, restorative nostalgia, and compositional revision as a means of returning to "old Russia." What makes this work particularly tragic and sorrowful is that these themes have been almost entirely missed by musicians, critics, textbook authors, and scholars in general. The standard narrative regarding Concerto No. 4 describes the work as an attempt at American jazz-inspired modernism, which received unusually critical reception, followed by corrections, followed by abandonment.⁷⁰ Interestingly, this narrative includes Rachmaninoff's other new work of 1926, *Three Russian Songs*, as the redeeming work of the pair, with its clear Russian references and positive critical reception. Yet for some reason, Rachmaninoff never conducted that work again in his entire life—and he would continue to perform Concerto No. 4, as well as his other revised works, until his death.⁷¹ Taken in the larger post-1917 context of Rachmaninoff's successive revisions, as well as new works, Concerto No. 4 held a significant place in Rachmaninoff's oeuvre that he returned to at key points in his life.

Rachmaninoff completed the original version of Concerto No. 4 in 1926, making it his earliest composition in exile. After performing lengthy concert tours of North

⁷⁰ For an example of this historiography of Concerto No. 4, see Bertensson and Leyda (2001), or any other published source.

⁷¹ For a complete summary of Rachmaninoff's revisions and performances of revised works throughout his post-1917 period in the context of each other, his most popular works, and his late works (Op. 41-45), see the Outline of Rachmaninoff's Post-1917 Concert Tours in the Appendices.

America from 1918-19 to the fall of 1925, he took a sabbatical during the calendar year of 1926 to focus on the composition. By then, Rachmaninoff felt financially secure enough to commit himself to any compositional work that he wished (Bertensson and Leyda 2001: 252). Yet there are several clues that suggest that Rachmaninoff began composing Piano Concerto No. 4 as early as 1914, or even 1911. As to the “narrative of abandonment,” Concerto No. 4’s last version appeared after his final opus number, and represents Rachmaninoff’s final composition, published the year after his death.⁷²

The earliest mention of Rachmaninoff’s Piano Concerto No. 4 appears in an April 1914 *Muzika* article entitled “Rachmaninoff is working on a fourth concerto” (Davie 2001: 10). Rachmaninoff customarily composed his major works at Ivanovka. Martyn notes that Rachmaninoff’s stay at Ivanovka during the summer of 1914 was longer than other years, and that it did not lead to a major work (Martyn 1990: 298). Rachmaninoff himself wrote a letter to Alexander Goldenweiser which describes his difficulty composing at that time:

The summer has passed and for me it passed badly. I was very busy until 15 June, but the whole time my work didn’t get along; it didn’t satisfy me, and by the time mentioned I had reached the point of being unable to control either the work or myself so I gave up working. After a long period when work has not satisfied me this point always comes upon me (Martyn 1990: 298).

The object of these remarks is admittedly not specified. However, Scott Davie notes that Concerto No. 4 is likely because:

In all three versions of the concerto, the *Largo* movement incorporates a section of the Etude-Tableau in C minor, op. 33, no. 3. This collection of etudes was originally intended to contain nine pieces, as can be noted in Gutheil’s notice of publication in 1914. However, when the etudes were published... [the] numbers

⁷² If a list of Rachmaninoff’s compositions includes his transcriptions of other composer’s works, then his final composition was Tchaikovsky’s Lullaby, composed shortly afterward.

3, 4 and 5 were excluded... It seems logical to assume that Rachmaninoff's reason for the exclusion of the third etude from publication was that he had decided to use it in the concerto (Davie 2001: 11).

Further, a reference is made to a fourth concerto by Rachmaninoff in a 1917 *Russkaya Muzikal'naya Gazetta* article, saying: "At the present time Sergei Vasilyevich Rachmaninoff is working on his Fourth Concerto" (Martyn 1990: 355). It would be understandable if Rachmaninoff had been working on the concerto and unable to finish it.

The archive donated by Natalia Rachmaninoff to the Music Division at the Library of Congress does include material associated with Concerto No. 4, such as a manuscript of the original version of 1926 (Cannata 1999: 13-20). Threlfall and Norris note that:

The manuscript of the cadenza written for performances of the Second Hungarian Rhapsody by Liszt in 1919, located in the archive of the Library of Congress, has on its reverse a fragment from the last movement of the concerto (Threlfall and Norris 1982: 127).

While this archive's sketches are largely from Rachmaninoff's period in the US, it includes several sketches of Concerto No. 4 (Davie 2001: 12).⁷³ When Rachmaninoff left for Scandinavia in December 1917 to escape the Bolshevik Revolution, he is known to have brought with him the first act of his never-finished opera *Monna Vanna*, three new piano pieces, a score of Rimsky-Korsakov's *Le Coq d'Or*, and four sketchbooks containing material related to Concerto No. 4 (Threlfall and Norris 1982: 17). A foremost authority on Concerto No. 4, Scott Davie argues that when Rachmaninoff emigrated in 1917, he also brought with him sketches of Concerto No. 4 (Davie 2001: 12).

⁷³ Sketches of Concerto No. 4, which both Martyn, and Threlfall and Norris, include in their analysis of Concerto No. 4, indicate the likelihood that Rachmaninoff began its composition before his emigration.

Rachmaninoff's decision to bring these sketches of Concerto No. 4 when he emigrated indicates its importance to him. He left most of his belongings, such as his library of scores and manuscripts, in Russia.⁷⁴

Having lost all his financial assets, the first several years required aggressive concertizing largely in North America before he could return to composition. During the period following his exile, Rachmaninoff expanded his limited canonic repertoire of piano works every year. Having committed himself to concertizing for the immediate future in 1918, Rachmaninoff chose to leave war-torn Europe for the United States.⁷⁵ Arriving in New York on Monday, November 11, 1918 (Armistice Day), by the end of his first week in the United States Rachmaninoff had hired an assistant, an agent, and had signed a recording contract.⁷⁶ Just as quickly, he established personal and professional connections with such fellow white émigrés as Hoffman, Kreisler, Zimbalist, Elman, Ysaye, and Prokofiev.⁷⁷ After an initial period of social activity including dinners, parties and receptions, the Rachmaninoffs increasingly saw only Russians. The years between his exile in 1917 and the premiere of Concerto No. 4 in 1927 saw a lengthy process of

⁷⁴ They are now catalogued as part of an archive in the State Central Glinka Museum of Musical Culture in Moscow.

⁷⁵ Rachmaninoff travelled on the Bergensfjord from Oslo bound for New York on November 1, with the financial support of fellow white émigré Russian banker Alexander Kamenka.

⁷⁶ In New York, Rachmaninoff took on Dagmar Rybner Barclay as secretary, and Charles Ellis as concert manager. Ellis managed Melba, Kreisler, and since Paderewski was imminently to become the first Premier of Poland, Ellis had an opening for Rachmaninoff. Rachmaninoff rented a piano from Steinway for practicing, signed contracts to make Ampico piano rolls and Edison recordings, and Ellis secured for him 36 recitals for what remained of the 1918-19 concert season.

⁷⁷ Despite their differences in Russia, Rachmaninoff and Prokofiev were now fellow exiles. Rachmaninoff attended the latter's debut recital at Aeolian Hall on November 20. Prokofiev included three Rachmaninoff preludes.

adaptation to his new circumstances. The development of his habitus as a white émigré may be followed in his professional choices, charity work, and personal correspondence.

Rachmaninoff's professional choices show both resounding decisiveness and longstanding commitment. As early as February 6, 1920, Rachmaninoff performed with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Stokowski for the first time, in an all-Rachmaninoff programme—Stokowski would later conduct the world premiere of Concerto No. 4, as well as the premieres of *Three Russian Songs*, *Rhapsody on a Theme of Paganini*, and Symphony No. 3. Just as early, critics rewarded Rachmaninoff with negative reviews: Pitts Sanborn of *The Evening Telegram* called Rachmaninoff's premiere of *The Bells* “a great deal of noise about very little indeed” (Sanborn Pitts, *The Evening Telegram*, February 11, 1920).

Every concert year from 1918-19 until 1922-23 saw Rachmaninoff average sixty-five concerts a year, at a rate of about one concert every 2.8 days during the season, and summers dominated by practicing. Rachmaninoff's 1923-24 season saw a winding down for many reasons: his newly hard-won financial security, health problems, but perhaps most of all, the need to compose again. On September 24, 1924, the Rachmaninoff's elder daughter, Irina, married Prince Peter Wolkonsky in Dresden.⁷⁸ At the end of the 1924-25 concert season, he wrote to Wilshaw that he decided:

Next year to drastically alter my style of living. My schedule here will last altogether only five weeks from 2 November to 5 December. In that time I'll give no more than between twenty and twenty-five concerts. Then two weeks recording (Rachmaninoff to Vladimir Wilshaw, May 16, 1925, Scott 2008: 137).

⁷⁸ In August 1925, Rachmaninoff's son-in-law, Prince Wolkonsky, died tragically at the age of 28, leaving Rachmaninoff's daughter Irina a widow at age 22. Their daughter, Sophia, was born after his death.

His daughter's marriage made him want to reorient his life to Europe. During the summer of 1925, Rachmaninoff started a publishing house in Paris called Tair, after his daughters Tatiana and Irina. Tair's first publication was Concerto No. 4. Finally, Rachmaninoff performed only during the fall portion of the 1925-26 season, planning to take the entirety of 1926 to compose Concerto No. 4 and Op. 41.

Throughout this period as well, Rachmaninoff adapted to his new circumstances through establishing himself as a philanthropist and cultural leader of the white émigrés. During 1920, Rachmaninoff began sending money, food, and clothes, first to his mother, the Satins⁷⁹ and other family, and soon to his colleagues and charitable causes of all kinds related to people in Russia, particularly needy music students (Norris 1976: 59). The 1921-22 season ended with benefit concerts in New York on April 2 and 21.⁸⁰ Letters of thanks reached him from musicians, writers, teachers, the staff of the Kiev Conservatory, the chorus at the Maryinsky in Petrograd, and Konstantin Stanislavsky of the Moscow Arts Theatre, who wrote:

You cannot know how your attention and memories touch our hearts. It is a very fine thing you are doing, the artists are really starving (Konstantin Stanislavsky to Rachmaninoff, May 26, 1922, Box 46, Folder 29, Rachmaninoff Archive, Music Division, Library of Congress).

Letters like this, written to Rachmaninoff by his beneficiaries, listeners, and admirers, indicate that Rachmaninoff himself became an important site of diasporic capital construction for members of the white émigré diaspora in general.

⁷⁹ When Rachmaninoff finally met the Satins as fellow white émigrés in 1922, they asked him “Is it possible that in all these years you have not written a single note?” He replied “yes, I have written a cadenza to Liszt's Second Rhapsody” (Riesemann 1934: 198).

⁸⁰ The proceeds went to the American Relief Administration, adding up to \$7,500, and relief of Russian students in the US (Scott 2008: 129).

Finally, Rachmaninoff's personal correspondence with colleagues indicate Rachmaninoff's adaptation to his new life as an exile, and particularly the increasing importance to him of completing and perfecting the compositions he had begun in Russia. A letter to his Russian colleague Nikolai Avierino, a white émigré in Greece, indicates his early anxiety.

Today I am sending you 1,500 drachmas. I know it's little but forgive me! I cannot manage more. No matter how poorly you are living it can't be compared with the conditions in present-day Russia. I have my mother and a sister but there's nothing I can do for them... [In America] there are ten candidates for every one musical position. In any case, you'd never get a visa with the government's recent ruling caused by the unprecedented flood of immigrants. Go to Paris, or London, or wherever you wish to in Europe, but forget about the 'Dollar Princess'. (Rachmaninoff to Nikolai Avierino, Nov 1, 1920, Box 40, Folder 2, Rachmaninoff Archives, Music Division, Library of Congress).⁸¹

In a letter written two years later to Rachmaninoff's conservatory friend, Vladimir Wilshaw, Rachmaninoff explains his dearth of composing:

For the whole time—not one note. I only play the piano and give a great many concerts. For four years now I have been practising hard. I make some progress, but actually the more I play the more clearly do I see my inadequacies. If ever I learn this business thoroughly, it will be on the eve of my death. Materially I am quite well off—bourgeois! But my health fails; it would be strange to expect anything else when one remembers that my dissatisfaction with myself throughout my life has scarcely ever allowed me to feel calm. In the past, when I composed, I suffered because I was composing poorly. *I feel I can better both—that keeps me alive* (Rachmaninoff to Vladimir Wilshaw, September 9, 1922, Scott 2008: 130, italics mine).

⁸¹ Получил твое письмо. Посылаю тебе сегодня 1500 драхм. Прости меня, что мало! Больше не могу. Независимо от того, насколько плохо вы живете, его нельзя сравнивать с условиями в современной России. У меня есть моя мать и сестра, но я ничего не могу с ними поделать... Здесь на каждое музыкальное место по десяти претендентов. Да ты и визу не получишь по новым правилам, появившимся несколько недель назад, все ввиду того же наплыва небывалого иностранцев. Уезжай в Париж, Лондон, куда хочешь в Европу, но позабудь о 'Принцессе Долларов'.

During Rachmaninoff's exhausting 1922-23 season, his correspondence reveals an increasing dissatisfaction with his hiatus from composition. He wrote to Evgeny Somov:

As for me, I'm nothing: I moan and groan and take no pleasure in deducting the passing days from the sum total of my life. Materials and moral satisfaction afforded by my concerts are middling. But no-one's material effects are very good now, so I seem no exception. As for the moral side—better not speak of it. I was born a failure, and therefore I bear all the hardships of this chaotic era. Five years ago, I thought I would get satisfaction playing the piano; now I realize that this is unattainable (Rachmaninoff to Evgeny Somov, January 27, 1923, Box 41, Folder 22, Rachmaninoff Archives, Music Division, Library of Congress).⁸²

Even more telling, Rachmaninoff wrote to Vladimir Morozov of his increasing longing to compose:

Your main question, that I find in all your letters, as to my creative work, I must answer thus: either from over-fatigue or from loss of the composing habit (it's been five years since I worked on composition), I am not now drawn to the matter, or only rarely drawn. This only takes place when I think about two major compositions that I started not long before leaving Russia. When I think of these, *I long to finish them*. This perhaps is the only way of shifting me from this deadlock, but to begin something new now seems unattainable. If I get a bit stronger perhaps I'll try again this summer. Your advice and new subjects will have to go into reserve and wait there until my reawakening or renaissance (Rachmaninoff to Vladimir Morozov, March 4, 1923, Martyn 1990: 296, italics mine).

The two major compositions that Rachmaninoff mentions in this 1923 letter certainly included Concerto No. 4 (Scott 2008: 132).⁸³ The year that he wrote these letters saw two unexpected contacts from Russia. In January 1923, Rachmaninoff visited the Moscow Arts Theatre in New York for a special Broadway season. He took the opportunity to see

⁸² Что касается меня, то я ничего: крихчу и стону по маленьку и съ удовольствованіе отъ концертовъ и в матеріальномъ и в моральномъ смыслѣ-среднее. Но дѣла в матеріальномъ стылѣ и у всѣхъ не особенно хороши, а посему я не являюсь исключеніемъ. Что касается моральной стороны дѣла, то объ этомъ лучше не говорить. Я родился неудачникомъ и несю поэтому всё тяготы съ этимъ эваніемъ нераздѣльныя. Пять лѣтъ назадъ, начиная играть, я думалъ что емогу добиться удовлетворенія в Ф.п. дѣлѣ; теперь убѣдился что это дѣло несбыточное.

⁸³ The other may have been *Monna Vanna*.

many Russians whom he had not seen since exile, including his cousin, Siloti.⁸⁴ He would often entertain Russian company at Riverside Drive, listening to the:

Sharp and lively stories by Moskvina about backstage life, told in the idiomatic fashion of Moscow speech, catching every word and watching every movement of his expressive features. Rachmaninoff's face would become almost childlike, his deeply graven wrinkles vanish, as he surrendered himself to the happiest and most carefree laughter, throwing back his head, and brushing away tears of joy with the back of his hand (Bertensson 1948).

On April 1 of that year, Rachmaninoff celebrated his fiftieth birthday. He received a cantata by his Russian colleague Reinhold Glière, with text by Vladimir Wilshaw, which read:

From your far-off native country
We send you joy and our greeting,
And from our hearts and souls we say
Long live Rachmaninoff Sergei! ("Cantata," Reinhold Glière and Vladimir Wilshaw to Rachmaninoff, December 29, 1922, Box 21, Folder 3, Rachmaninoff Archive, Music Division, Library of Congress).⁸⁵

Rachmaninoff's correspondence with Nikolai Medtner, the eventual dedicatee of Concerto No. 4, reveals much about the work. Medtner escaped Russia in October 1921 and wrote to Rachmaninoff from newly independent Latvia that he was on his way to Germany. Rachmaninoff replied discussing the possibility of securing him contracts with Steinway and Duo-Art.⁸⁶ He insisted that composers were better off in Europe than the

⁸⁴ Siloti had recently come from London to Juilliard School in 1922-23.

⁸⁵ Из вашей далекой родной страны
Мы посылаем вам радость и наше приветствие,
И из наших сердец и душ мы говорим
Да здравствует Рахманинов Сергей!

⁸⁶ Rachmaninoff warned Medtner how hard getting established in the US would be. But he also asserted his own commitment to help. He advised Medtner to give concerts in Germany, writing to Koussevitzky, then in Berlin, about possibly publishing his works.

US. Although his first letter to Medtner is in German, the following letter in Russian reads:

I am so happy that you are in western Europe, now we can meet again, and you'll be able to live and work peacefully. As for the estrangement I feel, I confess I sense it too, I see few real, sincere musicians here. You are the only one left (Rachmaninoff to Nicolai Medtner, November 15, 1921, Scott 2008: 127).

Rachmaninoff invested in Medtner a great deal of diasporic capital, based on their correspondences. During the summer of 1922, Rachmaninoff writes Medtner a dejected letter regretting that needing treatment for his headaches made their meeting unlikely that year:

My last tiny hope is to be able to sneak over to see you from Hamburg, where we'll arrive on the evening of 19 August (Rachmaninoff to Nicolai Medtner, August 4, 1922, Box 40, Folder 28, Rachmaninoff Archive, Music Division, Library of Congress).⁸⁷

Martyn conjectures that, when Rachmaninoff finally met Medtner in person for the first time since 1917, in Naples in the summer of 1924, "Medtner stung him into action" on composing Concerto No. 4 (Martyn 1990: 299). Medtner asked him why he had given up composing. Rachmaninoff indicated "how can I compose without a melody?" (Culshaw 1949: 161). Two months later, on June 20, 1924, Rachmaninoff wrote to Medtner from Dresden that he was composing again. Composing had likely been in his mind consistently since 1917.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Такимъ образомъ если Вы сами не соберетесь сюда, у меня есть маленькая надежда вырваться къ Вамъ изъ Гамбурга, куда мы приѣдемъ 19 Августа.

⁸⁸ As mentioned earlier, sketches of the last movement of Concerto No. 4 appear on the back of a draft of his Cadenza for Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2, which was first performed in January 1919. Other sketches appear in a sketchbook he gave to Siloti after the latter's New York arrival in 1921.

Around this time, Rachmaninoff resumed a regular correspondence with Medtner, to whom he would dedicate Concerto No. 4. In a letter of January 14, 1926, Rachmaninoff wrote to Medtner, responding to a letter of Medtner's complaining about a proposition by his publishers that they own his music outright. Rachmaninoff wrote:

There are three categories of composers: those who compose 1) popular music, that is, for the market: 2) fashionable music, that is, in the modern style, and finally 3) serious music... to which category you and I are honoured to belong. Publishers are very willing to print works in the first two categories, this is easily merchandisable—but most reluctant to touch the last—this moves very sluggishly. The first two are for the pocket, the last is more “for the soul!” Once in a while, however, a publisher does have a tiny spark of hope in the future; that by the time the composer of serious music is about to reach his hundredth birthday—or, more likely, after his death, his compositions may end up selling as well as popular music. But this hope is never serious. The world has many publishers of popular music, and modern music. But there's no-one who publishes serious music exclusively. Belayev was the exception but he proves the rule; it cost him his entire fortune (Rachmaninoff to Nicolai Medtner, January 14, 1926, Box 40, Folder 28, Rachmaninoff Archive, Music Division, Library of Congress).⁸⁹

Rachmaninoff here makes clear that he had seen a need to publish his own new works, including Concerto No. 4, as commercial publishers were uninterested in music “for the soul.”

⁸⁹ Объяснюсь сейчас подробнѣе. Существуетъ три категоріи композиторовъ 1. сщчиняющіе популярную музыку, т. н. рыночную. 2. модную музыку, т. н. moderne и наконецъ 3. "серьезную", очень серьезную музыку, какъ говорятъ дамы и къ каковой категоріи мы кмѣемъ честь съ Вами принадлежать. Издатели очень охотно початають произведенія первыхъ двухъ категорій, т. к. это товаръ ходкій! И очень неохотно послѣднюю категорію - товаръ идущій вяло. Первые двѣ для кармана. Послѣдняя больше "для души"! Иногда врочемъ у издателя серьезной музыки имѣется искорка надежды на будущее, т. е. нато, что когда композитору серьезной музыки минеть лѣтъ что, или, еще лучше, когда онъ умретъ, то сочиненія его попадутъ въ первую категорію, т. е. сдѣлаются популярнымъ. Но надежда эта у него никогда не серьезна. На свѣтѣ имѣется много издателей только одной изъ двухъ первыхъ категорій, т. е. или издателей только попплярной музыки или только музыки модернъ. Но на свѣтѣ не имѣется ни одного издателя, початающаго только "серьезную музыку". Исключеніемъ являлся Бѣляевъ, но тому это стоило всего его состоянія.

The composition of Concerto No. 4 took some time for Rachmaninoff. He officially began it in New York in January 1926, and continued work through to the summer at Villa Suchaistrasse in the Weisser Hirsch district of Dresden. After he received back the two-piano version for review, he wrote a letter to Medtner that many biographers have referred to in discussions of Concerto No. 4. Rachmaninoff wrote that the concerto had developed into the “Ring-like” dimensions of 100 pages long: “It is likely to only be performed as the “Ring”: for several evenings in a row” (Rachmaninoff to Nicolai Medtner, September 9, 1926, Box 40, Folder 28, Rachmaninoff Archive, Music Division, Library of Congress).⁹⁰ He recalled their earlier correspondence about over-long works, and planned that the first movement required the removal of eight measures, and for the last movement to be truncated. He expressed concern that the orchestra was never silent. “This means it is not a piano concerto but concerto for orchestra and piano” (Rachmaninoff to Medtner, September 9, 1926, Box 40, Folder 28, Rachmaninoff Archive, Music Division, Library of Congress).⁹¹

It is worth noting that when Medtner responded, he reassured Rachmaninoff concerning the length:

Naturally there are limitations to the lengths of musical compositions, just as there are for the size of an artist’s canvas, but it is not the length of a work that creates an impression of boredom, but rather the boredom that creates an impression of length. A song without inspiration and only two pages seems longer than Bizet’s *Carmen*, and Schubert’s *Doppelgänger* seems much grander and more expressive than a Bruckner symphony (Nicolai Medtner to Rachmaninoff, September 13, 1926, Box 40, Folder 28, Rachmaninoff Archive, Music Division, Library of Congress).

⁹⁰ Вѣроятно будетъ исполняться какъ “Ring”: нѣскольнo вечеровъ сряду.

⁹¹ Это значитъ, не концертъ для ф.п., а концертъ для ф.п. и оркестра.

Further, although Rachmaninoff asked Medtner, in his letter of September 9, 1926, if he had noticed a resemblance between the theme of the second movement and that of the second movement of Schumann's Piano Concerto, Medtner does not mention this and Rachmaninoff never altered it.

After returning to New York from Europe, Rachmaninoff began the winter portion of the 1926-27 concert season. On March 18, Rachmaninoff introduced his two new works with the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra under Stokowski. Richard Stokes of *The Evening World* described the works—Concerto No. 4 and *Three Russian Songs*—as juxtaposing each other:

The opening attack was made with a new concerto; Rachmaninoff came reeling back from the charge in disorder and defeat. But like Napoleon at Marengo, yesterday evening he turned the most disastrous rout of his career into decisive victory. After the intermission a chorus of twenty proceeded to redeem the catastrophe with his three latest settings for voice and orchestra of Russian folk songs. The chorus had the effect of a twenty-fold soloist. The composer uses the folk melodies as well as text, so that his creative office was restricted to the orchestra. But its comment on the narrative of the verses was that of a music drama (Richard Stokes, *The Evening World* (Philadelphia), March 23, 1927).

The concerto was given again in Philadelphia and repeated in New York, Washington, and Baltimore. Michael Scott notes that “notwithstanding subsequent tampering he was to make with it, during which he reduced it by nearly 200 bars, it is doubtful that it sounded very different to his 1941 recording” (Scott 2008: 142).

Planning revisions, in the summer of 1927 Rachmaninoff wrote Julius Conus, then living in Paris:

After a month and half's hard work I have finished corrections to the concerto. The first twelve pages have been rewritten, as also has the coda” (Rachmaninoff to Julius Conus, July 28, 1927, Scott 2008: 143).

Following its publication by Tair in 1928, in November 1929 Rachmaninoff premiered Concerto No. 4 in Europe, playing it in London, The Hague, Amsterdam, Berlin, and Paris. He put the work aside from concert seasons until the summer of 1941, moving on to new projects in the meantime. The 1941 Third Reich invasion of the Soviet Union sparked a thaw in “Western”-Soviet relations and led Rachmaninoff and several other prominent white émigrés to give charitable assistance to Russia in the war-time context. That same year, Rachmaninoff again revised the orchestration of Concerto No. 4, including the removal of 78 measures. Rachmaninoff performed this last version in seven US cities, followed by an RCA Victor recording in December 1941.

3.3.2 Revision Process and Habitus Development

Rachmaninoff completed his original manuscript of Concerto No. 4 on August 25, 1926, which he used at the premiere performances in March and April 1927 but never published. He produced two revised versions: in 1928 for publication and in 1941 at the end of his career. His main structural revisions included, in 1928, a significant compression of the Transition of the Recapitulation from 62 mm. to 35 mm., and in 1941, a similar compression in the Transition of the Exposition, from 58 mm. to 33 mm.

The first movement, *Allegro vivace (Alla breve)*, is in a modified first-movement sonata form. In the Exposition, Theme 1 and Theme 2 are connected by a Transition. The Development follows, incorporating elements of Theme 1. The Recapitulation sees the order of the first and second subjects reversed, followed by a brief coda. Each successive revision is shortened from 367 mm., to 346 mm., to 313 mm.

Through analysis of Rachmaninoff's different versions of the first movement of Piano Concerto No. 4, I will consider how habitus, code-layering, memory, and politics are at play in the music itself:

1. Rachmaninoff's music allows for the reflection and construction of an idealized self and homeland through the presence of material suggestive of Russian folk music, Orthodox modal chant, or church bells;
2. Through use of pan-diatonic modal structures, Rachmaninoff merges different musical "codes," building an ambiguous picture of "old Russia;" and
3. The merging of disparate idioms and styles that grows throughout the movement indicate the collapsing of genre boundaries that had been clearly distinguished in the actual Imperial Russia, but are conflated here into a general, "old Russia" memory space.

Adelaida Reyes's work examines the music of political exiles, specifically in the music of Vietnamese refugees. Like the Russian diaspora, Reyes shows that for Vietnamese refugees there is a division made between authentic and inauthentic Vietnamese songs, in which the former includes only pre-communist songs (Reyes 1999: 7-8). Like the Russian diaspora, Vietnamese refugees engaged in music and musical performance as a forum for upholding their mission to preserve the "true" Vietnam, in language quite like that of that of the Russian émigrés (Reyes 1999: 47). In Rachmaninoff's post-1917 music, that music offers a space for the negotiation of identity and culture in a comparable way. After the 1917 Russian diaspora, Rachmaninoff's effort to preserve the traditions and culture of the Imperial Russia in his own home corresponded with the broader role assigned to him by Russian émigrés and others. In his performances,

published material, and through his role as public benefactor, Rachmaninoff became an important recognized symbol of “old Russia.”

1. Motivic Analysis

I will begin with a motivic analysis of the first movement of Concerto No. 4, followed by a summary of the structural revisions, and finally, the textural revisions. Although not all references to passages from the score(s) will be shown, those included have been selected for their importance to the present analysis. Rachmaninoff intertwines the thematic material throughout the movement, precipitating new themes and motives through thematic development. His interlinking of themes points to a sophisticated merging of different musical ideas in surprising ways.

The first movement opens with a six-measure orchestral tutti (mm. 1-6) followed by Theme 1 (mm. 7-21). The orchestral tutti and Theme 1 are then restated (mm. 22-27 and mm. 28-43, respectively). Before proceeding to analysis of these sections, it is important to return to the insight Blair Johnston offers to analysis of Rachmaninoff’s compositions, already discussed in relation to Sonata No. 2 in Section 2 of Chapter 3. Johnston argues that Rachmaninoff places two modal idioms in specific contexts that shape the piece’s drama: 1) pandiatonic figures (i.e., tonally ambiguous modal figures and voicing) and 2) equal-interval figures (i.e., diminished-seventh, augmented, and octatonic figures). Johnston argues that Rachmaninoff applied a structural treatment of dissonance in which:

Pandiatonic idioms in Rachmaninoff’s works have introductory, expository, or post-climactic associations, whereas equal-interval idioms tend to be intensifying and climactic (Johnston 2014:14).

Consistent with Johnston's argument, pandiatonic modal idioms appear in Concerto No. 4 in introductory, expository, and post-climactic sections, and sound associated with timelessness, ambiguity, and rest.

The sense of timelessness and ambiguity created by pandiatonic idioms in Concerto No. 4 are taken to such absolute extremes by Rachmaninoff that the work's key of G minor is expertly evaded throughout the Exposition, not appearing until the very end of the jarring and pointedly unsettled Coda. Instead, the movement is characterized by tonally ambiguous pandiatonic idioms. The orchestral tutti and Theme 1 are linked in utilizing the Phrygian mode, specifically D Phrygian (in a work composed in B \flat minor!).

Johnston offers an overview of how this mode was used, saying:

Rachmaninoff seems to have had some special fondness for Phrygian idiom... Similar axial oscillating Phrygian idioms are used extensively in works as chronologically far-flung and generically diverse as the early character piece "Polichinelle," op. 3, no. 4 (1892), the First Symphony, op. 13 (1895), the romance "To Her," op. 38, no. 2 (1916), the last Etude-Tableau, op. 39 (1917), the first movement of the Fourth Piano Concerto, op. 40 (1926; later revised), and the third movement of the Symphonic Dances, op. 45 (1940) (Johnston 2014).

Rachmaninoff's fondness for minor modes such as the Phrygian certainly links this post-exile work to the musical culture of his lost homeland. Mitchell describes

Rachmaninoff's "tendency towards minor modalities and mystical-solemnness" as echoing the public mood of Imperial Russia:

In the words of music critic Iurii Sakhnovskii, every piano piece of the composer (Rachmaninoff) depicted "a defined experience of the human soul." Acknowledging that many of the moods elicited by the composer carried a "clear stamp of pessimism," Sakhnovskii claimed that this was only to be expected... [T] his embrace of pessimistic moods was not only an expression of anxiety about the modern age: it was intimately connected with Russian identity itself... Most of his compositions drew on minor rather than major modalities... a tendency that contemporaries also identified in Russian folk music (Mitchell 2011: 304-305).

In Concerto No. 4, Rachmaninoff employs these folk music cultural connotations of the Phrygian mode, as well as its potential for pandiatonic ambiguity.

The first movement opens with a six-measure orchestral tutti. The tutti initially sounds like the dominant of G minor, before the sudden appearance of F# minor chords, containing C#s that clash with the tonality of the preceding D chords, and springing to C minor chords emphasized by bass voicing of C to A \flat down to C (mm. 5-6). Theme 1 then appears in m. 7, shown partially in Figure 46, and fully as a melodic transcription in Figure 47. Most interestingly, Theme 1 reinforces rather than disrupts the static mood created by the orchestral tutti.

The image shows a musical score for two pianos. The top system is marked 'pesante' and the bottom system is marked 'f'. Both systems are in a Phrygian mode (B-flat major with a lowered second degree). The top part consists of chords, and the bottom part consists of triplets of eighth notes. The key signature has two flats (B-flat major), and the time signature is common time (C).

Figure 46: Piano Concerto No. 4, 1926 Original Version: mm. 7-8 (Beginning of “Folk” Theme 1, Showing Two Pianos)

The image shows a melodic transcription of Theme 1. It consists of two staves of music in a Phrygian mode (B-flat major with a lowered second degree). The key signature has two flats, and the time signature is common time (C). The melody is written in a single voice.

Figure 47: Piano Concerto No 4, Melodic Transcription of mm. 7-22 (“Folk” Theme 1)

Theme 1 enters over the “C minor” accompaniment arrived at by the close of the first orchestral tutti in m. 6. Whether the key is C minor, or even C Dorian is complicated by the melodic emphasizing of the chord tones of D, A, and F, throughout Theme 1. After only two measures of the orchestra’s C minor accompaniment, F minor chords in the orchestra in m. 8 indicate possible movement to B \flat as a tonic. However, this leads to G minor in m. 9. An interesting instance of false V-I motion appears in m. 11, with an E \flat minor chord followed by a G minor chord in first inversion. Yet the E \flat to B \flat bass movement in m. 11 does not lead to E \flat being tonicized either, and this is followed by more instances of false V-I motion in the orchestral bass voicing created by first inversion chords (E \flat and A \flat in mm. 13-14; D and G in mm. 14-16; C and F in mm. 16-17). The “false” V-I motions in the bass of the orchestra follow a descending motion, from A \flat (m. 13) to G (m. 15) to F (m. 17).

Theme 1 follows a trajectory that first ascends, but soon descends in short melodic dips, shown in Figure 48, which are similar to the descending “tonics” of the “false” V-I motions.

Figure 48: *Piano Concerto No. 4, 1926 Original Version: mm. 13-15 (Melodic Dips in “Folk” Theme 1, Showing Two Pianos)*

As Theme 1 begins to descend in the melodic dips of mm. 13-17, A \flat s appear, initially sounding like lowered notes in a descending C melodic minor scale. But as the dips progress, the piano melody begins to alternate between A \flat and A \natural notes chromatically, avoiding any confirmation of C minor (but anticipating the chromatic alternations found in Theme 2). Eventually, the melody plunges chromatically (mm. 18-20), ending with a chromatically-approached cadence (mm. 21-22) to a D chord that resembles the opening of the orchestral tutti, but not convincingly as the dominant of G minor. The influence of Russian folk singing is evident in the stepwise motion and pandiatonic chordal harmonization of Theme 1 in the piano.

As already mentioned, Johnston notes that in Rachmaninoff’s works, generally, “diatonic modal idioms are most often associated with introduction, initiation, digression, and post-climactic activity in Rachmaninoff’s works. Indeed, many diatonic modal idioms seem directionless... static, repetitive, [and] circular” (Johnston 2014: 14). Many passages in Rachmaninoff’s works, generally, create a “diatonic field” by oscillation

between two diatonically related triads, or the registral or timbral stratification of them. This pandiatonic effect is also referenced in Rachmaninoff's treatment and harmonization of Theme 1.

Theme 1 links these different musical signs of "old Russia" in a way that collapses time and space for its listeners. Generally, this music evokes Svetlana Boym's concept of "restorative nostalgia," which seeks to recreate a "transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home" (Boym 2001: xviii). This music corresponds with the trend among Russian exiles to "return to a past that never was—a past, in fact, that had never been as good, or as 'Russian', as that now recalled" (Figs 2002: 538).

Following the Theme 1 section, Rachmaninoff takes the melodic dip and chromatic descent segments of Theme 1 and develops them as motives in the Transitions of the Exposition and Recapitulation, and the Development. The melodic dip and chromatic descent motives of Theme 1 are shown in Figure 49, in the context of a melodic transcription of the entire Theme 1. These two motives are shown in the context of the version for two pianos in Figure 50.

Figure 49: *Piano Concerto No. 4, Melodic Transcription of mm. 7-22 ("Folk" Theme 1, Showing Motives)*

Figure 50: Piano Concerto No. 4, 1926 Original Version: mm. 14-22 (Latter Half of Theme 1, Showing Motives; Showing Two Pianos)

The melodic, chamber music character of the Transition contrasts with the orchestral tutti and Theme 1. The Transition of the Exposition begins in m. 44 with motivic development of the chromatic descending motive immediately following its statement at the end of Theme 1, becoming increasingly chromatic over five measures (mm. 44-48 in all versions) and leading to chromatic, rhythmically complex figures (these also anticipate Theme 2). In all versions, the Transition ends with an extended woodwind solo (mm. 54-58, 1941 Revision) based on the descending line of Theme 1, and finally an orchestral solo treatment of the chromatic descending line (mm. 73-76, 1941 Revision).

Theme 2 (mm. 77-93) is characterized by plaintive melancholy and chromatic melody. In addition to “sounding Gypsy,” which is an important Russian musical trope and is discussed below, Theme 2 is also based on an Eb “Gypsy scale” (also known as the

double harmonic minor scale). Although partially obscured by chromatic alteration, the principal notes are: E \flat , F, G \flat , A, B \flat , C \flat , D, E \flat . This is not to say such a reading is definitive: it is complicated by the B \flat dominant-seventh-chord in the orchestra at the beginning of Theme 2. Theme 2 is shown in Figure 51.

The image shows a musical score for the 'Gypsy' Theme 2 from the Piano Concerto No. 4, 1928 Revised Version (Two Pianos), measures 102-104. The score is in 3/4 time, marked Moderato. It features two piano parts and an orchestra part. The piano parts are marked *mf cantabile* and *p*. The orchestra part is marked Moderato. The score includes triplets and various rhythmic patterns.

Figure 51: Piano Concerto No. 4, 1928 Revised Version (Two Pianos): mm. 102-104 (“Gypsy” Theme 2)

After silence for four measures, the orchestra returns with a B \flat pedal, and chords that are both harmonically inconclusive and melodic variants of Theme 2. The presence of B \flat in the bass of the orchestra does imply a B \flat Phrygian mode. But because D \flat does not appear in the piano until the re-entrance of the orchestra, and because D natural is emphasized melodically, the B \flat Phrygian modality is also complicated.

Nostalgia is central to other stylistic elements in this movement as well.

Performance practice of Russian gypsy songs in Imperial Russia, as well as in the Russian diaspora, held a connection to musical representations of *toska*, the “favourite

Russian mood” of nostalgic longing (Frolova-Walker 2007: 29-42). Longing is inscribed in melodies and harmonies in Russian gypsy song, particularly. Zelensky notes that the “Gypsy” romance was the most popular category of music among first-generation Russian émigrés (Zelensky 2009: 65).⁹² Richard Stites describes the genre, saying:

The gypsy idiom contained violent and rhythmically exotic flourishes of uncontrolled passion.... Particularly effective was the shock of sudden changes in tempo and the accelerando-crescendo phrasing that became its hallmark (Stites 1992: 13).

A cadenza that imitates an emotional outburst, denoting a Gypsy musical trope, is seen in the final measure of the Theme 2 section, shown in Figure 52.

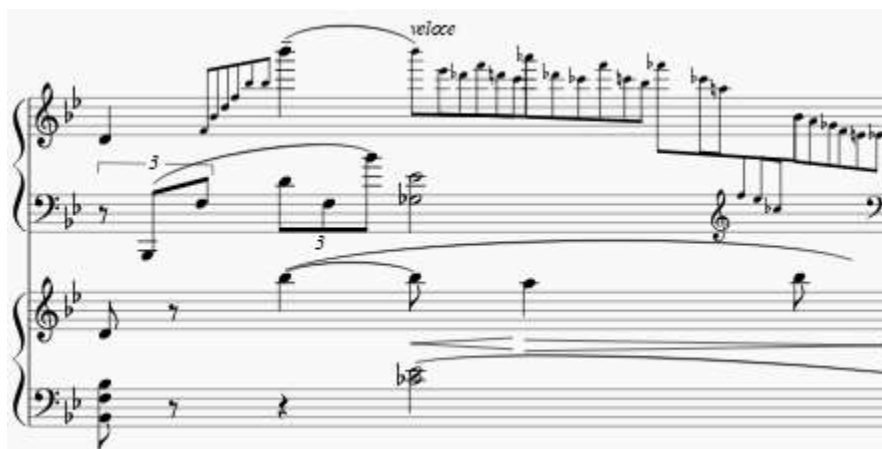


Figure 52: *Piano Concerto No. 4, 1941 Revised Version (Two Pianos): m. 93 (“Gypsy” Theme 2 Section, Final Measure)*

Marked *Veloce* or “rapidly,” this cadenza reaches up to an extremely high B \flat , followed by a dizzying descending chromatic cascade, evoking “Gypsy” sobs.

⁹² Despite the “Gypsy” label, most “Gypsy” songs were written by professional composers, or were Russian folk songs rendered in a fabricated “Gypsy” style.

The Exposition ends with a transition to the Development (mm. 120-138, 1926 Original; mm. 94-112, 1941 Revision) marked *Allegro assai*, and distinguished by a sudden character change from the Theme 2. In the transition, the B \flat Phrygian mode seems to return with a variant of Theme 2. The blending of the note B \flat as either Gypsy scale tonic or Phrygian dominant is developed by Rachmaninoff throughout this section.

In the transition to the Development, Rachmaninoff develops the opening interval of Theme 2 into a new motive, shown in Figure 53, with minor ninth/falling semitone.



Figure 53: *Piano Concerto No. 4, 1926 Original Version: mm. 120-121 (Exposition: Transition to Development, Minor Ninth Motive, Showing Piano)*

Rachmaninoff uses this transitional motive throughout the movement. The agitated, militaristic nature of the transition provides a jarring and immediate contrast to the plaintive Theme 2.

The Development begins with two, four-measure statements of the melodic dip motive from Theme 1 in the orchestra, shown in Figure 54. These melodic dip statements are interspersed with a Development motive in the piano based on a “Gypsy scale” treatment of the melodic dip motive, shown in Figure 55.

Figure 54: Piano Concerto No. 4, 1926 Original Version: mm. 139-141 (Development: Melodic Dip Motive, Showing Strings)

Figure 55: Piano Concerto No. 4, 1926 Original Version: mm. 142-143 (Development: Development Motive, Showing Piano Right Hand)

The rest of the Development sees the Development motive elaborated starting in m. 159 of the 1926 and 1928 versions and m. 133 of the 1941 version for fourteen measures. The Development moves through sections of growing intensity and settling, with two climactic sections in mm. 183-188 and mm. 212-227. These two sections see the use of equal-interval idioms, such as diminished chords and augmented chords, and contrast with sections of pandiatonic idioms. The beginning of the second climactic section,

marked *Allegro vivace*, is shown in Figure 56. A particularly intensifying portion of this section, in which Theme 1 appears in the orchestra, is shown in Figure 57.

Figure 56: Piano Concerto No. 4, 1926 Original Version (Two Pianos): mm. 212-213 (Development: Second Climactic Section)

Figure 57: Piano Concerto No. 4, 1926 Original Version: mm. 220-221 (Development: Second Climactic Section, Showing Theme 1 in Violins)

As with Rachmaninoff's motivic development in Sonata No. 2, in Concerto No. 4 he incorporates pandiatonic figures such as the Phrygian mode, and equal-interval idioms

such as diminished-seventh, augmented, and octatonic figures, within the overall form for dramatic intention.

At the end of the Development section (mm. 236-245), the deceptive entry of Theme 1 (in the tuba), shown in Figure 58, emphasizes the surprise entry of Theme 2 in the orchestra at the beginning of the Recapitulation, shown in Figure 59.

Figure 58: Piano Concerto No. 4, 1926 Original Version: mm. 242-244 (Development: Transition to Recapitulation, Showing Tuba and Piano)

Figure 59: Piano Concerto No. 4, 1926 Original Version: mm. 246-250 (Recapitulation: Theme 2, Showing Flute)

In the Recapitulation, Rachmaninoff reverses the structure of the sections so that Theme 2 is followed by a transition, which is then followed by Theme 1. The reversal of the themes in the Recapitulation is interesting, with Theme 2 (mm. 246-273) preceding Theme 1 (mm. 336-347).

Even more striking is Rachmaninoff's interplay and eventual merging of Theme 1 and Theme 2 as the movement closes, prior to the Coda. In the Transition of the Recapitulation (mm. 274-335), there are statements of the Theme 1 dip motive in the orchestra that interact with chromatic variants of the motive in the piano. The Recapitulation of Theme 1 (mm. 336-347) appears in the orchestra, with the piano playing an arpeggiated accompaniment that hints at the *Dies Irae* theme in its bass notes, shown in Figure 60.



Figure 60: Piano Concerto No. 4, 1926 Original Version: mm. 343-345 (Recapitulation: Theme 1, Outline of Dies Irae, Showing Piano)

Following the Recapitulation's statement of Theme 1, Rachmaninoff finally comes to a section that sees Theme 1 and Theme 2 merge together into two thematic statements (mm. 348-363). The second statement is shown in Figure 61.



Figure 61: Piano Concerto No. 4, 1926 Original Version: mm. 353-357 (Recapitulation: Themes 1 and 2 Merged in the Orchestra)

The above section sees the final transformation of the themes into one. After the first ten measures of the sixteen-measure phrase, the melody begins to spiral with the appearance

of Ab in m. 348. The melody begins to play chromatically, reminiscent of Theme 2, ultimately descending chromatically as the opening statement of Theme 1, but stopping on a B \sharp trill, and B \flat , stopping short of A. The coda then follows abruptly, sounding quite harsh and disconnected from the preceding material.

2. Structural Revisions

As with the structural revisions analysis found for Piano Concerto No. 1 and Piano Sonata No. 2, this section does not intend to give a complete formal analysis, although one is included in the appendices. Structurally, Rachmaninoff revises this movement by compressing transitional areas and keeping thematic areas intact. In his 1928 revision, which he undertook following his 1927 US premiere and before his 1929 and 1930 European premieres of the work, he compressed the Transition of the Recapitulation. The 1928 cut from the Transition of the Recapitulation develops the relationship of the two themes, and hints later developments in the movement. This section is partially shown in Figure 62.

Figure 62: Piano Concerto No. 4, 1926 Original Version: mm. 307-309 (Recapitulation: Transition, Showing Material Later Removed in 1928 Revised Version)

Prior to the Recapitulation of Theme 1, there is a reduction of material from thirty-two measures to eight measures from what is mm. 301-308 in the 1928 Revised Version (mm. 271-278 in the 1941 Revised Version). This includes elaboration of the Development motive in the piano through four measures of 3/2 time leading to an Eb diminished-

seventh chord, six measures of 3/4 time and rising chromatic passages, five measures of cut time, and finally eighteen measures that correspond to the six measures from mm. 303-308 in the 1928 Revised Version (mm. 273-278 of the 1941 Revised Version). These eighteen measures see an extension elaboration of the tutti from the opening of the movement, before the recapitulation of Theme 1 in the orchestra. The original tutti saw a harmonic sequence of the tutti figure that progresses from *pp* to *ff*. Altogether, removing these sections from the Transition of the Recapitulation compressed the Transition by half. This made for a more abrupt transition to Theme 1, and made the Coda (with its now unanticipated 3/4 time) seem even more sudden and unexpected than in the original version.

Near the end of Rachmaninoff's life, after returning to Sonata No. 2, and then completing his final three opus numbers, he chose to revise Concerto No. 4 once more. For this 1941 Revised Version, he also compressed the Transition of the Exposition, partially shown in Figure 63.

Figure 63: Piano Concerto No. 4, 1926 Original Version: mm. 49-54 (Exposition: Transition, Showing Material Later Removed in 1941 Revised Version)

After Theme 1, the Transition of the Exposition in the 1926 and 1928 versions begin with the same five measures of the chromatic descending motive with which the 1941 Revised Version begins. What follows in the earliest versions was 23 measures of further, chromatic, motivic development, containing a short harmonic cycle that hinted the B \flat major key of Theme 2 (the key of the accompaniment at least). By removing this section in 1941, Rachmaninoff revised the Transition to have less of the structure taken up by piano-orchestra dialogue and equal-interval dominated digression and climax, as well as fewer hints of Theme 2 and the motives explored in the Development section.

The effect of both these revisions removed sections of rising chromatic lines and harmonic sequences that emphasized the correlation of themes. The cut also follows a gradual crescendo from *pp* to *ff*, making for a climax and an orchestral tutti similar to the opening before the Recapitulation of Theme 1. The 1928 removal of chromatic figures that quickly descend, shifting to *f* ascending bell-like chords that reach *ff* and subside into Theme 1, emphasizes the overall restfulness of the Exposition. The 1941 removal of the climactic Transition to Theme 2 in the Exposition also allows the structural areas of pandiatonic modal idioms to have a larger role in the movement. The effect of these revisions may be seen in a decreased exploration of the relationship between themes by the Recapitulation of Theme 1, as well as a diminished climactic effect due to the removal of climactic material.

3. Textural Revisions

Texturally, Rachmaninoff revised the first movement of Concerto No. 4 to be sparser in some sections and denser in others. For example, in the 1928 revision, Rachmaninoff rewrites the orchestral tutti to be rhythmically sparser, and removes a descending chromatic line in the clarinet, making the pandiatonic “empty space” of the tutti preceding Theme 1 to be even emptier. By contrast, Rachmaninoff intensifies the orchestration at the entrance of Theme 1 in the piano by having all four horns play accompanimental triplets.

In other places, it seems that Rachmaninoff simply experiments with slightly different figures each time, trying to perfect the work. For example, Rachmaninoff treats the strings’ pick-up figure to the final phrase of the Transition of the Exposition differently each time, writing a sixteenth note figure in 1926, an eighth note figure in

1928, and a half note figure in 1941. Each of these examples are shown in Figures 64, 65, and 66, respectively.

Figure 64: Piano Concerto No. 4, 1926 Original Version: mm. 90-91 (Exposition: Transition)

Figure 65: Piano Concerto No. 4, 1928 Revised Version: mm. 90-91 (Exposition: Transition)

Figure 66: *Piano Concerto No. 4, 1941 Revised Version: mm. 67-68 (Exposition: Transition)*

Elsewhere in the Development, Rachmaninoff makes the orchestration sparser with each revision (mm. 133-135, 1941 Revised Version), strengthens the piano with octave doubling (mm. 140-143, 1941 Revised Version), and writes increasingly contrasting rhythms (mm. 177-185, 1941 Revised Version). Rachmaninoff takes areas in which the piano and orchestra originally play matching rhythms and creates dialogue between them by offsetting figures with rests (m. 169). Rachmaninoff simplifies the rhythmic texture of the Coda, especially, which makes for a rhythmically homogeneous conclusion that becomes increasingly stark with each revision. Whatever Rachmaninoff intended to convey to the audience with this Coda, heard so soon after the masterfully organic merging of the movement's themes, the movement comes as an unsettled conclusion.

Robert Cunningham notes that critics have accused Rachmaninoff of not being able to handle musical form, particularly in large works. This belief, he wrote:

Drew from misrepresentations of the composer's diffidence and his proclivity to revision. Even Culshaw, whose opinion is otherwise favourable, claims that 'symphonic form was not one of his strong points.' This view has been refuted by Richard Coolidge, who analyzed the formal structures of the piano concertos, concluding that 'Rachmaninoff was a master craftsman of the highest order in handling large-scale forms' (Cunningham 2001: 18).

The effects of Rachmaninoff's revisions on the first movement of Concerto No. 4 include the lessening of importance of secondary melodic material, and an increasingly less subtle character of the piano in the development. Each of Rachmaninoff's revisions strengthened the piano, made the orchestration sparser, and included fewer time signature changes.

Robert Threlfall describes the revisions Rachmaninoff made to Concerto No. 4 as part of Rachmaninoff's unending "quest for perfection" (Threlfall 1973: 235-37). Considering the already-quoted 1923 letter Rachmaninoff wrote to Nikita Morozov, that quest for perfection not only meant perfection of a composition, but perfection of "old Russia" as he remembered it:

I am not drawn to the matter, or rarely drawn. This does take place when I think about my two major compositions that I started not long before leaving Russia. When I think of these, *I long to finish them* (Rachmaninoff to Vladimir Morozov, March 4, 1923, Martyn 1990: 296, italics mine).

Particularly among Rachmaninoff's works, Concerto No. 4 remains a site for representations of Rachmaninoff, his habitus, and ongoing construction of diasporic capital a century after his exile.

3.3.3 Reviews, Correspondence, and Diasporic Capital

During the period in which he composed Concerto No. 4 following his 1917 exile, Rachmaninoff became a unifying figure for many Russians abroad. Rachmaninoff received letters from fellow white émigrés throughout his exile that demonstrate the symbolism of "old Russia" imbued to his compositions and the composer himself. In a 1984 interview recounted in his obituary, the conductor and second-generation white

émigré Igor Buketoff related meeting Rachmaninoff in 1927 at the rehearsal for the premiere of Concerto No. 4 and *Three Russian Songs*:

Leopold Stokowski was conducting, and the basses in the choir were all deacons of the Russian church, because Rachmaninoff wanted a very deep, Russian bass sound. Because my father was in the clergy and knew all the other deacons and priests who had suitable voices, he assembled the choir... (Allan Kozinn, "Igor Buketoff, 87, Conductor and Expert on Rachmaninoff," *New York Times*, September 11, 2001).

Rachmaninoff's connections with the white émigré community were clearly personal. It was also economic: he donated a great deal of his personal profits to needy Russian émigrés as well as musicians, professors, and civilians still in the Soviet Union throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

Rachmaninoff received updates from the Committee for the Education of Russian Youth in Exile, which included requests for support for different Russian émigré children, and information on the progress of those he supported:

Thank you for your letter of January 10th. The Paleologue girl... is 16 years of age, having been born in Petrograd in 1914. After the revolution she sought refuge in Constantinople with her parents, and was there two years, after which they came to Paris, where she is now living with her father and mother, and is present studying in the Pensionnat St. Joseph, Boulogne. (Seth Gano to Rachmaninoff, January 13, 1931, Box 44, Folder 4, Rachmaninoff Archives, Music Division, Library of Congress).

Rachmaninoff received letters from the children themselves:

In the autumn of 1922, together with our Grandmother and an aunt and both of us children, my mother fled from Russia passing on foot with the greatest perils and privations the frontier in the region of the Pinsk swamps where we were nearly drowned. The Poles arrested us and kept us for some time in a concentration camp near Warsaw. From there we succeeded in obtaining the assistance of the Bulgarian Consul and were allowed to leave for Bulgaria (Autobiography of Nicholas Tzitzeroahine, February 24, 1930, Box 44, Folder 4, Rachmaninoff Archives, Music Division, Library of Congress).

He also received photographs, shown in Figures 67 and 68, respectively.



Figure 67: Sophie Paléologue, October 12, 1927 (Box 44, Folder 4, Rachmaninoff Archives, Music Division, Library of Congress)



Figure 68: Nicholas Tzitzeroahine, 1929 (Box 44, Folder 4, Rachmaninoff Archives, Music Division, Library of Congress)

Russian émigré and former Moscow professor Iurii Aikhenval'd gladly accepted money from Rachmaninoff, because he was one of the last “living rays of Russian glory... It makes me happy to acknowledge that Rachmaninoff’s attention has stopped on me also” (Mitchell 2011: 308).

Much of Rachmaninoff’s personal correspondence indicates that his music, his very personality, became an important site for others for constructing diasporic capital. In a 1925 letter from Konstantin Bal’mont, he describes to Rachmaninoff that the act of writing him a letter produced for him a feeling that reconstructed “old Russia” in his mind:

When I write to you, in spirit I am in Moscow, in an overfilled hall, and your unerring fingers enchantingly scatter a diamond rain of crystal harmonies (Mitchell 2011: 381).

In a 1935 letter to Rachmaninoff, a woman named E. Medvedova wrote him of the contrast of her appraisal of his music before and after exile:

Your compositions were incomprehensible to me [before, but an acquaintance said] ‘Wait. Your heart will fall sick and you will understand Rachmaninoff’ (Mitchell 2011: 381).

From her exile in Dresden at the time, she acknowledged that she found delight in the fact that:

Rachmaninoff exists, that he is recognized around the world, and that he is ours, Russian, a Muscovite (Mitchell 2011: 381).

Such letters indicate that Rachmaninoff’s music indeed offered listeners a memory space of “old Russia.” Participating in this memory space collapsed the space and time between listeners and an idealized, lost Russia.

For Rachmaninoff too, during the period that he composed Concerto No. 4 following his exile he sought through his music to navigate his new circumstances, adapting his habitus, and making musical choices that invested in a diasporic identity. Following his hectic first four and a half US concert seasons (1919-1923), this became increasingly noteworthy. For his scaled-back concert season of 1923-24, he added to his repertoire the Schubert/Liszt composition, *Der Wanderer* Fantasy, S. 366. Although Rachmaninoff had conducted the piece once before his exile, it is possible that the piece’s well-known themes of exile now struck a chord with him.⁹³ After performing the *Wanderer* during the 1923-24 season, he recorded the work during 1924-25, and performed it again during the 1926-27 season. While Rachmaninoff left no text for Concerto No. 4, it seems clear that *Der Wanderer* returned to his mind early during his

⁹³ Rachmaninoff had conducted *Der Wanderer* Fantasy in a Siloti concert in Saint Petersburg on December 13 (November 30, O.S.), 1904.

émigré period, leading to the composition of Concerto No. 4. Liszt based his 1851 work on Schubert's "Wanderer" Fantasy in C major, Op. 15 (D 760),⁹⁴ which took its inspiration from a poem by Georg Philipp Schmidt von Lübeck of the same name.

Lübeck too experienced exile after settling in Denmark in 1801, and wrote the following:

<p>I come from the mountains, The valley dims, the sea roars. I wander silently, I am little glad, And my sighs always ask, where?</p>	<p>Ich komme vom Gebirge her, Es dampft das Tal, es braust das Meer. Ich wandle still, bin wenig froh, Und immer fragt der Seufzer, wo?</p>
<p>The sun seems to me so cold here, The flowers faded, the life old, And what they say, has an empty sound; I am a stranger everywhere.</p>	<p>Die Sonne dünkt mich hier so kalt, Die Blüte welk, das Leben alt, Und was sie reden, leerer Schall; Ich bin ein Fremdling überall.</p>
<p>Where are you, my beloved country? Sought, brought to mind, and never known! That land, so hopefully green, That land where my roses bloom.</p>	<p>Wo bist du, mein geliebtes Land? Gesucht, geahnt, und nie gekannt! Das Land, das Land so hoffnungsrün, Das Land, wo meine Rosen blühn.</p>
<p>Where my dreams go, Where my dead ones rise from the dead, That land that speaks my language, O land, where are you?...</p>	<p>Wo meine Träume wandeln gehn, Wo meine Toten auferstehn, Das Land, das meine Sprache spricht, O Land, wo bist du? . . .</p>
<p>I wander silently, I am little glad, And my sighs always ask, where? In a ghostly breath it calls back to me: "There, where you are not, there is happiness."</p>	<p>Ich wandle still, bin wenig froh, Und immer fragt der Seufzer, wo? Im Geisterhauch tönt's mir zurück: "Dort, wo du nicht bist, dort ist das Glück."</p>

After Rachmaninoff performed the Liszt/Schubert work in Boston two months before he premiered Concerto No. 4, a reviewer in *The Christian Science Monitor* wrote:

And by all means, let us have a Rachmaninoff to play it [the *Wanderer* Fantasy], whose right hand strikes lightning, and whose left strikes thunder. His is no commonplace, piano-wrecking storm, for the lightning gleams clear, and the thunder roars with a rich sonority always (No Author, "Music in Boston," *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 24, 1927).

⁹⁴ Schubert preceded his 1822 *Wanderer* Fantasy with an 1816 Lied, *Der Wanderer* (D 489), for voice and piano.

Reviews such as the above asserted that Rachmaninoff's performing of *Der Wanderer* could only be interpreted in connection with his own experience as an exile. Yet while this does not prove a connection between Rachmaninoff's revisions and experience of exile, it points to the connection that Zelensky emphasizes in her work on the white émigré subculture in 1920s and 1930s New York: that diaspora members felt they performed their most perfect selves through music. The connection between exile and the revisions of Concerto No. 4, in particular, have been overlooked due to an interpretation of these revisions as shamefacedness in response to criticism. However, in pointing to discourse that connects Concerto No. 4 to exile, I argue that Rachmaninoff himself participated in a similar pursuit of an idealized homeland in revising Concerto No. 4.

Rachmaninoff premiered Concerto No. 4 in its original version in Philadelphia on March 18, 1927, with himself playing piano and Leopold Stokowski conducting. The reviews were critical overall. Pitts Sanborn of the *Evening Telegram* of New York wrote on March 23 that the work was “long-winded, tiresome, unimportant, in places tawdry” (Bertensson and Leyda 2001: 249). Lawrence Gilman of the *Herald Tribune* wrote that despite its “somewhat naïve camouflage of whole-tone scales and occasionally dissonant harmony [it] remains as essentially nineteenth century as if Tchaikovsky had signed it.” For Samuel Chotzinoff of the *World*: “one was left with the impression that a lot was said, but not of any particular importance” (Bertensson and Leyda 2001: 249). While each of these reviews represent actual negative press written about Concerto No. 4—and colour the standard academic narrative of the work's reception—it is worth noting who each of these reviewers were. The first, Pitts Sanborn, was a Harvard graduate and

proponent of the works of Henry Cowell. With that in mind, it is interesting to refer to

Ding's observation:

Rachmaninoff avoided the works of contemporary composers besides his own and those by his Russian colleagues. As a composer, he held very strong objection to futurism and other *avant-garde* trends in Europe... He claimed to have located *42 wrong notes from a pile of works which Henry Cowell* brought to him for suggestions (Ding 1991: 18, italics mine).

Most telling though is the line:

In his opinion, American audiences were fooled by the novelty of modernist compositions, which to him lacked substance (Ibid).

Lawrence Gilman, for whom Concerto No. 4 was “essentially nineteenth century,” was also well-educated, and a detailed and informed writer. He even wrote the program notes for Concerto No. 4's premiere. Given his comment, it is surprising to note that he is on record as disliking practically every “modern music” movement of the time, from the Second Viennese School to Stravinsky to Gershwin, preferring above all these a man old enough to be Rachmaninoff's grandfather, Richard Wagner. As for Samuel Chotzinoff, a fellow white émigré who had been seventeen years old during the year of the Bolshevik Revolution and became a success story as a music executive, the most well-known and ubiquitous anecdote to be found regarding him is that he once wrote an unexpectedly negative review for his own brother-in-law, to the latter's dumbfounded frustration.

Yet while these critics were indeed dismissive in their reviews, Rachmaninoff's personal correspondences indicate the support of several of his colleagues for the work. Josef Hoffmann, to whom Rachmaninoff had dedicated his previous concerto, also attended the premiere and wrote:

I like your new concerto extremely well. Although it seemed to me that it would be rather difficult to play with an orchestra, particularly because of its frequent metric changes. I sincerely hope that this won't be an obstacle to other

performances of the concerto. It certainly derives them from a musical as well as a pianistic point of view (Bertensson and Leyda 2001: 248).

Considering Concerto No. 4's future revisions, it is curious that Medtner, to whom Rachmaninoff dedicated Concerto No. 4, responded to Rachmaninoff's original letter concerned about the length. His letter of September 13, 1926 reads as follows:

I cannot agree with you, either in the particular fear that your new concerto is too long, or in general on your attitude to length. Actually, your concerto amazed me by the fewness of its pages, considering its importance (Bertensson and Leyda 2001: 246).

For Stokowski, Rachmaninoff's compositions of 1926 represented deeply important and endearing works. Stokowski wrote Rachmaninoff a letter following the concerto, which said of the two works:

The more I try to penetrate the inner essence of your new concerto and the Russian Songs, the more I love this music (Martyn 1990: 312).

Rachmaninoff himself showed a disdain for reviews as early as 1917. In thinking back to the disastrously reviewed premiere of the Symphony No. 1 twenty years earlier in 1897, he wrote:

What can I say about it!? It was composed in 1895. Performed in 1897. It was a failure, which, by the way, proves nothing. Repeatedly good things have failed, and even more often, bad things have succeeded (Cannata 1993: 5).

While I am not arguing that Rachmaninoff was simply unaffected by critical reception of his music, these correspondences challenge the seemingly ubiquitous narrative that Rachmaninoff revised Concerto No. 4 because of unfavourable reviews, and then abandoned the work. On the contrary, Rachmaninoff revisited the work several times throughout his émigré period, and never really set it aside.

Further, Rachmaninoff's Concerto No. 4 received both acclaim and asserted diasporic capital from more than its fair share of reviewers. In addition to the familiar

reviews by Gilman, Sanborn, and Chotzinoff, and their familiar assessment of the work as “tawdry,” “naive,” and “unimportant,” Rachmaninoff’s Concerto No. 4 received such reviews as the following in *The Washington Post*:

The keen interest aroused over the premier hearing in this city of the new Rachmaninoff Piano Concerto No. 4 in G minor, played for the first time in public by the Philadelphia Symphony orchestra in the Quaker city on March 18, *was rewarded fully by yesterday’s performance of this modern classic...* The concerto is a work of musical art. It is in three movements, the first of which the “Allegro Vivace,” is typically Rachmaninovian in treatment with spacious melodic designs. A beautiful feature of this movement is the B flat major cantabile second theme, piano arpeggios, chromatic counterpoints of the strings in the orchestra and lovely flute, clarinet and English horn solos all too brief, distinguish this movement and will do much to win it fame... Ovation after ovation was given Mr. Rachmaninoff at the close of his composition (No Author, “Symphony Concert Pleases Large Crowd: Rachmaninoff Wins Acclaim with New Piece,” *The Washington Post*, March 30, 1927, italics mine).

As much as the *Evening Telegram*, *Herald Tribune*, and *World* held an influential role in shaping musical opinions, a sizable readership would have first read of Rachmaninoff’s Concerto No. 4 as a “modern classic.” As for arguments that the concerto was a misfit among Rachmaninoff’s works, the *New York Times* review of the week earlier connected the work to the composer’s personality and style:

There were first performances in New York of Mr. Rachmaninoff’s Fourth Piano Concerto and his settings for chorus and orchestra of three Russian folk-songs... These, according to Lawrence Gilman, the informative programmatist of the Philadelphia Orchestra, are the first compositions that Mr. Rachmaninoff has produced since he made this country his home nine years ago, and they are fresh from his pen... *The fourth piano concerto is wholly characteristic of its composer in the melancholy and sensuousness of the singing themes*, the alternation of vigorous, sometimes savage, rhythms, and the brilliant and exacting part for the piano (Olin Downes, “Music,” *New York Times*, March 23, 1927, italics mine).

While some commentators evaluated Concerto No. 4 to be overshadowed by *Three Russian Songs*, a third review from 1927 offered this assessment:

A new concerto, the fourth for piano and orchestra, by Sergei Rachmaninoff, and setting of three Russian folk songs by semi chorus and orchestra by the same

composer, had their first performances at the concert of the Philadelphia Orchestra Friday afternoon and were repeated at the Saturday evening concert. *The concert began with the more important of the new compositions, the concerto...* As is to be expected, the concerto is extremely pianistic and it is also beautifully scored for orchestra (No Author, "Music News and Reviews: Rachmaninoff Novelties Offered in Philadelphia," *The Christian Science Monitor*, March 24, 1927, italics mine).

If the reviews of the 1927 premiere were not uniformly negative with accusations of unimportance, over-modernity, or lacking in modernity, what of the reviews Rachmaninoff received for his 1941 Revised Version? One reviewer in Chicago put it succinctly:

Rachmaninoff, the sober Russian-American who both as composer and pianist ranks among the most distinguished of living musicians, played the revised version of his own fourth concerto with the Chicago Symphony orchestra last month and made a *striking success* (Edward Barry, "Rachmaninoff to Give Recital Next Sunday," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 7, 1941, italics mine).

In New York, another reviewer took issue with the charge that Rachmaninoff simply "echoed Tchaikovsky," pointing to the public's appreciation of the work at that time:

For thirty years and maybe more *it was said of Rachmaninoff that he composed in the past, being not more than an echo, at best, of Tchaikovsky.* His sentimentalism, his tendency to excessive length—last night's symphony, with substantial cuts, lasted forty-five minutes—and his willingness to follow the traditions of classic sonata form were listed among his weaknesses. Meanwhile, what has become of Scriabine? And have Stravinsky, early Stravinsky or late Stravinsky, materially affected the position of Rachmaninoff? Or has he been shaken by the bright young man Shostakovich either? ... [He] holds his place as a sincere master and an authentic creative personality of his epoch... *Of course, there are choice spirits for whom, if the public likes something, that something is beneath the attention of intelligent or sophisticated beings...* At this stage of acquaintance we do not like the Fourth concerto as well as the Third or the Second, but remembering the fact that we liked the Third less at its first performance than we like it today, and that, in the general run of events, that concerto has gained rather than lost with the public, we are inclined to go cautiously in a hasty estimate of the one heard last night. *Its reception was a triumph for the man who created and played it and for the brilliant orchestra and, in the sum of the evening, for Mr. Ormandy* (Olin Downes, "Ormandy Directs at Carnegie Hall," *New York Times*, Nov 12, 1941, italics mine).

Most interestingly, the reviewer for the *Los Angeles Times* offers a glimpse into a positive and constructive interpretation of Rachmaninoff's practice of revising:

This master of the keyboard is said to have a *passion for revising his own compositions*. It amuses him to point out how critics throughout the land have occasionally chided him because he does not play his famous C Sharp Minor Prelude the way it was written. He simply says, "I have revised it since it was written" (No Author, "Philharmonic Again Present Rachmaninoff," *Los Angeles Times*, January 26, 1941, italics mine).

Not only does this reviewer interpret Rachmaninoff's revision process as a positive aspect of his compositional career, but he shows that Rachmaninoff revised even his popular works. These reviews offer a fuller picture of the reception of Rachmaninoff's Concerto No. 4. Not only do they indicate enthusiasm for the work, they also offer interpretations of the work as a valuable composition, consistent with Rachmaninoff's compositional style and attending discourses of Russian identity and diasporic capital.

Following Rachmaninoff's death, Concerto No. 4 has been pigeonholed into a certain narrative of obscurity and neglect. Yet the work played a significant role in Rachmaninoff's repositioning of his entire habitus during his émigré period. It also received significance during Rachmaninoff's lifetime as a site for the construction of diasporic capital: by Rachmaninoff himself, his friends and colleagues, admirers, fellow white émigrés, audiences, and even critics. Even now that Concerto No. 4 seems to hold an undeserved reputation as a misfit, there is good reason that it should be revisited.

Writing concerning Concerto No. 4's already-earned reputation, the reviewer at *Chicago Daily Tribune* wrote in 1954:

I mention all this not only in an attempt to set the record straight [prizes nobody gives for this!], but also to *correct a possible impression that Rachmaninoff's Fourth Concerto has been a neglected work*. No doubt the tremendous popularity of his Second and Third Concertos has considerably paled the Fourth, but Chicago performances by Gradova in 1931, Johansen in 1934, and Rachmaninoff

in 1941, and those in Philadelphia and elsewhere brought the concerto to a very wide audience. A recording was made by Rachmaninoff and Ormandy. As with other compositions of recent generation, more time may be needed for audience perspective (Seymour Raven, "Rachmaninoff Fourth Stirs Remembrance," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 18, 1954).

The work's compositional merit and significance to Rachmaninoff himself should earn for it a reconsideration.

Chapter Four. Conclusion

This DMA monograph incorporates an examination of the place of Rachmaninoff's music within the history and culture of the Russian diaspora. As stated in the introduction, Bourdieu called for the acknowledgment of "capital in all its forms," a call that extends to all systems of value (Bourdieu 1986: 280-281). In the context of the Russian diaspora, diaspora members and their allies participated in creating diasporic capital. I argue that diasporic capital appears in the context of diasporas as a general phenomenon, in which a group or generation recreates itself in a foreign geographical context following a mass exile. Like other forms of capital, diasporic capital not only holds value for group members, but may be converted into other forms of capital.

Rachmaninoff's post-exile revisions of Concerto No. 1, Sonata No. 2, and Concerto No. 4, each provide unique topics for further research of music and the politics of diaspora. Revised in the context of the revolution that spurred his exile, Concerto No. 1 has become saturated with themes of Rachmaninoff's experience of diaspora. Themes of diasporic capital appear throughout the performance, analysis, and discourse of the work. Indeed, it cannot be performed without *performing* Rachmaninoff. Sonata No. 2, uniquely, was originally composed and then revised by Rachmaninoff on dates clearly before and following his exile (1913 and 1931). In many ways, the original Sonata No. 2 is often described as representative of Rachmaninoff at the height of his career, pre-exile. His ongoing creative relationship with the work, seen not only in its revision, but also in accommodating further revising by Horowitz, point to an ongoing, lifetime dialogue between Rachmaninoff and his lost country. The narrative of obscurity and neglect that surrounds Concerto No. 4 should be surprising, considering the work's deep connections

to many of the most celebrated aspects of Rachmaninoff's life and works. First sketched prior to his exile, retained throughout the initial period of diaspora, composed as his first fruits as an exiled composer, and finally revised until the end of his life, Concerto No. 4 is central to Rachmaninoff's life story, as well as any discussion of diasporic capital. The work arguably played an important role in Rachmaninoff's repositioning of his habitus during his émigré period. The most compelling aspect of the role of Concerto No. 4 within the topic of Rachmaninoff's works and diasporic capital is the large amount of study yet to be undertaken.

Like many members of diasporas, Rachmaninoff asserted his membership to his homeland long after that membership ceased in fact. He did not obtain U.S. citizenship until February 1, 1943, shortly before his death on March 28, 1943. During the year that he finished his first version of Concerto No. 4—1926—he wrote:

Although I have the greatest admiration for the American Nation, its Government and Institutions; although I am profoundly thankful to the people of the United States for all they have done for my countrymen during their darkest years of distress, I do not consider that under existing international situations I could renounce my country and become the citizen of the United States (Rachmaninoff to Nathaniel Phillips, January 28, 1926, Box 40, Folder 37, Rachmaninoff Archive, Music Division, Library of Congress).

Rachmaninoff considered himself a Russian citizen throughout his life, hoping that the Soviet government would fall in his lifetime and allow his return. He inscribed into his émigré period revised works such potent musical representations of longing for homeland, and his works received such an eminent position in the production of diasporic capital by others—Russian émigrés or otherwise—that they represent unique sites for the production of diasporic capital that transcend geo-historical and ethnic boundaries.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Concerto No. 1, 1st Movement – Formal Plan

Section	1891 Original Moscow, Gutheil	1917 Interim Revision State Publishers, USSR (1965)	1919 Authorized Revision New York, Boosey & Hawkes
Exposition	Mm.	Mm.	Mm.
Intro	1	1	1
Theme 1-Section A	16	16	16
Theme 1-Section B	32	32	32
Theme 1-Section C	49	48	48
Theme 2	60	57	57
Transition	74	71	71
Development			
Intro	82	75	75
Theme 2	99	109	109
Theme 1-Section A	141	150	150
Th. 1-Sec. A/Intro	147	162	162
Recapitulation			
Theme 1-Section A	167	172	172
Theme 1-Section B	175	180	180
Theme 1-Section C	192	192	192
Theme 2	203	201	201
Transition	217	215	215
Cadenza	231	225	225
Coda	287-312	278-295	278-295

Appendix B: Sonata No. 2, 1st Movement – Formal Plan

Section	1913 Original Moscow, Gutheil	1931 Revision Paris, Tair
Exposition	Mm.	Mm.
Theme 1	1	1
Extension	14	14
Theme 2	37	37
Extension	49	49
Development		
Subsection 1	70	58
Subsection 2	85	67
Subsection 3	107	85
Recapitulation		
Theme 1	121	97
Extension	129	105
Theme 2	141	112
Extension	147	118
Coda	169-184	125-138

Appendix C: Concerto No. 4, 1st Movement – Formal Plan

Section	1926 Original Version New York, Boosey & Hawkes (1999)	1928 Revised Version Paris, Tair	1941 Revised Version Paris, Tair
Exposition	Mm.	Mm.	Mm.
Orchestral Tutti	1	1	1
Theme 1	7	7	7
Orchestral Tutti	22	22	22
Theme 1	28	28	28
Transition	44	44	44
Theme 2	102	102	77
Transition	120	120	94
Development			
Motive (in Orch.)	139	139	113
Transition	159	159	133
Motive	173	173	147
First Climactic Section	183	183	157
Settling	189	189	163
Building	195	195	169
Second Climactic Section	212	212	186
Peak/Decline	228	228	202
Transition	236	236	210
Recapitulation			
Theme 2 (in Orch.)	246	246	220
Transition	274	274	249
Theme 1 (in Orch.)	336	309	279
Themes 1 & 2	348	321	291
Coda	364-369	337-342	307-312

Appendix D: Outline of Rachmaninoff's Post-1917 Concert Tours

Year	Fall Concerts (Oct-Dec)	Winter/Spring Concerts (Jan-Apr)	Works Performed			
			Revised Works (Op. 1, 36, 40)	"Popular Concertos" (No. 2 and 3)		Late Works (Op. 41-45)
1917-18	0	12 (Scandinavia)	(Con 1 revised) Son 2	Con 2	Con 3	
1918-19	15 (Scandinavia)	37 (NA)	Con 1	Con 2	Con 3	
1919-20	69 (NA)		Con 1	Con 2	Con 3	
1920-21	55 (NA)		Son 2	Con 2	Con 3	
1921-22	66 (NA), 2 (UK, May)		Con 1	Con 2	Con 3	
1922-23	71 (NA)			Con 2	Con 3	
1923-24	34 (NA)			Con 2		
1924-25	9 (UK), 18 (NA)	43 (NA)		Con 2	Con 3	
1925-26	22 (NA)	0				
1926-27	0	35 (NA)	Con 4			Op. 41
1927-28	0	30 (NA), 1 (UK, May)	(Con 4 revised)		Con 3	
1928-29	25 (Europe)	31 (NA)			Con 3	
1929-30	32 (Europe)	24 (NA)	Con 4	Con 2		
1930-31	22 (Europe)	24 (NA)	Con 4			
1931-32	28 (NA), 2 (UK/France, Mar)		(Son 2 revised) Son 2	Con 2		Op. 42
1932-33	50 (NA), 3 (UK/France, Apr)		Son 2	Con 2	Con 3	Op. 42
1933-34	25 (NA), 7 (UK/France, Mar)					Op. 42
1934-35	29 (NA)	28 (UK/Europe)		Con 2		Op. 43
1935-36	35 (NA)	23 (UK/Europe)		Con 2	Con 3	Op. 43
1936-37	2 (UK, Sept) 45 (NA), 11 (UK, Mar-Apr)			Con 2	Con 3	Op. 43, 44
1937-38	35 (NA)	18 (UK/Europe)	Con 1			Op. 43, 44
1938-39	41 (NA)	16 (UK/Europe)	Con 1	Con 2		Op. 43
1939-40	41 (NA)		Con 1	Con 2	Con 3	Op. 43, 44

1940-41	46 (NA)	Con 1	Con 2	Con 3	Op. 43, 44
1941-42	53 (NA)	(Con 4 revised) Con 4	Con 2	Con 3	Op. 43, 44, 45
1942-43	21 (NA) *9 scheduled post-mortem		Con 2	Con 3	Op. 43, 44, 45

*Concerto No. 2 performed every pre-1917 concert season from Dec 15, 1900 premiere, Exceptions: 1904-05 (Bolshoi Theatre year) and 1912-13 (Moscow Philharmonic year)

*Concerto No. 3 performed every pre-1917 concert season from Nov 28, 1909 premiere, Exception: 1912-13 (Moscow Philharmonic year)

*Sonata No. 2 performed every pre-1917 concert season from Nov 22, 1913 premiere

Appendix E: Recital Programs

Appendix E-1: Recital Program December 2016

December 9, 2016
6 p.m., von Kuster Hall
Renee MacKenzie, *piano*

Variations on a theme from Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen (J S Bach), S180 F. Liszt
(1811-1886)

Frühlingsnacht F. Liszt
Ständchen (1811-1886)
Aufenthalt
from Schwanengesang (F. Schubert)

-Intermission-

Variations on a theme of Handel J. Brahms
(1833-1897)

This recital is presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctorate of Musical Arts (Performance) degree.

Appendix E-2: Recital Program March 2017

March 31, 2017
6 p.m., von Kuster Hall
Renee MacKenzie, *piano*
Reanne Kruisselbrink, *violin*
Thomas Beard, *cello*

Trio élégiaque No. 1, in G minor

S. Rachmaninoff
(1873-1943)

Cello Sonata, Op. 19, in G minor
Lento; Allegro moderato
Allegro scherzando
Andante
Allegro mosso

S. Rachmaninoff
(1873-1943)

This recital is presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctorate of Musical Arts (Performance) degree.

Appendix E-3: Recital Program December 2017

December 8, 2017
6 p.m., von Kuster Hall
Renee MacKenzie, *piano*

Rachmaninoff's Piano Works and Diasporic Identity: Compositional Revision and Discourse in Sonata No. 2

Sonata No. 2, Op. 36, in B-flat minor
Allegro agitato
Non allegro
Allegro molto

S. Rachmaninoff
(1873-1943)

This recital is presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctorate of Musical Arts (Performance) degree.

Appendix E-4: Recital Program April 2018

April 23, 2018
6 p.m., von Kuster Hall
Renee MacKenzie, *piano*

Nocturne in C-sharp minor, Op. 27, No. 1 F. Chopin
(1810-1849)

Nocturne No. 3, in C minor, from Three Nocturnes S. Rachmaninoff
(1873-1943)

-Intermission-

Piano Concerto No. 4, Op. 40 S. Rachmaninoff
(1873-1943)
Allegro vivace
Largo
Allegro vivace

Natalia Skomorokhova, *piano*

Paraphrase of Tchaikovsky: Lullaby S. Rachmaninoff
(1873-1943)

Thank you to Natalia for her artistic collaboration.

*Thank you to Prof. Stéphan Sylvestre for his musical insight and expertise as pianist and
pedagogue*

*This recital is presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctorate of
Musical Arts (Performance) degree.*

Curriculum Vitae

Name: Renee MacKenzie

Education: The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, Canada
2013–2018 D.M.A.

The University of Toronto
Toronto, Ontario, Canada
2008–2010 M.Mus.

Wilfrid Laurier University
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada
2004–2008 B.Mus

Employment: Teaching Assistant
The University of Western Ontario
2013–2016

Tutorial Director
The University of Toronto
2008–2010