Elliott Antokoletz Michael von Albrecht (eds.)

International Journal

Musicology

New Series Vol. 2



The volume ranges from a study of the medieval music-theatre piece *Play of Daniel*, and a double attribution of the Renaissance madrigal *Canzon se l'esser meco* to theoretic-analytical studies of musical language, style, and aesthetics in Classical and Romantic as well as post-tonal music. It includes Mozart's use of expression markings, re-invention of the chorale by nineteenth-century opera and symphony composers, the Sturm und Drang spirit in Schubert's ballad setting of Goethe's *Erlkönig*, and Liszt's transformation of chromatic tonality into a more abstract symmetrical tonal language. This volume also explores Wagner's game plan in *Tristan*, comparison of the research and compositional activity of Hungarian Bartók and Armenian Komitas, consistency versus deconstruction as shown in the evolution of the interval cycles in post-tonal music, and a re-conception of analysis.

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Komitas and Bartók: From Ethnicity to Modernity¹

Summary

This paper explores the parallels in research and compositional activity of two composers, musicologists, and ethnographers—Armenian Vardapet Komitas and Hungarian Béla Bartók. Both musicians, belonging to the same generation of musicians, purposefully devoted themselves to the exploration of national music, collecting and studying folk songs of their own and neighboring nations. The results and conclusions of their studies, as well as the thoughts they expressed, are amazingly alike. Both of them were well known as the best ethnographers of their time. As a result of deep exploration of ethnic music, both came to reject the major and minor scales of Western European art music, suggesting new chords built on fourths that would become so basic in twentieth-century music.

"I have never seen such elegant arrangements of exotic music, with exception of perhaps Béla Bartók." Those were the impressions of Vardapet Komitas' works expressed by Alois Melichar, Austrian composer,

¹ Originally published in Armenian in Tatevik Shakhkulyan, "Some Parallels between Komitas and Bartok," in: *Haykazean Hayagitakan Handes* [Haigazian Armenological Review, in Armenian], vol. 29, Beirut, edition of Armenological chair of Hajgazian University (2009): 359–365; also in "Komitas and Bartok: Parallels in Research and Composition, in: *Armenology and the Challenges of Modern Times*," (papers of the Second International Congress in Armenology), Yerevan, ed. *Gitutyun* of Armenian National Academy of Sciences (2014): 412–415.

² Extracted from Alois Melichar's letter to Margarit Babayan, held in the Museum of Literature and Arts in Yerevan. See Azat Ordukhanyan, "Briefe über Komitas: die Briefe Alois Melichars an Margarit Babajan," *Armenische-Deutche Korrespondenz*, Heft 3–4, S. 24 (2006); see also Margarit Babayan, "Music Impressions From Journey Over Armenia" (in Armenian), *Anahit* (July-August, 1930).): 82.

conductor, and music critic. The comparison of the Armenian and Hungarian musicians, two representatives of musical folklore in the cited letter refers to arrangements only; meanwhile, their commonality is more, scholars also finding some similarities between the temperament of Armenians and Hungarians in general.³

In a number of studies that have provided Komitas' proximate and accurate description, especially in recent years in a number of CDs and webpages, "the Armenian Bartok" characterization is implied to describe Komitas. Associations with the Hungarian composer are made especially to point out that (1) like Bartok in Hungary, Komitas in Armenia founded a national direction for composition; (2) both composers tirelessly explored and researched; and (3) both traveled and recorded ethnomusicological materials etc. "The quality and quantity of [Komitas'] work can be compared with the work of such musicologists of the 20th century, as Béla Bartók was." "What [Komitas] gave Armenians, was similar to what Bartók gave Hungarians—the voice of national soul."

Parallels in lives and activities

The Armenian composer, musicologist, music pedagogue, singer and conductor Komitas (Soghomon Soghomonyan, 1869–1935) was born in an Armenian-inhabited village in Turkey. He was eleven years old when he moved to Echmiadzin, Armenia, to study at *Gevorkian* Theological Seminary. In 1896–99, Komitas studied in Berlin, at the Faculty of Philosophy of *Humboldt* University and at the *Richard Schmidt* private conservatory. Komitas lived mostly in Echmiadzin, and later shortly in Constantinople (now Istanbul). His creative life was interrupted in 1915 by the Armenian Genocide. He spent his subsequent years at psychiatric hospitals in Paris.

The Hungarian composer, musicologist and pianist Béla Bartók (1881–1945) was born in Transylvania, now in the territory of Romania. Bartók

³ Svetlana Sarkisyan, *Armyanskaya Muzika V Kontekste 20-go Veka* [Armenian Music in the Context of the 20th Century] (Moscow: ed. *Compozitor* Sarkisyan, 2002): 72.

⁴ Rita Soulahian-Kuyumjian, Archeology of Madness: Komitas, Portrait of An Armenian Icon (Princeton, NJ: Gomidas Institute, 2002): 214.

⁵ Ibid.

studied at the Royal Academy of Music in Budapest. He lived mostly in Hungary, and later in the USA.

Both composers were born outside of, but lived in, their historical fatherlands. On different occasions, both later moved to another country. Both passed away in other countries: Bartók in New-York, Komitas in Paris. The remains of both composers were posthumously transferred to their fatherlands. The chain of random similarities in the lives of the two composers can be traced.

In both Komitas' and Bartók's music activity, collecting and studying folk music material was especially noteworthy. Both devoted themselves to that field, travelled in various places collecting, writing down, recording and scientifically exploring peasant music. Beside their own national music both highly appreciated the music of neighboring nations. Ethnomusicology is grateful to both of them for revealing and saving the unnoticed, latent and unfamiliar layers of folk music from oblivion.⁶

Komitas started collecting folk music from the 1880s, when he was yet a student at the Seminary in Echmiadzin. By the beginning of the 1890s, Komitas was already using his transcriptions for teaching. Then, his activity in this direction became increasingly consistent and recurrent. Komitas visited different localities in Armenia and adjacent countries, where he collected musical material, classified and studied them according to various perspectives. Komitas continued this kind of work during his entire creative life. By that time, Komitas realized that for a more correct understanding of peculiarities of Armenian music, exploration of the songs of neighboring nations was necessary to clarify mutual influences of the songs that coexisted in adjacent areas. For that purpose, Komitas collected and studied folk songs and melodies of Kurds, Greeks, Arabs, Turks, Iranians, Assyrians and other nationalities. In his lectures for international audiences, Komitas used to demonstrate the differences between folk music of various nations. For

⁶ Indeed, in the 20th century the growing interest in ethnic music could be characterized as world-wide or at least all-European. Noteworthy is, for example, the activity of George Ensecu (Romania), Ralph Vaughan-Williams (England), Manuel de Falla (Spain), Karol Maciej Szymanowski (Poland) and others. However, with due regard for each of them, the activity of none gained such a level of depth and conceptual intention as displayed by Komitas and Bartók.

example, in 1899, during his lecture at the Berlin Conservatory, Komitas presented Armenian, Arabic, Turkish, and Iranian songs, pointing to their details and factors that differentiated them.⁷ The same year, in the framework of the events held on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of *Gevorkian* Seminary, Komitas read a lecture entitled *Embarrassment of Armenian Church Chant*, in which he compared the Armenian and Assyrian songs and modes.⁸ There is also a hypothesis that at Berlin University he had written a study on Kurdish music. By the method of minute exploration and comparison of the features in the folk songs of different nations, Komitas was researching the most reliable features of each of them. He used to present his explorations in the form of lectures and articles.

Bartok started collecting and studying folk songs from 1904. He irreversibly devoted himself to folk music immediately after the first acquaintance with this field. Bartók and his friend, the Hungarian composer and ethnomusicologist Zoltán Kodály periodically undertook visits to dwelling places of Hungarians and other neighboring nations for the purpose of collecting folk-music materials. Besides the Hungarian songs, Bartók was interested in studying Romanian, Slovakian, Ukrainian, Serbian, Croatian, Turkish and songs of other nations to clarify their mutual interactions. Bartók also used to publicize the results of his explorations in the form of lectures and articles.

Both ethnomusicologists paid attention to the features formulated in the songs of definite territories. Komitas studied the dialectical features of the melodies and songs according to location: Akn, Van, and Shatakh, etc. He wrote about folk-music dialects in his research. Bartók studied, for example, folk music in Mezivsheg's, Máramaros Romanian, Siladian, and Satmar regions, etc.

If Bartók had to reveal the essence of authentic Hungarian music, Komitas' work regarding this issue was doubly difficult, because he had first to

⁷ A. Yedigar, "Haykakan Yerazhshtutyun Berlinum (Armenian Music in Berlin, in Armenian) letter from Germany," *Nor Dar* monthly, No. 115 (1899): 2.

⁸ Ruben Terlemezyan, *Komitas* (Yerevan, ed. of National Academy of Sciences, 1992).

⁹ Komitas, *Hodvatsner yerv usumnasirutyunner* [Articles and Studies, in Armenian], ed. R. Terlemezyan (Yerevan, State edition, 1941), p. 26.

prove the existence of the unique substance of Armenian music together with expounding its essence.

Komitas' work was disrupted quite early because of the Armenian Genocide, ¹⁰ while Bartók continued working in folklore studies until the 1940s. Moreover, as a result of the mentioned circumstances, a huge part of Komitas' heritage was lost. In the case of Bartók, the working conditions were more fortunate, and his collected materials, research, and compositions have been held in different libraries and archives of the world.

Both authors travelled much in different European countries for concerts and lectures. In both cases their accomplished work was highly appreciated already by the specialists of their times. Claude Debussy, Romain Rolland, Lui Lalua, Oscar Fleischer and many others expressed their admiration for Komitas' works. He was appreciated as a reliable and popular representative of Eastern music. As for Bartók, he is the most popular ethnomusicologist in the world even from the standpoint of the twenty-first century.

If it is possible to trace a chain of accidental similarities in the biographical elements of the two composers, in the case of the collection and research of folk music the similarity is not accidental. This is the generality of their aesthetic and scientific approaches.

Parallel ideas

The coincidences in the ethnomusicological activities of the two researchers are especially interesting. The two collectors frequently on different occasions mentioned that the unspoiled villages were the most convenient places for song collection, because they had only a few external influences, and they could even be without any influences.

Both of them marked the most important difficulties: the villagers rejected singing without occasion, beyond corresponding place and time. Komitas wrote in his article entitled *Armenian Peasant Music* (the similarity of Komitas' and Bartók's thought being evident):

They sing with huge difficulties or they do not sing at all, even they ridicule, if a non-villager asks them, for instance, to sing a working song, while they are not in

¹⁰ Raymond Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History* (London-New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

the field, in the process of working, moreover, at home [...] No villager will sing a plough song when sitting at home, because it is the threshing floor to be the place of creating and singing plough songs." ¹¹ Bartók wrote in his article entitled "Why and How do we collect Folk Music?: "It was considered absolutely improper, verging on the impossible, to sing Christmas songs, wedding or harvest songs, at any time other than their respective occasions." ¹²

Both Komitas and Bartók were concerned with the reality that national music was distorted according to the taste and requirement of officials. Komitas' following discussion refers to church, rather than folk music, which is not essential in this case.

Komitas wrote in *Armenian Peasant and Church Songs*: "For pleasing the Amiras¹³ and amusing them, the priests of Constantinople use to vibrate and embellish the church melodies with influence of sharki, turki and mani¹⁴: thus, sharakans¹⁵, especially the festive ones are inculcated with strange style and distracted their genuineness." ¹⁶

Bartok wrote in Narodnaya muzika Wengrii i sosednikh narodow: "There are reasons to assume that the ruling class had a huge role in inserting strange music elements." Again, we see the similarity of the two thoughts.

Both musicologists were concerned about strange music being represented on behalf of a national one. Komitas' article "Recueil de Chants Populaires Armeniens" was written in association with this question. He discussed the songs included in a song-book entitled *Collection of Armenian*

¹¹ Vardapet Komitas, *Studies and Articles*, Book I, ed. *Sargis Khachents* (Yerevan, 2005), p. 377 (in Armenian, my translation).

¹² Béla Bartók, *Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (New York: St. Martin's Press; London: Faber & Faber, 1976; Reprinted Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 15 (a similar thought is found on p. 332).

¹³ Amira was the Eastern title for nobility.

¹⁴ Sharki, turki and mani are genres of Eastern music.

¹⁵ Sharakan is the main genre of the Armenian medieval chants, which could be compared with the hymn of Western chant.

¹⁶ See Komitas, Studies and Articles, p. 329 (in Armenian, my translation).

¹⁷ Béla Bartók and Izrail Nestiev, "Народная музыка Венгрии и соседних народов" [Folk Music of Hungary and Neighbors], *Muzika* (Moscow: 1966), p. 18. (in Russian, my translation).

¹⁸ Komitas, Studies and Articles, p. 133.

Folk Songs, in some cases as translations of new songs of other nations, in other cases as art compositions of composers.

Bartók wrote, in *The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music*: "What kind of folk songs did these musicians know? Mostly new German and Western European songs and so-called folk songs made up by popular composers." ¹⁹

One more comparison: Komitas wrote in *Armenian Folk and Church songs*: "The form of expression and genius of music depend on nature." ²⁰

Bartók wrote, in *The Relation of Folk Songs to the Development of the Art Music of Our Time*: "The peasant's art is a phenomenon of Nature." ²¹

Thus, as we see, the writings and ideas of Komitas and Bartók express the same realities, the same concerns, the same remarks. Sometimes there is even an impression that those ideas could be written by the same person.

Compositional styles and techniques

The exploration of folk music was formative in the compositional style both in Komitas' and Bartók's creativity. Both composers created a new, unique musical mentality, original in the scope of world music. In both cases, innovation was suggested in different components of the music, including harmony, counterpoint, texture, rhythm and meter, etc.

Thus, as a result of studying the structure of Armenian music, Komitas came to the idea that the modes of Armenian national music do not in any way conform to major/minor, which were the basis of Western European music and preserved the leading role in world music. Unlike major/minor, the modes and scales of Armenian music consist of mutually conjoint rather than neighboring disjoint tetrachords. This theory can be found in Komitas' different articles, including *Chants of St. Patarag* and *The Armenian Church Music.*²² From the modes of Armenian music, Komitas derived characteristic principles of arrangements with new harmonization and texture, as well as modal devices unknown at that time.

¹⁹ Bartok, Essays, p. 342.

²⁰ Komitas, Studies and Articles, p. 326 (in Armenian, my translation).

²¹ Bartok, *Essays*, p. 338.

²² Komitas Studies and Articles, pp. 90-119, pp. 120-131.

Similarly, Bartók's explorations led to the conclusion about the contradiction of Hungarian music toward the major/minor system. Before Bartók's explorations, a constant opinion about Hungarian music existed, according to which their modes typically have the structure with two augmented seconds. Moreover, those modes were usually referred to as *Hungarian scales*. Bartók demonstrated that pentatonic systems lay in the basis of deep and old Hungarian songs. Organizing the sounds of authentic folk tunes in the vertical dimension, Bartók gained new harmonies. The evolution of his musical language led "from the folk modes to a highly systematic and integrated use of abstract melodic and harmonic formations."²³

S. Sarkisyan noticed an interesting consistency. Although in Komitas' compositions the fourth chords and mixed-interval chords were formulated from folk music sources, in the middle of the 20th century, in the works of Armenian composers, the rational necessity of employing fourth chords was perceived as a favorable influence of Bartók's tradition.²⁴

Thus, both Komitas' and Bartók's creative searches led to fourth chords. This phenomenon is especially noteworthy, because the fourth-structured chords are considered to be the basis of the main tendencies in the development of harmony in the 20th century music. Komitas' fourth-chords were first observed by Shahan Berberyan²⁵ and Robert Atayan,²⁶ his viewpoint then developed by Rafael Stepanyan,²⁷ who displayed the fourth-chords according to a number of examples from different compositions by Komitas. Example 1 is one of them:

²³ Elliott Antokoletz, *The music of Béla Bartók: A Study of Tonality and Progression in Twentieth-Century Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), p. xi.

²⁴ Svetlana Sarkisyan, *Armyanskaya Muzika V Kontekste* 20-go *Veka* [Armenian Music in the Context of the 20th Century, in Russian] (Moscow: *Compozitor*, 2002), p. 88.

²⁵ Shahan Berberyan, *Komitas Vardapet*, *Andz yev Gorts* [Komitas Vardapet: Person and Activity, in Armenian] (New York, 1969), pp. 8–37.

²⁶ Robert Atayan, *Zhoghovrdakan Yergi Nerdashnakman Skzbunqy Komitasi Mot* [The Principle of Arrangement of Folk Song in Komitas, in Armenian], ed. Arm.SSR Academy of Sciences, N9 (Yerevan: Teghekagir, 1949), pp. 87–113.

²⁷ Rafael Stepanyan, "Fifth-Chords and Fourth-Chords in Komitas' Compositions in Armenia" [in Armenian], *Komitasakan* 1 (1969), ed. by R. Atayan, Yerevan, ed. of Arm.SSR Academy of Sciences, pp. 121–147.

Example 1: Extract from Komitas' *Kancheh Kroonk* (Armenian Կանչե կռունկ - Call, Crane, Komitas 1960, p. 50).



As is well known, the usage of fourth chords is one of the typical features in Bartók's compositions. He expounded his point about fourth chords on various occasions, among them in the article *The Relation of Folk Songs to the Development of the Art Music of Our Time*²⁸ and *The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music*.²⁹ Example 2 is an extract from his *Eight Improvisations*:

Example 2: Extract from Bartók's Eight Improvisations.



This is an example of the quartal harmonic concept generated from the folk tune. Bartók's use of five of the six transpositions of cell Z is a vivid example not only of paired vertical fourths, but the larger cycle of fourths

²⁸ Bartok, Essays, pp. 334-336.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 343.

implied in these combinations. The successions of Z cells allow extension into the cycle of fourths from the fourths in the tune itself (D-G-C). For instance, the upper fourths (Bb-F/F-C/G-D) of the first three Z cells is an extension of C-G-D of the tune. And the lower fourths of the chords (G#-C#/C#-F#/B-E extend the upper fourths to give the total content of G#-C#-F#-B-E-[]-D-G-C-F-Bb-[]. From the modal folk source, the entire cycle of fourths is generated in the more abstract art-music composition. Discussing cyclic-interval transformation of the bimodal folk-tune variant in Bartók's *Eighth Improvisation*, Elliott Antokoletz considers that the quartal concept goes beyond simply the vertical parameter and generates the "12-tone" context.³⁰

The most noticeable element here from our viewpoint is that the fourth-chord results in the diminished octave, a phenomenon which is widespread in Armenian music and, according to Edward Pashinyan, in Armenian art music it is derived from the modal scales of traditional music.³¹ Pashinyan expounded on those chords according to the scales that result in conjoint tetrachords typical of Armenian music, which were first noticed by Komitas in *Die Armenische Kirchenmusik*.³²

In regard to the fourth principle, it is also interesting to refer to the opinion of the Romanian composer George Enescu. He also found that the intervals of the fourth, fifth, and octave should make the harmonic basis in folk-music arrangements. He suggested this thesis for preserving the "typical features", "smell", "musing" of the folk song.³³

³⁰ Antokoletz, The Music of Béla Bartók, pp. 213-217.

³¹ Edward Pashinyan, "Modes of Armenian Music and their Harmonic Features" [in Armenian], *Harmony*, part 13 (Yerevan, 1987): 485–503, ed. Sovetakan grox.

³² Keworkian Komitas, "Das Achttonsystem der Armenier," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, Jahrgang I, Heft I (Leipzig: Oktober-December, 1899), pp. 54–64.

³³ George Enescu, Wospominaniya i biograficheskie materiali [Memories and Biographic Materials, in Russian] (Moscow-Leningrad: ed. Muzika, 1966), p. 236.

The ground for development of the fourth chords in world music is considered to be Alexander Scriabin's harmony.³⁴ However, it is worth noticing that in world music, the emergence of fourth-chords presented a necessary stage of making a definite turning point in the immanent development of music, and it had appeared in the process of antagonizing the classical tertian chords and searching for new devices. Meanwhile in the music of both Komitas and Bartók, the chords with fourth structure emanate from the sources of folk music.

Compositional priority of polyphony is one more factor to be noticed in connection with Komitas-Bartók parallels. Komitas has created his own type of polyphony, which has no reciprocal in the scope of world music of any epoch thanks to its modal-tonal basis and to textural novelties. Bartok also is a famous polyphonist. The evidence is found in many of his compositions. In particular, *Mikrokosmos* for piano, with 153 pieces in 6 books, presents polyphony according to increasing complexity.³⁵ The cycle starts with pieces in unison texture, then pieces based on imitation and canon (in both primary and inversional forms) at different intervals. Step by step more compound devices of counterpoint appear: polyphony of layers, of chords, polytonal, dodecaphonic etc.

Komitas' *Polyphonic Cycle* consists of only three polyphonic pieces.³⁶ The first and the third pieces present a canon at the octave, the second one a canon at the fourth. Indeed, the polyphonic cycles of the two composers differ in volume; however, the idea is similar. From this point of view it is interesting to compare extracts from canons written by Komitas and by Bartok (Example 3 a, b).

³⁴ Elliott Antokoletz, *Twentieth-Century Music* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1992), p. 100.

³⁵ Béla Bartók, Mikrokozmosz (Editio musica Budapest, Boosey & Hawkes Ltd.).

³⁶ Published in Komitas, *Works*, v. 6 (Yerevan: ed. Sovetakan Grox, 1982), pp. 138–139.

Example 3 a, b.

a) Komitas, Tiny Polyphonic Cycle, № 2



b) Bartók, Mikrokosmos, № 64



The canon by Komitas has a general tonality of G major. At the same time, in conditions of a canon with imitation at the fourth, bitonality is definitely evident, displaying G major and C major. Each appears with typical phrases, including raised second and fourth steps, the combination of which leads to the chromatic scale. In the Bartók example, bitonality is also displayed in the context of a simple melody. G minor and E minor are employed with the addition of drones. The similarity between the two compositions is evident.³⁷

Further thoughts

A surprising and, at the same time, explainable resemblance of creation again leads to a curious question: how did it happen that two contemporary individuals possessing similar interests and convictions, living in the same period, displaying a number of commonalities in composition, being brave innovators and without repeating their predecessors, as well as having a common environment, never met nor referred to each other, or, at least, there is no evidence of their relationship. When discussing Chinese

³⁷ Interestingly, polyphony prevails also in Enescu's compositions, "I am originally a polyphonist, rather than a supporter of nice harmonies"; see Enescu, *Wospominaniya*, p. 81.

music in his *History of Music*, Komitas noticed that besides Chinese, pentatonic scales appear in Finnish music.³⁸ Not a word did he write about a Hungarian one. Bartók wrote in *Why and How do we collect Folk Music?*: "Areas of importance such as Greece, Turkey, and the whole of Central Asia, can be considered as wholly unknown from the musical folklore viewpoint."³⁹ Again, there is no word about Komitas' activity.

Komitas and Bartók are united also by their interest in Turkish music. In 1936 Bartók travelled in Turkey for the purpose of collecting music. 40 It is well known that Komitas had a definite role in collecting Turkish music and he was highly appreciated in that country. Even the Turkish government had the aim of establishing a national conservatory under Komitas' guidance many years before inviting Bartók for the same purpose. Further noticeable evidence of Komitas' position in Turkey is the fact that it was the Turkish prince along with the American ambassador Henry Morgenthau who petitioned for Komitas' return from exile during the Armenian Genocide. 41 Even if during his visit to Turkey Bartók had heard about Komitas, there is no information about this.

Heretofore, it is a fact that there was solid ground for Melichar's hint about the arrangements of Komitas and Bartók. Hard work in the study of folk songs in the process of the creation of a lifetime, and to project their content and structure in composition—this is the formula in both Komitas' and Bartok' activity, which seems to be a simple one from its appearance.

³⁸ Komitas, Studies and Articles, p. 147.

³⁹ Bartok, Essays, p. 12.

⁴⁰ In connection with Bartok's "Turkish songs," Lilit Yernjakyan finds the origin of a definite group of them dubious, considering also Bartok's suspicions and distrusts, "For us it is more than doubtful that Bartok mentioning and listing the names of all possible nomadic and sedentary tribes and nations, with whom Turks had relations centuries long, never mentioned Armenians. Possibly it could be also a result of 'serious' editorial intervention." See Yernjakyan Lilit, "Ashughakan Siravepy Hay-Arevelyan Yerazhshtakan Pokharnchutyunneri Hamateqstum" [Ashough Romance in the Context of Armenian-Eastern Music Contacts, in Armenian] (Doctoral Dissertation, Yerevan, Library of Institute of Arts of the Armenian National Academy of Sciences, 2004), p. 181.

⁴¹ Terlemezyan, Komitas, and Kévorkian, The Armenian Genocide, p. 537.

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