Notes

- 1 The political and cultural climate in Hungary at the turn of the twentieth century
- 1 See Tibor Tallián, *Béla Bartók: The Man and His Work*, trans. Gyula Gulyás, trans. rev. Paul Merrick (Budapest: Corvina, 1988), pp. 24 and 57 for further details.
- 2 Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998. Additionally, Frigyesi's dissertation, 'Béla Bartók and Hungarian Nationalism: The Development of Bartók's Social and Political Ideas at the Turn of the Century (1899–1903), Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania (1989), explores Bartók's ideological origins, especially his extreme nationalism of these years and its relationship to the symphonic poem *Kossuth*. 3 See Tibor Frank, 'Hungary and the Dual Monarchy, 1867–1890', in A History of Hungary, ed. Peter F. Sugar, Péter Hanák and Tibor Frank (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 252-61, and Géza Jeszenszky, 'Hungary through World War I and the End of the Dual Monarchy', ibid., p. 270.
- 4 Ethnic minorities were referred to as 'nationalities' (in contrast to the Magyar 'nation'). Many writers of the day commented on the strangeness of this locution.
- 5 The counties referred to here and in subsequent chapters are the specific regions into which Hungary was divided prior to the First World War.
- 6 A powerful selection of Ady's voluminous journalistic writings appears in English translation as *The Explosive Country: A Selection of Articles and Studies, 1898–1916*, ed. Erzsébet Vezér (Budapest: Corvina, 1977). Judit Frigyesi also discusses Ady's vigorous journalistic advocacy for the poor and criticism of racism and chauvinism in *Béla Bartók and Turn-of-the-Century Budapest*, pp. 171–72.
- 7 Jeszenszky, 'Hungary through World War I', p. 282.
- 8 Frank, 'Hungary and the Dual Monarchy', pp. 258–60.
- 9 Mary Gluck, *Lukács and His Generation:* 1900–1918 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp. 45–46. 10 Jeszenszky, 'Hungary through World War I',
- 10 Jeszenszky, 'Hungary through World War I p. 275.11 Gluck, *Lukács and His Generation*, p. 48,
- quoting Balázs' diary.

 12 John Lukacs, Budapest 1900: A Historical

- Portrait of a City and Its Culture (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988), pp. 71, 187.
- 13 Gyula Laurencic, The Millennium of Hungary and the National Exhibition: A Collection of Photographic Views of the most interesting parts of the country, of towns and arttreasures of Hungary, as also of the most noteworthy objects in the Exhibition (Budapest: William Kunosy and Son, 1896), p. 96.
- 14 Ibid., p. 79.
- 15 Ibid., p. 32.
- 16 Jeszenszky, 'Hungary through World War I', p. 269. The *ispán* was the top county administrator; in rural areas he could rule almost as a feudal lord, even in the early twentieth century.
- 17 Ernő Baloghy, A Magyar Kultúra és a Nemzetiségek [Hungarian Culture and the Nationalities] (Budapest: Deutsch Zsigmond és Társa Könyvkereskedése, 1908), pp. 40–41. One choice quote: 'There is no Serb culture in Hungary, nor could there be'. Ibid., p. 159. This and other translations are by the present author unless otherwise noted.
- 18 Ibid., pp. 204-05.
- 19 This 1911 lecture/article was reprinted in A. Komlós (ed.), *Ignotus válogatott írásai* [Ignotus's Collected Writings] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1977), pp. 650–68. 20 From the review entitled 'A magyar kultúra és a nemzetiségek', reprinted in Baloghy, *A Magyar Kultúra*, pp. 615–19.
- 21 Excerpt. The entire poem is collected in József Láng and Pál Schweitzer (eds.), Ady Endre Összes Versei [Endre Ady's Collected Poems] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1977), pp. 181–82. The translation for the first two stanzas was adapted from that appearing in Oszkár Jászi, Homage to Danubia, trans. G. Litván (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1995), p. 195.
- 22 Tallián, Béla Bartók, pp. 7-10.
- 23 Ibid., p. 10.
- 24 Ibid., p. 21.
- 25 Frigyesi, 'Hungarian Nationalism', p. 85.
- 26 Halsey Stevens, *The Life and Music of Béla Bartók*, 3rd edn, ed. M. Gillies (Oxford:
- Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 9–10.
- 27 Frigyesi, 'Hungarian Nationalism', pp. 30, 86.
- 28 This quote from Kodály, 'Confession', p. 210, cited in Frigyesi, 'Hungarian Nationalism', p. 45.

Frigyesi also discusses the complex issue of German and German-speaking Jewish intellectuals in Budapest culture in considerable depth.

29 Frigyesi, 'Hungarian Nationalism', pp. 30–35, discusses Bartók's relationships with Jewish concert-goers and salon guests in depth, with the relevant quotes from his letters. Bartók first went to Gruber's salon in 1901 (*ibid.*, p. 70) and they became close friends.

- 30 Ibid., pp. 85-89.
- 31 Frigyesi, 'Hungarian Nationalism', discusses in detail the development of Bartók's most nationalist years and the context of *Kossuth*. For more on its reception and on the reception of subsequent pieces, see David E. Schneider's essay, chapter 11, in this volume.
- 32 'The cost [of publication] was borne by the composers and the few subscribers they had managed to cajole . . . Five hundred copies were published which took thirty years to sell out'. Tallián, *Béla Bartók*, p. 58.
- 33 Ibid., p. 59.
- 34 From Bartók's letter of 6 September 1907, published in János Demény (ed.), *Béla Bartók Letters* (London: Faber & Faber, 1971), p. 76. (Translation adapted from Demény.)
- 35 Ibid., p. 83.
- 36 Quoted in Frigyesi, Béla Bartók and Turn-of-the-Century Budapest, p. 156.
- 37 Ibid., p. 154; original emphasis.
- 38 Ibid., pp. 154-55.
- 39 Ibid., p. 171; see also pp. 157-71.
- 40 Ibid., p. 178.
- 41 Ibid., p. 177.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p. 171; see also pp. 177–85.
- 43 Gluck, Lukács and His Generation, p. 15.
- 44 Rezső Alberti, 'A Rózsavölgyi és Társa cég története 1908-tól 1949-ig' [The History of the Rózsavölgyi Publishing House, from 1908 to 1949], Magyar zenetörténeti tanulmányok 3. Mosonyi Mihály és Bartók Béla emlékére [Essays in the History of Hungarian Music, vol. 3. In Memory of Mihály Mosonyi and Béla Bartók], ed. Ferenc Bónis (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1973), p. 192.
- 45 The present author's work on UMZE is part of a forthcoming dissertation, part of which was presented at the 1997 American Musicological Society Annual Meeting in a paper entitled 'Reconciling Modernism and Nationalism: Béla Bartók and the New Hungarian Music Society'.
- 46 Letter to Emma Gruber, 25 November 1906, quoted in Tallián, *Béla Bartók*, p. 55.
- 47 Translation adapted from 'On Hungarian Music' (1911), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (London: Faber & Faber, 1976 repr. Lincoln, Nebr., and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 302.

2 Bartók and folk music

- 1 Zoltán Kodály, 'Magyar zenei folklore 110 év előtt' [One Hundred and Ten Years of Hungarian Musical Folklore], *Visszatekintés* [Retrospection] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1964), vol. 2, pp. 155–83.
- 2 For a critical review of these publications see Béla Bartók, *Hungarian Folk Music*, trans. M. D. Calvocoressi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 5; reprinted as *The Hungarian Folk Song*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), p. 5. 3 Bálint Sárosi, *Gypsy Music* (Budapest:
- Corvina, 1971), pp. 85–119. 4 Bence Szabolcsi, *A Concise History of Hungarian Music* (Budapest: Corvina, 1964) contains a consideration of the rise of *verbunkos*
- in chapter 6.
 5 See Zoltán Kodály, Folk Music of Hungary, trans. Ronald Tempest and Cynthia Jolly (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1960), pp. 14–15.
 6 József Ujfalussy (ed.), Bartók breviárium (levelek, írások, dokumentumok) [Bartók breviary (correspondence, essays and documents)] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1958), p. 12. All translations are by the present author unless otherwise stated.
- 7 See John Lukacs, *Budapest 1900: A Historical Portrait of a City and Its Culture* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988), pp.116–17. 8 Béla Bartók Jr. and Adrienne Gombocz-Konkoly (eds.), *Bartók Béla családi levelei* [Béla Bartók's Family Letters] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1981), p. 110; letter of 8 September 1903.
- 9 Kodály in one of his caustic remarks characterizes Bartók's *Kossuth* symphony as 'the declaration of Hungarian independence in German language', in János Demény, 'Bartók Béla tanulóévei és romantikus korszaka (1899–1905)' [Béla Bartók's Student Years and Romantic Period (1899–1905)], *Zenetudományi tanulmányok* [Studies in Musicology] (hereafter *Zt*), ed. Bence Szabolcsi and Dénes Bartha, 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954), p. 367.
- 10 See András Szőllősy (ed.) Bartók Béla összegyűjtött írásai I [Béla Bartók's Collected Writings I] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1967), p. 9. Another translation appears in Benjamin Suchoff (ed.), Béla Bartók Essays (London: Faber & Faber, 1976; repr. Lincoln, Nebr., and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 409. 11 Bartók Béla családi levelei, p. 123; 26 December 1904.
- 12 'Bartók the Folklorist', in *The Selected Writings of Zoltán Kodály*, ed. Ferenc Bónis, trans. L. Halápy and F. MacNicol (London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1964), p. 102.

 13 The counties referred to are the specific

- regions into which Hungary was divided prior to the First World War.
- 14 See Denijs Dille, 'Bartók und die Volksmusik', *Documenta Bartókiana* 4 (1970), pp. 70–129.
- 15 'Magyarország parasztzenéje' [Peasant Music of Hungary], *Bartók Béla összegyűjtött írásai I*, ed. Szőllősy, p. 354.
- 16 Ibid., p. 355.
- 17 Bartók Béla családi levelei, p. 182; 5 July, 1907.
- 18 János Demény, 'Bartók Béla művészi kibontakozásának évei I: találkozás a népzenével (1906–1914)' [The Years of Béla Bartók's Artistic Evolution I: Encounter with Folk Music (1906–1914)], Zt 3 (1955), p. 322. 19 Bartók Béla családi levelei, p. 187; 4 February 1909.
- 20 'Bartók the Folklorist', p. 104.
- 21 Lajos Vargyas, *Hungarian Ballads and the European Ballad Tradition* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983).
- 22 Bartók Béla családi levelei, p. 163; 21 August 1906.
- 23 János Demény (ed.), *Bartók Béla levelei* [Béla Bartók Letters] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1976), 14 August 1909.
- 24 Bartók Béla Jr., *Apám életének krónikája* [Chronicle of my Father's Life] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1981); János Demény, 'Bartók Béla tanulóévei és romantikus korszaka (1899–1905)', *Zt* 2 (1954), pp. 323–487; 'Bartók Béla művészi kibontakozásának évei I: találkozás a népzenével (1906–1914)', *Zt* 3(1955), pp. 286–459; and 'Bartók Béla művészi kibontakozásának évei II: Bartók Béla művé
- 25 See Bartók's essay 'Arab Folk Music from the Biskra District', *Béla Bartók: Studies in Ethnomusicology*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (Lincoln, Nebr. and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), pp. 29–77.
- 26 See *Turkish Folk Music from Asia Minor*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff with Afterword by Kurt Reinhard (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).
- 27 Quoted in Stephen Erdely, *Music of*Southslavic Epics from Bihac Region of Bosnia
 (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1995), p. 6.
 28 Bartók Béla összegyűjtött írásai I, ed.
 Szőllősy, p. 582. Another translation appears in
 Béla Bartók Essays, ed. Suchoff, p. 10.
 29 Ilmari Krohn, 'Welche ist die beste
 Methode, um Volks und volksmässige Lieder
 nach ihrer melodischen Beschaffenheit
 lexikalisch zu ordnen', Sammelbände der

- Internationalen Musikgesellschaft 4 (1902–03), pp. 643–60.
- 30 Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály, 'Az uj egyetemes népdalgyűjtemény tervezete' [Plan of the Universal Collection of Hungarian Folksongs], *Ethnographia* 24 (1913), pp. 313–16. See also Stephen Erdely, *Methods and Principles of Hungarian Ethnomusicology*, Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, 52 (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1965), p. 45.
- 31 Béla Bartók, *Die Melodien der Rumänischen Colinde* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1935), p. VII.
- 32 Cântece poporale romanești din comitatul Bihor (Ungaria) (Bucharest: Academia Română, 1913); also Suchoff (ed.), Béla Bartók: Studies in Ethnomusicology, pp. 1–24.
- 33 Denijs Dille (ed.), Béla Bartók: Ethnomusicologische Schriften Faksimile-Nachdrucke (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1966), vol. 2.
- 34 (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1935).
- 35 The Hungarian Folk Song, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981). Originally published in English as Hungarian Folk Music (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931).
- 36 Since Bartók devised his classification system some of the tunes have been reclassified into Class A, others were identified as alien or borrowed forms.
- 37 Suchoff (ed.), Béla Bartók: Studies in Ethnomusicology, pp. 174–241.
- 38 József Ujfalussy, *Béla Bartók* (Budapest: Corvina, 1971), p. 301.
- 39 Ibid., p. 280.
- 40 Ibid., p. 301.
- 41 Details of each of these volumes can be found in the Bibliography.

3 Bartók's orchestral music and the modern

- 1 In *Bartók and His World*, ed. Peter Laki (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. 52.
- 2 'Harvard Lectures' (1943), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (London: Faber & Faber, 1976 repr. Lincoln, Nebr., and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 354.
- 3 'Modernity', in *The Concise Encyclopedia of Western Philosophy and Philosophers*, ed.

 Jonathan Rée and James Opie Urmson
 (London: Routledge, 1989). See also Judit
 Frigyesi, *Béla Bartók and Turn-of-the-Century Budapest* (Berkeley: University of California
 Press, 1998) and Christopher Butler, *Early Modernism: Literature, Music and Painting in Europe 1900–1916* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

- 4 That he appeared to move away from an 'advanced' and even supposedly formalist approach in the twenties and thirties to an overtly populist one in his later works, particularly those written in America, was taken to be indicative of his compromise, cowardice and reaction by critics supportive to the modernist cause such as René Leibowitz. See chapter 11, pp. 187–88, chapter 13, pp. 202–05 and chapter 14, pp. 217–18 for an evaluation of such criticisms.
- 5 'Mechanical Music' (1937) in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 292. (My adaptation of the original translation.)
- 6 Andrew Chester, 'Second Thoughts on a Rock Aesthetic: The Band', *New Left Review* 62 (1970), pp. 75–82.
- 7 Hans Keller, 'The State of the Symphony: Not only Maxwell Davies (1978)', in *Hans Keller: Essays on Music*, ed. Christopher Wintle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 108–09. Keller's emphasis.
- 8 On the title page of the Boosey & Hawkes miniature score, the dates 2 April 1903 18 August 1903 appear. However, János Demény suggests in his note to a letter dated 1 April 1903 that Bartók had already started on the composition. János Demény (ed.), *Béla Bartók Letters*, trans. Péter Balabán and István Farkas, trans. rev. Elizabeth West and Colin Mason (Budapest: Corvina, 1971), p. 373.
- 9 From Denijs Dille's introduction to the Boosey and Hawkes pocket score of *Kossuth*.
 10 The song is discussed in my paper 'Bartók and the Encoding of Hungarian National Identity' (unpublished).
- 11 Demény (ed.), *Béla Bartók Letters*, p. 28. My emphasis.
- 12 There are only two possible transpositions of the whole-tone scale.
- 13 Bence Szabolcsi, *A Concise History of Hungarian Music* (Budapest: Corvina, 1964) contains a consideration of the rise of *verbunkos* in chapter 6.
- 14 See Jonathan Bellman, *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993).
- 15 'Strauss: *Sinfonia Domestica*' in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, pp. 437–45.
- 16 Demény (ed.), *Béla Bartók Letters*, p. 132; 10 December 1915.
- 17 Malcolm Gillies, review of David Cooper, Bartók: Concerto for Orchestra, in Music Analysis, 17/1 (1998), p. 94. In 'Two Orchestral Suites', The Bartók Companion, Malcolm Gillies (London: Faber & Faber, 1993), p. 457.
- 18 Theodor W. Adorno, 'Béla Bartóks Tanzsuite', in *Gesammelte Schriften* 18, ed. Rolf Teidemann and Klaus Schultz (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1984), pp. 279–81.

- 19 Francis Korbay, Hungarian Melodies (London and Leipzig: Stanley Lucas, Weber, Pitt and Hatzfeld Ltd., 1893), No. 18, p. 72. 20 Frigyesi, Béla Bartók and Turn-of-the-Century Budapest, p. 248.
- 21 In fact, Bartók described the work as a serenade on a postcard sent to Etelka Freund on 17 August 1907, noting that the fourth movement remained to be orchestrated.

 22 The word *puszta* has a range of meanings including barren, bleak and desert. It may be that Bartók was recalling the Hungarian plain.
- including barren, bleak and desert. It may be that Bartók was recalling the Hungarian plain, or that he was thinking of Gerlice puszta, the village, now in Slovakia.
- 23 'The Folk Songs of Hungary' (1928), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 335.
- 24 Demény (ed.), *Béla Bartók Letters*, p. 105. 25 *Ibid.*, p. 66; 10 September 1906. The songs (ten with accompaniments by Bartók, ten by Kodály) were published as *Magyar Népdalok* in 1906.
- 26 Demény (ed.), *Béla Bartók Letters*, p. 382. 27 'The Influence of Debussy and Ravel in Hungary' (1938), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 518.
- 28 'Hungarian Peasant Music' (1920), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 306. A major division in folk-music performance style, according to Bartók, was between *tempo giusto* (strict time) and *parlando rubato* (free and speech-like).
- 29 'The Relation of Folk Song to the Development of the Art Music of Our Time' (1921), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 322. 30 Demény (ed.), *Béla Bartók Letters*, p. 202.
- 31 Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literature* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 158.
- 32 See Malcolm Gillies, 'Dance Suite', in *The Bartók Companion*, ed. Gillies, pp. 487–97.
 33 See David Cooper, *Béla Bartók: Concerto for Orchestra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- 34 'Béla Bartók's Opinion on the Technical, Aesthetic and Spiritual Orientation of Contemporary Music' (1938), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 516.
- 35 Hermann Hesse, *Musik*, *Betrachtungen*, *Gedichte*, *Rezensionen und Briefe* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985), p. 215, diary entry of 15 May 1955, translated for the present author by Peter Franklin.

4 The stage works: portraits of loneliness

1 Bartók's revisions to the ending of the opera from 1911 to 1918 are outlined in chapter 5 of Carl Leafstedt, *Inside Bluebeard's Castle: Music* and Drama in Béla Bartók's Opera (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 125–58.

- 2 These descriptions are taken from reminiscences recorded in Malcolm Gillies (ed.), *Bartók Remembered* (London: Faber & Faber, 1990).
- 3 Cited in Judit Frigyesi, *Béla Bartók and Turn-of-the-Century Budapest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 110.
- 4 Both essays may be found in Árpád Kadarkay (ed.), *The Lukács Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995).
- 5 Bartók to his mother, 10 September 1905. In János Demény (ed.), *Béla Bartók Letters* (London: Faber & Faber, 1971), p. 53.
- 6 The manuscript with this inscription is in the collection of Peter Bartók, Homosassa, Florida.
- 7 Balázs, notes on the text, c. 1915. The playwright's discussion of the *Bluebeard* drama is translated in Leafstedt, *Inside Bluebeard's Castle*, pp. 201–03.
- 8 An elaboration on the F#–C opposition and its symbolic meaning may be found in Frigyesi, *Turn-of-the-Century Budapest*, pp. 253–76; see also Leafstedt, *Inside Bluebeard's Castle*, pp. 58–61.
- 9 Tibor Tallián, *Béla Bartók: The Man and His Work*, trans. Gyula Gulyás, trans. rev. Paul Merrick (Budapest: Corvina, 1988), p. 78. 10 Béla Bartók, 'On *Duke Bluebeard's Castle*' (1918), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (London: Faber & Faber, 1976 repr. Lincoln, Nebr., and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 407.
- 11 Balázs, diary entry, 5 September 1906. Published in Anna Fabri (ed.), *Béla Balázs Napló*, vol. 1 (Budapest: Magvető, 1982), p. 339.
- 12 For more on Balázs, see, in English, Jozsef Zsuffa's fine biography *Béla Balázs: The Man and the Artist* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987). On his relationship with Bartók, see Leafstedt, *Inside Bluebeard's Castle*, pp. 13–32.
- 13 Cited in Frigyesi, *Turn-of-the-Century Budapest*, p. 202.
- 14 Balázs, notes on the text, c. 1915. See
 Leafstedt, *Inside Bluebeard's Castle*, p. 202.
 15 Béla Bartók, 'About *The Wooden Prince'*
- 15 Bela Bartok, 'About *The Wooden Prince* (1917), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 406.
- 16 Frigyesi, *Turn-of-the-Century Budapest*, p. 213.
- 17 Ibid., p. 279.
- 18 Balázs, *The Wooden Prince*, in English National Opera Guide 44 (London: John Calder; New York: Riverrun Press, 1991), *The Stage Works of Béla Bartók*, ed. John Nicholas, p. 76. All quotations from the present paragraph are taken from this source.
- 19 Cited in György Kroó, 'Pantomime: The

- Miraculous Mandarin', in *The Bartók Companion*, ed. Malcolm Gillies (London: Faber & Faber, 1993), p. 373.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 The full chronology of the work is presented in Vera Lampert, 'The Miraculous Mandarin: Melchior Lengyel, His Pantomime, and His Connections to Béla Bartók', in Béla Bartók and His World, ed. Peter Laki (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 149–71.
- 22 Translated in Ferenc Bonis, "The Miraculous Mandarin": The Birth and Vicissitudes of a Masterpiece, in *The Stage Works of Béla Bartók*, ed. Nicholas, p. 87.
 23 György Kroó, *A Guide to Bartók* (Budapest: Corvina, 1974), p. 100.
- 24 Cited in Vera Lampert, 'The Miraculous Mandarin', in Béla Bartók and His World, ed. Laki, p. 156.
- 5 Vocal music: inspiration and ideology
- I would like to express my thanks to László Somfai and László Vikárius for their assistance at the Budapest Bartók Archive where I researched this article over the Christmas period 1998, and to the Research Fund of the Royal Academy of Music, London, which financed my trip there. I should also like to thank László Somfai for his valuable comments on an early draft, on the strength of which I was able to improve this chapter considerably.
- 1 'Hungarian Peasant Music' (1920), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (London: Faber & Faber, 1976 repr. Lincoln, Nebr., and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 306.
- 2 József Ujfalussy, *Béla Bartók*, trans. Ruth Pataki (Budapest: Corvina, 1971), p. 330.
- 3 Published in translation in 'Hungarian Folksongs', in Zoltán Kodály, *The Selected Writings of Zoltán Kodály*, trans. L. Halápy and F. MacNicol (London: Boosey and Hawkes, 1964), p. 9. My italics.
- 4 His other attempt was the unpublished Two Romanian Folksongs for female choir (*c*. 1909).
- 5 Regrettably the manuscript cannot be reproduced here for copyright reasons.
- 6 A new version of the eighth song is written on American paper.
- 7 John Lukacs, *Budapest 1900: A Historical Portrait of a City and its Culture* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988), p. 164.
- 8 The piano parts of these songs are very bland, but the performances were evidently brought to life by the outstanding *diseuses* of the period; contemporary accounts are uniformly impressed by their vividness.
- 9 As reproduced in Vera Lampert,'Quellenkatalog der Volksliedbearbeitungen

- von Bartók', *Documenta Bartókiana* 6 (1981), pp. 109–10.
- 10 Bartók made an arrangement of the last three songs of *Village Scenes* for four or eight women's voices and orchestra in 1926 which highlights the similarity.
- 11 Lampert, 'Works for Solo Voice with Piano', in *The Bartók Companion*, ed. Malcolm Gillies (London: Faber & Faber, 1993), p. 398, quoting from 'The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music' (1931), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 342.
- 12 'The Relation between Contemporary Hungarian Art Music and Folk Music' (1941), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 352.
- 13 The Hungarian version of both essays also uses the word 'mottó': Tibor Tallián (ed.), *Bartók Béla Írásai* [The Writings of Béla Bartók] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 142 and 159.
- 14 See Paul Wilson, 'Approaching Atonality: Studies and Improvisations', in *The Bartók Companion*, ed. Gillies, pp. 167–91.
- 15 Ibid., p. 168.
- 16 Bartók made orchestral arrangements of the accompaniments to five of these songs, known as Five Hungarian Folksongs for voice and orchestra (1933). His choice cuts across the divisions of Twenty Hungarian Folksongs: he selected two from the second volume and three from the third. The work remains in manuscript.
- 17 See also László Somfai, 'Experimenting with Folkmusic-Based Concert Sets: Béla Bartók's Arrangements Reconsidered', *Melos* 12–13, *Special Issue on Bartók* (Spring–Summer 1995), pp. 66–76.
- 18 Lampert, 'Works for Solo Voice' describes this aspect of the work very well.
- 19 This crisis is discussed by Tibor Tallián in *Béla Bartók: The Man and His Work*, trans. Gyula Gulyás, trans. rev. Paul Merrick (Budapest: Corvina, 1988), p. 157.
- 20 Ibid., pp. 158-59.
- 21 László Vikárius, 'Béla Bartók's *Cantata Profana'*, *Studia musicologica* 35/1 (1993), p. 261.

 22 Miklós Szabó, 'Choral Works' in *The Bartók*
- 22 Miklós Szabó, 'Choral Works', in *The Bartók Companion*, ed. Gillies, p. 418.
- 23 See György Kroó, 'Cantata profana', in The Bartók Companion, ed. Gillies, p. 427.
- 24 Unpublished letter to Universal Edition, quoted in Tallián, *Béla Bartók*, p. 162.
- 25 Vikárius, 'Béla Bartók's *Cantata Profana*', p. 263.
- 26 Kroó, 'Cantata profana', p. 434.
- 27 The similarities are pointed out in Vikárius, 'Béla Bartók's *Cantata Profana*', pp. 276–82.
- 28 Ibid., p. 289.
- 29 In 1945, the year he died, Bartók began *Goat Song* (*The Husband's Lament*) for voice and

- piano on a Ruthenian melody and Three Ukrainian Folksongs, for voice and piano, but they remain unfinished.
- 30 MS gyűjtőfüzet [Collecting Book] M.Vi, fol. 5r; MS *támlap* [Proof] Bartók-Rend C-II 602e.
- 31 Bartók's own reference on the first score, published by Magyar Kórus.
- 32 Bartók provided seven of the choruses with orchestral accompaniments in Seven Choruses with orchestra (1937–41).
- 33 See Szabó, 'Kodály széljegyzetei Bartók Kórusműveihez' [Kodály's Marginal Notes to Bartók's Choral Works], *Muzsika* (September 1995), vol. 1, pp. 27–33, and (October 1995), vol. 2, pp. 16–22.
- 34 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 27.
- 35 Jegyezetek [Notes] to Hungarian Folksongs (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1938). My translation.
- 36 All these performances are preserved on *Bartók at the Piano*, Hungaroton HCD 12326–31.

6 Piano music: teaching pieces and folksong arrangements

- 1 'Contemporary Music in Piano Teaching' (1940), *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (London: Faber & Faber, 1976 repr. Lincoln, Nebr., and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 426.
- 2 Malcolm Gillies (ed.), *Bartók Remembered* (London: Faber & Faber, 1990), p. 45.
- 3 György Sándor, private interview, 17 April 1994.
- 4 'About István Thomán' (1927), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 489.
- 5 Gillies (ed.), Bartók Remembered, p. 45.
- 6 'About István Thomán' (1927), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 490.
- 7 'About the "Piano" Problem (Answer to a Questionnaire)' (1927), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 288.
- 8 Sándor Reschofsky, unpublished letter to Benjamin Suchoff.
- 9 Béla Bartók Essays, ed. Suchoff, p. 432.
- 10 See Bartók at the Piano: 1920–1945, Centenary Edition of Bartók's Records, vol. I (Hungaraton HCD 12326–33: 1981).
- 11 See Benjamin Suchoff, *Guide to Bartók's Mikrokosmos* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1983), p. 14, for a discussion of 'percussive' and 'nonpercussive' touches.
- 12 Bartók at the Piano (Hungaraton).
- 13 János Demény (ed.), *Bartók Béla Briefe* (Budapest: Corvina, 1973), p. 64.
- 14 Halsey Stevens, *The Life and Music of Béla Bartók*, 3rd edn, ed. Malcolm Gillies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 35.
- 15 'The Relationship Between Contemporary

Hungarian Art Music and Folk Music' (1941), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 349.

16 Ibid., p. 351.

17 Ibid., pp. 351-2.

18 'On Hungarian Music' (1911), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 301.

19 Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály, Hungarian Folksongs for Voice and Piano (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1950).

20 'Harvard Lectures' (1943), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 375.

7 Piano music: recital repertoire and chamber music

- 1 Igor Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music in the Form of Six Lessons*, trans. A. Knodel and I. Dahl (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), p. 129, and Stravinsky, *An Autobiography* (New York: The Norton Library, 1962), p. 75.
- 2 Halsey Stevens, *The Life and Music of Béla Bartók*, 3rd edn, ed. Malcolm Gillies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 9.
- 3 My own teacher, the late Harold Craxton, said more than once, and as if on good authority, that Dohnányi was jealous of Bartók, four years the younger and embarking on a parallel career as composer/pianist, and that he actively encouraged the latter's folksong collecting forays into the countryside in order from time to time to remove him from the concert scene in Budapest. Little good it did him, for he could not then have guessed that Bartók's ethnomusicological efforts were to repay him a hundredfold; without them, his development of an idiosyncratically Hungarian style might well have been forestalled by the increasingly seductive influence of colleagues down the road in Vienna.
- 4 Stevens, *Life and Music*, pp. 335 and 68.5 Constant Lambert, *Music Ho!* (London:
- Penguin Books, 1948), p. 126.
- 6 Oddly, Nos. 5–8 of the Nine Little Pieces were omitted from the Hawkes and Son contract of 1938, an anomaly which persists to this day; they are still published by Universal Edition.

8 The Piano Concertos and Sonata for Two Pianos and Percussion

- 1 Reproduced in Bruno Ernst, *The Magic Mirror of M. C. Escher* (New York: Ballantine, 1976), p. 76.
- 2 'About the Sonata for Two Pianos and Percussion' (1938), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (London: Faber & Faber, 1976 repr. Lincoln, Nebr., and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), pp. 417–18. 3 'Rhapsody for Piano and Orchestra (Op. 1)' (1910), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, pp. 404–5; 'About the Sonata for Two Pianos and Percussion' (1938), in *ibid.*, pp. 417–18;

'Analysis of the Second Concerto for Piano and Orchestra' (1939), in *ibid.*, pp. 419–23.

- 4 'Harvard Lectures' (1943), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 376.
- 5 László Somfai, Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts, and Autograph Sources (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 11.
- 6 Tibor Tallián, *Béla Bartók: The Man and His Work*, trans. Gyula Gulyás, trans. rev. Paul Merrick (Budapest: Corvina, 1988), p. 140.
- 7 Ernő Lendvai, *Béla Bartók: An Analysis of His Music* (London: Kahn and Averill, 1971), pp. 1–16. See chapter 14 in this volume for a
- 1–16. See chapter 14 in this volume for a summary and critique of Lendvai's analytical technique.
- 8 'Analysis of the Second Concerto for Piano and Orchestra' (1939), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 419.
- 9 It has also been argued that all the thematic material is derived from a common source: see Frank Michael, 'Analytische Anmerkungen zu Bartóks 2. Klavierkonzert', *Studia musicologica* 24 (1983), pp. 425–37.
- 10 Lendvai, *Analysis*, pp. 4, 5–7, 18–26, 36–38, 45, 65–66, 69–72, 75–76, 91–92, 95, 96; this information is effectively summed up in Roy Howat, 'Masterworks (II): Sonata for Two Pianos and Percussion', in *The Bartók Companion*, ed. Malcolm Gillies (London: Faber & Faber, 1993), pp. 315–30.
- 11 See John A. Meyer, 'Beethoven and Bartók: A Structural Parallel', *Music Review* 31 (1970), pp. 315–21.
- 12 Maria Anna Harley, '*Natura naturans*, *natura naturata* and Bartók's Nature Music Idiom', *Studia musicologica* 36 (1995), pp. 329–49.
- 13 See Bence Szabolcsi, 'Man and Nature in Bartók's World', in *Bartók Studies*, ed. Todd Crow (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1976), pp. 63–75; Harley, '*Natura naturans*'; Jószef Ujfalussy, *Béla Bartók*, trans. Ruth Pataki (Budapest: Corvina, 1971), pp. 232–37.
- 14 While much of Agatha Fassett's description seems rather romanticized, there is no reason to doubt the many reports therein of his exceptional hearing: *Béla Bartók's Last Years: The Naked Face of Genius* (London: Gollancz, 1958), pp. 25, 38, 90, 101–05.
- 15 See Meyer, 'Beethoven and Bartók'.
- 16 Somfai, Béla Bartók, p. 110.
- 17 Ibid., pp. 54–55.
- 18 'About the "Piano" Problem (Answer to a Questionnaire)' (1927), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 288.
- 19 'The So-called Bulgarian Rhythm' (1938), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, pp. 40–49. His own performance of Bulgarian rhythm, with the last quaver of the bar clipped almost in half, is best exemplified by the recording of Six

- Dances in Bulgarian Rhythm No. 2 (*Mikrokosmos*, No. 149) on Hungaroton HCD 12329, track 5.
- 20 Judit Frigyesi, 'Between Rubato and Rigid Rhythm: A Particular Type of Rhythmical Asymmetry as Reflected in Bartók's Writings on Folk Music', *Studia musicologica* 24 (1983), pp. 334–36.
- 21 'The So-called Bulgarian Rhythm' (1938), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 48.
- 22 See Vera Lampert's chapter in this volume on Bartók's recordings.
- 23 The Sonata is on Hungaroton HCD 12331, track 1–3; the Rhapsody, on Hungaroton HCD 12336, track 1; and the Second Concerto, on Hungaroton HCD 12335, track 1.

9 Violin works and the Viola Concerto

- 1 Béla Bartók and Turn-of-the-Century Budapest (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 216–29.
- 2 Bence Szabolcsi, 'Bartók Béla élete' [The Life of Béla Bartók]. English translation in Ferenc Bónis (ed.), *Béla Bartók: His Life in Pictures*, 2nd edn (Budapest: Corvina, 1964), p. 62.
- 3 See 'About the "Piano" Problem (Answer to a Questionnaire)' (1927), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (London: Faber & Faber, 1976 repr. Lincoln, Nebr., and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 288, as well as chapters 6, 7 and 8 in this volume, especially pp. 94, 115–116 and 128.
- 4 First by Denijs Dille in the first and second volumes of *Documenta Bartókiana* (1964–65), later printed by Editio Musica Budapest.
- 5 There is a fragment of a two-page Andante in F# major (Bartók Archives, Budapest) that probably dates from around the time of the 1903 Sonata which could possibly be an alternative slow movement.
- 6 'The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music' (1931), *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 344. For Bartók's often-quoted discussion of the three levels of folk-music assimilation, see *ibid.*, pp. 340–44.
- 7 János Kárpáti, *Bartók's Chamber Music*, trans. Fred MacNicol and Mária Steiner, trans. rev. Paul Merrick (New York: Pendragon Press, 1994), pp. 289–320; Paul Wilson, 'Violin Sonatas', in *The Bartók Companion*, ed. Malcolm Gillies (London: Faber & Faber, 1993), pp. 243–56.
- 8 Kárpáti, *Bartók's Chamber Music*, p. 294. 9 See Joseph Macleod, *The Sisters d'Aranyi* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1969), p. 139.
- 10 Kárpáti, *Bartók's Chamber Music*, p. 300. 11 The lecture 'Béla Bartók. Second Sonata for Violin and Piano', originally a radio broadcast, was published by Editio Musica Budapest in *A*

- hét zeneműve [The Masterpiece of the Week] No. 4 (1977), pp. 44–55.
- 12 See, for example, 'Some Problems of Folk Music Research in Eastern Europe' (1960), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, pp. 173–92 (esp. pp. 181–83).
- 13 Somfai, *A hét zeneműve*; Kárpáti, *Bartók's Chamber Music*, pp. 304–05, 316.
- 14 'Final Chamber Works', in *The Bartók Companion*, ed. Gillies, pp. 341–44.
- 15 The letter is printed as a preface to the Menuhin edition.
- 16 See his letter to Menuhin dated 21 April 1944, quoted in György Kroó, *A Guide to Bartók* (Budapest: Corvina, 1974), p. 234.
- 17 The microtonal version was first published—with notational symbols borrowed from Witold Lutosławski in Peter Petersen, 'Bartóks Sonata für Violine solo. Ein Appell an die Hüter der Autographen', *Musik-Konzepte 22: Béla Bartók* (Munich: Edition text und kritik, 1981), pp. 55–68 (see esp. 64–68). Peter Bartók published an Urtext edition (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1994).
- 18 Joseph Szigeti, With Strings Attached (New York: Knopf, 1967), p. 128. Some of the reconstructions of the folk originals of the Rhapsodies can be heard on an excellent CD recorded by the Jánosi Ensemble: Rhapsody: Liszt and Bartók Sources, Hungaroton Classic HCD 18191 (1995).
- 19 The originals are listed in Vera Lampert, 'Quellenkatalog der Volksliedbearbeitungen von Bartók', *Documenta Bartókiana* 6 (1981), pp. 15–149.
- 20 The Ruthenians are Ukrainians residing in the Carpathian mountains; the county where this particular melody was collected, Máramaros, was part of Hungary until 1918. Today, it is in Romania and is known as Maramures.
- 21 Claude Kenneson, *Székely and Bartók: The Story of a Friendship* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1994), p. 115.
- 22 László Somfai, *Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts, and Autograph Sources* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 201. 23 *Ibid*.
- 24 Günter Weiss-Aigner, 'The "Lost" Violin Concerto', in *The Bartók Companion*, ed. Gillies, p. 469.
- 25 It should be noted that the second portrait, which is a 'grotesque' distortion of the first, is actually an orchestrated piano piece Bagatelle Op. 6 No.14, 'Ma mie que danse'.
- 26 The term 'polymodal chromaticism' is discussed in chapter 14 of this volume. The concept was used by Bartók in his 'Harvard Lectures' (1943) (see *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 367) and has been further elaborated

upon in Kárpáti, *Bartók's Chamber Music*, pp. 169–85. The mixing of modes discussed by Kárpáti involves pitch alterations similar to those that would turn Ex. 9.7a into 9.7b. 27 See Denijs Dille, 'Angaben zum Violinkonzert 1907, den *Deux Portraits*, dem Quartett Op. 7 und den Zwei rumänischen Tänzen', *Documenta Bartókiana* 2 (1965), p. 92. See also János Kárpáti, 'A Typical *Jugendstil* Composition: Bartók's String Quartet No. 1', *The Hungarian Quarterly* 36 (Spring 1995), pp. 130–40, esp. 134.

- 28 Weiss-Aigner, 'The "Lost" Violin Concerto', p. 475.
- 29 See Lampert, 'Second Violin Concerto', in *The Bartók Companion*, ed. Gillies, pp. 515–25. The sources were examined in Joseph Nagy, 'Béla Bartók's Violin Concerto No.2: An Analysis of the Creative and Compositional Process Through a Study of the Manuscripts', Ph.D. diss., City University of New York (1992). 30 I developed this thesis in an unpublished lecture delivered at the International Bartók Festival in Szombathely, Hungary, in 1993. 31 In his lecture delivered at the Annual Congress of the American Musicological Society in Boston, 1998.
- 32 Suchoff (ed.), *The Hungarian Folk Song* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), p. 299, No. 299*b*.
- 33 'Strategics of Variation in the Second Movement of Bartók's Violin Concerto 1937–38', *Studia musicologica* 19 (1977), pp. 161–202.
- 34 See in particular Sándor Kovács, 'Reexamining the Bartók/Serly Viola Concerto', Studia musicologica 23 (1981), pp. 295–322, and idem, 'Formprobleme beim Violakonzert von Bartók/Serly', Studia musicologica 24 (1982), pp. 381–91. A recent panel discussion on the various versions of the Viola Concerto took place at the 1997 International Viola Congress in Austin, Texas. The proceedings were published in the Journal of the International Viola Society 2 (1998).
- 35 The study of the Viola Concerto is now greatly facilitated by the publication of the original source: Béla Bartók, Viola Concerto: Facsimile Edition of the Autograph Draft, with a Commentary by László Somfai; fair transcription of the draft with notes prepared by Nelson Dellamaggiore. Bartók Records, 1995.
 36 Bartók's original plan to write a fourmovement concerto, with a scherzo in second place, was abandoned or, at any rate, does not seem to be reflected in the extant sketches. In his article 'Formprobleme' Kovács has speculated about a possible five-part plan to the Concerto (first movement Scherzo Adagio Scherzo finale) but this is entirely

hypothetical. The existing draft seems to be for a work in the traditional three-movement concerto format (with or without ritornelli linking the movements – another bone of contention).

- 37 See Bartók, *Viola Concerto: Facsimile Edition*, p. 52, third system.
- 38 Sándor Kovács, 'The Final Concertos', in *The Bartók Companion*, ed. Gillies, p. 552.

10 The String Quartets and works for chamber orchestra

- 1 Also known on tour as the Hungarian String Quartet, the group was formed by the violinist Imre Waldbauer in 1910, expressly to perform the new quartets of Bartók and Kodály.
- 2 János Kárpáti, *Bartók's Chamber Music*, trans. Fred MacNicol and Mária Steiner, trans. rev. Paul Merrick (New York: Pendragon Press, 1994), p. 129.
- 3 'The Folk Songs of Hungary' (1928), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (London: Faber & Faber, 1976 repr. Lincoln, Nebr., and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 336. For a comparison of Bartók's use of the seventh chord as a closing consonance see David Cooper's discussion of the Suite No. 2 for orchestra, Op. 4 (1905–07) in chapter 3 of this volume.
- 4 'The Folk Songs of Hungary' (1928) in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 336.
- 5 Ibid., p. 338.
- 6 Ihid

455, 457.

- 7 Halsey Stevens, *The Life and Music of Béla Bartók*, 3rd edn, ed. Malcolm Gillies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 178.
- 8 Bartók describes his introduction to Schoenberg's music in 1912 through one of his piano students in his essay, 'Arnold Schoenberg's Music in Hungary' (1920), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 467.
- 9 David E. Schneider explores this relationship in his essay, 'Bartók and Stravinsky: Respect, Competition, Influence, and the Hungarian Reaction to Modernism in the 1920s', in *Bartók and His World*, ed. Peter Laki (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 172–99. 10 *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, pp. 369–70. 11 'The Problem of the New Music', *ibid.*, pp.
- 12 Stevens, The Life and Music, p. 67.
- 13 Béla Bartók Essays, ed. Suchoff, p. 459.
- 14 'Structure of the Fourth String Quartet' (1930?), *ibid.*, p. 412.
- 15 Stevens, The Life and Music, p. 190.
- 16 Details of the structure of this movement are discussed by the present author in 'Bartók's String Quartet No. 4, Third Movement: A New Interpretative Approach', *Music Analysis* 19/3 (2000), pp. 353–82.

- 17 László Somfai, Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts, and Autograph Sources (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 272. 18 'The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music' (1931), in Béla Bartók Essays, ed. Suchoff, pp. 343, 344.
- 19 Judit Frigyesi, *Béla Bartók and Turn-of-the-Century Budapest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), p. 267.
- 20 'Rumanian Folk Music' (1931), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 115.
- 21 'Structure of the Fourth String Quartet' (1930?) in *ibid*, pp. 412–13.
- 22 Béla Bartók Essays, ed. Suchoff, pp. 345–47.
- 23 See David E. Schneider, 'Bartók and Stravinsky'.
- 24 'Analysis for the Fifth String Quartet' (1935), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 414.
- 25 Benjamin Suchoff, 'Structure and Concept in Bartók's Sixth String Quartet', *Tempo* 83 (Winter 1967–68), pp. 2–11.
- 26 Kárpáti, Bartók's Chamber Music, p. 161.
 27 'Structure of Music for String Instruments'
- (1937), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 416.
- 28 Ibid., p. 381.
- 29 Somfai, Béla Bartók: Composition, Concepts, and Autograph Sources, p. 21.

11 Hungarian nationalism and the reception of Bartók's music, 1904–1940

- 1 Mrs Béla Bartók to Mrs Gyula Baranyai, 4 April 1904; János Demény (ed.), *Béla Bartók Letters*, trans. Péter Balabán and István Farkas, trans. rev. Elizabeth West and Colin Mason (London: Faber & Faber, 1971), p. 40.
- 2 'Béla Bartók', *Zenevilág* (19 January 1904), quoted in János Demény, 'Bartók Béla tanulóévei és romantikus korszaka
- (1899–1905)' [Béla Bartók's Student Years and Romantic Period (1899–1905)],
- Zenetudományi tanulmányok [Studies in Musicology] (hereafter Zt), ed. Bence Szabolcsi and Dénes Bartha, 2 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1954), p. 412. All translations are mine unless otherwise specified.
- 3 [Andor Merkler], 'A filharmonikusok mai hangversenye' [Today's Philharmonic Concert], Magyarország [Hungary] (14 January 1904), in János Demény, 'Zeitgenössische Kritiken über die Erstaufführungen der Kossuth-Symphonie von Béla Bartók (Budapest, 13. Januar 1904 Manchester, 19. Februar 1904)', Documenta Bartókiana (hereafter DB) 1 (1964), p. 31.
- 4 Pongrácz Kacsóh, 'Bartók Béla', *Zenevilág* (19 January 1904), quoted in *DB* 1 (1964), p. 58. 5 On Bartók's competition with Dohnányi see
- 5 On Bartók's competition with Dohnányi see László Vikárius, *Modell és inspiráció Bartók* zenei gondolkodásában [Model and Inspiration

- in Bartók's Musical Thinking] (Pécs: Jelenkor Kiadó, 1999), pp. 82–90.
- 6 Aurél Kern, *Budapesti Hírlap* (14 January 1904), quoted in *DB* 1 (1964), pp. 32–33.
- 7 'A filharmonikusok mai hangversenye', Magyarország (14 January 1904), quoted in DB 1 (1964), p. 31.
- 8 For a summary of the English reception of *Kossuth* see Malcolm Gillies, *Bartók in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 6–8.
- 9 Tibor Tallián, *Béla Bartók: The Man and His Work*, trans. Gyula Gulyás, trans. rev. Paul Merrick (Budapest: Corvina, 1988), p. 42.
 10 Emil Haraszti, *Budapesti Hírlap* (27 February 1913), quoted in János Demény, 'Bartók Béla művészi kibontakozásának évei I: találkozás a népzenével (1906–1914)' [The Years of Béla Bartók's Artistic Evolution I: Encounter

with Folk Music (1906–1914)], Zt 3 (1955), p.

- 425. 11 *Ibid*.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 For reviews of the performance, most of which describe the audience's reaction, see Demény, 'Bartók Béla művészi kibontakozásának évei I', pp. 425–28.
- 14 My discussion of the social implications of 'gypsy music' in Hungary is indebted to Judit Frigyesi, *Béla Bartók and Turn-of-the-Century Budapest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 55–60.
- 15 Gyula Fodor, *A Hét* [The Week] (20 May 1917), quoted in János Demény, 'Bartók Béla művészi kibontakozásának évei II: Bartók megjelenése az európai zeneéletben (1914–1926)' [The Years of Bartók's Artistic Evolution II: Bartók's Appearance in European Musical Life (1914–1926)], *Zt* 7 (1959), p. 38.
- 16 An exception is István Gajáry's review for *Az Ujság* [The News] (13 May 1917), quoted in *Zt* 7 (1959), p. 48.
- 17 Pesti Hírlap (13 May 1917), quoted in Zt 7 (1959), p. 45. See also Peter Laki, 'The Gallows and the Altar: Poetic Criticism and Critical Poetry about Bartók in Hungary', in Bartók and His World, ed. Peter Laki (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 82–83.
- 18 *Zenei Szemle* [Musical Review] 1/4 (1917), quoted in *Zt* 7 (1959), pp. 34–35.
- 19 'Jegyzetek a filharmonikusok idei műsorához' [Notes on this Year's Philharmonic Programme], *Nyugat* (1 March 1923), in *Zenei trások a Nyugatban* [Musical Writings in the Nyugat], ed. János Breuer (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1978), pp. 196–99.
- 20 János Hammerschlag, *Pester Lloyd* (13 May 1917), quoted in *Zt* 7 (1959), p. 46.
- 21 Aladár Tóth, 'Bartók Béla

zongoraversenyműve a hétfői filharmonikus hangversenyén' [Béla Bartók's Piano Concerto on the Philharmonic's Monday Concert], *Pesti Napló* [Pest Journal] (20 March 1928), quoted in János Demény, 'Bartók Béla pályája delelőjén: teremtő évek – világhódító alkotások (1927–1940)' [Béla Bartók at the Height of his Career – Creative Years – World-Conquering Works (1927–1940)], *Zt* 10 (1962), p. 270. 22 'Béla Bartók: Piano Concerto – On the Occasion of its Premiere 1 July 1927', *Melos* 6/6 (June 1927), pp. 256–57. Quoted in *Zt* 10 (1962), p. 218.

- 23 Theodor W. Adorno, 'Das fünfte Fest der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Neue Musik in Frankfurt a. M.', *Die Musik* 19/12 (September 1927), p. 881.
- 24 Nieuwe Rotterdamische Courant (9 November 1928), quoted in Zt 10 (1962), p. 291.
- 25 'Bartók bemutató' [Bartók Premiere], Budapesti Hírlap (20 March 1928), quoted in Zt 10 (1962), p. 272.
- 26 Bartók performed publicly in Budapest on 5 May 1930 and not again until 12 January 1934 when he accompanied Imre Waldbauer in a recital at the Music Academy. During this time he did perform occasionally for the Hungarian Radio.
- 27 Bartók to Joseph Szigeti, 10 August 1935; János Demény (ed.), *Bartók Béla levelei* [Béla Bartók Letters] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1976), p. 506.
- 28 *The Miraculous Mandarin* was not staged in Hungary until 1945.
- 29 Sándor Jemnitz, 'Bartók Béla és Magyarország', *Népszava* [People's Word] (25 March 1931), quoted in *Zt* 10 (1962), pp. 398–99.
- 30 Montague Smith, 'Active Society', *The Evening Citizen* (1 March 1932), quoted in *Zt* 10 (1962), p. 422.
- 31 Bartók to Ioan Buşiţia, 20 December 1931; Demény (ed.), *Béla Bartók Letters*, pp. 220–21. 32 Bartók to Walter Frey, 28 April 1934; Demény (ed.), *Bartók Béla levelei*, p. 479.
- 33 Aladár Tóth, 'A Fából faragott királyfi: Bartók táncjátéka az *Operaházban*' [*The Wooden Prince*: Bartók's Pantomime at the Opera], *Pesti Napló* (31 January 1935), quoted in *Zt* 10 (1962), pp. 496–97.
- 34 'Bartók új műveinek bemutatása az éneklő ifjúság hangversenyén' [Premiere of Bartók's New Works at the Concert of the Singing Youth], *Pesti Napló* (8 May 1937), quoted in *Zt* 10 (1962), pp. 611–12.
- 35 'A népművelési Bizottság Bartók-estje' [Bartók Concert (organized) by the Committee for Adult Education], *Pesti Napló* (11 December 1936), quoted in *Zt* 10 (1962), p. 581.

36 See the reviews by L. M. G. Arntzenius, Herman Rutters and Lou van Strien in Zt 10 (1962), pp. 699–701.

37 See chapter 13 in this volume by Danielle Fosler-Lussier, especially pp. 202–05.

Fosler-Lussier, especially pp. 202–05.

38 Béla Bangha, 'Tollheggyel' [With the Tip of a Pen], *Magyar Kultúra* [Hungarian Culture] 24 (5–20 July 1937), quoted in *Zt* 10 (1962), p. 615.

39 'Bartók Béla és B. Pásztory Ditta' [Béla Bartók and Ditta Pásztory B(artók)], *Népszava* (9 October 1940), quoted in *Zt* 10 (1962), p. 726.

40 Eric Hirsch, 'Pure Sources, Pure Souls: Folk Nationalism and Folk Music in Hungary in the 1930s', Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley (1995), especially pp. 1–8 and 62–73.

12 Bartók in America

- 1 [Kurt List], 'Measure for Measure', *Listen* (November 1945), p. 18.
- 2 Sándor Asztalos, 'Bartók a mienk' [Bartók is Ours], *Új zenei szemle* [New Music Review] 1/4 (September 1950), p. 31.
- 3 Vilmos Juhász (ed.), *Bartók's Years in America* (Washington DC: Occidental Press, 1981), Preface, originally produced in mimeographed form in 1956.
- 4 See, for instance, Leibowitz, 'Béla Bartók ou la possibilité du compromis dans la musique contemporaine', *Les temps modernes* 2/25 (1947), pp. 705–34.
- 5 'My Activities During the War' (1945), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (London: Faber & Faber, 1976 repr. Lincoln, Nebr., and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), p. 434.
- 6 'Bartók', 8th edn (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), p. 116.
- 7 'Bartók's Reception in America', in *Bartók* and *His World*, ed. Peter Laki (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 101–18. 8 *Erinnerungen* (Berlin: Limes, 1993), p. 106.
- 9 János Demény (ed.), *Béla Bartók Letters*,
- trans. Péter Balabán and István Farkas, trans. rev. Elizabeth West and Colin Mason (London: Faber & Faber, 1971), p. 208.
- 10 See, further, Yves Lenoir, Folklore et transcendance dans l'œuvre américaine de Béla Bartók (1940–1945) (Louvain-la-Neuve: Collège Erasme, 1986), pp. 101–02.
- 11 Some early Hungarian editions of Bartók's letters excised his most critical comments about the Soviet Union, resulting in persistent misquotations in the Bartók literature.
- 12 Quoted in typescript, 'Béla Bartók: An Intimate Biography', New York Public Library, Research Libraries collection.
- 13 'Bartók in America', *Musical Times* 117 (1976), p. 123.
- 14 See, for instance, the elaborate 'New York at War' march of 13 June 1942 (pamphlet, *The*

Plan of Demonstration issued by the Mayor's Committee for Mobilization) with its equation of 'refugees' with those fleeing 'conquered countries'.

15 See draft letters, dated 16 September and 7 October 1942, to the Zoo Dog and Cat Hospital (Bartók Archives, Budapest).

16 8 October 1945, p. 74.

17 See Exploring Music: Essays by Ernst Krenek, trans. Margaret Shenfield and Geoffrey Skelton (London: Calder & Boyars, 1966), p. 231.

18 The journalistic reporting of Bartók's death was repeated for the other half-dozen unfortunates featured in the 'Milestones' column. In fact, Bartók's treatment erred on the more sober side. Dr Smith Ely Jelliffe was summarized as a 'belligerent Freudian' neuropsychiatrist, while Mrs Jacob Leander Loose's only claim to fame in later years was showering 'Washington society with champagne and Sunshine biscuits'.

19 As, for instance, quoted in Tibor Tallián, Béla Bartók: The Man and his Work, trans. Gyula Gulyás, trans. rev. Paul Merrick (Budapest: Corvina, 1988), p. 238.

20 See Tibor Tallián, *Bartók fogadtatása Amerikában*, 1940–1945 [Bartók's Reception in America 1940–1945] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1988) for Bartók's concert programmes, and Malcolm Gillies, 'Bartók's Last Concert?', *Music and Letters* 78 (1997), pp. 92–100, for Bartók's later performance plans.

21 Yves Lenoir, 'Vie et œuvre de Béla Bartók aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique (1940–1945)', diss., Université Catholique de Louvain (1976), vol. 3, p. 54.

22 See, for instance, Lenoir, 'Vie et œuvre', vol. 3, pp. 153–54.

23 See Béla Bartók Jr., *Az öt földrész: Ahogy én láttam 186 utazásomon* [The Five Continents: As I Have Seen Them on My 186 Journeys] (Budapest: Püski, 1992), pp. 22–43.

24 London: Victor Gollancz, 1958.

25 Letter, 17 October 1941; Demény (ed.), *Béla Bartók Letters*, p. 317.

26 Béla Bartók Jr., 'Béla Bartók's Diseases', Studia musicologica 23 (1981), pp. 434, 438, 441. 27 See Vera Lampert, 'Bartók at Harvard University', Studia musicologica 35 (1993–94), pp. 134–48.

28 Quoted in Malcolm Gillies, *Bartók Remembered* (London: Faber & Faber, 1990), p. 195

29 Quoted in ibid., p. 196.

30 Rough estimates of Bartók's after-tax income during his American years are US\$5,000 (1941), perhaps \$3,300 (1942), \$3,500 (1943), \$3,000 (1944), and Bartók's own estimate of \$3,158 for 1945. These estimates,

and the more detailed information provided below, are extrapolated from loose pages found among Bartók's collected correspondence (Peter Bartók's collection, Homosassa, Florida). By contrast, Bartók's own yearly salary at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1940 was 8,640 pengős, approximately US\$1,500 at nominal exchange rates. To this, must be added a variety of royalties, private-lesson fees, and significant undeclared foreign-earned income.

31 The National Income and Product Accounts of the United States, 1929–74: Statistical Tables (Washington DC: Department of Commerce, 1977), p. 211.

32 Respectively, \$3,000, \$2,233, and \$721.20 in 1941. Bartók's concert income was often hardwon. A circuit of seven concerts between 14 February (Monticello College) and 10 March 1941 (Kansas City) brought in \$1,185 in fees, but involved expenses of \$1,040 (transport, accommodation, agent's commission), leaving a still taxable \$145.

33 Before taxes, personal exemptions, costs for medical and dental care, and allowable deductions were taken into consideration.
34 See, further, Malcolm Gillies, 'Bartók and Boosey & Hawkes: The American Years', *Tempo* 205 (July 1998), pp. 8–11.

35 Estimate of 10 March 1945.

36 [Kurt List], 'Music Composition: Life Work or Side-Line?' *Listen* (June 1945), pp. 5, 6. Bartók, too, was invited to contribute to this survey, but declined.

13 Bartók reception in cold war Europe

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1 René Leibowitz, 'Béla Bartók, ou la possibilité du compromis dans la musique contemporaine', *Les Temps modernes* 3/25 (October 1947), pp. 705–34. Leibowitz's article was also published in English as 'Béla Bartók, or the Possibility of Compromise in Contemporary Music', in *Transition Forty-Eight* 3 (1948), pp. 92–123. My citations are from the English version.

2 See Jean-Paul Sartre, *What is Literature?* trans. Bernard Frechtman (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), pp. 1–2.

- 3 Leibowitz, 'Béla Bartók, or the Possibility of Compromise', p. 99. See Tony Judt, *Past Imperfect: French Intellectuals*, 1944–1956 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 45–74.
- 4 Leibowitz, 'Béla Bartók, or the Possibility of Compromise', p. 112.
- 5 See Ivan F. Waldbauer's chapter in this volume for a discussion of the importance of systematic categorization in the analytical reception of Bartók's music. I would like to thank Professor Waldbauer for sharing his essay with me prior to its publication.
- 6 Boris de Schloezer, 'Béla Bartók (History vs. Esthetics)', *Transition Forty-Eight* 3 (1948), p. 126.
- 7 See Judt, Past Imperfect, pp. 101–50; Ariane Chebel d'Appollonia, Histoire politique des intellectuels en France, 1944–1954 (Brussels: Editions Complexe, 1991), esp. vol. 1, pp. 135–69, and vol. 2, pp. 55–105; Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Humanism and Terror: An Essay on the Communist Problem, trans. John O'Neill (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969).
- 8 Bernard Gavoty, 'Bericht aus Paris: Die letzten Werke von Béla Bartók', *Melos* 14/2 (October 1947), pp. 343–44.
- 9 Claude Rostand, 'Béla Bartók: Chemins et contrastes du musicien', *Contrepoints* 3 (March–April 1946), p. 31.
- 10 Herbert Eimert, 'Das Violinkonzert von Bartók', *Melos* 14/12 (October 1947), p. 335.
- 11 Kurt Zimmerreimer, 'Der Stil Béla Bartóks', Musica (Kassel) 1/5–6 (September–December 1947), p. 266.
- 12 On American music policy in West Germany, see especially 'Negotiating Cultural Allies', chapter 1 of Amy Beal, 'Patronage and Reception History of American Experimental Music in West Germany, 1945–1986', Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan (1999). I would like to thank Dr Beal for sharing this chapter with me in advance of its publication.
- 13 The resolution, aimed at Vano Muradeli, also mentioned Shostakovich and Prokofiev, among others. 'Ob opere "Velikaya druzhba" V. Muradeli, Postanovleniye TsK VKP(b) ot 10 fevralya 1948 g.' [On the Opera 'The Great Friendship' by V. Muradeli, issued by the Central Committee of the Communist [Bolshevik] Party of the Soviet Union on 10 February 1948], Sovyetskaya Muzyka [Soviet Music] 1 (1948), pp. 3–8; trans. George S. Counts and Nucia Lodge, The Country of the Blind: The Soviet System of Mind Control (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1949). This translation has been reprinted in Andrey Olkhovsky, Music Under the Soviets: The Agony of an Art (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for

- the Research Program on the USSR, 1955), pp. 280–85.
- 14 See Inge Kovács's excellent article, 'Die Ferienkurse als Schauplatz der Ost-West Konfrontation', in *Im Zenit der Moderne: Die Internationalen Ferienkurse für Neue Musik Darmstadt, 1946–1966*, ed. Gianmario Borio and Hermann Danuser (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach Verlag, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 116–39.
 15 Hans Mayer, 'Kulturkrise und Neue Musik', *Melos* 15/8–9 (August–September 1948), pp. 218–23, and 10 (October 1948), pp. 276–79.
 16 Edwin Kuntz, 'Zwischen Hindemith und Schönberg', *Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung* (6 August 1948), p. 2.
- 17 Bartók's Sixth String Quartet and his Sonatina for Piano were also performed at the Darmstadt summer courses that year.
 18 Hermann Scherchen, 'Die gegenwärtige Situation der modernen Musik', *Melos* 16/10 (October 1949), p. 258.
- 19 Theodor W. Adorno, 'Die gegängelte Musik: Bemerkungen über die Musikpolitik der Ostblockstaaten' (Frankfurt: Verlag Eremiten-Presse, 1954). This essay has been reprinted in Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften* 14, ed. Rolf Tiedemann (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1973), pp. 51–66.
- 20 Scherchen, 'Die gegenwärtige Situation der modernen Musik', pp. 258–59. For a discussion of the accessible style of Milhaud's *Introduction et Marche funèbre* and its political ramifications, see Leslie Sprout, 'Muse of the *Révolution française* or the *Révolution nationale?* 1936–1944', *repercussions* 5/1–2 (Spring–Fall 1996), pp. 73–89.
- 21 Erich Doflein, 'Gleichgewicht von Geben und Nehmen', in *Musique pure dans un siècle sale: New Music Darmstadt 1950–1960*, compiled by Friedrich Hommel and Wilhelm Schlüter (Darmstadt: Internationales Musikinstitut, 1987) (unpaginated).
- 22 The post-war Hungarian reception of Bartók's music is explored in greater depth in the author's dissertation, entitled 'The Transition to Communism and the Legacy of Béla Bartók in Hungary, 1945–1956', Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley (1999).
- 23 Endre Szervánszky, 'Bartók-bemutató' [Bartók Premiere], *Szabad Nép* [Free Folk] (25 April 1947), p. 4.
- 24 See also critiques by István Péterfi, 'Muzsika Bartók Béla Concertója' [Music: Béla Bartók's Concerto], *Szabadság* [Freedom] (27 April 1947), p. 4; and József Ujfalussy, 'Zene' [Music], *Új Szántás* [New Ploughing] 1/5 (May 1947), pp. 302–03.
- 25 See József Ujfalussy, 'Zene', Új Szántás 1/11

- (November 1947), pp. 662–63; and Endre Gaál, 'Bartók emlékest bemutatóval' [Evening in Bartók's Memory, with a Premiere], *Magyar Nemzet* [Hungarian Nation] (3 October 1947), p. 3.
- 26 See Lajos Vargyas, 'Zene és közösség' [Music and Community], *Válasz* [Reply] 7 (1948), p. 338.
- 27 See András Mihály, 'Harc a formalizmus ellen' [Battle against Formalism], *Fórum 3/3* (March 1948), p. 238.
- 28 Géza Losonczy, 'Az Operaház legyen a népé!' [Let the Opera House be the People's!], Szabad Nép [Free Folk] (5 February 1950), p.
- 29 György Pollner, letter to Jenő Széll, 9 August 1950. Magyar Országos Levéltár (Hungarian National Archives) 276/89/386, p. 37.
- 30 *Magyar Rádió Újság* [Hungarian Radio News] (18–24 September 1950).
- 31 For a discussion of similarities between Bartók's and Schoenberg's music, see János Kárpáti, *Bartók's Chamber Music*, trans. Fred MacNicol and Mária Steiner, trans. rev. Paul Merrick (New York: Pendragon Press, 1994), pp. 36–62.
- 32 See David E. Schneider, 'Expression in the Time of Objectivity: Nationalism and Modernity in Five Concertos of Béla Bartók', Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley (1997), pp. 46–122.
- 33 Endre Székely, 'Előre Bartók Béla szellemében a nép kulturális felemelkedéséért!' [Forward in the Spirit of Béla Bartók for the Cultural Advancement of the People!], *Éneklő Nép* [Singing Folk] 3/9 (September 1950), p. 2.
- 34 Ferenc Szabó, 'Bartók nem alkuszik' [Bartók Does Not Compromise], Új Zenei Szemle [New Music Review] 1/4 (September 1950), p. 5.
 35 Miklós Csillag, 'Csillag Miklós beszéde a Bartók-emléktábla leleplezésénél' [Miklós Csillag's Speech at the Placing of the Bartók Memorial Plaque], Új Zenei Szemle 1/5 (October 1950), p. 23.
- 36 Mihály, 'Válasz egy Bartók-kritikának' [Response to a Bartók-Critique], *Új Zenei* Szemle 1/4 (September 1950), p. 49.
- 37 Ibid., p. 51.
- 38 Ibid., p. 55.
- 39 Arthur Berger, 'The Two Bartóks', *The Saturday Review* (29 August 1953), p. 53.

14 Analytical responses to Bartók's music: pitch organization

1 Discussed in detail by Gregory Dubinsky in 'The Dissemination of Twelve-Tone Composition, 1921–1945', Ph.D. dissertation in progress, University of California, Berkeley. I

- would like to thank Mr Dubinsky for making available the typescript of the first chapter. 2 'Harvard Lectures' (1943), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (London: Faber & Faber, 1976 repr. Lincoln, Nebr., and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), pp. 364–71 and 376–83.
- 3 Trans. Otto Ortmann (New York: Associated Music Publishers, Inc., 1941-42; rev. 1945). 4 'Harvard Lectures' (1943), in Béla Bartók Essays, ed. Suchoff, p. 376. For another personal statement by Bartók, confirming his somewhat negative attitude towards theory, see his interview with Denijs Dille, originally in La Sirène I, No. 1 ([March] 1937). János Demény gives a Hungarian translation of it in 'Bartók Béla pályjája deleőjén: teremtő évek világhódító alkotások (1927-1940)' [Béla Bartók at the Height of his Career – Creative Years - World-Conquering Works (1927-1940)], Zenetudomanyi tanulmanyok [Studies in Musicology] 10 (1962), pp. 599–600. An English translation of the latter is to be found in David Schneider 'Expression in the Time of Objectivity: Nationality and Modernity in Five Concertos by Béla Bartók', Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley (1997), pp. 324-26.
- 5 V. Kofi Agawu discusses this problem in some detail in 'Analytical Issues Raised by Bartók's Improvisations for Piano, Op. 20', *Journal of Musicological Research* 5 (1984), pp. 131–63; see also Malcolm Gillies, 'Bartók Analysis and Authenticity', *Studia musicologica* 36 (1995), pp. 319–27.
- 6 Edwin von der Nüll, 1930; Ernő Lendvai, 1955 (also 1971 and 1983); János Kárpáti, 1967 (and 1991); Peter Petersen, 1971; Elliott Antokoletz, 1984; and Paul Wilson, 1992. Details of these works are listed in the Bibliography.
- 7 Nüll's thirteen letters to Bartók, housed in the Budapest Bartók Archives, indicate that Bartók has responded to his questions in detail. Bartók's letters have not been recovered.
- 8 Kárpáti, *Bartók's Chamber Music*, trans. Fred MacNicol and Mária Steiner, trans. rev. Paul Merrick (New York: Pendragon Press, 1994), p. 187. For examples and somewhat more detailed discussion of Nüll's monograph see Ivan Waldbauer, 'Theorists' Views on Bartók from Edwin von der Nüll to Paul Wilson', *Studia musicologica 37* (1996), pp. 93–121.
- 9 Stephen Jay Gould, 'Writing on the Margins', *Natural History* 107/9 (November 1998), pp. 16–20, considers the marriage of 'new ways of thinking with better styles of seeing' as the condition of all fundamental scientific discoveries.

10 Ernő Lendvai, Bartók stilusa a 'szonáta két zongorára és ütőhangszerekre' és a 'Zene húros-ütőhangszerekre és celestára' tükrében [Bartók's Style as Seen in the Sonata for Two Pianos and Percussion and in the Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1955). Two accounts of this theory are available to the English reader, Ernő Lendvai, Béla Bartók: An Analysis of his Music (London: Kahn and Averill, 1971, rev. edn 1979) and his perhaps more detailed The Workshop of Bartók and Kodály (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1983).

11 René Leibowitz, 'Béla Bartók, ou la possibilité du compromis dans la musique contemporaine', Les Temps modernes 3/24 (October 1947), pp. 705-34. See also chapter 13 in this volume. A detailed discussion of the entire controversy, including Leibowitz's critique and one Hungarian response to it, is to be found in the chapter "Bartók is Ours", the Sundering of Bartók's Legacy', in Danielle Fosler-Lussier, 'The Transition to Communism and the Legacy of Béla Bartók in Hungary, 1945-1956', Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley (1999). Hungarian readers may also consult János Breuer, 'Bartók Béla Pere' [The Trial of Béla Bartók] in his Bartók és Kodály (Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1978), pp. 108-38.

- 12 Lendvai, Béla Bartók: An Analysis of his Music, p. 16.
- 13 This scale has been identified as a folk mode particularly frequent in Romanian folk music
- 14 A thorough critique of Lendvai's axis system is found in Paul Wilson, *The Music of Béla Bartók* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 6–8 and 203–08.
- 15 An important predecessor to Lendvai's theory is J. H. Douglas Webster, 'Golden-Mean Form in Music', Music and Letters 31 (1950), pp. 238-48. Tibor and Peter I. Bachmann, 'An Analysis of Béla Bartók's Music through Fibonnacci Numbers and the Golden Mean', Musical Quarterly 65 (1979), pp. 72–82, follow in Lendvai's footsteps. Without accepting Lendvai's theory Perle (in 'The String Quartets of Béla Bartók', in A Musical Offering: Essays in Honor of Martin Bernstein, ed. Claire Brook and E. H. Clinkscale [New York: Pendragon Press, 1977], pp. 193-210) counsels against rejecting it out of hand on statistical grounds. Finally Roy Howat criticizes it in both 'Bartók, Lendvai and the Principles of Proportional Analysis', Musical Analysis 2 (1983), pp. 65-95 and in 'Masterwork (II): Sonata for Two Pianos and Percussion', in The Bartók Companion, ed. Malcolm Gillies (London: Faber & Faber, 1993), pp. 315-30.

16 Milton Babbitt, 'The String Quartets of Bartók', *Musical Quarterly* 35 (1949), pp. 377–85.

17 Ibid., p. 378.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 380.

19 Ibid., p. 380.

- 20 Details of these references can be found in the Bibliography.
- 21 Concerning some reservations as to the unequivocal dominant role of Eq see Ivan Waldbauer, 'Polymodal Chromaticism and Tonal Plan in the First of Bartók's Six Dances in Bulgarian Rhythm', *Studia musicologica* 32 (1990), pp. 241–62.
- 22 George Perle, 'Symmetrical Formations in the String Quartets of Béla Bartók', *Music Review* 16 (1955), p. 305. Emphasis added. 23 Perle, 'Symmetrical Formations', p. 312, and Perle 'The String Quartets', p. 208.
- 24 Travis, 'Towards a New Concept of Tonality?' *Journal of Music Theory* 3 (1959), p.
- 25 *Ibid.*, p. 263. Space precludes a credible summary of the rationale of Salzer's influential analytical technique and its differences from that of Travis. The reader is referred to more detailed descriptions of their work cited in the Bibliography.

26 Ibid., p. 281.

- 27 Music Forum 2 (1970), pp. 298-371.
- 28 Two thoughtful critiques are in James Baker, 'Schenkerian Analysis and Post-Tonal Music', in Aspects of Schenkerian Theory, ed. David Beach (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983), pp. 153-86, and in Joseph N. Straus, 'The Problem of Prolongation in Post-Tonal Music', Journal of Music Theory 31 (1987), pp. 1-21; both are more concerned with the Schenkerian method as such than with what Travis has to say about Bartók in particular. In the essay 'Post-Tonal Voice Leading', in Models of Musical Analysis: Early Twentieth Century, ed. Jonathan Dunsby (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 20-41, Baker himself produced a Schenker graph of the second movement of Bartók's Suite Op. 14. To the best knowledge of the present writer, this is the only orthodox Schenkerian analysis of any Bartók music to date.
- 29 'Tonality and Structure in Bartók's First
 Two String Quartets', *Music Review* 32
 (August–November 1973), pp. 259–71.
 30 With the exception of Kárpáti, the
 Hungarian scholars, rather than producing new
 theories, merely make use of music theory in
 their analyses. For the contributions of László
 Dobszay, Sándor Kovács, László Somfai, Bence
 Szabolcsi, Tibor Tallián, József Ujfalussy and
 András Wilheim, as well as those of Kapst,
 Lenoir and Oramo, the reader is referred to

- Elliott Antokoletz, *Béla Bartók: A Guide to Research*, 2nd edn (New York: Garland Publications, 1997).
- 31 Kárpáti, Bartók's Chamber Music, pp.
- 81–127, 169–183, and 185–235, respectively.
- 32 Ibid., p. 102.
- 33 Ibid., pp. 107-20.
- 34 John Vinton, 'Bartók on his Own Music', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 19 (1968), pp. 232–43.
- 35 Bartók expressed his views on the theoretical and practical impossibility of bitonality and polytonality in the 'Harvard Lectures' (1943), in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Suchoff, p. 366.
- 36 Antokoletz, *The Music of Béla Bartók*, p. XII. His emphases.
- 37 Antokoletz, *ibid.*, p. 68, lists all interval cycles. In this and subsequent discussions of interval cycles he draws on Perle, *Twelve-Tone Tonality* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977) and *idem*, 'Berg's Master Array of the Interval Cycles', *Musical Quarterly* 63 (1977), pp. 1–30.
- 38 The reader intent upon getting better acquainted with the theory of Antokoletz is advised to begin with his three articles in *The Bartók Companion.*, ed. Malcolm Gillies: "At last something truly new": Bagatelles', pp. 110–23; 'The Middle-period String Quartets', pp. 257–77; 'Concerto for Orchestra', pp. 526–37; as well as 'Organic Development and Interval Cycles', *Studia musicologica* 36 (1995), pp. 249–61 before facing the technical complexities of Antokoletz, *The Music of Béla Bartók*.
- 39 Richard S. Parks, 'Harmonic Resources in Bartók's "Fourths"', *Journal of Music Theory* 25 (1981), pp. 245–74; James E. Woodward, 'Understanding Bartók's Bagatelle, Op. 6/9,' *Indiana Theory Review* 4 (1981), pp. 11–32. Park's analysis may be compared with Antokoletz, *The Music of Béla Bartók*, p. 198. 40 Richard Cohn, 'Inversional Symmetry and Transpositional Combination in Bartók', *Music Theory Spectrum* 10 (1988), p. 42.
- 41 Cohn, 'Bartók's Octatonic Strategies: A Motivic Approach', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (1991), p. 264.
- 42 Cohn, 'Inversional Symmetry', p. 42.
- 43 Wilson, *The Music of Béla Bartók*, pp. 55–71. This aspect of Wilson's analysis is summarized without recourse to the specialized terminology and symbols of set theory in Waldbauer,
- 'Theorists' Views', pp.111–12 and *passim*. 44 These terms refer to widely separated but prominently exposed pitches eventually congealing into sets, and to easily recognized

patterns from the pre-compositional resource, e.g., bass progression by the circle of fifths, in Wilson, *The Music of Béla Bartók*, pp. 23–24 and 39–41, respectively.

15 Bartók at the piano: lessons from the composer's sound recordings

- 1 Hermann Danuser, 'Auktoriale Aufführungstradition', in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia 1987*, ed. Angelo Pompilio *et al.*, *III: Free Papers* (Turin: E.D.T. Edizioni di Torino, 1990), p. 332. Translation mine.
- 2 David Dubal, *Reflections From the Keyboard* (New York: Summit Books, 1984), pp. 73–74.
- 3 Quoted in Hamish Milne, *Bartók: His Life* and *Times* (Tunbridge Wells: Midas Books, 1982), p. 67.
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- 11 See note 8.
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