Western European or Oriental? Armenian "Western Art Music" and the Influence of Folksong at the *Fin-de-Siècle*

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation addresses the roles that Armenian, French, and Russian musicians and music scholars played in shaping ideas about an "authentic" Armenian music during the *fin-de-siècle* (1880s to the 1920s). I refer collectively to this group as "reformers." I argue that their efforts, which involved collecting, analyzing, arranging and contextualizing Armenian folk and sacred music, established the features of what many perceive today as Armenian art music. Their work unfolded in specific homeland and diaspora contexts. The Armenian and non-Armenian reformers alike were inspired by conceptions of national/nationalist music in the final decades of the Ottoman and Russian Empires (which dissolved in 1922 and 1917, respectively). Given the Armenian nation's geographical proximity to the Near East and Eastern Europe, and its rich, complex historical relationships with these powers, the reformers faced a difficult task. I argue that their efforts to craft a new, unified musical language as well as a discourse around it, were partly motivated by cultural anxieties over the diverse styles and practices of traditional Armenian music. They debated the most appropriate way of representing Armenian music sources. They also engaged in ambivalent and dialectical discourses, which mirrored contemporary fluctuations in Armenian social and cultural history.

This dissertation comprises three case studies. Chapter 1 introduces Komitas Vardapet (1869–1935), whose work sparked the reformers' interest in issues of "authenticity" in Armenian music. Present-day biographers and scholars typically use Komitas's biography (including his exile) to frame his reforms as he came of age during the Armenian nation's turbulent lead-up to the 1915 Genocide. I show how Komitas's theories about Armenian folk and sacred music informed his incorporation of "authentic" musical and extramusical devices into his own compositions. The second chapter focuses on little studied sources: musical depictions of

Armenia, published in Paris by Armenian and French composers. I also analyze Armenian folksongs that were printed with harmonized accompaniments by Armenian and French musicologists. These materials illustrated the fraught Ottoman-Western European binary as debated within the Armenian diasporic community in Paris, as well as the French press's responses to the diasporic community's endeavors and discussions. Chapter 3 addresses perceptions of Armenian music in the Russian Empire. Following two Russo-Persian wars (1804–1813, 1826–1828) and two Russo-Turkish wars (1806–1812, 1826–1828), many ethnic minorities, including Armenians, were incorporated into the Empire. Using works published in Moscow and St. Petersburg by Lazare Saminsky (1882–1959) and Nikoghayos Tigranian (1856–1951), I explore how Armenian folk and art music was portrayed as "oriental" (rather than "European" as in chapter 2) in the context of Empire.

All the reformers wrestled with the competing faces of Armenian musical identity. Arguably, their efforts resulted in an overall view of Armenian music as a tradition marked by cultural ambiguities. I contend that this characteristic has remained a central tension in modern-day Armenian music-cultural identity.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse traite du rôle joué par les musiciens et les spécialistes de la musique arméniens, français et russes dans l'élaboration des idées sur la musique arménienne « authentique » pendant la fin du siècle (des années 1880 aux années 1920). Je me réfère collectivement à ce groupe sous le nom de « réformateurs. » Je soutiens que leurs efforts, qui ont consisté à analyser et à contextualiser la musique folklorique arménienne, ont permis d'établir les caractéristiques de ce que beaucoup reconnaissent aujourd'hui comme la musique d'art arménienne. Leur travail s'est déroulé dans des contextes spécifiques de la patrie et de la diaspora. Les réformateurs Arméniens et les non-Arméniens se sont inspirés des conceptions de la musique nationale/nationaliste dans les dernières décennies des empires ottoman et russe (qui se sont dissous respectivement en 1922 et 1917). Compte tenu de la proximité géographique de la nation arménienne avec le Proche-Orient et l'Europe de l'Est, et de ses relations historiques riches et complexes avec ces puissances, les réformateurs étaient confrontés à une tâche difficile. Je soutiens que leurs efforts pour créer un nouveau langage musical unifié, ainsi qu'un discours autour de ce langage, ont été en partie motivés par des inquiétudes culturelles concernant les divers styles et pratiques de la musique arménienne traditionnelle. Ils ont débattu de la manière la plus appropriée de représenter les sources de la musique arménienne. Ils se sont également engagés dans des discours ambivalents et dialectiques, qui reflétaient les fluctuations contemporaines de l'histoire sociale et culturelle arménienne.

Cette thèse comprend trois études de cas. Le chapitre 1 présente Komitas Vardapet (1869-1935), dont l'œuvre a suscité l'intérêt des réformateurs pour les questions d'authenticité de la musique arménienne. Les biographes et les chercheurs actuels utilisent généralement la biographie de Komitas (y compris son exil) pour encadrer ses réformes alors qu'il atteignait l'âge

adulte au cours de la période turbulente de la nation arménienne naissante qui a précédé le génocide de 1915. Je montre ici comment les théories de Komitas sur la musique folklorique et sacrée arménienne ont influencé son l'incorporation de procédés musicaux et extramusicaux « authentiques » dans ses propres compositions. Le deuxième chapitre se concentre sur des sources peu étudiées : les représentations musicales de l'Arménie, publiées à Paris par des compositeurs arméniens et français. J'analyse également les chansons populaires arméniennes imprimées avec des accompagnements harmonisés par des musicologues arméniens et français. Ces documents illustrent la fragilité du binaire ottoman et ouest-européen tel qu'il est débattu au sein de la communauté diasporique arménienne diasporique à Paris, ainsi que les réactions de la presse française aux efforts et aux discussions de la communauté diasporique. Le chapitre 3 traite de la perception de la musique arménienne dans l'Empire russe. Après deux guerres russo-persanes (1804-1813, 1826-1828) et deux guerres russo-turques (1806-1812, 1826-1828), de nombreuses minorités ethniques, dont les Arméniens, ont été incorporées à l'Empire. À l'aide d'ouvrages publiés à Moscou et à Saint-Pétersbourg par Lazare Saminsky (1882-1959) et Nikoghayos Tigranian (1856-1912), j'explore la manière dont la musique folklorique et artistique arménienne a été présentée comme « orientale » (plutôt qu'européenne comme dans le chapitre 2) dans le contexte de l'Empire.

Tous les réformateurs ont lutté contre les différentes facettes de l'identité musicale arménienne. On peut dire que leurs efforts ont abouti à une tradition marquée par des ambiguïtés culturelles. Je soutiens que cette caractéristique est restée une tension centrale dans l'identité culturelle et musicale arménienne d'aujourd'hui.

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particular, goes to Cathy Martin, who was of great assistance in helping me track down physical copies of music sources at international institutions, making these sources available for my perusal and use. To this end, I also thank Kimberley White, who helped me navigate the French sources housed at the *Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF)* in Paris and helped me obtain the necessary permissions.

Access to ethnographic materials and musical scores was made possible by archival resources in both digital and physical formats. The vast digitization projects of the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (Gallica), the Internet Archive, and other online score depositories have made available Armenian musical scores and works of comparative musicology from the period discussed in this dissertation. The primary sources include now digitized French musicological publications (*Le Mercure musical*, *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, *Le Ménestrel*), independently published Armenian scores, and writings published in Russian, Ottoman, and French musical contexts. The availability of these archival materials in multiple languages led me to sources that would otherwise be difficult to find in existing reference or secondary literature. Grappling with these primary sources enabled me to glean themes and draw connections between ideas and people (prominent and otherwise) and allowed for cross-referencing these sources in relational ways.

During my time at McGill University, I have had ample opportunities to build friendships and participate in communities that helped me develop as a writer, scholar and specifically as a person. To Paul Bazin (Ahiba!), thank you for your wonderful friendship and kindness during every step of the Ph.D. journey, from our shared coursework to navigating the challenges and successes that defined our academic and personal pursuits. To Carlotta Marturano, I would like to thank you for your friendship, kindness, and genuine sense of humor that served as a constant

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Araxie and I have continued our conversations around Armenian music since then, and in recent times, she has introduced me and my work to the broader Armenian-Canadian community. Thank you, Araxie, for allowing me to share my research.

Finally, I would like to express my most heartfelt and deepest gratitude to my family. My parents, Jon and Lilian, and my sister, Melanie, supported me in ways that are nearly impossible to express in words. They listened attentively to my frustrations when I felt directionless in my research, and they helped read through my drafts, and provided much-needed emotional respite from the stresses and strains that came with working on this project. Their calmness and support were a much-needed benefit that helped lighten the writing process and the research. A critical member of our family, thank you to Seamus (our French-Canadian cat) whose unspoken love and affection was a constant during the dissertation journey. My family remains a beacon of support and light, and I thank them for encouraging me to realize what was a distant dream all those years ago. Thank you!

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my grandmother, Rita Hagopian (née Kantarjian, b. 1933), and to the memory of my grandparents: Arsham Turabian (1914-1999), Anahid Turabian (1926-2018), and Garbise Hagopian (1913-2008). Their legacies, stories, and struggles breathe through every page of this dissertation.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

Throughout my text, I adopt Eastern Armenian (as opposed to Western Armenian) transliteration. Translations from Armenian and other languages (French, German, Russian) are my own unless otherwise indicated. For Armenian translations that are not my own, I turn to translations offered by Vrej Nersessian, Vatsche Barsoumian, Edward Gulbekian, and a recent translation of Komitas's letters/correspondence by Nazareth Seferian.

0. INTRODUCTION

Filled with stories of musicians, composers, and landscapes of "home," and embedded in musical monuments and regional histories, discourses on Armenian folk music during the *fin-de-siècle* were imbued with the emotions of its practitioners and audiences.[1] Those confronting a new awareness of home, whether in exile or within a homeland caught in the struggle of Ottoman, Persian, and Russian empires, were also seduced by the potential of Armenian folk music to signify a stable, unified homeland.[2] Certain narratives took pride of place. The single most dominant story (still found today) privileged an Armenia that was simultaneously exotic, quixotic, and malleable to personal and collective memories. These musical memories served as an evolving soundtrack to Armenians who, in the post-Genocide twentieth century, were also influenced by legacies of collective trauma, multiple diasporic migrations, and personal familial inheritances.[3] Approaching the turn of the twentieth century, folksong and Armenian art music told and retold narratives of Armenian exile suffusing works with an air of remembrance that engendered "affective" responses among audiences.[4] An account by Salman Rushdie might serve as an example of these responses:

> An old photograph in a cheap frame hangs on a wall of the room where I work. It's a picture dating from 1946 of a house in which, at the time of its taking, I had not yet been born… "The past is a foreign country," goes the famous opening sentence of L. P. Hartley's novel *The Go-Between*, 'they do things differently there.' But the photograph tells me to invert this idea; it reminds me that it's my present that is foreign, and that the past is home, albeit a lost home in a lost city in the mists of lost time.[5]

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[1] Armenian folk music (by which I mean traditional music from the regions, transmitted through oral tradition) was highly valued due to its associations with a timeless Armenian past. See Sylvia Alajaji, *Music and the Armenian Diaspora: Searching for Home in Exile* (Bloomington, ID: Indiana University Press, 2014), 9.
[2] Edward Said, *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 139.
[3] Natalie Zelensky, *Performing Tsarist Russia in New York: Music, Émigrés, and the American Imagination* (Bloomington, ID: Indiana University Press, 2019), 16.
[4] Anahid Kassabian, *Ubiquitous Listening: Affect, Attention, and Distributed Subjectivity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 82.
[5] Salman Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands* (London: Granta Books, 1991), 9.

Viewing a photograph of a home he had never lived in, Rushdie sensed the magical turning of time present into time past—an instance of nostalgia, as Susan Stewart and Svetlana Boym might have termed it.[6] Another concept from Stewart applies to the Armenian folk and art music of this period. To her, souvenirs and collections function doubly to "authenticate the past or otherwise remote experience, and at the same time, ... discredit the present" because the present appears "too impersonal, too looming, or too alienating compared to the intimate and direct experience" of the past.[7] Stewart's use of the word "authenticate" is significant. As my case studies demonstrate, a group of leading Armenian musical and cultural thinkers who modernized sacred and secular Armenian music in the *fin-de-siècle* used narratives of "authenticity" in their search for an Armenian musical identity. In acknowledgement of their vision and the role they played in the process, I refer to them as "reformers" in this dissertation.[8]

The terms of Armenian music can only really be understood when placed in the context of its broader social and political engagements. Although recent scholarship in Armenian musicology and ethnomusicology have analyzed the emotional reception and evolution of Armenian musical taste from a post-Genocide perspective, I trace the history of what Armenian music meant from the 1880s to the 1920s by examining three cultural contexts. The first chapter begins in the Ottoman Empire, where Armenian musical life was largely defined by hybridity, with Armenian and non-Armenian ethnic communities borrowing elements from one another. This dynamic musical space was a source of anxiety among Armenian reformers in the Ottoman Empire, most notably Komitas Vardapet (1869-1935), who sparked reformers' interest in Armenian musical authenticity (see section 0.1). The second chapter contextualizes turn-of-the-

[6] Rushdie, *Imaginary Homelands*, 9.
[7] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992), 139-140.
[8] I thank Roe-Min Kok for suggesting the term during our conversations.

century Paris, which was noted for its large Armenian community and for developing Armenian musical and national discourses that were discussed and debated in France and at home. In the third chapter, I contextualize Armenian folk music's place among ethnic minority cultures of the Russian Empire that were absorbed following successful military campaigns against their imperial rivals. The majority of the music publications discussed in this chapter were published in the major cities of the Russian Empire. In chapters 1 and 3, the Ottoman and Russian Empires reflect the dialectical entanglements that defined Armenian musical identity during this period. In these imperial contexts, musicians and communities encountered the many traditions posited as oppositional to the idealized music of the Armenian homeland. Meanwhile, the chapter on France is an essential inclusion because it contextualizes the critical roles that musicians, ethnographers, and reformers took up in publications and debates within the French capital.

These geographical locations notwithstanding, I begin with a brief and general overview of historical elements that shaped and continue to shape Armenian cultural identity. Bordering present-day Georgia, Iran, Türkiye, and Azerbaijan, Armenia has historically occupied a liminal position on the boundaries between Europe and Asia, a position through which Armenians have negotiated selfhood. Equally marked in the work of Armenian intellectuals was the degree of ambivalence toward their neighbors. As Ronald Suny argued, the very idea of "Armenia is set against the 'other,' the *otar* (in Armenian parlance), the outside world, and left out are the ways Armenians have been different in different times and different from one another at the same time."[9] In his *Looking toward Ararat*, Suny discussed the Armenian *otar* in relation to the question "What is Armenianness?" addressing the tension that informed Armenian national, cultural, and class identities and their various divisions. Similarly, Nicholas Breyfogle observed

[9] Ronald Grigor Suny, *Looking toward Ararat: Armenia in Modern History* (Bloomington, ID: Indiana University Press, 1993), 4.

the tendency in Armenian historiography to provide an "overly deterministic understanding of nation and national identity" based on ethnic and religious parameters.[10] These historical and cultural constructions of Armenian identity were not only commonplace in diaspora communities, but just as much a reality of Armenian life at home in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Concerns regarding the fragmented nature of Armenian cultural life ultimately inspired musicians and scholars to emphasize the shared parameters that defined Armenian musical identity.

Over its long history, Armenia has experienced short periods of independence. For much of this time, however, Armenians have been shaped by their subaltern place under the rule of several empires and regimes: Arabs, Byzantines, Mongols, Seljuks, Ottomans, Persians, Russians, and finally, the Soviets having claimed control over the Armenian highlands.[11] Recently, scholars like Stephen Riegg have addressed how nineteenth-century Armenians unwittingly participated in the broader imperial game between the Ottoman and Russian Empires. These imperial boundaries were constantly redrawn following military campaigns, leading to the displacement of multiple minority ethnic communities (Armenian included) residing on the peripheries of these empires.[12] In the context of war and displacement, it is unsurprising that twentieth-century Armenian historiography has been framed through the lens of cultural survival. As Suny wrote:

> As a people scattered in dozens of countries and living in permanent danger of assimilation or acculturation – if not annihilation – the Armenians in the nineteenth and twentieth

[10] Nicholas Breyfogle, "Review of *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*," *Nationalities Papers* 27 no. 2 (June 1999), 361-63.
[11] Lisa Khachaturian, *Cultivating Nationhood in Imperial Russia: The Periodical Press and the Formation of a Modern Armenian Identity* (London: Routledge, 2017), 1.
[12] Stephen Riegg, *Russia's Entangled Embrace: The Tsarist Empire and the Armenians, 1801-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2020), 1-11.

> centuries (and probably much farther back) have been engaged with an unending discussion of what constitutes an Armenian.[13]

Suny's reference to annihilation is essential, as trauma and subjugation were features of the Armenian experience in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The most impactful event in this regard was the Genocide of 1915 perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire when the ruling party, the Young Turks, envisaged a truly pan-Turkic empire. Although accounts of the number of dead vary (from 800,000 to 1.5 million), the mass deportations of Armenians resulted in the forced exile of roughly 200,000 survivors dispersed throughout much of the Middle East, with smaller minorities of Armenians building new communities in Europe and North America.[14] The Genocide's musical impact has been analyzed by Sylvia Alajaji, whose insightful monograph offers snapshots of Armenian music across the twentieth century, with a significant focus on the post-Genocide period (see Section 0.3 and 0.4).[15] Although the Genocide also figures in my dissertation, I focus primarily on the way Armenian identity was negotiated and vocalized in the years leading up to and immediately following this traumatic event. I ask what musical practices were considered transgressive or representative of an Armenian style.

In the leadup to the Genocide, Armenian intellectual communities formed in the Russian and Ottoman Empires and outside the homeland in diaspora communities (including Paris, Geneva, Marseille, and San Lazzaro). As Khachig Tölölyan explained, Armenian thought leaders

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[13] Suny, *Looking toward Ararat*, 3.

[14] Taner Akçam, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility* (New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt and Company, 2006), 183-89.

[15] Throughout this dissertation, I use the word *Genocide* concerning the state-sponsored pogroms of 1915. In the immediate aftermath of the Genocide, Armenian testimonies struggled to name the event, preferring ambiguous phrases like "great catastrophe" [*medz aghed*]. Challenges of naming the event were rooted in the trauma surrounding the Genocide, which had the unintended consequence of seeing the term "genocide" contested in the public life of the present-day Republic of Türkiye. Many countries have nevertheless recognized the Armenian Genocide, the number of which continues to expand today. See Raymond Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 1. Also see Marc Nichanian, "Catastrophic Mourning," in *Loss: The Politics of Mourning*, eds. David L. Eng and David Kazanjian (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 99-124.

in politics and expressive culture (such as literature and music) became politically motivated, projecting the possibility of a unified Armenian nationhood that could point to a future beyond life under the auspices of Empire. Idealizing a unified cultural front also impacted musical reformers in the late nineteenth century and their attempts to consolidate a national (as opposed to regional) canon, one motivated through discourses of ethnic particularity and race.[16] This rising political consciousness also saw the emergence of transnational political parties in diaspora communities. These parties set up institutions to educate diaspora Armenians and Western Europeans regarding the current plight of Armenians in the homeland. Two examples stand out in particular: The Hunchakian Party was founded in 1887 among Armenian students educated in Geneva, whereas their political rivals, the Dashnaks, were established shortly afterwards (1890) by students attending Russian universities. Both of these political institutions still exist today in the Republic of Armenia.[17] Nationalist and emerging political motivations (including self-determination) attempted to distinguish and emphasize the importance of the Armenian peasant class and rural sphere in relation to more urbanite Armenian communities. This emerging tension between urban and rural spheres is found in the work of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Armenian reformers and ethnomusicologists.[18]

0.1. FOLKSONG COLLECTIONS AND KOMITAS VARDAPET (1869–1935)

An acute awareness of the rural sphere and importance of landscape in visioning the homeland fueled the increased interest in Armenian folksong during the late nineteenth

[16] Christopher J. Walker, "Between Turkey and Russia: Armenia's Predicament," *The World Today* (August-September 1988), 140.
[17] Khachig Tölölyan, "Exile Government in the Armenian Polity," *Journal of Political Science* 18 no. 1 (November 1990), 132.
[18] The rapprochement between the urban/rural divide in Armenia reflected the growing market economy in the late nineteenth century that brought both Armenian spheres into regular contact. Suny, *Looking toward Ararat*, 20.

century.[19] New frameworks centering on the idea of nature accommodated the belief that peasant communities living in rural areas preceded the existence of modern society. Many folksong enthusiasts held this belief, which was also true for Armenian and non-Armenian ethnographers by the turn of the twentieth century.

Attention to rural life and its connections to ideal folksong performance and nationhood dates back at least to the work of Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), who recognized that "the spirit of the times" was something best located in folklore. Fearing that these "expressions of national character," as it were, were in danger of disappearing, Herder advocated for their recovery, preservation, and study. Given the narratives of loss that influenced late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century descriptions of Armenianness, the fear of losing these Armenian cultural touchstones and the need for musical recovery became particularly urgent. Herder not only theorized the nature of folk music as a spirit of the times but enacted into practice his collection efforts in a two-volume collection of folksongs across various cultures (*Volkslieder,* 1778 and 1779). Though Herder's legacy is not without its detractors, scholars credit him with initiating an interest in folk music collection tied to burgeoning nationalisms, an interest that would occupy the attention of comparative musicology from the late nineteenth century onwards.[20] As Philip Bohlman wrote, folksong collection was an example of "bottom-up" musical nationalism, where findings of musical reformers (including data on ethnic melodies, dances, and performance styles) were transported back to urban centers and incorporated into new compositions.[21]

[19] Daniel Grimley, *Grieg: Music, Landscape, and Norwegian Identity* (Cambridge, UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2006).
[20] Philip Bohlman, "Johann Gottfried Herder and the Global Moment of World-Music History," in *The Cambridge History of World Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 255.
[21] Philip Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History* (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2004), 43.

One of the most critical figures in Armenian folksong collection was Komitas Vardapet (1869–1935), who used these sources in his art music compositions. A priest and comparative musicologist, Komitas is known as the progenitor of the Armenian folk and art music style at the turn of the century. His copious fieldwork findings and own compositions (informed by his experiences and folksong collection efforts) represent a snapshot of pre-Genocide Armenia. Today, the capital city of Yerevan teems with multiple monuments honoring his cultural legacy, boasting institutions like the Komitas Museum-Institute, a major thoroughfare in the city (Komitas Avenue), the Komitas State Conservatory, and the Komitas Pantheon. The pantheon is the final resting place for the most decorated Armenian cultural figures, including the composer, whose body was repatriated to Armenia following his death in exile.

The monumentalizing of Komitas in Armenian cultural memory also took place in diaspora communities worldwide, offering a link between the composer and the narratives of exile and remembrance that are embodied in Armenian folk and art music. Perhaps the most famous sculpture of the composer in the diaspora is in Paris, where a bronze statue of Komitas honors the victims of the 1915 Genocide. Inscribed in the monument is the following phrase: "In tribute to Komitas – composer and musicologist – and to the 1,500,000 victims of the Armenian Genocide perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire ["En hommage à Komitas compositeur, musicologue, et aux 1500,000 victimes du génocide arménien de 1915 perpètre dans l'Empire Ottoman"]. Closer to home and to my considerable surprise, I encountered a monument to Komitas in Quebec City, the capital of Quebec province. The composer's bust was unveiled in July 2008 by the Armenian National Committee of Quebec and the National Capital Commission of Quebec. More recently, a statue in homage to Komitas was erected in Montreal (2020).[22]

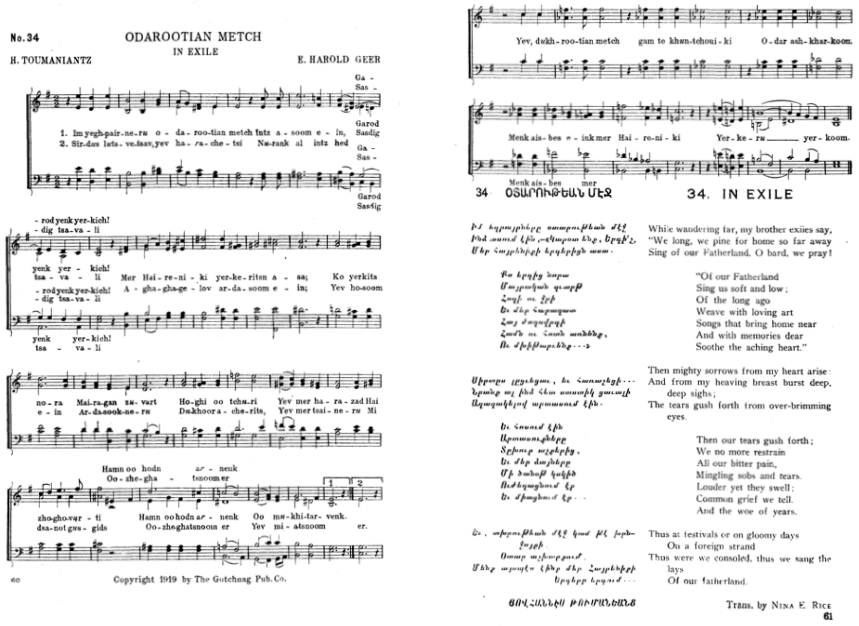
[22] "Statue of Komitas Unveiled in Montreal," *Horizon*, September 7, 2020, https://horizonweekly.ca/en/statue-of-komitas-unveiled-in-montreal/

Like Komitas, other music reformers cultivated preexisting sacred and folk music linked to an Armenian immemorial past in their art music arrangements and original compositions.[23] They accompanied these with searching questions regarding the appropriate way of representing Armenian music. These activities tried to claim or reclaim Armenian authentic music rooted in cultural spaces that flew in the face of the ethnic particularities of established, traditional Armenian musical discourses.[24] This project confronts the roots of these authenticity discourses that saw reformers—Komitas (in chapter 1) and a select group of Armenian and non-Armenian composers, ethnomusicologists, and musicians (in chapters 2 and 3)—articulate the boundaries of Armenian musical praxis. These boundaries saw musicians and reformers respond to the influence of Western European practices of folksong arrangement while simultaneously expressing ambivalence to Central Asian/Turkish musical signifiers familiar to Armenian folk music expression at home. In my chapters, I use the labels Central Asian and Oriental. The former appears more neutrally and descriptively to describe Armenian music's ambiguous geography and connection to other musical traditions in the Ottoman and Russian Empires. The latter ("Oriental") is historically situated in French and Russian sources that I discuss in chapters 2 and 3. Here, reformers discussed neighboring influences on Armenian music as "oriental" and therefore inauthentic to Armenian culture, using terms that conveyed a Western bias and pejorative connotations.[25] I argue that the very substance of Armenian art/folk music in these

[23] In late nineteenth century Armenia, few if any perceived a separation between the (Western) categories of "folk" and "sacred" music, the original pillars of Armenian music. As I show in chapter 1, Komitas featured Armenian modes, rooted in sacred music, in his simulation of folk music.
[24] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1.
[25] Ralph Locke has written extensively about musical exoticism/orientalism and the specific musical parameters associated with non-Western music representation. Chapters 2 and 3 address late nineteenth-century scholars who discussed "oriental chromaticism" in ways that were highly racialized. For these scholars and musicians, the "oriental" scale carries negative connotations, coded as a "strain" on "authentic" Armenian music. For a list of musical parameters of orientalism see Ralph Locke, "The Exotic in Nineteenth-Century French Opera, Part 2: Plots, Characters, and Musical Devices," *19th-Century Music* 45, no. 3 (2022), 194-97.

years was channeled through what was then a focus on ethnicity, which was a concept central to turn-of-the-century interdisciplinary exchanges between comparative musicology and music philology.

Armenian folksong collections came into vogue in the early twentieth century. One example I encountered, which illustrates the chief characteristics of these volumes, is *Songs of Armenia* (New York City, 1919), with fifty-one collected and harmonized folksongs and vocal art music selections featuring piano and voice arrangements for solo and four-part writing by assorted arrangers and composers.



Ex. 0.1: *Odarootian Metch*, a folksong selection on the subject of exile from *Songs of Armenia* (1919) [Public Domain].

The song presented in **Ex. 0.1** displays many of the features found in these types of collections, including a focus on the common theme of Armenian exile and a simple four-voice harmonization with the borrowed folk melody likely given to the soprano voice.[26] In this

[26] For a comprehensive list of Armenian recordings from 1893 to 1942, consult Richard K. Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records: A Discography of Ethnic Recordings Produced in the United States, 1893 to 1942 Volume 5:*

particular volume, these translated texts are presented alongside arrangements of nationalistic American songs including "Star-Spangled Banner" and "Glory to the Union."[27]

Such harmonizations and arrangements of folksongs corresponded to the then-growing interest in musicology and comparative musicology that saw Armenian musicians, scholars, and writers engage with folk music collection and arrangement. The emergence of musicology as a field within Armenian music communities coincided with and further stoked the need to confront questions of Armenian self-identity, defining what was deemed acceptable to Armenian musical practices and, perhaps more importantly, what was not. This dialectical conversation was a common feature in the preparation and reception of folksong volumes in the early twentieth century. Indeed, the question of what is considered acceptably Armenian as opposed to foreign (or rather non-Armenian) has been a defining feature of Armenian historiography of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

0.2. CHAPTERS OVERVIEW

In this dissertation, I consider Armenian folk and art music published and developed in the Ottoman Empire, France (Paris), and the Russian Empire during the *fin-de-siècle*. Each of these places saw Armenian and non-Armenian music reformers systematically transcribe, collect, and harmonize folksongs for their own comparative study and/or to represent these sources in original art music compositions that promised "authentic" depictions.[28] I use "reformers" as an umbrella term throughout this dissertation; however, the word is not used in Armenian

Mid-East, Far East, Scandinavian, English Language, American Indian, and International (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 2501-19.

[27] Garabed Paelian and Krikor Aiqouni, *Songs of Armenia* (New York City: The Gotchnag Publishing Company, 1919), 94, 104-05.

[28] In this dissertation, I favor the word "representation" or "representing" because "imitation" does not account for the distance/difference between real-world subjects and how they appear in musical form. See Peter Kivy, *Sound and Semblance: Reflections on Musical Representation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 17.

musicology. Instead, it encompasses a group of culture workers and ethnographers within Armenian music practice who had a shared motivation to overhaul a musical style in the service of Armenian national and nationalistic ends. In essence, these reformers were responsible for debating and shaping Armenian national music through harmonization practices that involved both folk and sacred music sources. I also apply the term to non-Armenian culture workers and folk music enthusiasts who collected, harmonized, and disseminated minority folk music to Western European audiences. The scholarly study of Armenian sacred and folk music at the *fin-de-siècle* among non-Armenian reformers was tied to their academic interests in the field of comparative musicology.[29] Regardless of perspective, however, the music and scholarship produced and prepared by reformers allowed audiences opportunities to compare and contrast across diverse musical traditions while claiming access to found musical materials that were promoted as "authentic" to Armenianness.

Ultimately, this seminal forty-year period (1880s–1920s) saw Armenian ethnic nationalism rise concomitantly with comparative musicology and composition. Political, academic, and artistic activities nourished one another and grew entangled in broader debates that saw Armenian musical arrangements represented along a continuum that ranged from Western European to Oriental. Many of the musicians and composers discussed (including Pierre Aubry, Lazare Saminsky, and Komitas) shared a background in ethnographic research. Looking to primary sources from this period—including folksong collections, musical works, and comparative musicological articles—I argue that this period of Armenian self-definition not only coincided with the emergence of an Armenian national consciousness but also reflected the

[29] In his recent article, Asimov discussed how attention to Armenian music communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was partly influenced by the European fascination with music of the Indo-European peoples.

growing status of Armenians in relation to the world (especially the West) at large. The fascination with Armenian culture in the early twentieth century was inspired by increased Western awareness regarding the plight of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire.

Chapter 1 introduces the figure of Komitas and his culture work, detailing his theoretical writings and views on Armenian music authenticity. His ethnographic findings appeared in articles and correspondence at home (in the Russian and Ottoman Empires), and in Europe, where his writings were translated for European audiences. In addition to Komitas's fieldwork and scholarly findings, his compositional approaches reflected attempts to establish a standalone national tradition. Efforts in establishing an Armenian national music tradition were partly motivated by Komitas's marked anxiety concerning hybridity and what he saw was the importation of non-Armenian influences linked to the many musical traditions that called the Ottoman Empire home. His critiques also railed against composers and performers who uncritically set Armenian folk/sacred music materials with Western harmonizations that were, in Komitas's mind, incompatible with the Armenian modal system. To explain how Komitas projected his vision of an Armenian musical style in his compositions, I conclude the chapter by discussing his *Danses* suite (1925).

Chapter 2 contextualizes sources by musicians and ethnographers that have largely escaped the attention of Armenian musicology. I show how these primary documents were shaped by reciprocal cultural exchanges between Armenian and French reformers, composers, and comparative musicologists in important ways. Prior to the twentieth century, perceptions of the Ottoman Empire were largely mediated through Orthodox Greeks and Armenians, who in Enlightenment Europe were representatives of the "East" because of their shared Christian

denominational background and work as trading partners and diplomatic allies.[30] Armenians established economic links to Europe that resulted in the formation of diasporic trading communities in cities like Venice, Trieste, and Vienna. These communities became important hubs in cultural exchange, with relationships formed between Ottoman Christians and Europeans. These relationships were not strictly economic, but also involved literary and intellectual areas like printing, philology, and biblical scholarship. By the first decade of the twentieth century, Armenian musical and cultural figures had established themselves in France, publishing ethnomusicological writings and folksong volumes that allowed them to engage with their exile community and the French music/musicological community writ large. Among the latter, French ethnographers, philologists, and musicologists also studied Armenian music, creating a form of cultural exchange and reciprocal influence. This case study gives voice to the research on Armenian music published in Paris in the popular and academic presses (including *Le Figaro* and *Le Mercure musical*) and illustrates how Armenian musical and historical subject matter inspired French musicologists, academics, and composers of the day.

Chapter 3 turns to Armenians in the Russian Empire, where Armenian minorities were essentially assigned Asian identities consistent with other ethnic communities of the Russian Orient. Interactions with other Asian minorities in the region sparked musical works by Armenians (and non-Armenians) that straddled European and Central Asian (coded as "Oriental") musical representations, which I detail in my musical examples. This chapter draws on recent studies of encounters between minority ethnic communities in complex spaces and the nationalistic, ethnic musical discourses that emerged amidst these new plural articulations of

[30] Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, Volume 2: Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Armenian identity.[31] Presenting Armenian music with other cultures of the Russian Orient is critical because much of Armenian historiography has positioned the Armenians of the Russian Empire as influenced by European identity rather than by the oriental cultures of the Ottoman Empire. Such clear-cut distinctions are, in fact, far more ambiguous, and the musical examples and reformers discussed in this chapter reveal this complexity.

The invention and classification of Armenian folk and art music during the *fin-de-siècle* left a profound legacy. The cultural-turned-aesthetic tensions and negotiations about the single "right" way of depicting Armenianness inform each case study. In particular, I argue that negotiations of Armenian musical identity engaged with the Western European/Central Asian polarity. Reformers claimed that this polarity was sometimes embodied in the sources themselves and debated it in the process of arranging these folk sources for Armenian and non-Armenian audiences. Their dialectical entanglements left a profound imprint on depictions of Armenian art music in this period, and the musicological discourses that accompanied folksong collections (including prefaces, evocative title pages, and periodical articles). The reformers discussed specificities of race, ethnicity, and religion in ways that asserted Armenian cultural difference from non-Armenian sources. In examining this tension and its impact, I argue that Armenian music reformers reckoned with their music's broader place in the world and, in the process, showed a preference to align its "authenticity" with Western European styles by relabeling Armenian music with Turkish, Persian, and/or Arab influences as "hybrid." By classifying a musical work as Armenian, the major figures in Armenian music responded to their inherent anxiety to hybridity (a common refrain of their findings and compositions). Ultimately, this dissertation illustrates how Armenian musicians and comparative musicologists, in their

[31] Adalyat Issiyeva, *Representing Russia's Orient: From Ethnography to Art Song* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

cultural anxiety, used symbolic operations and xenophobic language to establish a powerful way of talking about Armenian music. Strikingly, non-Armenian musicologists of the early twentieth century also adopted the reformers' discourse when discussing Armenian music.

0.3. Literature Review

This dissertation emerges from the ground cultivated by historians, musicologists, and ethnomusicologists who have examined a variety of Armenian musical genres in different twentieth-century diaspora communities. The rich contributions of Armenian and Anglophone scholars have sharpened our understanding of the many faces of Armenian musical identity, mainly through the lens of the post-Genocide period. These representative works draw attention to musical responses to multiple waves of Armenian migration, whether from one diaspora community to another or from the Armenian homeland (in its various iterations) into the diaspora. Most recent critical writing about Armenian music has come from North American and British ethnomusicology, with studies primarily focusing on Armenians who were displaced from the former Ottoman Empire and subsequent generations.

Representative examples in the field include Anahid Kassabian's two-chapter discussion of Armenian music in her monograph, *Ubiquitous Listening* (2014), as well as Sylvia Alajaji's seminal genealogy of twentieth-century Armenian music, *Music and the Armenian Diaspora* (2014). Other critical recent contributions include the work of Melissa Bilal, whose dissertation and subsequent postdoctoral research have examined Armenian lullabies as metonyms of remembrance and unacknowledged loss experienced by Genocide survivors in the early Turkish Republic (est. 1923). From a more contemporary perspective, Burcu Yildiz's recent ethnography, *Experiencing Armenian Music in Turkey* (2016), addressed Armenian "musicking"

(a term she borrowed from Christopher Small) as a means of maintaining a collective musical identity for the Armenian community that resides in present-day Türkiye.

Other contributions within musicology include Beau Bothwell's (2020) article on Alexander Maloof (1884–1956) and the Syrian mahjar (diaspora) based in early twentieth-century New York. Although Bothwell's article is not explicitly Armenian-centric, he examined and contextualized early twentieth-century reception of orientalist repertoire performed and published in the United States, including works like Maloof's own orientalist foxtrot, "Armenian Maid" (1919). In his article, Bothwell argued that "Armenian Maid" went beyond simply orientalist fantasy but also acted as a "political tool" that "exploited US tropes of orientalist popular music in order to move public opinion towards US interventions on behalf of Christian minorities within the Ottoman Empire."[32] Bothwell's discussion of this Armenian-themed song demonstrates how Maloof engaged with diaspora politics and framed Armenian identity as something that was gravely under threat in the Ottoman Empire.[33] A unifying factor common to each of these representative sources is the well-trodden theme of Armenian welfare and loss. These common themes also inform the musical repertoire discussed in this dissertation.

As I show in Kassabian's and Alajaji's work, their scholarship revealed the discontinuities between homeland and diaspora, taking to heart William Safran's question, how long does the diasporic consciousness maintain itself in relation to the homeland?[34] Although these representative studies in Armenian musicology/ethnomusicology have focused on the post-Genocide twentieth century, their case studies are clearly shaped by politics of Armenian exile,

[32] Beau Bothwell, "For Thee America! For Thee Syria?: Alexander Maloof, Orientalist Music, and the Politics of the Syrian Mahjar," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 14, no. 4 (2020), 386.
[33] A tragic figure, the titular character of "Armenian Maid" is referenced in the score as "the sole survivor of the million Armenian maids who were taken by the Turks in the Great Armenian massacres." See M. Alexander and Wilbur Weeks, *Armenian Maid: Oriental Song and Fox-Trot* (New York: E. T. Paull Music, 1919), 2.
[34] William Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return," *Diaspora* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1991), 95.

migration, and the legacy that the Genocide left behind. These scholars have drawn attention to different diasporic musical genres and evolving tastes representing contrasting versions of the Armenian home. These genres extend well beyond the essentialized narratives of Armenian musical identity established by early twentieth-century reformers, composers, and comparative musicologists. In these representative works, the Armenian home did not represent a unified place, but was inspired by the myriad routes of travel that Armenians undertook following the Genocide, among other notable and subsequent migrations. Multiple Armenian communities in Damascus, Beirut, Baghdad, Paris, and New York, among others, resulted and each had their own distinctive Armenian musical identities. Contemporary Armenian musicology, with its focus on these new diaspora communities, has invoked Paul Gilroy's concept of double consciousness and how the dialectical influences of (cultural) "roots" and "routes" (of travel) impacted how Armenianness was musically portrayed. Sections 0.4 to 0.7 in this introductory chapter address the themes in Armenian musical literature and in musicology that are relevant to this dissertation.

0.4. Recent Contributions to Armenian Music Scholarship

In his seminal work, *The Location of Culture* (1994), Homi Bhabha declared that "the very concepts of homogeneous national cultures, the consensual or contiguous transmission of historical traditions, or organic ethnic communities are in a profound process of redefinition."[35] Kassabian's two-chapter contribution to *Ubiquitous Listening* is among a long line of scholarship engaging with Bhabha's call for "redefinition." In her first chapter, Kassabian described the "problem" of "too many homelands," analyzing three independent films each by Armenian women filmmakers exploring Armenian identity from different multilocal perspectives.[36]

[35] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 9.
[36] Kassabian, *Ubiquitous Listening*, 20-32.

Kassabian's case studies problematize the "forceful singularity" of Armenian identity. She illustrated how the Armenian experience in more contemporary contexts offers alternatives to normative national canons. Short of describing the films in question, for my purposes, Kassabian's work questions the perceived unilateral relationship between the homeland and Armenia's variegated diaspora communities, observing that:

> Armenians have been in diaspora for many centuries, and for many different kinds of historical reasons, not least throughout the region sometimes referred to as the Near East. And there are at bare minimum two distinct linguistic and cultural communities: Western Armenian, which is primarily from Anatolia and was, at least until the 1990s, the language most contemporary diasporans in the West spoke, and Eastern Armenian, spoken by Armenians from the Caucasus and Iran. These small facts are suggestive of the larger point to which I shall return – Armenians worldwide construct themselves as a single diaspora, when there is arguably no single homeland to which they can be plausibly referring.[37]

Kassabian likewise demonstrated how "distributed subjects" interact with different soundscapes of home and how sounding materials can trigger "a circuit of physiological responses to stimuli" that are either heard as foreign or familiar (hence "too many homelands").[38]

In her second chapter, Kassabian turned more explicitly to music, where she appraised a selection of diasporan Armenian jazz-fusion recordings that fully engage with hybridity. These recordings embody hybridity not only through the mixture of two different musical genres (jazz and folk) but also through Central Asian instruments (such as the *oud* and *doumbeck*) that were significant to Armenian music history but were and remain complicated by their association with Turkish culture. On the one hand, instruments like the *oud* connect with past versions of the Armenian homeland (specifically, Armenian music-making in the former Ottoman Empire). Indeed, Armenian musicians—including prominent *oudists* like Onnig and Ara Dinkjian, and Richard Hagopian—continue to perform on these instruments, which remain a legacy of the past

[37] Kassabian, *Ubiquitous Listening*, 22.
[38] Kassabian, *Ubiquitous Listening*, 20.

home. On the other hand, some Armenians find the sounds of Middle Eastern and Turkish cultures (and their associated musical instruments) as incongruous with Armenian selfhood. Alternatively, for Armenians based in other diaspora communities, these instruments signify the music of their immediate Armenian community and the stories and legacies rooted in their past Armenian home.

In both chapters, Kassabian provides valuable geographic terminology to denote Armenian musical genres influenced by other ethnic communities in the former Ottoman Empire. Rather than using the term "Middle East," "a term that originated in colonial British and U.S. military uses in the 19th century," Kassabian settled on "post-Ottoman" as a way to express the popular and folk music practices representative of the former Ottoman Empire.[39] Bringing the post-Ottoman sound into contemporary focus, Kassabian described various fusions between jazz and Middle Eastern music.[40] Drawing attention to post-Ottoman practices, Kassabian ultimately demonstrated another version of the Armenian home, one characterized by a form of hybridity deliberately excluded from the more canonical Armenian national music traditions associated with Komitas and other reformers from the early twentieth century.

Although my chapters focus on Armenian folk and art music from the *fin-de-siècle* and clearly address neither the same period nor genres, Kassabian's work proves the problematic legacy of Armenian musical reformers who tried to distinguish European musical characteristics from Asian ones. This binary thinking process is illustrated in other landmark studies in musicology. John O'Connell's work, for example, examined how musical genres in the Republic of Türkiye were self-consciously divided between the *alafranga* (Western) and older *alaturka*

[39] Kassabian, *Ubiquitous Listening*, 74.
[40] Kef Time music was a genre made popular in the United States, which featured musicians of Greek, Armenian, Turkish, Middle Eastern, and Jewish communities performing together in songs that generally mixed Armenian, Turkish, Jewish, and Middle Eastern styles. See Alajaji, *Music and the Armenian Diaspora*, 57-8.

(traditional Turkish) genres, noting that "during the 1850s, 'alaturka' was appropriated by the Turks to mark linguistically between Ottoman values and European sensibilities."[41] The explanatory value of place or location and its relationship to how music may inspire different ways of representing a nation's selfhood is integral to Kassabian's work.

Alajaji's genealogy of Armenian diaspora music-making in the twentieth century focused on communities in the Ottoman Empire, New York (1920s), Beirut (with two chapters addressing the respective periods, 1932–1958 and 1958–1980), and California. Offering a multisite musical analysis, Alajaji showcased the flexibility of Armenian musical representations responding to different waves of migration across the twentieth century. Instead of following a straightforward narrative that privileges the maintenance of a musical and national identity over this period of time, Alajaji addressed how musical boundaries constantly shifted across the post-Genocide twentieth century. She theorized a flexible definition of the Armenian home along the temporal axis of "past home," "present home," and "future home."[42]

Conceived as a series of snapshots, the monograph is a montage of Armenian diasporic and musical realities beginning with the chapter on the Ottoman Empire, where Alajaji unpacked Komitas's influence and the impact that the Genocide exerted on his legacy. In subsequent chapters, Alajaji discussed the flexibility that has defined Armenian diasporic music-making. The first post-Ottoman snapshot bears some resemblance with Beau Bothwell's contribution mentioned above, focusing on the work of Armenian musicians based in New York and the 8th Avenue scene, where Armenian musicians collaborated with Turkish, Greek, and Sephardic Jewish musicians in musically reviving the Ottoman cabaret scene. This chapter demonstrates

[41] John Morgan O'Connell, "In the Time of Alaturka: Identifying Difference in Musical Discourse," *Ethnomusicology* 49, no. 2 (Spring/Summer, 2005), 178.
[42] Alajaji, *Music and the Armenian Diaspora*, 2015.

these musicians' nostalgia for the Ottoman homeland and heterogeneous styles that demarcated Ottoman music-making. By bringing to light this period and place, Alajaji uncovered a version of the Armenian musical home that was actively criticized by reformers of the early twentieth century. She also shows how Armenian musicians privileged past musical iterations of the Armenian homeland that were inconsistent with contemporary national musical narratives. She later offered the following regarding the Armenian community of mid-twentieth-century Beirut:

> The Armenians had initially come to Lebanon as refugees and survivors of the 1915 Genocide perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire. As the tents of their refugee camps were replaced by cinder-block homes, what was once considered temporary exile became a permanent one; home was elsewhere and could not be returned to.[43]

Alajaji's concept of the "past home" also appears in other Armenian scholarship. According to Melissa Bilal, such is the nostalgia associated with the past homeland that Armenians of the present-day Republic of Türkiye consider themselves to be living in "the homeland of all Armenians."[44] In her work, Bilal suggested that although "the great majority of the Armenian population lives in Istanbul, far away from their Anatolian hometowns, they still think they have never left their homeland."[45] Although Bilal's examples are taken from her ethnography of modern-day Türkiye, she demonstrated that nostalgia for the "past home" is an aspect grounded in temporal ambiguity, where historical imagination meets lived experience.

Outside of Armenian musicology/ethnomusicology, other scholars have investigated music as a representation of past homelands and new iterations of home (both real and idealized). Natalie Zelensky, for instance, examined how Russian music in the United States addressed past

[43] Sylvia Alajaji, "Exilic Becomings: Post-Genocide Armenian Music in Lebanon," *Ethnomusicology* 57, no. 3 (Spring/Summer 2013), 237.
[44] Melissa Bilal, "Longing for Home at Home," in *Diaspora and Memory: Figures of Displacement in Contemporary Literature Arts and Politics*, eds. Marie-Aude Baronian, Stephen Besser, and Yolande Jansen (New York, NY: Rodopi, 2007), 57.
[45] Bilal, "Longing for Home at Home," 57.

versions of the Russian home across several immigration waves over the twentieth century. In her monograph, Zelensky referred to the past (or idealized) home as Tsarist Russia, or the "precataclysmic homeland."[46] Another pertinent study on a similar topic is Adelaida Reyes' monograph on the music of political exiles of Vietnam. Similar to recent Armenian musicology, Reyes demonstrated music's potential for political exiles to express the past home, one that explores the tensions between seemingly acceptable (pre-communist) and unacceptable (post-communist) songs.[47]

Given the impact that place has exerted on Armenian and related scholarship, the sources discussed in this section have been impacted by Martin Stokes, who, in the 1990s, helped theorize the mutual influence of music, place, and identity. His edited collection, *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music* (1994), demonstrates various intersections between ethnicity and place, including how music functions as both a means of expressing difference and as a necessary cultural agent in maintaining and negotiating social and cultural boundaries that change and evolve over time.[48] On a similar theme, Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh's co-edited volume, *Western Music and Its Others* (2000), is a comprehensive overview of developments in cultural theory as applied to Western music, with particular focus on how music has been used to construct, evoke, and/or represent difference.[49]

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[46] Zelensky, *Performing Tsarist Russia in New York*, 10. Also see Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, second edition (New York: Routledge, 2008), 2.
[47] Adelaida Reyes, *Songs of the Caged, Songs of the Free: Music and the Vietnamese Refugee Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), 1-5.
[48] Martin Stokes, *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1994), 3-5.
[49] Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, eds., "Introduction," to *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 35.

0.5. General Resources on Armenian Music

Beyond the contributions mentioned above, my research has been informed by primary sources, secondary literature (on Armenian music and culture as well as scholarship related to the major themes in my project), encyclopedia entries, and a book-length bibliography of primary and secondary sources about Armenian music published in the early 2000s.[50] The bibliography includes scholarship about and sources from the Armenian diaspora, with a focus on nineteenth- and twentieth-century contributions. Divided into four sections (folk music, art music, popular music, and sacred music), the bibliography ends with a discography. I also consulted articles about Armenian music in Grove (Oxford) Music Online (2001) and in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (2001). These articles survey Armenian music history and its major figures.

0.6. Armenian writings from the *fin-de-siècle* to the mid twentieth century

Essential to my project were writings about Armenian music by turn-of-the-century and mid-twentieth-century musicologists. These texts resonate with the intellectual legacies of the *fin-de-siècle*, particularly the writings of Komitas and the first generation of scholars who followed his lead (including Robert Atayan's monograph, *Armenian Neume System of Notation*).[51] My close readings of these sources reveal that cultural essentialism marks how these authors engaged with themes important to this dissertation: ethnicity, identity, and place. Contemporary musicologists and ethnomusicologists have problematized these sources' nationalistic rhetoric; however, they also provide valuable evidence for my arguments about the

[50] Jonathan McCollum and Andy Nercessian, *Armenian Music: A Comprehensive Bibliography and Discography* (Lanham and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2004).
[51] Robert Atayan, *Armenian Neume System of Notation*, trans. Vrej Nersessian (London: Curzon Caucasus World, 1999).

enduring impact of the *fin-de-siècle* on Armenian culture and identity. Komitas's writings, for instance, were republished and translated in the 1980s and 1990s for English-language audiences, likely Armenians in the diaspora. English, German, and French translations of his Armenian writings are published in two different volumes: *Komitas: Armenian Sacred and Folk Music* (1998) and *Komitas's Essays and Articles* (2001), which I analyze.[52]

0.7. Secondary Literature on Major Themes in this Dissertation

I contextualize the Armenian sources mentioned above within discourses of race and ethnicity in the early twentieth century. Musical representations of race and ethnicity, especially in relation to folk music revivals and nationalist movements have been discussed in recent scholarship. I have found useful Joshua Walden's idea of the "rural miniature," a term he coined for short folk-inspired pieces and arrangements that were a staple in early twentieth-century art music programs.[53] Walden's analysis of the rural miniature addressed how composers and ethnomusicologists in the early twentieth century collected and appropriated folk music transcriptions used in art music compositions. Walden also analyzed other aesthetic/nationalist movements in *fin-de-siècle* Central and Eastern Europe. In my dissertation, I apply his concept to Armenian works that were explicitly drawing on folk music transcriptions and/or folk music allusion in art music compositions.

According to Walden, the paratext is a critical component of the rural miniature. Walden described paratexts as follows:

[52] Komitas Vardapet, *Komitas: Armenian Sacred and Folk Music*, trans. Edward Gulbekian (London: Routledge, 1998). And Komitas Vardapet, *Komitas Essays and Articles*, trans. Vatsche Barsoumian (Pasadena, CA: Drazark Press, 2001).
[53] Joshua Walden, *Sounding Authentic: The Rural Miniature and Musical Modernism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 6-7.

> It was common for composers and publishers ... to include ethnographic details about a work's source music in the score's paratext, the space outside the main text – the musical notation – that typically includes the title, preface, instructions, and illustrations.[54]

The Armenian works I analyze also include paratexts. Although paratexts are not part of the sounded musical enactment, they nonetheless impact how the musical work is to be received or understood.[55] In *Dedicating Music (1785-1850)*, Emily Green had drawn attention to paratexts as musical dedications, both during the era of courtly patronage and during its decline.[56] Green defined paratexts as critical and often overlooked references that reinforce the influence that resides behind a particular musical work, arguing that "composers consciously or unconsciously bury references to other music in their own, and we grope through a dim historical context to find them."[57] I show that these extramusical references are also embedded within Armenian popular folk music publication practices in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly in publications that refer to the "transcription" and "arrangement" of found musical artifacts.

0.8. CONCLUSION

My aim to capture emerging and shifting discourses surrounding Armenian musical culture during this narrow time period (1880s to 1920s) required an interdisciplinary methodological approach. I relied on ethnographic materials documenting the musical culture that emerged among Armenian reformers and their audiences. In assessing this culture historically, I examined concert announcements and programs published in the popular presses of the day and extant sheet music, autobiographies, and correspondence between the principal figures involved in

[54] Walden, *Sounding Authentic*, 38.
[55] Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.
[56] Emily Green, *Dedicating Music, 1785-1850* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2019), 33.
[57] Green, *Dedicating Music, 1785-1850*, 139.

representing Armenian musical identity. In addition to presenting these sources, I also provide musical analyses of relevant art music compositions informed by ethnographic sources collected during this period.

The purpose of this dissertation is not to provide a comprehensive or singularly indisputable version of an Armenian sound (which, as Armenian secondary literature attests, cannot be reduced to a single representation). Instead, my work explores the themes of Armenian identity embedded in music, repertories, and practices during the decades flanking either side of the Armenian Genocide. The division of this dissertation into three case studies follows a logical trajectory. Each chapter demonstrates how cultural and musicological analyses (and the development of a fledgling comparative musicology) coincided with the work of Armenian musicians and culture workers. Examining different interpretations and analyses of musical and discursive content from this period, I ultimately present the pluralities and tensions that shaped the early twentieth-century Armenian discourses that remain relevant today.

1. INVENTING THE ARMENIAN MUSICAL VOICE: KOMITAS VARDAPET, HIS DISCOURSES, AND THE *DANSES* SUITE (1925)

Inspired by the desire to create unity out of fragmentation, Armenian reformers in the *fin-de-siècle* dedicated their efforts toward folk song collection, harmonization, and comparison. Within the multiethnic Russian and Ottoman Empires, these reformers aspired to create an Armenian national tradition that could thrive beyond the immediate historical context of their time. This goal occurred in the decades leading up to the Genocide and the post-First World War recognition of Armenian independence (May 28, 1918–December 2, 1920). Although Armenian provinces in the late nineteenth century did not boast a unified musical tradition upon which to lay claim, they did comprise a multiplicity of voices that crisscrossed geographic, religious, and cultural differences, yielding musical practices and styles marked by hybridity. Today, this contemporary melding of musical cultures of the former Ottoman Empire corresponds to a musical category termed the "post-Ottoman" sound.[1] Through reformers' efforts to pin down a single Armenian musical identity, their curation, invention, and reappropriation activities increasingly saw regional musics appropriated within art music compositions that resulted in new ways of presenting (and preserving) "Armenia" on the concert stage.

Indeed, a paradox lay at the heart of late nineteenth-century Armenian musical life: the preponderance of Armenian musicians and yet the putative absence of a unified national style.[2] The outcomes of this period ultimately led to the formation of canonical legacies that continue to resonate in our present time. Arguably, the most prominent of these legacies is the life and work of Komitas Vardapet (1869–1935). In one way or another, every Armenian art music composer/musician active from the late nineteenth century onwards has grappled with the

[1] Kassabian, *Ubiquitous Listening*, 74.
[2] Lucina Agbabian Hubbard, "The Musical World of Armenians in Constantinople," in *Armenian Constantinople*, eds. Richard Hovannisian and Simon Payaslian (Irvine, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2010), 287-307.

paradox mentioned above through the imposing figure of Komitas. Among his contributions as a reformer, Komitas used a language that privileged a homogeneous rather than heterogeneous vision of Armenian musical identity, buttressing against the ethnically pluralistic music-making activities that prevailed in the late nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. He expressed his findings by collecting and harmonizing folksongs and debating sacred music sources and their multiple arrangements. He also created a value-laden language that celebrated his own musical arrangements (folksongs critically "rescued" from rural geographies) as truly authentic. Through his folk and sacred music practices, Komitas ultimately motivated his audiences to subsequently distinguish between foreign sounds (frequently coded as "Turkish" or "Oriental") and familiar ones.

The search for Armenian self-identity in these years became a proxy for a lack of political control over physical boundaries delineating the Armenian nation. Literati and intellectuals in Armenia and in emergent diasporic communities produced publications and debates about the homeland. Nationalistic ideas about literature and music and projections of a future, an exclusively Armenian "Armenia" circulated amid a present defined by surveillance and scrutiny, as two adversarial empires fought over control of Armenian subjects (including through draconian policies for resettlement and racially motivated pogroms).[3] Marked by such disquiet, these years saw Armenian reformers theorize and describe their apprehension to the "foreign" (i.e., non-Armenian) practices.

Anxiety marked Armenian identity at the turn of the twentieth century, motivated by concerns regarding self-definition. This anxiety was borne out of feeling simultaneously at home and rootless, resulting in an experience that Edward Said famously referred to as "contrapuntal."[4]

[3] Suny, *Looking towards Ararat*, 93.
[4] Said, *Reflections on Exile*, 186.

He employed this musical term as a metaphor for the "simultaneous dimensions of reality" experienced by an émigré, or what Svetlana Boym labeled a "double exposure ... of home and abroad, past and present, dream and everyday life."[5] This "double exposure" could also be witnessed in Armenian villages and towns in the Western provinces of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the nineteenth century. These were borderlands in every sense of the term: physical, religious, and temporal. The musics along these borders were informed by both geographical place and the encounters between boundaries and peripheries. Here, reformers sought potential points of Armenian musical origins that were inchoate and seductive to those seeking ways to stabilize the instability between home and non-belonging.

One way of creating a stable, protected musical identity was by conjuring discourses of difference that drew on ethnic and religious particularities at the expense of other foreign markers or traditions. Akin to Italo Calvino's short story, *"La Poubelle Agréée,*" where the author confessed to the act of taking out the garbage as synonymous with the daily reaffirmation of the self, Armenian identity beginning in the 1880s became dependent on the clear establishment of difference: what is meant to be kept (and therefore remembered) versus discarded (forgotten).[6] For Calvino, the obsession behind his daily task of differentiating between self and non-self attests to an underlying anxiety of selfhood, or as Calvino put it: "one is what one does not throw away."[7] He restated this idea throughout his short story: "There is no possible confusion between what I am and what is unalterably alien."[8] Much like Calvino's continual daily act, Armenian reformers habitually participated in problematic (from a presentist

[5] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), xii-xiv.
[6] Italo Calvino, "La Poubelle Agréée," in *The Road to San Giovanni*, trans. Tim Parks (New York: Pantheon Books, 1993), 104.
[7] Calvino, "La Poubelle Agréée," 104.
[8] Calvino, "La Poubelle Agréée," 103.

perspective) ethnically motivated legacies that discredited folksongs that interacted with other musical traditions peripheral to the Indo-European/Christian origins associated with Armenian cultural identity.

In stirring a collective dream of an Armenian future, reformers attempted to access the idea of national identity that they witnessed through their exposure to European modernity. In the leadup to the Genocide, Komitas became a dominant voice in Armenian art music, working as a clergyman, musicologist, harmonizer, and composer. His writings confronted issues of Armenian musical authenticity. They were the products of his ethnographic fieldwork, which also influenced his compositional style. His work was widely seen as proof of the existence of an Armenian "national music," paralleling the folksong research of Béla Bartók (1881–1945) and Zoltan Kodaly (1882–1967).[9] All three collected folk music and incorporated the style into their (nationalistic) art music compositions. For them and their followers, folk materials represented the originary music of their respective cultures, which could be represented in the context of modern art music.[10] Folk music and the villages from which it was collected were perceived by reformers as frozen in time, places where the culture's past and artifacts supposedly survived in pure and unchanged forms.[11] In the face of actual musical hybridity across the multiethnic Ottoman and Russian empires, and at a time of both nationalist and orientalist projects in Europe, Armenian reformers actively dismissed those elements they claimed as musically and culturally suspect to Armenian culture. Reformers ultimately privileged the transcription and collection of

[9] Tatevik Shakhkulyan, "Komitas and Bartók: From Ethnicity to Modernity," *International Journal of Musicology* 2 (2006): 197-212.
[10] Philip Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 37-38.
[11] Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of 'Folk Music' and 'Art Music': Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 113.

folksongs based on Armenian musical modes over those that incorporated modalities consistent with Islamic music practice.[12]

A quintessential reformer, Komitas proposed a unified vision of Armenian musical authenticity in opposition to those late nineteenth-century Armenian musical practices that emphasized hybridity. These critiques were most strongly marked in Armenian sacred music making, where examples of hybrid approaches included the incorporation/absorption of Turkish and Persian modes in performances and musical scores of the Armenian *Badarak* [Mass]. Reflecting on these hybrid practices, Komitas dubbed the period from 1864–1873 as the era of "unrestrained cantors [*diratsu*]."[13] These years also saw the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople establish measures to "preserve national melodies from imminent loss," ensuring in Komitas's estimation the continued Turkish/Persian sway over Armenian sacred song for future generations.[14] In his own words, "samples of such works are found everywhere in Ottoman Armenia from the metropolis all the way to the churches of distant towns."[15] Elders and cantors subject to Komitas's opprobrium, however, did not receive his reforms as a universal call to action, and often published reactions to Komitas in the Constantinople press. Articles by Komitas's opponents appeared in publications like *Zhamanag* [*Time*] and *Manzume-I Efkâr* [*Course of Opinion*].[16]

[12] The scientific study of race gained footing in the late nineteenth century and was concerned with providing empirical evidence of the inherent traits of differentiated groups of people. This racial turn impacted folk music collection and taxonomy. See Philip Bohlman, "Erasure: Displacing and Misplacing Race," in *Western Music and Race*, ed. Julie Brown (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 11.
[13] Komitas, "Armenian Church Music in the 19th Century," in *Komitas Essays and Articles*, ed. Vatsche Barsoumian (Pasadena, CA: Drazark Press, 2001), 157.
[14] Komitas, "Armenian Church Music in the 19th Century," 168.
[15] Komitas, "Armenian Church Music in the 19th Century," 159.
[16] Melissa Bilal described these publications in her dissertation. See Melissa Bilal, "Thou Need'st Not Weep for I Have Wept Full Sore" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2013), 106.

Komitas highlighted the importance of the music of the Armenian Apostolic Church, the symbol of Armenianness that separated the Armenians from their predominantly Muslim neighbors.[17] The status of Armenians as the first to adopt Christianity as their state religion (314–315 AD) coupled with the invention of the Armenian alphabet—codified by another reformer by the name of Mesrop Mashtots, (400–405 AD)—represented the twin originary pillars of Armenia's national story.[18] For Komitas the clergyman, it was vital to establish a link between folk music and sacred music. He believed that the former, in its most "authentic" guise, was a natural extension of musical practices rooted in the Armenian church. His programming decisions also reflected attempts to link contemporary folk arrangements with sacred music. This act brought public scrutiny from the more conservative-minded clergy who condemned Komitas's concerts for performing sacred music outside its ritualistic context and the practice of mixing sacred with secular.[19] Such critiques notwithstanding, the presentation of folk music and sacred music as combined in his own culture work allowed Komitas to situate contemporary Armenian folksong along a teleological line with sacred music, representing a critical link to the origins of Armenian culture.

Although Komitas and his contemporaries Spiridon Melikyan (1880–1933) and Makar Ekmalian (1856–1905) pushed back against the "promiscuity of hybridity" (a term I have borrowed from Georgina Born), their culture work also embraced a different form of

[17] Different denominations of Christian churches have informed Armenian cultural identity. The Armenian-Christian experience is based on the Apostolic and Catholic denominations. The Armenian community in San Lazzaro during Komitas's day (and today) practiced Catholicism, whereas the Armenian Church in Echmiadzin was and continues to be the central governing body of the Armenian Apostolic Church at home and in the diaspora. A critical part of Armenian identity, its Christian origins date back to what is considered the Golden Age (*Vosgetar*) of Armenia, coinciding with the adoption of Christianity as the state religion (314-315 AD) and the development of the Armenian alphabet (400-405). See Razmik Panossian, *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 42-46.
[18] Panossian, *The Armenians*, 42-46.
[19] Bilal explained situations where Komitas was directly undermined by opponents in the Church, particularly in his mixture of sacred and secular music. Bilal, "Thou Need'st Not Weep for I Have Wept Full Sore," 106.

hybridization that saw the interaction of "authentic" folk and/or sacred music with higher genres of art music. This produced discord in discussions about the "ideal" way of presenting Armenian sources.[20] Like other *fin-de-siècle* composer-ethnographers, Komitas seems to have used two different compositional approaches, which are difficult to reconcile in scholarship. The first compositional approach saw Komitas adopt an entirely ethnographic approach, in which his transcriptions of folksong events were presented either unaccompanied or with minimal harmonic additions. His second approach—which resulted in Western European recognition of his works—was rooted in his appropriation of folksong styles as a hallmark of his own compositional voice.

In this chapter, I unpack an example of Komitas's second approach. His effort to signify "Armenia" emphasized the Armenian rural sphere as an idealized version of home, arguably embodied in his *Danses* suite (1925). My discussion is grounded in his writings that influence my analysis of the composition. I show how Komitas combined his binary views of Armenian musical representation with evocative ways of representing his own culture to Western, non-Armenian audiences. *Danses* is an example of Komitas's appropriation of Western exotic gestures that could also be realistically connected to Armenian folk musical gestures. First published in Paris, the *Danses* point to Komitas's desire to render Armenian music palatable to new Western audiences, who were by then familiar with the hallmarks of musical orientalism and compositions inspired by folksong.[21] Komitas never directly articulated this desire. I argue, however, that he represented his culture through a series of discursive themes to drive home his vision of a unified Armenian musical style. Komitas's "discursive ideal" was presented

[20] Born and Hesmondhalgh, "Introduction," 36.
[21] Peter Asimov, "Transcribing Greece, Arranging France: Bourgault-Ducoudray's Performances of Authenticity and Innovation," *19th-Century Music* 44, no. 3 (2021): 133-168.

musically and discursively to his audience as follows: (a) through his use of extramusical cues that shaped the reception of his music and (b) by applying a musical language that signified an "authentic" Armenian folk music style by utilizing Armenian modality.

One of the factors that made his vision so compelling was his mythologized life story. Komitas's biography became inextricable from the story of Armenia in the years leading up to and after the Genocide. Recent secondary literature has even applied psychoanalytical readings to every aspect of his life influenced by the events of 1915.[22] Such was Komitas's prominence as an Armenian intellectual residing in Constantinople that on April 15, 1915, he was arrested (along with over 200 fellow Armenian intellectuals) on orders from the Interior Ministry of the Young Turk government. During this period, the Ottoman Empire saw a growing national consciousness and desired to build a pan-Turkic empire. Raymond Kévorkian argued that the resulting genocide "was conceived as a necessary condition for the construction of a Turkish nation-state – the supreme objective of the Young Turks."[23] Komitas's biography thus converged with the Genocide's collective trauma, securing his permanent connection to Armenian history. This link also pathologized the nostalgic quality in his music, a dominant theme in post-Genocide notions of Armenian national identity. Through his stylized folksong compositions, Armenian audiences, regardless of location, have been able to imagine and identify with what Robin Cohen termed the "precataclysmic" Armenian homeland.[24] Komitas's music continues to exacerbate emotional nostalgia for those Armenians who trace their genealogy to Anatolia,

[22] Rita Soulahian Kuyumjian, *Archeology of Madness: Komitas Portrait of an Armenian Icon* (Princeton, NJ: Gomidas Institute, 2001). See Meliné Karakashian, *Komitas: Victim of a Great Crime* (Yerevan: Zangkag Publishing House, 2014).
[23] Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 1. Also see Nichanian, "Catastrophic Mourning," 99-124.
[24] Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 2.

geographically a longed-for and essential piece of Armenia's past (see Appendix A for a map of Anatolia and the Russian Armenian provinces).

1.1 KOMITAS'S EARLY YEARS (1869–1880)

In many ways, Komitas created the conditions for the rise of centralized Armenian music in Ottoman and Russian society and underwent this transformation himself. Although primary sources concerning Komitas's childhood are scant, the main aspects of his life were heavily informed by narratives of loss. He was orphaned at an early age and grew up in relative penury. His personal traumas were translated by biographers into the collective suffering of the *medz aghed*—"the great catastrophe"—associated with the Genocide.[25] One of the very few accounts of Komitas's early life is his brief testimonial, which was published as an "autobiography" in 1908 when he was living in Constantinople and presenting choral concerts of his stylized folksongs. The document was written at the request of a music journal in St. Petersburg. The version I consulted was reprinted in 1924 in English translation via the Boston publication *Hayrenik* (*Fatherland*). This English version subsequently appeared in a 2001 collection of Komitas's writings.[26]

According to Komitas, he entered the world as Soghomon Soghomonian on September 26, 1869, in the town of Kütahya in the Ottoman Empire. Located in present-day Western Türkiye (Anatolia), Kütahya was a town (*kaza*) in the district (*sancak*) of Kütahya, which was in the Ottoman province (*vilayet*) of Hüdavendigar.[27] He traced his family lineage to the Zok clan, who migrated to Kütahya at the end of the seventeenth century from Bursa, the most populous city in

[25] Nazan Maksudyan, *Orphans and Destitute Children in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014).
[26] Komitas Vardapet, "Autobiography, June 24, 1908, Ejmiatzin," *Hayreniq* (1924), 85-87. Also published in *Anahit*, Paris, (May-August 1931), 2-6. The English translation appears in Komitas, *Komitas Essays and Articles*.
[27] "Maps," Houshamadyan, Accessed October 28, 2020, https://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire.html

the province. Armenians and their culture have been part of Kütahya's history since the late fourteenth century, when many moved there from communities located between the Black and Caspian seas.[28] The earliest documented mention of an Armenian community in Kütahya refers to an Armenian church in the town in 1391.[29] Armenian merchants, tradesmen, artisans, and other suppliers of goods and services dominated Kütahya's commercial life.

The Komitas family's move in the seventeenth century led to relative proximity to the imperial capital of Constantinople, with its favorable trade routes and wealthy social classes who patronized the arts.[30] Armenian migration to Kütahya between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries also resulted from population resettlement enforced by the ruling Ottomans, who relocated communities to better serve the empire.[31] The community's resulting mobility contributed to the Ottomans' perception of Armenians as "transient entities," a term that defined their existence.[32] It remains unclear whether the Soghomonian family was forcibly relocated to Kütahya. If, however, their move had been a free choice, they may have been attracted to the town's status as a center of artistic and craft production.

The only child of Takuhi and Kevork Soghomonian, Soghomon grew to maturity in an entirely Turkish-speaking environment.[33] Because language became a key issue in the period leading up to Armenian independence—and was strongly associated with Soghomon's life work—I now touch on nineteenth-century developments in the Armenian language. Speaking Turkish was typical for Armenians living in the Western provinces, and those favoring Armenian

[28] Kuyumjian, *Archeology of Madness*, 10.
[29] Aghavnie Jamkotchian, "The Kutahya Pottery in Armenian Museums," in *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 8, no. 8 (1996): 46.
[30] Rouben Adalian, *Historical Dictionary of Armenia* (Lanham ML: Scarecrow Press, 2006), 263.
[31] Adalian, *Historical Dictionary of Armenia*, 263.
[32] Walker, "Between Turkey and Russia," 140.
[33] Komitas, "Komitas Vardapet of Kutina: Autobiography," in *Komitas: Essays and Articles*, trans. Vatsche Barsoumian (Pasadena, CA: Drazark Press, 2001), 3.

independence resisted this situation. Leaders of the Ottoman Empire restricted the use of the Armenian language. In addition, the language evolved in the nineteenth century between the classical form (*grabar*) rooted in church use and a modern dialect (*ashkhahrhabar*) that was the preferred language of a new literary class.[34] Armenians fluent in *grabar* constituted a significant minority usually limited to those working within the church. The majority of the Armenian *millet* (a religious community; the word derives from Arabic *milla*[35]) lacked fluency in the new literary dialect (*ashkhahrhabar*), and also had limited exposure to *grabar*.[36]

During the mid-to-late nineteenth century, there was an internal struggle between the burgeoning intellectual class (who preferred the modern dialect) and the old guard of religious Armenian clerics (who preferred the classical dialect). According to Johann Strauss, the rise of the hybrid language of Armeno-Turkish—essentially Turkish in Armenian script—was a direct consequence of this struggle.[37] From a linguistic perspective, Strauss also posited that Armenian writers frequently translated/transliterated Turkish literature into Armenian characters. These writers claimed that differences in script between Turkish and Armenian were not insuperable obstacles to comprehension, as Strauss observed:

> Muslim Turks occasionally learnt the Armenian alphabet and read Turkish books or papers printed in Armenian characters. Advertisements can be found in newspapers where people offer to teach the alphabet to those interested in reading modern literature in Turkish.[38]

In this time of flux, boundaries between the Armenian and Turkish communities had not yet hardened (as they would later, with increasingly nationalist discourse from both sides). This

[34] Khachaturian, *Cultivating Nationhood in Imperial Russia*, 9.
[35] Non-Muslim minorities organized under the *millet* system were labeled according to their specific identity markers. Armenians were categorized according to their religious identification as Christians.
[36] Johann Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire? (19th and 20th Centuries)," *Arabic Middle Eastern Literatures* 6, no. 1 (2003), 41.
[37] Murat Cankara, "Rethinking Ottoman Cross-Cultural Encounters: Turks and the Armenian Alphabet," *Middle Eastern Studies* 51, no. 1 (January 2015): 1-16.
[38] Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire?" 53.

linguistic hybridity and presence of Armeno-Turkish could parallel the then-musical hybridity of Armenian communities in urban Ottoman spaces.

Beyond linguistic divisions within the Armenian community, the Soghomonians (and others) were also affected by oppressive policies slowly but surely applied to the non-Turkish and non-Muslim populations. These included special taxes, the denial of the right to provide legal testimony in court, and restrictions against speaking Armenian in public venues.[39] The policing of Armenian communities by the Ottoman ruling class led to the slow degradation of the *millet* system that had previously protected minority communities of the Empire following Tanzimat reforms of the 1830s.[40] This protection had been granted to the Armenian as well as Kurdish, Jewish, and Greek populations. As a result of these injunctions, the political and national aspirations of the Soghomonian family were minimized. Although Rita Kuyumjian correctly asserted that the Soghomonian family suffered under the yoke of Turkish rule, her analysis is consistent and should be read in the context of post-Genocide Armenian historiography, which essentially depicts Armenian life in the Ottoman Empire as historically destitute. Ultimately, the Soghomonian family did not live an entirely ethnically homogeneous (i.e., purely Armenian) existence in Kutahya.

What we know about Soghomon's family life is minimal. His testimonial provides a brief snapshot of his parents, focusing on their artistic inclinations. Soghomon wrote that his "parents came from families of naturally gifted singers."[41] His reflections on his mother, Takuhi, were brief; she passed away when he was six months old. Soghomon described her artistic interests

[39] Kuyumjian, *Archeology of Madness*, 10.
[40] Norman Naimark, "The Armenian Genocide of 1915: Lineaments of a Comparative History," in *Empire and Belonging in the Eurasian Borderlands*, eds. Krista Goff and Lewis Siegelbaum (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019), 50-51.
[41] Komitas, "Komitas Vardapet of Kutina," 3.

(clearly without firsthand knowledge), which included carpet weaving, writing poetry, and composing and performing songs with Turkish texts alongside her husband. As noted earlier, Turkish songs could reflect the Armenian-Turkish cultural exchange that took place across the porous ethnic boundaries of the empire; it is unclear whether Takuhi's songs were written in Armeno-Turkish or purely Turkish. Komitas notated some of his parents' songs during one of his fieldwork excursions to Kütahya in 1893: "My mother and father composed songs with Turkish texts which are still sung with admiration by the older generation of our town; I transcribed some of these songs in 1893 in my hometown."[42] Soghomon's father, Kevork, was a shoemaker by trade and, alongside his brother, Haroutiun (Soghomon's uncle), was a cantor at St. Theodoros Church in Kütahya. Soghomon's father also performed secular/folk music on stringed folk instruments. *Ashugner*, which were professional folk minstrels (with roots in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), performed on these instruments for mixed audiences in city centers and coffeehouses.[43] In 1897, Komitas lamented the role played by coffeehouses, which were musical environments informed by hybridity and places where "oriental melodies" thrived.[44]

Following his primary school education, Soghomon was sent to a boarding school in Bursa, but his stay there was short-lived. Only four months later, his father passed away, and Soghomon returned to his hometown.[45] Accounts by close friends and family referred to the young boy as a street child and wanderer, not unusual for orphaned children in the empire.[46]

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[42] Komitas, "Komitas Vardapet of Kutina," 3-4.
[43] Kuyumjian, *Archeology of Madness*, 11. Also see Alina Pahlevanian, Aram Kerovpyan, and Svetlana Sarkisyan, "Armenia, Republic of (Armenian Hayastan)," *Grove Music Online: Oxford Music Online* www.oxfordmusiconline.com/ (accessed February 17, 2020).
[44] Komitas, "Church Music of the Armenians in the 19th Century: Tiratsou Baba Hambardzoum Sargsian (1768-1839) and the invention of modern Armenian notation," in *Komitas: Essays and Articles*, trans. by Vatsche Barsoumian (Pasadena, CA: Drazark Press, 2001), 171.
[45] Kuyumjian, *Archeology of Madness*, 11.
[46] Kuyumjian, *Archeology of Madness*, 15-17.

1.1.1 KOMITAS'S TRAINING IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AND BERLIN

The intercession of a Russian education system presented Soghomon with an opportunity to transcend his roots in provincial Kütahya.[47] In 1881, Soghomon was discovered by a priest scouting for future talent on behalf of Kevorkian Jemaran, a school in Etchmiadzin in the Russian Empire. Much of this initial encounter is shrouded in mythology. According to Komitas, the scout was ordered to bring back an orphan for entrance to the school, not uncommon in both the Russian and Ottoman Empires, with their mandates to turn orphans into citizens and subjects.[48] Regionally noted for his singing abilities, Soghomon was selected and registered at Kevorkian Jemaran in September 1882.[49] For acceptance, the school required two letters of recommendation and a series of entrance examinations conducted in the Armenian language. It is unclear whether Soghomon was exempted due to his limited knowledge of the language. Throughout his stay at the Jemaran, Soghomon soon gained the attention of the Catholicos and quickly established himself as one of the school's brightest pupils.

The Kevorkian Jemaran was founded by Catholicos Kevork IV in 1874. It was the central school for higher learning in Etchmiadzin, the center of the Armenian church in the Russian Empire. In the first volume of his 1901 travelogue charting his journey in the Eastern provinces, the Englishman H. F. B. Lynch wrote that Echmiadzin was "rapidly developing into a home of higher education."[50] The Jemaran—which, according to Lynch, was equivalent to a German *Gymnasium*—was designed for higher learning for young men who wanted to pursue either classical, religious or artistic education. It also served as a theological seminary, which required

[47] Maksudyan, *Orphans and Destitute Children in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 41.
[48] Orphanhood in the late nineteenth century Ottoman context is discussed in Maksudyan, *Orphans and Destitute Children in the Late Ottoman Empire*, 50.
[49] Kuyumjian, *Archeology of Madness*, 22.
[50] H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia, Travels and Studies*, vol. 1 (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1901), 272.

an additional three years of instruction beyond the general high school level. The Kevorkian Jemaran was among the primary centers of intellectual activity in the Russian-controlled Armenian provinces. It boasted a monthly review (*Ararat*), a museum, and a building dedicated to housing Armenian manuscript collections. In the latter, the archive collection included books and primary resources that featured a cross-section of different notation systems that proved a rich resource for Komitas's work. Although the Jemaran provided a mixture of religious and secular instruction, according to Lynch, only a fraction of its pupils pursued religious training.

Kevork Sarafian's *History of Education in Armenia* (1930) lays out the curriculum that appeared in diocese and parochial schools in the Ottoman- and Russian-controlled territories.[51] The curriculum that Komitas would have encountered at the Kevorkian Jemaran included religion and psychology, mathematics, physics, logic, as well as modern history and language.[52] The curriculum also focused on the arts, including music (with a specific emphasis on chorus), as well as painting and physical education.[53] The language of instruction was principally Armenian, although Russian was used in courses on languages and literature.[54] While records of the specific texts that were used are unclear, Lynch noted that textbooks included Russian translations of Alexander Bain and W. S. Jevons, in psychology and logic, respectively.[55] Teachers at the school were required to be officially certified by the Russian Department of Education.[56] There was also a focus pedagogical training, which was directly influenced by German practices imported by Armenian educational leaders, themselves largely the product of European training during the

[51] Kevork Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia* (Laverne: University of Southern California Press, 1930). On Westernization in the Ottoman Empire see Roderic H. Davison, "Westernized Education in Ottoman Turkey," *Middle East Journal* 15, no. 3 (Summer 1961), 289-301.
[52] Lynch, *Armenia, Travels and Studies*, 464.
[53] Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia*, 267.
[54] Lynch, *Armenia, Travels and Studies*, 464.
[55] Lynch, *Armenia, Travels and Studies*, 408.
[56] Lynch, *Armenia, Travels and Studies*, 464.

first half of the nineteenth century. These literati had studied at universities in Germany (Jena, Leipzig, Berlin) and Switzerland (Lausanne) in addition to institutions in the Russian Empire.[57]

The Kevorkian Jemaran prepared their graduates for the liberal professions (with several becoming instructors in secondary schools and other institutions for higher education), or as religious clerics within the Armenian church. Komitas was exposed to the Armenian language for the first time and was steeped in a well-rounded curriculum that placed equal emphasis on the humanities and religious instruction. He graduated in 1893, and by 1895 was ordained a *vardapet*, retaining this title for the rest of his life.[58] He also undertook additional training in the seminary, where he honed his interest in the transcription and dissemination of Armenian, Turkish, and Kurdish folksongs. His extensive work in transcribing non-Armenian folksongs buttressed the credibility of his later claims that (a) Armenian music was different from its neighboring traditions and (b) scholarly approaches to Armenian music should include a comparative aspect (as his did).[59]

Komitas's school years gave him access to different music notation systems, including the "modern" system of notation. Komitas used this system in his transcriptions of Armenian and non-Armenian folksongs. Invented by Hampardzoum Limondjian (1768–1839), this "modern" system remained unfinished upon Limondjian's death and was completed by his students. Based on preexisting symbols from Armenian ancient liturgical *sharagans* (hymns), the system represented an attempt to resuscitate the ancient Armenian mass notation.[60] In the nineteenth century, it was widely used for notating regional Turkish, Persian, and Arab melodies. Although

[57] Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia*, 268.
[58] *Vardapet*, literally translated, means father (in the religious rather than familial sense).
[59] Stephen Bloom's entry lists this publication as the first item in his chronological bibliography provided in the Oxford Music Online entry on Kurdish music. Stephen Bloom, "Kurdish music," *Grove Music Online: Oxford Music Online* www.oxfordmusiconline.com/ (accessed February 17, 2020).
[60] H. P. Seidel, "Die Notenschrift des Hamparsum Limoncuyan," *Mitteilungen des deutschen Gesellschaft für Musik des Orients* 12 (1972/3), 71-119.

Komitas used it himself, he was critical of its historical implications. In a 1903 letter to his close friend, Archag Tchobanian, an Armenian writer based in Paris, Komitas complained that one should not have full "confidence in [Limondjian's] approach, because he bases our hymns on Turkish melodies… I fear that you will end up hearing Turkish music in the Turkish style, rather than our national melodies."[61] Nevertheless, Armenian, Persian, Turkish, and Kurdish melodies collected in the field were notated in the system.[62] **Figure 1.1** provides an excerpt from Komitas's transcription of a Turkish folksong. The melody is in the "modern" system (in bold), and the text is Armeno-Turkish. In the right-hand margin, Komitas indicated that family member "Deegeen [Mrs.] Kulkaneh Soghomonian," sang him the song.

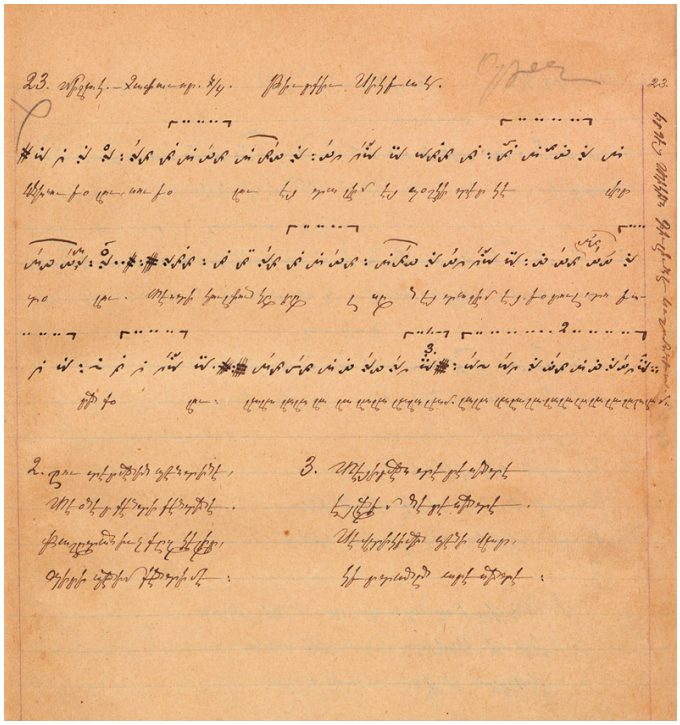

Figure 1.1: Komitas transcription of a Turkish folksong in Armeno-Turkish writing. With permission of the Komitas Museum in Yerevan.

[61] Komitas Vardapet, *The Letters of Komitas Vardapet*, trans. Nazareth Seferian (Oakville, ON: Mosaic Press, 2021), 71.
[62] Cem Behar, "The Ottoman Musical Tradition," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. Surayia Faroqui (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 395.

Komitas had mastered a notation system that transcended ethno-cultural boundaries in his homeland. He also worked closely with Armenian composers who incorporated Western European polyphony into their works, including Makar Ekmalian (1856–1905), Kristopher Kara-Murza (1853–1902), and Nikoghayos Tashjian (1841–1885). The most well-known of these was Ekmalian, who studied at the Kevorkian Jemaran before he entered the St. Petersburg Conservatory, where he studied under Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov. Ekmalian combined Armenian sacred and folk music sources with Western European polyphony. Among his most important compositions was his choral mass with harmonized hymns (1892), officially adopted by the Armenian Church in 1896,[63] which remains the canonical mass of the Armenian church today. The mass was published in 1896 by Breitkopf und Härtel (Leipzig) and subsequently appeared in three different arrangements: for a three-part male chorus, a four-part male chorus, and a four-part mixed choir.[64]

Having spent six months (from 1895 to early 1896) studying counterpoint and choral arrangement in Tiflis [Tbilisi] with Ekmalian, Komitas took and passed entrance examinations to European institutions. Between 1896 and 1899, Komitas studied in Berlin, supported by the Armenian benefactor and oil magnate Alexander Mantashian.[65] Enrolled as a full-time student in philosophy at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Komitas also studied art history [*Kunstlehre und*

[63] The original versions of the sacred chants were collected and transcribed (into European notation) by Nikoghayos Tashjian (1841-1885), who was invited to Echmiadzin in 1873 and aided by Ekmalian. They both transcribed and compiled the chants in three collections that were published in Echmiadzin as *The Chants of the Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Apostolic Church* (1874); the *Sharaknots* (Hymnary) consisting of 1800 hymns; and *Zhamagirk'* (Book of Hours), published in 1877.
[64] Another harmonized *Badarak* (1877) includes an offering by the little-known Venetian composer, Pietro Bianchini (1828-1905), whose harmonization was commissioned by the Armenian Mekhitarist Order based in San Lazzaro (near Venice). Haig Utidjian, "Les Pères Mékhitaristes Vénitiens et la Musique Sacrée Arménienne les Grandes Figures et leur Héritage," in *Jubilé de l'Ordre des Pères Mékhitaristes: Tricentenaire de la Maison Mère, l'Abbaye de Saint-Lazare 1717-2017*, eds. Bernard Outtier and Maxime K. Yevadian (Paris: Sources d'Arménie, 2017), 148.
[65] Kuyumjian, *Archeology of Madness*, 22.

Kunstgeschichte] while attending courses in counterpoint, Ancient Greek music, German music history from the sixteenth century, and the analysis of European neume systems.[66] The curriculum, based on the concept of *Bildung* or self-formation, was at the frontlines of the German nation-building project.[67] In contrast with academic systems that had more rigid curricula, Komitas benefited from the academic freedom that allowed students to select courses from professors who lectured on their research interests.[68] On Joseph Joachim's (1831–1907) recommendation, Komitas supplemented his university education with private study under Richard Schmidt, who ran a small private studio (referred to as a "private conservatory" in available literature) in Berlin.[69] Komitas's connection to European musical culture was further strengthened when he became one of the first members of the International Music Society, subsequently an outlet for his writings on music. Corresponding with Karapet Kostanyan (an administrator in Kevorkian Jemaran) on March 31, 1899, Komitas described his relationship with the new organization:

> Recently, the Berlin branch of the International Music Society was founded in the city, where I was invited to become a member. The initiative is being headed by Professor Oskar Fleischer, and I was the only one of his students who was invited to become a member. I am obligated to correspond with them regularly and provide articles on eastern

[66] The 1896-97 Yearbook lists the seminars offered during the school year. They included: "Aesthetics of Tonal Music" [*Ästhetik der Tonkunst*]; "Music of Ancient Greece" [*Über die Musik der alten Greichen*]; "German Music History from the 16th Century" [*Allgemeine Musikgeschichte vom Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts ab*]; "Musicological Exercises (Explanation of Specific Musical Works)" [*Musikwissenschaftliche Übungen (Erklärung ausgewählter musikalischer Kunstwerke)*]; "Musicological Exercises (Deciphering Neume Notation) ["Exercises in Counterpoint"] [Musikwissenschaftliche Übungen (*Entzifferung von Neumen-Denkmälern*)]; "Exercises in Counterpoint, based on the textbook *Der Contrapunkt* [(*Übungen im Contrapunkt, nach seinem Lehrbuch "Der Contrapunkt"*)]. See *Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen/Königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin, WS 1896-97* (Universität zu Berlin, 1896/97), 26-7.
[67] David Sorkin, "Wilhelm von Humboldt: The Theory and Practice of Self-Formation *(Bildung*), 1767-1810," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44, no. 1 (January-March 1983), 55.
[68] Marita Baumgarten, *Professoren und Universitäten im 19. Jahrhundert: Zur Sozialgeschichte deutscher Geistes- und Naturwissenschaftler* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 48f.
[69] Kuyumjian, *Archeology of Madness*, 22.

> music. This is definitely a productive force for my future. I am sending you a copy of the bylaws. You can read about it there.[70]

Upon returning to Etchmiadzin in 1899, Komitas continued to correspond with the Society and remained a member. His name was listed under "Asia."[71] Komitas continued teaching at Kevorkian Jemaran while collecting folk music in the remote mountainous villages in the Russian and Ottoman Empires. By 1910, after a series of disagreements with the Armenian church, Komitas left Etchmiadzin for Constantinople.[72] Having left Russian Armenia for the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Komitas remained there until his arrest in 1915.

1.2 KOMITAS'S CONTRIBUTIONS AND CHALLENGES TO THEM

In Europe, Komitas absorbed musical influences that subtly (or otherwise) impacted his compositional choices. Among these was the European concept and practice of harmonization, which, when used in his music, led to criticism in Armenia. According to Kuyumjian, early reviewers covering Komitas's choral concerts were critical of what they perceived as his stylistic reverence for the Western art music canon.[73] Some of his writings lend credence to this observation. In one, he stated that Richard Wagner "gave [a] national music to Germany, and a lesson to foreigners."[74] Komitas also wrote brief articles on Franz Liszt and Giuseppe Verdi for *Taraz*, a music journal based in Tiflis (Tbilisi, Russian Empire).[75] Unsurprisingly, Komitas focused on composers celebrated for their nationalistic outlooks: Verdi and the Italian

[70] Komitas, *The Letters of Komitas Vardapet*, 49-50. The original letter is housed at MAL (The Museum of Literature and Arts in Yerevan).
[71] "Mitteilungen der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft" [Announcements/News of International Music/Musicological Society], *Zeitschrift der internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft,* Heft 3 (1899): 88.
[72] Kuyumjian, *Archeology of Madness*, 51-2.
[73] Kuyumjian, *Archeology of Madness*, 51-2.
[74] Komitas, "Wagner," in *Hotvadzner yev Usumnasirutyunner* [Articles and Studies] (Yerevan: Haybedhrad, 1941). Quoted in Kuyumjian, *Archeology of Madness*, 51-2.
[75] Komitas wrote three articles in 1904 in Tbilisi, published in *Taraz*. Komitas, "Franz Liszt," *Taraz* 19 (May 16, 1904), 56-58. Komitas, "Giuseppe Verdi," *Taraz* 23 (October 10, 1904), 173-4.

Risorgimento, Wagner and the German concept of Gesamtkunstwerke, and Liszt and his Hungarian-inspired compositions. Other examples of Komitas's Western European proclivities are his art songs set to German poetry by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) ["Meeresstille" and "Glückliche Fahrt"] and Johanna Ambrosius (1854–1939) ["Du Fragst?"], among others.[76]

Komitas's writings mainly appeared in the Russian and Ottoman Empires, and some translations were published in French and German for Western European publications and audiences. The publications from the 1890s onwards provide a lens into his theories regarding composition, even though these writings are relatively short and sporadic. In Europe, they appeared frequently in the Parisian Armenian *Anahit* and in the supplements of the International Music Society's monthly publication. In Russian Armenia, his writings were published in *Ararat*, the principal literary organ of Kevorkian Jemaran. His work ranged from issues regarding appropriate harmonization practices for folk and sacred music to his ethnomusicological fieldwork outcomes.

Providing harmony to monophonic music sources (like the Armenian *Badarak*) as well as folksong melodies became a common practice of folksong collectors during the late nineteenth century. The harmonization of monophonic sacred music sources in particular (potentially transforming these into polyphonic renderings) engendered anxious debate. According to Manuk Manukian, most monophonic Armenian church music that was treated this way "often clashed with authentic Armenian music."[77] On the one hand, Komitas saw the virtues of Western polyphony and the need to bring Armenian music forward into the (modern) twentieth century.

[76] Hasmik Papian, *Hommage à Komitas: Armenian and German Songs*. Bayerischer Rundfunk 92.570 SACD, 2006, 1 Compact Disc.
[77] Manuk Manukian, "Music of Armenia," in *The Middle East*, ed. Virginia Danielson, Scott Marcus, and Dwight Reynolds (New York: Routledge, 2002), 725.

Concomitantly, he was anxious about joining the two dissimilar musical systems.[78] He outlined the pitfalls of fully embracing European harmony, which would lead to the assimilation of monophonic Armenian sacred music into Western polyphonic sounds. He argued that any European harmonic accompaniment must adhere to Armenian theoretical principles already inherent in the melodies themselves.

In what follows, I read Komitas's writings closely, arguing that they reveal his anxiety towards an appropriate cultural presentation of sacred sources in contemporary arrangements. In a letter about a new mass by an Armenian composer, Komitas discussed problematic musical sources and inappropriate harmonization. The exchange with the president of the Examining Committee for Music in Constantinople began on October 23, 1907. Both correspondents scrutinized and appraised an Armenian composer's new mass, Levon Chilingiryan's (1862–1932) three-voice *Badarak*. The committee president asked Komitas to "correct, if correction is needed, some of the important songs of the Holy Mass set for three voices, according to the laws of polyphony, without changing the tunes of the melodies."[79] Komitas, however, found that many of the melodies were themselves principally Turkish or a composite of Turkish and Arab melodies treated in a European style. Komitas also made note of a hymn set in a "Westernized (Italian style) Turkish mode [*Ajem ashran*]," while observing the prevalence of "Greek melodies cast in Turkish and Arabic mode known as *Huzzam*."[80] "Sourb, sourb," the quintessential hymn in the Armenian mass, was set according to the Turkish Yekgiah mode; meanwhile, the Ekmalian version was reworked into the Western major scale. At the end of his detailed response

[78] Sindhumathi Revuluri, "On Anxiety and Absorption: Musical Encounters with the *Exotique* in fin-de-siècle France" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2007), 132.
[79] Komitas, "Letter to his Grace Bishop Vahram Mankouni," in *Komitas: Essays and Articles* trans. by Vatsche Barsoumian (Pasadena, CA: Drazark Press, 2001), 202. Initially published in *Anahit* nos. 3-6 (November 1932-April 1933), 228-30.
[80] Komitas, "Letter to his Grace Bishop Vahram Mankouni," 201.

to the Examining Committee, Komitas argued that a simple revision of the mass's harmonies could rectify neither the corrupted settings nor the nature of the melodies themselves, concluding that "it is not worthwhile to spend valuable time on foreign melodies."[81]

Komitas further argued that any harmonizations needed to be congruent with the "melody of the harmonic settings." He cited Ekmalian's mass [*Chants of the Divine Liturgy/ Les Chants de la Liturgie Arménienne*] as the ideal *Badarak* because it featured a European/Russian musical style. Chilingiryan's mass, Komitas concluded, was merely a "paste-up of various voices."[82] In a later article, however, Komitas criticized Ekmalian's European/Russian harmonization. In "Music of the Armenian Liturgy," Komitas outlined his objections. They detailed the need for a new, reformed Armenian mass harmonized with the melody's internal structure in mind.[83] This opinion diverged from Ekmalian's own. Ekmalian had opined in the preface of his mass that "polyphonic music is not contrary to the spirit" of the Armenian church, "but its perfection and completion."[84] He also attempted to underscore the "reverence" of his arrangement and his respect for the "original chant melodies."[85] But Komitas declared Ekmalian's beliefs problematic, emphasizing them in boldface type (reproduced here):

> Therefore, we avoided the use of semitones, apart from those of the scale (i.e., chromaticism), or **modulation**. Instead, we attempted to work within the **diatonic scale** of the melody, and to arrange the harmony as simply as possible, because this is required by the spirit of **Persian-Arabic music**, of which ours forms a part.[86]

[81] Komitas, "Letter to his Grace Bishop Vahram Mankouni," 202.
[82] Komitas, "Letter to his Grace Bishop Vahram Mankouni," 202.
[83] Ekmalian was not the only Armenian mass published in 1896. Amy Apkar published a version of the *Badarak* in three volumes entitled *Melody of the Holy Apostolic Church of Armenia*. However, Apkar's version has never been used by the Armenian church.
[84] Komitas, "The Singing of the Holy Liturgy," in *Armenian Sacred and Folk* Music, trans. Edward Gulbekian (New York and London: Routledge, 1998), 123.
[85] Komitas, "The Singing of the Holy Liturgy," 123.
[86] Komitas, "The Singing of the Holy Liturgy," 124.

This statement both clarifies and complicates Komitas's perspective regarding the distinctive nature of Armenian music. First, he opposed Ekmalian's idea that Armenian music is part of the Persian-Arabic tradition. Secondly, Komitas viewed diatonicism and modulation as incompatible with Armenian music, as Armenian modality does not employ Western diatonic "scales corresponding to the major and minor keys."[87] The act of providing (diatonic) harmonies to monophonic Armenian sacred music was therefore no simple matter.

In the same article, Komitas argued that Armenian chant is based on the tetrachord and built on a series of interlocking chains where each chain links to a new chain. He explained these linkages as follows: "The last tone of every preceding tetrachord must at the same time be the fundamental tone of the subsequent one" ["der letzte Ton der vorausgehenden Quarte zum ersten der folgenden wird"].[88] Komitas also related this tetrachordal system to that of the Ancient Greeks:

> The primitive musical instrument of the Greeks was the four-stringed lyre ... It was on this instrument that Orpheus played ... In the course of time, a second set of strings was added, but in such a way that the last string of the first set served as the first string of the second set.[89]

Ultimately, Ekmalian's addition of Western harmony—a hallmark of modernization—meant that these interlocking chains were supplanted by a major or minor tonality, obstructing the original tetrachordal system. Intervallic relationships also differed between the European and Armenian tetrachordal system.[90] The Armenian tetrachord is not based on the Western divisions of tone and semitone. In any Armenian tetrachord, the third tone is slightly flatter than the corresponding one in the Western tempered scale. This meant that in the Armenian tetrachord, the distance between

[87] Komitas, "The Singing of the Holy Liturgy," 126.
[88] Komitas, "Music of the Divine Liturgy," in *Armenian Sacred and Folk* Music, trans. Edward Gulbekian (New York and London: Routledge, 1998), 185.
[89] Komitas, "The Singing of the Holy Liturgy," 124.
[90] Komitas, "Music of the Divine Liturgy," 185.

the second and third tones is narrow, and the interval between the third and fourth tones is larger (typically what we hear as a Western diminished third interval). Ekmalian's harmonization in his mass, Komitas charged, had thus brought together two incompatible musical systems: the diatonicism of Western art music with the tetrachordal Armenian chant melodies. Komitas clearly found this mix of different musical systems problematic, even if, by adopting European polyphonic practices, Armenian music would signal its arrival at European modernity.[91]

1.2.1 Armenian Modality: A Brief Overview

Komitas's intellectual work had a deep grounding in Armenian modality, which impacted his folk/sacred music arrangements and original compositions. He believed these modes embodied an "authentic" Armenian cultural capital. In the early-to-mid twentieth century, musicologists like Robert Atayan (1915–1994) and Kristapor Kushnaryan (1890–1960) followed Komitas's lead, studying modes and authoring their own monographs on the Armenian neume system of notation (Atayan) and Armenian monody (Kushnaryan).[92] This curiosity about Armenian music modes was not limited to Armenian scholars/reformers, as European musicologists during the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century studied Armenian modes and how they compared to other non-Western examples of early music notation. Celebrated examples include works by François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871), Pierre Aubry (1874–1910), and the work of German musicologists like Komitas's mentor, Oskar Fleischer (1856–1933). As Thomas Christensen wrote in his discussion of Fétis (but applicable to these other

[91] Ayako Ōtomo, "Western Art Music in Pre-Edo and Meiji Japan: Historical Reception, Cultural Change and Education," in *Music in the Making of Modern Japan: Essays on Reception, Transformation and Cultural Flows*, eds. Kei Hibino, Barnaby Ralph, and Henry Johnson (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2021), 13-37.
[92] Atayan, *Armenian Neume System of Notation*, 135-58. Jonathan McCollum, "Analysis of Notation in Music Historiography: Armenian Neumatic *Khaz* from the Ninth Through Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology*, eds. Jonathan McCollum and David Hebert (Lanham, ML: Lexington Books, 2014), 197-234.

scholars), such intellectual curiosities evident in comparative philology/musicology were part of an "ambitious attempt to integrate the history of music within a general ethnological history." In the late nineteenth century, this fascination for Armenian music in both sacred and secular forms was an indication of the racial turn in musicology and comparative musicology.[93]

Armenian modality is comprised of eight modes called *Ut Dzayn* (see **Table 1.1**, which was derived from Jonathan McCollom's table from his recent article and by consulting Atayan), also known as the Armenian oktoechos.[94] Each of the *Ut Dzayn* consists of specific melodic patterns and intervallic combinations. Consistent with Armenian music historiography, the roots of this modal system came out of the church and moved slowly but surely into secular music over centuries. Atayan's monograph on the history of Armenian notation offers examples of both sacred and folk music from the tenth through fourteenth centuries, reinforcing Komitas's claims regarding the links between Armenian sacred and secular practices (in Atayan's words, "the revival of humanistic tendencies and secular thinking ... had found its beginnings in the tenth century").[95] Within the Armenian church context, the eight-mode system fulfills a vital role in the liturgical calendar. Each day of the year is marked by a specific mode of the day (*orva dzayn*) that governs the sacred readings and choices of sharagans [hymns].[96] Unlike the other days in the church calendar, the first Sunday of Lent always corresponds to the eighth mode [*chorrord dzayn*], irrespective of the modes that immediately precede the day.[97] This is to ensure that the start of the liturgical calendar, which resets on Easter, begins with the first mode [*Arajin Dzayn*].

[93] Thomas Christensen, *Stories of Tonality in the Age of François-Joseph Fétis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019), 193-95.
[94] Pahlevanian, Kerovpyan, and Sarkisyan, "Armenia, Republic of (Armenian Hayastan)."
[95] Atayan, *Armenian Neume System of Notation*, 82-3.
[96] Pahlevanian, Kerovpyan, and Sarkisyan, "Armenia, Republic of (Armenian Hayastan)."
[97] Pahlevanian, Kerovpyan, and Sarkisyan, "Armenia, Republic of (Armenian Hayastan)."

The modes in their *barz* (standard or primary) form comprise four "authentic" modes (also called *dzayn*) and four modes that are called "sides" (or *koghm*) that function as the corresponding plagal.[98] Though scholarly writings from the late nineteenth century have drawn comparisons between Armenian modes and other early music traditions (Byzantine, Indian, Greek, Georgian and Latin), there are differences.[99] Unlike the plagal modes as they appear in the Greek *oktoechos* (e.g., hypodorian related to dorian, hypolydian related to lydian) the "*koghm*" modes do not appear a fourth below their authentic *dzayn*.[100] In fact, the even-numbered modes (*koghm*) are either independent of or loosely related to their odd-numbered counterparts. As addressed in Atayan's study, Armenian modality extends beyond the *barz* form, presenting other modal combinations and variations that derive out of the eight modes, with upwards of twenty different modal combinations.[101] In addition to the standard *Ut Dzayn* form, this includes *Darts'vatsk* modes ("Concomitant modes"), which are companions to the *Ut Dzayn*. Often, *Darts'vatsk* modes appear in works that are modulatory. The Armenian oktoechos system also contains additional modes called *Steghi*, which are not confined to any one specific mode but often combine tones from two or more modes.

In each of the eight modes in their *barz* form, these modes comprise pitches that function hierarchically. Within a given mode, each scale degree performs one of several functions: (a) the finalis tone; (b) the dominant tone (not to be mistaken for the dominant function in Western European harmony, but rather the most important tone around which the melody revolves); (c) intermediate cadences (used to conclude various sections within a melody); (d) concluding

[98] Atayan, *Armenian Neume System of Notation*, 134.
[99] In his second chapter, Atayan criticized European scholars who drew relationships based solely on visual similarities between the Armenian notational system with Latin and Byzantine notations (P. Wagner), Georgian neumes (J. B. Thibaut), and Indian and Greek accent signs (Oskar Fleischer). See Atayan, *Armenian Neume System of Notation*, 43-44. Also see McCollum, "Analysis of Notation in Music Historiography," 210.
[100] McCollum, "Analysis of Notation in Music Historiography," 210.
[101] Atayan, *Armenian Neume System of Notation*, 76.

cadences; (e) pedal points (prevalent in Armenian sacred and folk music, where pedal tones/points function as the harmonic foundation of a given mode); (f) leading tones (which vary depending on whether the melody is ascending or descending in relationship to the finalis); and (g) mediants (these have unique roles in representing what Atayan referred to as "the major and minor nuances of the modes").[102] In Table 1.1, I illustrate the *Ut Dzayn* and their respective modes. This brief overview of Armenia's modal system provides an entry point into Komitas's importation of Armenian modality as he asserted it in the *Danses*.

1.1. NORMAL [*BARZ*] FORM OF UT *DZAYN*

Armenian Term	**Translation**	**Barz [Standard Form]**	**Notes:**
Arajin Dzayn	First Mode	F – G# – A – Bb – C – D – Eb	In this constellation, the finalis is A. When ascending to A, the dominant tone is A in this mode.
Arajin Koghm	First Side Mode	F – G – A – Bb – C – D – Eb – F	The finalis is A. The dominant tone is C. The half-cadential tone is A and when descending below the finalis, the G is raised as a leading tone.
Erkrord Dzayn	Second Mode	G – A – Bb – C – D – E – F – G	Dominant tone is D; the half cadential tone is Bb and the final tone is G.
Erkrord Koghm	Second Side Mode	Bb – C – D – Eb – F – G – Ab – Bb	Eb is the dominant tone. Final tone is C.
Yerrord Dzayn	Third Mode	G – Ab – B-natural. – C – D – Eb – F – G	C is the dominant tone and the final tone. G can also function as a secondary final.
Yerrord Koghm	Third Side Mode	F – G – A – Bb – C – D – Eb – F	Bb is the dominant tone and G is the final tone.
Chorrord Dzayn	Fourth Mode	F – G – A – Bb – C – D – Eb – F	C functions as the dominant tone and the final tone. G functions as a secondary tonic. When descending below the finalis, the Bb is raised, and functions as a leading tone.
Chorrord Koghm	Fourth Side Mode	F – G – A – Bb – C – D – Eb – F	Bb is the dominant tone and G is the final tone.

[102] Atayan, *Armenian Neume System of Notation*, 135-38.

1.2. *DANSES: RECUEILLIES ET MISES EN MUSIQUE* (1925)

First published in one volume by *Maurice Senart* (1925) – Republished in one volume in Moscow by the publisher, *Muzgiz* (1939)
*1925, French Edition: *Danses recueillies et mises en musique par le R. P. Komitas*
*1939, Russian Edition: ТАНЦЫ ДЛЯ ФОРТЕПИЯН

Movement Names Across Both Editions	Key Signatures	Time Signatures	Performance Indication	Tempo Indication	Texture	Place	Date of movements (when applicable)
Erangui d'Erivan ՅԵՐԱՆԳԻ ՅԵՐԱՎԱՆԱ	B Natural; E Natural; A Flat	6/8	*No indication in first edition (French)*	*Gracieux*	Monophony	Yerevan	February 22, 1902: first reference to *Erangui* appears in a letter from Komitas.[103] June 1, 1907: Another reference to Erangui appears in a letter in the leadup to a performance at the Geneva Conservatory. In this letter, Komitas refers to the piece as *Yerevana Rangi* (diminutive for Yerangi)[104]
Ounabi de Choucha ՈՒՆԱԲԻ ՇՈՒՇՎԱ	F#, C#, G#, D#	3/8	*No Indication in first edition (French)*	*Grave et gracieux*	Melody with transparent harmony in the LH	Shoush	September 18, 1911: a letter directed to Marguerite Babaian. Komitas expresses his wish to review the final copy of the dances in preparation for a series of European concerts in Paris and Berlin (including *Ounabi*)[105]
Marali de Choucha ՄԱՐԱԼԻ ՇՈՒՇՎԱ	F#, C natural, G#, D#	6/8	*No Indication in first edition (French)*	*Fier et souple*	Melody with subtle contrapuntal harmony	Shoush	September 18, 1911: a letter directed to M. Babaian. Komitas expresses his wish to review the final copy of the dances in preparation for a series of European concerts in Paris and Berlin

[103] The initial reference to "Erangui" appears in a Komitas letter dated February 22, 1902. It is unclear whether the piece was completed, but it was likely to be in draft form at this point. According to Atayan's critical edition, the first performance took place during a concert at the Jemaran. Robert Atayan, *Komitas: Complete Works*, vol. 6 (Yerevan: Hayastan Publishing House, 1982), 156.
[104] Atayan, *Komitas: Complete Works*, 156.
[105] These clean copies were in buildup to a series of concerts in Paris and Berlin. Atayan, *Komitas: Complete Works*, 156.

							(including *Marali*)[106]
Chouchiki de Wagharchabad-Etchmiadzine ՇՈՒՇԻԿԻ ՎԱՂԱՐՇԱՊ ԱՏԻ	F#, C#	6/8	*Imitating the tar and the tambour*	*Vif et délicat*	Melody with subtle contrapuntal harmony	Vagharshapat	September 18, 1911: a letter directed to M. Babaian. Komitas expresses his wish to review the final copy of the dances in preparation for a series of European concerts in Paris and Berlin (including *Shushiki*)[107]
Et-Aradj d'Erzeroum ՀԵՏ-ԱՐԱՋ ԿԱՐՆՈ	F#, C#, G#	9/8 (2/8+3/8+2/8+3/8)	*Imitating the syrinx and tambour*	*Noble et gracieux*	Melody with subtle contrapuntal harmony	Erzurum (Turkish)/Karin	June 1, 1907: According to the Komitas Archives, *Et-Aradj* is referred to as *Hekiari Karno* (diminutive) in a letter referring to a performance at the Geneva Conservatory. The original performance for this movement took place on the date above[108]
Choror d'Erzeroum ՇՈՐՈՐ ԿԱՐՆՈ	F#, C natural, G#, D#	10/8 (5/8+5/8)	*Imitating the syrinx, the tambour and the tambourin*	*Noble et héroïque*	Melody with subtle contrapuntal harmony	Erzurum/Karin	Unable to retrieve

1.3 KOMITAS'S *DANSES: RECUEILLIES ET MISES EN MUSIQUE* (1925)

Aspects of Komitas's ambivalence towards using European diatonic harmonies in Armenian sacred music appear in his approach to secular genres. My case study for the latter is his *Danses* (1925), one of his few original compositions inspired by his exposure to Armenian folk music (see Table 1.2 for a list of the six character pieces and their extramusical features). I demonstrate the steps Komitas took in this composition to shape and emphasize what he presented as Armenian authenticity to Armenians (in the homeland and diaspora) and non-

[106] Atayan, *Komitas: Complete Works*, 156.
[107] Atayan, *Komitas: Complete Works*, 156.
[108] Atayan, *Komitas: Complete Works*, 156.

Armenians (chiefly within Europe and the Russian Empire). I argue that ultimately, Komitas's concept of Armenian authenticity combined the discursive element (which gave the audience and performer what Barthes once termed the "reality effect"), with an aspirational ideal that engaged with his music-critical discourses emphasizing a single cultural lens through which his work could be interpreted.

Composed and revised from 1902 to 1916, *Danses* was published by *Éditions Maurice Senart* (Paris) in December 1925. A group of Armenian friends (expatriates) and colleagues of Komitas based in Paris, *Le Comité des Amis du Rév. Père Komitas*, were responsible for the publication, part of a series of volumes dedicated to his folksongs and original compositions. At that time, Komitas was in the Villejuif Asylum (today *Établissement public de santé Paul-Guiraud*) following his mental health struggles after the Genocide. The preface intimates these circumstances:

> *Le Comité des Amis du Rév. Père Komitas* believes in paying pious homage to the unfortunate master by fulfilling a public duty, by taking the initiative to collect his manuscript kept by his friends and publish them in a series of publications.[109]

Danses constituted the committee's first effort to disseminate Komitas's music to the Armenian diasporic and Parisian/European audiences.[110] Later volumes included his harmonizations of Armenian folksongs collected in the field and arranged for solo voice and piano as well as choral renditions.[111] Two movements from the *Danses* were publicly premiered in 1906 in Paris: "Le

[109] "Le Comité des Amis du Rév. Père Komitas croit rendre un pieux hommage au maître infortuné et remplir à son égard un devoir public, en prenant l'initiative de recueillir ses œuvres manuscrites gardées par des amis et de les faire paraître dans une série de publications." Komitas Vardapet, *Danses Recueillies et Mises en Musique par le R. P. Komitas* (Paris: Éditions Maurice Senart, 1925), 1.
[110] Other editions of the *Danses* were published in Russia and Armenia in the twentieth century, including in Moscow in 1939 through the publisher *Muzgiz*. The third publication of the piano suite appears in Robert Atayan's sixth volume of the 12-volume *Komitas's Collected Works*. The sixth volume focuses explicitly on Komitas's piano works, where the *Danses* were included alongside pieces for young pianists called *Mangagan Nvagner* (Children's Pieces).
[111] Other examples include Komitas Vardapet, *Mélodies et Chœurs a Capella Transcrits et mis en Musique par le R. P. Komitas*. *Nouvelle Série – Cahier 5* (Paris: Editions de la Schola Cantorum, 1930).

Choror de Moush" and "Suites de Rondes."[112] Later that year, Chouchanik Laloy-Babaian (1879–1952), the work's dedicatee, performed the same movements in another Paris concert, one that exclusively featured folksongs and sacred music selections harmonized by Komitas.[113]

We may surmise from the above that the *Danses* were written for Armenian and non-Armenian audiences and intended for performance in concert halls. For these audiences, Komitas used European themes of musical exoticism, including modal sounds, microtones, and pitch bending. These features lent his version of Armenian music a particularly mournful and expressive sound, especially to European listeners accustomed to the above-mentioned themes.

A favorite device of Komitas to unify multimovement sets such as *Danses* was to evoke Armenian landscapes, either with added texts or allusions to geographical sites. The titles of individual movements highlight Armenian cities in the Russian and Ottoman Empires: Erzurum (Ottoman), Yerevan, Choucha, and Etchmiadzin (Russian). Taken together, the titles symbolically combine and subsume the otherwise fragmented Armenian musical experience under a single work. Sold and bought as music scores, a portable medium, the individual movements offer the casual consumer visuals of a tableau or landscape of Armenian life. The first edition also contained mentions of Central Asian musical instruments, including the *syrinx*, *tambour*, *tambourin*, and *tar*.[114] Arguably, these evocative details in the *Danses* reinforced the then-popular perceptions of timeless folk culture and its corollary, musical authenticity, which Armenians (at home and in the diaspora) and Europeans came to associate with Komitas's

[112] I consulted the programme of the 1906 concert, which was made available by *Le Mercure musical*. I expand on these materials in the next chapter.
[113] The concert in question is cited here: Komitas Vardapet, "Concert de Musique Arménienne Populaire et Liturgique, Donné par l'Union Arménienne de Paris au Profit de l'œuvre sous la Direction du R. P. Komitas," *Le Mercure musical* 2, no. 23-24 (15 décembre 1906).
[114] The *syrinx* is comparable to the pan-flute, whereas the *tar* and *tambour* are comparable to the lute, both native to the Caucasus and Central Asia. Meanwhile, the *tambourin* is comparable to the drum.

compositions.[115] As piano miniatures circulating among musically literate audiences, the *Danses* stoked Armenians' memory and nostalgia for an authentic folk past while constructing the same for non-Armenians. In this sense, Komitas's work mirrored that of other composer-ethnographers in urban Europe, who cast the folk as a symbol of ethnicity and nationality in multimovement miniatures for voice and piano, or piano alone.[116]

As with his contemporaries, Komitas set Armenian folksongs to simple accompaniments with Western European harmonies. By doing so, he implicitly imposed an ideology that celebrated the "universality" of European harmony as part of a broader civilizing mission. Sindhumathi Revuluri has argued that this form of engagement with found folksong materials provided listeners and musicians opportunities to encounter an exotic artifact via a familiar form of accompaniment.[117] But Komitas's in-depth knowledge of Armenian folk music from his fieldwork arguably places the *Danses* in another line of thought as put forth in Béla Bartók's article, "The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music" (1949). Bartók clarified that skilled composers with a deep and entrenched knowledge of specific ethnic music could appropriate a folk music style, one that allowed them to invent new melodies and pass them off as the product of a "realistic" folksong enactment.[118]

Komitas was aware that not every enactment of Armenian folksong was created equal. Much like his concern over appropriate settings of Armenian mass music, he believed that many of his contemporaries produced uncritical arrangements and transcriptions of folksongs that

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[115] Joshua Walden, *Representation in Western Music* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 2.
[116] Numerous comparable works embody a folk ethos in art music arrangements. Similar selections can include Béla Bartók's (1881–1945) *Romanian Folk Dances Sz. 56* (1915) and the *Mikrokosmos* set (published between 1926–1939); Manuel De Falla's (1876–1946) *7 Canciones populares Españolas* (1914–1915); Anatoly Liadov's (1855–1914) *Mazurka: Scène rustiques près de la guignette pour Orchestre, Op. 19* (1887).
[117] Revuluri, "On Anxiety and Absorption," 124.
[118] Béla Bartók, "The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music," in *Béla Bartók Essays*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), 341.

either did not correspond to the cultural contexts of the sources (such as presenting Armenian works with explicitly Western European harmonizations) or that misappropriated sources as Armenian that he believed were of less clearcut musical provenance.[119] By taking another approach—combining his undeniably deep knowledge of Armenian folksongs with his almost equally deep acquaintance of European musical methods—Komitas essentially sidestepped his contemporaries' critiques. As he described in a letter from September 1907 to Marguerite Babaian, a close confidant and member of the committee:

> The more simply one tries to harmonize Armenian melodies as their spirit requires it, the more difficult this task actually is… I am just starting to (based on my own understanding and taste, as well as my training and access to resources) harmonize Armenian melodies according to a particular style. There are times when I am submerged in pure Armenian music and at that moment, I create something that is suited to the spirit of our music. But there are other times when, against my will, I end up on a path of imagination that is either not Armenian or passes close by it.[120]

Perhaps the *Danses* fell into the second option ("a path of imagination that is either not Armenian or passes close by it") due to its lack of actual folk music content. More likely, Komitas's immersion in "pure Armenian music" enabled him to create "something that is suited to the spirit of our music," convincingly conveying a vision of Armenian musical authenticity to its audiences.

The physical appearance of the score ably supported his compositional know-how. For the music consumer, the appearance of Armenian text (alongside French) in the original 1925 publication must have represented authenticity. **Figure 1.2** provides a side-by-side comparison of the first edition's title page and frontispiece. The French and Armenian texts appear adjacent to one other, accompanied by the image of a crane holding a lyre. The bird (a familiar image in

[119] Komitas Vardapet, "Book Review, Recueil des chants populaires arméniens, no. 1, edited by L. Eghiazarian (Paris, 1900)," *Ararat* (Etchmiadzin) (1900): 167-68.
[120] Komitas, *The Letters of Komitas Vardapet*, 114-115.

Armenian folksongs) symbolizes Armenian exile, whereas the lyre is an instrument of ancient lore (as in the legend of Orpheus). The lyre critically also references Komitas's discussion of the Armenian tetrachord. The crane-lyre image also appears in other volumes of Komitas's works published by *Le Comité des Amis du Rév. Père Komitas* and may have been the committee's logo.[121] The *Danses* is advertised to the reader, not as an original work by Komitas, but rather as music mediated by him: "musique populaire arménienne" (Armenian folk music) and "recueillies et mises en musiques" (collected and set to music). These descriptions also subtly imply that he, through this work, was well-qualified to convey the collective voice of Armenian peasant musicians. With such textual indications, Komitas followed a long line of contemporaries who used the term "arranger" as opposed to "composer," even in works that were very much original compositions.[122]

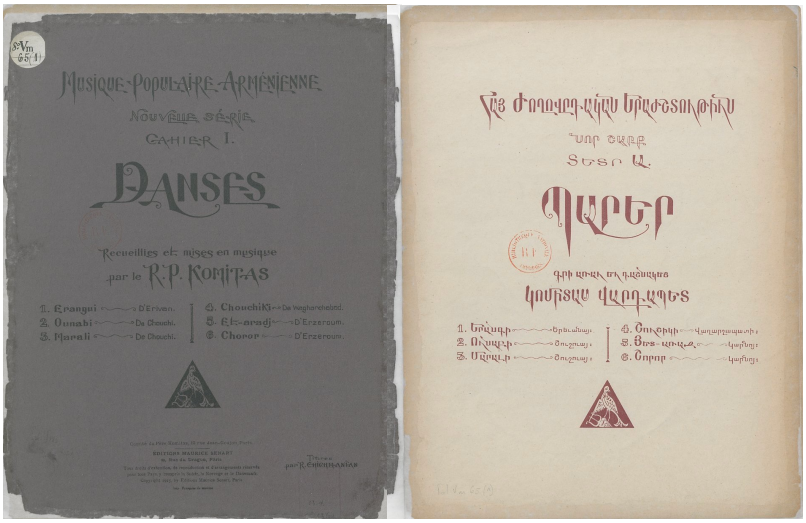


Figure 1.2: Title page and frontispiece of the first edition of *Danses: Recueillies et mises en musique*. Reproduced courtesy of *BnF Gallica*.

[121] Other publications by the committee included the logo, including the fourth volume of folksongs transcribed and set to music by Komitas [transcrits et mises en musique] that was published in 1928. R. P. Komitas, *Musique populaire arménienne nouvelle série cahier IV: Quatre Mélodies avec accompagnement de piano; Quatre chœurs à capella; transcrites et mises en musique par le R. P. Komitas* (Paris: Éditions Maurice Senart, 1928).

[122] The French terminology is unpacked in the next chapter. In James Loeffler's work on Jewish musicians, collectors, and reformers in the late Russian Empire, the author wrote that many Russian Jewish composers did the same practice and used similar terms in their compositions. James Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation: Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 139.

1.3.1 Compositional Features of the *Danses*

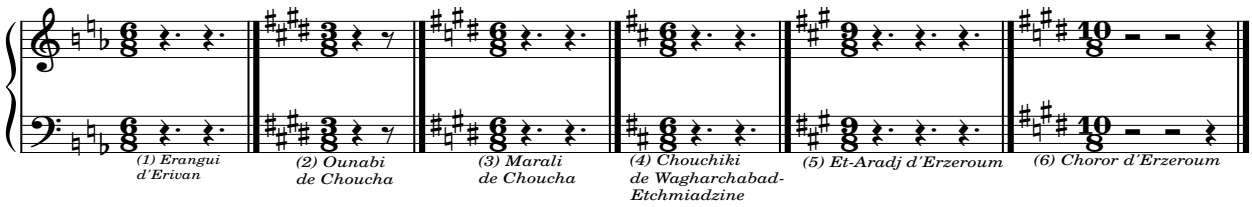
In my analysis, I suggest that Komitas invoked Armenian modality in the character pieces and propose plausible modes corresponding to these selections. Although the *Danses* are original to the composer, the presentation of Armenian modality is approximated, as several Armenian modes use intervals that are not accessible on equally tempered instruments. Whether Komitas incorporated specific regional musical styles is also unknown, although the titles given to each movement of the *Danses* lend a sense of realism to the work. Some of these unknowns may have been clarified had Komitas played a more active role in the publication process. Indeed, many of his non-Armenian contemporaries who published similarly titled works provided brief transcriptions and texts as contextual aides (in essence, paratexts) to guide the listener/reader/performer to understanding the work.[123]

As previously discussed, Komitas's *Danses* integrated a musical style that he advertised as "authentic" through his use of musical gestures that audiences could identify as representative of Armenian culture. He also aided his audiences by providing titles as cues that could aid his listeners in envisioning a version of the homeland. Though Komitas's style was regarded as authentic, he also used musical elements that could be considered "exotic" from the perspective of Western Europe. The question of whether Komitas had truly produced a "proper" or "accurate" Armenian musical style with his chosen musical elements is moot, as it assumes that cultural authenticity is immutable and can be embodied exclusively in musical sound (rather than arising from a combination of musical and discursive factors). In fact, the more closely we scrutinize music claiming to be Armenian, the more elusive the precise definition of Armenian authenticity appears. To understand Komitas's particular contributions to this debate, I take his

[123] Composers like Béla Bartók incorporated musical phrases that serve a didactic function, referring to the cataloguing impulse of ethnographic exploration. Walden, *Sounding Authentic*, 73.

words as a point of departure: "I create something that is suited to the spirit of our music." I argue that in the *Danses,* Komitas put his ideal into motion, marrying his deep knowledge of Armenian folk and sacred music (i.e., Armenian modality) with his own, original art music in the European tradition.

One of the ways Komitas projected an Armenian musical style was his incorporation of unusual key signatures that created intervals typically marked as exotic (including augmented and minor second intervals). Not all movements use this unusual key signature technique (see **Ex. 1.1**). Movements without unusual key signatures should not, however, be considered divorced from Komitas's idea of Armenian musical style/modality. The combination of natural signs alongside sharps and flats is a feature of Armenian modality: in *barz* form, the first and third authentic modes (*Arajin Dzayn* and *Yerrord Dzayn*, respectively) feature an augmented interval in their pitch constellations. Other modes likewise use augmented intervals only in *barz* form but not in other cases.

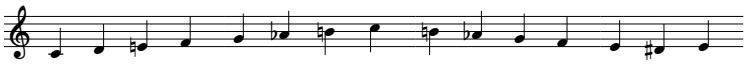


Ex. 1.1: Key signatures of the *Danses* as they appear in the first edition score.

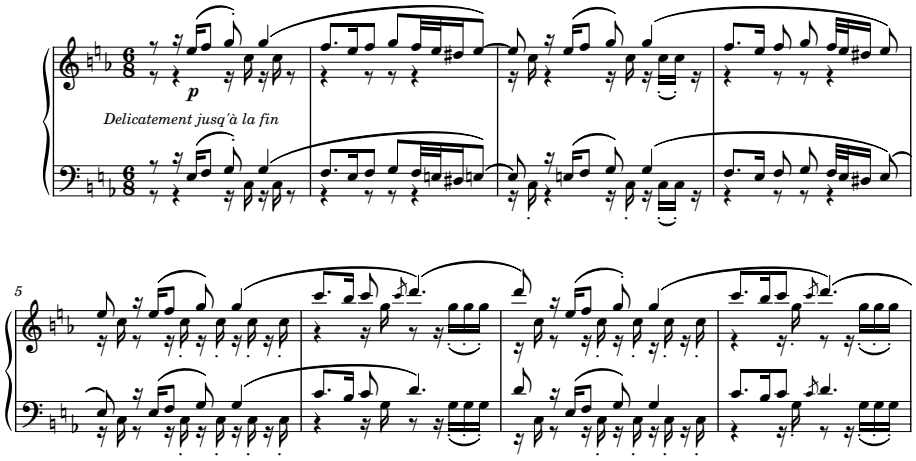
One example of this modal practice is "Erangui d'Erevan," which has a key signature of A-flat, B-natural, and E-natural. The mode departs from the *barz* form modes described in Section 1.2.1. These modes comprise *barz* and concomitant modes (*Darts'vatsk*) as well as those called *Steghi*.[124] Komitas's "Erangui" is reminiscent of the *Darts'vatsk* mode, the latter including

[124] Nikoghos Taghmizyan, *Theory of Music in Ancient Armenia* (Yerevan: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1977), 179.

pitches absent from their *barz* form and one that is rife with modulatory possibilities.[125] **Ex. 1.2** offers the Darts'vatsk fourth authentic mode[126] using the pitches associated with the movement (from C^5 to C^6), and **Ex. 1.3** illustrates mm. 1-8 of the mode in action. Far from staying the course, Komitas then modulates to a different mode in m. 9, moving to the third authentic mode (*Yerrord Dzayn*) and remaining there until the end of the movement (**Ex. 1.5**). Unlike the *Darts'vatsk* mode, the third authentic mode features only one instance of an augmented interval. This is suggested by including an E-flat as an accidental from m. 9 onwards. To contextualize the use of the third authentic mode, I offer the *barz* form (from G^5 to G^6) in **Ex. 1.4** alongside the mode in practice in **Ex. 1.5** (mm. 9-18).

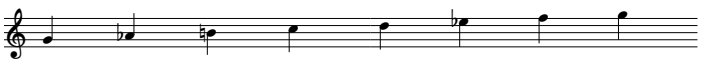


Ex. 1.2: *Darts'vatsk* of the fourth authentic mode
(*Chorrord Dzayn*)

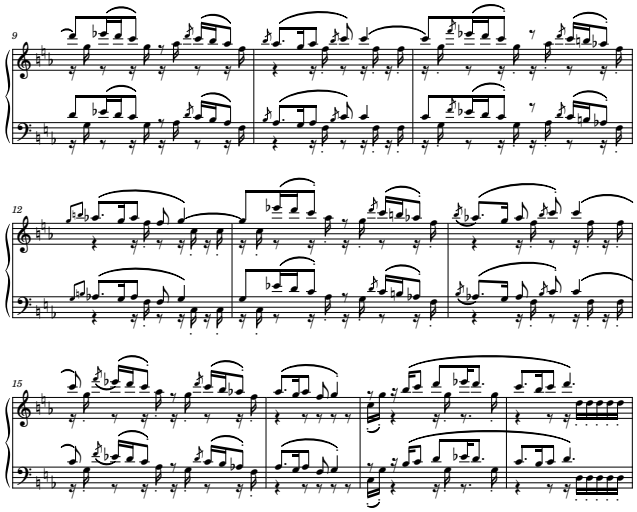


Ex. 1.3: Mm. 1-8 of *Erangui* in the *Darts'vatsk* of the fourth authentic mode.

[125] Taghmizyan, *Theory of Music in Ancient Armenia*, 179.
[126] According to Taghmizyan, the *Darts'vatsk* fourth authentic mode has three corresponding scales. Each scale comprises different tones ranging in their function (for instance, the *finalis* and *dominant* tones differ in each scale). Taghmizyan, *Theory of Music in Ancient Armenia*, 179.



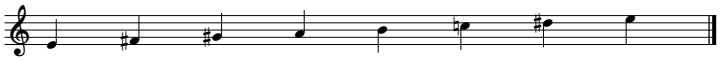
Ex. 1.4: Third authentic mode (*Yerrord Dzayn*)



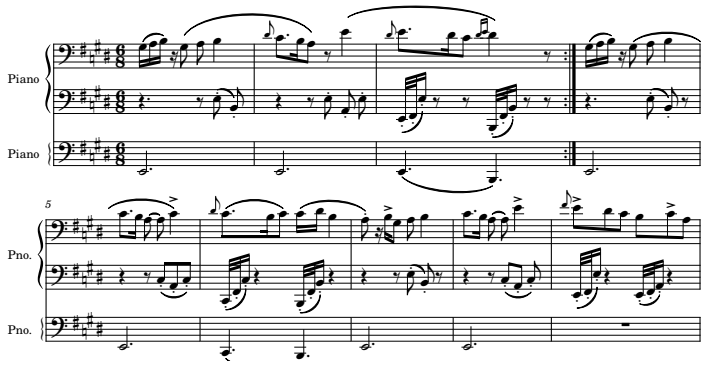
Ex. 1.5: Mm. 9-18 in the third authentic mode (*Yerrord Dzayn*)

A second example of this same modulation pattern occurs in "Marali de Choucha." Here, Komitas applies the same unusual key signature but with a different constellation of pitches, with E functioning as the root of the mode (utilizing F#, C-natural, G#, and D# as the movement's accidentals, as seen in **Ex. 1.1**). The first nine measures (**Ex. 1.7)** are consistent with the *Darts'vask* fourth authentic mode (**Ex. 1.6**), before moving to the third authentic mode (**Ex. 1.8**). The melody of "Marali" is presented atop a pedal tone on E for the first eight measures. This drone-like musical gesture is consistent with an Armenian (and certainly European) folk music style. With this pedal tone, the mode corresponds to the *Darts'vask* fourth authentic mode. Following the transposition of the bass up a fifth to B in m. 11 (**Ex. 1.9**), this transposition in the bass coincides with a modulation to the third authentic mode (in *barz* form), with the incorporation of a G-natural as the common accidental, from mm. 11 to the end (**Ex. 1.9** shows

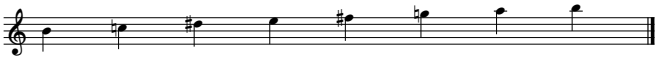
mm. 10-20). This transposition up a fifth in the bass line is also a feature of *Erangui* (see **Ex. 1.5**).



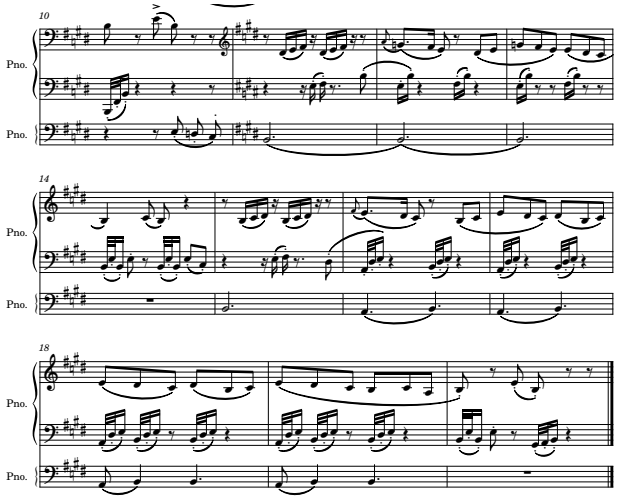
Ex. 1.6: *Darts'vatsk* of the fourth authentic mode (*Chorrord Dzayn*)



Ex. 1.7: Mm. 1-9 of *Marali de Choucha* in the *Darts'vatsk* of the fourth authentic mode



Ex. 1.8: Third authentic mode (*Yerrord Dzayn*)



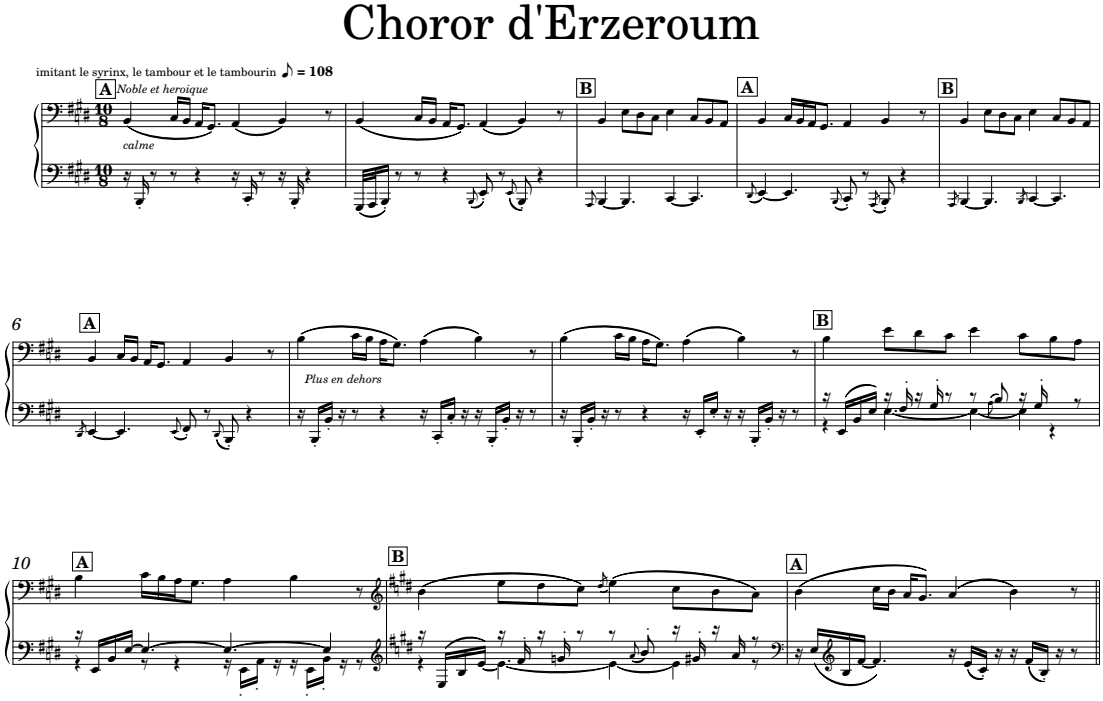
Ex. 1.9: Mm. 10-20 of *Marali de Choucha* in the third authentic mode (*Yerrord Dzayn*)

Komitas's unambiguous use of modal language (used to signify the *Danses'* allegiance to Armenian identity) is clearly conveyed in his use of augmented second intervals producing sounds that, for Western ears, were often invoked to caricature the Orient.[127] Turn-of-the-century European comparative musicologists such as Pierre Aubry (1874–1910) and Lazare Saminsky (1882–1959), among others, actively criticized the presence of augmented intervals in exotic folk song collections as "oriental chromaticism," producing scales and modes that were said to homogenize the cultures of Eastern Europe and Central Asia (I address aspects of their critique in greater detail in chapters 2 and 3).[128]

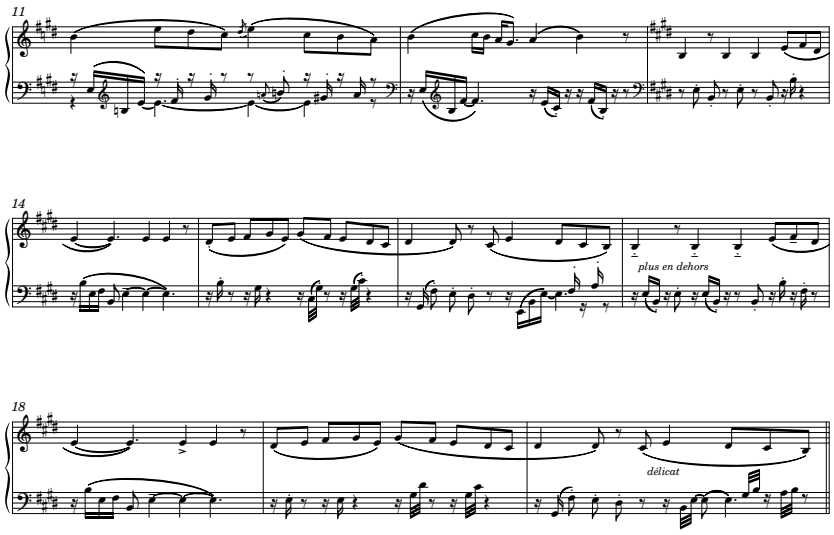
Perhaps mindful of the homogenizing effect, Komitas used this device sparingly in his *Danses*. The most explicit use of this musical element appears in the final movement, "Choror d'Erzeroum" (retitled "Choror of Karin" in the Atayan critical edition).[129] A highly sectional character piece, "Choror" corresponds to the third authentic mode in three sections of the movement. The key signature in mm. 1-12 (and later in mm. 21-27 and mm. 36-45) is F#, C-natural, G#, and D#, with B functioning as the root of the mode. The movement is highly repetitious, a musical allusion to folksong simplicity. The first twelve measures of "Choror" reproduced in **Ex. 1.10** are built on two repeated motives that appear in different registers of the piano (marked as themes A and B, respectively). Augmented intervals specifically appear in the B motives (mm. 3, 5, 9, and 11 in **Ex. 1.10**). Meanwhile, the A motives are built on a four-note melody that could be Komitas's sonic reference to the Armenian tetrachord. Theme A outlines

[127] Jonathan Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music* (Lebanon, NH: Northeastern University Press, 1998), xiii.
[128] My subsequent chapters discuss Pierre Aubry's and Lazare Saminsky's objections to "oriental chromaticism" and provide examples of how this mode acted as a common leveler for various ethnic music communities of the Russian Orient and Ottoman Empire.
[129] In the Armenian translations of these movements, Atayan updated the names to correspond with the historical Armenian names given to these cities, rather than using their Turkish counterparts. This renaming impacted two dances in the set; "Het U Aradj d'Erzeroum" became "Het U Aradj of Karin," and "Choror d'Erzeroum" became "Choror of Karin." Komitas Vardapet, *Collected Works, Volume 6: Piano* Works, ed. Robert Atayan (Erevan: Srrvetakan Grogh, 1982), 82.

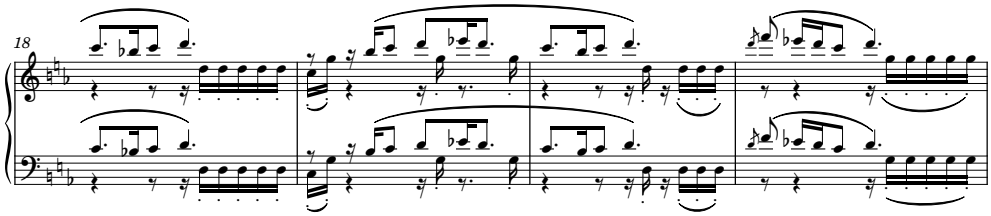
the melody [B – C-natural – B – A – G# - A – B] repeated eight times in the opening twelve measures. Using two half-step intervals in this neighbor-note four-note phrase could be interpreted as Komitas's acknowledgment of the microtonal aspects inherent in Armenian modality, one that could only be approximated on an equally tempered instrument such as the piano. Like in "Erangui" and "Marali," mm. 13 to 20 of "Choror" [**Ex. 1.11**] modulates to a different mode. Unlike past examples, the key signature in "Choror" appears in its typical Western form. As mentioned previously, multiple Armenian modes (including the *Arajin Koghm* and *Erkrord Koghm*) do not feature augmented intervals.



Ex. 1.10: Mm. 1-12 of *Choror d'Erzeroum* featuring motives A and B.



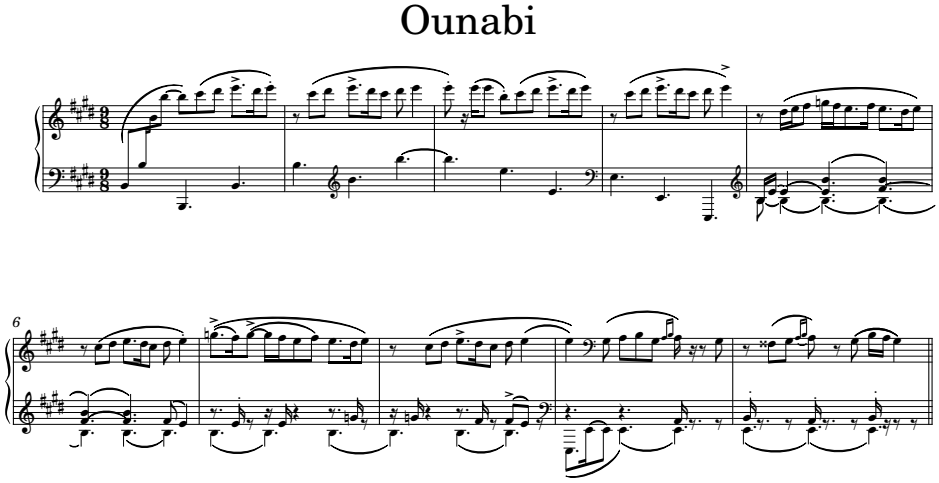
Ex. 1.11: Mm. 11-20 in *Choror* with the key signature change.



Ex. 1.12: Mm 18-21 featuring rapid succession of pitches evocative of Central Asian instruments.

Other elements of Komitas's importation of an Armenian folksong style into character pieces for piano include his allusions to non-Western musical instruments and the use of drone gestures (such as Marali, **Ex. 1.7** and **Ex. 1.9**). Examples of the former occur in mm. 18, 20, and 21 of "Erangui," (see **Ex. 1.12**), wherein the rapid repetition of pitches simulates the sounds of Central Asian instruments, perhaps evoking the sound of a rhythmic instrument (*tambour*) or plucked instrument (a *tar*, which is a long-necked lute that can play a rapid succession of pitches). Other examples in this movement include the rapid execution of notes occurring in mm. 25 to 27 of **Ex. 1.13**. Similarly, the melody of "Ounabi" simulates a plucking style evocative of a stringed instrument like the *tar*. Although the original publication does not indicate paratextual

references to Central Asian instruments in either "Erangui" or "Ounabi," Atayan included references to Central Asian instruments in his critical edition. "Erangui" is accompanied by a paratext referencing a *nay* (a flute-like instrument) and *tar*, whereas "Ounabi" alludes to the *tar* and *dap*.

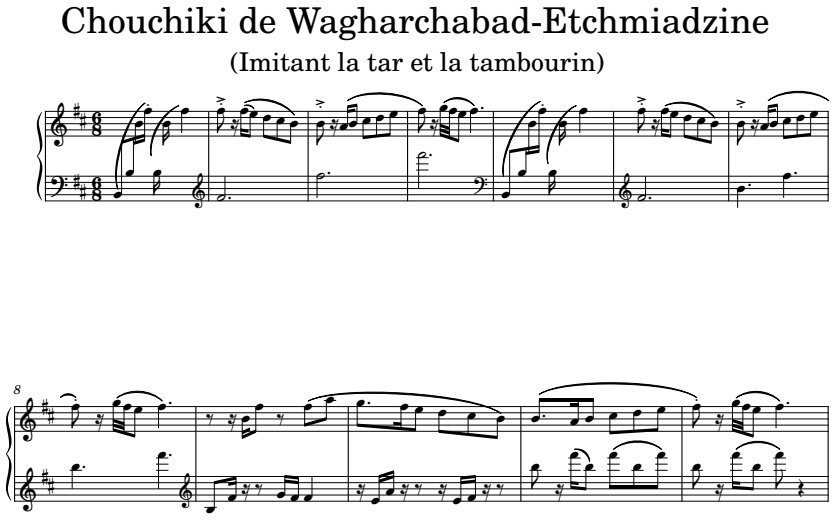


Ex. 1.13: Mm. 1-10 featuring single note drone texture present in the accompaniment.

Komitas's Armenian (and certainly European) folksong style is also expressed in his use of monotone bass drones, which come across in three of the movements in *Danses*: "Ounabi" (**Ex. 1.13**), "Chouchiki" (**Ex. 1.14**), and "Marali." The two former examples feature a bass drone accompaniment that explores registers of the piano.[130] "Ounabi" and "Chouchiki" both present a thinly voiced single note drone ascending into the upper reaches of the keyboard register (the former, **Ex. 1.13**, in mm. 1-4 and the latter in **Ex. 1.14** in mm. 1-8). "Marali" (see. **Ex. 1.7**) likewise adopts a comparable drone texture in the left-hand accompaniment, however, one that

[130] The exploration of registers on the instrument is a common compositional feature of the dances, where movements with da capo repetitions like "Erangui" instruct the pianist to perform the piece at different registers [*La deuxième fois plus piano et une octave plus haut* – the second time play very piano and at an octave higher], thus exploring the different timbres of the keyboard. Komitas, *Danses Recueillies et mises en musique par le R. P. Komitas*, 3.

remains in the piano's lower registers. Using drones in these character pieces could function as Komitas's compositional allusion to folk instruments that were a common accompaniment in Armenian folk and sacred music practice.



Ex. 1.14: Mm. 1-12 of *Chouchiki* utilizing single note drones in mm. 1-4.

1.4 CONCLUSION

For Komitas and his supporters, the *Danses*' perceived authenticity incorporated the parameters intrinsic to the music and broader narratives presented in the details of the physical score. These musical features included qualities associated with a folksong style, such as apparent modality, repetitive melodic phrases, and drone textures. Employing these musical features ultimately helped create a sound that could be interpreted as Armenian by those within the community and exotic to non-Armenians. This set of character pieces was published referencing Komitas's role as a collector (not author) and titles invoking Armenian musical instruments and the names of geographic regions in Armenia (constituting the former Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire). These elements all worked together to arguably give listeners the impression that they were accessing material directly from a timeless folk culture in

Armenia. Evidence of the *Danses*' reception can be found in the French musical press's responses to the debut performance in 1906 (Louis Laloy offered a positive review, whereas a negative review of the event was offered in *La Revue musicale*).[131]

The *Danses* were the product of both Komitas's creativity and his desire to connect to a preexisting ideal—a source of origin that Armenian culture workers were in the process of trying to pin down. The Genocide had changed the face of the Armenian homeland. Works like Komitas's *Danses* offered a snapshot of a time and place associated with a nostalgic vision: a "precataclysmic" Armenian home/homeland. Celebrated as the cultural figure who "rescued" Armenian folk music, Komitas's life and work reflected the anxieties of the Armenian experience, one that, from a musical perspective, came out of the desire to construct and reify Armenian self-identity amidst the many competing national, transnational, and diaspora influences. Komitas's achievement in consolidating this vision provides a starting point in my historical analysis of the Armenian *fin-de-siècle*.

[131] Laloy was a significant figure in organizing the 1906 Paris performance featuring Komitas, an event I briefly describe in chapter 2. Partly responsible for organizing the event, "Concert de musique arménienne populaire et liturgique," Laloy praised the concert in his article appearing in *Le Mercure musical.* As I show in chapter 2, other Armenian articles were published in *Le Mercure musical* in the month prior to the December 1, 1906 performance. Meanwhile, a negative appeared in *La Revue musicale* written by an author with the initials, J.C. Louis Laloy, "Concert de musique arménienne populaire et liturgique, donné par l'Union Arménienne de Paris au profit de l'œuvre sous la direction du R. P. Komitas," *Le Mercure musical* (1er décembre 1906), np. Also see, J.C. Louis Laloy, "Concert Arménien (Salle de la rue d'Athènes)," *La Revue musicale* (15 Décembre 1906), 573.

2. NEW ARMENIAN EXPORT MARKETS: FOLKSONG PUBLICATIONS, TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS, AND SELF-MAKING IN *FIN-DE-SIÈCLE* FRANCE

By the close of the nineteenth century, the stakes for determining Armenian identity had grown dramatically, with Armenians grappling with new definitions of "home" in diasporic contexts. The 1890s onwards saw the emergence of scholarly networks and political activism outside the homeland. This development was particularly marked in France, a place significant for both debating and circulating Armenian literature and music to French audiences and for its ever-expanding Armenian community. In the hands of literati at the forefront of the Armenian national liberation movement, symbols of identity were shifting to European modernity for political and aesthetic ends. In these years, there was an increasing division and awareness between the two faces of Armenian identity: European and Ottoman.

As pogroms intensified in Central Asia (1894–1896) and revolutionary fervor gripped Russia (1905 and 1917), a steady flow of Armenians left the homeland, and the number of Armenian émigrés in France grew dramatically, resulting in active literary and musical scenes as well as new markets promoting Armenian identity. Paris—and to a lesser extent, Marseille and Lyon—led in these respects.[1] France-based Armenians increasingly negotiated their "authentic" national identity within the cosmopolitan European public sphere.[2] Unlike the previous chapter, which privileged Komitas (a single Armenian voice), this chapter shows the participation of multiple voices—and in particular, those of non-Armenians—in the discourses and creation of Armenian music in the first decades of the twentieth century.

[1] Armenian immigration into France was largely from the Ottoman Empire. A. K. Abrahamian, "La colonie arménienne de Paris," *Hamarod ouvakitz hai kaghtakanéri badmoutian* [*Bref aperçu de l'histoire des émigrés arméniens*] (Yerevan, 1969), 155-171.

[2] Martin Stokes described this tension between musical cosmopolitanism in Martin Stokes, "On Musical Cosmopolitanism," *The Macalester International Roundtable 2007*. Paper 3. Available at: http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/intlrdtable/3, 1-19 (accessed 20 August 2021).

I argue that French and Armenian musicians and scholars in France at the turn of the century played a critical role in shaping discourses about "authentic" Armenian identity and the ambivalent nature of Ottoman/Turkish versus European representations of Armenian music. This chapter reveals the presence of extensive social and cultural networks connecting musicologists, philologists, and musicians whose various institutional hubs circulated knowledge of Armenian music and its practice. Interactions between these actors took many forms, and their ideas circulated through multiple avenues: popular (magazines, newsletters, newspapers) and scholarly publications (monographs, articles, and reviews), prefatory material and annotations in musical scores, and concert materials.[3]

2.1. Popular Publications

In the July 16, 1904 issue of the French popular daily *Le Figaro*, readers were introduced to an Armenian folksong, "Les larmes de l'Arax" ("The Tears of Arax"), harmonized by the then little-known Schola Cantorum-trained Armenian musician, Krikor Proff-Kalfaian (1873–1949).[4] Placed in the daily's recurrent section *Notre page musicale*, the folksong referred to the river Arax (a culturally significant symbol). The folksong lamented this landmark traversing the Russian, Ottoman, and Persian Empires.[5] Labeled "chant populaire arménien," Proff-Kalfaian's version was not the first encounter that *Le Figaro's* readership would have had with this particular folksong. Four years prior, on June 23, 1900, another version of the same folksong had

[3] My use of "network" is informed by Benjamin Piekut's musicological reading of Bruno Latour's methodology of "Actor-Network-Theory" where networks comprise not just of individuals, but must also attend to the "inscriptions, institutions, technologies, media, and performances" that "mediate" the circulation of ideas. Benjamin Piekut, "Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques," *Twentieth-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (September 2014), 191-215.

[4] Hasmig Injejikian, *Vocal Art of Armenian Composers: The Swallow Rebuilds Its Nest*, (Montreal: Hasmig Injejikian, 2019), xiv.

[5] According to Ronald Suny, charting the course of the Ararat plains, the river Arax not only divided the Russian from the Ottoman Empire but operated, for some cartographers of the nineteenth century, as the arbitrary dividing line between Europe and Asia. Suny, *Looking toward Ararat*, 63.

been published in *Le Figaro*'s *Notre page musicale*, offered by another collector and transcriber, Léon Eghiasarian (life dates unknown). Eghiasarian's version was harmonized by the prominent French composer Vincent d'Indy (1851–1931).[6] The folksong appeared alongside a feature article advertising Eghiasarian's first volume of Armenian folksongs published in France that year (1900). In the collection, the originally monophonic folksongs had all been provided with harmonizations by French composers such as d'Indy, Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray (1840–1910), and Ernst Reyer (1823–1909).[7]

In the *Notre page musicale* article accompanying Proff-Kalfaian's version of the folksong four years later, René Lara recalled that contribution by Eghiasarian in 1900, noting surface-level differences between the two. A comparative musicologist, Lara argued the ethnographic contexts (mainly, where they were collected) produced vastly different musical results. According to Lara, Eghiasarian's selection had been recorded in Ottoman Armenia, whereas Proff-Kalfaian initially encountered and recorded the song among musicians in the Russian Empire. Lara pointed to Proff-Kalfaian's claim printed on his score, "*version inédite d'après les Arméniens de Russie.*"[8] The musical disparities were not limited to melody alone, according to Lara, but also in the harmonic treatment of these melodies. The Russian-Armenian folksong was set in minor mode, whereas the Turkish-Armenian folksong was in major. To Lara, although Eghiasarian's earlier folksong was "less characteristic of the Armenian style," both selections displayed the

[6] The music of Eghiasarian's version was set to the poetry of Raphael Patkanian (1830–1892), who worked under the pseudonym Gamar Kathiba. This name appears emblazoned on the score of the *Le Figaro* issue. René Lara, "Notre page musicale," *Le Figaro* 46, no. 174 (1900), 2.
[7] Léon Eghiasarian, *Recueil de chants populaires arméniens* (Paris, Costallat, 1900).
[8] René Lara, "Notre page musicale," *Le Figaro* 50 no. 188 (1904), 6.

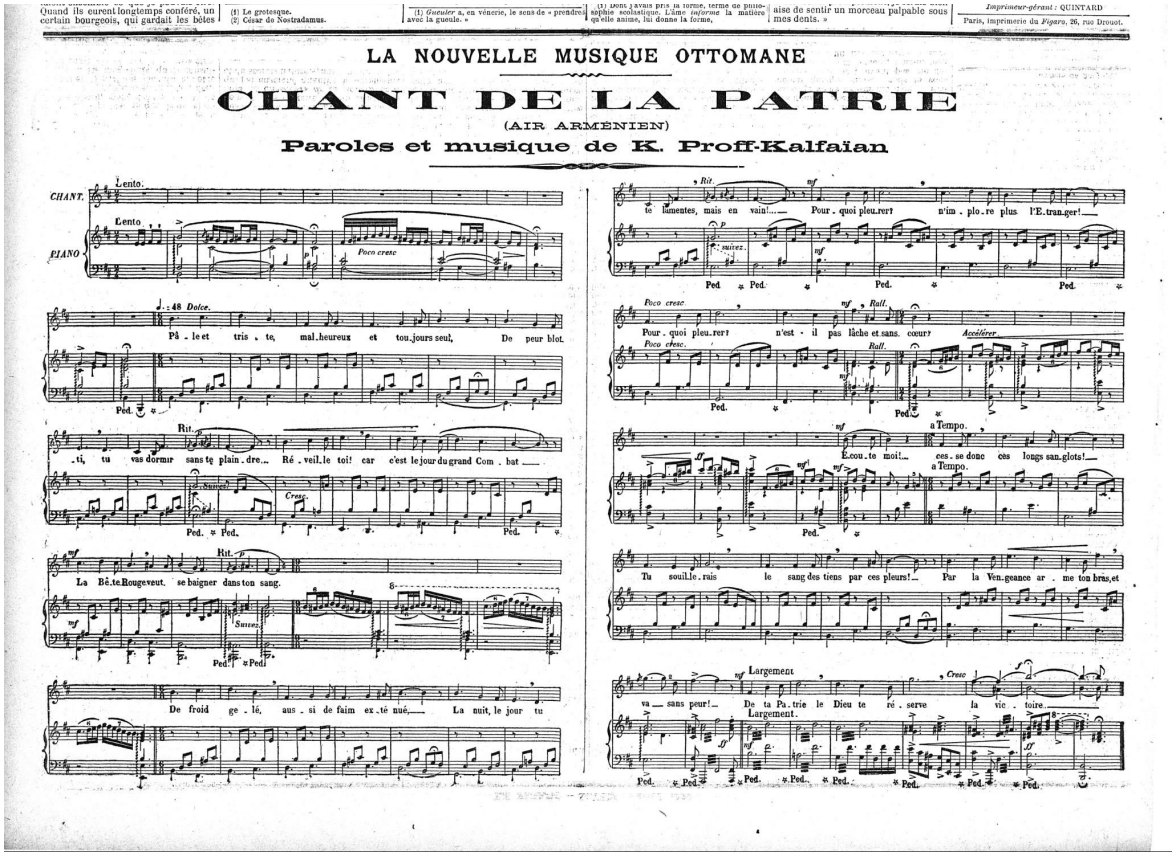
hallmarks of "the same *oriental* spirit" typified by "bizarre tones and divisions of scales ['*gammes*'] so different from our own."[9]

Komitas critiqued Eghiasarian's collection in an article published in *Ararat*, a monthly periodical in Echmiadzin. He argued that Eghiasarian's arrangement of "Les larmes de l'Arax" was "simply a Protestant Church chorale, which, with its impassive coldness characteristic of the people of the North, cannot convey the ardent sentiments of an Armenian, an *Easterner*, and certainly cannot be considered a folksong," by which he meant a folksong authentic to Armenian culture.[10] Indeed, European harmonization led to these musical and cultural differences being homogenized, specifically for readers of *Le Figaro* accustomed to foreign (non-Western) folksong arrangements in the years immediately following the World's Fairs of 1889 and 1900.[11]

Four years after Proff-Kalfaian first published "Les larmes de l'Arax," he presented another piece for voice and piano, this one with a generic title, *chant de la Patrie (air arménien)*, accompanied by the descriptor "la nouvelle musique ottomane" [**Ex. 2.1**].[12] Proff-Kalfaian also published his harmonized folksongs in other French periodicals, including *La Revue musicale*

[9] "L'une et l'autre, pourtant, issues de l'ambiance orientale, imprégnées d'une poésie étrangère et pénétrante, indiquent, en dépit de leurs tonalités bizarres, des divisions de gammes si différentes des nôtres..." Lara, "Notre page musicale," (1904), 2. (Emphasis on "oriental" mine).
[10] Komitas, "Book Review, Recueil des chants populaires arméniens," 167-68. (Emphasis on "Easterner" mine).
[11] Beginning in 1895, the "Notre page musicale" segment offered *Le Figaro's* readers brief scores and accompanying articles describing the music. The music was published almost exclusively in a piano-vocal or piano arrangement and appeared weekly in each Friday issue. According to the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* online database, "Notre page musicale" first appeared in December of 1895. *Le Figaro* also had another weekly, entitled *Le Figaro musical*, a short-lived publication (1891-1894), which preceded "Notre page musicale." Each issue featured several scores—anywhere between 10 to 15—with a specific section called "variétés et curiosités musicales" reserved for exotic songs and French folksongs.
[12] Proff-Kalfaian's 1908 offering was likely not a folksong as the score does not use terms associated with folksong. It is accompanied by the text "Paroles et musique de K. Proff-Kalfaian." René Lara, "Notre page musicale," *Le Figaro: Supplément littéraire* 4, no. 33 (1908), 4.

(1905) and lesser-known publications like *La Revue du bien*, where he published articles alongside his folksong harmonizations.[13]

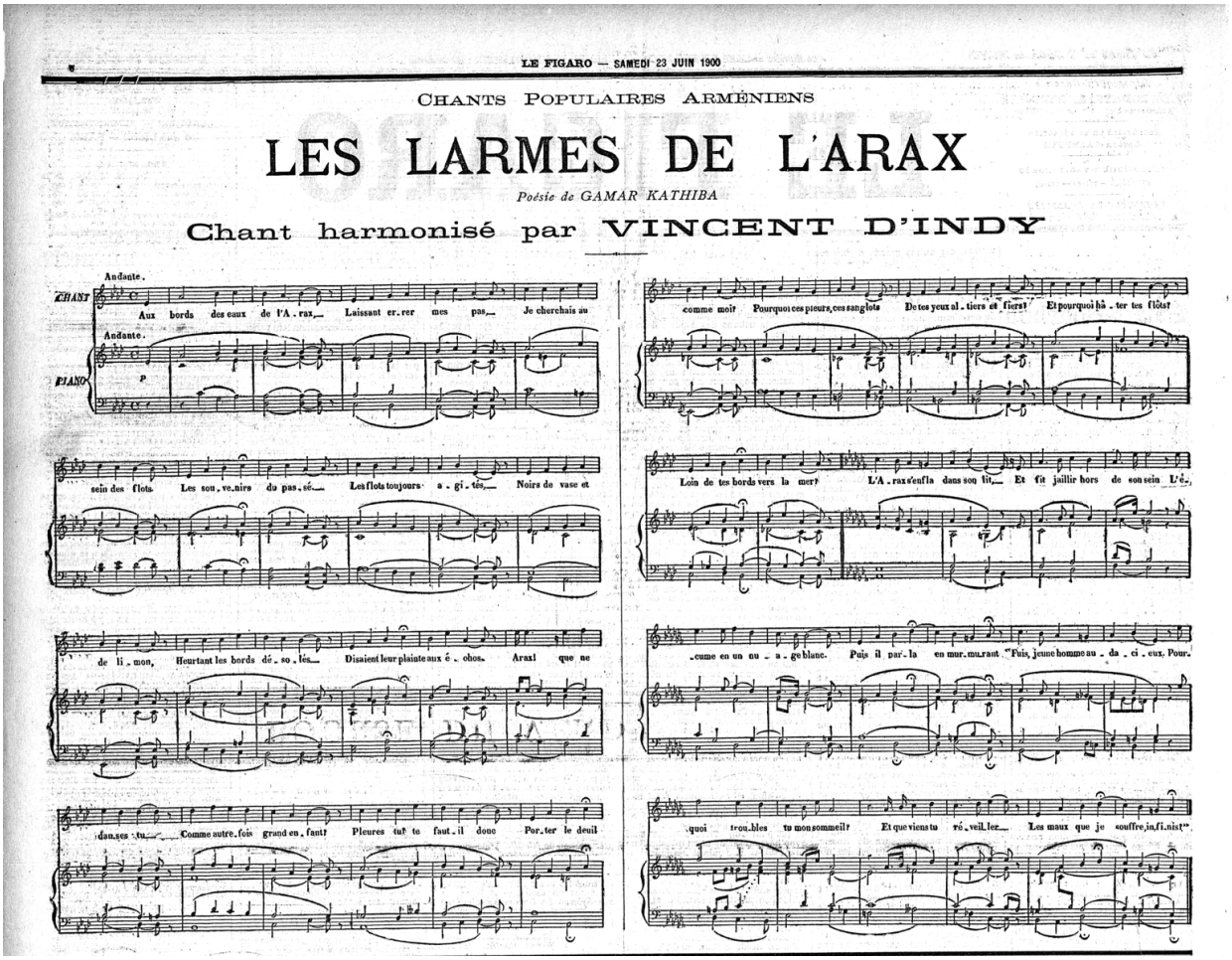


Ex. 2.1: "La Nouvelle musique ottomane: Chant de la patrie, Air arménien," published in *Le Figaro*. Image courtesy of the *BnF Gallica.*

Lara's *Notre page musicale* (tied to the sheet music industry) fed the then interest in domestic music-making among France's middle and upper classes. The publication of brief musical arrangements—harmonized folksongs, operatic reductions, and character pieces—allowed amateur readers/musicians to consume, perform, and potentially collect these short and straightforward arrangements.[14] With accompanying commentaries, these scores invited amateur

[13] Krikor Proff-Kalfaian, "Hymne à Chavarchan," *La Revue musicale* 5, no. 157 (1905, supplément): 194-95. Also see Krikor Proff-Kalfaian, "L'Art Arménien," *La Revue du bien dans la vie et dans l'art: Organe littéraire et illustré de toutes les belles et bonnes œuvres* 4, no. 7 (1904), 13-16.
[14] Stewart, *On Longing*, 138.

musicians to read Lara's findings about the musical scores, thus encouraging what Jann Pasler termed a kind of amateur/"citizen musicology."[15] The folksongs were essentially monophonic pieces with basic harmonic accompaniments. In the case of the earliest version (Eghiasarian, 1900), d'Indy simply doubled the voice part with the right hand of the piano part [**Ex. 2.2**]. Note that the accompaniment's transparent texture does not overwhelm the vocal part.



Ex. 2.2: "Les larmes de l'Arax harmonisé par Vincent d'Indy," collected by Léon Eghiasarian. Image courtesy of the *BnF*. René Lara, "Notre page musicale," *Le Figaro* 46, no. 174 (23 juin 1900), 2.

[15] Jan Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

This chapter shows that the folksongs' inclusion in *Le Figaro* did not occur in a vacuum; instead, they participated in and set specific cultural trends in *fin-de-siècle* France. For instance, the French interest in folksongs offered Armenian scholars and collectors a path to publish their ethnic music beyond its borders. In some ways, Armenian folksongs benefited from the transnational context and cultural capital associated with France (and Western Europe more broadly) and the work of the French musicologists who curated these selections. Interest in Armenian music among French scholars stimulated the development of early French approaches to musicology and comparative musicology, with Armenian music included in both folk and early music discourses.[16]

The absence of a national infrastructure in the Armenian homeland due to Ottoman and Russian control over minority groups and potentially emergent [micro]nationalities meant that transnational and diasporic networks outside Armenia became more important for shaping Armenian music discourses in the early years of the twentieth century. This, in turn, left a deep imprint on the century to come. These discourses were informed by the work of Armenian scholars and musicians, and by their interactions with Western European scholars and composers. Three factors contributed to the rise and tone of these narratives: (a) the presence of a well-developed Armenian cultural, intellectual, and artistic network; (b) the development of French musicological studies and related institutions; and (c) the general French curiosity about "exotic" locales and orientalist representations.

The musical and ethnographic sources I present in this chapter illustrate the two faces of Armenian identity: European and Ottoman. Viewed by Armenian and Western literati as dialectical and ambivalent, these framings have since deeply colored understandings of

[16] Katharine Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in 19th Century France* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

Armenian identity.[17] My argument unfolds in three sections. The first is contextual, addressing the place of Armenians in France in the nineteenth century, which produced an intelligentsia responsible for communicating "Armenianness" to their Western European host. The two subsequent sections showcase two different genres of Armenian music published in France in the first decades of the twentieth century. Both sections analyze French intellectual investment in Armenian music. The first section presents the participation and writings of French musicologists on Armenian folk music collections. I examine Pierre Aubry's (1874–1910) research on Armenian chant (and to a much lesser degree, folk music) from his ethnographic excursions to Russian Armenia. I also investigate the contents and division of labour involved in the publication of Galoust Boyadjian's *Chansons populaires arméniennes* (1904). I end this section with a brief discussion of the folk music fragments included in Louis Laloy's (1874–1944) *Le Mercure musical* in late 1906. I show the difference between Boyadjian's collection (harmonized and arguably "safe" for commercial consumption by music amateurs) and the unharmonized versions of Armenian folk music in Laloy's publication, which were meant for close musicological analysis.

The final section diverges from realist/folk representations of Armenian music. I consider the 1914 opera *La Giaour* (*Infidèle*), which involves neither an Armenian author nor collector, but appropriates an Armenian plot at the heart of its story. Composed by the Frenchman Marc Delmas (1885–1931), this original composition is an orientalist depiction of Armenia and the themes of violence and exile associated with popular French conceptions of late nineteenth-century Armenia. I analyze the compositional devices Delmas used to represent his characters. Delmas's setting of Armenian signifiers in his opera resembles some musical characteristics in

[17] Anahid Kassabian discussed the drawbacks of these dialectical tensions, which favor European representations of Armenian music at the expense of Central Asian/Turkish musical signifiers. Kassabian, *Ubiquitous Listening*, 20-32.

published Armenian folksong harmonizations. Although Delmas's work predictably engages in stereotypes, it is also an understudied example of Armenian influence on Western art music, likely due to transnational, cultural, and musical discourses that flourished in the first decades of the twentieth century.

2.2. Armenian Infrastructure in Nineteenth-Century France

By the late nineteenth century, a certain symbiosis between Armenian and French cultures could be detected in Paris. Symbiosis is the operative word here, as these cultural connections went both ways and reflected the musical sources of that time. From the Armenian perspective, France helped reinforce a Europeanized sense of Armenian identity. This sense spread to large Armenian diaspora communities in far-flung cities such as Constantinople, St. Petersburg, and Tiflis. Meanwhile, from a French perspective, the new availability of Armenian musical artifacts (such as folksong) added to emergent scholarly discourse about Armenia (typified by the *mouvement arménophile*), a recent branch of what was known as the study of oriental languages and cultures. Through scholars' and advocates' work—whether French or Armenian—Europeans learned about Armenia. This awareness led generally to greater sympathy to Armenian welfare, with particular attention directed to Armenians in the Ottoman provinces. Such sympathy became a feature of Armenian discourses in the West, irrespective of field. European scholars of music (like their counterparts in literature and political science) discussed the pogroms in Armenia and incorporated these into their scholarship.

Over the nineteenth century, large numbers of Armenians settled in France permanently. Their emigration coincided with Napoleon's campaigns in Egypt (1798–1801), which led Christian minorities to flee in fear of Muslim reprisals. Under the Second Empire (1852–1870), Paris became an important center of Armenian intellectual life abroad and set the tone for

Western European influence in the homeland. New institutions of higher education that attracted high numbers of Armenians and nationally motivated publications such as *L'Arménie: journal politique et littéraire* (1899–1905) and *Pro Armenia* (1900–1914), among others (see Table 2.1), became increasingly common in Paris and Marseilles. In the years following 1839, a period of relative stability in the Western Armenian provinces, wealthy Armenian families sent their children to France where they enrolled in lycées, institutes, and universities and formed Armenian societies.[18]

One such institution was *le college Samuel Moorat*, which saw Armenian students from the two Empires as well as Armenians based in Persia, Egypt, and India receive their education in France.[19] Founded by the Mekhitarist Order in 1846 and based in Sèvres, the *Moorat* school boasted faculties in medicine, architecture, engineering, and law. Alongside their professional training in the school, the students adopted Western culture and approaches to politics. Upon graduating and returning home, they transplanted Western ideas to the Western Armenian provinces from which they originated. Other literati-driven Armenian communities in France included *La Société araratienne* [*Araratian enguéroutioun*], which formed in 1849 with the overt objective of "bringing the Armenian people into the path of progress and westernization" ["*les objectives sont de faire entrer le peuple arménien dans la voie du progrès et de l'occidentalisation*"].[20] From the 1850s onwards, *Moorat* school graduates and the members of *La Société araratienne* formed and provided the bulk of members of the "Armenian Renaissance [*Veratsnount*]." This organization was responsible for redefining the Armenian language,

[18] James Etmekjian, *The French Influence on the Western Armenian Renaissance, 1843-1915* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1964), 95.
[19] Rouben Adalian, *From Humanism to Rationalism: Armenian Scholarship in the 19th Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992).
[20] Anahide Ter Minassian, *Histoires croisées: Diaspora, Arménie, Transcaucasie, 1880-1990* (Paris: Éditions Parenthèses, 1997), 51.

steering it away from the religious dialect and to a more modern vernacular.[21] During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Armenian students educated in Europe who had observed the 1848 revolutionary uprisings harnessed a similar fervor to building a secular Armenian intelligentsia to replace the Armenian Church's long grip in that domain.

French institutions started to include Armenian studies in their curricula in the final years of the First French Empire (1804–1815). The founding of *l'École nationale des langues orientales vivantes* coincided with Napoleon's excursions in the Middle East and North Africa. By the end of his reign in 1812, the school had created a chair of Armenian studies, producing a new subdiscipline of scholars who referred to themselves as "Armenophiles" or "Arménistes."[22] Those who held the chairship included Frederic Macler (1869–1938), who wrote extensively on Armenian literature. Among his many Armenian writings, *La France et L'Arménie à travers l'art et l'histoire* (1917) surveyed Armenian history (covering early Christendom to the early twentieth century) as well as brief descriptions of fine art and musical contributions of contemporary Armenians (including Komitas). He also addressed contemporary literary contributions, such as the work of the poet and writer Archag Tchobanian (1872–1954).[23]

Anahide Ter Minassian found that between 1855 and 1918, thirty-one Armenian periodicals circulated in France.[24] Based principally in Paris, many of these publications were aligned with diasporic political parties that shared the goal of national mobilization, albeit to be

[21] For more context regarding the Armenian Renaissance generation, see Etmekjian, *The French Influence on the Western Armenian Renaissance*, 97-99,
[22] Frédéric Macler, "La Chaire d'arménien à L'École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes," *La Revue internationale de l'enseignement* 63 (1912): 8.
[23] Tchobanian experienced fame in France as a Franco-Armenian poet laureate. Among composers to use his texts included René Lenormand (1846–1932), Georges Sporck (1870–1943), Henri-Moreau Febvre (fl. 1908–1922), and perhaps most famously, Arthur Honegger (1892–1955).
[24] Ter Minassian, *Histoires croisées*, 54.

achieved through varying means.[25] These journals also reflected Armenian interest in the humanities, which prompted the organization of more societies in the early-to-mid twentieth century. One example was the *Société des gens de lettres arméniens* (founded in 1901), among whose members was the prominent Tchobanian. The objectives of this society were to (a) supply moral, ethical, and material aid to its members and those displaced from the Ottoman and Russian Empires; (b) introduce Armenian writing and culture to the French population; and (c) present French language and culture to the Armenian people and its eastern neighbors.[26] The society presented annual literary prizes to promote the creation of new Armenian literature. It also organized lectures illustrating the French literary impact on Armenian writings, such as Tchobanian's lecture "Victor Hugo et le peuple arménien" (1935).[27] Decades earlier, in the leadup to the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, the influential Tchobanian had written a paean to his newly adopted home in a poem entitled "Ode à la France." The poem was published in both French and Armenian and included in the *Almanach Franco-Arménien*.[28]

A significant number of the Armenian community in France were well-educated. By the turn of the century, France had a population of roughly four thousand Armenians (approximately

[25] Three of the major political parties included the Armenagan party (founded in Van in 1885), the Hnchak party (founded in Geneva in 1887), and the Dashnaktsutiun (founded in Tiflis in 1890). Each party had representatives in Paris and their own periodical published in France: *Pro-Armenia* (Dashnaktsutiun), *Armenia* (Armenagan), and *Hntchak* (Hnchak). See Lousie Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Development of Armenian Political Parties through the 19th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967) and Anahide Ter Minassian, *Nationalism and Socialism in the Armenian Revolutionary Movement*, trans A. M. Berrett (Cambridge: The Zoryan Institute, 1984).

[26] Tchobanian actively translated French literary works into Armenian, including novels by Alphonse Daudet, Émile Zola, Guy de Maupassant, and Gustave Flaubert. Armen Kalfayan, "Arshag Tchobanian, Armenian poet and scholar," *Books Abroad* 10, no. 2 (1936): 147.

[27] "La Société des gens de lettres arméniens organisé le 22 juin, à 20 h 30, à la Salle de Géographie, 184, boulevard Saint-Germain, un festival littéraire franco-arménien en l'honneur de Victor Hugo, sous la président de M. Fernand Gregh, vice-président de la Fondation Victor-Hugo. Le programme comprend une partie artistique et une conférence de M. A. Tchobanian: "Victor Hugo et le people arménien." Taken from a newspaper advertisement in *Le Matin*: "Une manifestation arménienne en l'honneur en Victor Hugo," *Le Matin* 52, no. 18,716 (1935), 7B.

[28] Archag Tchobanian, *Almanach Franco-Arménien/Parizihai darets'uts'* (Paris: Imprimerie G. H. Nerces, 1919).

three thousand residing in Paris).[29] Many, if not most, came from the educated middle or upper-middle classes. With the arrival of Armenian students in the mid-nineteenth century and the influx of Armenians (like Tchobanian) following the Hamidean massacres (cf. 1890), the literati experienced a profound insecurity about the community's identity. This led them to express and convey ideas of the old *patrie* to their French hosts through their writings and creative work.[30] In Table 2.1, I provide a list of Armenian periodicals based in France in which Armenian music, literature, poetry, and political discourses appeared during this period. They circulated at a time when Armenian music was gaining increasing traction among Western European/French musicologists. I present this historical context to support my contentions that Armenian music was being represented in a particular light by French musicologists such as Pierre Aubry and Louis Laloy. Their work helped lay the foundation of European and contemporary Armenian dialectical perceptions of Armenian music as either European or Ottoman.

[29] Approximately three thousand Armenians lived in Paris and another five or six hundred had settled in Marseille. J. Mathorez, "Les Arméniens en France de 1789 à nos jours," *Revue des études arméniennes* 2, no. 2 (1922), 307. Also see Aida Boudjikanian-Keuroghlian, "Un peuple en exil: La Nouvelle diaspora (XIXe-XXe siècles)," in *Histoire des Arméniens*, ed. Gerard Dedeyan (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1982): 601-68.
[30] Maud Mandel, *In the Aftermath of Genocide: Armenians and Jews in Twentieth-Century France* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 26.

2.1. PRINCIPAL ARMENIAN PERIODICALS IN FRANCE BETWEEN 1855–1920

PUBLICATION	DATES	PLACE	BRIEF PRÉCIS/BACKGROUND
Arévelk [*Orient*]	1855-56	Paris	Writings of Stépan Voskan; early development of Armenian political thought.
Maciats Aghavni [Le colombe du Massis]	1855-1865	Paris	Monthly review published in French and Armenian.
Arévmoudk [*Occident*]	1859 and 1864-65	Paris	Writings of Stépan Voskan; early development of Armenian political thought.
Armenia	1885-1923	Marseille	Founded by Meghertitch Portugalian (1848-1921). Inspired by Bulgarian independence from the Ottoman Empire (ESTD. 5 October 1908).[31]
Hintchak		Geneva	Organ of the social-democratic party, the Hunchaks.[32]
Anahit	1898-1949	Paris	The contents of *Anahit* intended to "bring to light the literary and artistic treasures of old and new Armenia; second, to give, in Armenian, selected pages from the most noteworthy writers then living. It is significant that contemporary poets like Mistral, Verlaine, Heredia, Mallarmé and Moréas were given much space."[33] Monthly publication edited by Archag Tchobanian, in circulation until 1949.
L'Arménie : journal politique et littéraire	1899-1905	Paris	Monthly journal under the directorship of Minas Tchéraz.
Pro Armenia	1900-14	Paris	*Pro Armenia* was the product of French Armenophiles. The publication appeared on a bi-monthly basis. The publication changed its name in 1912 to *Pour les peuples d'Orient*.
Jamanak [Temps]	1901-02	Paris	Literary review
Coutan [Charrue]		Paris	A review that discussed the arts, sciences, and agriculture.
Joghovourtine hamar ["Pour le peuple"]	1901	Paris	Review of Armenian issues and discussions of literature
Groung: Revue artistique arménienne	1904-05	Paris	Founded by Krikor Proff-Kalfaïan. Vincent d'Indy wrote to Proff-Kalfaian on the eve of the first publication (dated 5 November 1904): "It is with great pleasure that I accept to be part of your patronage committee for your artistic journal, *Groung.* I am convinced that you will only propagate pure and elevated ideas of art."[34]
Asbariz	1905-10	Paris	Short -lived journal.

[31] Ter Minassian, *Histoires croisées*, 54.
[32] Khachig Tölölyan, "Rethinking *Diaspora(s)*: Stateless Power in the Transnational Moment," *Diaspora* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1996), 6.
[33] Kalfayan, "Arshag Tchobanian, Armenian Poet and Scholar," 148.
[34] Vincent d'Indy, *Vincent d'Indy to Proff-Kalfaian, November 5, 1904*. Letter. From *Groung: La Revue musicale arménienne de Paris.* http://www.globalarmenianheritage-adic.fr/fr/5culture/musique/8_groung0.htm (accessed March 11, 2021).

Echo arménien	1905-07	Paris	Literary and satirical journal.
Khetan ("Alguillon")	1915-31	Marseille	Official organ for Armenians under the French flag [organe des volontaires arméniens sous les drapeaux français] edited by Aram Turabian.
Artzakank Parisi [*L'écho de Paris*]	1916-25	Paris	Literary review and periodical
Société France-Arménie		Paris	Founded in 1916 as one section of the Amintiés Franco-Étrangères. A propaganda organization that educated the French population of the plight of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Once the war ended, the *Société* transformed into a new organization, the *Association Franco-Arménienne*.[35]
Veratsnount [Renaissance]	1917-21	Paris	Under the stewardship of Tchobanian, the articles feature discussions from the Armenophile movement.[36]
La voix de l'Arménie	1918-19	Paris	Bi-monthly review assembled by the *Délégation nationale arménienne*
Les revue des études arméniennes	1920-33	Paris	Quarterly publication and the official organ of the "Société des études arméniennes" whose editorial board comprised of most of the Armenological, Orientalist, and Byzantinist scholars of the time.

2.3. ARMENIAN MUSIC IN EARLY FRENCH COMPARATIVE MUSICOLOGY: 1900–1910

Armenian music entered European musicological discourse in a significant way via Komitas's contribution to the inaugural *Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* (1899) conference, subsequently included in Oskar Fleischer's edited proceedings.[37] Komitas's article, "Die Armenische Kirchenmusik," was written at the end of his three-year stay in Berlin, where he had studied alongside the German architects of the then-new "International Music Society."[38] Following the publication of Komitas's article, *La Société internationale de musique* (the French

[35] Claire Mouradian, "Arménien: La vitalité d'une presse en diaspora," in *Collectif, presse et mémoire: France des étrangers, France des libertés* (Paris: Éditions Ouvrières, 1990), 40.
[36] Ter Minassian, *Histoire croisées*, 57-58.
[37] Komitas's article focused on the Armenian tetrachordal system. Adopting the European system of notation—rather than the Armenian neume system—he explained the distances between the various tetrachordal combinations and discussed intervallic relationships between tones. Komitas Keworkian, "Die Armenische Kirchenmusik I. das Interpunktionssystem der Armenier," in *Sammelbände der Internationale Musikgesellschaft Jahre 1* (November 1899), 54-64.
[38] Robert Atayan, Armineh Grigorian, and Aram Kerovpyan, "Komitas Vardapet," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online,* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/ (accessed August 20, 2021).

chapter of the Society) as well as *Le Mercure musical* (1905) ran articles about and score excerpts of Armenian music with greater regularity than before, often incorporating Komitas's findings into these with the help of translations into French by Tchobanian.[39] Armenian music was publicized in *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais* (an official publication of the Schola Cantorum) and *Le Ménestrel*, as well as by music publishing companies E. Demets and Maurice Sénart, which featured Armenian folksongs among their offerings. For instance, E. Demets published Komitas's *La Lyre arménienne: Recueil de chansons rustiques* (1906) and Galoust Boyadjian's *Chants populaires arméniennes* (1904).[40] In the 1920s, Maurice Sénart produced multiple volumes of Komitas's music under *Le Comité de Rév. Père Komitas* (including the *Danses* suite discussed in chapter 1).[41]

The French scholars most involved in Armenian music included Pierre Aubry, Julien Tiersot (1857–1936), and Louis Laloy. They wrote prefatory material in folk music collections as well as articles emphasizing ethnographic findings.[42] Their scholarly interests included a belief in adding Western harmonies to what they perceived as "authentic" and exotic folksongs. In their discussions regarding the "authenticity" of Armenian folk music, they often discussed the tensions and ambivalence of European and Turkish influences that had long marked

[39] Armenian articles published at this time include the following: (a) Komitas Vartabed, "Quatre mélodies arméniennes," *Le Mercure musical* 2, no. 21-22 (1906): 310-12; (b) Archag Tchobanian, "Musique et poésie arméniennes," *Le Mercure musical* 2, no. 23-24 (1906): 377-382; (c) Leon Eghiasarian, *Recueil de chants populaires arméniens* (Paris: Costallat, 1900); (d) Pierre Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais bulletin mensuel de la Schola Cantorum* 8, no. 1-2 (1902): 23-38; (e) Komitas Keworkian, "La Musique rustique arménienne," *S.I.M. Revue musicale mensuelle* 3, no. 2 (1907): 472-90; (f) Nahabed Koutchak, "Vieux chants arméniens," *La Revue blanche* 23 (1901): 217-221; and (g) Frédéric Macler, *La musique en Arménie* (Paris: Nourry, 1917).

[40] Galoust Boyadjian, *Chants populaires arméniens* (Paris: Demets, 1904). Also see Komitas Wartabet, *La Lyre arménienne recueil de chansons rustiques transcrites et harmonisées par Komitas Wardapet traduction française des paroles par Archag Tchobanian* (Paris: E. Demets, 1906).

[41] *Le Comité de Rév. Père Komitas* published multiple volumes of Komitas's works during the 1920s. The premiere volume (*Cahier I)* was the piano suite, *Danses*.

[42] Carl Thompson, "Nineteenth-Century Travel Writing," in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, eds. Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 123.

Armenian social and cultural history. These French musicologists often performed the role of cultural gatekeepers in their interactions with Armenians within and outside of France. One example was Pierre Aubry, who conducted fieldwork in Echmiadzin.

2.3.1. Pierre Aubry's *Le systeme musical de l'Église Armenienne* (1901) and Fieldwork Diplomacy

Pierre Aubry (1874–1910) trained in philology (1892) and law (1894). Primarily a musicologist and philologist who researched early music (including the music of troubadours and trouvères), he became an *archiviste paléographe* at the École des Chartes in Paris studying under Gaston Paris (1839–1903).[43] Aubry taught at several French institutions including the Institut Catholique, the École des hautes études sociales, as well as the Schola Cantorum.[44] In his career, Aubry avowed his own version for a "philologie de la musique" that combined philology with musicology. His disciplinary interests reflected his time at the *Institut Catholique* (an educational institution with close ties to the Schola Cantorum), where in 1898, he offered a popular course on medieval musicology.[45] Following two years at the *l'École nationale des langues orientales vivantes*, Aubry earned a diploma in the Armenian language (1900) for his journey to Central Asia to conduct fieldwork. He wrote articles about Armenian church music as well as the music of the Tajiks and Sarts of Turkestan.[46] His interest in Armenian culture was inspired by his

[43] Ian Bent, "Aubry, Pierre," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online,* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/ (accessed July 13, 2021).
[44] Michel Duchesneau, "French Musicology and the Musical Press (1900-14): The Case of *La Revue musicale*, *Le Mercure musical* and *La Revue musicale SIM*," *The Royal Musical Association* (2015): 253.
[45] According to Katherine Bergeron, this course purportedly "introduced the word [musicologie] to the French language." Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 92.
[46] Bent, "Aubry, Pierre," (accessed July 13, 2021).

comparative musicological and comparative philological research focusing on Indo-European cultures.[47]

Aubry's 1901 fieldwork excursion to Armenia resulted in a series of articles published by the Schola Cantorum in its *La Tribune de Saint-Gervais*.[48] His findings were sourced from his stay at the Kevorkian Jemaran in Echmiadzin (cf. chapter 1), where he chronicled Armenia's sacred and folk music traditions and the place of music instruction at the institution. Aubry described attending events featuring music and how these experiences corresponded with or challenged his preconceived beliefs cultivated in France. Unfortunately, he did not include music scores or other material evidence in his writings, making it difficult to evaluate his opinions.

Aubry's connection to the Schola Cantorum in Paris influenced his perspective on music education in the Jemaran. Both institutions preserved the traditions and practices of plainchant: the Schola, those of the Benedictine monks of Solesmes; likewise, the Jemaran steadfastly preserved and standardized Armenian chant traditions. Both institutions required students to participate in choral groups, with Gregorian and Armenian chant choirs forming an indispensable part of each curriculum.[49] Like the Schola, the curriculum of the Jemaran produced generations of cantors and music directors who spread out to work in Armenian churches in the Russian and Ottoman Empires. Julien Tiersot claimed these cantors were responsible for maintaining a "unitary chant practice" across the Armenian territories.[50] In many ways, Aubry's commitment

[47] Peter Asimov, "Comparative Philology, French Music, and the Composition of Indo-Europeanism from Fétis to Messiaen" (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 2020), 95-6.
[48] In addition to visiting Armenia, Aubry (alongside his travel companion Gaston Duval) travelled to Turkestan, a trip which yielded fieldwork independent from his Armenian findings. John Haines, "Introduction: Musique et littérature au Moyen Âge: héritage et témoignage des travaux de Pierre Aubry et Jean Beck," *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes: Musique et littérature au Moyen Âge* 26 (2013): 4.
[49] Catrina Flint, "Schola Cantorum, Early Music and French Popular Culture, from 1894 to 1914 Volume 1" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2006), 5.
[50] Julien Tiersot, "Quelques mots sur les musiques de l'Asie Centrale les chants de l'Arménie," *Le Ménestrel* 67, no. 40 (1901): 316.

to understanding Armenian chant was a natural extension of his work in France, where he had coined the term "sacred musicology" [musicologie sacrée] in his work on Gregorian chants of the Benedictine monks of Solesmes.[51] In the Jemaran, Aubry witnessed a musical corpus that—to his way of thinking—existed parallel to Gregorian chant practice, though what he witnessed in the classroom and in actual performances were not always consistent with each other.[52]

Aubry's initial contributions to *La Tribune* read as a travelogue (rather than scholarship) and offer a glimpse into the diplomatic connections that facilitated his journey from France to the Caucasus.[53] For the journey, Aubry received French governmental approval in the form of authorization from the *comité des missions scientifiques.*[54] He included his application proposal to the *comité* in his first article: "M. Pierre Aubry, *archiviste paléographe*, and graduate of the *l'École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes*, is going on a mission to Armenia for the express purpose of researching popular and religious songs of Armenians, principally studying their relationship to musics of other Indo-European races."[55] Upon submitting this request, Aubry received official authorization from the *ministre des Affaires étrangères*, which also put him in touch with diplomatic and consular agents in Russia and Turkestan. In addition to travel documents, Aubry carried with him three letters of introduction from M. de Montebello, the French Ambassador in St. Petersburg, for the Governor General of the Caucasus (H. E. Prince

[51] Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments*, 93-94.
[52] Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 24.
[53] Aubry's fieldwork excursion to Russian Armenia transpired when France held favorable relations with the Russian Empire. According to Elaine Foshko, during the decade following its defeat to Prussia, France boasted a relatively strong economy and a keenness to cultivate allies through money lending at low-interest rates. An increasingly unsteady relationship between the Germanic lands and Russia motivated increased contact between Russia and France in the last decades of the nineteenth century. See Elain Foshko, "France's Russian Moment: Russian Émigrés in Interwar Paris and French Society" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2008), 30.
[54] "Or la science, à l'étranger, vaut autant qu'elle est plus officielle." In Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 24.
[55] "M. Pierre Aubry, archiviste-paléographe, diplômé de l'École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, d'une mission en Arménie à l'effet d'y poursuivre des recherches sur les chants populaires et religieux des Arméniens, étudiés principalement dans leurs rapports avec la musique des autres races indo-européennes." In Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 24.

Galitzin), the Governor General of Turkestan and the Transcaspian provinces (H. E. General Ivanoff), as well as the Russian diplomatic agent in Bukhara (H. E. Ignatieff). These documents allowed Aubry to move relatively freely in the Central Asian territories (Turkestan) then under Russian supervision. The letters reflect the privilege and support he received as a French researcher abroad. In the latter half of the first article, Aubry surveyed Armenian sacred history. The second article describes the different legs of his journey to Tiflis and, eventually, Echmiadzin in great detail.[56]

In the third installment, Aubry discussed his stay at the Kevorkian Jemaran. He emphasized the prominent place of early music in the institution and conveyed his opinions regarding chants in modern arrangements. He observed that the school featured "a young generation of monks exhibiting both liberal and modern predispositions," a product of their "scientific training received in German and Russian universities."[57] He wrote that a "critical sense of history has developed among these teachers" and that they "no longer accept in Orientals the fable-rich traditions that envelop Armenian origins."[58] Aubry also spent much time with Komitas, who had returned to the seminary following his training in Berlin and was then working as a music lecturer and choral director at the institution.

Sacred music and Komitas's work were central to Aubry's writings. In one of Aubry's articles, he recounted a contentious conversation with the Catholicos of Echmiadzin. The debate stemmed from their aesthetic disagreement over modernizing old chants to suit contemporary performance practices and Komitas's desire to bring ancient sources into a modern arrangement.

[56] Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 24.
[57] "Grâce à eux, à côté de l'esprit monastique et purement arménien, nous découvrîmes une jeune génération de moines, aux idées libérales, aux tendances très modernes, formés à l'enseignement scientifique des universités russes ou allemandes." In Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 77.
[58] "Le sens critique de l'histoire s'est développé chez eux. Ils n'acceptent plus en Orientaux les traditions fabuleuses qui enveloppent les origines arméniennes." In Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 77.

The Catholicos elder cautioned Aubry: "You love the songs of the Church and with good reason. We love our songs too... and Komitas studies them knowingly. He will guide you, but beware... Komitas studied in Europe."[59] As the conversation evolved, the Catholicos remarked that:

> if sometimes [Komitas] treats old Armenian melodies with excessive musicality in his harmonizations, he does so knowingly... on the one hand, he makes singing more attractive so that it appeals to the audience's taste. But on the other hand, Komitas seeks to restore the melodies to their primitive purity by ridding them of superfluous ornaments with which the Turkish influence is loaded.[60]

Attending a performance where Komitas's vision held sway, Aubry was also forced to reckon with this musical tension.

Declaring the Echmiadzin "Academy" as "par excellence for the conservation of Armenian studies" and an institution where "the culture of languages and philology" were "the object of particular care," Aubry presents a survey of the Jemaran's curriculum in his article, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)."[61] Under Komitas's leadership, musical study at the institution combined training in both "Armenian and European musics concurrently, in theory and practice."[62] Dividing his students into four individual classes, each meeting three times a

[59] "Vous aimez le chant de l'Église et vous avez raison, répondit Sa Béatitude. En lui sont les plus pures inspirations de l'art religieux : il prie et il console. Nous aussi, nous aimons notre chant. Komitas l'étudie et le connait bien. Il vous guidera. Seulement, méfiez-vous, ajoute en souriant Mekertitch, Komitas a travaillé en Europe." In Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 79.

[60] "C'est vrai; mais à Berlin, Komitas s'est instruit des méthodes critiques de la science européenne, et si parfois il traite trop musicalement la vieille mélodie arménienne avec les harmonisations dont il l'accompagne, il le fait sciemment. Scientifiquement parlant, il a tort, je crois, mais il faut se souvenir qu'il cherche à donner plus d'attraits au chant, et à la foule le goût de l'entendre. D'autre part, Komitas veut rendre à la ligne mélodique sa pureté primitive en la débarrassant des ornements superflus dont l'influence turque l'a chargée." In Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 79.

[61] "L'Académie d'Etchmiadzin est par excellence le conservatoire des études arméniennes. Elle est entretenue par le Catholicos et dirigée par les moines, qui y donnent l'enseignement à coté de professeurs laïques, à des élèves arméniens et dans un esprit purement arménien. Je doute fort que cette institution ait les faveurs russes. A la fois séminaire et collège, l'Académie enseigne les sciences religieuses et profanes." In Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 85.

[62] "Notre ami Komitas, professeur dévoué, enseigne concurremment la musique arménienne et la musique européenne, dans leur théorie et dans leur pratique il a divisé ses élèves en quatre classes, et dans chacune de ces classes il fait trois cours par semaine. L'enseignement de la musique arménienne comprend la lecture de la notation réformée des livres de chant de Nicolas Tachdjian, la théorie des modes et la connaissance parfaite des chants de l'office." In Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 81.

week, Komitas's teaching and syllabus was based on Nikoghayos Tashjian's (1841–1885) textbook, *Notebook on Church and Folk Music Notation* (1874). In his teaching, Komitas emphasized what Aubry called "reformed notation"—the nineteenth-century system devised by Hampardzoum Limondjian (1768–1839) that had supplemented the ancient neume system found in the manuscripts of Echmiadzin Matenadaran (archives). Aubry did not provide examples of reformed notation but observed that they "have many points in common with ... Western neumes and function like memory aids."[63] Aubry observed another element of Komitas's teaching linked to memory aids and rote memorization. In the Jemaran, students were trained to recite and sing office chants from memory during their classes: "one thing that seemed curious to me [Aubry] is the prodigious level of memory training among these young people, who sing by memory and without any guide books."[64] Aubry also noted that, prior to Tashdjian's edition, the situation had been much different, for "oral transmission had preserved liturgical chants and … musical memory was the cantor's first strategy." Aubry concluded that the more ancient *khaz* notation and particularly the updated reformed notation represented "a prolonged echo of what happened in the Latin West" and paralleled European neumatic notation's function as an *aide memoire*.[65]

With the Jemaran's commitment to Armenian sacred music, participation in vocal ensembles was an essential part of the curriculum. Even those exempted from Komitas's weekly classes were required to train in his choral groups, a fixture of the mass services. In one of Aubry's few musical descriptions, he presents a compelling image of an Easter Mass he

[63] Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 81.
[64] "Mais une chose qui a semblé tout à fait curieuse et pleine d'enseignements, c'est le prodigieux entraînement de mémoire chez ces jeunes gens qui chantent par cœur et sans livres comme on a toujours chanté en Arménie, m'a dit fièrement un traditionaliste un long office de plusieurs heures. Et c'était ainsi hier, et ce sera ainsi demain, et chaque fois qu'il faudra chanter." In Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 81.
[65] "N'est-ce point un écho prolongé de ce qui se passait dans l'Occident latin à l'époque de saint Grégoire le Grand? La notation neumatique était-elle autre chose qu'un aide-mémoire ? lui demandait-on rien de plus ? et doit-on aujourd'hui, en cherchant à en soulever le mystère, lui demander davantage?" In Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 81.

attended, which recalls the Catholicos' previous comments about Komitas's "excessive musicality." Aubry heard highly ornate and polyphonic music that presented and elaborated on monophonic archival sources in the Jemaran's collections, with melodies ranging from "the decorative to the simple." In these passages, Aubry expressed frustration at the complexity of Komitas's sacred music arrangements compared to the source material: "Instead of featuring simple monodies, the choirs were sometimes sung in two, three, or even four voices. In their interpretation, there was a constant concern for nuances, crescendos... and frequent modifications of tempo."[66] He continued:

> Coming to Echmiadzin, all imbued with Latin liturgical song as revealed by the monks of Solesmes, I would have liked to find in Armenian song the same religious simplicity... Solesmes and Saint-Gervais have for too long waged campaigns against heavy and hammered execution of plainsong for us to be too critical of Komitas's artistic preoccupations. But it seems in Echmiadzin, we are going too far in this [artistic] direction.[67]

Although Aubry recognized the impact of the Latin and Gregorian masses on his own knowledge of sacred music, he concluded from the performance that the Armenian mass was no longer linked to the "evangelical simplicity of the first ages."[68] Despite his appreciation for Komitas's mass treatment, Aubry's critique was partly motivated by his fascination with musical origins and his desire to unearth the "simplicity" or "authenticity" of this tradition unencumbered by more recent musical artifice.

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[66] "Les chœurs en effet, au lieu de simples monodies, étaient parfois chantés à deux, trois ou même quatre voix ensuite, dans l'interprétation, un souci constant des nuances, des crescendo savamment amenés, des modifications fréquentes de mouvement, témoignaient de la pensée de faire, selon nous, trop bien." In Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 81.

[67] "Venu à Etchmiadzin tout imbu du chant liturgique latin tel que nous l'ont révélé les moines de Solesmes, j'aurais voulu trouver dans le chant arménien la même simplicité religieuse... Notre conception de l'art religieux, on le sait, est autre. Solesmes et Saint-Gervais ont mené une campagne trop ardente contre l'exécution lourde et martelée du plain-chant pour que nous soyons suspects ici en critiquant en leur nom les préoccupations artistiques de Komitas. Mais il nous nous semble bien pourtant qu'à Etchmiadzin, on va trop loin dans cette voie." In Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 81.

[68] "Si le chant arménien remonte vraiment, comme le veut la tradition, à l'apostolat de Grégoire l'Illuminateur, nous sommes loin aujourd'hui de la simplicité évangélique des premiers âges." In Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 81.

Privileging the more ancient sources, Aubry wrote with admiration about Armenian chants from the tenth through sixteenth centuries. He conveyed his wish for these sources to be made available via facsimile reproductions so that they could "give the world an idea of some of their riches."[69] For Aubry, the benefits of printing Armenian chants in their original form would finally liberate the music from its immediate liturgical and performative contexts, enabling a new level of reception outside the Armenian Church. Aubry saw the potential of such facsimile reproductions as a boon to philologists and musicologists (such as himself) working on early music. Aubry was saddened that the availability of a printing press at Echmiadzin had not resulted in the reprinting of ancient manuscript sources. This situation, he lamented, prevented scholars from analyzing the chant sources, simply because the conservative clergy viewed such analysis as a potentially corrupting or secularizing exercise. Although European scholars had worked on these chants before Aubry's trip, their findings were limited to brief analyses. For example, Armenian sources were listed in Tiersot's short survey of Armenian music in *Le Ménestrel*, Ernest David and Mathis Lussy's *l'Histoire de la notation musicale depuis ses origines* (1882), and Fétis' *L'Histoire de la musique* (1874).[70] Without exception, in these books, the Armenian chants were presented side-by-side with transcriptions in Western European notation.[71]

A few conclusions can be drawn regarding Aubry's fieldwork excursion to Armenia. As evidenced by their publication in the *Tribune*, his writings were not designed for specialists in Armenian music *per se*, but instead directed to those invested in early music in France. Aubry

[69] "Personnellement, je me suis surtout attaché aux manuscrits notés du dixième au seizième siècle, les Charakans abondent, ceux-ci ornés, ceux-là plus simples." In Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 83.
[70] Tiersot, "Quelques mots sur les musiques de l'Asie Centrale les chants de l'Arménie," 299.
[71] In David and Lussy's study, they provide tables of Armenian notation signs and their corresponding translations into Western notation. See Ernest David and Mathis Lussy, *l'Histoire de la notation musicale depuis ses origines* (Paris: Heugel et Fils, 1882), 59.

eschewed any substantive analysis of Armenia's sacred melodies in his writings. Instead, he described the environment around the Jemaran and particular musical events in detail. Arguably, the most compelling passages in Aubry's articles were dedicated to the Armenian mass. In these, he pointed to the musical tension that resulted from "modern" arrangements of ancient sources. The traditional cantillation typical of Armenian chants mirrored that in the early Christian church. Both involved transparent (frequently monophonic) textures; in the Armenian case, the chant was accompanied by musical drones. Meanwhile, Komitas's modern arrangements featured three to four vocal parts in contrapuntal interplay, textures that, for both the Catholicos and Aubry, symbolized Komitas's European training.

Aubry's fieldwork inspired other French and European scholars to engage in music ethnography (particularly in the first decade of the twentieth century). Most musicologists or music historians, however, conducted "armchair" ethnographies. One example included Tiersot's three-article series in *Le Ménestrel* (under the section *Notre ethnographie musicale*). According to Tiersot, many of his musical findings were motivated by his conversations with Léon Eghiasarian and those who participated in the publication of his first volume of Armenian folksongs in France:

> Many Armenians came to settle among us [in France] owing to various circumstances, particularly the massacres that marked the last years of the 19th century (known by us as the Age of Civilization). One of them was an artist who, having lived for several years in France, studied classical singing at the Paris Conservatoire. M. Léon Eghiasarian introduced us to the music of his country and has already published a first volume entitled "Collection of Armenian Popular Songs" for which masters such as Vincent d'Indy, Georges Marty, Ernst Reyer, Ch.[arles] Bordes, Bourgault-Ducoudray, Weckerlin, etc. put their talents as harmonists in the service of these national melodies. A second issue will appear soon, the preparation of which I have been partly entrusted. Taking advantage of this opportunity, I asked M. Eghiasarian and his compatriots to discuss some of the musical

> particularities of this culture. Their personal accounts and printed documents appear and helped contextualize my article on the songs of Armenia.[72]

In this triptych, Tiersot offers his readers (a) a brief survey of Armenian sources that came by way of his conversations discussed above, (b) a description of Armenian sacred history, and (c), an explanation of extant chant and folk music sources (presenting unharmonized folksong melodies and sacred music selections to his readers). Ultimately, Tiersot's work coincided with the recent upturn in Armenian folk music harmonizations in France,[73] Aubry's fieldwork excursion in Echmiadzin, and the recent publication and impact of Léon Eghiasarian's folksong collection. As Eghiasarian's folksongs were unavailable and the second promised volume of folksongs either unpublicized or unrealized, I turn to another contemporary folk music volume published during this period, which was marked by a division of labor between collector and harmonizer.

2.3.2. Musical Fragments in French Publications (1904–1906)

The sources described in this section provide evidence of the time and energy invested in Armenian sources by musicologists, fueled by their curiosity about exotic artifacts and supported by the presence of the Armenian diaspora and its institutions. These sources also show the roles played by French musicologists in conjunction with Armenian scholars. The former gave voice

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[72] "Nombreux sont les Arméniens que des circonstances diverses, particulièrement les massacres qui ont marqué les dernières années du XIXe siècle (âge de civilisation, comme chacun sait), ont amenés à se fixer parmi nous. L'un d'eux, un artiste qui, , habitant depuis plusieurs années en France, a étudié au Conservatoire de Paris les principes du chant classique, M. Léon Eghiasarian, a entrepris de nous faire connaître la musique de sa patrie ; et déjà il a publié une première livraison d'un *Recueil de Chants populaires arméniens* pour lequel des maîtres tels que MM. Vincent d'Indy, Georges Marty, Ernest Reyer, Ch. Bordes, Bourgault-Ducoudray, Weckerlin, etc., ont mis au service de ses mélodies nationales leur talent d'harmonistes. Une seconde livraison paraîtra bientôt, à la préparation de laquelle j'ai donné quelques soins. Profitant de l'occasion qui s'offrait ainsi, j'ai interrogé M. Eghiasarian et ceux de ses compatriotes avec qui je fus mis en relation, sur certaines particularités musicales : c'est d'après leurs souvenirs personnels et les documents imprimés qu'ils eurent l'obligeance de me communiquer que je puis donner le, succinct aperçu qui va suivre des chants de l'Arménie." In Tiersot, "Quelques mots sur les musiques de l'Asie Centrale les chants de l'Arménie," 299.

[73] Julien Tiersot, *Notre ethnographie musicale Première Série* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1905), 81-94.

to the sources; the latter helped curate them for French scholars and other audiences largely unfamiliar with Armenian tradition and culture.

Published by Demets in 1904, *Chansons populaires arméniennes* was the work of the Armenian Galoust Boyadjian (life dates unknown). This collection constitutes Boyadjian's only known music-related publication; apart from it, we have little information regarding his life and professional pursuits.[74] The compilation comprises ten folksongs collected and transcribed by Boyadjian. Like Eghiasarian's folksong collection from 1900 (see above), Boyadjian collaborated with other scholars and harmonizers. Auguste Sérieyx (1865–1949) added harmonizations to Boyadjian's folksongs, Aubry contributed an essay introducing the collection, and Archag Tchobanian translated the Armenian texts into French.

Boyadjian served as transcriber and collector, judging by the title of his collection, "recueillis et transcrits par […]"[75] These terms should be unpacked, as they convey different meanings within French folksong conventions and appear contemporaneously in Armenian folksong collections published in France. In *Trésor de la langue française*, which focused on nineteenth-century French literary terminology, the word "transcrire" ["transcribe"] is defined as the *exact* rewriting of something that has already been written down. The term's definition in the case of music is: "writing ancient works in regular notation" or "arranging or adapting a musical work for instruments which are not the original."[76] By the late nineteenth century, the understanding of what constituted accurate transcription in music had loosened as fidelity to the

[74] I could not track down any reference to Boyadjian's life and the context in which he worked. The only sources that reference Boyadjian are those that reference his *Chanson populaires arméniennes*. One reference to Boyadjian's work appears in Pierre Aubry, *Esquisse d'une bibliographie de la chanson populaire en Europe* (Paris: Alphonse Picard & Fils, 1905), 25.
[75] Galoust Boyadjian, *Chansons populaires arméniennes recueillis et transcrit par G. Boyadjian* (Paris: E. Demets, 1904), np.
[76] The *Trésor de la langue française* lists definitions of words and their use in literature, principally from an early twentieth-century context. It is useful when unpacking what specific terms would have meant for an early twentieth-century audience. *Trésor de la langue française*, http://atilf.atilf.fr/ (accessed 10 August 2021).

original was measured in terms of intention rather than the actual product.[77] "Recueillir" ["collection"] indicated the gathering of materials or sources.[78] As stipulated in his preface, Boyadjian had included songs initially collected by others, acknowledging by name Arménag Tigranian (1879–1950) and Eghia Adamian (dates unavailable), who "sang about twenty songs of which we have included four in this first collection."[79] Despite the reference to "premier recueil" (first collection), it is unclear whether Boyadjian ever published another volume of Armenian folksongs.

Boyadjian's work leaves many questions unanswered. He neither offered details about his initial encounters with folk music, nor explained his approach to transcribing the songs. He may initially have used Armenian "modern" notation (the standard shorthand practice used among Armenian ethnographers in the late nineteenth century) before writing the songs in European notation. Each part of the process presents issues, including questions of fidelity to the original sound event. Another drawback is the absence of information about where Boyadjian found the songs. Unless indicated in their titles, the provenance of the songs is unknown. Instead, the reader is greeted with a homogenous version of Armenian music, standardized by its Western harmonizations and the absence of its ethnographic context.

To prepare these melodies for European consumption, Boyadjian commissioned the Schola-trained Sérieyx, whose harmonizations follow the parameters of d'Indy and his contemporaries. Their approach involved writing harmonic accompaniments that are consciously

[77] *Trésor de la langue française*.
[78] *Trésor de la langue française*.
[79] "Nous remercions enfin ceux de nos compatriotes, qui nous ont aidé à transcrire ces chants, en les chantant pour nous, et en particulier M. M. Arménag Tigranian et Eghia Adamian qui nous ont chanté une vingtaine de chants dont nous avons inséré quatre (no. 2, 3, 4, et 7) dans ce premier recueil." In Boyadjian, *Chansons populaires arméniennes*, iv.

without artifice, thus privileging the melodies.[80] Aubry noted this careful fidelity to "authentic" folksong:

> Mr. A. Sérieyx is a learned musician trained at the great school of Vincent d'Indy. With this master [d'Indy], respect for texts is an absolute maxim and we can see how much Sérieyx's accompaniments respect tonality, rhythm, in short, all the characteristics of the melodies submitted to him.[81]

Sérieyx's work is consistent with Tiersot's recommended accompaniment for French *chansons populaires* (1888): "dressing them [the melodies] with the clothes of harmony" so that they would not appear too "dépaysé [like a fish out of water]" and could be admitted "into a world that would not accept them in their bare simplicity."[82] As a result, Sérieyx's piano part either plays subdued harmonies or doubles the vocal line in the right hand, with subtle harmonic support (in some cases, the piano would provide a lively introduction). With their apparent simplicity, these pieces were not meant to be performed in concert spaces. Instead, they encouraged amateur performances in domestic settings and stimulated comparison and analysis.

Included in Boyadjian's publication was a brief essay written by Aubry. In his "avant-propos," Aubry expressed the then-common anxiety (and assumption) that these folksongs were "doomed to disappear, along with so many traditions of the past."[83] Aubry saw his work as giving voice to these songs. He emphasized that Sérieyx had prioritized musical fidelity and provided his readers with descriptions and visual figures pointing to the folksongs' modal

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[80] Harmonists drew on the accepted notions of folk music at this time: marked by simplicity, free of complicated musical language, and able to communicate with the widest group of people.

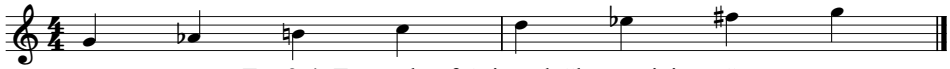
[81] "Le second collaborateur, M. A. Sérieyx, est un savant musicien formé à la grande école de Vincent d'Indy. Auprès de ce maître, le respect des textes est une maxime absolue et l'on peut voir combien ses accompagnements respectent la tonalité, le rythme, bref toutes les caractéristiques des mélodies qui lui ont été soumises. M. Sérieyx a toujours cherché à effacer sa personnalité de musicien : il faut reconnaître la rareté d'un tel dévouement." In Boyadjian, *Chansons populaires arméniennes*, iii.

[82] Quoted in Jann Pasler, "Sonic Anthropology in 1900: The Challenge of Transcribing Non-Western Music and Language," *Twentieth-Century Music* 11, no. 1 (2014), 12. Originally cited in Julien Tiersot, *Mélodies Populaires des provinces de France*, vol. 1 (Paris: Heugel, 1888), 1.

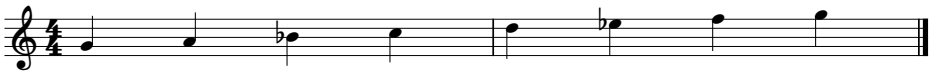
[83] "Arménien de naissance et d'éducation, M. Boyadjian a fait œuvre pie en recueillant ces exquises chansons populaires, qui, dans sa lointaine patrie comme chez nous, sont condamnées à disparaître ainsi que tant d'autres traditions du passé." In Boyadjian, *Chansons populaires arméniennes*, iii.

characteristics. Aubry explained that Armenian folk music grew out of the Armenian chant tradition, like traditional French folksongs that had been "composed with the modalities of the Gregorian cantilenas and the Latin church."[84] The "universality" of major and minor modes did not correspond to those in the collection, "written in the manner of Armenian liturgical song."[85] Aubry then presented examples of modal scales used in certain folksongs of the collection.[86]

Ex. 2.3: *Erkrord Dzain*, Second Authentic Mode. See Pierre Aubry, "Avant-Propos," *Chansons populaires arméniennes recueillis et transcrits par G. Boyadjian* (Paris: E. Demets, 1904), iii and iv.



Ex. 2.4: Example of Oriental Chromaticism. See Pierre Aubry, "Avant-Propos," *Chansons populaires arméniennes recueillis et transcrits par G. Boyadjian* (Paris: E. Demets, 1904), iii and iv.



Ex. 2.5: Natural minor scale. See Pierre Aubry, "Avant-Propos," *Chansons populaires arméniennes recueillis et transcrits par G. Boyadjian* (Paris: E. Demets, 1904), iii and iv.

Aubry began his discussion of the modal characteristics of Armenian folk music with the example of *Chant d'Amour* (**Ex. 2.6)**, the opening song. Aubry explained that its "apparent [Western] key of E minor is actually an *erkrord dzain* – in French, an authentic Armenian second

[84] "Ces mélodies sont conçues dans les modalités particulières de la musique arménienne, comme nos vieilles chansons populaires françaises sont composées dans les mêmes modalités que les cantilènes grégoriennes de l'Église latine." In Boyadjian, *Chansons populaires arméniennes*, iii.
[85] "Le majeur et le mineur, aujourd'hui d'un emploi presqu'universel dans les compositions modernes, remontent à peine a moyen-âge. Voyez les chansons du présent recueil : elles sont écrites dans les modalités des chants liturgiques de l'Église Arménienne." Aubry, "Avant-Propos," in Boyadjian, *Chansons populaires arméniennes*, iii.
[86] Folksong harmonization and universality were related concepts in *fin-de-siècle* France. The reason for harmonizing monophonic folksongs was a product of utility. It allowed readers who were accustomed to accompaniment to approach these songs similarly, most likely at the piano. Harmonization suggests the intention of performance. If the intention was not to perform these works, it ultimately begs the question as to why these folk music fragments needed to be harmonized in the first place.

mode."[87] With each description, Aubry offered an example of the relevant mode, including its fundamental tone (see **Ex. 2.3**, **Ex. 2.4**, and **Ex. 2.5**). Despite Aubry's effort to write out Armenian modes (which served as an aid to his audience), the corresponding folksongs do not correspond to the pitch collections appearing in the preface. In addition to the Western harmonized realizations of these folksongs, readers/performers were able to participate—as did readers of *Le Figaro's Notre page musicale*—cross-referencing Aubry's musicological findings (in the preface) with the harmonized folksongs that comprise the collection.

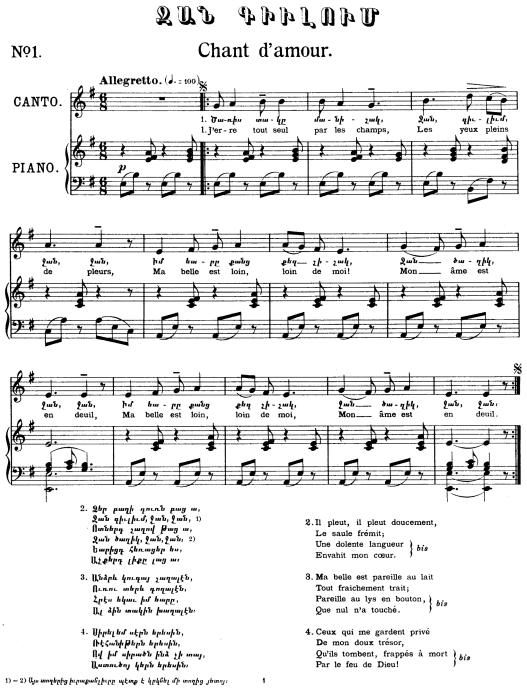
Aubry also addressed another scale that contained elements of (what he termed) "oriental chromaticism." In the *fin-de-siècle*, this phrase referred to a musical mode found in the Russian and Ottoman Empires, a sound many Western Europeans heard as a symbol of the Orient (see chapter 3). Strikingly, Aubry's invocation of the term emphasized how Boyadjian's collection avoided this musical mode. Instead, he used it to highlight and compare the specificity of Armenian scales and claimed that Armenian folk music had *not* been affected by the homogenizing effects of "oriental chromaticism": "Oriental by geographic location, these Armenian scales do not feature the same chromaticism evidenced in Greek or Syrian music, nor the *hijaz* mode of the Arab peoples."[88]

Aubry's interest in Armenian music finds its parallel in Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray's volume of Greek songs, *Trente mélodies populaires de Grèce et d'Orient* (1877). Bourgault-Ducoudray's (1840–1910) collection includes a section on oriental chromaticism and was part of a broader project at that time that "imagined [a] kinship" between Greece and France.[89] In

[87] The original French quotation by Aubry is as follows: "Le Chant d'amour qui ouvre le volume n'est point ce qu'un vain peuple pense. L'apparente tonalité de mi mineur est en réalité un erkrord dzain - parlons français : un deuxième mode authentique arménien" In Boyadjian, *Chansons populaires arméniennes*, iii.
[88] "Mais l'Arménien, né malin, a inventé une petite ruse pour dépister les faussaires des siècles à venir. Il a bien un chromatisme, oriental par situation géographique, mais qui n'est ni celui des Grecs ou des Syriens, ni le mode *hidjaz* des Arabes." In Boyadjian, *Chansons populaires arméniennes*, iii.
[89] Asimov, "Transcribing Greece, Arranging France," 133-168.

addition, like Bourgault-Ducoudray, Aubry evoked an ethnic kinship between Aryanism and the West in his second contribution to *La Tribune de St.-Gervais*. He referred explicitly to the Indo-European status of Armenians: "They are by their origins a people of the same stock as ourselves in the great kinship of the Indo-European races."[90] Surely such claims underlined Aubry's belief regarding the parallel development of French and Armenian folksongs (from the same originary point of Western civilization) described above, thus justifying the addition of Western harmonies to the Armenian examples. As seen from the above, Aubry's comments regarding the "development" of Armenian folksong essentially followed the trajectory of regional French folksongs collected and harmonized in the late nineteenth century. These French regional folksongs were described as embodying musical traits that connected them to an originary point of Western civilization.[91] Armenian folk music was treated with comparable intentions and principles by the French, including the musicians/composers who collaborated in Eghiasarian's (later) volume of harmonized Armenian folksongs.

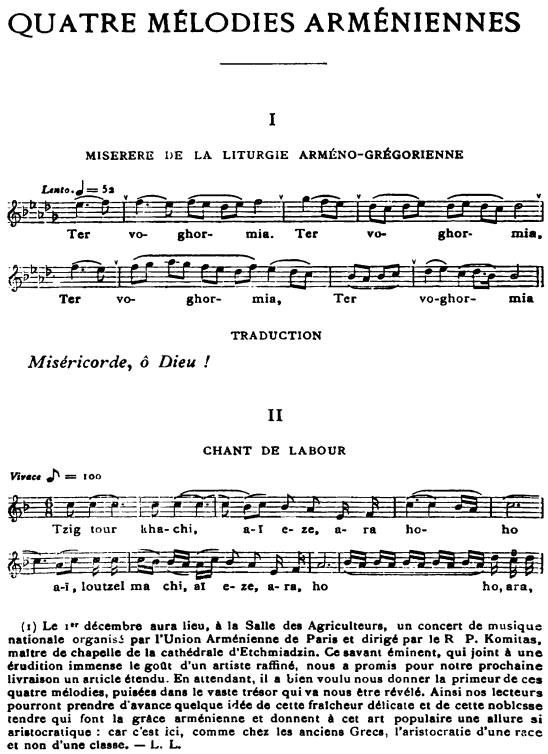
[90] "Ce que nous savons aussi, c'est que l'histoire précise avec peine, est par ses origines un peuple de même souche que nous-mêmes dans la grande parenté des races indo-européennes." in Aubry, "Le système musical de l'Église arménienne (suite)," 26.
[91] Sindhumathi Revuluri, "French Folk Songs and the Invention of History," *19th-Century Music* 39, no. 3 (2016): 248-71.



Ex. 2.6: "Chant d'amour," from Boyadjian's collection. Boyadjian, *Chansons populaires arméniennes*, iii.

The format and layout of Boyadjian's collection reflected his intention to attract multiple audiences. Fully bilingual in French and Armenian (printed in side-by-side columns), the preface invited the reader to compare the visual differences between the two alphabet systems and languages. The folksongs offer the original Armenian text above the French translations; again, the presence of two languages encourages different readings of the music. The volume was thus accessible to Armenians in the diaspora and French performers, purchasers, and audiences. Maintaining the Armenian originals performed another function: bestowing an "authenticity" that would otherwise depend only on the vocal melodies. The bilingual publication democratized the musical experience, permitting consumers to perform and listen to these folk selections without needing to understand the original language. In addition, the volume familiarized the French with so-called exotic artifacts by way of French texts as well as the Western-style musical accompaniment that conformed to French folksong conventions. For Armenian

consumers, the collection—with Armenian texts and modal characteristics described by Aubry and approved by his Armenian collaborator Boyadjian—implicitly presented the music in ways faithful to Armenian folk practices. The Armenian folksong tradition also received attention and cultural capital in Western Europe as a result of this French investment of time and energy.[92]



QUATRE MÉLODIES ARMÉNIENNES

I

MISERERE DE LA LITURGIE ARMÉNO-GRÉGORIENNE

Lento. ♩= 52

Ter vo- ghor- mia. Ter vo- ghor- mia.

Ter vo- ghor- mia, Ter vo-ghor- mia

TRADUCTION

Miséricorde, ô Dieu !

II

CHANT DE LABOUR

Vivace ♪ = 100

Tzig tour kha- chi, a-ï e- ze, a- ra ho- ho

a-ï, loutzel ma chi, aï e- ze, a- ra, ho ho, ara,

(1) Le 1er décembre aura lieu, à la Salle des Agriculteurs, un concert de musique nationale organisé par l'Union Arménienne de Paris et dirigé par le R P. Komitas, maître de chapelle de la cathédrale d'Etchmiadzin. Ce savant éminent, qui joint à une érudition immense le goût d'un artiste raffiné, nous a promis pour notre prochaine livraison un article étendu. En attendant, il a bien voulu nous donner la primeur de ces quatre mélodies, puisées dans le vaste trésor qui va nous être révélé. Ainsi nos lecteurs pourront prendre d'avance quelque idée de cette fraîcheur délicate et de cette noblesse tendre qui font la grâce arménienne et donnent à cet art populaire une allure si aristocratique : car c'est ici, comme chez les anciens Grecs, l'aristocratie d'une race et non d'une classe. — L. L.

Ex. 2.7: Komitas, "Quatre mélodies Arméniennes." *Le Mercure musical* 2, no. 21 (15 novembre, 1906), 311. Image courtesy of the BnF Gallica

[92] The notion that Armenian cultural practices could benefit from French attention was a common refrain among Armenian figures like Tchobanian, who, as I present in the cultural context section, consistently drew relations between Armenian and French culture. Boyadjian claimed, in the preface, that these folksongs were collected and transcribed without modification. They were purportedly transcribed as the people sang them. He did not explicitly claim that these harmonized renderings elevated these Armenian pieces. Aubry's avant-propos, however, argues that Armenian folksongs and Armenian art, more generally, could improve its education through its French investment. ["M. Boyadjian est venu demander à notre pays de parfaire son éducation artistique."] Boyadjian, *Chansons populaires arméniennes*, iii.

In another example of French interest in Armenian folksong, the musicologist Louis Laloy presented "Quatre mélodies arméniennes" in the November 15, 1906 issue of *Le Mercure musical*. Reproduced in **Ex. 2.7**, the four monophonic melodies were by Komitas. In his accompanying footnote, Laloy wrote that he was highlighting the music to publicize an Armenian music concert on December 1, 1906 (in which Komitas's melodies were presented in choral arrangements with piano). By introducing the music beforehand, Komitas and Laloy allowed potential audience members to interact with these folk sources in their original monophonic form. The concert was billed as a quasi-ethnographic event using terminology from folk music volumes. Organized by the *l'Union arménienne de Paris* and in conjunction with the orchestral associations of Colonne and Lamoureux, the concert titled "Musique arménienne populaire et liturgique" offered a demonstration of how Komitas turned his ethnographic findings into art song.[93] Unlike Boyadjian's "safe" (i.e., conventional) arrangements for curious amateurs, these unadorned sources gave the air of having been retrieved directly from the field (notwithstanding their translated texts and Western notation). Later, they would be transformed in the concert with Western harmonies to reach a broad audience.

That same year, Demets (which had published the Boyadjian collection), printed Komitas's first volume of harmonized folksongs, *La Lyre arménienne: Recueil de chansons rustiques*. Komitas served as both transcriber and harmonizer; he even provided commentary on the musical features and the collective experiences that gave birth to this repertoire. In his "avant-propos," he lamented that urban-dwelling Armenians "devote themselves almost exclusively to the study of European music," and that "by circulating these songs, we can now introduce to our

[93] Komitas, "Concert de Musique arménienne populaire et liturgique, donné par l'Union Arménienne de Paris au profit de l'œuvre sous la direction du R. P. Komitas," 1er décembre 1906.

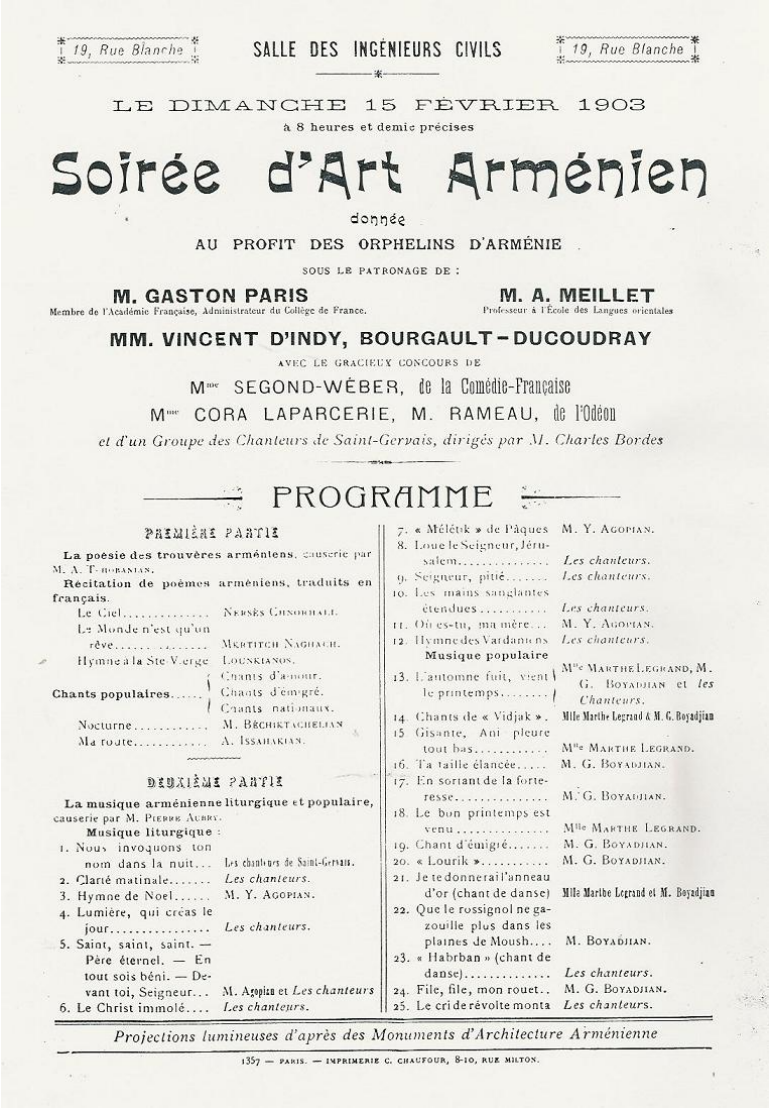
urban compatriots, as well as [to] European music lovers, the rustic folk musics of Armenians."[94] Komitas's collection is quite similar to Boyadjian's in terms of layout. The Komitas collection, however, went beyond folksongs harmonized for solo voice and piano by including choral arrangements, which Parisian audiences would have encountered in his 1906 concert.

Figure 2.1 provides another final example of French-Armenian collaboration in music featuring prominent Arménistes (Gaston Paris and Antoine Meillet), musicologists (Aubry), and composers (Vincent d'Indy, Bourgault-Ducoudray, with Charles Bordes directing the Saint-Gervais chorus). This 1903 benefit concert and lecture-recital took place in Paris and was billed as *Soirée d'art Arménien*, with the event's proceeds supporting displaced orphans in the Armenian homeland. The concert was partially organized by French Armenologists Gaston France and Antoine Meillet (a professor at the *École des langues orientale*). Participants included Vincent d'Indy, Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray, musicians from *la Comédie-Française* and the *l'Odeon*, and the *Groupe de Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais*, directed by Charles Bordes. The program combined poetry readings (with Tchobanian leading a discussion on *La poésie des trouvères arméniens*) and musical performances of *chansons populaires*, including works from Boyadjian's collection.

The appearance of Armenian sources in French print culture at the beginning of the twentieth century reflected French musicologists' interest in Armenian music. They approached Armenian sources through comparative musicology and early music studies and presented them in ways that would edify the general public. I have shown how Armenian diasporic networks in *fin-de-siècle* France contributed to narratives of Armenian music. Such developments and interactions outside the Armenian homeland had a direct, decisive impact on subsequent

[94] Komitas, *La Lyre arménienne*, 3.

representations of Armenian musical identity. The exchanges reflected the symbiosis that formed and grew between Armenian and French musicians and collectors, and the role each played in curating these musical examples. Finally, these interactions also shifted the perceived identity of Armenian music more strongly to Western Europe and away from the Türkiye/Ottoman Empire.



19, Rue Blanche — SALLE DES INGÉNIEURS CIVILS — 19, Rue Blanche

LE DIMANCHE 15 FÉVRIER 1903

à 8 heures et demie précises

Soirée d'Art Arménien

donnée

AU PROFIT DES ORPHELINS D'ARMÉNIE

SOUS LE PATRONAGE DE :

M. GASTON PARIS
Membre de l'Académie Française, Administrateur du Collège de France.

M. A. MEILLET
Professeur à l'École des Langues orientales

MM. VINCENT D'INDY, BOURGAULT-DUCOUDRAY

AVEC LE GRACIEUX CONCOURS DE

Mme SEGOND-WÉBER, de la Comédie-Française

Mme CORA LAPARCERIE, M. RAMEAU, de l'Odéon

et d'un Groupe des Chanteurs de Saint-Gervais, dirigés par M. Charles Bordes

PROGRAMME

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

La poésie des trouvères arméniens, causerie par M. A. T-HOBANIAN.

Récitation de poèmes arméniens, traduits en français.

- Le Ciel..... — NERSÈS CHNORHALI.
- Le Monde n'est qu'un rêve..... — MKRTITCH NAGHACH.
- Hymne à la Ste Vierge — LOUSNIANOS.

Chants populaires.....
- Chants d'amour.
- Chants d'émigré.
- Chants nationaux.

- Nocturne..... — M. BÉCHIKTACHELIAN
- Ma route..... — A. ISSAHAKIAN.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

La musique arménienne liturgique et populaire, causerie par M. PIERRE AUBRY.

Musique liturgique :

1. Nous invoquons ton nom dans la nuit... — Les chanteurs de Saint-Gervais.
2. Clarté matinale..... — *Les chanteurs.*
3. Hymne de Noel..... — M. Y. AGOPIAN.
4. Lumière, qui créas le jour..... — *Les chanteurs.*
5. Saint, saint, saint. — Père éternel. — En tout sois béni. — Devant toi, Seigneur... — M. Agopian et *Les chanteurs*
6. Le Christ immolé..... — *Les chanteurs.*
7. « Mélétik » de Pâques — M. Y. AGOPIAN.
8. Loue le Seigneur, Jérusalem..... — *Les chanteurs.*
9. Seigneur, pitié..... — *Les chanteurs.*
10. Les mains sanglantes étendues..... — *Les chanteurs.*
11. Où es-tu, ma mère... — M. Y. AGOPIAN.
12. Hymne des Vardanions — *Les chanteurs.*

Musique populaire

13. L'automne fuit, vient le printemps..... — Mlle MARTHE LEGRAND, M. G. BOYADJIAN et *les Chanteurs.*
14. Chants de « Vidjak ». — Mlle Marthe Legrand & M. G. Boyadjian
15. Gisante, Ani pleure tout bas..... — Mlle MARTHE LEGRAND.
16. Ta taille élancée..... — M. G. BOYADJIAN.
17. En sortant de la forteresse..... — M. G. BOYADJIAN.
18. Le bon printemps est venu..... — Mlle MARTHE LEGRAND.
19. Chant d'émigré..... — M. G. BOYADJIAN.
20. « Lourik »..... — M. G. BOYADJIAN.
21. Je te donnerai l'anneau d'or (chant de danse) — Mlle Marthe Legrand et M. Boyadjian
22. Que le rossignol ne gazouille plus dans les plaines de Moush.... — M. BOYADJIAN.
23. « Habrban » (chant de danse)..... — *Les chanteurs.*
24. File, file, mon rouet.. — M. G. BOYADJIAN.
25. Le cri de révolte monta — *Les chanteurs.*

Projections lumineuses d'après des Monuments d'Architecture Arménienne

1357 — PARIS. — IMPRIMERIE C. CHAUFOUR, 8-10, RUE MILTON.

Figure 2.1: Concert Program for "Soirée d'Art arménien," organized by M. Gaston Paris, M. A. Meillet, Vincent D'Indy, and Bourgault-Ducoudray. Image courtesy of BnF Gallica.

2.4. FRENCH ARMENIAN OPERA: *LA GIAOUR (L'INFIDELE)*

La Giaour (subtitled, *L'Infidèle*, 1914) deserves a special place in this study of early twentieth-century Franco-Armenian interactions. Unlike the folksong examples discussed earlier in this chapter, the opera highlights the oriental side of Armenian identity (as depicted in the Ottoman Armenian storyline) resulting from French interest in the Armenian Question. The Question (framed initially as the Eastern Question) gained momentum in the late nineteenth century, emboldened by the outcomes of the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878) and the fate of Christian minorities in the Ottoman Empire. The outcome of the Russo-Turkish War saw the Ottoman Empire lose one-third of its territory and roughly 20 percent of its inhabitants.[95] The Empire's precarious fiscal position led to the establishment of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, wherein Britain and France took control over Ottoman fiscal policy. At the same time, as Charlie Laderman wrote: "Armenian appeals to Europeans for intervention were another source of humiliation for the tottering empire and raised the scepter of the public enemy within."[96] The Armenian Question gained traction in the period leading up to and immediately following the Genocide of 1915. By showcasing this opera, I demonstrate that French interest in Armenian music extended beyond arrangements of folk music, musicological engagement, and the presentation of music regarded as "authentic."

La Giaour (Infidèle) was composed in 1914 by Marc Delmas (1885–1931), who later became famous when he won the *Prix de Rome* in 1919.[97] The plot involved then-sensitive topics: political discussions of Armenian self-determination and descriptions of the conflict

[95] Charlie Laderman, *Sharing the Burden: The Armenian Question, Humanitarian Intervention, and Anglo-American Visions of Global Order*, (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 11.
[96] Laderman, *Sharing the Burden*, 11.
[97] Paul Griffiths, "Delmas, Marc (Marie-Jean-Baptiste)," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online,* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/ (accessed July 25, 2021)

(Armenian versus Turkish) about the age-old rivalry between Christianity and Islam, a popular theme in Western European opera plots.[98] A three-act opera, *La Giaour* debuted on 21 July, 1928 at the *Casino de Vichy* under the artistic direction of Henri Villefranck (1849–1928) and the baton of M. Paul Bastide. The performance featured members of the *Opéra*, *the Opéra-comique*, and the *Casino de Vichy*. The *Casino* was then one of the lesser-known venues for opera and ballet, although Jules Massenet's works were performed there and were particularly popular among Vichy's patrons.[99]

Figure 2.2: Concert Announcements (LH) under "Spectacles de la Semaine" [Concerts of the Week]. (RH) Introduction to the opera and the major singers, including the featured tenor, M. René Maison. Published in "La Saison à Vichy."

[98] Delmas's opera is also very much a throwback. It follows a long line of operas representing Turkishness, which, according to Larry Wolff, thrived during the long eighteenth century, but fell into some disrepute in the nineteenth century. See Larry Wolff, *The Singing Turk: Ottoman Power and Operatic Emotions on the European Stage from the Siege of Vienna to the Age of Napoleon* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

[99] Based in the town of Vichy in central France, the opera house at the Casino de Vichy was first inaugurated in 1902. Between 1902 and 1940, the opera season ran from May to October and had its own in-house orchestra, chorus, and troupe. Several famous composers had their works performed at the opera house, including d'Indy, Gustave Charpentier (1860–1956), Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921), and Richard Strauss (1864–1949). In 1935, Strauss chaired an international congress of composers where seventeen nations represented and conducted his Salomé. See www.opera-vichy.com/histoire (accessed July 25, 2021). Also see Charles Pitt, "Vichy," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/ (accessed July 25, 2021).

Categorized as a *drame lyrique*[100], *La Giaour* takes its story from the pages of Armenian history, with the plot centering on two embattled Armenian characters [cf. *La Saison a Vichy* in **Figure 2.2** and **Appendix D** for the full cast of characters] whose personal love story served as a metaphor for Armenia's existential struggle for survival. As the author of the *Vichy* program wrote: "We are witnessing the eternal hatred between Armenians and Turks. And these two feelings collide in the hearts of the heroes of the drama: that of love, and of the fatherland. Who wins out? The Fatherland."[101]

The term *Giaour* (French) is derived from the Turkish word *gâvur*, meaning "infidel."[102] In the late Ottoman Empire, the term was used to describe the empire's Christian communities, including Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, Serbs, and Assyrians. Alongside *gâvur*, terms such as *kafir* (meaning "unbeliever" in Arabic) and *rum* (in Turkish, meaning Greek) would appear in tax registers alongside names of Christian minority subjects within the Empire. Attention to the mythical *giaour* figure within Europe was motivated by sympathy for the Greeks and their struggle against the Ottoman Empire, one that resulted in the protracted Greek War of Independence (1821–1829).[103] The lore around the figure of the "infidel" captured the European public imagination, inspiring literary, artistic (including a famous painting by Eugene Delacroix), and musical manifestations. Arguably, the most significant European representation of this figure

[100] According to *Grove Music Online*, the nineteenth-century *drame lyrique* was a genre "applied to French operas influenced by the aesthetic ideals of Wagner. They featured continuous action, a prominent, symphonically treated orchestral part and a rich harmonic vocabulary." Elizabeth Bartlett, "Drame Lyrique," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* (Accessed March 3, 2022).
[101] "Nous assistons à l'éternelle haine entre Arméniens et Turcs. Et deux sentiments se heurtent dans e cœur des héros du drame : celui de l'amour et celui de la patrie. C'est la patrie qui l'emporte." In *La Saison à Vichy* 6 (29 July, 1928): 7.
[102] Kinga Paraskiewicz, "In Search of Giaour: Notes on the New Persian *Gabr* 'a Zoroastrian Infidel," in *Essays in the History of Languages and Linguistics*, eds. Michał Németh, Barbara Podolak, and Mateusz Urban (Ksiegarnia Akademikca, Krakow, 2017), 473-75.
[103] Paul Joannides, "Colin, Delacroix, Byron and the Greek War of Independence," *The Burlington Magazine* 125, no. 965 (August 1983): 495.

is found in Lord Byron's (1788–1824) poem "The Giaour" (1813) from his *Turkish Tales*.[104] This poem tells the story of an Arab Christian living as an infidel within his Muslim homeland, thus tapping into the popular vogue of nineteenth-century orientalism.[105]

Adapted from Lord Byron's poem *The Giaour*, the libretto of the opera is attributed to Lebanese writer and political activist Chékri Ganem (1861–1929), a vocal critic of the Ottoman Empire in its waning years and a proponent for Middle Eastern self-determination. In addition to his polemical writings, Ganem spoke during the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, advocating for a future Syrian, Lebanese, and Palestinian nation-state. The French writer, lawyer, and journalist Adrien Peytel (1880–1953) also contributed to the libretto of *la Giaour*.[106]

Appendix D offers a detailed outline of individual scenes in the opera. I summarize the plot as follows: The first act is set in 1895, during the violent reign of Abdul Hamid II (r. 1876–1909). The act occurs within an unnamed Armenian village in the grip of massacres and fires. At the outset, we are introduced to the two protagonists, Adriné and Johannès, then just children. The first scene features Kurdish peasants leaving the ruined Armenian village, run out of town by the approaching Turkish military. The commander encounters Johannès and saves him from

[104] Lord Byron also wrote *Armenian Exercises and Poetry*, published in 1886 and based on his stay in an Armenian Mekhitarist monastery on the island of San Lazzaro in 1816. This text is a series of reflections and letters sent during his stay. During his stay there, Byron learned about the Armenian language and its history.
[105] In Byron's telling, the main character is a Venetian renegade, known as the giaour, serving the *caliph* (the chief Muslim civil and religious leader), Hassan. Byron's story takes place in seventeenth-century Greece and recounts the story of the giaour's unsuccessful attempt to elope with Leila, a concubine who lives in Hassan's harem. Upon finding out about her infidelity and her love of the Giaour, Hassan casts Leila into the sea; transgressing the law of the seraglio, Leila is punished for her infidelity and her love of a racial and religious "other" (the Venetian *giaour*). Avenging her death, the giaour kills Hassan in a bloody battle, pitting the Christian (giaour) against the Muslim (Hassan). Then, the giaour exiles himself in a monastery, leaving him to pay penance for the remainder of his life. See Jeffrey L. Schneider, "Secret Sins of the Orient: Creating a (Homo)Textual Context for Reading Byron's *The Giaour*," *College English* 65, no. 1 (Sept. 2002): 92.
[106] According to the Grove Music Online article on Marc Delmas, *La Giaour* was described as "Après Byron," which suggests that both writers adapted their work from Lord Byron's original poem. Joint authorship is indicated in the Grove article's "works" section and the score itself.

the destruction of his home.[107] Adriné, abandoned by her companion, becomes fearful and dances uncontrollably in the company of Turkish officers.

Act II takes place in a seraglio caravan fifteen years later. In this act, Johannès has forgotten his childhood, family, and his Armenian name (Johannès is the Europeanized version of the Armenian "Hovhanness"). In the Ottoman military, Johannès is part of the janissary corps. This unit comprised slave soldiers who were seized as young boys from their Christian families, forced to convert to Islam, and committed to the celibate service of the state.[108] Going by the new name Lieutenant Abdou, Johannès serves under the same commander who saved him in Act I. Entertained by ballerinas performing a ballet in the company of soldiers, Johannès encounters Adriné on the stage, the single abiding memory of his childhood. The two rekindle their love. In Act III, Adriné offers to run away with Johannès, hoping he will leave military life behind and reconnect with his Christian past. In the first of two tableaus, Johannès is initially convinced by Adriné's invitation. His resolve, however, is shaken when Adriné shares a secret. Since their separation and in the service of her true homeland, Armenia, Adriné had spied on the Turkish military. Feeling betrayed and hearing the song of the *muezzin* (the person who performs the daily Muslim prayers), Johannès is emboldened by his duty to the Turkish military and his adopted faith in Islam to conclude that Adriné is purely an infidel—a giaour. Johannès is convinced he could have his way with his beloved by arresting her. Embittered by this blow, Adriné stabs and kills Johannès, empowering her feelings for her country over her love. As Johannès lies dying, he utters the traditional words of the *muezzin*: "There is no god but Allah!"[109]

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[107] Wolff, *The Singing Turk*, 51-78.
[108] Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 118
[109] Prod'homme, "Vichy," 336.

The following discussion is based on the only available score; a piano-vocal arrangement published by *Henry Lemoine & C*^{ie} with eight of the opera's most popular arias published in a format that could reach a broader salon music-making audience. This score mentions none of the non-music-related components (including staging, plot, and costumes).[110] As such, my analysis of a selection of the arrangements addresses how Delmas's composition represents a more modernist take on Armenian subject matter, which is a departure from the types of harmonizations of folksong relics that were published in France. Given the evidence available, I move away from focusing on purely orientalist musical themes (beyond the storyline) because some of these elements (such as instrumentation) are not readily apparent in the musical score I consulted. What makes this work particularly interesting is the French interest in Armenian subject matter that essentially centers on narratives of loss, a common theme in the French reception of Armenia during the early twentieth century.[111]

2.2. Contents of La Giaour (L'Infidèle) published by Henry Lemoine et C^{ie}

	Mouvement	**Voice Type**	**Caractère**
1.	Air : "Ah ! pauvre pays, Arménie"	Mezzo-Soprano	Air de la mère d'Adriné
2.	Air : "Ce joli bracelet"	Voix Élevées	Air de la mère de Johannès
3.	Air : "Soldat depuis bientôt quinze ans"	Ténor	Air de Johannès
4.	Air : "Jasmin ! Jasmin ! le beau jasmin…"	Voix Élevées	Air de la vendeuse de jasmin
5.	Air : "J'ai dit à mon âme…"	Soprano ou mezzo	Air d'Adriné

[110] In 1929, Henry Lemoine & C^{ie} also published an orchestral score of *La Giaour* orchestrated by L. Julien Rousseau (1873–1950) rather than Delmas. This score features only four excerpts from the opera, including the prelude, interlude, and two other selections, including a sabre dance ["*Danse des sabres et des regards*"]. Availability of the score proved prohibitive. See Marc Delmas, *La Giaour (Infidèle): Drame d'Orient en trois actes et quatre tableaux*, orchestrated by L. Julien Rousseau (Paris: Henry Lemoine & C^{ie}, 1928).

[111] As Edward Said and others have shown, exoticism/orientalism was among the most popular aesthetic modes of representation in artworks of traditions of foreign and cultural groups in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Around the turn of the twentieth century, several composers incorporating ethnic music into their compositions attempted to be more diligent than their predecessors about the accuracy of their quotations and allusions. They did so while still employing the representational techniques of orientalism. See Ralph Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

6.	Air : "La danse du rayon de lune"	Voix Élevées	Air d'Adriné
7.	Air : "Je suis si troublée!"	Soprano ou mezzo	Air d'Adriné
8.	Air : "L'aube et bientôt la ronde…"	Ténor	Air de Johannès

2.4.1. *La Giaour (Infidèle)*

The contrasting fortunes of our two main protagonists, Adriné and Johannès, are foreshadowed in the first two arias in Act I. The first, performed by Adriné's Mother, "Au! pauvre pays, Arménie," ["Oh! Poor country, Armenia!"] portrays an Armenian village left in complete ruin. The aria may be considered an exile song, which contrasts starkly with the second aria. Sung by Johannes's Mother, the number "Ce joli bracelet" ["This pretty bracelet"] teems with her materialistic wishes. From the outset, then, these two maternal figures foretell the opposing trajectories of their children: Johannès benefits from the privileged status offered by the military and the comforts it affords (though his entry into the army was under duress), whereas Adriné becomes a peripatetic dancer haunted by her experiences of Turkish military aggression against her own people.

Across the eight selections, Delmas includes elements that ground his oriental subject matter in a musical language that approaches a more modernist take. For instance, "Ce joli bracelet" recasts Johannès's mother as a young girl who seemingly lists her material desires while gazing at the richness of an Ottoman bazaar. She muses on the latest trends and trifles, accentuating the (French) audiences' commonly held perception of the Orient as a place overflowing with objects:

A quoi penser une jeune fille?
La chanson ne dit-elle pas
Qu'elle est le papillon qui va
A tout ce qui chatoie et brille ?
Ce joli bracelet, Papa,
Comme il irait bien à mon bras ?

What does a young girl think about?
As the song goes,
That she is like a butterfly,
Attracted to all that shimmers and shines.
This pretty bracelet, Daddy,
How well would it fit on my arm?

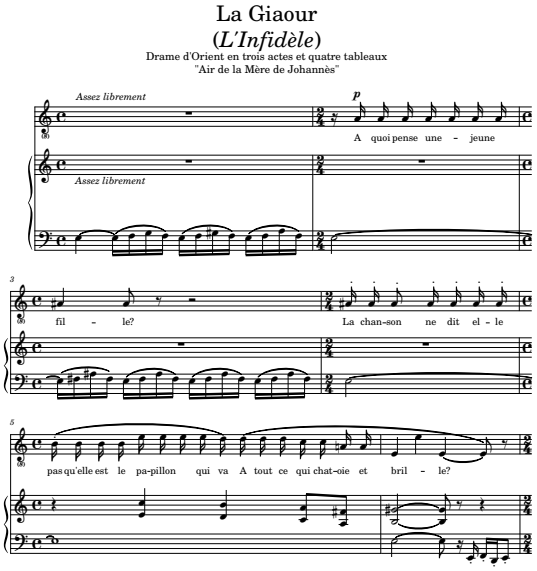
Mama, sur mes cheveux, ce voile	*Mama, on my hair, this veil*
Brillerait ainsi qu'une étoile !	*Would shine like a Star!*
Et ces *babouches à mes pieds*,	And these slippers at my feet,
Crois-tu que cela me siérait	*Do you think that would suit me*
Sur mes épaules, cette écharpe,	*On my shoulders, this scarf,*
Et cette étoffe que je palpe,	*And this stuff that I feel,*
Quelle caresse pour les doigts !	*What a caress for the fingers*
Oh ! ces peaux pour les matins froids	*Oh! these can help for cold mornings*
Et cette jupe, et ce corsage !	*And that skirt, and that bodice!*
Et ce joli porte bagages,	*And this pretty luggage rack,*
Et ces mendils faits à la main,	*And these handmade mendils,*
Tout brodés de fleurs de jasmin,	*All embroidered with jasmine flowers,*
Et ces sequins, ce plat de cuivre !	*And those sequins, that copper platter!*
Et les petits soupirs de suivre	*And the little sighs to follow*
Jusqu'à l'avant dernier achat,	*Until the penultimate purchase,*
Car jamais, jamais, jamais,	*Because never, never, never*
Ne le sais-tu pas ?	*Don't you know?*
Le tour ce dernier n'arrive,	*The latter turn does not arrive,*
Et la chanson bavarde et vive.	*And the song is talkative and lively.*[112]

"Ce Joli Bracelet" (**Ex. 2.8**) begins with an introduction that presents an emerging sense of tonality, with the arrival of a cadence in mm. 5 and 6 at the end of the introduction, providing the listener with their first harmonic arrival point on the dominant E-major. This introduction corresponds to the first four lines of text. The metric and harmonic ambiguity of the introduction may also be explained as a musical reference to Johannes's mother, who is attempting to recall a past time (her idealized childhood).

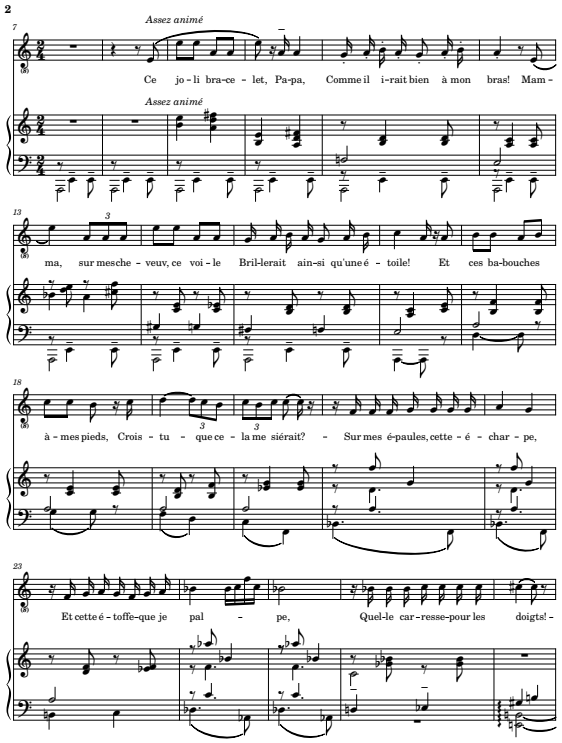
The aria is in the key of A minor (established starkly in a march-like rhythm from m. 7 onwards in **Ex. 2.9**), with the first six measures evading the home key. Although the piece is oriented around the tonic and dominant pitches, a sixteenth note motif (mm. 1, 3; piano, left hand) projects the dominant, with chromatic non-chord tones that undercut the sense of harmonic security, except for the E in the bass that functions like a quasi-drone during the introduction. Chromaticism also appears in the vocal part (m. 4, **Ex. 2.9**), creating forward momentum that

[112] Delmas, *La Giaour (L'Infidèle)*, 1-4.

leads to the first clear/solid cadence (m. 7; piano, left hand). The sonic result of this introduction is not quite atonality, nor is it classical or a common-era harmonic accompaniment consistent with contemporary folksong harmonizations.

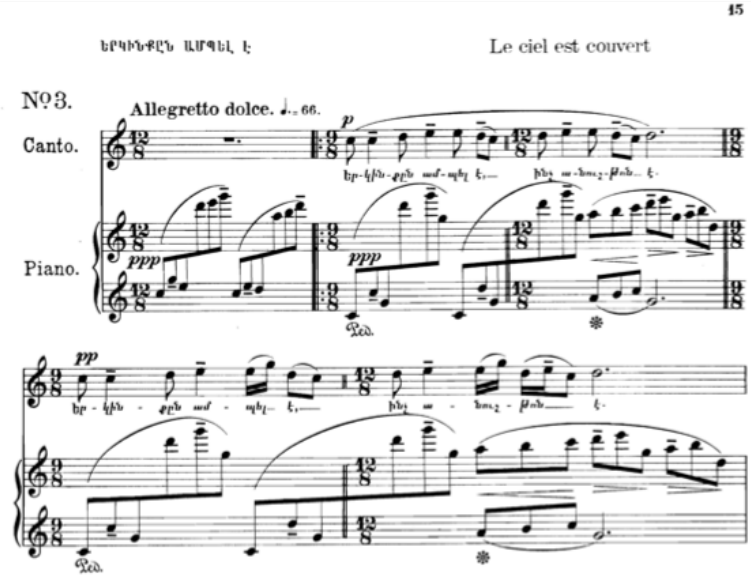


Ex. 2.8: Mm. 1-6 of "Ce joli bracelet" marked by shifting meter.



Ex. 2.9: "Ce joli bracelet" featuring march-like rhythm in mm. 7-18.

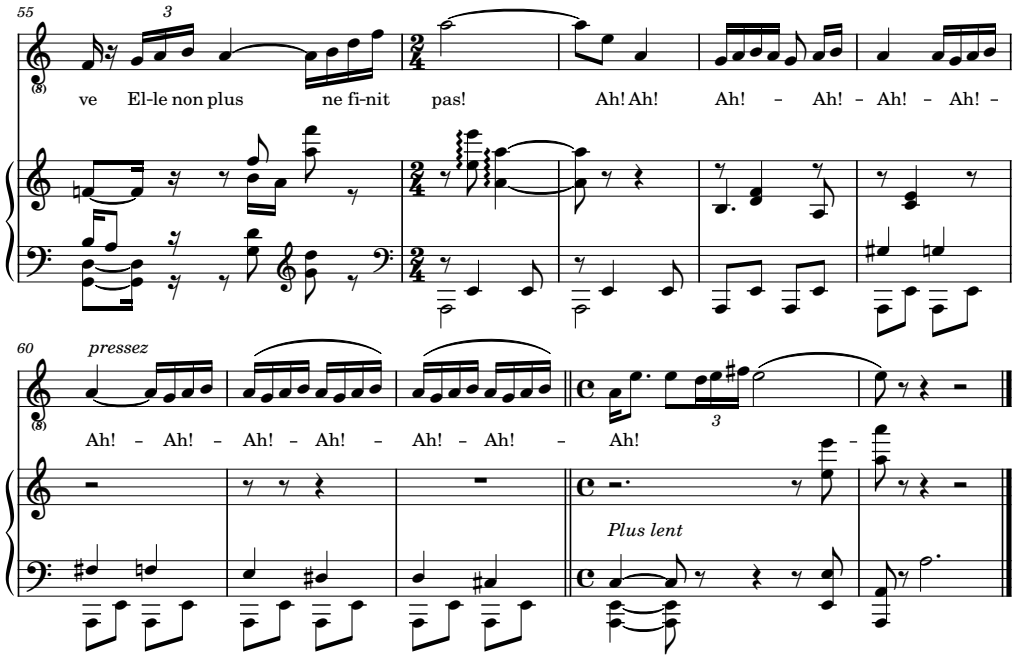
Another way of interpreting this introduction is through a non-Western lens. The introduction's harmony employs a musical drone familiar to folk music (with E functioning as the central pitch for the first six measures), in which chromaticism and the use of whole and half-step motion were also prevalent. These include the neighbor-note melodic turn in the left hand of m. 6, signaling the end of the introduction, and the sixteenth note introduction in m. 1 of the left hand. The introductory section also features alternating time signatures between 2/4 and common time; fluctuating time signatures were not unusual to Armenian folksong collections published in the early twentieth century. To illustrate, I include a folksong transcribed and harmonized by Komitas, demonstrating fluctuating time signatures, with the following example (**Ex. 2.9**, from his *La Lyre arménienne*).[113] Irrespective of these musical features, it remains unclear whether Delmas's use of these gestures was inspired by his exposure to Armenian folksong or approximated from non-Western musical gestures.



Ex. 2.10: A folksong, "Le ciel est couvert,"/Yerkinkn Ampel A ["the sky is cloudy"] selection from Komitas's *La Lyre arménienne* featuring alternating time signatures.

[113] Examples of shifting time signature in Armenian folksong volumes can also be seen in the work of Nikoghayos Tigranian.

In m. 7 (**Ex. 2.10**), the aria proper begins. Delmas enunciates its harmonic and rhythmic profiles clearly. He emphasizes the tonic A, though again with unexpected non-chord tones and harmonies (D Major, mm. 9 and 10), and an absence of thirds in the tonic until m. 12. Two features from mm. 1-12 are recalled later in the aria. The sixteenth-note left-hand motif (mm. 1, 3 in **Ex. 2.8)** appears at the aria's dramatic climax, this time in the vocal part (mm. 55-64, **Ex. 2.11**). Moreover, the rhythmic pattern in mm. 7-12 (**Ex. 2.10**), which evokes march-like or military topoi, reappears at the aria's conclusion (left hand, mm. 56-64, **Ex. 2.11**). With a chromatic descent in an inner voice (right hand, mm. 59-63), the pattern brings the aria to a dramatic and propulsive close.



Ex. 2.11: Mm. 48 to 64. Conclusion of "Ce joli bracelet."

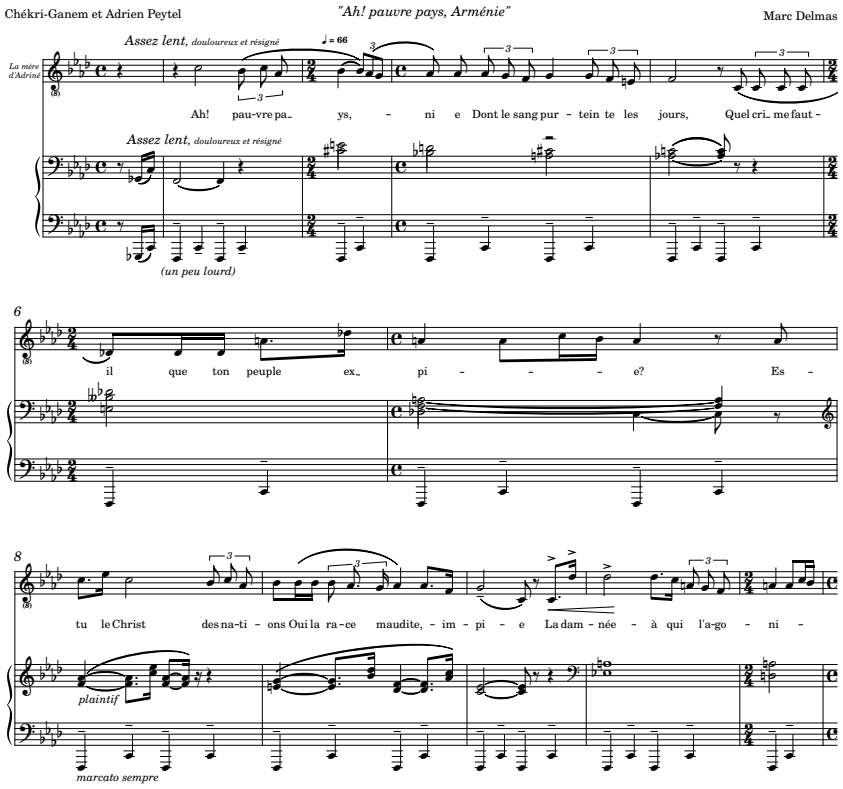
On the other hand, the musical features of "Ah! pauvre pays, Arménie" embody many hallmarks of Armenian repertoire that focus on exile. In terms of storyline, for example, there are marked resemblances between "Ah! pauvre pays, Arménie" and the celebrated Armenian folksong, "Krunk" ("Crane").[114] Harmonized and made famous by Komitas, "Krunk" was frequently performed in his *concerts chansons populaires*. Like Komitas's lament, the text of "Ah! pauvre pays Arménie" features a lament by Adriné's mother, who despairs at the state of her beloved homeland. The listener is confronted with a lack of resolution nearing the poem's conclusion as the mother is left to exclaim, "Quel crime faut-il que ton peuple expie?" ["For what crime must your people atone?"]. By the end of her short aria, the mother concludes that her people are unwanted and undesirable, in some ways embodying the grotesque and negative traits associated with the *giaour*:

Ah ! pauvre pays, Arménie	*Oh ! Poor Country, Armenia*
Dont le sang pur teinte les jours,	*Whose pure blood dyes the days,*
Quel crime faut-il que ton peuple expie ?	*What crime must your people atone for?*
Es-tu le Christ des nations	*Are you the Christ of the nations?*
Ou la race maudite,	*Or the cursed race,*
Impie,	*Unholy,*
La damnée à qui l'agonie,	*The damned and whom the agony,*
Est sans fin ni rémission !	*Is without end nor forgiveness!*
Et sans grand père, que voici,	*And without grandfather, who is here*
Mama, nous les enfants, toi même,	*Mama, our children, and yourself,*
Brûles, égorgés, sans merci !	*Burned, slaughtered, without mercy!*
Anathème sur eux, Anathème !	*Anathema upon them, Anathema!*
Anathème sur eux !	*Anathema upon them!*[115]

Although also present in the first aria, a military topic is arguably more strongly marked in this number and similarly features alternating time signatures. In **Ex. 2.12**, a ponderous quarter-note bassline alternates between the tonic and dominant scale degrees with the expressive

[114] R. P. Komitas, *Quatre Mélodies avec accompagnement de piano et quatre chœurs à capella transcrits et mises en musique par le R. P. Komitas: Musique populaire Arménienne nouvelle série cahier IV* (Paris: Éditions Maurice Senart, 1928), 2.
[115] Delmas, *La Giaour (L'Infidèle)*, 1-4.

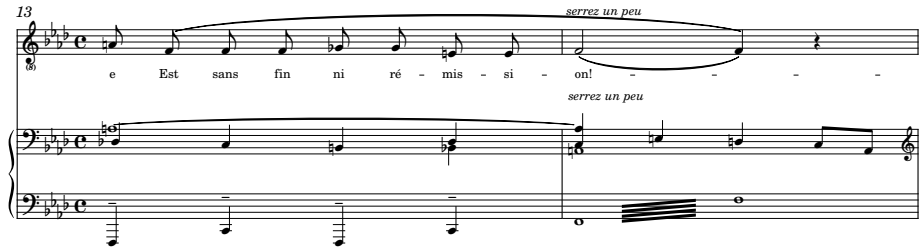
marking *un peu lourd* [“a little heavy”] supporting the vocal part, “*assez lent: douloureux et résigné*” [“markedly slow: painful and resigned”] (mm. 1-12, piano, left hand). The lamenting mother cannot escape this percussive reminder of the military.



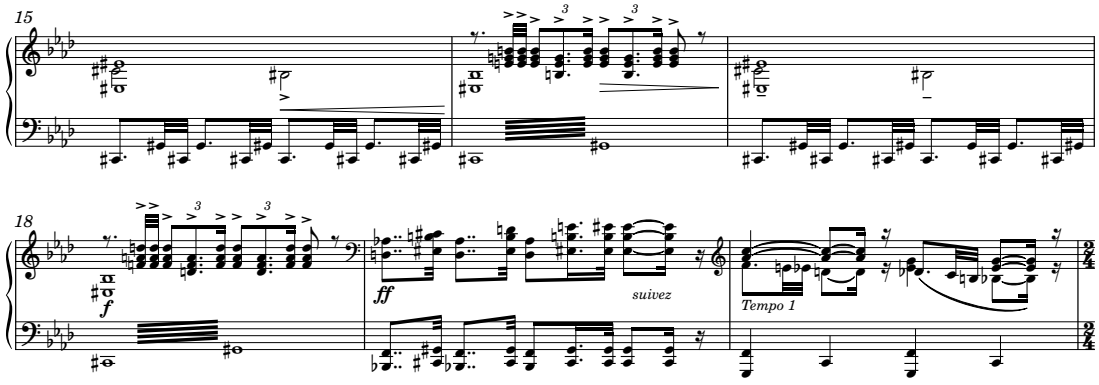
Ex. 2.12: First 12 measures of “Ah! pauvre pays Arménie.”

Delmas’s virtuoso vocal part involves large intervallic leaps (minor 9th in m. 10) and smaller melodic turns (such as in the triplet neighbor-note gestures at the end of mm. 3 and 4, as well as mm. 8 and 11 in **Ex. 2.12**). During high emotion in the text, the music features chromatic word-painting. For example, in **Ex. 2.12** in mm. 6-7, when Adriné’s mother implores, “quelle crime faut-il que ton peuple expie” [“For what crime must your people atone?”], the piano parts diverge. Although the left hand remains steadfast in the “military” F-C ostinato, the right interjects fundamentally discordant chords [second inversion A major chord spelled

enharmonically, E♮-B♭♭-D♭], emphasizing the text's sense of strong opposition. Other examples of chromaticism occur in cadential moments. One such example appears in **Ex. 2.13** [mm. 13-14] coinciding with the text "Est sans fin ni rémission!" ["Is without end or remission"], with the voice part performing a melodic turn around the tonic scale degree F (F-G♭-E♮-F). Against the staid left-hand ostinato pattern, the right-hand plays non-chord tones that transgress the aria's harmonic stability, sonically reinforcing the anguish that resides front-and-center in the mother's plea to her country. Perhaps the militaristic pattern in the left hand represents the janissary, thus invoking the story of Johannès. This ostinato appears in nearly half of the aria (twelve out of twenty-nine measures). Another military feature appears at the midpoint of "Au! pauvre pays." The piano performs a fanfare theme evocative of a trumpet choir (**Ex. 2.14**, mm. 15-20).



Ex. 2.13: The voice part demonstrates a melodic neighbor-note figuration – a common feature of Delmas' musical coloring.



Ex. 2.14: Mm. 15-20 in "Au! pauvre pays Arménie" featuring fanfare themes in measures 16, 18, and 20.

The military fanfare returns in other arias, including "Soldat depuis bientôt quinze ans…" This second-act aria introduces Johannès as a grown man who had participated in multiple campaigns of the Ottoman army. At the aria's conclusion, he reveals his name to be Lieutenant Abdou [*"Et mon nom, Lieutenant Abdou!"*]. This admission not only reveals Johannès's conversion to Islam, but also his diminishing memories of childhood. Significantly, the military topic is interrupted when Johannes reminisces about his childhood, forgotten homeland, and abiding memory of young Adriné. This is activated when Johannès is in the company of his military caravan, being entertained by dancers, including Adriné performing a "Russian dance" ["Elle dansait les danses Russes"]. The aria also reveals Johannès's service in the Ottoman army following his abduction from his family and the destruction of his "small town left in flames" ["*Sauvé d'un petit bourg en flammes*"]. Starting his career as a child soldier ["*enfant de troupe*"], Johannès tells the audience of his multiple military victories, earning him the rank of lieutenant.

2.5. CONCLUSION

The early years of the twentieth century saw French and Armenian musical and intellectual communities enter into mutual dialogue as Armenian musicians and comparative musicologists, led by Komitas, attempted to demonstrate that Armenian folksong leaned more heavily to Western Europe. At the same time, French musicologists and comparative philologists began to examine Armenian music. They harmonized Armenian folksongs and wrote articles about how Armenian folk and sacred music related to the Western originary past, often engaging with Armenia's roots in Christendom in relation to the Latin (read: "Western") Church. I argue that Armenian music's path was not only charted by seminal figures like Komitas but also shaped to a significant extent by lesser-known musical members of the Armenian diaspora such as Eghiasarian, Proff-Kalfaian, and Boyadjian. I have also shown that, by curating sources in

collaboration with this latter group, French musicologists helped set the tone for Armenian music discourse that would mark much of the following century.[116]

These narratives about Armenia and Armenians impacted musical genres beyond folksongs. Delmas's opera and its performance history display a more widespread French awareness of the Armenians' struggle for self-determination. *La Giaour* also shared the narratives and themes of Armenian folksongs (with a focus on "exile"), although musically there are differences between folk music's "simplicity" and the opera's sophisticated use of musical topoi (such as the military topic or lament). I conclude that the early twentieth-century Armenian-French engagement in Armenian folk music underlies many characteristics of *La Giaour.*

[116] The cultural capital that Komitas accrued during and following his lifetime was aided by his activities in France and the publications of his music in Paris. The Franco-Armenian connection is still felt today and largely has helped cultivate the more Eurocentric Armenian perspective.

3. Regional Folksong Relics: Armenian music in the Russian Empire

This chapter turns to Armenians in the Russian Empire (see Appendix A for the historical map), where they were assigned an "Asian" (Ottoman) identity despite many seeing themselves as European. In the Empire, Armenians also encountered other "Asian" minority cultures that constituted the Russian Orient. These interactions sparked compositions by Armenians that straddled European and Central Asian practices. By examining selected works, I draw on recent studies of encounters between minority ethnic communities in complex spaces. In particular, I look to the work of Adalyat Issiyeva, who argued that late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century nationalistic discourses developed alongside new, pluralistic articulations of music in the Russian Orient.[1]

Constituting one-half of the homeland for nineteenth-century Armenians, the Russian Empire's incorporation of Asian subjects impacted Russian and Armenian perceptions of selfhood.[2] Unlike Great Britain, France, and other European colonial powers, the Empire shared contiguous boundaries with Asia and colonized its immediate neighbors for much of the nineteenth century. Western Europe viewed nineteenth-century Russia as "Asian," which led the Russian imagination to grapple not only with this assigned image but also with *Inorodtsy* (imperial subjects with non-Russian identities), a legal designation whose meanings shifted throughout the long nineteenth century.[3]

[1] Recent years have seen the emergence of non-Western cultures and the discussion of folk music findings in border regions. See Issiyeva, *Representing Russia's Orient*.
[2] David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye, "The Curious Fate of Edward Said in Russia," *Études de lettres* 2 (2014): 81-94.
[3] John Slocum defined the term "inorodtsy" in its legal context and the Imperial Russian state's various attitudes towards its non-Russian inhabitants. See John Slocum, "Who, and When, Were the Inorodtsy? The Evolution of the Category of "Aliens" in Imperial Russia," *The Russian Review* 57, no. 2 (April 1998): 173-190.

3. Regional Folksong Relics: Armenian Music in the Russian Empire

Discussions of Armenian art music and its connections to Russia often focus on later composers and musicians, such as Aram Khachaturian (1903–1978) and his contemporaries. Little is known about how Armenian musical identity is positioned with the Russian Orient.[4] In this chapter, I focus on Armenian songs whose texts refer to Crimea, Transcaucasia, and Asia. I also explore musical works by Russians that refer to Armenia as culturally part of the Russian Orient. In the Russian Empire, multiple cultures and communities experienced what Gloria Anzaldúa described as a form of cultural intimacy. Here, I show that the empire's cultural intimacy contributed to a sense of ambiguity in Armenian musical expression.[5]

This chapter comprises three sections. First, I survey the history of Armeno-Russian cultural interactions in the nineteenth century, demonstrating how Armenians projected their sense of self within the Russian Empire and how the idea of Europe became an essential aspect of this relationship.[6] In the second section, I introduce and contextualize music published by Armenian and Russian composers in the Russian Empire. I consider generic characteristics and how the works articulated both Armenian and neighboring Asian and Transcaucasian traditions. I focus on the composer-reformer Nikoghayos Tigranian (1856–1951), addressing terminological and musical references that presented hybrid "snapshots" of the Transcaucasus, Crimea, and Near East. In the third and final section, I turn to the work of Lazare Saminsky (1882–1959),

[4] In a private correspondence with music critic and dramatist Aleksandr Gayamov, Aram Khachaturian embodied this sense of in-betweenness, expressing the ambiguity between the Asian and European sides of his own Armenian identity: "No matter how much I switch between my musical languages, I will still remain an Armenian, but an Armenian who is European rather than Asian, an Armenian who will make Europe and the whole world listen to our music." Viktor Yuzefovich, *Aram Khachaturian* (Moscow: Sovetskii Kompozitor, 1990), 268. Primary source: Letter to A. Ya. Gayamov of 3 June 1945, in A. Khachaturyan, *Pis'ma*, 38. This quotation also appears in Marina Frolova-Walker, *Stalin's Music Prize: Soviet Culture and Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 150.
[5] See Gloria Anzaldua, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2012), np.
[6] Mid-nineteenth-century popular Russian literature nevertheless used terms like "Asiatic" or "Asian" to a mixture of Caucasian and Asian cultures, including (though not limited to) Armenians, Georgians, Jews, as well as Turkish, Mongol, and Tatar peoples. See Adalyat Issiyeva, "Russian Orientalism: From Ethnography to Art Song in Nineteenth-Century Music" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2013), 5.

whose writings and music were published for European and North American audiences. Although Saminsky was most interested in Jewish art music, he also examined other minority traditions, including Armenian folk and sacred songs. Like many Armenian composers-reformers of his day, Saminsky believed that rural Armenian communities' music held the building blocks of authentic Armenian art music. Moreover, his ethnographic findings informed his own art music compositions.

3.1 ARMENIAN SUBJECTHOOD IN IMPERIAL RUSSIA

While under Persian and Ottoman control, Armenian intellectuals during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries requested Armenian incorporation into the Russian Empire, which was eventually achieved in 1828. Political integration, however, resulted in a newly assigned identity as a non-Russian ethnic minority living on the peripheries of the empire.[7]

3.1.1. THE EUROPEAN FACE

Armenian scholarship has long viewed Russia through the singular lens of Europe, which is not fully representative of the empire's interactions with Armenians and other minorities. The Europe-leaning viewpoint stemmed mainly from a political event. Armenian Studies scholar Richard Hovannisian explained that the early nineteenth-century Russian annexation of the Armenian plateau marked a significant turning point regarding the European/Ottoman faces of Armenianness. The annex, Armyanskaya Oblast (Armenian District), was short-lived, lasting from 1828 to 1840. It comprised about eight thousand square miles, encompassing the Arax River valley and plains of Ararat. The existence of the Oblast, however, opened up the potential

[7] Slocum, "Who, and When, Were the Inorodtsy?" 173-190.

for a future, autonomous Armenian homeland free from external control and surveillance.[8] Beyond the incorporation of Eastern Armenian territories, this annexation introduced Armenians "into the orbit of European power."[9]

According to Hovannisian, Armenians under Russian control "benefited from the relatively advanced Russian culture, from greater access to European thought, and broader economic initiatives," a far cry from the realities Armenian communities had faced in the Ottoman and Persian Empires.[10] This Eurocentric view is similarly evoked in the writings of Ronald Suny, who argued that "in Russia … Armenians began to imbibe European culture through the Russian Intelligentsia. They traveled north to Moscow and St. Petersburg, to Dorpat in the Baltics, and on to Germany to further their education."[11] Likewise, Armenian musicians educated in the Russian Empire continued their training in European conservatories, including Makar Ekmalian (who studied at the St. Peterburg Conservatory) and Komitas.[12] Suny and Hovannisian conceded that, despite the advantages Armenians gained in the Russian Empire, "like other racial and religious minorities" they were "subjected to official discrimination," including the denial of "equal educational and administrative opportunities" from the "divide and rule policies of the Tsarist bureaucracy."[13]

The history of Armeno-Russian encounters, however, had begun much earlier than 1828. It culminated in what Stephen Riegg appropriately termed "Russia's entangled embrace."[14] In the

[8] Roughly one-third of the Oblast's population consisted of Armenians; however, within ten years, this percentage would rise to roughly half of the province's inhabitants due to the constant influx of Armenian immigrants from the Ottoman and Persian Empires. Richard G. Hovannisian, "Russian Armenia: A Century of Tsarist Rule," in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* (March 1971), 34.
[9] Hovannisian, "Russian Armenia," 31.
[10] Hovannisian, "Russian Armenia," 31.
[11] Suny, *Looking toward Ararat*, 18.
[12] Pahlevanian, Kerovpyan, and Sarkisyan, "Armenia, Republic of (Armenian Hayastan)."
[13] Hovannisian, "Russian Armenia," 31.
[14] Riegg, *Russia's Entangled Embrace: The Tsarist Empire and the Armenians, 1801-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2020), 52-3.

early modern era, Armenians hoped they could be totally absorbed into the Russian Empire, an alternative to imperial Ottoman and Persian realities.[15] By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Russian interest in Armenia was predicated on its potential benefits to the empire. Although later Soviet-era writings about this period falsely present Russia as the emancipators of Armenians from the hegemony of Islam under Ottoman and Persian rule, Armenians and their plight were actually viewed by many Tsarist leaders in terms of Russia's broader imperialist objectives within Asia, including repopulation efforts.[16]

Russian perceptions of Armenians in the imperial period fluctuated, ranging from declarations of protection for their fellow Christians to acts of persecution against people they perceived as an upstart minority. Armenian subjects within the empire were increasingly associated with certain negative cultural stereotypes: tremendously religious, prolific in business matters, and (due to Armenian ambitions for self-governance) potentially seditious to the Russian state.[17] Suny explained that the stereotypes were aimed at a burgeoning and upwardly mobile middle-class Armenian community based mainly in urban centers such as Tiflis and Baku. Armenians thrived and became prominent in areas heavily populated by "foreigners" (i.e., non-Russians).[18] Armenian businessmen, having established success within the Caucasian urban economy, were resented as rivals by their Russian, Georgian, and Azeri counterparts and described using virulently antisemitic imagery.[19] These problematic framings of Armenians were also present in official documents. For instance, the first Russian governor of Georgia, General Tsitsianov, described Armenians' likeness to "the people of Moses" (i.e., Jews). In this

[15] George Vernadsky, *Russia at the Dawn of the Modern Age* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1959), 209.
[16] Suny, *Looking toward Ararat*, 19 and 39.
[17] Suny, *Looking toward Ararat*, 19 and 39.
[18] Suny, *Looking toward Ararat*, 39.
[19] Suny, *Looking toward Ararat*, 39.

document, Tsitsianov presented Armenians as "lacking character" owing to their "cosmopolitanism," obsession with wealth ("gathering wealth under the weight of their rulers"), and itinerant identity ("unable to enjoy their own land").[20] Other disparaging adjectives included "wiliness," "deception," and "self-interestedness."[21]

At the end of the Russo-Persian War of 1826–1828, the Treaty of Turkmenchai (1828) established the previously mentioned annex, Armyanskaya Oblast. The treaty assigned the khanates of Yerevan and Nakhichevan to Russia. By 1829, however, the Treaty of Adrianople, which ended the Russo-Turkish War (1828–1829), triggered the return of nearly all Russian-controlled Western Armenian territories to Ottoman hands. Yerevan and Nakhichevan in Eastern Armenia were allowed to remain in the Russian-controlled Armyanskaya Oblast until 1840, when Nicholas I (rn. 1825–1855) installed more virulent policies of Russification.

Nineteenth-century Russian interactions with non-Russian citizens influenced institutions and organizations, bringing forth new questions about the education and assimilation of new, non-Russian subjects and sparking the development of oriental studies in the Empire. Although the Russian government prohibited the formation of Armenian academies, it did support the Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages, funded by a wealthy Armenian family.[22] An example of the outlets via which Russian-Armenian exchanges took place, the Lazarev Institute responded to the needs of the Russian state at a time when the Empire was absorbing not only foreign-subject Armenians but also other Near Easterners. The institute centered on fostering understanding between the empire and its new imperial possessions (lands and their inhabitants). Civic integration of imperial subjects into Russia was part of the institute's educational focus. The

[20] Suny, *Looking toward Ararat*, 39.
[21] Suny, *Looking toward Ararat*, 39.
[22] Riegg, *Russia's Entangled Embrace*, 52-3.

institute also partnered with the Armenian Church to help resettle Persian and Ottoman Armenians into the empire.

Table 3.1 lists music by Armenian composers published in the Russian Empire and Russian Orient from 1880 to 1938. I have provided Armenian composers' Armenian and Russified surnames (e.g., Tigranian/Tigranoff; Ghorghanyan/Korganoff), as the latter appear in publications and other public records that reflect late nineteenth-century Russification policies.

TABLE 3.1: SELECTION OF ARMENIAN WORKS PUBLISHED IN RUSSIA BETWEEN 1880–1938

Composer	Work	Publisher	Year	Genre
Nikolaus Tigranoff [Nikoghayos Tigranian] (1856-1951)	*Trans-Kaukasische Volkslieder und Tänze* i. Romance Géorgienne : „Ah Dilav, Dilav!" ii. Chanson Arménienne : „Jnguer" iii. Romance Arménienne : „Cilicie" iv. Danse en Rond Arménienne v. Braule Arménien: „Danse en Rond" vi. Romance Arménienne: „Kho Papguov" *vii.* Danse Persane: „Charachoube"	P. Jurgenson à Moscou	1887	Piano
	Tcharguiah Grande fantaisie persane, opus 8	Author's Publication	1902	Piano
	Bayati-Kurde	Author's Publication	1894	Piano
	Bayati-Shiraz	Author's Publication	1896	Piano
Genari Korganoff [Genarios Hovsp'i Ghorghanyan] (1858-1890)	*Rhapsodie Armenienne pour piano, Opus 15*	P. Jurgenson à Moscou	N/A	Piano
	Rhapsodie Caucasienne	P. Jurgenson à Moscou	N/A	Orchestral
	Bayati	I. Souzandjian, Tiflis	N/A	Piano
	Nouveau Bayati : Potpourri Oriental sur des motifs favorites armeniens et georgiens	V.M Shaverdov, Tiflis	N/A	Piano
	12 Arabesques, Opus 6	D. Rahter	1880	Piano

	Souvenir de Borjom valse pour piano	I. Souzandjian, Tiflis	N/A	
Arseny Koreshchenko (1870-1921)	*Suite Arménienne pour orchestre, Opus 20*	W. Bessel et C[ie] Editeurs, St. Pétersbourg et Moscou	1897	Orchestra
	Suite Arménienne pour quatre mains	W. Bessel et C[ie] Editeurs, St. Pétersbourg et Moscou	1897	Four-Hands
	Կռունկ [Krunk]: Армянская народная песня [Armyanskaya narodnïye pesnya]	P. Jurgenson	1894	Lieder
Aleksandr Spendiaroff [Aleksandr Spendiaryan] (1871-1928)	*Esquisses de Crimée Opus 9 (1903) : Piano solo* *i. Air de Danse* *ii. Chanson Élégiaque* *iii. Chanson À Boire* *iv. Air de Danse "Kaïtarma"*	Edition de Musique de L'État R. S. F. S. R.	1903 (1935)	Piano
	Esquisses de Crimée Opus 23 : Suite pour Orchestre (1912), cette composition est l'arrangement de mélodies populaires des tartares de la Crimée i. a. Taksim (Preludio) b. Péchraf (Intermezzo) ii. „Chant d'amour" iii. Danse Baglama iv. Lamentation de la fiancée v. La souris vi. a. Danse Oïnava b. Danse Khaïtarma	Edition de Musique de L'État R. S. F. S. R.	1912	Orchestra
	Yerivanskiye étyudï (Piano), Opus 30 *i. Enzeli* *ii. Hejaz*	State Publishing House of Armenia, Erevan	1925	Piano
Spiridon Melikian (1880-1933) and Anoushavan der Ghevondian (1887-1961)	*Shiraki erger [Songs from Shirak]*	Tblisi	1917	Folksongs
Grigor Mirzajan	*Chants populaires armeniens, Recueillis, transcrits et harmonises*	St. Petersburg	1904	Folksongs

Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov	*Pesenka*[23]	St. Petersburg – re-published in an Armenian periodical entitled *Artsunkner* (1907)	1903	Miniature
Cesar Cui (1835-1918)	Семь Стихотворений Армянскихъ Поэтовъ [7 Poems by Armenian Poets][24]	P. Jurgenson	1907	Lieder
Lazare Saminsky (1882-1959)	*Sechs Lieder aus dem russischen Orient* Opus 28 i. *Orovèla* (Georgian harvest song) ii. *Deli Yaman* (Armenian) iii. *Kouïlyap* (Bashkir song from Oural) iv. *Schir Haschirim* (Song of Songs, Georgian Jews) v. *Armyanskaya pliasovalia* (Armenian Dance Song) vi. Terskaia kazachia pesnya (Cossack song from Térek, Northern Caucasia)	Universal Edition	1928	Für mittlere stimme und klavier
Samuel Feinburg (1890-1962)	*Three Melodies, Opus 27a* *i. Georgian Song* *ii. Cossack Song* *iii. Armenian Song*	Muzyka	1938	Piano miniature

[23] A mentor for notable Armenian composers (Tigranian and Makar Ekmalian), Rimsky-Korsakov's inclusion here is owing to his piano miniature entitled *Pesenka* (literally, Little Song). Initially published in 1901, the miniature appeared in a music collection compiled in memory of the Armenian painter Ivan Aivazovsky [Hovhaness Aivazian] (1817–1900), the proceeds of which went to the aid of hunger-stricken Armenians in the Empire. This miniature subsequently appeared in *Artsunkner (Tears)*, a 1907 Armenian literary-music album published in St. Peterburg. Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, "Foreword," to *Piano Ensembles: Volume III for One Piano/Four Hands* (Vienna: Kalmus, 1981), np.

[24] This art song cycle was based on settings of works focusing on the struggle for Armenian independence by six prominent late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Armenian poets.

3.2 Armenian Musical References and Genre Considerations

The works listed in Table 3.1 may be seen as culturally hybridized, referencing multiple ethnicities within the Russian Orient. They refer to Armenian culture in two ways: as either self-contained or related to other minority communities of the Transcaucasus and Asia (as in the Tatar and Persian musical themes used in Aleksandr Spendiarov's multimovement *Crimean Sketches*). In most cases, the pieces' musical traits promote ethnographic ideologies of cultural authenticity with materials borrowed from folk sources. These works were largely excluded from the Russian Empire's own hyper-nationalistic discourses because they projected pluralistic and transcultural images of place and identity (for instance, Armenian, Georgian, Persian, and Tatar).[25]

Nonetheless, pluralistic representations of non-Russian culture were popular at the turn of the century, as seen in works by Mily Balakirev (1837–1910), Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844–1908) and their followers, including the *Moguchaya kuchka*.[26] Armenian composers crossed cultural boundaries within the Russian Orient as well. Their works (in Table 3.1) attempt to reproduce ethnographic encounters with other ethnic minorities by including different cultural voices in their compositions. In their deliberate grouping of minority cultures' music, the works seem to speak of an existential need for unity and a certain degree of identifiable homogeneity to be acknowledged and heard by the empire. Thus, although reinforcing the cultural authenticity of minority communities, the music also emphasized their non-Russianness and may have diminished the specificity of their cultures. One thinks of Richard Taruskin's argument that

[25] Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation*, 107.
[26] Adalyat Issiyeva, "French Musical Orientalism in Russia, 'Artistic Truth,' and Russian Musical Identity," *Revue musicale OIRCM* 3, no. 1 (2016): 71.

without a "native costume, a 'peripheral' composer would never achieve secondary canonical rank, but with it, he could never achieve more."[27]

All of the works in Table 3.1 exhibit similarities that speak of their alliance with Western art music: the style of arrangement, genres, evocations of non-Western musics, and use of culturally specific language (such as titles that were faithful to geographical realities). Such works allowed listeners and performers familiar with Western art music to access minority communities' music, even if these compilations did not claim to be folk music collections. These pieces do not suggest classical forms or their historical generic functions in the Western art music tradition (with titles like "sonata") but have titles indicating that they are character pieces inspired by culturally specific sacred and folk symbols.[28] Titles, however, do not reveal the entire story behind these works. Many pieces use Western musical forms, including binary and ternary forms, and theme and variations, specifically in pieces that borrowed motifs from folk cultures (as in Genary Korganoff's *Bayati* and Koreshchenko's orchestral suites). Within the variety of Western formal constructions, most of these pieces comprise a handful of musical themes repeated with more elaborate ornamentation and at different registral ranges (especially favoring higher tessitura).

To examine the hybrid quality of these works, I draw on Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of the novel, which discusses the impact of individualized speech types. For Bakhtin, the novel is a container for the many different voices and registers within society writ large. In Bakhtin's

[27] Richard Taruskin, "Nationalism," in *Grove Music Online/Oxford Music Online* www.grovemusiconline.com (accessed November 12, 2022).
[28] Carl Dahlhaus described what he perceived to be the "disintegration" of musical genre in the early twentieth century as the "final consequences of which are the individualizing of abstract titles," where the prior "constituent features of a genre – text, function, scoring, and formal model – gradually lost their importance." See Carl Dahlhaus, "New Music and the Problem of Musical Genre," in *Schoenberg and the New Music*, trans. Derrick Puffett and Alfred Clayton (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 33.

words, "the novelistic hybrid is an artistically organized system for bringing different languages in contact with one another, a system having as its goal the illumination of one language by means of another."[29] I argue that the different communities evoked in hybrid musical works parallel the individualized speech types found in Bakhtin's ideas of the novelistic hybrid.

3.2.1 NIKOGHAYOS TIGRANIAN (1856–1951): *TRANSKAUKASISCHE VOLKSLIEDER UND TANZ* AND OTHER EXAMPLES OF MULTIETHNIC HYBRIDITY

Nikoghayos Tigranian's [Nikolai Tigranoff] (1856–1951) compositional output brought together musical sources across ethnic communities of the Russian Orient. Working in the composer-ethnographer mold, he arranged his findings into virtuosic piano arrangements (cf. mid-to-late nineteenth-century arrangements of folk themes by Central and Eastern European composer-performers). Many of Tigranian's works in Table 3.1 share compositional similarities to the other folk-inspired works I have analyzed here, especially Komitas's *Danses*. Tigranian's *Transkaukasische Volkslieder und Tanz* Op. 1 (1887) is a collection of seven character pieces that depicts Armenian, Persian, and Georgian cultures. Each movement represents part of a journey across the Transcaucasus. After explaining specific musical and extramusical parameters of this work, I argue that this collection functions as an encyclopedic manual of performative gestures—such as heavy articulation, tremolos, and grace-note figures—that can represent activities associated with the "rural" on the urban concert stage.

Tigranian was born in Alexandropol (present-day Gyumri) in the Russian Empire to a prominent Armenian family active in politics and education. His younger brother, Sirakan, was a politician during Armenia's First Republic, serving as minister of foreign affairs, whereas his

[29] Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist and trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 361.

other brothers were trustees of the well-known Nersessian Academy based in Tiflis. He contracted smallpox in early adolescence and suffered from permanent blindness. Worried about the lack of appropriate educational resources, the young Nikoghayos and his family attended the fourth International Sanitary Conference in Vienna in 1874. The conference had been established in 1851 by the French government as part of efforts to standardize international health practices, especially concerning yellow fever, cholera, and other nineteenth-century diseases.[30] During that trip, Tigranian applied for admission to the Imperial Royal Institute for the Education of the Blind in Vienna, even though, as a non-Austrian, he was subjected to an incredibly rigorous approval process.[31] Living and studying in Vienna between 1874 and 1880, the young Tigranian took up music with organist and pedagogue Wilhelm Schenner (1839–1913) of the Vienna Conservatory. Under Schenner's guidance, he studied piano, harmony, music theory, and composition and developed a marked facility for playing Western art music of the common-practice period.[32]

Upon returning to Alexandropol in 1880, Tigranian began transcribing, curating, and collecting the folksongs that would define his compositions over the following decades. In 1893, he graduated from the St. Petersburg Conservatory, where he trained as a composer under Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844–1908) and Nikolai Solovyov (1846–1916), among others.[33] Tigranian was especially interested in travelling Armenian musicians called *ashugs* (musician-performers who travelled the rural parts of the Transcaucasus) and *sazandars* (singers who

[30] Valeska Huber, "The Unification of the Globe by Disease? The International Sanitary Conferences on Cholera, 1851-1894," *The Historical Journal* 49, no. 2 (2006): 453-76.
[31] The Viennese institution was founded in 1804 by the educator Johann Wilhelm Klein (1765–1848). The history of the Imperial Royal Institute for the Education of the Blind was published in 1864. See M. Pablasek, *Das K.K. Blinden-Erziehungs-Institut in Wien: Geschichte, Chronik, und Statistik* (Wien, 1864), 1-5.
[32] Mikael Ayrapetyan, Liner Notes for *Armenian Folk Dances and Mugam Arrangements Op 2, 3, 5, 6, and 10* Grand Piano, GP798, 2019, 1 compact disc.
[33] See Svetlana Sarkisyan, "Tigranian, Nikoghayos Fadeyi," *Grove Music Online/Oxford Music Online* www.grovemusiconline.com (accessed May 6, 2022).

accompanied themselves on the *saz*).[34] Like Komitas, Tigranian encountered Armenian and Central Asian musical styles (including Georgian, Persian, and Tatar musical traditions) while compiling and transcribing folksongs. Unlike Komitas, however, Tigranian chose to group these musical communities together within his compositions rather than privilege one community over the others.[35] Tigranian exchanged letters with Komitas (who also wrote to Tigranian's younger brother Sirakan) in which he described the impact of such music on audiences abroad in Western Europe.

In a letter dated January 22, 1901, Komitas sent Tigranian the first few pages of Komitas's newly published article, "Armeniens Volkstümliche Reigentänze," in *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie*.[36] In the accompanying letter, Komitas observed that the folk fragments mentioned in the article were taken from larger scholarly works. The foreign (i.e., non-Armenian) reader would, he wrote, find the accompanying illustrations helpful as a "small hint about our melodies."[37] Komitas concluded by asking about Tigranian's progress on his "new Persian works" for the piano.[38] In an October 1897 letter to Sirakan (when Komitas was based in Berlin), Komitas praised Nikoghayos's contribution to Armenian music, claiming that his presentation of "Armenian melodies printed in European notation" will no doubt bring "our priceless folk

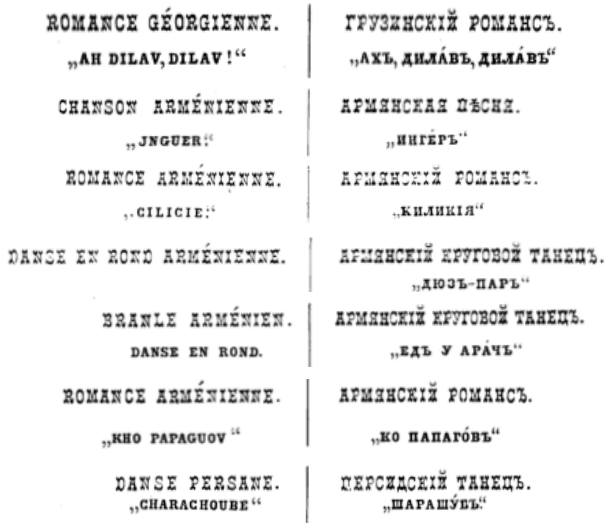
[34] In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, ashugs (poet-musicians) compiled their lyrics in notebooks, though their melodies and instrumental accompaniments were often transmitted via oral tradition or improvised on the spot. Ashugs would typically apprentice under the guidance of a master musician and poet. Following the apprenticeship, the ashug would perform pilgrimages to specific Armenian cultural and religious sites, appropriating the various dialects embedded within musical folklore. This period also saw ashug traditions develop outside Armenian culture, with Azeri, Turkish, and Persian ashug traditions. The most celebrated and well-known Armenian ashug was Sayat Nova, from the eighteenth century. His life was subject to a Soviet Armenian film called *The Color of Pomegranates*, directed by Sergei Parajanov (1924–1990), with the film score composed by Tigran Mansourian (b. 1939). Manukian, "Music of Armenia," 725.
[35] Sarkisyan, "Tigranian, Nikoghayos Fadeyi."
[36] Nazareth Seferian offers the English translations of these letters. See Komitas, *The Letters of Komitas Vardapet*, 55.
[37] Komitas, *The Letters of Komitas Vardapet*, 56. This letter is housed at the A. Spendiaryan House-Museum in Yerevan. It was also published in R. Mazmanyan, *Nikoghayos Tigranyan: Articles, Memoires, Letters* [N. Tigranyan: stat′i, vospominaniya, pis′ma] (Yerevan, 1981), 164-65.
[38] Komitas, *The Letters of Komitas Vardapet*, 56.

treasures to the attention of foreigners."[39] The importance of disseminating Armenian music beyond the homeland and particularly in Western Europe was a recurring theme in the correspondence between the Tigranians and Komitas.

Tigranian's *Transkaukasische Volkslieder und Tanz* Op. 1 exemplifies the late nineteenth-century vogue among Russian composers for codifying and arranging multiple Asian musical cultures. Such compositions were based on the notion of authenticity, which was supported by details in the musical score. Many musical and extramusical traits in this work mirror those I discussed in **Section 3.2**. *Transkaukasische Volksliede und Tanz* incorporates multiple languages in its paratexts: French, Russian, Italian, and German, alongside Armenian, Georgian, and Persian texts transliterated into Russian and Latin scripts. Tigranian also provided footnotes explaining culturally specific practices to the uninitiated.

With such measures, Tigranian targeted educated urban audiences within and beyond the Russian Empire. He emphasized this point in his correspondence with Komitas as part of their proselytizing efforts on behalf of folk music. The generic titles in this collection would have been familiar to such audiences: "romance," "chanson," and dances ("branle" and "danses en rond"). In addition, ethnic-specific subtitles accompanied the pieces (see the discussion of **Figure 3.1**). Tigranian confirmed that the music was a result of his ethnographic work by declaring: "Bearbeitet und in Noten gesetzt von Tigranoff," ["edited and transcribed by Tigranoff"], also given in Russian translation.

[39] Komitas, *The Letters of Komitas Vardapet*, 40. The original of the letter is located A. Spendiaryan House Museum. A copy of the letter can also be found at the MAL (the Museum of Literature and Arts named after Yeghishe Charents). According to the postage stamp, the letter was sent on 27 October 1897.



ROMANCE GÉORGIENNE. „AH DILAV, DILAV!“	ГРУЗИНСКІЙ РОМАНСЪ. „АХЪ, ДИЛА́ВЪ, ДИЛА́ВЪ“
CHANSON ARMÉNIENNE. „JNGUER“	АРМЯНСКАЯ ПѢСНЯ. „ИНГЕ́РЪ“
ROMANCE ARMÉNIENNE. „CILICIE“	АРМЯНСКІЙ РОМАНСЪ. „КИЛИКІЯ“
DANSE EN ROND ARMÉNIENNE.	АРМЯНСКІЙ КРУГОВОЙ ТАНЕЦЪ. „ДЮЗЪ-ПАРЪ“
BRANLE ARMÉNIEN. DANSE EN ROND.	АРМЯНСКІЙ КРУГОВОЙ ТАНЕЦЪ. „ЕДЪ У АРА́ЧЪ“
ROMANCE ARMÉNIENNE. „KHO PAPAGUOV“	АРМЯНСКІЙ РОМАНСЪ. „КО ПАПАГО́ВЪ“
DANSE PERSANE. „CHARACHOUBE“	ПЕРСИДСКІЙ ТАНЕЦЪ. „ШАРАШУ́БЪ“

Figure 3.1*:* These titles are directly taken from the movements in the first edition in both French and Russian. [Public Domain] See Nikoghayos Tigranian, *Transkaukasische Volkslieder und Tanz*, Opus 1. Alexandropol, Author's Edition, 1887.

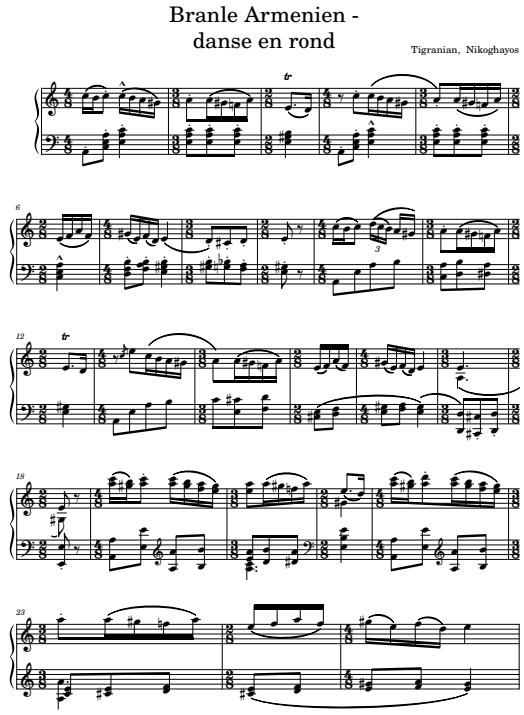
Three of the seven movements are dances, with two explicitly relating to Armenia: a "danse en rond" (Circle/Round Dance, No. 4) and a "branle Arménien" (Armenian Branle, No. 5). Circle/round dances (such as No. 4) were popular in Armenia, as described in Komitas's ethnographic study titled, "Armeniens volkstümliche Reigentänze" ("Armenian Round Dances"), which he had sent to Tigranian.[40] Tigranian's "branle" (a French dance; No. 5) features a unique metric pattern (see **Ex. 3.1)**. In addition, another circle/round dance, "branle Arménien" strictly follows a 4/8-3/8-2/8 pattern repeated throughout the 147-measure piece, yielding exactly forty-nine iterations. This repeating metric characteristic is highlighted by Tigranian in a footnote: "all three different time signatures – 4/8-3/8-2/8 – must be counted and played evenly throughout. I [Tigranian] could probably have written this piece in 9/8 time, but because of the peculiar and

[40] Taken from his German-language article, "Armeniens volkstümliche Reigentänze," Komitas specifically expounded on Armenian circle dances. For an English translation, see Komitas "Armenia's National Circle Dances," in *Komitas Essays and Articles*, 106-11.

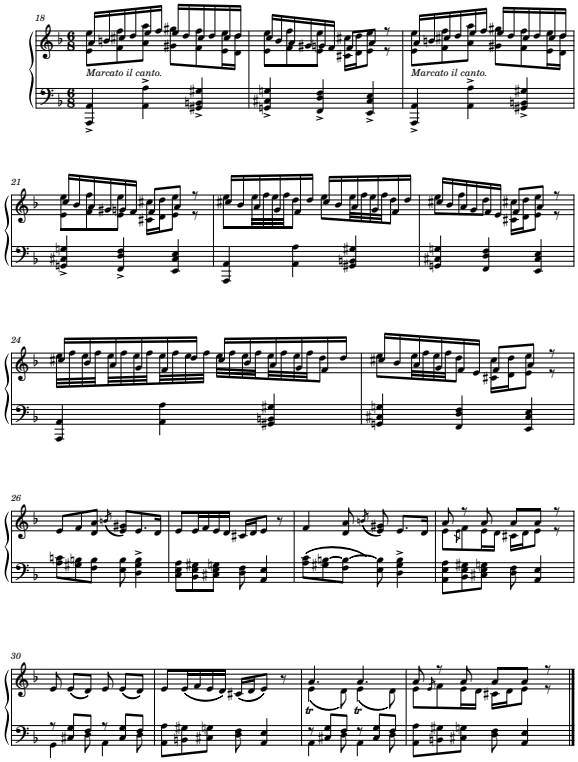
periodically repeating intonation, I preferred the bar divisions as they appear in the score, hoping that in this way, the performer would more easily grasp the character of the piece."[41]

No. 4, "danse en rond," remains in an *Andante* 6/8 throughout. However, Tigranian showcases pianistic virtuosity in one section. The piece takes a frenetic turn at *marcato il canto* (m. 18 to the end, **Ex. 3.2)**. Overall, the dance is based on two-measure patterns that repeat and evolve. Example 3.2 shows the pattern with chromatic motion [A-A-G#-G♮-F-E] in the left hand. This two-measure unit repeats four times (mm. 18 to 25) before a new pattern emerges from mm. 26 to the end. Accompanying the chromatically descending bass line, the right-hand combines eighth-note octaves with concurrent upper parts in sixteenth and thirty-second notes (mm. 22 and 24) in a display of technical virtuosity. Tigranian successfully united the recurring bass pattern of Armenian circle dance with embellished melodies, a hallmark of his Western art music-inspired compositional style.

[41] "Anmerkung. In allen drei verschiedenen Tactarten: 4/8 3/8 2/8 müssen überall die achtel Noten genau gleichmäßig gezählt und gespielt werden. Ich hätte dies Stück wohl auch in 9/8 Tact schreiben können, aber, der eigentümlichen und periodisch immer wieder holenden Betonung wegen, zog ich die verschiedenartige Tacteintheilung vor, hoffend dass der Spieler auf diese Art den Charakter die ses Stückes leichter erfassen würde."

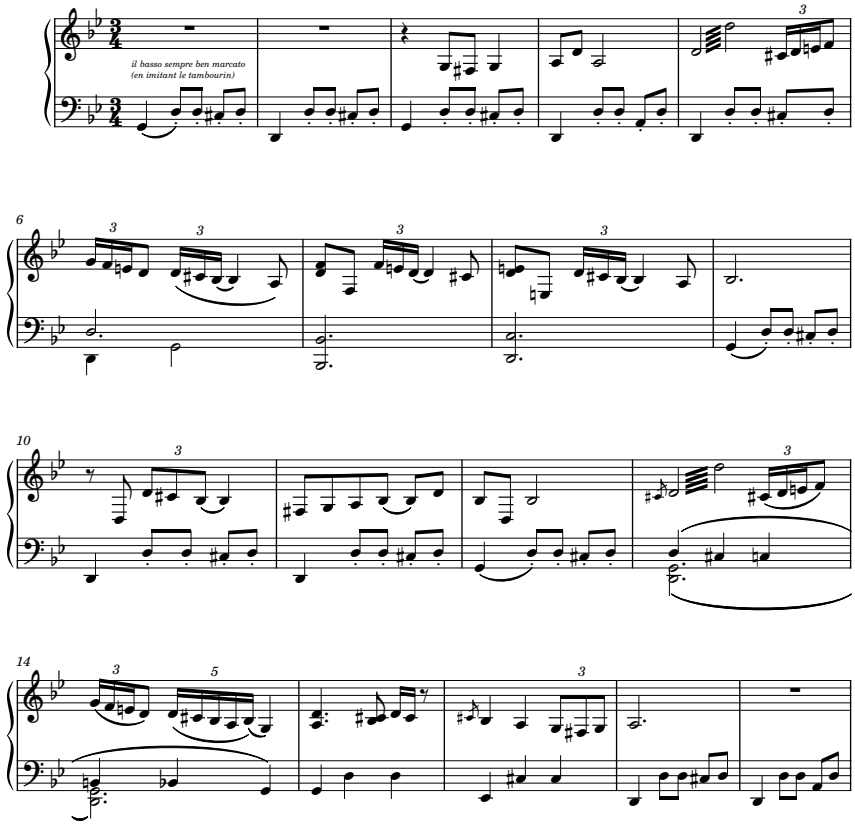


Ex. 3.1: First 25 measures of "Branle Arménien" with its metric shifts.



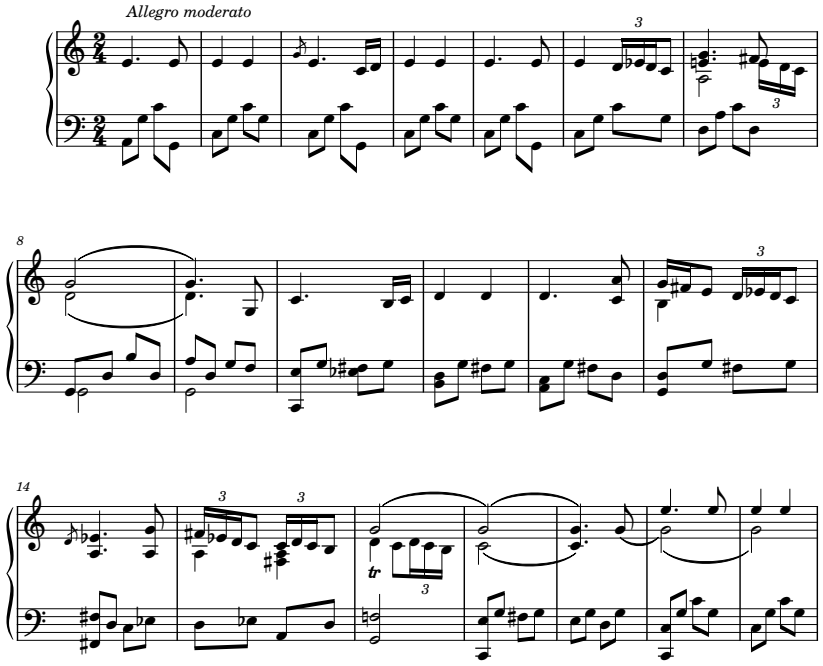
Ex. 3.2: Mm. 18 to the end of the "Danse en Rond."

Tigranian's work also referred to folksongs. No. 1, for example, is based on a Georgian folksong "Ah! Dilav, Dilav" [Oh, Morning, Morning] and subtitled "Romance Géorgienne." Presumably, "Ah Dilav! Dilav" was based on Tigranian's transcription (although this particular song was also transcribed as "Akh Dilav" [Oh Morning] by Balakirev).[42] The first eighteen measures of No. 1 (**Ex. 3.3)** remind us of specific features in Komitas's *Danses*. For instance, the performer is tasked with imitating a *tambourine* (*en imitant le tambourine*, a folk percussive instrument in Georgia), which is given a distinctive rhythm (♩ ♪♪♪♪).



Ex. 3.3: First 18 measures of "Romance Géorgienne" subtitled "Ah Dilav, Dilav!"

[42] Issiyeva, *Representing Russia's Orient*, 176.



Ex. 3.4: Mm. 1-20 of "Romance Arménienne" with the ashug song, "Kho Papaguov."

The right-hand melody in No. 1 features half-steps, augmented second intervals, tremolos, and triplet figurations over the steady accompaniment, typical musical signs for the Orient in Western art music. Another reference to folksong appears in No. 6, "Romance Arménienne," subtitled "Kho Papaguov" [**Ex. 3.4**]. "Kho Papaguov" refers to Jivani (born Serob Stepani Levonian; 1846–1909), a Georgian Armenian *ashug*. No. 6 demonstrates Tigranian's knowledge of the *ashug* folk tradition, which existed in Georgian, Armenian, Turkish, and Persian cultures.

The *Transkaukasische Volklieder und Tanz* highlighted multiple minority communities of the Russian Empire in the late nineteenth century by combining folksong, paratextual references to the communities, and sound effects representative of rural folk culture. Tigranian did not focus solely on Armenian musical culture but instead presented what I think of as a trans-regional

snapshot of the empire and its minority voices. His work combined culturally specific references to communities with established oriental gestures in Western art music.

3.2.2 The Asian/Ottoman/Islamic Face

Tigranian also featured non-Armenian music in other compositions, such as in his *mugamat* piano works (*Tcharguiah: Grand fantaisie Persane*, op. 8; Heydari, op. 5; Shakhnaz, op. 6), likely the "new Persian works" to which Komitas had alluded in the above-quoted letter.[43] The term *mugamat* refers to sacred and secular *makam* in Central Asian and mainly other Islamic cultures (such as *maqam* in the Arab world and *mugam* in Azerbaijan). In the *Grove Music Online* entry on "Azerbaijan," Jean During explained that *mugamat* referred to Azeri music traditions, but also formed "part of the Armenian repertory" from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He admitted to "a tendency among Armenians for some decades now to reject this music because of the growth in nationalism on both sides."[44] The rejection "resulted from the geopolitical division" of the Transcaucasus in 1917.[45]

According to Habib Touma, *makam* is defined by space (tonal) and time (temporal). A constantly shifting tactus defines the temporal aspect. In contrast, the spatial (tonal) pattern is defined by "melody patterns" or "melody models."[46] Unlike in Western music, the maqam is not subject to specific temporal rules of organization. The temporal aspect has neither a regularly recurring bar scheme nor an unchanging tactus; instead, it largely depends on the individual

[43] Komitas, *The Letters of Komitas Vardapet*, 56.
[44] Jean During, "Azerbaijan," in *Grove Music Online/Oxford Music Online* www.grovemusiconline.com (accessed May 6, 2022).
[45] During, "Azerbaijan."
[46] Touma framed European genres like the waltz as defined by a specific temporal structure. The "tonal-spatial" component differs in every waltz, whereas the temporal construction is the same. Habib Hassan Touma, "The Maqam Phenomenon: An Improvisation Technique in the Music of the Middle East," *Ethnomusicology* 15, no. 1 (January 1973): 38-40.

performer's style and technique of playing. According to Touma, the *maqam* has "from the European point of view, sometimes been regarded as music improvised without form" owing to its lack of "clear and fixed themes together with their subsequent elaboration and variation."[47] Melodically, *maqam* practice ranges from the exceptionally virtuosic to the more musically mundane. The former is associated with "melodic lines" that feature fixed "tonal-spatial relationships" and "free rhythmic-temporal" parameters, as in the performance of *taqsim*. Tigranian's *mugamat* works for piano are in a fantasia style and apply *makam* improvisatory practices to Western art music. Other *makam*-based compositions by Armenian composers include other Asian/Ottoman/Islamic musical terms such as *bayati* and *taksim*. *Bayati* indicates a particular mode in *makam*, whereas *taksim* denotes an opening improvised section that establishes the mode.[48]

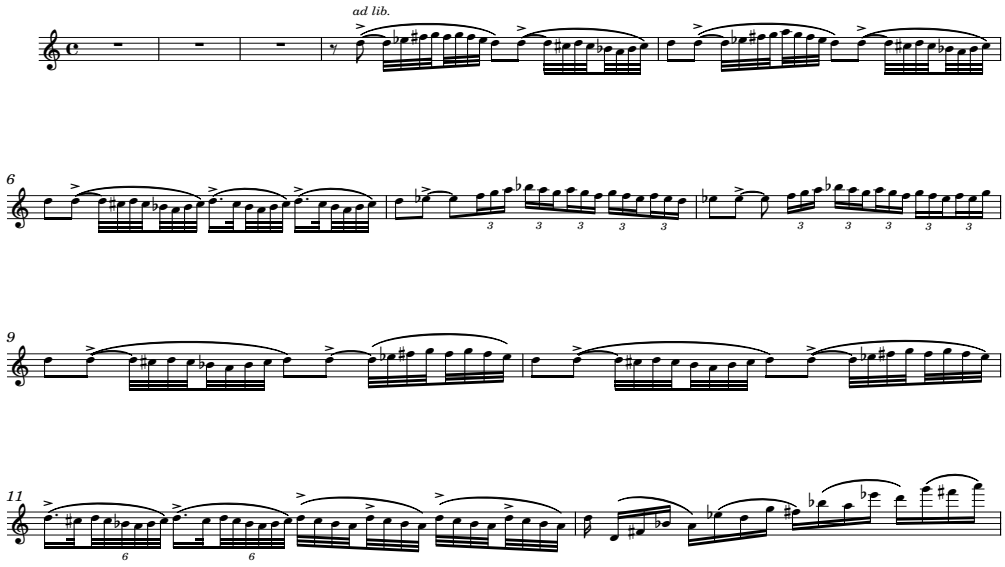
Figure 3.2 provides the front cover of *Nouveau Bayati: Potpourri Oriental sur des motifs favorits arménien et géorgien* by Russian-Armenian composer Genari Karganoff (1858–1890). *Nouveau Bayati* is a single-movement work subdivided into several sections. Each section references a particular folksong or dance, such as "marche arménien," "danse arménienne," and "Lezginka" (a popular dance in the Northern Caucasus). Musically, *Nouveau Bayati* is comparable to *Transkaukasische Volkslieder und Tanz* in that the individual work comprises sections that mine from multiethnic traditions. Karganoff, however, used titles emphasizing the Asian/Ottoman/Islamic influence exerted on Armenian culture (including *Bayati* and *Oriental*).[49]

[47] Touma, "The Maqam Phenomenon," 39.
[48] See Genary Karganoff, *Nouveau "Bayati" Potpourri Oriental sur des motifs favorits armeniens et georgiens composé par Genari Karganoff* (Tiflis: J. Souzanadjian, no date).
[49] "Potpourri" referred to the often-hackneyed arrangements of preexisting works (often operatic and folksong arrangements) that became prominent in the nineteenth century, particularly those bringing large-scale works into the domestic home. See Andrew Lamb, "Potpourri," in *Grove Music Online/Oxford Music Online* www.grovemusiconline.com (accessed May 6, 2022).

Figure 3.2: Front cover of Genari Karganoff's *Nouveau Bayati*. Genari Karganoff, *Nouveau Bayati: Potpourri Oriental sur des motifs favorits arménien et géorgien composée pour le piano par Genari Karganoff*. Tiflis: Souzandjian, date missing.

Other Russian composers—including Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov (1859–1935) and Nikolayevich Koreshchenko (1870–1921)—used Asian/Ottoman/Islamic influences to depict Armenian culture.[50] Ippolitov-Ivanov's *Rhapsodie Arménienne sur des thèmes Nationals pour orchestre* (1895) was dedicated to the memory of Karganoff and featured hallmarks of musical orientalism. **Ex. 3.5** shows violin solos in the introduction and conclusion of the work. The quick-moving melody features an abundance of augmented seconds. Labeled *ad libitum*, the quasi-improvisatory passage functions almost like a *taksim*. The violin was also a regular member of traditional Central Asian folk ensembles.

[50] Arseny Nikolayevich Koreshchenko was a member of the Russian Music Ethnographic Committee [MEK] and was particularly interested in Armenian and Georgian folksongs. Based in Tiflis, Georgia, Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov made ethnographic trips in Inner Georgia, where he remarked upon the Arab and Persian influences on Georgian music.



Ex. 3.5: The violin solo from the first measures of Ippolitov-Ivanov's *Rhapsodie Arménienne sur des themes Nationals pour orchestra* (1895).

Ippolitov-Ivanov's contemporary Koreshchenko also highlighted the Asian/Ottoman/Islamic side of Armenian culture in his compositions, including an orchestral suite titled *Suite Arménienne* [*Armyanskaya Syuita*] and a setting of *Krunk* [The Crane]. Like Karganoff's *Bayati*, Koreshchenko's orchestral *Suite Arménienne* incorporated Armenian and Georgian motifs. Arrangements for piano solo and four hands by W. Bessel et C[ie] (St. Petersburg) and Breitkopf und Härtel (Leipzig) hint at the work's popularity in the late nineteenth century.[51] **Figure 3.3** shows the title page of the version for solo piano, complete with oriental visual details. A Turkish *nargileh* pipe rests atop an ornate table, with the smoke wafting to three musicians on a balcony gazing at the starry night sky. A concert stage bears traditional instruments of rural Anatolia/Russian Orient, including a *zurna* (double-reed wind instrument), a

[51] Arseny Nikolayevich Koreshchenko, *Suite Arménienne pour orchestra par Arsène Koreshchenko pour piano à quatre mains Opus 20* (St. Petersburg and Moscow: W. Bessel et Cie, 1893).

dap (drum), and a *kamancha* (a bowed instrument; See **Figure 3.3** and **Figure 3.4** as well as **Appendix B** for the definition of these and other Central Asian instruments).

To date, Armenian musical historiography has tended to shy away from works such as these examples because they present a hybridized face of Armenian culture that involves non-Armenian cultures of the Russian Orient. I contend that these works embody an integrated form of musical hybridity that represented an essential part of late nineteenth-century Armenian musical expression and identity.

Figure 3.3: Title Page of *Suite Arménienne* with accoutrements of orientalism. Arseny Nikolayevich Koreshchenko, *Suite Arménienne pour orchestre par Arsène Koreshchenko pour piano à quatre mains Opus 20.* St. Petersburg and Moscow: W. Bessel et C[ie], 1893.

Figure 3.4: From left to right: *zurna*, *tambour*, and *kamancha*. Images courtesy of the Library of Congress (LoC).

3.3. LAZARE SAMINSKY: A VIEW FROM COMPARATIVE MUSICOLOGY

The final section of this chapter explores the research of Lazare Saminsky (1882–1959), which addresses another version of the dialectical faces of Armenian musical culture in the Russian Empire mediated through a multicultural lens. His work focused on the minority music he encountered during his fieldwork in the waning Russian Empire in the first decades of the twentieth century. Like other reformers of the period, Saminsky distinguished "authentic" music from more hybridized (read Ottoman/ Oriental) practices based on his fieldwork encounters with Armenian, Jewish, and other non-Russian musical identities. His work presents another example of a non-Armenian ethnographer (Saminsky was of Russian-Jewish origin) who engaged with compositional techniques and representations of "authentic" culture. Saminsky's works aligned with the efforts to collect and add harmonies to minority music that gained prominence among ethnic minorities in Russia, including that of Armenians. The popularity of ethnic musical artifacts grew alongside the emerging popularity of the gramophone. In 1915, according to one

estimate, approximately twenty-five million records were being sold each year in the empire within emerging ethnic niche markets, including Armenians, Tatars, Ukrainians, and Jews, among other groups.[52]

Born into an established family of Jewish merchants in Odessa (present-day Ukraine), Saminsky had a prodigious intellect. Beyond music, he studied multiple European languages and philosophy; at age sixteen, he wrote commentaries on Spinoza's *Ethics*. He also translated Descartes's *Meditations* from Latin to Russian.[53] Upon graduating from a commercial Lyceum in Odessa, Saminsky moved to Moscow. He studied at the Moscow Philharmonic Music School before being expelled for his pro-Socialist political leanings.[54] Saminsky moved to St. Peterburg in 1905 (a year marked by revolution and significant antisemitic legislation) where he pursued mathematics and philosophy at the university while studying composition and conducting at the St. Petersburg Conservatory under the direction of Anatoly Lyadov (1855–1914) and Rimsky-Korsakov.[55] Saminsky's tutelage under the latter was significant as Rimsky-Korsakov encouraged his non-Russian students to pursue the collection or musical integration of their cultures within the context of their own compositions.[56] Saminsky quickly established himself as one of a long line of Russian early twentieth-century composer-ethnographers.

A founding member of the St. Petersburg Jewish Folk Music Society in 1908, Saminsky made his name through expeditions like the Baron de Guinzbourg Ethnological Expedition

[52] Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation*, 181.
[53] This biography of Saminsky comes from Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation*, 111. Also see Albert Weisser, "Lazare Saminsky's Years in Russia and Palestine: Excerpts from an unpublished autobiography," *Musica Judaica* 2, no. 1 (1977-78): 13-14.
[54] Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation*, 111.
[55] Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation*, 112.
[56] To this end, one famous interaction occurred between Rimsky-Korsakov and his Armenian student, Alexander Spendiarov [Spendiarian]. Rimsky-Korsakov declared that his version of the musical Orient could only pale compared to Spendiarov's because "the Orient is not in my blood." Therefore, he [Rimsky-Korsakov] could not produce something truly "authentic" or "valuable" in this arena. See Adalyat Issiyeva, "Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov and His Orient," in *Rimsky-Korsakov and His World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 145.

(1913), during which he transcribed the chants of Transcaucasian Jewish communities.[57] Although most members of the society were not themselves composers, the organization fostered a compositional movement in Jewish art music. Its audiences and supporters extended well beyond the empire, resulting from the proselytizing efforts of members who emigrated to Western Europe and North America. Composers associated with the society might write accompaniments for and add harmonies to folk materials, feature the materials in original compositions such as rhapsodies and suites (see section 3.2 for examples of such repertoire), and use them as inspiration for large-scale orchestral and choral works.[58]

In these respects, Saminsky's concerns and outcomes mirrored those of prominent Armenian composer-ethnographers who wished to elevate folksongs and sacred chants into what they viewed as high-art compositions that could be taken seriously on the world's concert stages. Although Saminsky was most interested in Jewish folk and sacred music, he also collected and harmonized traditional non-Russian music encountered in the field. From there, he created compositions that were received by urban-based audiences as realistic multiethnic portraits of rural life.[59] Saminsky took an exacting approach to authenticity. In his writings, he painstakingly addressed the realism of his retrieved melodies (including Jewish, Georgian, Armenian, and Tatar melodies) and discussed the unwanted influence of "pan-Orientalism" [*obshchenostochnyi*], which shaped his comparative analyses of non-Russian minority cultures in the empire.[60]

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[57] Weisser, "Lazare Saminsky's Years in Russia and Palestine," 13-14.
[58] Alexander Knapp, "Jewish Music," in *Grove Music Online/Oxford Music Online* www.grovemusiconline.com (accessed May 6, 2022).
[59] Not only did he participate in firsthand ethnographic expeditions, but he also transcribed melodies taken from cylinder recordings chronicled by his fieldwork contemporaries. Joshua Walden, "Music of the Folks-Neshome: 'Hebrew Melody' and Changing Musical Representations of Jewish Culture in the Early Twentieth Century Ashkenazi Diaspora," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 8, no. 2 (July 1, 2009): 156.
[60] Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation*, 181.

Despite his foundational role in the society, Saminsky viewed most, if not all, folksongs as constantly changing and subject to new influences, often the product of cultural hybridity. He argued that the "true" roots of Jewish musical identity were ingrained in the old cantillations of the Bible. His argument echoed Komitas's belief about Armenian music: that the *khaz* notation system and medieval Armenian chant represented the origins of truly authentic Armenian folksong.[61] By privileging sacred music, Saminsky (who cited Komitas) also echoed Pierre Aubry, but traversed a different route to the same conclusion. Although Aubry had examined Armenia's musical past and sacred traditions through his training in the paleography and philology of early Christian chants (impacted by his background in the *Schola Cantorum*), Saminsky's claims about Armenian music were built on his study of Jewish folklore and Jewish sacred music.[62]

Saminsky's musical findings inspired internal debates among the St. Petersburg Jewish Folk Music Society members. A rift emerged between Saminsky and Joel Engel (1868–1927), another founding member. Although the former promoted "authentic" music via liturgical Jewish sources and remained dismissive of folk music influenced by pan-orientalism (or other forms of cultural hybridity), the latter promoted contemporary Jewish folk music whether or not it engaged with hybridity. Whereas Saminsky regarded hybrid interactions as counter to Jewish musical expression, Engel vehemently pushed back against what he saw as Saminsky's form of cultural erasure:

> The very same 'pan oriental' mode is characteristic of many Hungarian, Roumanian, Armenian, Persian, and other melodies. So, is it really possible to conclude from this that

[61] Nearly all the composers in the St. Petersburg Jewish Folk Music Society were the sons and grandsons of cantors, mirroring the influence of the Armenian church traditions over Armenian composers during the *fin-de-siècle*.
[62] Saminsky's compositions took Jewish sacred music sources (rather than folksong) as their departure point.

> in the case of Hungarians, Romanians and Armenians their music 'as such does not exist, that it is simply a part of Oriental music'?![63]

As described by James Loeffler, this conflict saw Engel effectively accuse Saminsky of "creating an impossible myth of purity and cultural exceptionalism," which mirrored the kind of language Armenian reformers used to describe the "purity" of Armenian musical expression.[64]

Saminsky wrote a few times about Armenian music, with the longest contribution in his book, *Music of Our Day* (1932). Originally published as "The Music of the Peoples of the Russian Orient" (1922) in *The Musical Quarterly*, an expanded version of the article appeared as a chapter in *Music of Our Day* with the same title (see section 3.3.1). Though published in the 1930s, the chapter recalls his fieldwork expeditions from the 1910s.[65] Other references to Armenian music include brief comments in his monograph *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible* (1933). His Armenian fieldwork also influenced his *Sechs Lieder aus dem Russischen Orient für mittlere Stimme und Klavier* Op. 28 (1928). The composition, comprising melodies retrieved from Saminsky's fieldwork excursions, lies between a song cycle and folksong collection.[66]

With its claim to document the varied musical cultures of the Russian Orient and the composer's promise that the melodies offer near-scientific accuracy, the collection demonstrated Saminsky's attempts to move these works beyond the gaze of the comparative musicologist and to a concert context: "The author of this collection ... [who] had a singularly happy opportunity

[63] Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation*, 181.
[64] Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation*, 181.
[65] Lazare Saminsky, "Music of the Peoples of the Russian Orient," *The Musical Quarterly* 8, no. 3 (1922): 346-352. Also published in *Music of Our Day: Essentials and Prophesies* (New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell Company, 1932), 280-99.
[66] Philip Bohlman, *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), 44-46.

of long and intimate contact with the loftiest music of the Russian Oriental Peoples tries to give in this album several specimens of the true melody of those peoples."[67]

3.3.1 Saminsky's Writings and Beliefs

In his book *Music of Our Day*, Saminsky introduced the many different cultural communities in the Russian Orient, contextualizing these largely unknown musical traditions for new audiences:

> Southeastern Europe or rather the extreme southwestern corner of Asia, has been the birthplace of a most valuable folk music all but unknown to the Western world. We have scarcely an idea of the remarkable Caucasian melodies – Georgian and Armenian – nor do we surmise the originality of the Hebrew Georgian chant. Those who know Caucasian music through the vulgar medium of Oriental orchestras or through amateur presentation by Caucasian students at European universities are astounded and moved when they encounter a true specimen of Caucasian melody, that of the mountains and villages.[68]

In the first pages of his introduction, Saminsky emphasized the differences between urban "society" and rural "community."[69] Like his fellow ethnographers of the *fin-de-siècle*, Saminsky highlighted the value of the rural sphere. *Music of Our Day* was directed to urban, Western-oriented audiences whose knowledge of the Russian Orient had been primarily mediated through Western composers' orientalist works.

In his ethnography, *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible* (1934), Saminsky described the multicultural influences that inspired music and art in Tiflis.[70] His monograph focused on Jewish musical communities in the Georgian capital. In an evocative description of a street crossing that

[67] Lazare Saminsky, *Sechs Lieder aus dem russischen Orient für mittlere Stimme und Klavier op. 28* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1929), 2.
[68] Saminsky, *Music of Our Day*, 280.
[69] Saminsky had probably studied Ferdinand Tönnies's theory about social bodies in dialectical opposition to one another. See Ferdinand Tönnies, *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* [1887]*)*, trans. Charles P. Loomis (New York: American Book Company, 1940), 37-39.
[70] Lazare Saminsky, *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible* (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1934).

resembled a quasi-bazaar, Saminsky presented an exoticized image of the varied minority communities present in the Georgian city. At this intersection of "Zion and Jerusalem," he wrote, the cross-street was "built on an ancient trading post … [and evoked a feeling] hardly less overwhelming than the sensation of a European traveler watching a crowd from the Galata bridge in Constantinople."[71] The same street was home to many prominent synagogues in the city. Saminsky continued:

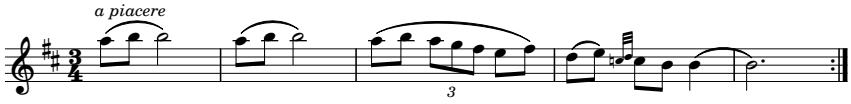
> Tiny native restaurants, Georgian, Persian, Tatar, Armenian; equally miniature armor shops, money changers' nooks and niches; trading courts with floors covered with precious rugs taken from adjoining shops. Ditch-diggers from Kurdistan with hats shaped like stout reversed jars; Persians from Azerbeidjan – a region on the Caspian Sea – with beards dyed red; magnificent, tall, and slender Mingrelians (a tribe from Western Georgia) who drape their bashlyk (cowl) around their heads with a peculiar elegance; old Turkish gentlemen in red fezzes with green foulard gauze wound around their headgear.[72]

Saminsky recalled the region's multiple Asian influences: dress code, musical performance, dance, hygiene, and even architecture.

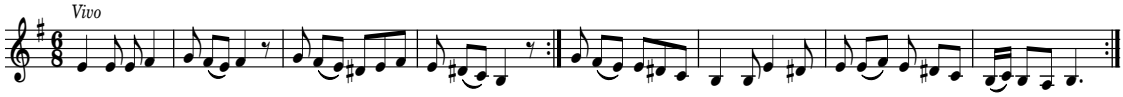
In both books, Saminsky categorized folksongs as either "lofty" or of an "inferior quality" in part based on their geographic location. Urban folksongs were usually categorized as musically suspect. In contrast, the most coveted folksongs were "rescued" from remote rural geographies.[73] The "lesser" folksongs had undergone a "sharp process of orientalization."[74] By "orientalization" he meant musical modes and scales that were "contagious," travelling the "Oriental highway" and significantly contributing "to the neutralizing and degrading of all Oriental music."[75] Saminsky's ideas about authenticity drew a direct homology between race/ethnicity and positivist characteristics in music. One musical culprit he frequently brought

[71] Saminsky, *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible*, 143.
[72] Saminsky, *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible*, 143.
[73] Saminsky, *Music of Our Day*, 281.
[74] Saminsky, *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible*, 33.
[75] Saminsky, *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible*, 32.

up was the "wandering scale" (or "oriental chromaticism"), which "finds its stamp everywhere." By this, he meant the Phrygian mode with an augmented second interval.[76] As for Armenian folksongs, he divided them into three "types": dance songs, wedding songs, and those found in isolated mountain settlements. The "dance-song" was built on the "banal oriental scale," whereas wedding songs had "more developed form and melodic lines."[77] The "loftiest and best-preserved types" were found in the mountain ranges in geographies that were remote from hybridized influences.[78] Saminsky showcased different folksongs in two Armenian folksong fragments. The first he transcribed from an "exquisite air" performed by an Armenian *ashug* on the "mountain of St. David near Tiflis." The other he took from an Armenian folksong collection transcribed and compiled by Anoushavan Ter-Ghevondian (1887–1961) and Spiridon Melikian (1880–1933), both of whom collected Armenian melodies in the Russian and Ottoman Empires.[79]



Ex. 3.6: A transcription by Saminsky featuring a melody performed by an Armenian ashug. Melody appears in *Music of Our Day*, 281.



Ex. 3.7: Cited in Saminsky's writing, this melody was originally transcribed by A. Ter Ghevondian and Spiridon Melikyan. Melody appears in *Music of Our Day*, 291.

[76] Saminsky, *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible*, 32.
[77] Saminsky, *Music of Our Day*, 287.
[78] Saminsky, *Music of Our Day*, 287.
[79] Belonging to the same generation as Komitas, Spiridon Melikyan also participated in fieldwork recordings, specifically in the Russian Empire, alongside Anoushavan Ter Ghevondian. They collected over 250 folk melodies that Armenian composers and musicologists widely used. Melikyan published multiple compendia of folk songs collected in the 1910s and whose ethnographic findings were also published posthumously in Yerevan. Beyond transcribing his fieldwork encounters, Melikyan also copied several of Komitas's transcriptions in 1904 and is credited as among the first to record Armenian folksongs via the phonograph during his fieldwork excursion of 1913. See Spiridon Melikyan, *Hay zhoghovrdakan erger ev parer [Armenian Folk Music and Words]*, 2 volumes (Yerevan: Haypethrat, 1948). Manukian, "Music of Armenia," 726.

Saminsky provided cross-cultural examples of the "wandering scale" from his ethnographic work. He often found the scale in Armenian "folk-orchestras of Transcaucasia and their folk singers, the *ashugs*" as well as in "Jewish wedding melodies."[80] The scale also appeared in "Hungro-Roumanian cabaret orchestras… the native Armenian bands of the Caucasus who played them on native instruments, and by the Jewish *klezmorim*… in Southern Russia." Other encounters with this scale were found in "an Armenian or Spanish church-hymn… a Turkish roundel … an Arabian love-song; in a Rumanian plaintive ballad, a *doyna.*" Crucially for Saminsky, the scale was absent from "the old cantillation of the Bible," which he argued demonstrated the truly authentic nature of ancient and sacred music sources.[81]

In *Music of Our Day*, Saminsky provided information about the general contours of Armenian songs, ranging from descriptions of Armenian chants from the early Christian period to the works of Komitas. Saminsky concluded his musical survey by introducing the contemporary composers Makar Ekmalian (1856–1905) and Komitas, specifically praising the latter: "Of the new Armenian composers, the monk, Father Komitas Vardapet, a former choir-master of the Patriarch's residence in Etchmiadzin, and a musician of extraordinary subtlety, has harmonized and developed some of the most ravishing folksongs."[82] Saminsky linked Komitas's works with "Rimski-Korsakov's and Liadov's famous harmonizations of Russian folk-songs… Ravel's similar work with Hebrew and Greek songs… and Manuel de Falla's transcriptions of Spanish folk-airs."[83] Saminsky lauded Komitas's compositions as the product of the most authentic Armenian melodies, encountered in the "isolated mountaineer settlements near Ararat,

[80] Saminsky, *Music of Our Day*, 290.
[81] See Saminsky, *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible*, 33.
[82] Saminsky, *Music of Our Day*, 287.
[83] In his accompanying footnote, Saminsky referred to Komitas as Pere Komitas, whose collections "are published in Paris by the Armenian Folk-Song Society." Saminsky, *Music of Our Day*, 287.

on the lake of Van, in the district of Kochb near Erivan," spaces that were "repositories of original Armenian melos."[84] Saminsky finished by arguing that, although the most isolated Armenian communities were least affected by urban cultural influences, the oriental scale he had found across communities in the former Ottoman Empire was the product of a "ceaseless collision between the various cultures of interior Asia."[85]

3.3.2 Saminsky's Music and Final Chapter Conclusion

Saminsky's *Sechs Lieder aus dem Russischen Orient* was a companion piece to his ethnographic writings. He inserted melodies from his fieldwork expeditions with added Western harmonic accompaniments. The performer/reader was thus offered a transcription in Western notation of Saminsky's ethnographic findings in an arrangement that invited performance by Westernized urbanites. Although this piece connected rural folk with urban dwellers, the music offered a homogenized view of the empire's musical peripheries (similar to Tigranian's *Transcaucasian Dances*), including a Georgian harvest song [No. 1, "Orovèla"], an Armenian song "Deli Yaman" (No. 2), and a Bashkir song from the Ural Mountains (No. 3). No. 4 is based on the "song of songs" [*Schir Haschirim*] transcribed by the author from "Georgian Jews from the city of Akhaltsikhe" in Tiflis.[86] The final two movements are an Armenian Dance [*Tanzlied*], followed by a Cossack melody collected by Saminsky in Terek, Northern Caucasia. In "Deli Yaman," a fictive persona laments a fire that had engulfed their home, thus projecting an individual's pain of loss onto the collective pain of losing one's homeland. In his preface, Saminsky described this as "the finest Armenian song … collected by me from the Armenians

[84] Saminsky, *Music of Our Day*, 287.
[85] Saminsky, *Music of Our Day*, 296.
[86] Saminsky, *Sechs Lieder aus dem russischen Orient*, 2.

living around the Lake Van, under the foot of Mount Ararat… a deep and true echo of their unfortunate, bleeding land."[87]

Saminsky was essentially attempting to cultivate new audiences for these folk melodies. He expressed considerable anxiety about the then-present situation: "The musical world of Europe and America knows very little of the true Musical Orient… owing to various causes mainly one kind of Oriental melody ["wandering scale"], the inferior and banal type born on the streets and bazaars of the East" which has "thus found its way into the West."[88] To counter the situation, Saminsky stressed that the melodies in his collection were the product of his "long and intimate contact with the *loftiest music* of the Russian Oriental peoples born on the mountains and their villages."[89] He promised that his audience would "find here not a note foreign to the spirit of these enchanting folk melodies."[90] He anticipated, however, that the melodies by themselves were insufficient either to hold urbanites' attention or to make a point in the Western art music world. The addition of Western harmonies played an essential role in transforming folk music from a purely "ethnomusicological exercise" into works of art music: "… by no means do I wish this album to be considered a purely ethnographic collection. I have tried by various cautious proceedings of composition to create out of crude tunes a collection of art songs."[91]

In conclusion, even as Armenian nationalists claimed Armenian music's authenticity as unique for their purposes, it was part of a tapestry of musical voices in the Russian Orient. The writings and compositions of Saminsky, Tigranian, and their colleagues demonstrate how their

[87] Saminsky, *Sechs Lieder*, 2.
[88] Saminsky, *Sechs Lieder*, 2.
[89] Saminsky, *Sechs Lieder*, 2. Emphasis on "loftiest music" mine.
[90] Saminsky, *Sechs Lieder*, 2.
[91] Saminsky, *Sechs Lieder*, 2.

engagement in the music of non-Russian minority communities was affected by *fin-de-siècle* ideals of authenticity, including anxieties about Western musical influence.

4 CONCLUSION

Over a century has passed since Armenia experienced the two main historical events that defined its identity in the twentieth century. The centenary of the Armenian Genocide occurred in 2015, whereas 2018 marked the centennial of Armenia's first republic (Eastern Armenia, 1918–1920). Though the latter's independence was short-lived, 1918 had brought to the fore Armenians' discourses of self-determination and nationalism. These national/nationalist discourses informed the reformers' approach to Armenian folk and sacred music and their incorporation of it within art music compositions during the *fin-de-siècle*. Among the contributions of this dissertation, I suggest that in aligning with European musical practice, reformers may have produced a new genre of Armenian art music that was simultaneously European-facing and informed by Armenian discourses of authenticity. In this new genre of Armenian art music, composer-reformers romanticized images of the past Armenian homeland, in the process revealing their inherent anxiety to the *odar* (or non-Armenian elements) that had affected Armenian identity in the Russian and Ottoman Empires.

Armenian musical practices today reflect the legacies of the reformers as well as the imperial contexts in which they had worked. Broadly speaking, understandings of Armenian music remain bifurcated. On the one hand, Armenian musicians working in "world music" promote folk music with a "post-Ottoman sound," using instruments of Turkish, Persian, and Middle Eastern provenance. Examples of such musicians include oudists John Bilizekjian (1948–2015) and Ara and Onnik Dinkjian. A few years ago, the latter pair produced a documentary, *Garod* (*Longing*, 2013), wherein they returned to Diyarbakir in Western Türkiye to trace the musical roots that shaped their post-Ottoman sound. Such musicians – who adopt musically plural traditions and influences – do not reflect the dialectical thinking adopted by *fin-de-siècle*

reformers. On the other hand, these reformers created and left their mark on the new genre of Armenian art music, which aligned with Western art music. Armenians today who identify Armenian art music with "Western art music" may trace the former's sonic lineage to traditions established by Komitas Vardapet and developed by his followers and admirers.

Reformers at the turn of the century re-shaped understandings of Armenian music by engaging in dialectical tensions, delineating permissible and impermissible elements of Armenian musical representation. In this dissertation, I have revealed and analyzed this dialectical encounter and its varied and complicated roots. Both the post-Ottoman and art music traditions represent the Armenian homeland to some extent, with their respective musical sounds yielding affective connections to different temporal visions of the Armenian homeland.

In chapter 1, I established the critical role Komitas's scholarship and music played in shaping notions of Armenian authenticity and generating significant debates over the anxiety of influence. Chapter 2 addressed the impact of French intellectuals and settings on Armenian publications in the French diaspora. Nascent scholarship on early music and methodologies from comparative musicology provided a conceptual framework that positioned Armenian folk music as a parallel phenomenon to the development of French (European) folk music. For their part, Armenians in the diaspora reframed their folksongs as Western European by publishing them with added harmonizations. This chapter also addressed the Armenian narrative of homelessness/exile as represented in French composer Marc Delmas's opera, *La Giaour (L'Infidèle)*. The third chapter showcased Armenian music that was coded as "oriental" or "Asian" in the Russian Empire. I show how Armenian and Russian composers accentuated the European/Ottoman divide in their compositions. This, to a certain extent, homogenized and

orientalized ethnic communities' varied voices, akin to how comparative musicologists presented their findings.

Music offers a lens that addresses culturally fundamental questions such as "who are we?" In the *fin-de-siècle*, cultural anxieties in the face of imperial pressures and Western European influences led Armenian and non-Armenian reformers to new ways of expressing Armenian selfhood. Recent studies in Armenian popular and folk music have addressed the community's identity and selfhood in diasporic contexts. My work focuses instead on Armenian self-making in the *fin-de-siècle*. This dissertation unpacks many issues (including ethnicity and race) that underlay the community's desire during the *fin-de-siècle* to preserve a longed-for Armenian homeland through music creation and performance. As shown in my work, the dialectic of "home" and "not-home" strongly informed important shifts in Armenian music.[1]

[1] Suny, *Looking toward Ararat*, 3.

APPENDIX A: HISTORICAL MAPS

Figure A.1: This map was used during the *Délégation Nationale Arménienne* during the *Congrès de la Paix* (1919) following World War One. The map demonstrates the Armenian presence in the Ottoman Empire and the Russian Empire, which was used to build the case for creating an Armenian homeland.

Figure A.2: This map was also presented during the *Congrès de la Paix* (1919) showcasing the Armenian presence in the Ottoman and Russian Empires.

APPENDIX B: GLOSSARY OF MUSICAL AND CULTURAL TERMS

Anatolia: Also referred to as Western Armenia, this region constitutes the cities and rural villages that shaped Ottoman Armenian cultural history. Following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire (1922), Anatolia became a part of modern-day Türkiye. As Melissa Bilal's fieldwork has shown, many diaspora Armenians consider Anatolia the heart of the Armenian homeland, protecting the cultural histories of this once "past home."[1]

Armenian Church Modes: The Armenian church modes are referred to as Ut Dzayn, which is literally translated as eight modes. The major text focusing on Armenian church modes and the different forms of notation (the Modern System of Notation and the Khaz system), as discussed in Robert Atayan's monograph and described in Komitas Vardapet's writings.

Armenian Church: The Armenians integrated religion into their self-identity as one of the oldest Christian cultures in the world (having accepted Christianity as a state religion in the 4 Century AD). In the nineteenth century, the Armenian Apostolic Church, with its center based in Echmiadzin, played (and continues to play) a significant role in the development of Armenian identity during the Armenian *fin-de-siècle*. Moreover, many musical reformers were clergy members of the Armenian Church.

Western Armenia: (See Anatolia entry)

Eastern Armenia: During the nineteenth century, Eastern Armenia represented the landmass under the Russian Empire's control. The annex, Armyanskaya Oblast, was established following the Russo-Persian War (1826–1828), which ended with the signing of the Treaty of Turkmenchai (1828). The Oblast, which lasted until 1840, eventually became the landmass that constitutes the present-day Armenian homeland.

Armenian Modern Notation: Hampardzoum Limondjian (see entry) invented the Modern Armenian System of Notation in the early nineteenth century. This system was a modern reaction to the largely defunct and ancient Khaz notation system. Armenian fieldworkers often used this shorthand notation to record Turkish, Kurdish, and Armenian folksongs from the field. Transcriptions by Komitas used the Armenian Modern Notation.

Armenian Question, (The): Following the Congress of Berlin (1878), the Armenian Question focused on the treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. The Armenian Question became commonplace among diplomatic circles and the popular press. It refers to forty years of Ottoman-Armenian interaction in French, English, and Russian politics between 1878 and 1914.

Armenian Veratsnount: Armenian Veratsnount is a period in the development of the Armenian national consciousness. The nineteenth-century innovation that marked the Armenian

[1] Bilal, "Longing for Home at Home," 55-65.

Veratsnount concerned the development of the literary Armenian language, which gradually replaced the religious dialect known as *Grabar*.

Ashugh: Professional folk poets and minstrels who gained prominence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Assimilated features from Middle Eastern ashugh traditions from Turkish, Persian, and Arab traditions. "Ashugh" originally appeared in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in oriental literature. Sayat-Nova (1717–1795) was the most famous Armenian ashugh.

Badarak: Divine Liturgy or Mass. The Badarak is the ritualized musical expression of Armenian faith and identity.

Catholicos: The Patriarch of the Armenian Church.

Echmiadzin: Based in Vagharshapat in the Russian Empire, Etchmiadzin was (and remains) the sacred center of the Armenian Apostolic Church. It produced the principal reformers linked to the Armenian Church.

Gousan: Folk minstrels predating the Ashughs.

Inorodtsy: "Inorodtsy" refers to minority, non-Russian imperial subjects of the Russian Empire. In legal contexts, this term designated a set of ethnic minorities who constituted a legal category from 1822 to 1917. This legal designation had multiple meanings that shifted throughout the nineteenth century. Many of those designated as "inorodtsy" were not subject to the general laws of the empire and could preserve their local customs and traditional forms of leadership. As the nineteenth century progressed and the Russian Empire started to expand and absorb minority subjects in Turkestan and the Far East, the legal classification continued to expand.[2]

Kamancha: A long-necked stringed instrument with three to four strings and a round body, often accompanied by a bow.

Kevorkian Jemaran: Founded by Catholicos Kevork IV in 1874, the Kevorkian Jemaran was the central school for higher learning in Echmiadzin, the center of the Armenian Church in the Russian Empire. The school was modelled on the German gymnasium, preparing young Armenian men in the service of the Church and within disciplines in the humanities.

Khaz: Ancient Armenian form of notation that went into disrepute between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries. Manuscript collections written in Khaz notation are in the Matenadaran [archive] in Echmiadzin.

Maqam: Although not specific to Armenian music, the Maqam greatly influenced Armenian composition in the Russian and Ottoman Empires in the late nineteenth century. The Maqam refers to modal structures in Turkish, Azeri, Arab, and Persian traditions. Armenian

[2] Slocum, "Who, and When, Were the *Inorodtsy*?" 173-90.

ethnographers in the nineteenth century were wary of the influence of the Maqam on Armenian folk and sacred music practice.

Millet: Millet was a term reserved for non-Turkic and non-Muslim minority groups of the Ottoman Empire. Although groups that were designated a millet were often self-governing and allowed certain religious freedoms, these groups were also taxed and subject to state-sanctioned discrimination.[3] In the late nineteenth century, the Tanzimat reforms, which responded to the independence of both Greece and Bulgaria ultimately led to policies that governed ethnic minorities in a far more draconian light.

Movement Arménophile: Movement Arménophile refers to the nineteenth-century French focus on Armenian studies, a branch of the scholarly study of the Near East. Relevant to chapter 2, the Movement Arménophile involved scholars (Arménistes) who participated in fieldwork excursions to Turkestan and the Russian Orient. By the late nineteenth century, the Armenian Question partly motivated the scholarly focus on Armenian culture (see entry).

Mugamat: The Mugamat is a genre of Central Asian art music. Most likely derived from the modes of Arab, Turkish and Persian music and similar in genre to mid-nineteenth-century rhapsodic genres.

Odar: Literally, "the Other," the odar, describes any person, place, or thing that exhibits a sense of foreignness to Armenian culture.

Sharakan: Individual hymns from the *Soorp Badarak* (Sacred Mass).

Saz/Sazandar: The saz is a long-necked lute with a pear-shaped body, usually with six to eight metal strings and ten to thirteen frets. Meanwhile, sazandar refers to a group of musicians comprising a traditional folk music ensemble of the Transcaucasus.[4]

Syrinx: A type of pan flute.

Tambour (Daph): Frame drum that is popular in Central Asia.

Tar: Another lute family inclusion is the tar, a long-necked stringed instrument used in Ottoman and post-Ottoman music making. The instrument comprises between eleven and fourteen strings. The Library of Congress website has photographs and drawings of the instrument, which was part of a collection from the late 1930s by Sidney Robertson Cowell (1903–1995) for the WPA (Works Progress Administration) California Folk Music Project.

Vardabet: Used in the context of the Armenian Church, the primary meaning of "vardapet" is "teacher." The Church has over fourteen types of vardapets, each with a hierarchy and specific ordination process.

[3] Alajaji, *Music and the Armenian Diaspora*, 39.
[4] Pahlevanian et. al., "Armenia, Republic of (Armenian Hayastan)," (Accessed April 14, 2023).

Zurna: A double-reed woodwind instrument similar to the duduk, the zurna was a popular inclusion in folk ensembles of the Ottoman Empire. It remains a sonic fixture in contemporary post-Ottoman music making with a distinctive sound profile comparable to the oboe. The Library of Congress website has photographs and drawings of the instrument, which was part of a collection from the late 1930s by Sidney Robertson Cowell (1903–1995) for the WPA (Works Progress Administration) California Folk Music Project.

APPENDIX C: NOTABLE FIGURES

Eghiasarian, Léon (dates unavailable): Little is known of Eghiasarian, though what is known in my findings comes from Julien Tiersot's triptych published in Ménestrel and as a figure who attended the Paris Conservatoire. His name appears in chapter 2 as the author of a set of Armenian folksongs publicized in the French publication *Le Figaro*. The publication featured his collected folksongs harmonized by French composers like Vincent d'Indy, Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray, and Ernst Reyer.

Ekmalian, Makar (1856–1905): A pupil of Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, Ekmalian was the teacher of Komitas Vardapet. Ekmalian composed the canonized version of the Armenian Liturgy between 1891 and 1892, only to be published in Leipzig in 1896. This version remains the principal version of the present-day Armenian Church.

Komitas Vardapet (1869–1935): Komitas is widely considered the most critical figure in Armenian music discourse. The collector, harmonizer, and reformer of Armenian folksongs and sacred music published his musical findings (works and articles) in Europe and the Armenian communities in the Ottoman and Russian Empires. Armenian historiography has situated Komitas as a seminal figure in the Armenian national movement, and narratives of exile and remembrance have shaped his biography as a product of the Armenian Genocide.

Limondjian, Hambardzum (1768–1839): Ottoman Armenian composer, music theorist, and reformer Hambardzum Limondjian was noted for devising a simple and accessible form of modern notation, helpful for transcribing medieval chants and the notation of contemporary folksongs of Armenian, Turkish, and Kurdish origin.

Melik'yan, Spiridon: Melikyan studied under Komitas and was a notable collector of Armenian music. He employed the phonograph for the first time in his Armenian music collection of 1913. His volumes of folk collections have been published in Erevan during the twentieth century as critical editions.

Proff-Kalfaian, Krikor (1873–1949): A writer, composer, and folksong enthusiast, Krikor Proff-Kalfaian was born in the Ottoman Empire in Bursa. Following his education at the prestigious Getronagan Lyceum in Constantinople, Proff-Kalfaian entered the Schola Cantorum in Paris, where he studied under Charles Bordes and Vincent d'Indy. While in Paris, Proff-Kalfaian began his magazine *Kroonk* (Crane) and contributed French and Armenian articles to the Parisian *Revue Artistique Arménienne*. Settling in the United States in 1913 and becoming an American citizen in 1922, Proff-Kalfaian was an active musician in Boston and later in California (Fresno and Los Angeles). His patriotism to his newly adopted country led for his composition *O America*, with lyrics created by Alice Stone Blackwell (1857–1950). He also wrote his version of the Armenian *Badarak* (Mass).[1]

Tchobanian, Archag (1872–1954): Tchobanian was a Franco-Armenian literary figure who became a strong advocate of Western support during the injustices and pogroms perpetrated

[1] Injejikian, *Vocal Art of Armenian Composers*, xiv.

against Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Tchobanian was an essential figure in Paris and was among the close-knit community that aided Komitas's publication efforts following the Armenian Genocide. Tchobanian helped translate Galoust Boyadjian's *Chants Populares Arméniens* and Komitas Vardapet's *La Lyre Armenienne.*

APPENDIX D: PLOT AND MAIN CHARACTERS OF *LA GIAOUR (L'INFIDÈLE)*

Main characters
Adriné: Marise Beaujon (1890-1968), Soprano
Johannès/Lieutenant Abdou: René Maison, Tenor
Benevolent Turkish Officer: Paul Cabanel (1891-1958), Baritone

Other Notable Figures and Dates
Composer: Marc Delmas (1885-1931)
Librettist: "*Sur en livret de M. Chékri-Ganem*"[1]
Chef d'Orchestre: Paul Bastide (1879-1962)
Stage Director: Maurice Stréliski (1889-1974)
Venue: Casino de Vichy
Debut Date: Monday July 30, 1928

Opera Plot Summary[2]

Act 1:

1895 in an unnamed Armenian village. Introduced to the two main characters in their childhood: Adriné and Johannès who are playing together with their friends. As they play, clamors are heard in the distance as Kurdish peasants loot and massacre everything in their path. Fires abound in the distance and people are fleeing and the children are left frightened and go into hiding.

A captain in the regular Turkish army in the company of his regiment pursues the looters and runs them out of the village. The captain encounters Johannès in hiding and the latter, seduced by the kindness of the Turkish captain, leaves with the regiment. The captain adopts Johannès as one of his own.

Adriné, hiding in a dark corner, desperately calls for Johannès, but to no avail. The soldiers surround her, and mad with terror, she amuses them with her precocious talent as a dancer.

Act 2**:**

Fifteen years passed and the year is 1910. In a Turkish seraglio caravan, near the border, officers are gathered to receive their commander. The latter, well-aged, is none other than the brave officer from the first act, who saved Johannès's life. Thanks to the Turkish officer, the child has become a young lieutenant with a bright future in the Ottoman army.

Johannès has forgotten about his childhood. Even his name is no longer part of his memory since he has now taken the name Lieutenant Abdou. The only memory that lasts is that of little Adriné smiling and dancing. As the ballerinas appear in the caravan as a source of entertainment, so too, does Adriné. Recognizing her footsteps, Johannès recognizes her, and the two fall into each other's arms.

[1] Carol Bérard, "Marc Delmas," *Septimanie: revue d'art* 5, no.46 (1923),
[2] My summary of the plot is adapted from Raoul Davray, "Une Grande Première Lyrique au Casino de Vichy: La Giaour," *La Vie Montpelliéraine* 35 no. 1772 (11 Août, 1928), 4.

Act 3, First Tableau:

Midnight: Adriné waits for Johannès. She is moved. "Has he forgotten? Does he belong body and soul to the enemies of his race?"

Johannès arrives and they embrace awakening a long-held love. They evoke the memories of their early childhood. Adriné believes Johannès will flee with her far away from home. Johannès remains surprised and conflicted.

The Turks have been very good to him. What is more, his commander has also been a father figure to him. He feels connected, body and soul, to his benefactors. Revolted by so much oblivion and loss, Adriné evokes the tragic scenes of their childhood, their dead parents, their burnt houses, and their poor and martyred country!

Johannès allows himself to be softened and convinced. He will flee with her. Mad with joy, Adriné reveals a terrible secret.

For fifteen years, she has constantly spied on the Turkish army; she is the embodiment of the revolt of which Johannès is the leader. But, unable to flee in a dancer's costume, she goes away to put on the costume of her country.

Act 3, Second Tableau:

Johannès, left on his own, dreams. He opens the eyes and the first rays of dawn illuminate the scene. His regiment will leave, without him. Does he betray his benefactors? "No!"

Besides, he is the master: Adriné will be his and will follow him. If she refuses, he can arrest her as a spy; being his prisoner, she will be at his mercy.

Adriné returns. Johannès explains his conflict. She is the Giaour for him. As the voice of the muezzin rises in the distance, Johannès bows down immediately. In the eyes of Adriné, he has become a fanatical Muslim. This is the *coup de grace*. Adriné understands all hope is lost.

"It is my duty, and it is my right," to his new adopted country. Seeing that his brothers are about to be betrayed. Adriné hesitates no longer. "Between homeland and love, I have made my choice," she exclaims.

"So, love!" Exclaims Johannès.

"No! The Homeland!" Adriné strikes Johannès down with her dagger and kills him.

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