

A Lament from Bartók's Anatolian Collection and its Musical Background

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(Received: March 2006; accepted: November 2006)

Studia Musicologica

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MUSICOLOGY

Volume 48

OFFPRINT



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AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MUSICOLOGY

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Abstracted/indexed in

International Bibliographies IBZ and IBR, JSTOR, Music Index, RILM, SCOPUS.



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STUDIA MUSICOLOGICA

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Abstract: Bartók collected folk music in Turkey in 1936, and his Turkish collection was published in 1976 almost simultaneously in Hungary and America, and in 1991 in Turkey. How Bartók's conclusions stand the test in the light of an examination on a larger Turkish material? I investigated this question in four of my books, and the detailed analysis points way beyond the scope of the present paper. This time I deal with a single melody, the No. 51 lament of Bartók's collection and with its larger Anatolian, Hungarian and other musical background. Can this melody be an important link between Hungarian and Anatolian folk music layers? If so, why did Bartók not realize this? Does Bartók's incredibly detailed way of transcription has practical benefits in the ethnomusicological research? Is the unique intonation of certain tones in some Anatolian and Hungarian laments accidental or do these tones show a consistent system? Can we find the musical form represented by this Turkish lament in the folk music of Turkic and other people; is yes, what kind of conclusion can be drawn? Trying to find an answer to some of these questions I use the melodies and the results of my Turkish, Azeri, Karachay-Balkar, Kazakh, Mongolian and Kyrgyz researches of more than 7000 songs.

Keywords: Bartók, lament, Turkic, ethnomusicology, comparative musicology

In the 18th century the Hungarians awareness of their national identity increased and they began to explore more information about their roots in their ancient homeland. Against this backdrop during the first half of the 20th century one of the main goals of oriental folk music research was to uncover the origins of folk music. Béla Bartók did enormous research work in Hungarian, Rumanian and Serbo-Croatian folk music.¹ He was convinced that one could only determine

1. Béla Bartók, "Volkmusic der Rumänen von Maramureş," in *Sammelbände für Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft IV* (München: Drei Masken, 1923); Béla Bartók, *Melodien der rumänischen Colinde (Weihnachtslieder)* (Wien: Universal Edition, 1935). He even did research work in an Arab oasis near Biskra, see Béla

what was specific and what was common in a given folk music if one knew the music of the neighboring countries and that of the related peoples.

It seemed to be imperative for Hungarian ethnomusicology to get an insight into the old strata of the folk musics of Turkic people, as several Turkic groups played salient role in the emergence of the Hungarian ethnicity, culture and folk music. Bartók himself said: "I first searched for Finno-Ugrian–Turkic similarities among peoples by the Volga, and then, starting from there, in the direction of Turkey."²

His Turkish research in 1936 was really prophetic.³ He arrived in Istanbul on November 2, 1936, where he studied the curriculum and the recordings of the conservatoire for a day, before going on to Ankara in the company of the Turkish composer Ahmet Adnan Saygun. In the capital he held three lectures and a few concerts but the primary aim of his visit was to collect folk songs. In the evening of 18 November, upon Rásonyi's advice, they set out for the south of Turkey, to the seaside around Osmaniye near Adana, for some nomadic tribes had their winter residence there.

On 19 and 20 November, they worked most efficiently in Adana with singers recruited in the villages. On 21 November they went to Tarsus and then to Mersin. The next day, on 23 November they rode to a nearby village, Çardak, where they collected instrumental tunes in addition to vocal ones. On 24 November successful collection was done at the winter residence of the nomadic tribe, the *Tecirli*. They finished their collecting work in Adana on 25 November. The number of collected melodies was 101, from which Bartók published 87.⁴

After returning to Budapest, he began transcribing and analyzing the collected tunes at his usual high level of scholarship. Meanwhile he continued to compose, despite the hardships he endured as a result of his mother's death, the Anschluss and the consequence of these tragic events: his emigration to America.⁵ Still he kept his research and publications of Turkish music foremost on his mind.⁶ We

Bartók, "Die Volksmusik der Araber von Biskra und Umgebung," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 2/9 (1920), 489–522.

2. *The Etude*, Friede F. Rothe's interview with Bartók "The Language of the Composer," (February 1941), 83 and 130.

3. We can read about Bartók's Turkish research, the preceding events and Bartók's attempts to publish it in detail in Bartók's letters and in his report: Béla Bartók, "Népdalgyűjtés Törökországban" [Folk song collection in Turkey], *Nyugat* 3/3 (1937), 173–181. Besides in the Editor's Preface of the American edition relying primarily on the document mentioned before Benjamin Suchoff introduced the series of events in a delightful style, see Béla Bartók, *Turkish Folk Music from Asia Minor*, ed. Benjamin Suchoff (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976).

4. He did not publish 14 melodies for different reasons e.g., "Has an unclear form" (M. F. 3152), "Not transcribed in order to save the cylinders" (M. F. 3169), "All false tones, cannot be transcribed" (M. F. 3174a, b), "false" (M. F. 3187), etc.

5. During this time he composed *Divertimento for Strings*, *String Quartet No. 6*, finished his second *Violin Concerto* and the *Microcosmos* for piano, and also completed the fair copies of the tunes of his Romanian folk music collection.

6. It is not widely known that he would have gladly immigrated to Turkey instead of the United States to continue his research. He asked Saygun to inquire whether he had any possibility to work in Turkey as folk

know that in 1943, ill as he was, he was “poring over some Turkish poems with the help of a hand-written Turkish–Hungarian dictionary that he himself had compiled. The poems, scattered about on his bedspread, were also in his handwriting, together with his attempts at translation. Dissatisfied with the efforts of some philologists on his behalf, he was now having a try at it single-handed.”⁷

In June 1943 Bartók wrote: I “prepared for publication my Turkish material, again with 100 pp. introduction, etc. ... The trouble is that extremely few people are interested in such things, although I arrived at highly original conclusions and demonstrations, all proved by very severe deductions. And, of course, nobody wants to publish them... ”⁸ His Anatolian collection was published in 1976, well after the composer's death, almost simultaneously in Hungary and America, and then, in 1991, in Turkey.⁹ Although none of these publications caused a stir, his work was the first attempt to classify Anatolian folk music. Why this lack of scholarly interest? A major reason may well be that Bartók's collection is so meagre that drawing conclusions based on these few songs may be problematic and should be approached with caution and reservation.

Till the end of the 20th century there was no comprehensive analysis on Turkish folk music that would have provided a frame of reference to interpret Bartók's collection. In 1988–1993 I had the opportunity to teach at the department of Hungarology of Ankara University, and during this time I conducted research on Anatolian folk music. I began collecting at the point where Bartók's efforts stopped, then gradually shifted the research westward. I also gleaned all possible information from publications of available Turkish tunes, and after critical revision, I added another three thousand tunes to my own collection of 1500 melodies.

Thus I had sufficient material to examine whether Bartók's statements also apply to a much larger body of Turkish material. I myself discuss this in some of my books – there is no room for a detailed analysis in this paper.¹⁰ In short it can be contended that Bartók's book is the standard for comparative research into Anatolian folk music even though his work is based upon a small number of melodies that were accessible to him at the time.

music researcher. All he expected in return was a minimum pay to make ends meet. Saygun first replied most enthusiastically, indicating that he knew the new minister well and hoped to be able to arrange Bartók's settlement. Saygun's letter of March 19, 1939 in Ahmed Adnan Saygun, *Béla Bartók's Folk Music Research in Turkey* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976), 417. But, the changes in the foreign and domestic policies of Turkey turned not only Bartók but also Saygun *persona non grata* in Ankara, and that foiled the plan.

7. József Szigeti, *With Strings Attached* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967).

8. New York Bartók Archives, Correspondence File, Letter to Ralph Hawkes, 31 July, 1943.

9. See Saygun; Bartók 1976 and Béla Bartók, *Küçük Asya'dan Türk Halk Müziği*, transl. and pref. Bülent Aksoy (Istanbul: Pan Yayincılık, 1991).

10. János Sipos, *Török Népzene I*. [Turkish Folk Music I], in *Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zenei történelemhez* 14. (Budapest: MTA Zenei Tudományi Intézet, 1994); János Sipos, *Török Népzene II* [Turkish Folk Music II], in *Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zenei történelemhez* 15. (Budapest: MTA Zenei Tudományi Intézet, 1995); János Sipos, *In the Wake of Bartók in Anatolia in Bibliotheca Traditionis Europaeae* 2 (Budapest: European Folklore Institute, 2000) and János Sipos, *Bartók nyomában Anatóliában* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2002).

In the recent article I am dealing with a single melody, the No. 51 from Bartók's Anatolian collection. Bartók often complained that he was unable to collect music from Turkish women, although, in fact, he gathered a total of 13 tunes, that is, 15% of the material he published, from two women. So far so good, but he met the two singers in Ankara, the capital city, and therefore he did not deem them reliable.¹¹ However, the majority of these tunes, as Bartók himself noted, appear to be authentic, and what is more, No. 51 is a lament.

EXAMPLE 1 No. 51 lament and its transcription from Bartók's Anatolian collection

51. *Ağıt* *

♩ = 260

Kıy Ya-tır-mış-let de ya-rı-mı, i gu-rum oy oy,
Hi-çin-gi-bi ya-rım-ya-... nım, da-ğ-a-y-a-y-a-y-oy oy oy,
İN la-ri sa-çı da, gu-rum, si-cim gi-bi, ya-rım oy oy,
İN Ge-lin-gar-das la-rım ya-rı-ma-ñ-oy oy oy,
Ağ-lı-ya-lım da bu-cüm gi-bi, ya-rım oy oy,
M-me-se-rim de yol üs-tü-ne qa-zın-lat, oy-...-yo-yo-yo-yo-yo-yo-oy,
Yol üs-tü-ne go-y-un-lat, ya-rım oy, oy-oy!

M. F. 31416, Ankara (Ankara), Emine Muklat (62), ill., 16. XI. 1936.

Let us have a look at Bartók's transcription (Ex. 1). He wrote the last sounds of the first, third, fifth and seventh lines as $A\flat$, $G\uparrow$, $G-A\flat$ trill and G .¹² If we copy the closing tones of these sections one after the other, and listen to them, we

11. On 16 November he collected six melodies from Hatice Deklioğlu (a 13-year-old girl from Hüyük, working then in Ankara as a servant) and seven melodies including the lament discussed in this paper from Emine Muklat (one of the inhabitants of Old Ankara).

12. Arrow above a note means a slightly higher pitch than notated, pointing downward, a slightly lower pitch.

do not hear too much difference between their "average" pitches. However, Bartók uncovered an important phenomenon in the performance of certain Anatolian laments: the unique, low intonation of the sounds closing musical phrases. Another phenomenon is that the singer often sang E \flat a little lower. This sound was sometimes transcribed by Bartók as D.¹³ Listening carefully to these sounds we hear that they were not sung in tune and could be interpreted as either D or E \flat .

But do these few tones with ambiguous intonation have an importance which deserves this microscopic examination? Let us remember what Bartók said about this lament: "...not even a guess can be made with regard to the origin of melodies such as ... no. 51."¹⁴

I made the simplified transcription of the melody, transposed according to the recent Hungarian conventions, thus the last tone of the melody units fall on C (Ex. 2a).¹⁵ In the emotionally overheated performance of the lamentation the irregular intonation of the fifth is understandable. Do we however have the right to interpret the closing tones of the sections as low intoned C?

I recorded and transcribed more than 300 Anatolian laments and girls' farewell songs, both during funerals and subsequent recollections.¹⁶ In the majority of cases the sections of these melodies closed on well-defined pitches (Ex. 3b), and the same is true of the small form of the Hungarian laments as well (Ex. 3c). It is not exceptional however that the closing tones of the Anatolian laments are low-intonated, or show a two-faced character with a C–B trill. We saw this in Bartók's lament and I show another Anatolian melody in Ex. 3d.¹⁷ Sometimes we experience similar phenomena in Hungarian laments as well, showed in the transcriptions by a lower mordent on the closing tune.¹⁸ Laments in Phrygian mode can be interpreted similarly, especially if they are characterized by the interchanging of C and B cadences. In Ex. 2b I show a Hungarian Phrygian lament of this kind.¹⁹ The Anatolian and Hungarian laments in Ex. 2ab are definitely similar.²⁰

It can be concluded from the study of a large number of Anatolian laments that with the low intonated closing note we do not have a new modality, and in

13. E.g. line 2, m. 2; line 3, m. 2; line 4, m. 4; or line 7, m. 1.

14. Bartók 1976, 44.

15. I marked the low or high intonation of a sound with arrows.

16. There were not many differences between these performances; the singers who were asked to recall a lament usually entered fully into the spirit of their role and burst into tears.

17. Some laments descend further down to F, as we see in Sipos 1997, No. 45.

18. E.g. *Magyar Népzene Tára (Corpus Musicae Popularis Hungaricae) V, Laments*, ed. Lajos Kiss and Benjámin Rajeczky (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1966), No. 23 and No. 30.

19. It deserves particular attention that the melody was recorded by Bartók one year after his Anatolian collecting trip. Lament from Kőrösfő, Kolozs County. Singer: Péntek Jánosné (1897), collected on 14.12.1937. (Gr017A). Published in *Pátria – Hungarian folk music gramophone recordings (FA 500–3)*, ed. Ferenc Sebő (CD-ROM, Budapest: Fonó Records, 2001).

20. As is seen in Ex. 1, after the exact transposition of Bartók's original transcription the phrase-ending notes would also be B \flat in the Hungarian lament as well. At any rate, the deviation here is smaller than a quarter note.

EXAMPLE 2a Simplified and transposed transcription of Bartók No. 51

Parlando

Ya - tir - miş - lar da yav - ru - mu, gu - zum, oy, oy,

Si - cim gi - bi yav - rum, yav - rum da, ay, oy, oy,

Sa - ri sa - çi da gu - zum sı - cim gi - bi yav - rum, oy, oy,

Ge - lin gar - daş - la - rım, yav - rum, a, oy, oy,

Ağ - la - ya - lım da ba - cim gi - bi ya - rım, oy, oy,

Me - ze - rin' da yol üs - tü - ne gaz - sın - lar, oy, oy, oy,

Yol üs - tü - ne gaz - sın - lar yav - rum, oy, oy,

the Anatolian lament style this sound can be regarded as a variant of C. Thus No. 51 lament fits in well with the other Anatolian laments.

The No. 51 melody in Bartók's collection basically moves on the G–(F[↑])–E–D–C pentachord. Its two changing and versatile recitative descending sections descend parallel, the higher one closing on D, the lower one on C. This description fits the small form of Hungarian laments and the general form of the Anatolian laments as well. After examining a large number of examples it turned out that the general structural features of the small form of Hungarian and Turkish laments are practically identical.²¹

21. Apart from structural likenesses, the tunes also display similarities in their minute details. It is not a question of accidental similarity of two single melodies, but a close relation between musical styles found in two large geographical areas. The similarity between Hungarian and Anatolian laments can be read about in Sipos 2000. For detailed descriptions of the Hungarian lament, see Dobszay.

EXAMPLE 2b A similar Hungarian lament

Parlando, rubato

Ked-ves jó ö-reg i-des-a-nyám,

Mér' ha-gyott itt i-lyen ha-mar min-ket, ked-ves jó i-des-a-nyám?

Ad-jon a jó Is-ten kend-nek csen-des nyu-go-dal-mat

a hosz-szas szen-ve-dé-sem u-tán.

Ked-ves jó ö-reg i-des-a-nyám, köszön-jük a jó-sá-gát,

Kö-szön-jük a sok jó-sá-gát, a sok fá-radt-sá-gát,

Ked-ves drá-ga jó é-des-a-nyám.

Why did Bartók not make any reference to this relationship? He might have seen the similarity, but did not want to reach a definitive conclusion derived only from a single melody. Furthermore, Bartók did not consider these melodies totally reliable, not having been recorded in small villages, but in the capital. The poor quality of the phonograph cylinders surely influenced the evaluation of some pitches of uncertain clarity; and Bartók transcribed the melodies at a low speed, which sometimes causes distorting side effects. And most importantly, although Kodály and Bartók made the early exploration of the Hungarian folk music in tandem, the examination of the laments was Kodály's task.²² Though Bartók recorded and transcribed laments as well (Ex. 3c), he did not fully know the background of the Anatolian laments, and the detailed analysis of the Hungarian lament was not done yet at that time.

Let us now have a glimpse whether this musical form can be found in the folk music of other peoples. As the résumé of the results of the earlier researches are

22. Kodály had heard laments as early as 1915, and in 1920 he wanted to publish his lament material collected from different regions. See *Magyar Népzene Tára*, 7–8.

EXAMPLE 3a The second and third lines of No. 51

Si - cim gi - bi yav - rum, yav - rum da, ay, oy, oy,

Sa - ri sa - çi da gu - zum si - cim gi - bi yav - rum. oy, oy.

EXAMPLE 3b Anatolian lament closing on C

Ev - le - ri - nin ö - nun - de bir o - lur mer - sin,

El - le - me - yin mer - sin - le - ri, da - lun - da er - sin.

EXAMPLE 3c Hungarian lament closing on C

Jöl el bár ál - mom - ba, tár - szam, tár - szam

EXAMPLE 3d Anatolian melody closing with a trill on C and B²³

E - vi - mi - zin ö - nü dut - tur, ke - çil - mez,

Bu gur - be - tin gah - ri çok - tur, şe - kil - mez.

23. Ex. 3b and Ex. 3d are No. 41 and No. 24 in Sipos 1994; Ex. 3c is Bartók's transcription from Moldva: No. 193 in *Magyar Népzene Tára*.

summarized in detail in different books,²⁴ now we only quote the most important statements. This kind of music can be found as a complex music style in Romanian, Slovakian, Bulgarian and Spanish folk music.²⁵ In Serbian and Macedonian folk music, tunes of similar character also crop up and parallel tunes can be found sporadically in the Sicilian, French and German folk music.

Some Gregorian melodies are close to the Hungarian lament style as well. The first who mentioned the similarity of the *Te Deum* melody to Hungarian laments was Zoltán Kodály. This melody recitates on the E–D–C trichord with D and C cadences, and descends to A only in the end, as we see in many Hungarian laments as well. The most detailed summary on the connection with the Gregorian style can be read in the far-reaching work of László Dobszay.²⁶ Here we see the similarities between this form and the *acclamation* with small compass characterized by a melodic line moving on E, F and G, with D and C cadences. The ancient Sanctus melody, the Pater Noster recitation, the aboriginal Credo melody from Milan and the Exultet melody can be mentioned among the parallels as well. However Dobszay does not suppose genetic relation between Gregorian forms and the laments.²⁷ He sums up the results of the comparative researches as follows: "...analogies to the basic language of laments can be found in several melodic circles, not as isolated examples but mostly in a style-creating profusion ... Over a vast continuous area the archaic diatonic melodic construction that appears 'omnipresent' at first sight is missing."

Since two ethnic groups, the Turkic and the Finno-Ugrian, played a salient role in the evolution of the Hungarian ethnicity, it seems logical to investigate what role the examined form plays in the music of these peoples. The music of the Finno-Ugrian people in the Volga-Kama region can be reviewed relatively easily. According to the collection of László Vikár and Gábor Bereczki we can find similar melodies here only in Ob-Ugrian and Ostyak folk music.²⁸

24. E.g. in *Magyar Népzene Tára*, 1109–1122 and Dobszay, 49–82.

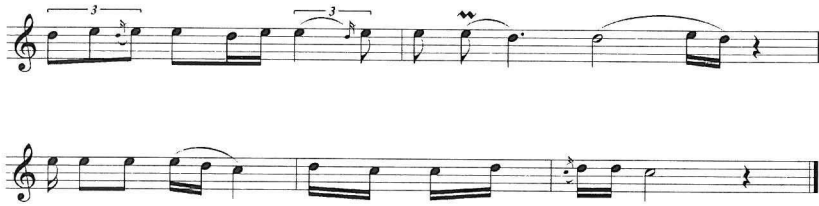
25. The Slovaks have a similar small form that is a Hungarian borrowing, as historical sources prove. Among Rumanians, laments with two cadences (D–C) and some of Dorian–Phrygian characters with G as the main cadence are also found, in addition to the simple single-core F–E–D–C laments, while in Bulgarian folk music this lament has a similar well-developed style, consisting mostly of strophic tunes with shorter lines. In these folk musics we can see melodies expanding from C to B–A–G as well.

26. Dobszay, 61–75.

27. Dobszay, 81–82.

28. First Zoltán Kodály, *Néprajz és zenetörténet* [Ethnography and history of music], *Ethnographia* 44 (1933), 4–15 had drawn attention to certain features of the Ob-Ugrian heroic songs, then Bence Szabolcsi, "Osztyák hősdalok – magyar siratók melódiái," *Ethnographia* 44 (1933), 71–75 discussed the similarity of the Ostyak bear- and heroic songs to the Hungarian lament. Important additions have been made by Béla C. Nagy, "A magyar népdal eredete" [About the origin of the Hungarian folk song], *Zenei Szemle* 5 (1947–1948), 203–213; Béla C. Nagy, "Adatok a magyar népdal kialakulásához," [Contributions to the development of the Hungarian folk song], *Zenatudományi Tanulmányok* 7 (1959), 605–688; Lajos Vargyas, "Ugor réteg a magyar népzeneben" [Ugrian layer in the Hungarian folk-music], *Zenatudományi Tanulmányok* 1 (1953), 611–657 and Lajos Vargyas, "Adalék a siratódallam eredetéről" [Contributions to the origin of the lament-tune], *Új Zenei Szemle* [New Music review] 7–8 (1954), 46–47.

EXAMPLE 4a Azeri lament



EXAMPLE 4b South-Western Kazakh lament



EXAMPLE 4c Mongolian Kazakh lament



The other area is the vast expanse of Asia populated by Turks and Mongols. Few laments are published from this area, but for two decades now, I myself have been doing research among Turkic people. Until now I have been collecting, transcribing and analyzing more than 7000 melodies from Anatolian, Thracian, Azeri, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Karachay and Mongolian peoples. This enables me to give an overview of the occurrence of this music form among these people.

We have already seen that the lament discussed now is widespread in Anatolia.²⁹ Azeri Turks are linguistically closely related to the Anatolian Turks, the language of both groups belonging to the Oguz family. During my Azeri expeditions I found a large number of similar melodies among laments and other genres as well (Ex. 4a).³⁰ While however the above music form is only one of the several

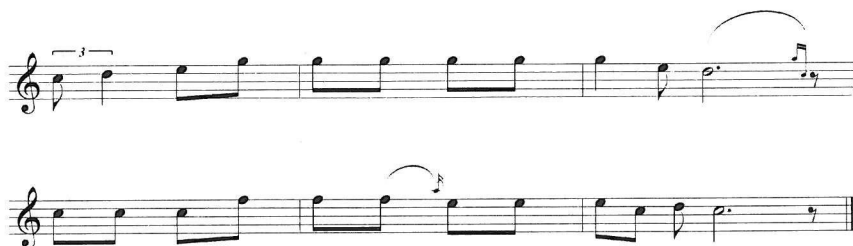
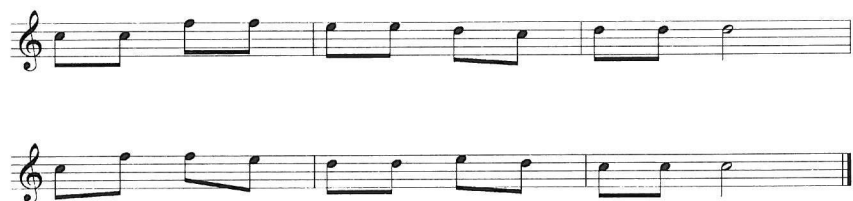
29. The lament of the Bulgarian Turks, speaking the same language is quite different with its convex A–D–D–B / D–B–A tritonic motif.

30. Sipos 2004, No. 29 and No. 35. It is adequate proof that this is the only significant musical similarity between Azeri and Anatolian folk music though Azeri and Turkish languages belonging to the same (Oguz) linguistic family are close dialects.

EXAMPLE 4d Kyrgyz lament



EXAMPLE 4e Kyrgyz song

EXAMPLE 4f Karachay lament³⁴

musical styles in Anatolia, in Azerbaijan it is a variant of the dominant elementary musical form to be found there.³¹

I carried on research among two ethnic groups of the Kazaks speaking a Kipchak Turkic language. The Aday Kazakhs live opposite the Azeris on the other side of the Caspian Sea, while the Mongolian Kazakhs live some 2000 miles away to the east. The laments of the two areas have both similar and dissimilar characteristics. The common structural features are the short, eight-syllable lines divided 3|2|3 as well as the existence of the one-line lament which is identical with the first line of the two-line lament. The central form of the Aday laments has a B–C–D–E–D–C–B mound shaped first line, followed by a somewhat lower B–C–D–C–B + A second line (Ex. 4b).³² In the Mongolian Kazakh area the characteristic melodic movement of the lament is a G’–E–D–C descent followed by a smaller E–D–C descent (Ex. 4c).³³

31. Ibid.

32. Though with a slightly different logic, these melodies move on the very same Locrian tetrachord as the most characteristic Azeri melodies. For more detailed description of this phenomenon, and the comparison of these melodies to Hungarian and Anatolian laments, see Sipos 2001, 43–48.

33. Ibid.

34. Ex. 4a is No. 29 from Sipos 2004; Ex. 4b–c are ex. 65a–b from Sipos 2001; Ex. 4d–e are from Sipos's Kyrgyz collection and Ex. 4f is ex. 8 from János Sipos, "Vannak-e közös rétegek a karacsáj-balkár és a magyar népzében?" [Are there common layers between Karachay-Balkar and Hungarian folk musics?] in *Oriental*

The Kyrgyz people also speaking a Kipchak language are as tightly related with the Kazakhs by language as are the Azeris with the Anatolian Turks, and there are many common features in the Kyrgyz and Kazakh ethnogenesis. The most common form of the Kyrgyz lament is a major tetrachord hill (Ex. 4d) broadened by a downward fourth (C–G) – a form never seen in Kazakh folk music. At the same time we have similar melodies to those discussed now among Kyrgyz girls' farewell songs (Ex. 4e). I have also examined the laments of another Kipchak-speaking group, the Karachay people living in the Caucasus. This group is important for Hungarian prehistory because their ancestors lived together with some of the ancestors of the Hungarians in the Kazar Empire before the Hungarians moved on towards the Carpathian Basin. Every section of the simplest form of the Karachay lament descends to C, and here too we can come across lamenting songs similar to the lament having two different cadences (Ex. 4f).³⁵

The folk musics of the Turkic peoples mentioned so far are not pentatonic and only have some pentatonic traces in some layers at most. By contrast, the Chuvash, Tatar, Bashkir and Mongolian folk music is exclusively pentatonic, and here we do not find these kinds of melodies. This is not accidental, for the diatonic F→D+C conjunct motion fundamentally differs from the more lively pentatonic musical forms of often shorter motifs.

During his researches in Anatolia Bartók looked for Hungarian–Turkish similarities. One would expect to find reflections of the linguistic and cultural proximity in music as well, especially in such slowly changing genres as the lament. However, as many an example has shown, it is not the case. A language tends towards homogeneity in a certain sense since people can only understand one another in an unambiguous system of codes, but music is not subject to such constraints.

This may be one explanation why the laments of linguistically close ethnic groups are often very different while laments of peoples without any close relations either in the past or in the present may be very similar. Similarly to the change of languages, the change of dance music or music used for merry-making in general is a proven fact, but the replacement of a lament style is much harder to imagine. Only the penetration of Islamic religious melodies could be presumed in this area, but the religious tunes and Koran recitations that I have found in the region are of a different character. As is known, the Turkic peoples are not homogeneous ethnically; they were moulded from Turkic and other ethnicities through a bilingual stage into Turkic-speaking communities by strongly centralized Turkish power and culture. The individuality of the laments might be a vestige of the original ethnic diversity.

lista nap 2001, eds. Ágnes Birtalan – Yamaji Masanori (Budapest: MTA Orientalisztikai Bizottság – ELTE Orientalisztikai Intézet, 2002).

35. Sipos 2002, 117–132.

We have started out from an Anatolian tune that turned out to represent a Turkish style with a Hungarian equivalent. Then we have looked around in Europe and Asia to find that similar forms can be discovered in the folk music of many but not every people. It has also turned out that the similarity of musical forms is not necessarily dependent on genetic or cultural relations.

To interpret the similarities, we may take another of Bartók's statements³⁶ as our starting point: "I think that if we will have had sufficient folk music material and study at hand, the different folk musics of the world will be basically traceable back to a few ancient forms, types and ancient style-species." Although Bartók did not give the definition of forms, types and styles, let us sum up once more the characteristics of the studied forms: the tunes consist of two flexible descending or mound-shaped lines moving on the (G²)-F-E-D-C chord in conjunct motion basically at a distance of a second (hence cadencing on D and C), mostly performed *parlando*. This definition is broad and at the same time strict enough to determine a musical style. It is therefore our view that the musical form discussed now may be one of those Bartók referred to as an ancient style-species.

36. Bartók 1937, 166–168.

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