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On the Music of the Armenian Divine Liturgy: A Survey of Transcriptions and Harmonisations

Sobre a música da liturgia divina armênia: Um estudo das transcrições e harmonizações

Haig Utidjian | Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, CESEM, Czech Republic

hutidjian@yahoo.com | <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-7579-1724>



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Resumo

O objectivo desta investigação é traçar a evolução da música da Liturgia Divina da Igreja Arménia, desde as primeiras fontes medievais com neumas até aos dias de hoje, revelando o mosaico de versões e arranjos musicais existentes, que é muito mais rico do que se pensava até agora. Procurei abranger um leque sem precedentes de variantes existentes, registadas de formas diversas em vários centros monásticos e paroquiais, examinando transcrições inéditas, bem como fontes contemporâneas, tais como correspondência, artigos de jornal e críticas. Abordo os dilemas enfrentados por músicos e clérigos perante a ocidentalização crescente, particularmente no que diz respeito ao desejo cada vez maior de fixar o corpus de melodias de canto e de lhes conferir harmonia e acompanhamento instrumental — com argumentos teológicos tanto a favor como contra. Expor, com algum pormenor, os respectivos méritos estéticos das célebres versões de Ekmalian e de Komitas, comparando e contrastando os seus tratamentos divergentes de cantos extraídos, essencialmente, das mesmas fontes. O artigo termina com uma breve discussão sobre uma seleção de gravações sonoras da versão de Komitas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Liturgia Divina arménia; Música medieval; Notação; Harmonia; Ocidentalização.

Abstract

The purpose of the present investigation is to trace the development of the music of the Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Church from the earliest mediaeval neumated sources to the present day, revealing the mosaic of extant musical versions and arrangements, which is far richer than hitherto acknowledged. I have sought to embrace an unprecedentedly extensive array of extant variants recorded through various means at diverse monastic and parochial centres, examining unpublished transcriptions as well as contemporaneous sources such as correspondence, newspaper articles and reviews. I discuss the dilemmas encountered by musicians and clergy in the face of encroaching Westernisation, particularly in connection with the growing desire to give fixity to corpora of chant melodies and to endow them with harmony and instrumental accompaniment—with theological arguments both in favour and against. I expound the respective aesthetic merits of the celebrated Ekmalian and Komitas versions in some detail, comparing and contrasting their divergent treatments of chants abstracted from essentially the same sources. The article ends with a brief discussion of a selection of sound recordings of the Komitas version.

KEYWORDS: Armenian Divine Liturgy; Mediaeval music; Notation; Harmony; Westernisation.

Fr. Ivan Moody took an interest in Armenian sacred poetry and music, and he was kind enough to contact me upon being asked by the Gramophone magazine to contribute a review of a newly-issued CD a couple of years ago of an arrangement of the music of the Armenian Divine Liturgy. Accordingly, I felt it appropriate and behovely to elect the music of the Armenian Divine Liturgy as my topic for the present contribution in his blessed memory.¹

Introduction

The twelfth century saw the enrichment of the chants of the Armenian Divine Liturgy. By all accounts, the protagonist was the hymnographer saint, St. Nersēs the Gracious (1102–73, in office 1166–73 as Catholicos² of All Armenians, serving from his See in the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia).³ According to the historian Kirakos Ganjakec'i,⁴ 'He created the litany of the Holy Sacrifice with a sweet melody, and the stanzas of the hymns of the same⁵ in a manner appropriate to the Mystery'.⁶ His anonymous biographer explains the motivation: 'He rendered decorous the mysterious chants of the Holy Sacrifice with spiritual songs and sweet-sounding melodies' to render minds more receptive.⁷ Principally, the Saint appears to have

1 I am indebted to the organisations and individuals whose assistance was invaluable for this research: the Mekhitarist Congregations in Venice and in Vienna and Abp. Levon Zekian, the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia and Abp. Shahan Sarkissian, the Aynedjian Family, the National Library of Armenia and Dr Tigran Zargaryan, the Č'arenc' Museum and Dr Karo Vardanyan, the Rev. Archpriest Fr. Krikor Damadyan, Dr Jacob Olley, Dr Giuseppe Sanfratello, Dn. Edvin Galip and Dr Martina Pičmanová. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Haig Avakian for his generosity in providing me with numerous rare documents and recordings, and for devoting time to reading the article and rooting out several errors. Finally, I am grateful to Prof. Svetlana Poliakova for her initiative to create this volume in memory of Fr. Ivan Moody and for her kindness in inviting me to contribute to it.

2 The head of the Armenian Church is known as the 'Catholicos' (plural 'Catholicoi').

3 We can identify as 'new' such items in the Divine Liturgy that appear in the twelfth-century commentary by St. Nersēs Lambronac'i and are not found in the tenth-century commentary by Xosrov Anjewac'i. But the authorship of some of the 'new' items is uncertain, and we cannot be certain that they may all be attributed to St. Nersēs the Gracious. My late teacher, Abp. Zareh Aznaworean of blessed memory, published on this: Ջարեհ Վրդ. Ազնաւորեան, «Ներսէս Շնորհալի երաժիշտը եւ Ս. Պապարագի երգեցողութիւնը [Nersēs the Gracious the musician and the chants of the Divine Liturgy]», *Հայ եկեղեցին 20-րդ դարուն եւ 21-րդ դարու շէմին* (Nicosia, 2005), pp. 154-160, reproduced from *Հասկ* [Hask—Journal of the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia], ԽԲ. Կարի [Year 42], 11/12 (Nov.-Dec., 1973), pp. 479-83. For a very recent discussion see Haig Utidjian, «Սուրբ Ներսէս Շնորհալի ժառանգի հետ առնչուած երաժշտական հարցեր [Musical questions associated with the legacy of St. Nersēs the Gracious]», *Հասկ Հայագիտական Տարեգիրք* [Hask Armenological Annual], Նոր Շրջան, ԺԳ. Տարի (2024), pp. 221-64.

4 Throughout I have sought to employ the Hübschmann-Meillet system for the transliteration of Armenian names, deviating only when other versions were used by the individuals themselves within their lifetimes in their publications. The communist orthography has been tacitly corrected prior to transliteration.

5 As a matter of fact, Fr. Ivan very kindly advised me on my English translation of a number of the Saint's hymns in the summer of 2023, and decided that he would like to set some of the words of my translation himself, mentioning that he had 'one or two ideas'. Alas, this was not to be; and one can only imagine how marvellous his musical settings might have been.

6 See *Պատմութիւն Հայոց արարեալ Կիրակոսի Վարդապետի Գանձակեցոյ* [History of the Armenians by Archimandrite Kirakos of Ganjak] (Moscow, 1858), p. 67: «Արար նա զքարոզ սրբոյ պապարագին քաղցր եղանակաւ, եւ փունս շարականաց նմին խորհրդաբար...».

7 Literally, to 'rarify' their minds; see *Սրբոյն Ներսէսի Շնորհալի Պատմութիւն Վարուց, Սոփերք Հայկականք* [History of the life of St. Nersēs the Gracious, Collection of Armenian Booklets], 14 (1854), pp. 37-8: «[...]եւ հոգեւոր երգովք եւ

composed the words and melodies for chants to be sung by the Clerks, to fill the liturgical time in which the Celebrant would quietly recite prayers ‘in secret’; these included items to be sung around the Epiclesis, and before and after administering Holy Communion.

Shortly thereafter, but this time in Eastern Armenia, a further contribution associated with a named author was made to the Divine Liturgy: the hymn of vesting, *Xorhurd xorin*—without which the Liturgy would be unimaginable today (except in the Lenten period, where its enforced omission is associated with the liturgical parsimony and sense of deprivation associated with Lenten penitential observance). It was composed by Xač’atur of Tarōn⁸ and first sung at a field mass in Lori in northern Armenia, early in the thirteenth century.

Some Early Neumated Sources

It is useful to consider early neumated sources of the chants of the Divine Liturgy, notwithstanding the fact that we are unable to decipher the Armenian mediaeval neumes.⁹ The oldest extant such source known to me is the P79¹⁰ *Talaran* or Book of Odes, copied in Drazark, anno 1241, which includes chants that bear an explicit attribution to St. Nersēs the Gracious (Fig. 1).¹¹ A later source is the V734 *Manrusmunk*‘ (Book of ‘Minute Studies’—a manual of very highly melismatic chants from the Breviary and the Divine Liturgy), also copied in Drazark, anno 1313. A third and somewhat later source is the W999 Missal, anno 1377. I have found it instructive to juxtapose the neumations for particular chants of the Divine Liturgy from those three sources, covering as they do between themselves a period of almost one hundred and fifty years (Fig. 2). It turns out that for ancient chants such as the Sanctus, Սուրբ (upper left-hand-side of the Figure, P79: f.398r; V734: f.172v; W999: f.73r) or the Lord’s Prayer, Հայր մեր (upper right-hand-side, P79: f.399v; V734: f.173v; W999: f.83r), the neumes differ very considerably between these three sources; whether this suggests a certain evolution of the melodies over time, or the parallel co-existence of different melodies, we cannot readily ascertain. Yet for chants generally ascribed to the Saint—such as the hymn Հայր երկնաւոր (‘Heavenly Father’) and Քրիստոս պատարագեալ

բաղդրանուագ եղանակօք վայելչացուցանէր զսուրբ պապարագին խորհրդական երգսն. որպէսզի թանձրագոյն միտք փետողացն զսուրբ խորհուրդն [...] կակղացեալ անօրասցին»:

8 See, for instance, Ն. Գաբրիել Աւետիքեան, *Բացատրութիւն Շարականաց* [Explanation of Hymns] (Venice, 1814), pp. 584-5; the hymn is an acrostic, with the first letters of each stanza together forming the name ԽԱՉՁԱՏՈՒՐ or XAČ’ATUR.

9 For a discussion, see Haig Utidjian, ‘Scriptor, cantor, notator: The case of the Armenian neumes’, in *The Materiality of Sound in Chant Manuscripts in the East*, *Musicalia Antiquitatis et Medii Aevi* (MUSAM), edited by Elsa De Luca, Ivan Moody and Jean-François Goudesenne (Turnhout, Brepols, 2025), pp. 183-217.

10 In this article we make use of the following sigla; P: Armenian manuscripts, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; V: Mekhitarist Monastery, San Lazzaro, Venice; W: Mekhitarist Monastery, Vienna; and M: Matenadaran Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan.

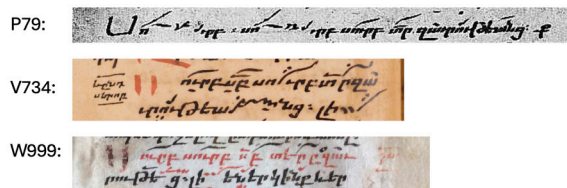
11 For a thorough discussion of this source, including a translation of its colophon, see Haig Utidjian, ‘First I wrote through learning, and only then from what was written’: MS Bibliothèque nationale de France, Armenian Collection P79, Drazark, anno 1241’, in *Thinking Music: Global Sources for the History of Music Theory* edited by Carmel Raz, Thomas Christensen and Lester Hu (University of Chicago Online Research and Publication Service (CORPUS), forthcoming in 2026).

(‘Christ is sacrificed’), in the lower left-hand-side (P79: f.398r; V734: f.175r; W999: f74v) and right-hand-side (P79: f.400r; V734: f.174r; W999: f.86r) of Fig. 2, respectively, the neumations appear practically unchanged. Now although the invariance of the notation does not necessarily mean that the melodies themselves did not change, nonetheless the fact that scribes were reluctant to countenance any changes in the notation could, at the very least, bespeak the veneration in which the composer Saint must have been held.

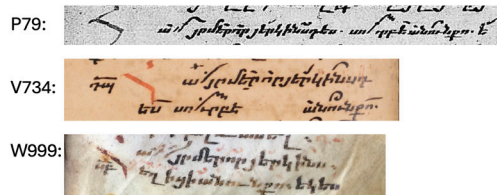


Figure 1. Example of attribution (folio on the right-hand-side, above bottom paragraph) to St. Nersēs the Gracious in the P79 Book of Odes (anno 1241), ff. 400r-410v

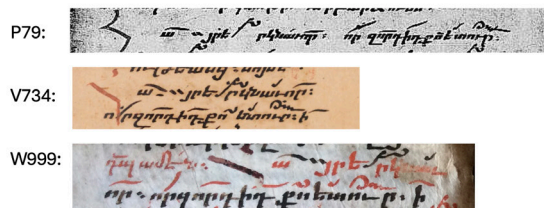
Surb



Hayr mer



Hayr erkawor



K'ristos patarageal



Figure 2. Comparison of neumations of four chants common to three sources representing the period 1241-1377

Extant Melodies

Although we are unable to read the Armenian neumes, we possess a substantial corpus of extant melodies, transcribed for the most part in C19 in either Western staff notation or in the Limōncean–Bžškean notational system (invented around 1812). The latter was no longer neumatic, but re-defined some of the signs of the mediaeval neumes—a system comparable to the Greek Lesbian system (due to Georgios Lesbios).¹²

Corpora of Transcriptions

- Pietro Bianchini (1828–1905), Venice 1862¹³ and 1877:¹⁴ both in Western staff notation. Many of the melodies would have been completely lost had it not been for his meticulous transcriptions. In addition to these two publications, there exist in the musical archives of San Lazzaro some further items in manuscript, in his own hand or copied out by Fr. Léonce Dayan (Łewond Tayean). Bianchini strove to be very precise, and endeavoured to capture as best he could the richly ornamented and rhythmically—and often tonally—complex melismas chanted in San Lazzaro. Nonetheless, in several instances¹⁵ he wisely advocates for an appropriate type of rhythmic flexibility, as he appears to have been well aware that the almost semi-improvisatory melismas would sound wooden should one attempt to reproduce them in a calculated and measured manner on the basis of the transcriptions.
- The 1862 booklet was an experiment. The anonymous writer of the preface (doubtless a member of the Mekhitarist Order) referred to the fact that Pietro Bianchini had proved more successful than others before him in capturing the sacred Armenian melodies in Western notation and in arranging them (but without naming them); Bianchini had undertaken the work years earlier,¹⁶ but the booklet was being published only now. This experiment was soon reviewed by Elia Tntesean, who proceeded to publish his own booklet entitled *Bovandakut'iwn Nuagac'* as a direct reaction¹⁷—with a view to recording

12 For the system by Geōrgios Lesbios, see his own textbook, Geōrgios Lesbios, *Εἰσαγωγή εἰς τὸ θεωρητικὸν καὶ πρακτικὸν τῆς μουσικῆς τέχνης τοῦ λεσβίου συστήματος* [Introduction to the theory and practice of the musical art of the Lesbian system], published in Athens in 1840 but promulgated considerably earlier. For further details, see Haig Utidjian, 'Points of interaction between Byzantine and Armenian Church Music: three documentary witnesses', in *Byzantine Chant, Radiation and Interaction*, Peeters Eastern Christian Studies 29, edited by Christian Troelsgård and Gerda Wolfram (Leuven, Peeters, 2022), pp. 59–95, at p. 60, n. 6.

13 *Երգք Հայաստանեայց Եկեղեցւոյ յերկրեայք ըստ կանոնաց Նորոյ Երաժշտութեան* [Chants of the Armenian Church arranged in accordance with the rules of Modern Music], աշխ. Պ. Պետրոս Պիանինի (Venice, Mekhitarist Congregation in San Lazzaro, 1862); this slim booklet includes only a small selection of items.

14 *Les Chants Liturgiques de l'église Arménienne*, (transcribed, harmonised and ed.) Pietro Bianchini (Venice, Mekhitarist Congregation in San Lazzaro, 1877).

15 I have discussed these in my forthcoming volume, Haig Utidjian, *Pietro Bianchini and an ode for the Patriarch*.

16 Indeed, we shall see from his correspondence that he had started work in the 1850s.

17 See Եղիա Մ. Տնրեսեան, *Բովանդակութիւն նուագաց Հայաստանեայց Ս. Եկեղեցւոյ* [Conspectus of the Music of the

typically Constantinopolitan melodies, which differed from those of the Venetian Mekhitarist Fathers.¹⁸

- Fr. Arsēn Aydinian (1825–1902), Vienna 1877:¹⁹ this extremely rare and intriguing publication, in Western staff notation, is fascinating, as Aydinian (whose name is associated with an orchestrated version of the Divine Liturgy completed in association with Josef Böhm) included in his transcriptions, in addition to versions sung at the time in the Mekhitarist Monastery in Vienna, further variants known to him that he associated with earlier generations. These latter versions are rather unusual, differing as they do substantially from those of the ‘mainstream’; and they do give the impression of being archaic—not least in the modalities that they exhibit. Conceivably, they may serve as a telescope, offering us glimpses into a rather different and more distant world. The provenance of the oldest variants included in this volume is not entirely clear, but Aydinian was himself Constantinopolitan born.²⁰
- Nikołayos T‘aşċean (1841–85) et al, *Vaġaršapat* 1878²¹ (first edition 1874): in the Limōnċean notation. This publication became extremely influential, as we shall see.
- Amy Apar (1863–1942), Calcutta 1920²² (first edition 1897): in Western staff notation. Here one suspects that intonational nuances in what was actually sung were approximated in a manner that at times resulted in somewhat bland melodies. I have reasons to believe that items such as the Prandii hymn on the Assumption of the Holy Mother-of-God,

Holy Armenian Church] (Constantinople, s.n., 1864). This booklet includes specimens from the Armenian Hymnal, but unfortunately the chants of the Divine Liturgy are not represented herein. For a full discussion, see Utidjian, *Tntesean and the Music of the Armenian Hymnal* (Červený Kostelec, Mervart, 2017), pp. 111–64, and for a full reproduction of the 1864 publication, see Haig Utidjian, ‘The Music of the Armenian Hymnal: the Tntesean corpus’ (PhD dissertation, Charles University in Prague, Institute of Musicology, 2016), pp. 235–42.

18 However, unfortunately no transcriptions of the chants of the Divine Liturgy by Tntesean have reached us.

19 *Երգք Սրբոյ Պատարագի Եկեղեցւոյ Հայաստանեայց յերկրեալք ըստ օրինաց Արեւմտեան Երաժշտութեան* [*Chants of the Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Church arranged in accordance with the laws of Western Music*], աշխ. Ն. Ա. Ա. [Հայր Արսէն Այդինեան] (Vienna, Mekhitarist Congregation in Vienna, 1877). Strictly speaking, this item also warrants inclusion in the next section, as some items are endowed with a pedal, or harmonised in a simple, chordal manner. According to Aydinian, he was assisted by one Լաւր. Վայս. According to a footnote in Fr. Movsēs Srapean’s preface to the 1950 publication of the Aydinian-Böhm Liturgy, to be introduced below, this is Լաւրենտիոս Վայս, which is probably a transliteration of Laurentius Weiss. It has not been possible to identify this musician (though he has been characterised as a ‘distinguished teacher’ by Aydinian in his preface). Nor is it clear whether Weiss played a significant role in the transcription himself, or merely corrected Aydinian’s own transcription («ուղղագրեալս եւ բազում մասամբ բազմաձայն կարգեալս ի մեծանուն ուսուցչէն Լաւր. Վայս»): I am indebted to Jacob Olley for his kindness in providing me with a scan of this rare source.

20 However, there need not have been any great dichotomy between Vienna and Constantinople, since a high proportion of Mekhitarists in Venice as well as in Vienna were generally recruited from Constantinople.

21 *Ձայնագրեալ Երգեցողութիւնք Սրբոյ Պատարագի* [*Notated chants of the Divine Liturgy*] (*Vaġaršapat*, Catholicosate of Ējmiacin, 1878, corrected version of first edition of 1874).

22 *Melodies of the Liturgy of the Holy Apostolic Church of Armenia*, edited by Amy Apar, vols. 1–3 (Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel, 1920²).

Ant'arām catik,²³ or the vespertine hymn *Loys zuart'*, were originally not dissimilar to the mainstream of Constantinopolitan practice, but that microtonal nuances could not be captured in the Western staff notation available at the time, and were reduced and approximated—perhaps in a direction that differs from the way in which that was done when Constantinopolitan melodies were transcribed in the same notational system.²⁴

- *Mayr ełanak*, Constantinople 1934²⁵—Limōnčean notation. The very appellation of this publication ('Mother melody', implying there was something fundamental or central about this version) suggests that Constantinopolitan musicians had never accepted the Vałaršapat versions as their own. Nevertheless, most of the melodies herein are not radically different to those of the Vałaršapat Missal.
- Jerusalem Šak'arean manuscript: this was copied in Jerusalem in the Limōnčean notation, but we know not from which source. Haig Avakian recently published an annotated facsimile of the manuscript (Cairo 2024);²⁶ the copyist, Dn. Vardavar (later Fr. Sahak) Šak'arean started in 1914, presumably from a local exemplar, completing it in 1917.²⁷
- The Venetian Mekhitarist Father, Léonce Dayan (1884–1968) left a sizeable unpublished manuscript fair copy in Western staff notation, apparently mostly written out around 1945, but with at least one component (such as the ode *Hawun*) transcribed in 1934. The melodies often differ appreciably from those transcribed by Bianchini, even when the latter's variants are included alongside others. There is also a difference in the approach to transcription adopted by Fr. Léonce: at the risk of over-simplification, one might say that, whereas Bianchini strove to capture melismas using elaborate notation (including demisemiquaver movement, triplets and so forth), Dayan favours simpler notation

23 For a discussion of this hymn see Haig Utidjian, 'Marian devotion and the Armenian Hymnal', in *Zwischen Armenien und Deutschland: Auf Mesrops Spuren an der Saale: Sammelband zu Ehren von Armenuhi Drost-Abgarjan*, edited by Anahit Avagyan, Uta Koschmieder, Melinē Pehlivanian, Internationale Werkstücke—Deutsch-Armenische Studien no. 2 (Universitätsverlag Halle Wittenberg, Halle an der Saale, forthcoming).

24 I have argued this case elsewhere, see Haig Utidjian, «Լոյս զուարթ՝ երգը. բնագիրներ ու եղանակներ [The chant 'Loys zuart'': texts and melodies]», *Հասկ Հայագիտական Տարեգիրք [Hask Armenological Annual]*, Նոր Շրջան, ԺԴ. տարի (2025), pp. 265–312.

25 *Մայր եղանակ Ս. Պատարագի Հայկական Ձայնագրութեամբ [Main Version of the Melodies of the Divine Liturgy in Armenian Musical Notation]* (Istanbul, 1934).

26 *Յաւելուածներ Ձահակի շաբաթաթերթին [Addenda to the Weekly Ĵahakir]*, vol. 57, *Սահակ Քնյ. Շաբարեանի երաժշտական Ձեռագիրներէն [From the Musical Manuscripts of Fr. Sahak Šak'arean]*, Ա., Պատարագի երգեր Ա. մաս [A. Chants of the Divine Liturgy, Part I], and vol. 58, *Սահակ Քնյ. Շաբարեանի երաժշտական Ձեռագիրներէն [From the Musical Manuscripts of Fr. Sahak Šak'arean]*, Ա., Պատարագի երգեր Բ. մաս [A. Chants of the Divine Liturgy, Part II], edited by Haig Avakian (Cairo, s.n., 2024).

27 For a discussion see Haig Utidjian, «Երաժշտագէտի՝ Հայկ Աւագեանի կրթողային ու սրուար երաժշտագիտական նոր հրապարակութեանց (2024) եզակի արժէքը. համառօտ գնահատական եւ ակնկալելի ապագայ ճառագայթումներ [The significance of the monumental and extensive musicological new publications (2024) of Haig Avakian: a brief appreciation and future implications]», *Երաժշտական Հայաստան*, 1-2 (2024), pp. 60–7.

accompanied by various agogic directions. Moreover, historic recordings of Dayan's own singing for certain chants from the Divine Liturgy (particularly Hagiologies) in many ways differ from his own transcriptions, serving as a valuable reminder of the fact that musical notation constitutes but one needful element if idiomatic performance is to be achieved.

Observations

We find that Constantinopolitan transcriptions dominate in terms of their prevalence and their ubiquitousness, whilst Venice and Vienna may be regarded as their distinct offshoots. Only New Julfa/Calcutta appear truly independent from Constantinople. The melodies of the various versions outside the Constantinopolitan mainstream often differ substantially, and at times even radically, both from it and from each other.

Staff notation was used by the Mekhitarists (Venice and Vienna), and by the transcribers of New Julfa/Calcutta. In Constantinople and in Vałaršapat (where transcription was carried out largely by invited Constantinopolitan musicians and their pupils) the use of Western notation was not yet widely accepted in the mid-nineteenth century (although experiments were carried out in Constantinople by Tntesean, largely in response to the Venetian publication of 1862).²⁸ It was felt that Western notation was not equipped to capture the nuances of Armenian chant sufficiently; and in Vałaršapat it may also have been thought that there might be less resistance to the imposition of the new transcriptions if a visibly foreign notational system (with its associations with Western Christianity) were eschewed, in favour of an Armenian system.²⁹

The Limōnčean notation was used primarily in Constantinople and in Vałaršapat (where transcriptions were instigated and achieved mostly by Constantinopolitan musicians, with melodies sung by Constantinopolitans—not least by Catholicos Georg IV).

Transcriptions effected in Jerusalem were apt to use both notational systems, but were undertaken relatively late, so older melodies peculiar to the Hierosolymite tradition were irretrievably lost. Šakarean started his manuscript in Limōnčean notation in 1914, and thus just prior to influx of

28 See Եղիա Մ. Տնփեսեան, *Բովանդակութիւն նուագաց Հայաստանեայց Ս. Եկեղեցւոյ* [*Conspectus of the Music of the Holy Armenian Church*], already referred to above.

29 It was not until 1929 that we read, in the Constantinopolitan Armenian newspaper *Ազդարար*—*Azdarar* (Azdarar), in the issue of 6 Dec 1929, No. 941, that Patriarch Naroyean, having already secured the agreement of various dioceses abroad, had written to the Ējmiacin Catholicos for permission officially to introduce the use of European musical notation in churches in Constantinople; according to the information gained by the newspaper, the Catholicos had granted his agreement with a special official pronouncement on the matter: «Կրօն. Ժողովին կողմէ Նախագահ Նարայեան Պատրիարք Էջմիածնի Կաթողիկոսի հաւանութիւնը խնդրած էր ասկէ առաջ, եւրոպական ձայնագրութիւնը ներմուծելու հայ եկեղեցակ. երաժշտութեան մէջ: Մեր սրացած տեղեկութեան համաձայն, Վեհափառը հայրապետական յարուկ պաշտօնագրով համամիտ գտնուած եւ արքունած է [...] : / Ինչպէս յայտնի է, արքայազնական թեմերու հաւանութիւնն ալ առնուած էր այդ մասին, Էջմիածին դիմում կատարուելէ առաջ». I am grateful to Edvin Galip for the pertinent newspaper cutting. Nevertheless, the Ējmiacin Catholicosate had already granted approval for the publication of sacred music in staff notation previously—such as in the case of Ekmalian's version of the Divine Liturgy published in 1896, as we shall see.

refugee musicians from Constantinople (including the influential Levon Chilingirian, who arrived in Jerusalem in 1922). Preliminary inspection of Avakian's collection suggests that, whilst some melodies are derived from, or influenced by, Constantinopolitan versions, others are somewhat different. The influence of the Ekmalian/Vaġaršapat melodies is discernible, but it seems that an element of oral transmission did play a role (since Šakarean's versions differ in detail from the Vaġaršapat editions—suggesting that he did not copy directly from the printed page).

There is evidence to suggest that in the nineteenth century Armenian liturgical chant entailed the deployment of various microtonal nuances peculiar to various modes and Eastern makams.³⁰ The oldest version of the Limōnčean notation involved an elaborate system to indicate small intonational nuances in a systematic manner, but these aspects of the notation soon fell largely into abeyance. Thus, microtonal elements were reflected only in a limited manner in the version of the notational system that came to become mainstream at the time when musicians such as Tntesean, T'asčean and others prepared their transcriptions; and such practitioners often differed from each other in their own notational practices in particular modal contexts.³¹ This was partly because musical practices did not lend themselves to neat systematisation. But more positively, another reason may have been that it was simply not necessary for the notation to reflect such nuances, since experienced practitioners already incorporated them in their singing instinctively even if the notation did not capture them fully. Indeed, perhaps this is the very reason why Tntesean's transcriptions into Western staff notation of 1864 adopt a very simple approach: there was no need to express intonational nuances explicitly, since singers would instinctively render them;³² and nor were there any means to allow microtonal nuances to be embodied explicitly in staff notation at the time.

In addition to the complete versions listed above, further transcriptions of particular excerpts have been preserved that offer us tantalising glimpses of brief portions of the Liturgy. One interesting example was copied (or possibly transcribed?) by my own late teacher in Cyprus, the Adana-born musician Vahan Bedelian (1894–1990). In his manuscript of 1914 he includes a 'Melody of Sebaste' not otherwise attested.³³

30 See the discussion in Haig Utidjian, *Tntesean and the Music of the Armenian Hymnal* (Červený Kostelec, Pavel Mervart, 2018), pp. 61–74.

31 See Utidjian, *Tntesean and the Music* (see note 30), pp. 43 to 52, where I compare and contrast the respective usage of Tntesean, Č'ērč'ean and T'aščean.

32 See Utidjian, *Tntesean and the Music* (see note 30), p. 164.

33 For a description of the manuscript, see Haig Utidjian, *Treasures of the Earliest Christian Nation: Spirituality, Art and Music in Mediaeval Armenian Manuscripts / Z pokladu nejstarších Křesťanů: spiritualita, umění a hudba v rukopisech středověké Arménie* (Prague, Royal Canonry of the Premonstratensians at Strahov, 2018), pp. 282–7. For a discussion of the melody, see Haig Utidjian, «Սուրբ Ներսէս Շնորհալոյ Ժառանգի հետ անչուած երաժշտական հարցեր [Musical questions associated with the legacy of St. Nersēs the Gracious]», *Հասկ Հայագիտական Տարեգիրք [Hask Armenological Annual]*, Նոր Շրջան, ԺԳ. տարի (2024), pp. 221–64, at p. 248.

Arrangements of the Melodies of the Armenian Divine Liturgy

For convenience, I have categorised these into groups. Many of these arrangements evince a variety of approaches, objectives and aesthetic aspirations.

I. Versions Now Lost:

- Marko Lukych Kropyvnytskyi: Kropyvnytskyi (1840–1910) was a Ukrainian writer, composer, actor and theatre director, and is deemed to have been the founder of Ukrainian theatre. He appears both to have transcribed and harmonised the Divine Liturgy. His version was performed in Akkerman in 1873, and was well received by the faithful.³⁴ But it was forbidden by the conservative archimandrite shortly thereafter, on

34 The only detailed source about this version is a report in Russian by Л. М. Меликсет–Бек entitled ‘Связь украинского артиста и драматурга МаркоКропивницкого с армянской музыкой’, *Հայկական ՍՍՏԴ Գիտությունների Ակադեմիայի Տեղեկագիր* [Report of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic], no. 5 (1955), pp. 97–100. I am grateful to Artsvi Bakhchinyan for drawing my attention to this source. The writer is Lewon Melk'iset'i Melk'iset'-Bëk (1890–1963), who was an archaeologist, philologist and translator. The following is an informal translation from the Russian article, included here due to the rarity of the source and the interest that attaches to the narrative: ‘In the 70s of the last century [i.e. C19], M. L. Kropyvnytskyi lived in Akkerman (a city in Bessarabia, on the right bank of the Dniester), and, according to local old-timers interviewed by us in 1910, he often visited the local, half-Russified Armenians. Living near the Armenian Church of the Assumption, he had the habit of looking in from time to time and listening to Armenian singing, which was distinguished by its monophony. In 1873, M. L. Kropyvnytskyi came up with the idea of transforming the Armenian everyday monophony into multi-part singing. At first, M. L. Kropyvnytskyi transcribed some wedding chants—*šarakans* [items from the Hymnal]—into European notation, adapting them to several parts, and then he began the liturgical chants and prayers. Less than three months passed, and in the Armenian church in Akkerman a four-part choir began to sing under the direction of M. L. Kropyvnytskyi. As the same old-timers told us, the Akkerman residents listened “to the touching singing” of the entire Divine Liturgy by the choir of M. L. Kropyvnytskyi and “reverently went home”. The fame of M. L. Kropyvnytskyi as a teacher of Armenian singing [in multiple parts] spread throughout Akkerman, throughout Bessarabia, right up to Odessa and other parts of the Armenian communities in the Black Sea region. / But as soon as the news of the replacement of monophony with polyphony in Armenian singing reached Chisinau, where the seat of the diocesan head of the Nakhichevan-Bessarabian Armenian diocese was located, obstacles and barriers were created against the good undertaking of the Ukrainian activist. / “One God—one voice”—thus reasoned the grey-haired Fathers of the Armenian Church, who had been raised in the clutches of the former Ėjmiacin seminary *Žařangaworac*’, transformed in 1874 into the Gevorgian Theological Seminary. The diocesan authorities threatened to subject to severe punishment those guilty of allowing multi-part singing in the Armenian Church. The temporary administrator of the diocese himself, the first member of the Kishinev Armenian consistory, Archimandrite Sargis Tër-Gasporean, urgently arrived in Akkerman from Kishinev, accompanied by the rector of the Odessa Armenian church, priest Yovhannës Tac'izeanc'. But before they could begin to perform the liturgy, the entire Akkerman Armenian community stood up as one person in defence of M. L. Kropyvnytskyi and of the rector of the Akkerman Armenian Church, who had allowed multi-part singing in his church, contrary to the principle of “one God—one voice.” At the same time, yielding to the persistent demands of the Akkerman Armenians, Archimandrite Sargis allowed the Divine Liturgy to be celebrated on the subsequent Sunday in his presence with the participation of M. L. Kropyvnytskyi's choir. However, the singing did not satisfy the archimandrite, who remained firm in his opinion and immediately issued an order for the unconditional removal of multi-part singing—as an ‘unholy undertaking’—from the Akkerman Armenian Church. At the same time, apparently in order to avoid undesirable excesses on the part of the parishioners, he allowed some “indulgence”, allowing only the so-called wedding chants—*šarakans*—to be performed by a four-part choir. At this point, therefore, M. L. Kropyvnytskyi's choir was destined to disintegrate. The administrator of the diocese left Akkerman, and from now on no complaints about the “heretical” deeds of the Akkerman Armenian free-thinkers reached his ear. M. L. Kropyvnytskyi, after 3–4 months of endeavour as the choirmaster of the Armenian four-part choir, abandoned this new field of his forever, and thereby the Armenian harmonisation he had created died in its very infancy. / Following this, M. L. Kropyvnytskyi was destined to leave Akkerman forever, and only shortly before his death did M. L. Kropyvnytskyi return, for a second and last time, for a very brief visit to this city, where he met his former students of Armenian choral singing. / In spring 1910 in Akkerman we met the students of M. L. Kropyvnytskyi—M. Č'emberjean and E. Erëc'p'oxean—and met Al. Popov (Ėric'ean), to whom, according to the will of M. L. Kropyvnytskyi, all of the latter's manuscripts related to his work on introducing polyphony into Armenian singing had been bequeathed. / There were two manuscripts, in the form of

the grounds that the ‘One God’ ought to be praised with ‘one voice’—a theme that will be encountered repeatedly.

- A. Antonioni, 1876: this is referred to in passing by Robert At‘ayean but no details are given.³⁵

II. Versions by Gifted Enthusiasts

These were Armenian church musicians without Western training in harmony—so the results were based on intuition but apt to be ungrammatical at times, albeit with a certain engaging sense of freshness of discovery:

- K‘ristap‘or Kara-Murza (Crimea 1853–Tiflis 1902): one complete version, in the Limōnčean notation (and apparently copied in 1897), was recently discovered and published by Krikor Pidedjian,³⁶ whilst two fragments of a slightly different version, copied in Makar Ekmalian’s hand in 1890, were unearthed by Haig Avakian;³⁷ Kara-Murza had the wisdom and humility to abandon his own versions upon the publication of Ekmalian’s superior version in 1896, and became an advocate and exponent of Ekmalian’s harmonisation thereafter.
- Fr. Eznik Erznceanc‘ (1852–1919), Tiflis (undated): ‘undertaken “as an experiment” (<<իբրեւ փորձ>>’), an unpublished³⁸ manuscript score of this harmonisation in four voices, written in the Limōnčean notation, is kept at Library of the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, Antelias.³⁹ Erznceanc‘ also published a textbook of Limōnčean

notebooks. One of them is [of the Divine Liturgy, and] entitled “The score of Mr Marko Lukych Kropyvnytskyi, teacher of Armenian church singing”, dated 1873. The other manuscript is a collection of various transcribed chants with the following title in Armenian: «Սուագարան սրբազան երաժշտութեան, կազմեալ երոպացիական խազիւք ի 1873 ամին ի փոհմական ազնուական յերաժշտապետի Մարկոս Ղուկասեան Բրաքիվնիցկի»—in translation “Book of Sacred Music, compiled in European notation in 1873 by the musician-in-chief Markos Łukasean Kropyvnytskyi of noble lineage”. In both notebooks the chants are transcribed in European notation, and the texts of the chants themselves are reproduced in Russian transliteration. As for the fate of these manuscripts and where and with whom they are situated at the moment, we know absolutely nothing, since from 1913 we have lost all contact with Akkerman. / I very much hope that these notebooks are still extant, not only due to the potential artistic value of the arrangements, but as the melodies transcribed would themselves be of considerable interest.’

35 This arrangement is mentioned by Robert At‘ayean (see *Կոմիտաս Հոգեւոր ստեղծագործութիւններ [Komitas: Sacred Works]*, խմբ. Ռ. Աթայեան, Գ. Գէօրգիսեան, Դ. Դերոյեան, vol. 8 of the Collected Works by Komitas (Yerevan, Institute of Arts of National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, 1998), pp. 244–5), in a single sentence, but no source or further information is given; he states that it constitutes a harmonisation, ‘highly edited in the European manner’, of melodies that have been preserved by the Mekhitarist Congregation. Although this may suggest that At‘ayean may have been able to inspect it in person, I have been unable to locate it.

36 Գրիգոր Փիքէճեան, *Քրիստափոր Կարա-Մուրզա [K‘ristap‘or Kara-Murza]* (Yerevan, YSC, 2013), monograph followed by a score edited and converted to Western staff notation (p. ccli-cccxxv) by the late Krikor Pidedjian (Grigor P‘itečean).

37 Հայկ Աւագեան, «Քրիստափոր Կարա-Մուրզա. երկու հատուած՝ Պարարագէն [K‘ristap‘or Kara-Murza: two excerpts from the Divine Liturgy]», *Ծիծեռնակ, Յանդուած Ձահակիր Շաբաթաթերթի*, Ը. Տարի, թիւ 1/29 (January 2008), pp. 73–4. Of the two items «Փառք քեզ Տէր» appears the same as that found in the complete version, but «Մարմին Տէրունական» has different chords and a different bass movement.

38 The score is in manuscript, but bears a printed title page that gives Tiflis as the location.

39 I am grateful to H. E. Abp. Shahan Sarkissian, who kindly made available a scan of the manuscript for my inspection.

notation in Tiflis in 1876⁴⁰ (subsequently published again in Vałaršapat in 1880 and 1887),⁴¹ and a school songbook in 1880.⁴²

- Levon M. Č'ilinkirean (1862–1932): Č'ilinkirean (or Chilingirian) undertook one or more harmonisations; the first was apparently published in Smyrna in 1898 (almost certainly in the Limōnčean notation),⁴³ and the second (in Western staff notation) in Jerusalem 1931.⁴⁴

III. Arrangements by Western Musicians

Typically, with limited experience of the musical idiom, these musicians had to make sense of the melodies available to them—with their unfamiliar modality, metrical irregularities and microtonal characteristics:

- Pietro Bianchini, Venice 1862, 1877 (as seen above), but also various unpublished MSS (dating from 1887 and 1889, and an undated set of choruses with string accompaniment): some of the items in the 1862 booklet have only been given a figured bass. Bianchini's harmonisations and arrangements are never less than musicianly, but there may be a certain naïveté about them, since he was not brought up in the world of Armenian and Ottoman modality. Bianchini made his own meticulous transcriptions, as we have seen, and must have necessarily grappled with the inconsistent singing of church musicians who sang from memory or whilst gazing upon the by now largely incomprehensible neumes.
- Amy Apcar/'Dr Slater', Calcutta 1920 (first edition 1897): the harmonisations, apparently by an Anglican organist, cannot be considered convincing, having been undertaken

40 Հայկական Ձայնագրութեան Դասագիրք [Textbok of Armenian Musical Notation], աշխ. Եզնիկ Քահանայի Երզնկեանց Հաղբարեցոյ, Հալոյր Ա. (Tiflis, s.n., 1876); this publication appears to be a facsimile of the author's manuscript, whereas the later two publications are type-set, using the traditional Vałaršapat fonts for the symbols of the Limōnčean notation.

41 I am grateful to Haig Avakian for this information and for his generosity in providing me with scans of these publications.

42 See Ձայնագրեալ Սանկական Երգարան. Երգեր եւ պար-երգեր ի հրահանգ եւ ի պէրս հոգեւոր դպրոցաց Հայոց [Musically Notated Children's Songbook: Songs and Dance-songs for Exercise and for the Needs of Armenian Church Schools], խմբագրեց Եզնիկ Քահանայ Երզնկեանց (Vałaršapat, s.n. 1889). I am grateful to Haig Avakian for photographs of the cover and title page of this booklet.

43 I have been unable to see the first of these publications, but I am in possession of an undated manuscript of the Divine Liturgy for three voices in the Limōnčean notation, kindly presented to me by the Rev. Dr George A. Leylegian, which I suspect to have been derived from the publication. The harmonisation differs somewhat from, but is closely related to, that found in the 1931 publication, strongly suggesting Č'ilinkirean's authorship. For a description and discussion of the manuscript, see Haig Utidjian, *The Art of the Armenian Book through the Ages / Arměnskē knižní umění v průběhu staletí* (Červený Kostelec, Mervart, 2016), pp. 153–4.

44 Եռաձայն Երգեցողութիւն Ս. Պատարագի (արական խումբի համար) [The Chants of the Divine Liturgy in Three Parts (for a male choir)], դաշնաւորեց Լ. Մ. Չիլինկիրեան (Jerusalem, s.n., 1931); I am grateful to Haig Avakian for making a scan available to me. This publication seems to be a facsimile of the composer's manuscript. In the early 1990s the eminent violinist, Levon Chilingirian showed me a manuscript of a harmonisation made by his grandfather in Western staff notation; I cannot recollect whether or not it was the composer's autograph, but it may well have served as the exemplar for the 1931 publication.

without an understanding of the tonal axes of the Armenian modality. Moreover, the harmoniser must have also been misled by the approximations made in the transcribed melodies themselves, for one suspects that the melodies transcribed by Amy Apcar were themselves heavily edited, either by Apcar herself or by Slater, in an attempt to fit melodies into bars of regular length, and very probably in an endeavour to ‘resolve’ microtonal modal singing into a reasonable approximation.

IV. Versions by Mature Armenian Musicians

These musicians possessed both Western training as well as direct experience of the traditional practice of Armenian liturgical music; their versions were intended primarily for liturgical use, and entertained ambitious artistic aspirations, with good reason:

- Makar Ekmalian (1856–1905), Leipzig/Vienna 1896:⁴⁵ Ekmalian provides, in a single volume, versions for three-part male choir, four-part male choir, and four-part mixed choir; however, not every item appears in all three versions, sometimes resulting in the need to transpose a particular component from one version for use in another. This volume was also a typographical achievement—the music being engraved by Breitkopf und Härtel in Leipzig and the verbal underlay provided by the Mekhitarist Press in Vienna, both with distinction.
- Archimandrite Komitas (1869–1935): by the ‘Komitas version’ I refer to the version first performed under his direction in Constantinople 1915 just before the deportations and Genocide,⁴⁶ and subsequently published by a Committee of friends in Paris in 1933 (whilst Komitas himself was incapacitated and in a mental asylum in France), in an edition by his pupil Wardan Sarxian;⁴⁷ a later edition that sought to eschew Sarxian’s additions and modifications was prepared by At‘ayean et al and published Yerevan, 1997.⁴⁸

45 Մակար Եկմալեան, *Երգեցողութիւնք Սրբոյ Պատարագի Հայաստանեայց Առաքելական Եկեղեցւոյ* [*Chants of the Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Apostolic Church*] (Vienna - Leipzig, Mekhitarist Congregation in Vienna - Breitkopf und Härtel, 1896). A re-publication in Antelias, 1974, under the very similar title *Երգեցողութիւնք Սրբոյ Պատարագի Հայաստանեայց Առաքելական Ս. Եկեղեցւոյ* edited by Abp. Zareh Aznaworen of blessed memory, includes the version for mixed choir alone, but also incorporates particular elements from other versions, embracing some variables and popular variants.

46 As we shall see, fragments have survived of several other versions prepared by Komitas for various forces on a variety of occasions, but we exclude these from consideration here.

47 Կոմիդաս Վարդապետ, *Երգեցողութիւնք Սրբոյ Պատարագի Հայաստանեայց Առաքելական Ս. Եկեղեցւոյ* [*Chants of the Divine Liturgy of the Holy Armenian Apostolic Church*] (republication with a new preface of Դաշնաւորեալ Երգեցողութիւնք Սրբոյ Պատարագի [Harmonised chants of the Divine Liturgy], Paris, s.n., 1933) (Antelias, Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, 1974).

48 Կոմիդաս Պատարագ [*Komitas: The Divine Liturgy*], խմբ. Աթայեան, Ռ. Ա. [ed. Robert At‘ayean], vol. 7 of the *Collected Works by Komitas* (Yerevan, Institute of Arts of National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, 1997).

- Fr. Movsēs Srapean (1886–1965), a Mekhitarist monk in Vienna, published a volume in staff notation of harmonised ‘Constantinopolitan melodies’ in 1936.⁴⁹ In fact a number of the melodies included are (as Fr. Srapean himself points out) drawn from the Vařarřapat Missal or from the Aydinian transcriptions (thereby providing indirect acknowledgement of the largely Constantinopolitan origins of these sources).
- Ara Barteſſian (1902–86): born in Constantinople but based in Paris, Barteſſian was a pupil of Edgar Manas (to be encountered below) and of Vincent d’Indy.⁵⁰ He recorded unpublished revisions of both Ekmalian⁵¹ and Komitas⁵² versions (these recordings are not dated, but an advertisement in the local press announcing one of the recording suggests 1959 as terminus post quem). In these versions Barteſſian re-touched the original harmonisations, provided organ introductions and continuous organ accompaniments for the chants of the celebrant and deacon (and ought not to be confused with the Liturgy that Barteſſian himself composed, to be encountered below). These records also include certain variables and odes, endowed with fine organ accompaniments. Barteſſian was born a Constantinopolitan, but the melodies he has redacted and harmonised have themselves been Europeanised to some degree.⁵³

Some General Comments

It is interesting to note that Tntesean, Komitas and Barteſſian all sought to establish a ‘skeleton’ when redacting their melodies—in the case of the latter two, for the purpose of polyphonic treatment or harmonisation. In Tntesean’s case this had been motivated by a desire to find a ‘common root’ shared by the various melodies that were available to him. Komitas had an aversion to ornamented and ‘excessively’ melismatic versions, which he was inclined to consider as ‘Turkish’ or ‘Kurdish’, and was convinced that simpler melodies were more ‘noble’, ancient and Armenian. Barteſſian has also sought to simplify from time to time (though it is not clear whether this was merely a matter of personal taste, or the result of ideological inclination). It is clear that both Komitas and Barteſſian produced their versions with a view to

49 Սուրբ Պապարագի երգեցողութիւնները (Պոլսական եղանակներ) [*The Chants of the Divine Liturgy (Constantinopolitan Melodies)*], Հաւաքեց եւ դաշնակեց քառաձայն խառն խումբի համար Հ. Մովսէս Վ. Սրապեան Մխիթ. Ուխտէն [Compiled and harmonised for four-part mixed choir by Archimandrite Movsēs Srapean of the Mekhitarist Congregation] (Vienna, Mekhitarist Congregation in Vienna, 1936).

50 The Constantinopolitan newspaper *Ազդարար*—*Azdarar* (Azdarar) announced, in its issue of 30 August 1927, that Barteſſian had come first in the annual examinations at the Schola Cantorum Պ. Արայ [sic] «Պարթեւեան առաջին հանդիսացած է Schola Cantorum երաժշտական դպրոցի փարեկան քննութեանց մէջ» (I am grateful to Edvin Galip for his kindness in providing me with a photograph of the newspaper cutting).

51 LP gramophone record, Vogue CLVLX 442.

52 LP gramophone record, Vogue CLVLX 451.

53 We shall have cause briefly to refer below to Barteſſian’s dissatisfaction with existing versions, in connection with a version he himself composed.

rendering the results attractive to European ears as well as others; and in the case of Ekmalian, the score was presented to a special commission at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire, whose expression of approval was obtained and included in the publication.

V. A Collaborative Version

Fr. Arsēn Aydinian, whom we have already encountered, sought to develop some of the variants he had gathered into a Western-style Liturgy, with orchestral and organ accompaniment, including some orchestral introductions and interpolations, in collaboration with Josef Böhm.⁵⁴ The result became known as the ‘Aydin-Boehm’ Liturgy.⁵⁵ It was published posthumously in Vienna, 1950.⁵⁶ The result is in some ways remarkable—presenting a coherent work that sounds rather more Western than Armenian, yet based on faithfully preserved traditional Armenian melodies⁵⁷—so much so, that upon hearing a recent recording⁵⁸ I assumed that the work was to a large degree an original composition by Aydinian!

Original Settings

We categorise original compositions into two broad groups—compositions of particular excerpts, and complete versions of the Liturgy.

54 Nevertheless, the orchestral arrangement remained unfinished with the premature death of Josef Böhm in 1993; it was completed by his brother, permitting the first performance of the complete work under the latter's direction in Vienna in November 1895, celebrating fifty years from Aydinian's ordination (see ԼԵՆՆ ՇԱՌՈՂԵԱՆ, «Հ. ԱՐՍԷՆ ԱՅԴԻՆԵԱՆԻ 200-ամեակը [the 200th anniversary of Fr. Ars Aydinian]», in the weekly *Պայքար*, year 9, no. 33/438 (31 August 2025), p. 8). I thank Levon Sharoyan for this information.

55 Josef Böhm (1841-93) was a Moravian-born, Czech-Austrian musician. He ought not to be confused with the younger Czech Josef Böhm (1881-1967), or the older Josef Böhm (1795-1876). It is believed that Böhm undertook the orchestration of the work.

56 Այդինեան-Բէօմ, *Երգեցողութիւն Սրբոյ Պատարագի քառաձայն խառն խումբի համար ընկերակցութեամբ նուագախումբի եւ երգեհոնի* [Chants of the Divine Liturgy for a Mixed Four-part Choir Accompanied by Orchestra and Organ], but also with the Latin title *Aydin-Boehm Missa Solemnis in ritu Armeno* (Vienna, Mekhitarist Press, 1950). See also Անահիւր Բաղդասարեան, «Այդինեան-Բէօմ, 'Երգեցողութիւնք Սրբոյ Պատարագի' [Aydinian-Böhm, 'Chants of the Divine Liturgy']», *Հանդէս Ամսօրեայ*, 1-12 (2012), pp. 335-44.

57 Almost all the melodies are drawn from the 1877 volume, with but minor exceptions. The version of «Յամենայնի» is not to be found in the 1877 book, whilst «Որդի Աստուծոյ» may have been adapted on the basis of «Հոգի Աստուծոյ». «Ըստ ամենայնի» has been drawn directly from Ekmalian's Liturgy. One of the «Եւ ընդ հոգւոյդ քում» and «Առաջի քո Տէր» sequences has come from a source other than the 1877 volume. «Միայն սուրբ» has been slightly simplified, whilst the «Որդի» stanza and final «Ամէն» of the «Ամէն. Հայր Սուրբ» differ somewhat from their counterparts of 1877. Likewise, in the «Օրհնեցէք» sections of «Քրիստոս պատարագեալ» and in the «Փառք ի բարձունս» section of «Լցաք» we encounter differences from the earlier version. The aim seems to have been a modest degree of simplification, and also the desire for somewhat greater variation—perhaps to guard against monotony. Interestingly, Aydinian (who in 1877 often provided several variants) has generally avoided his «ա» versions (the oldest variants known to him but no longer in current use at the time). Finally, the 1950 score has been endowed with an appendix with variables, where Fr. Movsēs Srapean added his own harmonisations, drawn from his own 1936 publication.

58 This appeared on a single CD in 2015, published by the Mekhitarist Congregation in Vienna and performed by the Yerevan State Chamber Choir and the Armenian State Chamber Orchestra. A twenty-two minute excerpt had been previously released by the Armenian Academic Chorus and Armenian Radio Symphony Orchestra under Yovhannēs Ć'ëk'ičean on Melodiya (C10 09621 006) in 1980 (although apparently recorded in 1972 and 1975).

Odes and Other Excerpts

There are numerous extant variants of particular components of the Divine Liturgy—excerpts, for which new versions appear to have been acceptable and generally welcome, often composed on traditional Ottoman makams. For the most part, the authors of such variants are unknown, although, as we shall see, there are exceptions. The trend for the composition and deployment of a multiplicity of new versions was severely criticised by musicologists and other practitioners, including Tntesean,⁵⁹ Meštućean⁶⁰ and Komitas⁶¹ himself.

59 See the reproduction in Եղիա Մ. Տնտեսան, *Նկարագիր երգոց Հայաստանեայց Եկեղեցւոյ—Nkaragir ergoc'* [*Character of the Chants of the Armenian Church*] (Constantinople, 1874), p. 16, of his critique of 1864, where Tntesean criticises the novelty of these chants and points out that students found that there were so many newly-invented, 'grotesque' melodies that they had to study again or give up; many were overwhelmed, and endeavouring to keep up with such new variants they had little time left to study the hymns of the Offices: «Երբ եկեղեցւոյ մէջ սկսան մուր գարնել նորորինակ անձոնի եղանակներ, երբ առաւօրուն կանուխ արթնցողը նորորինակ եղանակաւ Ամէն հայր սուրբ մը Տէր ողորմեա մը եայլն սկսաւ հնարել որով արդէն դպրութիւն ընողներն սրիպուեցան կամ նորէն ուսանիլ եւ կամ պաշտօնին ձգել. ձայնաւոր աշակերտք ալ ամեն օր նորորինակ եղանակաւ Տէր ողորմեա, Ամէն հայր սուրբ ուսնելով գլուխնին ուռեցաւ, որով գրեթէ ժամասացութիւն ուսանելու արեն չունեցաւ». However, Tntesean also criticises the non-Armenian nature of some of these novelties (see pp. 56-7 and p. 89).

60 See Գէորգ Պ. Մեշուրճեան in his open letter of 23 September 1874 sent from Bucharest, published in the Constantinopolitan Armenian daily newspaper *Masis*, no. 1590 (1/13 October 1874): «Սոյն խօսքս կենդանի ապացոյցներով հաստատելու համար կ'առաջարկեմ. ենթադրեմք թէ՛ այսօր այսինչ եկեղեցւոյ փոմն է, գնա եւ ունկնդիր եղիր, անշուշտ նոր ալեւրք մը կամ Յամենայնի մը պիտի լսես՝ որ կենացոյ մէջ լսած չէիր. ուրիշ եկեղեցի մը գնա, նոր Ամէն հայր սուրբ մը պիտի լսես, ուր անցեալ շաբթու շիւսէինի կ'երգէին, այսօր ալ շիճազ կամ շիճազքեար կ'երգեն. (թէ՛քը չես ա). ուրիշ եկեղեցի մը գնա. հոն ինչ պիտի լսես. նոր Տէր ողորմեա մը. ուրիշ փեղ մ'ալ Սուլթան Սէլիմի օրէն շինուած շարքիներուն միոյն եղանակներէն առնուած՝ կաղպարը կաղպարին Տէր ողորմեա ին վրայ անցուցած, կամ 'Ղու գարշըքի փաղկա պիր գուզու մէքեր'ին Տէր ողորմեան պիտի լսես: Ահա մեր եկեղեցական երգեցողութեան եպերելի եւ խանգարեալ ընթացքը». In a rather ironic tone, the author criticises the fact that for those very chants in the Divine Liturgy wholly different melodies are sung week after week, also differing from church to church, and often closely modelled on traditional Ottoman melodies. I am grateful to Haig Avakian for drawing this source to my attention.

61 See «Հայոց եկեղեցական երաժշտութիւնը ԺԹ. Դարում», pp. 78-89, at pp. 84-8, reproduced in Կոմիտաս Վարդապետ. *Ուսումնասիրութիւններ եւ յօդուածներ* [*Archimadrite Komitas: Studies and Articles*], Գիրք Ա., աշխ. Գուրգէն Գասպարեանի եւ Մարինէ Մուշեղեանի, (Yerevan, 2005): «Խուժովական բազմաթիւ մեղեդիներ, փաղեր, Տէր-ողորմեաներ, Ամէն եւ ընդ հոգւոյդ քում'ներ [...] փաճկական Շարքի, Թիւրքի, Մանի, Նանի եղանակներով պարարագի արարողութիւններ [...] անձաշակ, եթէ չասենք անհամեստ, գոնէ խառնիխուռն, երաժշտական աւիւնից ի սպառ զուրկ ձայնանիշերի կուրակումով. այլեւս չենք ասում եղանակի եւ բառերի ներքին իմաստի կարարեալ անհամաձայնութեան մասին. [...] եղանակի վերնագիրն [...] արդէն պղտորում է մարդու միտքն ու սիրտը, այն պարկերացմամբ՝ թէ դա արեւելեան այն բազմաձիւղ եղանակներից մէկն է, որ սրճանոցներում, հասարակական կեր ու խումի վայրերում է միայն երգւում եւ ընդունակ է ոգեւորելու միայն գուսան-աշուղներին եւ նոցա առաջ պարողներին: [...] աւանդապահ փրացուններն էլ ձեռք զարկին իրանց հաւանած հոգեւոր եղանակները ձայնագրելու, որ գոնէ եղածն ազատեն [...]». In brief, Komitas felt the worst 'transgressions' had taken place in the period 1864-1873, complaining that the melodies were uncouth, lacked taste, and were based on Turkish melodies; they were meretricious and devoid of musical substance. The music did not accord with the meaning of the verbal text, whilst the makam designations it bore served to evoke associations with oriental melodies which were sung in the coffee houses, 'apt to enthuse only bards and minstrels and those dancing before them'. Of course the real danger was that the older melodies were being displaced and would be lost—which is why some 'conservative church musicians were endeavouring to transcribe the melodies they liked, at least to save what had been left'. Komitas' statement is of especial significance, since transcribing what one likes in order to preserve it for the future was a key mechanism of gradual filtration that helps explain the manner in which styles and musical idioms appear to change; see also the discussion in Utidjian, *Treasures of the Earliest Christian Nation* (see note 33), esp. p. 330, n. 50.

In this category we find numerous versions of *meledi* odes, typically sung during the preparation of the gifts behind the closed veil of the altar. In this genre Limōnčean was especially productive, but only some of his contributions are extant. For the most part, those who composed melodies for Armenian *meledi* odes remain anonymous.⁶² The same is true of the various compositions of the litany *Amēn ew ənd hogwoyd k'um*, (a dialogue between Clerk and deacon), and also of *Amēn Hayr Surb* and *Tēr ɔlormeas* (often matching together, in the same Ottoman *makam*); two prominent composers in the nineteenth century were Aristakēs Yovhannisean⁶³ (1812–78) and Hambarjum Č'ērč'ean (1828–1901). The list of *Tēr ɔlormeas* settings at the end of Haig Avakian's edition of the Šak'arean manuscript includes no fewer than forty different versions; of these, three lack mode designations, twenty-five bear Armenian mode designations, ԱԿ, ԲԶ, ԲԿ, ԳԶ, ԳԿ and ԴԶ, ten bear Ottoman *makam* designations, and a further four bear both.⁶⁴ Two of the melodies designated with *makam* names are attributed to particular composers, 'G. Mētērean and G. Antarak'ean'.⁶⁵ Moreover, at end of the *Vaḷaršapat Missal* there is also a substantial index that lists seventeen different versions that refer to Armenian church modes (rather than *makams*), embracing the ԱԿ դրձ, ԲԿ, ԲԶ, ԳԿ, ԳԶ, ԴԶ, ԴԿ modes, plus a further two devoid of mode designations.

An unusual and comparatively late instance of precise attributions to a single composer may be found in the case of Grigor Ĵulhaean, in a celebratory volume published in 1937 still within his lifetime.⁶⁶ Listing each item with its respective *makams* and Western keys and/or modes, the author of the volume, Petros Karapetean credits him with four versions of *Amēn ew ənd hogwoyd k'um*⁶⁷ and with five *Tēr ɔlormeas*;⁶⁸ and, as we shall see below, Ĵulhaean is also credited with complete versions of the Divine Liturgy.

It is not clear why these particular components of the Divine Liturgy apparently lent themselves to original composition, whereas for the remaining chants traditional versions were preferred and explicit innovation was not permitted. However, the inclusion of the *Tēr ɔlormeas*

62 The earliest known authors of Armenian odes such as St. Gregory of Narek (c. 945-1003) and St. Nersēs the Gracious are believed to have composed their own melodies, but it is extremely improbable that the extant corpora of melodies in this genre are of such antiquity.

63 In some sources we encounter the variant Yovhannēsean.

64 It is interesting that in such instances the *makam* name seems intended to endow the Armenian modal description with greater precision. Thus, one of the ԴԿ items is designated as *uṣṣak* and the other as *rast*, the ԶԶ item is *bestenigar* (and not the usual *saba*), and ԳԶ is *hicazkar* (a special type of *hicaz*).

65 One wonders if the former might in fact be the eminent Constantinopolitan church musician, Grigor Mēht'ērean (1866-1934).

66 Grigor Ĵulhaean was born in Constantinople in 1868, see Կարապետեան, Պետրոս, *Յիսնամեայ Յոբելէնական Յիշարական բազմավաստակ երաժշտագէտի ու շարականագէտի Տիար Գրիգոր Չուլիաեանի* [A fifty-year jubilee tribute in honour of the musicologist and hymnal specialist, Mr Grigor Ĵulhaean] (Istanbul, 1937); I am grateful to the Rev. Archpriest Fr. Krikor Damadyan for drawing this source to my attention.

67 These are (see p. 32 therein): *isfahan* or A minor, *hüzzam* or 'Major', *nihavend* or G minor (a 'special mode' between *düghah* and *kürdi hicaz*'), *şehnaz*, and *şehnaz* (A minor).

68 Namely *rast* (G major), *nihavend*, *hicazkar* (G minor), *hüzzam* (Major) and *hicaz* (D minor).

supplications, themselves drawn from a very popular poem by Catholicos Simon Erewanc'i (1710–80, in office 1763–80), was itself an innovation; they are not to be found in manuscript or early printed sources at all. It is not clear precisely when they became incorporated into the Liturgy; but they are well-loved and much cherished today in several musical variants.

Complete Versions

The following list is not comprehensive, but perhaps captures the best known examples: Grigor Ĭulhaean composed a three-part version based on the 'Nihavend-Minor' makam in 1908,⁶⁹ performing it with sixty male singers in Kumkapı, with a unison version of it performed in 1910 with Patriarch Ormanian as the Celebrant, by whom it was praised. In addition, Ĭulhaean composed a version in F minor for 'multiple voices' (the source does not make precise how many),⁷⁰ performed with great success in 1929—all in Constantinople. In 1930 Patriarch Mesrop Naroyan formally granted permission for the same version (now described as being for four parts) to be sung in churches,⁷¹ a committee having been satisfied that Ĭulhaean had undertaken 'corrections'⁷² prescribed by it.⁷³

- Aram Bžškean (d. 1908), of whom we know that he had studied with Nikolaŷos T'aščean and served for many years as musician-in-chief at an Armenian Church in the Beşiktaş district of Constantinople in the late nineteenth century,⁷⁴ is reported to have composed

69 See Karapetean, *A fifty-year jubilee tribute* (see note 66), p. 33.

70 Karapetean, *A fifty-year jubilee tribute* (see note 66), p. 34.

71 Karapetean, *A fifty-year jubilee tribute* (see note 66), p. 38.

72 This information appears on the last page of a photocopy of a manuscript of the work, kindly made available to me very recently by Edvin Galip. A preliminary inspection of the manuscript suggests that his is a somewhat naïve version not devoid of charm, endowed with a simple and somewhat repetitive harmonisation; and the fact that the setting often emulates the rhythm of the traditional melodies indicates that—unlike Barteŷian (as we shall see below)—the composer was unable to distance himself from the experience of performing the traditional melodies over a period of many decades.

73 Nevertheless, there was a public challenge to Ĭulhaean's authorship of the harmonisation; according to the newspaper *Նոր Լուր*—*Nor Lur* (8 May 1931), the eminent Constantinopolitan musician, Yarut'wn Sinanean had pointed out to the Patriarchate's Religious Council that Ĭulhaean could be credited with the composition of the melody alone, and that the 'late Italian well-known teacher' «Սքարցելլի» (Scarzelli?) had carried out the harmonisation. The Religious Council rejected this objection, on the grounds that the work had been performed 'thirty years previously' in a harmonised version, with no objection from the Italian musician at any stage, and after the latter's passing the Council could not heed objections made by another («Կրծն. Ժողովը կարդալով այս գիրը եւ նկատելով որ տոն պատարագի Կրծն. Ժողովի մէջ քննութեան միջոցին եւ լրագրական հրատարակութեանց առթիւ, ո եւ է առարկութիւն եւ դիմում չէ եղած 'տոն ինքն Պ. Սքարցելլի կողմէ, իբր հեղինակ այս կամ այն մասին, անոր մահէն յետոյ երկրորդի մը կողմէ եղած այս առարկութեան հետեւեանք չըլլաւ»): According to an issue of the newspaper *Ազդարար*—*Azdarar* (Azdarar) almost a month earlier, Sinanean had approached the Religious Council as a 'fellow artist', requesting that the 'authorial right of the harmoniser be respected as a debt of conscience' (10 April 1931, No. 1388): «Իբրեւ արուեստակից, Պ. Յ. Սինանեան խղճի պարտք կը նկատէ յարգել հեղինակութեան իրաւունքը իրաւացի արուեստագէտին»; the Italian musician is here referred to as «Սքարսելլի» (Scarselli?). I am indebted to Edvin Galip for photographs of the pertinent newspaper cuttings.

74 See Արիստակէս Քհնյ. Հիսարեան, *Պարմութիւն Հայ ձայնագրութեան եւ կենսագրութիւնք երաժիշտ ազգայնոց*

and taught a three-part version of the Divine Liturgy ‘to the groups that were at his disposal’. I have no knowledge of the present whereabouts of the version.⁷⁵

- Edgar Manas (1875–1964) composed an original version, in two variants—for mixed four-part choir,⁷⁶ completed in 1948 and authorised for liturgical use by the Religious Council of the Armenian Patriarchate in 1949, and for four-part male voice choir, published posthumously in Constantinople in 1965.⁷⁷ In either version the voices are endowed with organ accompaniment. The impression is that of a tasteful, tuneful and expressive version that is not distant from the idiom of the traditional melodies of the Armenian Divine Liturgy.
- Barsel At‘mačean (1915–87, known in Turkish as Parseh Atmacayan), born in Bafra (in Samsun province in Turkey), composed an as yet unpublished Liturgy for a mixed chorus of (for the most part) four mixed voices. Inspection of the score reveals a graceful setting. For certain movements the traditional melodies have been retained, but the greater part of the Liturgy has been composed afresh. The setting does make occasional use of chromaticism, and is perhaps less conservative than that of Manas.⁷⁸
- Ara Bartevean, Paris; Bartevean was an outstanding musician, with a profound understanding of Armenian sacred chant but possessing equal mastery in Western music. He strove to compose a new version, which he characterised as ‘Liturgy–Oratorio’ (‘Պատարագ–Օրաթորիո’). In addition to creating a version explicitly inspired by Western models, Bartevean was eager to overcome perceived deficiencies of the traditional

1768-1909 [History of Armenian Musical Notation and Biographies of Armenian Musicians 1768-1909] (Constantinople, 1914), pp. 168-9. I am aware of two of Aram Bžškean’s publications: a magazine by the name of *Քնար Արարապեան. ազգային երգեր ամէն տեսակ երաժշտական գործիքի համար* [Lyre of Ararat: National Songs for all Manner of Musical Instruments], of which a single issue has been preserved (Ա. Շրջան թիւ 1, Constantinople, 15 August 1908); and the song-book *Գարնան Դայլայիկներ* [Spring Warblings] (Constantinople, s.n., 1905), including some forty-two children’s songs. I am indebted to Haig Avakian for this information.

75 The existence of this version was mentioned in passing in Part II of a five-part retrospective by Varužan Kēōsēean in the Marmara daily newspaper in 1972, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the passing of K‘ristap‘or Kara-Murza; see Վարուժան Բէօսէեան, «Քրիստափոր Քարա-Մուրզա-ի [sic] մահուան 70ամեակին եւ Դպրաց Դաս Գողթան երգչախումբի փարեղարձներուն առթիւ ակնարկներ Թրքահայ եկեղեցիներէ ներս բազմաձայն երգեցողութեան [Glances at polyphonic singing in Turkish Armenian churches, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the death of K‘ristap‘or K‘ara-Murza]», Part II, *Մարմարա*, 17 December 1972. I am grateful to the musicologist Haig Avakian for drawing my attention to this source.

76 *Երկար Մանաս, Հանդիսական Պատարագ քառաձայն խառն խումբի համար ընկերակցութեամբ երգեհոնի* [Festal Divine Liturgy for Four-part Mixed Choir Accompanied by Organ] (Mekhitarist Press, s.n., 1962) (it is not clear if the score was published in Venice or in Vienna).

77 *Երկար Մանաս, Երգեցողութիւն Ս. Պատարագի քառաձայն արական խումբի համար ընկերակցութեամբ երգեհոնի* [Chants of the Divine Liturgy for Four-part Male Voice Choir Accompanied by Organ] (Istanbul, s.n., 1965—posthumous reproduction of the composer’s manuscript).

78 Edvin Galip is at present preparing to conduct a recording of the work. I am grateful to him for this and other pieces of information concerning the Atmacayan Liturgy, and for kindly making available a scan of the composer’s manuscript.

versions—namely that voices were apt to ascend or descend in a manner at variance with the meaning of the words, and that musical phrases would not always coincide with verbal ones.⁷⁹ This oratorio-like composition for chorus, soloists and symphony orchestra has been largely forgotten⁸⁰ but Bartevian's setting of the dialogue between deacon and Clerk preceding the Lord's Prayer, 'Ամեն. եւ ընդ հոգւոյդ քում' ('Amen; and with thy spirit'), which he also recorded with organ accompaniment on one of his discs devoted to the Armenian Liturgy (devoted largely to his aforementioned re-arrangement of excerpts from the Komitas version, with Iris Bulbulian as the soprano and Ara Seropian the baritone, and with Marie-Louise Girod at the organ—Vogue CLVLX 451), is a very fine setting, and may be heard from time to time, especially in Istanbul.

79 The composer's manuscript of the full score was privately published by 'Jirair Kasbarian (Ozkasbar)', and includes a most interesting preface by the composer. The composer's aesthetic is made explicit here. Whilst acknowledging that musical 'simplicity and accessibility' are important, 'to allow the faithful to follow mentally or even hum along', yet it is necessary for words and music to be in accord with each other. The Liturgy may be seen, on the grounds of an attentive reading of its verbal text, to be a 'spiritual epic', even a 'theatrical performance with a religious spirit'; masterpieces were composed by Western composers accordingly. Yet this viewpoint has been 'ignored' in the Armenian milieu or even deemed to be 'inappropriate'. As a result, the music of the Armenian 'Requiem hymn' sounds like a 'weepy romance', even though the words are similar to the Latin *Dies irae*; to appreciate the contrast, Bartevian evokes the example of the Berlioz Requiem. In the event, for his *Dies irae* comparison Bartevian appears to have conflated excerpts from two Armenian Requiem hymns—the Fourth Authentic Mode *De caelis* hymn «Գըթա Կէրի հոգիս» and the Magnificat hymn «Ահագին է օրն դաբասարանին», both from the Canon for All Who Have Fallen Asleep in Christ (see pp. 903 and 899 of the standard Armenian *Շարական Ձեռնաց [Portable Hymnal]*, Antelias, 1997). Bartevian also advocates word painting—purposely choosing to accompany the words 'Christ has risen' with brass and timpani, and using violins for the passage where the celebrant (just before the Sanctus) exhorts that we 'make melodies in concord with the seraphim and the cherubim'. This unprecedented (and, to this day, unparalleled), daring manifesto is worth quoting in its entirety: «Պարզիմ անշուշտ ընդունիլ որ պարարագի մը երաժշտութիւնը պէտք է ըլլայ դիւրամարդէի եւ պարզ, որպէսզի հաւարացեալը կարենայ մարմի հետեւիլ եւ կամ միմեզով ընկերանայ երգեցողութեան: Ուրիշ անկիւնադարձէ մը սակայն դիտելով համադրութիւնը բառերու եւ երաժշտութեան, պիտի գործենք որ շար հեռու են իրարու պարզաձեւէ: Պարարագի գրական մասը եթէ ուշադրութեամբ կարդանք պիտի այն եզրակացութեան գանք որ անկիւն հոգեւոր դիւցազներգութիւն մըն է, նոյնիսկ կարելի է ըսել թէ թարգմանական ներկայացում մըն է կրօնական շունչով: / Այս է պարզապէս որ իրականութիւնը ծնունդ տուած է բազմաթիւ դասական մեծ երաժիշտներու, որպէսզի յօրինեն մէկը միւսէն գեղեցիկ պարարագներ: Մեր իրականութեան մէջ բոլորովին անտեսուած, նոյնիսկ անպարզաձեւ համարուած բան մըն է: Օրինակի համար Կոմիտասի հետեւեալ հոգեհանգստեան շարականին օրինակը եւ բաղդարեանք անոր գործադրութեան լալական մեղեդին: 'Ի յորժամ հրաշալի ձայնիւ փողոյն՝ յառնեն մեռեալք եւ կան առաջի ահաւոր քո բեմին ... սարսափին հրեշտակք, սասանին երկիր բանին դրոնք երկնից, բարբառին հրեշտակք, բանին գերեզմանք, բորբոքի գեհեման': Բաղդարեցէք այս բառերը եւ անոնց լալական ռոմանսի նմանող եղանակաւորումը: Պիտի տեսնէք թէ շար հեռու են իրարմէ, յետոյ եթէ հնարաւորութիւնը ունիք, ունկնդրեցէք Պէրլիօզի հանգստեան պարարագին (ռըքլէմ) երկրորդ բաժինը որ կը կոչուի (Տիեզ իռէ) օր բարկութեան, այս նոյն բառերուն վրայ եղանակաւորուած: [...] ՅԱՐԵԱԿ ԶՐԻՍՏՈՍ խօսքին պէտք է ընկերանան փողեր, թմբուկներ եւ այլ գործիքներ, դառն համար պարկերը ՅԱՐԻԹԵԱՆ եւ կամ երբ գրական բաժին մէջ կ'ըսուի 'Եւ ընդ Սերովբէքն եւ ընդ Քերովբէքն յօրինեն [sic] Նուագս' այս անգամ անհրաժեշտ են ջութակները:» Bartevian also articulated his critique of existing versions in his article «Հայ եկեղեցական երաժշտութիւնը [Armenian church music]», reproduced in the journal *Սուրբ Փրկիչ Հիանդանց [Journal of the Hospital of the Holy Saviour]*, March-April 2017, (pp. 108-137, esp. pp. 109, 119-120 etc.), from an unnamed Armenian Constantinopolitan or Parisian newspaper in which it had first appeared in fourteen parts; a terminus post quem for the original article must be around 1959, since Bartevian refers to one of his gramophone records in it.

80 Bartevian's composition was first performed in Armenia on 20 December 1979, in the presence of the Catholicos of All Armenians Vazgen I, who at the end of the performance commented 'Light and blessings have descended upon the hall' according to the composer's preface («Սրահին վրայ լոյս եւ Օրհնութիւն իջաւ, պարասխանեց»).

- Khoren Mekanejian (1937–2025), Yerevan (publ. Holy Ējmiacin, 1985;⁸¹ republished New York, 1999): this attractive work seeks to emulate the traditional modality of Armenian sacred chant, but also has much in common with the sound world of Armenian folk music. Its liturgical deployment at the Cathedral of the Mother See in Ējmiacin was permitted by Catholicos Vazgēn of blessed memory, and for many years it was performed there on Sundays in alternation with the Ekmalian and Komitas versions. Its setting of Tēr օօrmea is very popular, and continues to be sung at Divine Liturgies celebrated throughout the world, usually inserted into the Liturgies by Ekmalian.
- George Kirazian, an American Armenian, composed his own version in 1995–2007; the score remains unpublished, but CD recordings appeared in 2008 and 2017. This version, unlike Mekanejian's, does not seek to be Armenian in style. It is an introspective, gentle and in many ways subtle setting, late romantic and moderately dissonant. In terms of style, it may be said to inhabit a similar world to that of the Preces and Responses by Bernard Rose (1916–96), well known in the Anglican collegiate and cathedral tradition.⁸²

Reactions to Harmonisation

We have already briefly noted the reactions to Kropyvnytskyi's now lost harmonisation—where public enthusiasm was counteracted by prohibition by conservative clergy, in this instance sadly resulting in the probable loss of the version itself. We now turn to two different cases: Kara–Murza, who elicited similar reactions and himself served as the forerunner for the versions by Ekmalian and, in turn, Komitas; and Bianchini, who appears to have succeeded after initial opposition (but whose version is now not performed).⁸³

*The Case of Kara–Murza*⁸⁴

We shall first consider the vicissitudes of the version by K'ristap'or Kara–Murza (Crimea 1853 – Tiflis 1902). The première of his harmonisation was sung on Easter Day 1886 in Baku, but further performances were prevented in 1890 by Bishop Mesrop Smbatean. The Bishop

81 Երգեցողութիւն Սուրբ Պատարագի Հայաստանեայց Եկեղեցւոյ—Հեղինակ՝ Խորէն Մեխանճեան [sic] [*Chants of the Divine Liturgy—author: Xorēn Mexanċean*] (Holy Ējmiacin, 1985).

82 The work was recorded complete in 2008, by Pacific Camerata conducted by Daniel Ratelle (on two CDs, 8450103028); excerpts were recorded more recently in Yerevan by the Paros Chamber Choir conducted by Raffi Mikaelian (no date is given on the CD, but there is a website dated 2017 advertising the recording).

83 This is not due to any perceived deficiencies in his harmonisations, but simply because most of the melodies that he harmonised are no longer known and sung even in San Lazzaro, and also because the Ekmalian and Komitas versions became so popular that they came to be sung almost exclusively everywhere. Partial exceptions are Istanbul, where the *Mayr Elanak* (above) is sometimes sung in some churches, and San Lazzaro, where portions of a *vanakan patarag*—‘monastic Liturgy’ are sometimes sung (constituting a subset of the material that was transcribed by Fr. Léonce Dayan, and warranting careful study in the future).

84 Here my narrative draws on the account given in Pidedjian, *Քրիստափոր Կարա-Մուրզա* (see note 36), pp. 71–104.

demanded to hear excerpts from the Divine Liturgy in four-part harmony and then in unison, and decided that the latter was to be preferred. Kara-Murza retorted by presenting the Bishop with a candelabrum of which three of the four candles had been extinguished, asking him which version gave out the better illumination! The incident provoked the Bishop's enmity, who proceeded to make the accusation that in his harmonisation Kara-Murza had incorporated 'elements of partly Russian and partly Catholic singing'.⁸⁵

Nevertheless, in 1892 Kara-Murza was appointed to the Mother See, directing the première of one of his arrangements of the Divine Liturgy on the Feast of SS. Thaddeus and Bartholomew that same year. But there was considerable opposition. Even the youthful Komitas (then still Deacon Solomon, and a soloist in the choir) was at the time conservative, protesting to Kara-Murza 'God is One, music too should be in a single voice'! Kara-Murza is said to have retorted: 'Why do you forget that God is the union of three persons?'⁸⁶ Various clergy presented their complaints to the Catholicos, with comments such as 'The church is a holy place, not a theatre!', 'May the composer go to his Hromeadawan [= of Roman Catholic confession] comrades and propagate it there!', 'God is one, singing should be in one voice',⁸⁷ polyphony is appropriate to polytheism!', and 'polyphony is peculiar to the Catholic tradition and against the traditions of the Armenian Orthodox Church'⁸⁸—exploiting the fact that Kara-Murza was a Catholic.

Catholicos Makar was succeeded by Mkrtič' Xrimean, who was elected in 1892 and anointed in 1893. Though initially encouraging Kara-Murza, the Catholicos, under pressure by conservative clergy, proceeded soon to dismiss him from the Mother See in 1893, saying 'you are a great master, very useful to the nation; the work you have started is good work, but the seminary walls are narrow for you'!⁸⁹ There may have been an element of personal antagonism, for shortly thereafter Komitas was allowed to conduct four-part arrangements of some of the chants of the Liturgy. However, this too resulted in protests on the part of conservatives within the Brotherhood of the Holy See—this time suggesting 'Fr. Komitas' Liturgy reeks of Protestantism'!⁹⁰

The Case of Bianchini

Next, we consider the (chronologically earlier) case of San Lazzaro, Venice. Bianchini, born in Venice, became enamoured of the chants of the Mekhitarist Fathers of the monastic island of San Lazzaro, and embarked upon transcription from about 1855. It appears that he was also

85 Pidedjian, *Քրիստոնեական Կարա-Մուրզա* (see note 36), pp. 74-75.

86 Pidedjian, *Քրիստոնեական Կարա-Մուրզա* (see note 36), p. 88.

87 This seems to echo the objections made some years earlier against Kropyvnytskyi's version in Akkerman.

88 Pidedjian, *Քրիստոնեական Կարա-Մուրզա* (see note 36), p. 96.

89 Pidedjian, *Քրիստոնեական Կարա-Մուրզա* (see note 36), p. 99.

90 Pidedjian, *Քրիստոնեական Կարա-Մուրզա* (see note 36), p. 100.

director of music of the Mekhitarist Murat-Raphael School in Venice and was thus able to teach his harmonised versions of the chants of the Divine Liturgy to his pupils, performing them liturgically on the island. Here too, the enthusiasm of the singers and of many of those present was at variance with the critical reactions of conservative members of the Mekhitarist Congregation. This may perhaps seem surprising—after all, the Mekhitarists were very much open to Western culture, and were progressive, as well as patriotic and devout. In a sense, we are now fortunate that Bianchini faced opposition, since this forced him to articulate his views, motivation and aesthetic inclinations, in a set of newly-discovered letters addressed to Fr. Rap‘ayēl T‘reanc‘ in Paris (1855–57), which give us a somewhat nuanced picture. Bianchini’s penchant was first of all to ‘regulate’—in the original Italian ‘regolare’, probably in several senses. He wished to give fixity to melodies that were often rendered in a semi-improvised manner with rough guidance at best from the neumes; he wished to notate them and place them within barlines; and he must have been obliged to approximate whatever he heard to the equally tempered system, as best he could, not having access to any means of notating microtonal nuances. But why harmonise? He was pragmatic in his apologetics—appealing to the patriotic inclinations of the Mekhitarist Fathers, pointing out how an international audience had been impressed by the harmonised performance, and even stating that, if Armenian sacred music were performed in the requisite manner, it would surpass even Gregorian chant:⁹¹

God wills it, good taste, Armenian civilization desire it. Ah! how much future generations will be grateful to us and remember us when, singing the Divine praises with the written and regulated notes, they will find that Armenian ecclesiastic chant is not inferior to Gregorian chant, but perhaps in certain points surpasses it [...]⁹²

But he also used theological arguments:

I hope to the Lord that this music, queen of science, which was born to harmonise the praises of the Most High, which was created by Divine Wisdom because it wanted to be glorified by it; this music that has been cultivated and studied by a Moses, by a David, and by other Saints and Prophets, which was also called Divine by wise Greece—I hope, I said, it will not be neglected, or abandoned by the monks (who bring lustre to the nation) whose pride and joy is knowing how to appreciate and cultivate the sciences, and in time we could also say that of music; so that, if God likes the purest offerings and holocausts, so also music, being a most pleasing incense to Him, will surely be more pleasing if we offer it to him perfected.⁹³

91 See Haig Utidjian, «Պետրոս Պիանչինի եւ Մխիթարեան Ս. Հարք. մի քանի նկատողութիւններ [Pietro Bianchini and the Mekhitarist Fathers: some observations]», *Երաժշտական Հայաստան—Erazştakan Hayastan [Journal of the Komitas Conservatoire, Yerevan]*, 2/61 (2021), pp. 51–9.

92 Bianchini to T‘reanc‘, 18 September 1855. I am indebted to Fr. Vahan Ohanian for his kindness in providing me with photographs of the letters, and am most grateful to Giuseppe Sanfratello for his help with the original Italian.

93 Bianchini to T‘reanc‘, 18 September 1855.

Interestingly, similar argumentation came to be used decades later by Ekmalian, whose grounds (articulated in the preface to his 1896 volume) were not dissimilar to Bianchini's, regarding 'perfection' and 'fulfilment' of the art.⁹⁴ Ekmalian also took pains to assure the reader that the traditional melodies had been left invariant (and, after all, he himself was involved in the team that transcribed them in the 1870s); 'chromaticism' had been eschewed; and a commission from the St. Petersburg Conservatoire testified to its quality:

[...] harmonisation is not inappropriate and against the spirit of our Church, since it is the perfection and fulfilment of music, which our ancestors did not eschew, rendering the sacred chants of our church perfect and the most beautiful according to each century and according to the state of development of the art of music [...]⁹⁵

Some General Observations

It is interesting that attempts at harmonisation arose concurrently in Venice, the Caucasus and the Ukraine (the latter two being at the time within the Russian Empire). European non-Armenians played a vital role—not only Kropyvnytskyi, Bianchini, Aydinian's colleague Weiss, perhaps even Mikhail Ippolitov-Ivanov (with whom Kara-Murza corresponded), and, in Calcutta, 'Mr Slater'. However, the most successful arrangements were those undertaken by gifted but European-educated Armenians such as Ekmalian (St. Petersburg), Komitas (Berlin) and Barteavian (Paris).

The very same arguments were used by conservative clergy who sought to sabotage or curtail the work of Kropyvnytskyi and Kara-Murza in both cases; and the very same apologetics and theological arguments were used by Bianchini and Ekmalian. But the battle had already been won by the end of the nineteenth century. In 1895 Catholicos Mkrtič' Xrimean authorised the Ekmalian harmonisation with a Catholic Bull that was reproduced in the 1896 publication, whilst Catholicos Gēorg V Surēneanc' in 1917 approved Amy Apcar's version. It is interesting to contrast this with the Greek case, where harmonisation remained forbidden.⁹⁶

94 And, as we shall see below, Komitas too, in his own manifesto at the end of his critique of Ekmalian's Liturgy, explicitly aspired 'towards perfection'.

95 «[...] գիտէաք, եթէ ներդաշնակեալն բազմաձայն երաժշտութիւն է ինչ անդէպ եւ հակառակ ոգւոյ եկեղեցւոյ մերոյ, զի կարարելութիւն եւ լոռութիւն իմն է երաժշտութեան, յորմէ ոչ խորշեցին եւ նախնինքն մեր՝ ի կարարեալն եւ ի գեղեցկագոյնս յօրինելոյ զհոգեւոր երգեցմունս եկեղեցւոյ մերոյ ըստ իւրաքանչիւր դարու եւ ըստ զարգացման արուեստի երաժշտութեան [...]» (from Ekmalian's preface to the 1896 publication, lacking pagination).

96 For a brief discussion, see Haig Utidjian, «Վհահազգային կենսացճշմարիտ պատկերը՝ Յոյն Օսմանեան երաժշտագէտի մը փպաւորութիւնները Կոմիդաս Վարդապետի Պոլսոյ համերգի մասին [‘Here lies the true picture of national life’: The impressions of a Greek Ottoman musicologist from Archimandrite Komitas’ concert in Constantinople]», *Komitas Museum-Institute Yearbook*, 3 (2018), pp. 59-80, at p. 60, which also gives a fuller discussion of the argument between East and West within Armenian sacred music, embracing public polemics in Constantinople and an instance of overnight sabotage of the pipes of organ bellows in Constantinople!

Ekmalian and Komitas

The Komitas and Ekmalian versions of the Liturgy may both justifiably be regarded as masterpieces of the first rank—perhaps Komitas' more obviously so, although in my view the noble simplicity of the version by Ekmalian is no less a hallmark of genius than Komitas' sheer ingenuity and imagination. Komitas was adventurous and forward-looking in his tonal experiments that exploited the modality of the melodies (as will be shortly demonstrated), whereas Ekmalian purposely set out to be more conservative in his approach, both in remaining homophonic and in eschewing 'chromaticism'.

It is surprising how little we have studied the procedures of both these musicians. First, where did their melodies come from? We know that for the most part Ekmalian used the *Vaġaršapat* Missal. In the one or two instances where he did not, he appears to have saved from oblivion old melodies traditional to the Caucasus that would have otherwise been lost. On occasion he departs in a minor way from the *Vaġaršapat* melodies—as, for instance, in lightly modifying the opening of the ode *Ač'k'n cov* (a beautiful item in the *düġah makam*).⁹⁷ Komitas too largely drew on the *Vaġaršapat* Missal, but we may find a higher proportion of melodies not found in that source in his case than in that of Ekmalian. We may presume that Komitas was able to deploy versions he had gathered during his extensive rural fieldwork or which he had obtained in Constantinople. Further, he took more liberties in adapting the melodies he derived from the Missal than Ekmalian did. Finally, in the case of highly melismatic solo items such as Hagiologies, Komitas chose substantially to simplify the versions found in the *Vaġaršapat* Missal.

The Ekmalian and Komitas versions of the Liturgy are by far the most popular, and one or other of them can be encountered in virtually every Armenian church the world over. Ekmalian's Liturgy is the most widespread, and has in a sense become the victim of its own success, in that it is sung in numerous small parishes that lack the resources to perform it well. Even more unfortunate is the fact that, due to its apparent simplicity, it is hardly ever accorded the careful preparation that is required; for instance, Ekmalian's very deliberate and purposeful dynamics, which are often quite challenging to realise, are almost always trampled over. At the Holy See of Ėjmiacin, where a professional choir is employed, I have found that resident organists are all too apt to improvise dominant sevenths and passing notes that bespeak boredom and lack of taste, whilst even brief choral responses are burdened with vulgar *ritenuti* (which also weaken the theological and dramatic connections between the mutually interacting contributions of celebrant, deacon and choir of Clerks).

⁹⁷ In point of fact, in my view the unpublished organ accompaniment to this ode by Ara Bartevian is even finer, especially in the way in which highly convincing harmonic progressions have been fitted to the contours of the opening phrase: see Haig Utidjian's YouTube channel for a recording made under Bartevian's own direction, at <<https://youtu.be/ZsE6dcM7Rns?si=Qn-InwChT7XakxXt>> (accessed 10 March 2025).

When properly performed, the two versions are, in my view, equally moving and artistically imposing. Ekmalian's arrangement is largely homophonic (although slow and highly melismatic items are endowed with accompaniments that are appropriately static). Komitas' is polyphonic, and often highly demanding on vocal technique as well as musically. In either version, to achieve a sense of unity, continuity and overall architecture, care must be taken properly to integrate the contributions of the celebrant and the deacon, and the variable items—entailing at times as these do radical changes in modality.⁹⁸ Finally, although most churches (except in Constantinople) favour the Ekmalian version, nonetheless for the hymn of vesting, Xorhurd xorin, for the Hagiologies and for the Tēr olormea supplication, in practice Komitas' versions are usually incorporated into the Ekmalian Liturgy.

Komitas' Critique of Ekmalian's Version

Komitas was highly critical of his erstwhile teacher's arrangement in his review of its publication in 1898.⁹⁹ The review is of great interest: Komitas goes into considerable detail, and many of his observations are perspicuous.¹⁰⁰ From our present point of view, however, some of the criticisms may seem disingenuous. Komitas criticises Ekmalian for minor changes in the melody (though he himself would later give himself greater latitude). He also criticises Ekmalian for his metres and placement of barlines—citing, for instance, the hymn Kr'istos i mēj mer yaytneč'aw, where unaccented syllables had been placed after each barline. Yet in this instance too, in his own version Komitas would himself come to position the downbeat on the first syllable of Kr'istos, as Ekmalian had done.¹⁰¹ Indeed there are instances where Komitas in his turn did not hesitate to modify the rhythm of the original melodies when it suited his purpose; an example is the augmentation to which he subjects the melody towards the end of Xorhurd xorin, to allow him to insert a neat imitation in the bass part.

In my view, the principal value of the review is rather more positive—as a manifesto about Komitas' own ideals and aesthetic principles. For instance, he advocates 'that the stresses of language and melody kiss each other'.¹⁰² And he explicitly mentions his own desire

98 These aspects were problematic even in the absence of harmonisation or any accompanying instrument; see Tntesean's discussion in *Nkaragir ergoc*, pp. 77-9.

99 See «Երգեցողութիւնք Ս. Պապարագի [Chants of the Divine Liturgy]», *Արարար*, 1898(3-4), pp. 111-17, reproduced in *Կոմիդրաս Վարդապետ. Ոստմնասիրութիւններ եւ յօդուածներ [Archimadrite Komitas: Studies and Articles]*, pp. 90-106.

100 For particulars see Jacob Olley and Haig Utidjian, 'Komitas critiques Ekmalian's setting of the Armenian Liturgy (1898)', in *Thinking Music: Global Sources for the History of Music Theory*, edited by Carmel Raz, Thomas Christensen and Lester Hu (University of Chicago Online Research and Publication Service (CORPUS), forthcoming in 2026).

101 Komitas here uses bars that are twice as long as Ekmalian's, but does not adhere to the scheme he advocates in his review, whereby the downbeat should fall on the second syllable of Kr'istos.

102 «Ուրեմն նախ պէտք է երգի խօսքերը լեզուական չափի վերածել, ապա հարաձների բաժանել, որպէս զի լեզուի եւ եղանակի շեշտերն իրար համբուրեն», see *Կոմիդրաս Վարդապետ. Ոստմնասիրութիւններ եւ յօդուածներ [Archimadrite Komitas: Studies and Articles]*, p. 99. The expression is almost certainly an allusion to Psalm 85:10, 'Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other' (Arm. and LXX: 84:11).

to create a version of the Divine Liturgy that, ‘striving towards perfection’, would be ‘planned’ and constituted as a work of ‘artistic unity’.¹⁰³

Finally, it should be remembered that his criticisms notwithstanding, Komitas is known to have spent much time and effort teaching the three-part version of the Ekmalian Liturgy in Constantinople, performing it on numerous occasions in the Patriarchal Church with great success.¹⁰⁴

Some Comparisons

To demonstrate how Ekmalian and Komitas arranged the same melody (albeit with very light modifications) with very different harmonic contexts created in each case, we shall consider two examples. The first is the fairly syllabic version of the hymn of vesting, *Xorhurd xorin* already encountered. The source for both musicians was the *Vaḫaršapat Missal* of 1878 (Fig. 3).¹⁰⁵ Figs. 4(a) and (b) give the opening of the same hymn in the arrangements by Ekmalian and by Komitas, respectively. They have both used essentially the same melody for this *Xač‘atur Tarōnac‘i* hymn, but their treatments and the resultant effect are highly contrasting. Not only is Ekmalian chordal whilst Komitas is polyphonic; but, even more strikingly, Ekmalian treats the melody as if it is in G major, whilst Komitas interprets it as being in A minor.¹⁰⁶

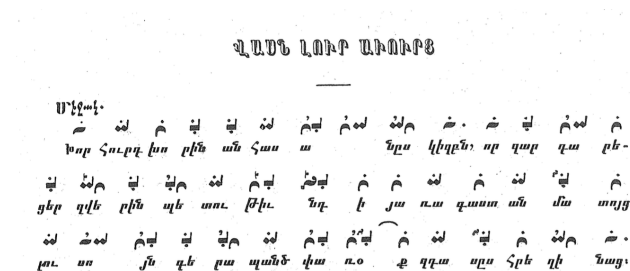


Figure 3. Opening of *Xorhurd xorin* in the *Vaḫaršapat Missal* of 1878, p. 51

103 «Դէպի կաթարելութիւն ձգելով՝ մենք կուզէինք մի այսպիսի ծրագրով մշակուած եւ կազմած, գեղարուեստական միութիւն ներկայացնող, պատարագ», see Կոմիտաս Վարդապետ. *Ուսումնասիրութիւններ եւ յօդուածներ* [Archimadrite Komitas: *Studies and Articles*], pp. 105-6.

104 Kēōsēean (op. cit. Part , IV, 19 December 1972, p. 3) reports that Komitas did all this on an entirely voluntary basis and even paid for his fare ‘from his own pocket’ («Կոմիտաս Վարդապետ այս բոլորը Մայր Եկեղեցւոյ Դպրաց Դասուն կ’ընէ առանց դրոշմ ակնկալութեան եւ նոյնիսկ ճանապարհածախսն ալ իր գրպանէն վճարելով»): According to Kēōsēean, on one festive occasion (25 October 1913—marking 1500 years from the invention of the Armenian alphabet and 400 years of Armenian printing), the newspaper *Žamanak* reported that a crowd ‘that perhaps exceeded fifteen thousand’ had gathered all around the church, the courtyard and the streets near the Patriarchate. I am again grateful to Haig Avakian for drawing this source to my attention.

105 Ձայնագրեալ Պատարագը Կոմիտաս Վարդապետի Սրբագրութեամբ (ըստ Փարիզի Նուպարեան Մարենադարանի ինքնագիր նիւթերուն) [The Musically Notated Divine Liturgy with Archimandrite Komitas’ Corrections (according to the autographs at the Nuparean Library in Paris)], պատրաստեց՝ Հայկ Աւագեան, Զահակի Շաբաթաթերթ, Յաւելրաժ L. (Cairo, 2019). Avakian has demonstrated that for the first five stanzas Komitas made his pencil emendations into the 1878 edition, and for the sixth stanza into the 1874 edition.

106 This comparison involves the somewhat syllabic, ferial version of the hymn. However, it is interesting to compare their respective treatments of the highly melismatic, festal version. Here too, Ekmalian treats the melody as being in G major, whilst Komitas (modifying the opening anacrusis by dint of raising the first note G by a tone to an A, thereby starting with an upward interval A-D of a fourth instead of the G-D fifth found in the *Vaḫaršapat missal* (1878 edition, p. 193) again treats it as being in A minor. And although both Ekmalian and Komitas accompany the melody with long chords, Komitas deploys an imitative treatment with various ‘echo’ effects.

4

Ի ԶԴԵՍՏԱՌՈՐԵՆ ԶԱՆԱՆԱՅԻ,

Moderato non troppo.

Tenori I. II.

Coro. Գ. Գ.

Bassi.

Piano.

Խոր - հուրդ խո - րին ան - հա - ա - նը - սկիզբն, որ զար - դա - րե -

ցեր զվե - րին պե - տու - թիւնդ ի յա - ռա - գաստ ան - մա - տայց լու - սոյ - ն զե - րա պանծ փա

Վեհն եւ փառաւոր.

Ի ՀԱՍՏԱՐԱԿ ԱՒՈՒՐՈՒ

ՍՈՍԿ Ա.

ՍՈՍԿ Բ.

ԲԱՆՏԱ Ա. Բ.

Խոր - հուրդ խո - րին ան - հա - ա - - - նը սկիզբն, որ զար - դա - րե - ցեր զվե - րին

Սոր - հուրդ խո - րին ան - հա - ա - - - նը սկիզբն, որ զար - դա - րե - ցեր զվե - րին

Խոր - հուրդ խո - րին, ա - - - նը սկիզբն, որ զար - դա - րե - ցեր

պե - տու - թիւնդ ի յա - ռա - գաստ ան - մա - տայց լու - սոյն - զե - րա պանծ փա - ոք

պե - տու - թիւնդ - ի յա - ռա - գաստ ան - մա - տայց լու - սոյն -

պե - տու - թիւնդ ի - յա - ռա - գաստ ան - մա - տայց լու - սոյն - զե - րա - պանծ փա - ոք

Figure 4. Opening of *Xorhurd xorin* in (a) Ekmalian's harmonisation, as per the 1974 Antelias edition (derived from parts of the 1896 publication), p. 4; and (b) Komitas' polyphonic version as per the 1974 Antelias republication of the 1933 volume, p. 3

We shall engage in one further (and particularly telling) comparison: that of the hymn *Marmin tērunakan*—in the versions by Kara-Murza, Ekmalian and Komitas (with two distinct variants of the latter)—see Fig. 5. Kara-Murza provides a touchingly naïve harmonisation, with a simple and somewhat repetitious chord progression—Fig. 5(a). Ekmalian is better able to think in terms of long phrases and to grade the harmonic tension appropriately, with a

greater variety of positions, and making good use of first and second inversion chords from the very first phrase. He is able to keep the bass line relatively immobile, but over bars 7–9 it rises and descends in a most effective manner, with its restraint contributing all the more to the sense of tension and relaxation—Fig. 5(b). Much use is made of contrary motion—between bass and soprano, and between alto and tenor. The result is simple, but noble and quite sensitive to the curves of the melody, to the verbal text, and to the tensions these generate. The first of Komitas' versions, found in the appendix of the 1933 publication—see Fig. 5(c)—is slightly more adventurous than Ekmalian's—as is evident, for instance, by the darkening produced by the B flat in the bass part towards the end of the first system (with a B natural before and afterwards—a tonal characteristic of the mode being a flattened sixth yet a major third throughout). But the truly astounding revelation is Komitas' other version, found in the main body of the 1933 score—see Fig. 5(d), which, to my mind, displays a touch of genius. The melody is exactly the same as before, but it has been harmonised around a tonic axis of B natural instead of G, creating some beautiful effects. The beginning and end appear to be B minor chords that starkly lack a third, with the interval of a fourth (F sharp to B natural) being rather prominent. But the second beat is already a G major first inversion chord, whilst the penultimate chord of the first bar is a B minor chord—but treated here as a dissonance that is allowed smoothly to resolve into a G minor first inversion chord (albeit with a bass that is notated as an A sharp rather than a B flat). Yet in the last two chords of the first bar of the second system, clearly we experience a sense of relaxation as the dissonance of the penultimate chord resolves into a B minor chord—yet again lacking a third. Marmin tērunakan enables Komitas to move from G minor (albeit with a sharpened third) to B minor—an effect reinforced overleaf, where the opening of the Hagiology Hreštakayin reinforces the effect, until (as behoves the progression from ԳԿ to ԳԿ darjuack' mode—otherwise known in Constantinopolitan Armenian circles as the 'saba zemzeme' makam) we modulate to E minor (with a sharpened third). Through this admirably original 'sleight-of-hand' (for want of a better term), Komitas has shifted the tonal axis of his Liturgy from G to E. It is all meticulously planned and executed. This surely exemplifies one element of the 'artistic unity' that Komitas sought. And the eerily beautiful chordal progressions of this version of Marmin tērunakan admirably exploit the Armenian modality; it is precisely the modality of the minor key with a sharpened (major) third that lends itself to this treatment—just as the 'saba zemzeme' mode of the Hagiology permits a further shift up a perfect fourth, enabling the overall movement of the axis from G to B natural and thence to E. This highly original treatment must have sounded especially shocking, aptly mysterious and even entrancing at the time. And, remarkably, we come across comparable harmonic language by slightly later Western masters of the first rank such as Schoenberg (if one thinks of the opening and very ending of his Chamber Symphony no. 2), Benjamin Britten (consider the 'For Silly Fellow' section of his anthem Rejoice in the Lamb) and Frank Martin (the Petite Symphonie Concertante being a case in point).

Սարկաւագն.-

Մի՛ նք յե - թա - խա - յից, մի՛ n - ք ի թե - թա - խա -
 ա - տից, եւ մի՛ a - ք յա - տաշ - խա - թո - դաց եւ յան -
 մար - թից մեր - ծես - ցի յԱստ - ա - ծա - յի - ն իշո - ր - հարդաւ:

Դալիքն.-

Մար-մին տե - թա - նա - կան եւ ա - թին փըրկ - չա - կան
 Մար-մին տե - թա - նա - կան եւ ա - թին փըրկ - չա - կան
 կայ ա - նա - չի, երկ - նա - յին զօ - թո - թիւնք ա -
 կայ ա - նա - չի, երկ - նա - յին զօ - թո - թիւնք ա -

Սարկաւագն.-

նե - թե - տըթա եր - գեմ եւ ա - տն աճ - հան - գիտա թար -
 ըն - թե - տըթա եր - գեմ եւ ա - տն աճ - հան - գիտա թար -
 թա - ռով, սուրբ, սուրբ, սուրբ — Տէր զօ - թո - թիւնք;
 թա - ռով, սուրբ, սուրբ, սուրբ — Տէր զօ - թո - թիւնք;

Սարկաւագն.-

Մաղ - ծոս ա - տա - ցեք Տեառն Աս - տու - ծոյ մն - բամ, դե - վիպք,
 ծայ - նիւ քաղց - թու - քեամք գերգա իւ - գն - տրաւ:

Դալիքն.- ասեն զՍրբաւորութիւնն ըստ խորհրդայ սուրբն:
 (Միայնակ կամ միաձայն խումբ):

Սարկաւագն.-

Եւ ե - թա խա - դա - դու - քեանք եզ - Տէր ա - դա - չես - ցար:

- CCLXXXIII -

Andante sostenuto.

Դ. Գ.

Մար-մին ահ - բու - նա - կան
Լ ա - լիւ - ն փրկ - նա - կան

Լայ ա - նա չի.
հր - կնայ - ի - ն
գո - բուրիւնքն յա - նե
բե - ռիթս

հր - գեւն Լ ա - նե - ն
ան - հա - ն
գիտ բար - բա - ռով.
սուրբ սուրբ

սու - բբ, ահր գո - բու - թեանց.

ՍԻԿ.

Սաղ - մոս ա - սա - ճէք

սեան Աստուծոյ մերում զբաղիք ծայ-հիւ

բաղցունթնաթ զեր-զըս հո-գև - որս

Komitas' Divine Liturgy: Procedures, Editions and Interpretations

In the case of Komitas, Haig Avakian has undertaken valuable work¹⁰⁷ in publishing and analysing Komitas' own modifications in pencil to his own copies of the Vałaršapat Missal, as we have seen.¹⁰⁸ In many instances (though not all) they point towards the melodies as they appeared in his version of the Divine Liturgy. But it behoves us to be more precise in referring to his 'version'.

Komitas mentioned in a letter already in 1909¹⁰⁹ that he had prepared no fewer than seven harmonised versions of the Liturgy. He may have been overstating the case, or (more plausibly) had indeed trained different groups of singers at different times in his career to sing various arrangements in the past, not all of which may have necessarily been completed, fully written out or otherwise codified. Moreover, some of Komitas' papers are likely to have perished. Nevertheless, Robert At'ayean et al have demonstrated that, at the very least, excerpts and fragments may indeed be found in Komitas' extant papers that could be deemed to belong to multiple distinct versions, arranged for different occasions and various forces over the years.¹¹⁰ However, what most congregations think of as the Komitas Liturgy is a distinct and practically complete version, which Komitas prepared over the first year of World War I, and which was given its first performance liturgically, only days before the Armenian Genocide.¹¹¹ This work has been preserved partly in the shape of a fair copy (for about one fifth of the Liturgy—twenty-two manuscript pages),¹¹² and otherwise largely complete as a rough version (of fifty-three folios—making up over a hundred pages, but in places rendered almost illegible by the numerous reworkings, emendations and corrections).¹¹³ The version usually performed

107 See Avakian, *Ձայնագրեալ Պատարագը Կոմիտաս Վարդապետի Սրբագրութեամբ* (see note 105), p. 9) For my assessment of the importance of this work, see the discussion already referred to above: Haig Utidjian, «Երաժշտագէտի՝ Հայկ Աւագեանի կրթողային ու սրուար երաժշտագիտական նոր հրատարակութեանց (2024) եզակի արժէքը [The Significance of the Monumental and Extensive Musicological New Publications (2024) of Haig Avakian]», *Երաժշտական Հայաստան*.

108 Komitas possessed both 1874 and 1878 editions; most of his pencil emendations were made on the second edition, and some on the first; see Avakian, *Ձայնագրեալ Պատարագը Կոմիտաս Վարդապետի Սրբագրութեամբ* (see note 105), p. 5.

109 Letter of 1909 addressed the Mekhitarist Father Łewond Tayean: «Հայկական պատարագն ունիմ 7 փեսակ բազմաձայն դաշնակած, բայց չէ փպուած»—see *Կոմիտաս Վարդապետ—Նամականի [Archimandrite Komitas—Letters]*, edited by G. Gasparean (Yerevan, Printinfo, 2009), p. 153.

110 See At'ayean (see *Կոմիտաս Հոգեւոր սրբեղծագործութիւններ*, (see note 35), vol. 8, p. 8, where Davit' Deroyean is credited with the meticulous task of categorising and chronologically ordering the various excerpts and fragments, partly based on notes by Robert At'ayean, who had passed away in 1994.

111 The first performance was on 17 April 1915 (Easter Eve), and the second on Easter Day, in the Armenian church (later to be demolished) in the Galata district of Constantinople. Komitas was arrested and deported on 24 April 1915, and plans for a third performance on 2 May were never realised. See At'ayean, *Կոմիտաս Պատարագ* (see note 48), vol. 7, p. 124 (part of an illuminating historical account of the origins and early history of the Komitas Divine Liturgy, found on pp. 121–32 of the edition).

112 Charents Museum, Yerevan, MS No. 625.

113 Charents Museum, Yerevan, MS No. 622.

was completed and edited by Vardan Sargsean (Wardan Sarxian, 1895–1978) and published in Paris in 1933, as we saw, and it is this version discussed in the present article in referring to Komitas' Divine Liturgy. Finally, we note that Robert At'ayean prepared an edition that strove to eschew Sarxian's additions and interventions.¹¹⁴ The latter edition, published in 1997,¹¹⁵ is not in wide use, but attempts to come closer to Komitas' intentions. Though it is accompanied by a good introduction and an excellent essay by At'ayean at the end, these materials do not quite go far enough musicologically for those with a specialised interest in the work. Further effort is required, building on At'ayean's meritorious work, to pinpoint, elucidate and understand the motivation behind the various variants and layers of modifications, if we are to shed light on Komitas' creative processes. Nor does At'ayean's edition seek to make explicit all of the editor's decisions and choices in detail.¹¹⁶ Indeed, Komitas' rough version has not been studied fully in its own right¹¹⁷—and it deserves to be, since the Komitas Liturgy is arguably the greatest masterpiece in the whole of Armenian music.

Performance Traditions

Komitas' version is performed regularly in Armenian churches in Istanbul today, and although the Armenian community is but a shadow of what it was in Komitas' time, and is thus somewhat vocally under-resourced, my experience of the Liturgy in such churches—especially the Church of the Holy King in Kadıköy (conducted by Sevan Şencan) and the Church of St. Vardan in Feriköy (conducted by Dn. Adruşan Halacyan)—has left me with a sense that there is something profoundly 'right', idiomatic, and spiritually and artistically moving in the results; and that the last remnants of the Armenian community of Constantinople may well be the final genuine torch-bearers of this music. No less importantly, Constantinopolitan clergy and deacons continue to sing in a stylish and musicianly manner. Indeed, I am convinced that when Komitas referred to 'artistic unity', he must have doubtless wished the contributions of the celebrant and deacons convincingly to connect and unify the successive choral movements, and allow the music to work in a cumulative manner,¹¹⁸ emulating the spiritual stages inherent

114 It has to be noted that, to his credit, At'ayean acknowledges the considerable merits of the Sarxian performing edition.

115 See At'ayean, *Կոմիտաս Պապարազ* (see note 48), vol. 7.

116 See At'ayean, *Կոմիտաս Պապարազ* (see note 48), vol. 7, pp. 133–83. But the standard Sarxian edition is even less informative in this respect, by far—being intended as a performing edition.

117 In my view it deserves to be disentangled and studied, not only to help with editors' choices in preparing an Urtext edition of the work, but also to shed further light on Komitas' creative processes and procedures—at the very least in the way in which this has been initiated for Antonín Dvořák's Mass in D: see Haig Utidjian, 'Dvořák's Mass in D: the composer's extant sketches', *Clavibus Unitis*, 7/2 (2018), pp. 53–75. A facsimile ought also to be published, and photographs of the rough sketches be made freely accessible.

118 I am also profoundly convinced—the views of Soviet-era musicologists notwithstanding—that Komitas intended this version of his Liturgy primarily for liturgical, rather than concert, performance.

to the Divine Liturgy.¹¹⁹ This is, sadly, one of the most striking features that are lacking in the majority of the recordings available of the Komitas Liturgy, which has more generally not fared quite as well on disc as one might have hoped in view of its importance in the Armenian canon of music and culture more generally.

*Recordings*¹²⁰

First, we consider two splendidly full-blooded recordings with male voices, both conducted by Komitas Keshishian, with suitably broad, if at times somewhat reverential, tempi. The first was made with a group of opera singers under the appellation of St. Gayane Choir (NA033CD, two CDs, 1996); the splendid solo singing of the late Gegham Grigorian is a tremendous asset here, for, though a distinguished international opera singer, he was able to sing in a stylish manner (as in the case of the Hagiology «Հրեշտակային կարգաւորութեամբ»). The diaconal and celebrants' parts are eschewed (perhaps a blessing in disguise, as filling in the diaconal and celebrant's contributions idiomatically seems an almost impossible challenge, judging from virtually all the recordings considered). The second features the Male Chamber Choir of the Yerevan Opera Theatre (HMC1151, four CDs—apparently made in 1999); the choral singing is similarly satisfying vocally, if somewhat gruff in places (especially as far as the deacon's parts are concerned, which are included here—rendered in a somewhat stentorian manner and with unconvincing gaps between the various contributions).

A highly contrasting recording with male voices of a very different sort involves the Armenian Moscow Chamber Choir conducted by Nelli Andriasian (LC03153, year unknown); the Choir is rather more refined and light-footed—sometimes articulating the more syllabic choruses in a stylish *leggiero* manner that would not be out of place in a Bach motet, yet with a slightly Russian-sounding pronunciation (including mute 'y' consonants at the ends of genitive nouns in Ancient Armenian that are, quite incorrectly, pronounced audibly—a nuance that was lost after the communist reform of the Armenian orthography in the Caucasus in the 1920s). The (self-published) recording by the male voices of the chamber choir Hover, made in 2006, is similarly polished and refined, but it is an inhomogeneous combination of slightly unruly and inaccurate solo singing and a Western early-music-style chamber choir of disciplined male voices that from time to time give the impression of performing Gregorian plainchant, leaving

119 The best commentary on the Armenian Divine Liturgy remains that by Abp. Tiran Nersoyan; see *Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church with Variables, Complete Rubrics and Commentary*, translated by Tiran Abp. Nersoyan, revised fifth edition, (London, Church of St. Sarkis, Iverna Gardens, 1984, pp. 257-83, especially the section 'Parts of the Liturgy' (pp. 259-61).

120 The list of recordings included here is necessarily highly selective. Haig Avakian has compiled a very substantial list of recordings which deserves to be published, perhaps endowed with appropriate qualifying remarks that serve to assess, compare and contrast the various versions—historically, musically and musicologically; but we are still seeking out 'missing' recordings. I recollect having heard recorded versions in my childhood that have apparently never been digitalised and remain unidentified and apparently unavailable.

the listener somewhat cold and bereft of the atmosphere of a real Armenian Liturgy.¹²¹ This slightly anaemic version betrays the influence of the Western ‘historically-informed performance practice’ movement, with choral singing lacking in vibrato. Its main advantage is accuracy—the choir sings in tune throughout. The edition used here is that by At‘ayean.

A recording (DC-197, year unknown) with the Armenian State Academic Chorus under Yovhannēs Č‘ëk‘ičean, an eminent veteran Komitas interpreter, uses a mixed chorus, but the uppermost line has apparently been given largely to female contraltos, performing with musicianship but inevitable restraint—singing almost constantly in the lowest part of their register; this contrasts strikingly with the effect intended in the original version, whereby the uppermost line is performed by first tenors. Komitas intends that they sing in a rich variety of ways—at times stridently and with brilliance, at others sotto voce (doubtless using a ‘mixture’ involving the head register, as a means of achieving a pianissimo rather high in the register). When I was called upon to train the Church Choir of the Cathedral of St. Sargis in Yerevan (a mixed choir) in the summer of 2003, I chose to assign the uppermost two lines (for tenor and for second tenor/baritone, respectively) to the sopranos and the mezzo-sopranos respectively, and the lowest line was undertaken by the baritones and basses. This worked very well almost throughout, although it did mean that there was a very substantial gap in sonority between the upper two (female) lines and the low male voices of the third line. A similar strategy was adopted by Garbis Aprikian and his mixed Sipan-Komitas Chorus in Paris for their 43-minute recital of a selection of Komitas’ arrangements of Armenian sacred music, drawn almost entirely from the Divine Liturgy (recorded in 1975, released on HM40.5120 in 1982—one of only two versions released by an international company, in this instance Harmonia Mundi France). Thrillingly exciting in places, and with a wide dynamic range, this recital also benefits from the satisfying solo singing of the mezzo-soprano Sonia Nigoghossian.

It is perhaps this gap in sonority between high female and low male voices that the most recent recording of the Liturgy, made in 2020, sought to circumvent—bringing us to the version that Fr. Ivan was called upon to review.¹²² The recording, released in 2020 (DE3590—only the second version known to me to have been issued by an international firm, in this case Delos) features the excellent Latvian Radio Choir. I was privileged to attend an exquisite performance of excerpts from the Komitas Liturgy juxtaposed with the Schnittke Concerto for Choir, on 6 April 2017 in Riga, beautifully sung, and sensitively conducted by Sigvards Kļava.¹²³ However, for the later recording of the Liturgy with the Radio Choir a contemporary

121 This could be an over-reaction against the Soviet decades of performing Komitas’ folk-song arrangements for chorus in an inflated style somewhat reminiscent of the Red Army Choir.

122 See the *Gramophone* website, at <<https://www.gramophone.co.uk/review/komitas-divine-liturgy-klava>> (accessed 10 March 2025).

123 This highly memorable concert was masterminded and organised by H. E. Ambassador Tigran Mkrtchyan, who was also tireless in his efforts to make a subsequent recording possible.

composer was engaged to re-arrange Komitas' work, with a view to rendering it more suitable for mixed choir. This arrangement has done violence to the original work, radically changing the relationships between the various voices, and causing some curious effects—such as movements in octaves, or having the sopranos sing an inner part an octave higher—in a manner reminiscent of sirens from a black-and-white Hollywood film! Fr. Ivan Moody was more restrained but equally to the point: 'Sometimes, however, in spite of the beauty of the sound itself, one feels that the sopranos especially are there to provide a rich halo of sound which is, to say the least, very curious to anyone already acquainted with the original. It is a treatment that brings it in some ways close to a composer such as Chesnokov, and when the 'Sanctus' begins one even begins to imagine 20th-century Anglican music, which one would certainly not think of when listening to the original male-voice version!' There is also a stylistic *mélange* in the voices employed: a vocally opulent Rigoletto performs the deacon's parts, but the celebrant sings in a rather different style, whilst some soli are undertaken by vibrato-less smaller voices from within the Choir. In addition to the incongruity between the various vocal styles, there are jarring juxtapositions in tonality; the joints between successive choral items, provided by deacon and celebrant (whose contributions were not always fully written out by Komitas) have not always been satisfactorily worked out. A very high degree of craftsmanship on the part of the Radio Choir and of their choirmaster is thus somewhat compromised by an insufficiency of editorial expertise. Nevertheless, though in some ways a missed opportunity, the recording has many merits. It has been well received, not least thanks to the artistry of the Latvian performers, and it will help render Komitas' masterpiece better known around the world, as it richly deserves to be.

Concluding Remarks

This article sought primarily to locate, document and to some extent evaluate extant sources, known and unknown, and it is not my intention to present some overarching argument. Nevertheless, there are certain distinct tendencies evident from the present survey that are worth rendering explicit.

One concerns Westernisation, and the fact that the underlying reasons for it were positive and negative. The positive motivation was the desire to master and deploy the most sophisticated aspects of the art of music as practised in Europe, so as to render the 'sacrifice' (the original meaning of the Armenian word *patarag*, signifying 'Divine Liturgy') offered up to God the very best it could possibly be. We have seen this consideration explicitly formulated by both Bianchini and Ekmalian. Armenians had been attracted to harmony for some time, and it is interesting that the Armenian Church appears to have been more open to harmony than some sister churches were.¹²⁴ Not all Armenian musicians agreed—as is evident from

124 Haig Utidjian, 'G. D. Pachtikos on Archimandrite Komitas', *Clavibus unitis*, 6 (2017), pp. 1-8, esp. p. 1.

polemics in the press in Constantinople.¹²⁵ In such circumstances one might have expected both approaches to co-exist in liturgical practice in parallel with each other. This did not happen, however; history militated otherwise—with the large-scale displacement and destruction of the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire, and Sovietisation of the portion of Armenia previously under the Russian Empire that survived as the Soviet Republic. This resulted in a discontinuity in tradition, and the loss of intonational nuances in environments where equally-tempered scales and harmony were dominant.

The specificity of the genre of the Divine Liturgy is also relevant here. There have been attempts to harmonise some of the chants of the Offices, such as those by Wardan Sarxian, Alan Hovhanness and Ara Barteavian; but in fact to this day it is the Divine Liturgy alone that is performed in harmonised versions in Armenian churches. The Divine Liturgy enjoys a privileged position: it is the most public, official and well-attended component of the liturgical life of Armenian communities—to the extent that the Offices have been abolished altogether in many parts of the world. Furthermore, only small sections of the Divine Liturgy are variable; the greater proportion of the chants is constant, and they are thus readily learnt by amateur choral singers and directors. The Offices are apt to change their musical components almost entirely, depending on the musical mode of the day and on the church calendar—with canons of hymns appropriate to various feasts, fasting days and so forth. This renders the Offices less amenable to communal singing on the massive scale peculiar to the Divine Liturgy. It has to be said that these characteristics of the Divine Liturgy may constitute a curse as well as a blessing, since, at worst, one may gain the impression that ritual and music together constitute some sort of staged opera, lacking both in spontaneity and in a sense of genuine devoutness and authentic spirituality. There are further pitfalls: in some churches the organ drowns out, or interrupts, the singing of the celebrant or of the deacons, whilst the physical location of choruses, all too often accommodated in a remote gallery at the back of the church, may discourage participation by the congregation. This results in a certain passivity on the part of the congregation that is contrary to the spirit of the Liturgy.

The present investigation has, above all, served to reveal a very rich mosaic of musical versions and arrangements, far beyond the two famous and most popular arrangements by Ekmalian and Komitas, notwithstanding the inevitable losses that have occurred over time—with the example of the aforementioned ‘Melody of Sebaste’ in Bedelian’s 1914 manuscript providing but one tantalising glimpse of the wealth of different versions that must have existed locally in various monasteries or other communities in historical Armenia well into the

125 Haig Utidjian, «‘Ահա՛ ազգային կենաց ճշմարիտ պատկերը’. Յոյն Օսմանեան երաժշտագետի մը փառաբանութիւնները Կոմիտաս Վարդապետի Պոլսոյ համերգի մասին [‘Here lies the true picture of national life’: The impressions of a Greek Ottoman musicologist from Archimandrite Komitas’ concert in Constantinople]», *Komitas Museum-Institute Yearbook*, 3 (2018), pp. 59-80, esp. pp. 64-5.

nineteenth century. There is surely more to be unearthed, yet also much to be cherished and valued in the corpus that has already been discovered. I shall therefore end with the words of Psalm 16[15]:6, recollecting also that my last collaboration with the late Fr. Ivan Moody, the dedicatee of the present article, entailed a lecture I was honoured to deliver at his invitation on 6 July 2023 on 'Psalmody in the Holy Armenian Orthodox Church' (at the Symposium he organised entitled *Sounds of the East in the West of Europe* at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisbon): 'The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage'.

Haig Utidjian, PhD is an orchestral conductor, chorus master, musicologist and patristics scholar. A Senior Deacon of the Armenian Orthodox Church, he has published extensively on the musicology and theology of the Armenian Hymnal and on the works of St. Gregory of Narek. He has been decorated with the Komitas medal by the Armenian state, the Yakob Melapart medal of the National Library of Armenia and the Medal of Merit of the Pan-Armenian Cultural Union. A member of the Centre for Music Studies (CESEM) in Lisbon since 2023, he delivered the 2026 Zernov lecture at Oxford, and has been appointed to the 2026-27 Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Visiting Chair of Excellence at the Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO) in Paris.

