Unifying Stylistic Syntheses
in the Late Compositions (1939–1945) of Béla Bartók

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Abstract: Bartók’s later works from the years 1939–1945 present an impressive synthesis of his musical innovations. Beginning with the Divertimento and Sixth String Quartet (both composed in 1939), the Hungarian composer starts with a freely tonal, neo-Classical foundation. Above this initial compositional level he then superimposes Beethovenian formal structures gleaned from the latter’s opp. 53 and 135, in addition to a prominent Stravinsky quotation from The Rite of Spring, part two. In both works Bartók achieves an impressive large-scale cyclical unity, frequently through whole-tone scalar integration.

The Concerto for Orchestra (1943) blends pervasive quotation techniques with analogous cyclical intervalllic patterns, such as major third cells on $F–A–D\_4$. One is again distinctly reminded of the F Major Divertimento. Like the latter work, the Concerto is especially notable for its expansive codas, which function in the manner of Beethovenian second developments. Similarly, the Sonata for Solo Violin (1944) fuses neo-Bachian counterpoint with the expansive forms of the Concerto for Orchestra. Finally, the interrelated last two Concertos for piano and viola (both penned in 1945) present a cumulative synthesis of Bartók’s later style, emphasizing the tertial (and modal) degrees of VI and flattened VI. Here, too, we encounter elaborate quotation-al systems that distantly recall the 1910s and 1920s music of French composers as Debussy, Ravel and Satie.

Keywords: Bartók, late style

“All efforts ought to be directed at the present time to the search for that which we will call ‘inspired simplicity’ […] Musical creation has relied too much on the
unique value of the most unexpected and sometimes least appropriate means of expression to convey the inventive idea.” – wrote Béla Bartók in the year 1938.¹

Bartók’s last six major compositions from the years 1939–1945 include the Divertimento and terminate with the compositional draft for the Viola Concerto (summer of 1945). These works develop certain musical tendencies of Bartók’s earlier stylistic periods, such as axial, arch-like formal symmetries, climactic cluster-inspired layers and meticulous pitch structures constructed on modal and tritone bases.² Simultaneously, Bartók’s later harmonic dimensions increasingly incorporate more diatonic vertical timbres, just as his melodic inspiration frequently derives from complex quotation techniques. This elaborate fusion-synthesis of seemingly disparate elements marks these late masterpieces as central milestones in Bartók’s creative output.

Already the string Divertimento (dating from August, 1939) presents a pervasive stylistic blending of highly contrasting compositional idioms. Thus the work’s overall formal symmetry between its outer movements recalls the strict structural balance of Bartók’s earlier Fourth String Quartet (1928)³ (Table 1).

**Table 1** Recall of first movement’s principal episodes in the finale of the Divertimento (1939)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gestures</th>
<th>Description of events</th>
<th>I Allegro non troppo</th>
<th>III Allegro assai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>Principal descending theme</td>
<td>a) tonic F, 1–13 b) relative minor d, 129–136</td>
<td>14–35 92–102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>Principal theme: cadential ascending fourth (tutti–solo contrasts) with modal ab inflection and derived ( \frac{\text{iii}}{\text{(i)}} ) and ( \frac{\text{iv}}{\text{(iii)}} ) rhythms</td>
<td>9–10 35–39+141–143 and related 42–43 (D)</td>
<td>138–145 26–35 103–109 (f♯–A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>Related (to 1) rising minor thirds (d2/a, fugati with reverse circle-of-fifths) coupled with descending fifths on g–c♯–f</td>
<td>95–98 101–104</td>
<td>184–235 (analogous fugato on a–e–g–b, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>Additional, related minor seventh and minor second clusters</td>
<td>89–94+113–124 (the latter starting its final phrase in 122 on e/5f)</td>
<td>403–452 (beginning on f♯/ e and c♯) 533–545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Arpeggiated cadential thrust (i: ( \text{iv} ), iii: ( \text{vi} ))</td>
<td>163–165 (B/G♯–E♯)</td>
<td>387–393 (E–A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Polytonal cadence</td>
<td>149–150 (e–g–b–a–c♯)</td>
<td>178–183 (g–b♯–c♯–e–b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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This kind of comprehensive structural balance between the outer movements already forecasts the contemporary Sixth String Quartet (dating from August–November 1939). In the latter work the first movement keeps returning in fragmented fashion between its successive movements, leading up to the grand reprise of its main lyrical episodes (notably measures 81–84 in F, 222–230 and 268–274 in D) in the fourth movement, measures 46–48 (in A–D), 55–58 (in F) and 63–70 (Example 1).

**Example 1** Cyclical F-major return in Sixth String Quartet (1939), mov. 1 and 4

As in the first movement, this concluding, nostalgic finale vacillates between the keys of D and F, ending in mm. 83–84 on the tritone harmony, A–E♭ from the outset of the first movement, mm. 15–16. It in turn proceeds in m. 86 to a polytonal aggregate that combines the principal third-related keys of D and F. Similar recurring ritornello/arch forms – again coupled with analogous third cycles – will be employed in the Viola Concerto.

As in the Sixth String Quartet, Bartók’s Divertimento sets up gradated harmonic layers between the four principal thematic gestures in Table 1. Thus the diatonic, mildly modal (with F-Dorian and F-Mixolydian shadings) beginning of gestures 1a+1b leads naturally into the circle-of-fifths fugati of 2a. A textural climax is then presented by the emphatic clusters 2b and 4. The latter’s aggregates are based on a polytonal fusion of E♭ (the F tonic’s mixolydian flattened VII degree) with F’s major mediant, A Major. (Compare Bartók’s Sonata for Two Pianos and Percussion, 1937, where the exposition’s secondary theme appears in the C tonic’s mediant key of E.) The even stronger E♭ accentuation in the finale (as opposed to the more neutral E♭ in the first movement, mm. 149–150) is in keeping with the E♭ reprises of principal theme 1a in the Finale, mm. 36–61 and

coda, 546–560. Here Bartók may have been influenced by such Beethoven works as the C Major („Waldstein“) Piano Sonata op. 53 with its pronounced E-major mediant in the first movement’s exposition. Likewise, one recalls the late string quartets opp. 127/1 (E₃–G axis) and especially 135/4 (exposition in F–A, with the ensuing coda beginning in m. 243 on the modal foundation, C♯–E♯, or F: raised V–flattened VII).

A closer examination of Bartók’s Divertimento reveals that these central third polarities (such as F–A and F–A♯) permeate the remainder of the work as well. Already the principal thematic gesture in the first movement, mm. 5–12 accentuates the modal A♯ (or F: flattened III), and A♯’s enharmonic equivalent G♯ is the central tonality of the second (slow) movement’s sombre, dirge-like middle section in mm. 33–48. Moreover, A♯ initiates the Finale’s developmental fugato in mm. 184ff. Besides the modal A♯, Bartók also consistently stresses its lower fifth D♯ (or F: flattened VI), as in the first movement’s corresponding fugato (with a circle-of-fifths progression around D♯–A♯–E♯ etc.) in mm. 95–104. D♯ is also profiled as the main tonal center of the central slow movement. In contrast, D♯/C♯ plays a more subordinate tonal role in the Finale. In mm. 3–13, 149–158 and 377–380 D♯ is treated as an upper appoggiatura to F’s dominant, C. Frequently the finale’s D♯/C♯ also resolves harmonically to its lower fifth on F♯ (or F: Neapolitan raised I), as in mm. 103–130, 403–428 and 444–454.

These clear harmonic resolutions to the F tonic and its C dominant are also supported by the transparent neo-classical forms of the Divertimento. Thus the first

**Example 2** Transitions (with harmonic progression, I–III–IV–raised IV) into development sections of Beethoven’s Piano Sonata op. 53 and Bartók’s Divertimento

a) Beethoven, Piano Sonata op. 53/1, mm. 78–95
movement’s lucid sonata form progresses from F to its dominant, C and eventually its mediant, A Major: a thirds progression used by Mozart in his D Major String Quartet K. 499/1 and by Beethoven in his opp. 53/1, 127/1 and 135/4. The major arrival point of A Major in mm. 25–69 is emphatically introduced by a descending Baroque-style linear bass progression in mm. 19–25 (namely, B–B₄–A₄–G–F–E–D–C–B–A) and confirmed by subdominantal D cadences in mm. 33, 42–45, 60–62 and 67–69, as well as by dominantal E spheres in mm. 36, 53, 59 and 61–62.

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The ensuing development section in mm. 72–129 again strongly recalls Beethovenian formal prototypes, notably the just discussed op. 53/1, with its smooth connecting transition from E Major/E Minor to C and eventually C’s subdominant, F and G dominant’s leading-tone, F₃ (Example 2).

The emphatic caesura on B Major at Bartók’s m. 80 (F’s tritone degree, or raised IV) in turn creates an entirely new harmonic sphere around B’s subdominant E (m. 84) and dominant F₃ (mm. 88–89). These smoothly prepare the above-mentioned circle-of-fifths fugati on D₄ and G₃ in mm. 95–98 and 101–104, or the modal antipodes F: flattened VI and flattened III that will figure so prominently in the second movement. This newly-gained pitch and intervallic stability in the middle part of the first movement’s development also gives rise to some expressive motivic metamorphoses of thematic complex 2a in mm. 100–101 (in F Minor, or F: I) and 107–108 (B₃ Minor, or F: IV) that function as a kind of Haydn-esque false reprise (Example 3).

In contrast, the following, rather violent transition into the recapitulation, mm. 109–129 is mostly founded on acerbic vertical minor/major seconds and tritones (including b₅+c₄ over e₃+f₃ in m. 122 and g₂+d₃ over a₄+e₄ in m. 125) that may possibly derive from the F–B tritone relationship between mm. 1 and 80.

The apparent “reprise” in 129–178 is so extensively rewritten that it better qualifies as a second development section. Here the F tonic is continuously challenged by its upper A mediant (already familiar from the exposition), as in mm. 144–145 and 172+174. In this context the turbulent E-quartal outbursts in 167–170 may also be viewed as a dominant preparation for A’s downbeat in 172. But even A’s secondary emphasis is frequently weakened by the resurgence of its E₃ tritone, as seen in the contrasting thirds theme of mm. 157–158 and the closing subject of mm. 171–178, with its conflicting E₃/A sonorities.

The poignant coda in mm. 179–204 – like many of Beethoven’s closing sections – amalgamates many of the preceding tonal and harmonic tendencies. It be-

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6. Moreux, Béla Bartók, 146 speaks of Bartók’s love of dynamic forms that are characterized by developmental asymmetry.
gins with subtle contrapuntal variations of the principal thematic group 1a in the tonic F Major. The subsequent circle-of-fifths modulates through the modal key areas F–B♭–E♭–D♭ in mm. 179–186 and thus recalls the earlier circle-of-fifths episodes from the development, mm. 95–98+101–104. Likewise, the A Major stratti in mm. 187ff. are a faint echo of the recapitulation’s beginning in mm. 141–144, which had proceeded from m. 141’s F to 144’s A Major. The final descending bass line in mm. 187–204 – a diatonic variation of the initial drooping bass in mm. 19–25 – repeats the modal progression D♭–C♭–A–G from mm. 194–200 in mm. 202–204 for added emphasis of the central degrees D♭ (F: VI♭) and C♭/B♭ (F: raised IV). (Example 4)

The sombre second movement (marked Molto adagio) continues – in an understated, subliminal fashion – many of the pitch and intervallic features of the preceding first movement. Its two chief tonal centers – C♯ and G♯ – will immediately be recognized as the central modal F: flattened VI (D♭/C♯) and F: flattened III (A♭/G♯) degrees from the middle section of the first movement’s development, mm. 95–98 and 101–104. Moreover, the underlying linear bass motion proceeds from C♯/D♭ (mm. 1–12) to C♭ (13–14) and A (15–17) – G (25–29): a free modal variation of the first movement’s coda bass line, mm. 194–200+202–203. The remainder of the slow movement is also centered on B (30–47, typically harmonized by a lower G♯-Minor [m. 33 was in C♯ in the sketch BB 118, 2, Bartók Archives, Budapest]) or G (49+51), leading to an expressive Coda on D♭–C♯–A–C♯ (64–74). These prevalent whole-tonish passages frequently impact the vertical harmony as well, which features major seconds and thirds, together with pervasive tritones and augmented fifths, notably in the opening measures 6–10. The latter’s reprise in 56–61 possesses more nostalgic, triadic hues. These lead to a delicate, muted resolution of the initial motive (compare mm. 2–3 with their diminished third and minor second intervals) in mm. 69–70 that subtly echoes Stravinsky’s Le sacre du printemps, part 2, mm. 27ff. (Example 5).

The increasingly static, meditative tone of the slow movement also acts as a resolution of the tense dissonant clusters in the first movement’s development section (compare its tritone layers in mm. 120–128). Moreover, the evocative close of the slow movement’s mm. 62–74 magically prepares for the popular tone and diatonic spheres of the ensuing finale.

The rondo finale delicately alternates its dance-like refrain (mm. 14–81: a poetic paraphrase of the opening movement, mm. 1–13) with several mildly con-
trasting episodes. In such a manner it serves to resolve the dramatic antitheses of the preceding two movements (Table 2).

It will be noted that the more varied and developmental RR’s modulate farther afield, as the B Minor or c/c♯–D♭ areas in RR4 (mm. 330–393) or the whole-tone 2 scalar passages in RR3 (mm. 290–313) and RR5 (notably 476–482+533–545), which inaugurate the final arch-like returns to E♭, B and F in mm. 546–589.

* * *

Four years (1939–1943) were to elapse before Bartók embarked on his next major composition, the Concerto for Orchestra of 1943. And yet this new work shares not merely the same F Major tonality, but also numerous other stylistic features with the earlier Divertimento. Both creations set up central modal polarities on C♯/D♭ (F: raised V/flattened VI) and A♭/G♯ (F: flattened III) in their slow movements and static midpoints of their first movements as well (cf. Divertimento, first movement, mm. 95–101 and Concerto for Orchestra, first movement, mm. 301–312). The flatted submediant C♯/D♭ is even stronger in the later work, due to a lengthy slow introduction to the first movement, mm. 1–75, where C♯ is the principal tonal center in mm. 1–12 and 22. As is well known, this quartal passage paraphrases the beginning and ending of Bartók’s early opera, Bluebeard’s Castle (1911, also in C♯). Moreover, both compositions feature the secondary, third-related keys of A, C and E♭ (Example 6).
### Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rondo refrain (RR) measures, key(s)</th>
<th>Episodes (Ep) measures, key(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RR1, 14–81; F Mixolydian (with E₇ or flattened VII)</td>
<td>Ep1, 1–13 with onrushing scalar runs; g–D₉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RR2 var., 133–183 (transitional); C–F–A/E₆, ending with thirds sequence on a–f, 171–183</td>
<td>Ep2, 82–132 (RR1 varied); f₇/d–f₈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RR3 (free inversion), 264–329; F/C–F-whole-tone clusters on c♯+e₆</td>
<td>Ep3: <em>fugato</em> with closing cadenza, 184–263; a₇–a–E₇/F₉–c♯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RR4 (developed), 330–393; b–c♯–F/D₉</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RR5: developed even further in Coda with stretti imitations:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part 1, 394–510; mostly whole-tone scale 1 on c–e–f♯–a♯, ending with thirds sequence on a–f♯, 487–510;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part 2, 533–545; mostly whole-tone scale 2 on g–f–e♯–c♯–B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RR6, 513–531: fairly literal reprise of RR1’s ending;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bb (F: subdominantal IV)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RR7 (bit varied RR1), 546–573; E₇ (F: flattened VII, echoing E₇ sphere in 36+45+49+61)</td>
<td>Epl varied with final onrushing scalar runs, 574–589; B–E–F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Diagram:**

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\begin{align*}
\text{[molt rubato, quasi cadenza]} \\
\text{colla parte}
\end{align*}
```
The ensuing polytonal clusters on c₂ and c₃ (or tonic F: V/raised V, mm. 6–11) also recall the dissonant beginning on A, D and B₄ at the outset of the Finale to Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony op. 125/4 (1824).

A more developed version of this apparent quotation occurs at the beginning of the third movement (subtitled Elegia), which – as Klára Móricz states⁷ – was actually sketched before the first movement. The former also draws on Judith’s textual passage, “Csendes fehér …” (with a reference to the darkness and still waters of the sixth door) towards the end of Bluebeard’s Castle (Example 7).

The latter excerpt from Concerto for Orchestra, movement 3, mm. 1–6 may also be linked to the instrumental Romanesca bass from the Renaissance (Example 8).

Moreover, this complex also appears to utilize the beginning of Mahler’s First Symphony (1884–1888), mov. 1, mm. 7–9 (Example 9).

In addition, Bartók’s chromatic continuation in mm. 5–6 may also draw on the ending of Alban Berg’s opera Lulu,⁸ which was included in the final movement of

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**Example 7** Judith’s sombre music compared to the tragic Elegia in the Concerto for Orchestra

a) Judith’s nostalgic music from *Bluebeard’s Castle* (sixth door)

![Example 7](image)

b) Elegia from Concerto for Orchestra, mov. 3, mm. 1–6

![Example 8](image)

**Example 8** Renaissance Romanesca bass line

**Example 9** Mahler, First Symphony, mov. 1, mm. 7–9

![Example 9](image)

the *Lulu*-Suite (or *Symphonic Pieces from the Opera Lulu*, 1934) and thus widely performed in the 1930’s⁹ (Example 10).

Viewed as a totality, these multiple, simultaneous quotations suggest that Bartók may have viewed the term Elegia as a metaphor for the devastated Europe of World War II, replete with nostalgic recollections of former composers.

These increasingly chromatic textures in Bartók’s Elegia inevitably lead to the first oboe’s plaintive cantilena in mm. 10–22 (Example 11).

In turn, example 11’s expressive minor seconds serve as a kind of basic theme for the ensuing variations in mm. 34–61, 62–72, 73–83, 86–92, 93–100, 106–111 (piccolo) and 123–128 (again piccolo). This entire complex (mm. 10–128) may

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also be traced back to Judith’s despondent minor seconds on e3–d3 and d3–c3, played by the oboes and the English horn at rehearsal no. 99 of Bluebeard’s Castle (at her opening of the climactic sixth door, showing the Lake of Tears). Furthermore, Judith’s accompanying E Minor7 arpeggios may be linked to the Elegia’s C Minor7 harmonies in mm. 10–18. Likewise, the opera’s fascination with the tertial relationship C#–A has left its indelible imprint on the Elegia. In particular, one should note the emphatic C#/D♭ cadences in mm. 19–21, 61 and 128 as opposed to the tertially related A articulations in mm. 34, 93–95 and 122–125. The latter A cadences also act as metrical and pitch resolutions of the preceding modal A♭ cadences (or F: flattened III) in mm. 28+32 and 80–83.

C# is also a crucial arrival-point in movements 2 and 5. In the second, scherzo-like movement the transitional C#/D♭'s in mm. 60–61, 69 and 83–86 eventually
resolve downwardly to C (or D: modal flattened VII) and back up to D in mm. 87–115+116–122. The varied “reprise” in mm. 164–263 condenses the earlier flute duet from mm. 60–86 and thus the C♯ sphere now resolves more quickly to C in mm. 210–212. (Likewise, the originally four-measure, climactic phrase of mm. 83–86 is reduced to a shorter three-measure segment in mm. 225–227; similarly, the initially eight-measure whole-tone transition in mm. 101–108 is now curtailed to a mere two-measure upbeat in mm. 239–240.) One is distinctly reminded of the Divertimento’s Finale, where D♯ increasingly becomes an upper appoggiatura to F’s dominant, C.

Our central pitch D♯ reappears in the climactic Finale tutti passage, mm. 188–243, where it resolves upwardly to e♯ (part of a C/c-polychord in mm. 244–255) and the harp’s e♯ downbeat in m. 256 (leading to the B Major fugato). This descending progression, D♯–C–B (or tonic F: flattened VI–raised IV) recalls the analogous bridge section in the first movement, mm. 135–155.10 One is also reminded of the Intermezzo interrotto in the Concerto’s fourth movement, where the tonic B again oscillates with its Neapolitan degree of C (mm. 31+43) and the latter’s relative major of E4 (75). These create a somewhat static midpoint that is highlighted by its multiple interrelated quotations – including Zsigmond Vincze’s operetta, A hamburgi menyasszony, Dmitri Shostakovich’s Seventh Symphony and Ferenc Lehár’s Merry Widow.11 Together with the high e♯’s in the Concerto’s Finale, mm. 244–254 these create a background F-whole-tone scale again reminiscent of the Concerto’s first movement, mm. 155 (B)–231 (F) and the entire Divertimento. This whole-tone matrix on F–E4–D4–B is ultimately resolved downwardly to F’s mediant A (or F: III) via a preceding modal A♯ (or F: flattened III) at three crucial junctures:

- Mov. 1, mm. 390–396 (A♯/A, or F: flattened III/III),
- Mov. 3, mm. 32–34+80–95 (again A♯/A) and
- Mov. 5, mm. 482 (a whole-tonish A♯ area) –
- Mov. 5, mm. 535–542 (A-Majorish music),
- Mov. 5, mm. 570–572 (A♯) – 621–625 (A over F).

Here it becomes evident that George Szell’s omission of mov. 5, mm. 426–555 not merely destroys the architectural balance of the Finale by omitting the return of the lyrical secondary theme (from mm. 175–187) in mm. 449–481, but also weakens the final resolution of the modal A♯ (F: flattened III) to A (or F: mediant III).

10. According to Móricz, “New Aspects,” 191 this bridge at first began in (G–)C. See also her facsimile of Bartók’s sketch on p. 214, lines 7–10.

11. See Cooper, Bartók, 56–58 for a comprehensive analysis of the motivic interrelationships between the multiple melodic quotations.
On a broader structural level, the Divertimento’s careful formal balance and thematic symmetry between its outer movements also left its strong imprint on the later Concerto for Orchestra. Thus the Finale’s opening horn fanfare and ensuing violin scales are clearly related to the initial Allegro vivace theme in the first movement, which in turn was probably inspired by the first movement of Liszt’s *Faust Symphony* (Example 12).

In addition to the central violin tritone themes, both of Bartók’s outer movements outline quartal aggregates around $f-b_{4}-e_{4}(-a_{b})$. These recall the initial fourth formations in the first movement’s slow introduction, which also return at its developmental climax in mm. 231–271+313–396; these may ultimately be traced back to the quartal coda of the Violin Concerto, movement 3 (1938),

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**Example 12** Liszt’s influence on Bartók and additional motivic connections between Concerto for Orchestra, mov. 1 and 5

a) Liszt, *Faust Symphony* (1853–1857), mov. 1, m. 25

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[Allegro impetuoso]} \\
\text{Vl. I+II} & \quad \text{tritone} \\
25 & \\
\end{align*}
\]

b) Bartók, Concerto for Orchestra, mov. 1, mm. 76–78

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[Allegro vivace]} \\
\text{Vl. I+II} & \quad \text{sequential fourths} \\
76 & \\
\end{align*}
\]

c) Bartók, Concerto for Orchestra, mov. 5, 1–8

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pesante} & \quad \text{cadenal tritone} \\
\text{Cr. I–IV} & \quad \text{sequential fourths} \\
\text{accel. al} & \quad \text{Vl. II (punta d’arco)} \\
\text{Presto} & \quad \text{central tritone from i, 76} \\
\text{ff} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

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12. Cooper, *Bartók*, 36 and 45 terms this rising pattern the “germinal motif,” whose initial minor third recurs in mov. 2, mm. 8–9 (bassoon I), 25–27ff (oboe I), 60–61 (flute I), 90–92 (trumpet I) and the Trio’s mm. 123–128 (trumpet I).
mm. 521–555. Moreover, these fourth patterns receive a prominent permutation during the later finale trumpet fanfare in mm. 201–206\(^{13}\) (Example 13).

Both gestures begin with octave leaps and terminate with modal flattened VII degrees (e\(_4\) in m. 4, c\(_5\) in 206). Their initial sections also feature intermediate fifths and fourths. Thus Bartók creates formal spirals that set in motion new developmental, varational cycles. This is especially true of the (finale) coda’s climaxes on the later fanfare (mm. 201–211) in mm. 535–572.

A parallel climax – here blended with acerbic tritones and second clusters – seeks to distort these quartal sonorities in the finale’s subsequent mm. 317–383. This quasi-parodistic passage also appears to echo the comical trumpets and woodwinds from movement 2, mm. 228–260 (Example 14).

In this connection one should also single out the emphatic, Beethovenian F\(_3\)-Neapolitans in the Finale, mm. 384–386+408, which obscure what might otherwise constitute a clear recapitulation of mm. 8ff. One is (again) distinctly reminded of the Divertimento’s finale; here, too, the Neapolitan F\(_3\)–F cadences resolve the earlier semitonal D\(_4\)–C tendencies.

Moreover, the lyrically contrasting melody from mm. 175–187 (E–A\(_7\)) in 449–468 (D–G/F\(_3\)) is now introduced by new (and delaying!), gently undulating upbeat figures. These are once again culled from the Divertimento’s finale, mm. 171–183 (placed right before the fugato development in mm. 184–264) and mm. 487–513 (Example 15).

Besides employing delaying Neapolitan flattened II’s and varied, oscillating upbeat patterns, Bartók’s later music frequently loosens up potential structural

\(^{13}\) This motivic interrelationship is also mentioned by Gilbert G. French in his article “Continuity and Discontinuity in Bartók’s ‘Concerto for Orchestra’,” The Music Review 28 (1967), 132. In this connection it is noteworthy that Bartók’s own program notes for the Boston premiere on December 1, 1944 expressly label the later Finale trumpet fanfare in mm. 201–206 “the last theme of the exposition” (see program reproduction in Cooper, Bartók, 85). One is reminded of many Classical sonata forms by Haydn and Beethoven in which the closing theme of the exposition often constitutes a variation of the opening primary subject.
rigidity by inserting free cadential improvisations, such as we find at the close of the development section in the Divertimento’s finale, m. 256 (Example 16).

In addition, Bartók’s rather Lisztian apotheoses in these two finales extend the structural framework of his codas. In the third movement of the Divertimento (mm. 403–513+533–546) and the fifth movement of the Concerto for Orchestra (mm. 482–555) our composer sets in motion climactic chord streams with vertical and horizontal major second and tritone intervals. These are at first geared to the first whole-tone scale on C and F₃, but soon resolve to whole-tone II (with C₃/D₄ and tonic F), as in the third movement of the Divertimento, mm. 533–545 and in the fifth movement of the Concerto for Orchestra, mm. 533–553. A last modal echo of this ultimate whole-tone II matrix may be seen in the final mixolydian cadence on E₄–F (F: flattened VII–I) in the third movement of the Divertimento, mm. 546–589 and in the fifth movement of the Concerto for Orchestra, mm. 604–625.¹⁴

Bartók’s ensuing Sonata for Solo Violin was composed for Yehudi Menuhin in March, 1944, and premiered by the same artist on November 26, 1944 in New York City. This work continues certain intervallic tendencies of the two preceding compositions, notably the Concerto for Orchestra of 1943. Once again, the sonata’s tonal center – here G Major – is further defined by its modal subcenters on B₅/B (or G: flattened III/III) and E₅ (or G: flattened VI). Moreover, the work’s extensive intervallic and contrapuntal constructions lead Bartók to develop the

¹⁴. According to Móricz, “New Aspects,” 191, 193 and 194 the original drafts for the Concerto for Orchestra are even more geared to the tonic F Major, notably in mov. 1, m. 51; mov. 3, m. 33 and mov. 5, m. 7.
Unifying Stylistic Syntheses in the Late Compositions of Bartók

EXAMPLE 15 Undulating, delaying upbeat figures from Divertimento, mov. 3 and Concerto for Orchestra, mov. 5

a) Divertimento, mov. 3 (finale), mm. 171–183

b) Divertimento, mov. 3, mm. 487–513

c) Concerto for Orchestra, mov. 5, mm. 443–448

irelated ½ keys of A½ (or g: Neapolitan, flattened II) and D½/C½ (g: flattened V/raised IV), which at times produces tetrachordal and pentatonic outlines (cf. first movement, mm. 49–52: a precursor of the third movement’s Melodia).

Typically Bartók links E½, D½/C½, B/B½, A and G in a descending, chaconne-like linear progression, as in the first movement, mm. 1–8, 134–137 and 139–150. Our composer also utilizes an abbreviated form of this basic pattern on C½−B½−A½−G as a powerful cadential thrust in mm. 94–95, 105–110 and 121–131. These secondary flat keys of D½/C½ and A½ are also employed as a forceful Neapolitan articulation, preparing for the dramatic reprise in mm. 89–91. Moreover, A½ and D½
will be crucial cadential agents in the finale’s terminating, coda-like episodes in mm. 270–307 (A\textsubscript{4}/B\textsubscript{4}), 334–348 (beginning on A\textsubscript{4}), 352–356 (starting on D\textsubscript{4}) and 415–419 (final cadence on A\textsubscript{4}–E\textsubscript{4}–B\textsubscript{4}–G).

In order to inject linear tension, Bartók frequently causes the central pitches E\textsubscript{4}, B\textsubscript{4} and C\textsubscript{3} to conflict semitonally with G’s dominant of D and secondary dominant of A, as in the first movement, mm. 28–32+47–52 (D/E\textsubscript{4}), 110–129 (C\textsubscript{3}/D) and 17–25+99–101 (A/B\textsubscript{4}). Moreover, the whole-tone potential of the descending chaconne is notably expanded during the development section, mm. 57–62 (b–a–g–f–c\textsubscript{3}) and the inverted textures of the reprise (mm. 100–108: b\textsubscript{4}–a–g–f–d\textsubscript{3}, f–g–a–b and finally c\textsubscript{3}–b–a–g), again accentuating C\textsubscript{3} (enharmonic D\textsubscript{4}) and D\textsubscript{3} (enharmonic E\textsubscript{4}). The latter E\textsubscript{4}/D\textsubscript{3}-sphere is also an emphatic downbeat in the development’s mm. 56+74–75, with the latter passage placed over G’s secondary dominant of A. Once again, we may detect a Beethovenian influence in Bartók’s stressing the major mediant B and the major flatted submediant E\textsubscript{4}; one thinks in particular of Beethoven’s opp. 53/1, 127/1 (E\textsubscript{4}–G axis), 130/1 (B\textsubscript{4}–D polarity) and 135/4 (F–A–C\textsubscript{3}/E\textsubscript{4} in coda).

If the intervallic permutations in the first movement belong to Bartók’s most advanced, its formal structure also evinces an exceptional creativity. This especially holds true of the combined reprise+coda in mm. 91–130+131–150. Here the opening mm. 91–110 continue the development’s expansive mm. 53–83, so that mm. 91–101 may be viewed as a variational cycle of mm. 53–56, 101–110 an intensification of mm. 57–75, and mm. 110–120 a development of mm. 75–80. In like manner, the fused coda+reprise in mm. 131–150 combines features of the exposition’s principal and secondary theme groups. Here we encounter – much as
in the Concerto for Orchestra’s finale – developmental, circular spirals in place of traditional Classical formal structures.

The Sonata’s remaining three movements all elaborate certain compositional features of the first movement, so that the entire work may well be considered one of Bartók’s most homogeneous and integrated. Thus the second movement’s Fuga\textsuperscript{15} is based on a C Minor subject that profiles the modal pitches e\textsubscript{4} (c: flattened III), d\textsubscript{4} (c: flattened II) and f\textsubscript{3} – all central tones familiar from the opening Ciaccona. The final tetrachordal ascents in mm. 4–5 (d\textsubscript{4}–e\textsubscript{4}–f\textsubscript{1}–f\textsubscript{3}) and 9–10 (a\textsubscript{4}–b\textsubscript{4}–c\textsubscript{2}–c\textsubscript{3}) also recall the cadential mm. 2–3 (c\textsuperscript{2}–d\textsuperscript{2}–e\textsuperscript{2}–f\textsuperscript{2}) from the first movement. Thus it is not surprising that their respective apotheoses in the first movement, mm. 98–99 and in the second, mm. 83–84 are also intricately interrelated (Example 17).

\begin{center}
\textbf{Example 17} Related tetrachordal tutti effects in the Violin Sonata’s first and second movements
\end{center}

Moreover, the total tonal organization proceeds from c to d (see mm. 21, 32 and 70–71)/D Major (88–91)/d (92) back to C (99–103)/C Minor (final 107). The overall tonal progression may thus be summarized as G Minor tonic: iv–v/V/v–IV/iv – a concentrated harmonic succession also encountered in the first movement, mm. 81–88 (cf. bass line on D–C–G ending in m. 91) before the climactic reprise in 91ff. In addition, the second movement also highlights E\textsubscript{4} as an upper Neapolitan neighbor tone to D in mm. 23–24/77–78 – once again a procedure highly reminiscent of the first movement.

Likewise, the third movement’s Melodia is based on the final pentatonic cadential extension of the first movement’s secondary theme group in mm. 49–52 (Example 18).

This freely pentatonic opening (which may echo the slow movement of Brahms’ Double Concerto op. 102, 1887) is further expanded during the reprise in mm. 49ff., and also receives a highly ethereal variant in the closing measures 64–67. Here it may be observed that the terminal sliding cadence on A₄/B₄ in mm. 66–67 has been subtly prepared by the intermediate A₄–B₄ caesura in mm. 28–29.

The mildly contrasting central episode in mm. 30–48 also outlines analogous static, quasi-impressionistic sonorities. These typically feature sixth harmonies with pentatonic hues, such as b₄–d₃–e₃–g₃ (mm. 30–34) or g₃–c₃–f₂–d₂ (mm. 38–39). It is striking that the fundamental G tonic for the entire Sonata still radiates through the closing cadential articulations in mm. 24, 46, 48 and 57. Moreover, G’s upper tritone on D₃/C₃ again – as in the first movement – conflicts with G’s upper D dominant, as in mm. 10/11–12, 30–39/40 and 42–44/45. Here, too, the rhapsodic reprise in mm. 49–58ff. and 64–67 is extended so freely in mm. 58–64 (including the bird-calls from m. 48 in mm. 63–64) that one is tempted to speak of a free, variational and cyclical spiral. In this connection it appears significant that the bird-calls in mm. 63–64 quote the well-known piccolo motives from the Elegia, mm. 110–111 (Example 19).

Example 19 Similar bird-calls from Violin Sonata, mov. 3 and Elegia
a) Violin Sonata, mov. 3, m. 64

b) Elegia, mm. 110–111 (Piccolo)
The finale returns even more decisively to the pitch parameters of the first movement (Table 3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pitch</th>
<th>Measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E₄ (g: flattened VI)</td>
<td>68–74, 87–91, 109–115, 201–213, 332 (the E₄ episode in m. 201f. is not yet present in the continuity draft BB 124, Bartók Archives, Budapest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D₄ (g: flattened V)</td>
<td>36–51, 352–353</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, B₈ and E₄ are stronger modal degrees at the outset (cf. also the first movement), whereas the cadential Neapolitan A₄ and its related associate D₄ represent more emphatic closing levels. Here one is again reminded of the Beethovenian flattened II’s in the finale of the Concerto for Orchestra and such Beethoven works as the Violoncello Sonata op. 102 no. 1 (1815), finale. Moreover, Bartók’s systematic employment of conflicting sound blocks in this finale recalls such Beethovenian prototypes as the Fifth Symphony op. 67 (1808), first movement and Ninth Symphony op. 125 (1824), fourth movement. Likewise, the Beethovenian, combined reprise+coda in mm. 270–419 must rank among Bartók’s most inspired creations (Table 4).

It will be noted that Bartók systematically alternates developmental episodes from the original secondary theme, mm. 101–165 with elements from the second development, mm. 201–269, all typically in the same original thematic sequence. Here the prominent pitch groupings of B₈–A₄–G and F–F♯–G increasingly converge on the final G tonic from both directions. Besides repeating the same modal framework from the first movement (notably the modified circle-of-fifths progression, E₄–B₄–A₄–G). Bartók also reiterates the climactic parallel ninths from the second movement, mm. 71–74 in the fourth, mm. 399–406 to underline the above-mentioned links between the first (mm. 93–94) and the second (mm. 83–84), plus the first (mm. 49–52) and the third movement (mm. 1+49).

Bartók’s last two compositions – the Third Piano Concerto and (drafted) Viola Concerto¹⁶ – both date from the summer of 1945. Superficially, these two works

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¹⁶. References are to the revised score by Nelson Dellamaggiore and Peter Bartók published by Boosey & Hawkes in 1995–2003. The present author has also had the opportunity to examine the new edition by Csaba Erdélyi (published by Promethean Editions, Wellington, New Zealand, 2004) in the Bartók Archives, Budapest. Erdélyi’s orchestration is more variegated, highlighting the clarinets + bass clarinet + bassoons, in addition to coloristic brass and richer tutti effects (as in mov. 2, mm. 30–39+93–99 and mov. 3, mm. 51–64). Furthermore, the reader is referred to the facsimile edition of Bartók’s draft published by Peter Bartók in 1995 (Homosassa, Florida, Bartók Records).
share many common stylistic features, notably an exceedingly transparent texture and clear, crystalline formal structures. Once again, Bartók stresses the flatted modal degrees of flattened III und flattened VI; the latter tends to resolve to the more tonal vi level in the two respective rondo finales. It appears likely that Beethoven’s later music – notably his Seventh Symphony in A Major op. 92 (1812) and his A Minor String Quartet op. 132 (1825) exerted a profound stylistic influence on these two final Bartók works, since they also stress the flatted modal degrees of A/a: flatted III (or C Major) and flatted VI (F Major). Moreover, many commentators have drawn parallels between Beethoven’s Heiliger Dankgesang in op. 132, mov. 3 (in F Major, or A: flattened VI) and Bartók’s Third Piano Concerto, mov. 2 (in C Major, or E: flattened VI).\(^{17}\)

The two Bartók works are also similar in that their initial modal fluctuations – namely, between flattened III and III – in the opening exposition are first resolved back to the flattened III degree. Similar linear tendencies are encountered in the finales, in that the flattened VI steps (C in Third Piano Concerto, F in Viola Concerto) customarily become a normal VI (C\(_\flat\) or F\(_\sharp\)) – a relative minor that easily resolves to the final tonic (Example 20).

Other stylistic parallels between the two concertos include the whole-tonish developments in their first movements, as well as the descending linear progressions (with rustling nature sounds) in the slow movements.

Notwithstanding these manifold similarities between the two compositions, the stylistic details and their artistic realization still vary considerably. In the Third Piano Concerto Bartók utilizes a rather neo-classical aesthetic, with strict sonata and rondo forms in the outer movements and a crystalline, three-part (or A B A) song form in the slow middle movement. Likewise, the tonal structure consistently stresses the lower modal submedian of C Major (as in mov. 1, 137; mov. 2, 1+89; and mov. 3, 161, 443+589–590), which progresses to the more stable C3-Minor (or E: vi) in the finale, mm. 169, 228 (fugato), 527 and 601+607. Indeed, one may here speak of an overall contrapuntal line on C–C3–D–E (cf. final measures, 767–768) which is already adumbrated in the first movement’s development, mm. 99–104; the slow movement, mm. 72–89+136–137 (again ending on D–E!) and the finale, 752–768 (final mixolydian resolution on D–E). These rising minor/major seconds may partly derive from earlier symphonic prototypes, such as the outer movements’ developments in Dvořák’s New World Symphony op. 95 (1893). In particular, Dvořák’s movements feature repeated semitonal thrusts from (E)–F–F3 that may well have inspired Bartók’s rising whole-tones in his first movement, 75–118.
The drafted Viola Concerto utilizes these same modal third degrees in a more fluid, vacillating fashion. Frequently Bartók sets up three wavering tonal degrees on A–C/C♯–E/F in a neo-romantic manner that recalls the music of Schubert and Bruckner. To counterbalance these fluctuating tertial tendencies, Bartók stresses A’s dominant E far more than in the Third Piano Concerto. In the Viola Concerto E dominates the ending of the first movement’s exposition, mm. 61–64 and consistently alternates (and eventually coalesces with) A’s mediant C in the reprise. Moreover, E is also the home key of the slow movement, and thus triumphs over the semitonal F and E♭ episodes at the end of the first movement. A parallel passage may be observed towards the end of the rondo finale, 251–255, where E again transcends E♭ and finally resolves in V–I fashion to the tonic A Major.

This burgeoning tonal stabilization is also seen in the accented bass C♯’s – or A’s major mediant – in the second movement, mm. 12+38 (Trumpet III), which are both approached via upper, descending bass lines. The same is true of the highlighted C♯’s in mov. 3, mm. 51–56+241–246 (spelled as D♭, over the solo viola’s C♯ passages), which resolve the weaker C’s of the first movement. C♯/D♭ is also buttressed by its upper dominant A in mov. 2, m. 30 (beginning of the dramatic tremolo section) and mov. 3’s Trio in mm. 114–178. Conversely, A’s profiled flattened VI modal area on F-major (which was so emphatically stressed in the first movement’s exposition and development) gradually loses its forceful impact during the course of the work. In the second movement it is briefly encountered as a faint reminiscence of the first’s opening ritornello during the transitional measures 50–53. The finale itself possesses only initial weak echoes of F in mm. 22 (but the bass F is a Serly addition!) and 36. As a parallel contrapuntal movement to the above-mentioned C–C♯ progression, F now tends to resolve upwardly to F♯ or A-major’s submediant, notably in the third movement, mm. 178–206. C♯ and F♯ also initiate a circle-of-fourths modulatory cycle that stresses the tonal aspects of A Major – namely, C♯–F♯–B–E–A–D–G–C – in the third movement, mm. 205–212. It will be noted that this spiralling formation also resolves the earlier, more modally tinted fourths aggregate on G–C–F–B♭–E♭ from the second movement, mm. 58–99, which had conversely emphasized the modal spheres of G (or A: flattened VII), C (A: flattened III) and F (A: flattened VI).

If these related intervallic permutations serve to unify the entire work’s harmonic structures, their superimposed motivic layers also display highly cohesive interrelationships. This is especially true of the minor/major third cells in the last two movements (Example 21).

18. According to Ernő Lendvai, *The Workshop of Bartók and Kodály* (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1983), 465 and 760, Bartók frequently uses so-called “substitute chords,” in which the major triad may be replaced by the minor triad lying a third higher (example: C-major supplanted by e-minor).
These eventually are transformed into the triumphant D₃ coda fanfares of mov. 3, mm. 241–246, a metamorphosis of the A₃-Major Trio in 114–178^{19} (Example 22).

In summary, these late works of Béla Bartók from the years 1939–1945 may be said to continue several stylistic trends of the Hungarian composer from the earlier 1920s and 1930s. Even more than his previous music (such as the highly structured Fourth String Quartet of 1928) these final masterpieces stress cyclical connections between the individual movements, notably in the outer sections of the first and third movements of the Divertimento (1939) and Concerto for Orchestra (1943, compositional links between movements 1, 3, and 5). In his draft for the Viola Concerto of 1945 Bartók also experiments with burgeoning third cells that physically connect the final two sections. Similarly, the Solo Violin Sonata of 1944 relates the secondary lyrical theme of the opening movement to the principal subject of the third, slow movement. Analogous ties exist between the climactic sections of the first and second, plus the second and fourth movements, respectively. The resultant overlapping cross relationships create an especially impressive total symmetry for the entire work.

These late compositions are also noteworthy for their unifying linear dimensions. Frequently Bartók sets up modal polarities on flattened III and flattened VI in the manner of Beethoven’s opp. 92 and 132, notably in the first, third and final movements of the Solo Violin Sonata (cf. the G Minor/B₃ Major openings with complementary B₃ and E₃ spheres). When combined with Bartók’s favorite tritone and flatted mixolydian seventh degrees, the initial minor third (or flattened

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III) frequently is transmuted into an accented major third (or III mediant), as the Solo Violin Sonata’s first movement, m. 53 (B Major outburst at the outset of the development). This dramatic episode is highly reminiscent of Beethoven’s late string quartets opp. 127/1, m. 75 (G Minor changing into G Major) and 130/1, m. 97 (D Major mediant of B♭ emerging out of previous G♭ sphere). The resultant whole-tone scalar implications are also in evidence in the Divertimento’s outer movements on F (–G–A [mov. 1, mm. 25–69]–B–D♭/C♯–E♭–F) and the dramatic development in the Third Piano Concerto’s first movement. The latter presents a glorious Lisztian apotheosis of the primary and closing themes, progressing through a whole-tonish succession of keys: A♯ (enharmonic G♯, or E: III)–B♭–C♭–D–E–F♯–G♯/E:III). Similar whole-tone implications are observable in the finale of the Concerto for Orchestra (F/A beginning–D♭–B–F–A♯–E♭–F), whose modal pitch conflicts between A♯/A and stress on the matrix, F–D♭–B–A are already introduced in the first movement. One is distinctly reminded of Sibelius’ Second Symphony (1902), whose axial stress on the major third degrees of D, F♯/G♯ and A♯/B♭ may have served as an indirect compositional catalyst for Bartók’s Concerto for Orchestra (third polarities on F–A–D♭) and Viola Concerto (cf. its third spirals on A/F–c/c♯). Likewise, one again recalls Beethoven’s late string quartets, notably op. 135 in F Major, with its contrasting mediant A and submediant D♭ in movements 2, 3 and 4.

Given this increasing plethora of historical, stylistic influences on Bartók’s late music, one is directly faced with the central question: are these works merely the climactic end-stage of his neo-Classical leanings in the 1930’s and 1940’s, or are they also the beginning of what might have become an even more wholesale return to past styles and idioms? We have already touched upon the complex multi-quotational techniques in the Concerto for Orchestra: mov. 1, 2 and 4, which feature numerous stylistic appropriations from Liszt, Mahler, Shostakovich, Lehár and even Hungarian popular idioms. Similar musical echoes from Brahms, Beethoven and possibly Dvořák are found in the Solo Violin Sonata and Third Piano Concerto. Moreover, the closing Cadenza at the end of the first movement’s development in the Viola Concerto appears to be modelled on the parallel Cadenza in Mendelssohn’s Violin Concerto in E-minor op. 64 (1838–1844), first movement (Example 23).

In addition to the many quotations and borrowings from earlier composers, there also exist many cross-references and stylistic emulations between these late works. This is especially true of the Divertimento’s pervasive influence on the Concerto for Orchestra. In turn, the Concerto for Orchestra certainly inspired the quartal matrices of the Viola Concerto. Finally, Bartók’s last two concertos from the year 1945 share so many features in common that one may almost term them compositional twins.
Aside from copious quotation techniques and cross-influences, these late Bartók compositions are also notable for their neo-Bachian contrapuntal intensity. This is particularly true of the first two movements of the Solo Violin Sonata of 1944, in which descending and ascending chromatic lines provide a flexible linear foundation. Finally, a kind of neo-romantic effusiveness permeates much of Bartók’s last two concertos of 1945, replete with multiple third-related tonal centers (such as A/F–C/C# in the Viola Concerto) and resultant, explosively dramatic conflicts.

In summary, these richly variegated stylistic inspirations indicate that for Bartók, an historical return to earlier periods could also be blended with bold new departures. In this sense one may view these late works as true compositional syntheses – ones that fully amalgamate the musical advances of the 1920s and 1930s with freely neo-classical aesthetics. Significantly, the formal structures in late Bartók are never predictable or academically rigid. In particular, the reprises typically resemble a Beethovenian second developmental section and are often blended with the ensuing codas. A prime example is represented by the finale of the Solo Violin Sonata – a masterpiece that must rank among Bartók’s greatest creations.