

IN SEARCH OF NINE KEGHI SONGS

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The 1982-83 issue of *Polyphony* published by the Multicultural History Society of Ontario (MHS) was dedicated to the early Armenian settlers in Ontario. My own contribution, "The Musical Repertory of Early Armenian Settlers,"¹ was one of a number of articles that discussed the unwritten history of Armenians in Canada.

As part of my research I conducted a field trip to interview and tape six members of the community. The tape material with 87 songs, along with the Robert Melkom collection from MHS archives, a *1937 Yearbook*, published in Detroit by the Keghi Patriotic Society, and some 78 rpm phonograph records by community members were primary source material. The article gave an overview of the musical tradition of Armenian settlers in Canada with a in-depth analysis of nine Keghi folk songs and dance tunes.

Because of lack of time and financing, my research was not conclusive. The informants were limited to six, and Canadian-born Keghetzis were not included. Among various research topic possibilities the article suggested, the most vital was the question of culture retention or acculturation.

Expeditions should be undertaken to understand how the immigrating generation retained their culture and the causes of acculturation in the next generation. Children of the original informants, other Keghetzis, and their children should be interviewed.

No study except my own has been undertaken concerning the musical heritage of the emigrating generation. Such a project is of utmost importance, since this repertory is the only musical legacy that the early settlers carried with them, and the older Keghi musical culture has been extirpated.

During a field trip (October 25-27, 1987) to St. Catharines and Cambridge, Ontario, I interviewed fourteen Keghetzis; six were born in the "old country" between 1903-12, five in St. Catharines and Brantford, between 1912 and 1918, and the remaining three in St. Catharines and Cambridge in the 1930s and 1940s. Having a fair representation of both immigrant and Canadian Keghetzis born before and after World War I helps to answer some of the questions raised in my project.

Although the primary aim was to collect variants of the nine Keghi songs listed in my article, I took the opportunity to learn more about the cultural and social life of Keghetzis both in the old country and Canada and used a questionnaire to maintain the necessary uniformity during the interviews. The six immigrant informants were asked about life in the old country, customs, beliefs, family life, social structure, festivities, the Turkish deportations, the massacres, and circumstances concerning their move to Canada. Their most vivid accounts centered on the deportations, the genocide, and orphanage experiences. Only one informant gave a full description of her house and traditional family life; others were able to recall some activities related to various festivities.

As for their early years in Canada, questions focused on social and economic adjustments, schooling and work experiences, community life, and the upbringing of children. They all underlined similar economic and social hardships, but pointed out that they had found solace in each other's company, gathering around a church, a patriotic society, a political party, or a school, and serving as teachers, church deacons, charity organizers, or volunteer workers.

Despite their involvement in Armenian community life, their children gradually succumbed to the Canadian mainstream.

Both the first and second group of Canadian-born informants were asked about the heritage transmitted by their parents, their childhood experiences, their attendance at Armenian evening schools, social and family life, and the upbringing of their children. It seems that the first generation absorbed their parents' heritage the most, although some confessed that if they had known of its value, they would have been more attentive; answers from the second generation Canadian-born informants varied from total ignorance to resentment. Information gathered was verified against published memoirs of the old country.²

Despite inquiries I could not obtain samples of early records. There were, however, some cassette recordings of contemporary bands whose repertory and style was an amalgam of Middle Eastern song and dance medleys, performed on synthesized instruments.

Most informants were familiar with four of the nine melodies listed in my article. One sang a slightly different version of one song-dance which will be presented in this paper for comparison. I also taped two songs for the first time, which will be additions to Keghi song repertory. Two other songs, taped during my previous expedition, are included in this paper to give a more cohesive picture of the musical culture.

I discuss the various traditions still remembered by my informants to determine whether the nine Keghi songs are still part of their cultural heritage, how these songs were transmitted to them, and how did social, economic, and political events affect the retention or loss of their culture.

Historical Background

Keghi (Khorzen, Geghi),³ the westernmost district of Historic Armenia (today it is in Turkey),⁴ is a mountainous region 3,200 feet above sea level. Over 300 villages are spread over 3,000 square miles surrounded by mountains and fertile valleys, rivers and lakes, mineral springs, and various natural resources.⁵ A 1908 report estimated the population at 60,000, of whom 50 per cent were Armenians; the Kurdish nomadic tribes formed the second major group; only five to ten thousand were Turkish.⁶

Although Keghi was "at times a centre of learning and sciences,"⁷ only near the end of the nineteenth century did the area get modern schools.⁸ The fast-spreading chain of educational institutions was the result of a national awakening, initiated by Armenian intellectuals and enhanced by the work of American missionaries.⁹ Already in the 1850s missionary work was felt throughout the teachings of one Melkon Djantemirian.¹⁰ Protestantism made its way in almost every village, and relatively well-off Protestant communities were formed. The youth were encouraged to migrate to America to further their education or to find better employment. In return these young people, through their educational societies, financed new schools in the old country. Soon every village had a school.¹¹

In 1915 the deportations and genocide executed by the Turkish Government brought this social, economic, and educational rebirth to an abrupt stop. The youth who had emigrated with plans to return home had no news from family and relatives and were stranded for years. The brutal reality, gradually revealed after 1918, of having lost all family and homeland, forced these Armenians to settle in Canada and the United States. With the creation of an independent Armenia (1918-1920), some cherished the idea of returning "Home" but "the Lauzanne Treaty (1923) ended all hopes of repatriation."¹² Hence, these commu-

nities began to reorganize their churches, founded patriotic and charitable associations, conducted evening or Saturday Armenian language schools, and reformed their political parties, which "took on the added functions of representing all the other aspects of community life".¹³

In the southern Ontario towns of St. Catharines, Brantford, and Hamilton, most Armenian settlers were Keghetzis, with a few from the Moush and Van districts.¹⁴ As a result these towns resembled a transplanted Keghi with all its villages.¹⁵

The Keghi Patriotic Society formed in 1917 in Detroit with 225 members had 40 from St. Catharines. Regardless of political adherence, all Keghetzis gathered around their society, whose prime aim was to help the destitute survivors and orphans. After an inactive period, the Society reorganized in 1934 with the aim of creating a New Keghi in Soviet Armenia.¹⁶ Its twenty-eight branches carried on charitable, social, and educational tasks in both North America and the Middle East. Seven of these branches were in southern Ontario.¹⁷

Until 1934 Armenian communities of Apostolic denomination gathered around the Mother Church. The events that unfolded in the early 30s culminating in the assassination of Archbishop L. Tourian, the Prelate of the Armenian Diocese of the Eastern United States, in 1933, led to a severe split in Armenian communities throughout the States and Canada.¹⁸ The bitterness, mostly due to misunderstandings, persists among the members of this first generation. The split not only demoralized them but estranged them from one another. Consequently, their children, affected by these affairs, and not having the background of their fathers, chose to dissociate themselves from Armenian life.

Assimilation, whether partial or total, is inevitable for a small group living within a larger society. Some of the social and political factors, the work of the American missionaries and the Armenian intellectuals, the deportation, massacre, and upheavals of the early years of settlement, left their mark on Armenian communities in North America. These factors could not have caused total assimilation if family and community life and schooling had given their people a secure grip on their culture.

Culture does not include only language, but also customs, traditions, festive days, songs and dances, and cuisine. Of these, cuisine is the only item with which second-generation Armenians identify.

Only a few of the old traditions are celebrated today. In the old country children went carolling on the fifth of January, Old Christmas Eve, and collected *galantos* (cookies and shortbread) at New Year's. Although New Year's celebrations still continue, carolling and collecting *galantos* do not. One Canadian-born informant recalled:

At New Year's everybody went to church, from the aged to the newborn. First we had church service, then just before the clock would strike twelve, we would all line up, accompanied by the pied piper's playing, go out the back door to the front of the church, and reenter the church. Then we would pray and light a candle, and of course later go downstairs to continue the party.¹⁹

The carolling chants, being part of church literature, are well remembered. One of my informants sang an interesting version of a well-known Christmas chant "*Aysor don e Sourp Dzenentean*" (Today is the Feast of the Nativity, Ex. 1):

Example 1. "Aysor don e Sourp Dzenentean".

Transc. H. I.

Andante

Ay. sor don ē Sourp dee. nent. ean, A. ve. diss,

Deā - ren me. ro yev hayd. hou. tean, A. ve. diss. (2)

The limited vocal range and rather short syllabic phrases are a direct contrast with three published versions of this chant.²⁰ The simplicity of this melody in the Dorian-Aeolian mode brings it closer to folk repertory style, whereas published versions in mixed modes, complex, lengthy, and melismatic phrase constructions, and wide ranges necessitate a trained singer.²¹

My informants remember *Derentes* mainly as a festivity of fire, a pagan tradition which survived over the centuries under a Christian guise *Dearn ent'arach* (the Presentation of Christ in the Temple).²²

While *Derentes* was the feast of daring and bravery, *Paregentan* (Catechumen) was the great day of feasting and merry making that preceded Lent. After *Paregentan* celebrations, one informant recalled that all pots and pans were cleaned and only vegetarian food was consumed during Lent. Another informant remembered his grandmother speaking of demons, who would come at *Paregentan* and stay during Lent. The 1965 *Nor Keghi Album* gave a detailed account of *Paregentan* and the forty days of Lent:

khoulounjig²³ with its unpleasant features and seven bird wings came in through the chimney after the final night of *Paregentan* and established his rule in the house. After giving us the sweet taste *Paregentan*, he, like a dictator, closed the covers of *dodjorag* (preserved meat), fat and *comast* (milk product) for seven weeks. Then followed lentil and legume diet...As soon as the seventh feather was plucked, the landlady threw a clove of garlic in a panful of frying fat...thus, getting rid of the demon...²⁴

The Armenian church calendar reserved an important place for *Zadig* (Easter) and Resurrection. Centuries of sufferings under foreign oppressors led the people to find comfort in their religion. Easter embodied the end of suffering and redemption from earthly chains. In the new world, freedom was theirs to appreciate. Yet many Armenian leaders dreamed of a free homeland, and looked on Christ's resurrection as an example to encourage hope for repatriation.

After Christmas, Easter is the only religious festivity celebrated today by my informants. Their cherished Easter pastime is cracking boiled eggs, which are soaked in a brine of water and onion skins. "Even the grown-ups enjoyed playing this game," they claimed and added, "the reddish color represents Christ's blood."²⁵

Forty days after Easter, *Hampartzoum* (Ascension Day) was celebrated with mixed religious and folk traditions. The villages pilgrimmed to a nearby

monastery and sang and danced after church service. More than any other festive day *Hampartzoum* was a lovers' holiday. Gathering flowers, dressing up, using henna, and telling fortunes led to young girls revealing secret aspirations: "My elder sister and her friends went up the mountain. I followed them secretly," recounts my informant. "They settled near a stream, sang and danced and partied. Then they gathered a kind of reddish plant grown on rocks, wiped their hands with it. Their palms turned red, after which they sang:

'Arekag, arekag, tours yegour' (Sun, sun, come out of hiding), Kou oujov'n mer tzerkere tsamketsour' (With your power dry our hands)."

Unfortunately my informant could not remember the tune. The women carried on the folk customs of *Hampartzoum* for a long time. They gathered flowers to decorate the fortune jar and personal items from each participant were thrown into the jar. Then a young girl drew the items, and an elderly married woman read the owner's *veejag* (fortune)²⁶

Armenian church fathers replaced another pagan festivity, *Vartavar* (festivity of Roses) by Christ's Transfiguration. Yet *Vartavar* was celebrated well into the twentieth century in some Armenian communities. In the old country a broom dressed in rags was carried through the village by women and youngsters alike, accompanied by a specific song dedicated to *boub'lad'gin* (the name given to the ragged broom)²⁷ The villagers threw water on the ragged broom or bride, as some called it, and gave the carriers lard, cracked wheat, and eggs. The *boub'lad'gin* carriers gathered at a sacred spring and cooked their own pilav.²⁸

The only other religious-patriotic feast was Saint-Vartanants, a reminder of the religious wars in the fifth century between Christian Armenia and Zoroastrian Persia. Vartan *Zoravar* (Army commander) and his followers were canonized for protecting their religion against Zoroastrianism. The wars, religious in motive, led to the preservation of a national identity. During the national awakening of the nineteenth century the theme of Vartan rose to great importance. Songs dedicated to him also celebrated the war of Avarayr (451 A.D.). Ever since, Saint-Vartanants became a national holiday. My Canadian-born informants were taught at least two of the lay songs dedicated to this feast: "Lretz Ambere" (Clouds are silent) and "Im Hayreneats" (Of my ancestors), at the Armenian language school.

With the oblivion of certain feast days, many songs and dances associated with them have been virtually wiped out. However, although the old wedding ceremony has been replaced by modern wedding rituals, some of the old wedding songs have survived.

Singing and dancing were an essential part of wedding ceremonies, which, to an outsider, resembled a royal ceremony. In fact, the marrying couple were treated as King and Queen and in the songs they were addressed as such.²⁹ Next in importance was the *Kavor* (god-father), who carried a sword under his petticoat. The couple were to pass under *Kavor's* sword both entering and leaving the church. In Canada, Keghetis continued to give importance to *Kavor*, but abandoned sword-carrying. *Kavor* was not only the protector of the couple but also of their offspring. A bride addresses her *Kavor* in a song that asks for news from her emigré husband.³⁰

"Zharroom" (wedding song) and "Mi lar Mayram" (Do not cry Mayram);³¹ the two of the nine Keghi songs associated with weddings, were known to most of my informants, yet I was unable to record a variant. Another Keghi

song remembered by some was "Zamboor" (Oregano). While no one sang these songs for me, several sang "Daldala." Example 2 presents one version of this song-dance along with Robert Melkom's transcription of the same melody.³²

Example 2. "Daldala".

Transc. H. I.



Transc. R. H.



My informants did not recognize the two song-dances "Art me kari" (A field of barley) and "Ganach khiyar" (Green cucumber); nor did they recognize the two instrumental dances "Godrdook" and Medchin" as presented by Robert Melkom³³ Instead, one immigrant informant sang "Zinvorin Yerke" (The Soldier's Song, Ex. 3), not included among the nine songs.³⁴ A young groom is summoned to war, leaving his bride in the care of his family until his return:

Example 3. "Zinvorin Yerke".

Transc. H. I.

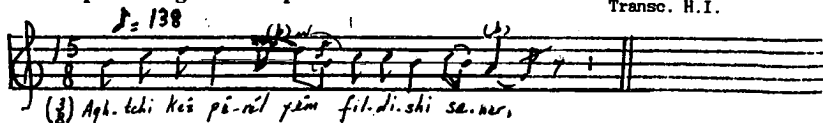


Even though the song evolves within the tessitura of a major third, it has a subdued mood, a wailing character, mainly due to the constant repetition of a note followed by a stepwise descent to the principal note.

Finally, the following two songs recorded during my first expedition were sung once again by the same informant. These have rather a personal style. With descending melodic lines from the highest note to the final of the mode, the first song (Ex. 4) compares with the Armenian *ashugh* (troubadour) musical style.

Example 4. "Aghtchi kez perel".

Transc. H. I.



The second song (Ex. 5) is a lament, depicting the emotional state of a young girl addressing her mother at the approach of Kurdish hordes.

Example 5. "Cyoy moymg intchou aytbess".

Transc. H. I.

8ve ↓ $\text{♩} = 40$

Եօյ մայրից ին՝ լեռն ալ-բէս? Ժեղ-բա մաճ է միտք Կո Կե- Կե, ու-յի
 շուր. շէտ. յոհ, շո՛ւճ ա - րա, ա-հա ցոյ կոնքայ-րէկ Կը. ճը - րը

While the first song is in Dorian minor, the second is Aeolian. Both encompass the complete range of their mode, a rare occurrence in Armenian folk songs where modes do not have octave formation. The 15/8 metre of the first song is marked for convenience; it can fit into a 3/8 lilting metre, which gives it a happy character. The second, a lament, with its 7/4 metric division, is very slow and somber. According to my informant these two are not Keghi songs, since she learned them at the orphanage. While she heard the other Keghi songs here in Canada, she never heard these sung by her compatriots.

In time, most festive days, with their traditions, songs, and dances, were gradually forgotten. Despite resolutions in the by-laws of the Keghi Patriotic Society "to enlighten the Keghetzsis with their Armenian culture; to reach out and imprint the selected and virtuous customs and traditions of their native Keghi,"³⁵ these traditions did not go beyond the first Canadian-born generation. One reason given was the "irregular presence of a parish priest." A more subtle reason was their obvious peculiarity in the eyes of the local people, who, as Protestants, could not tolerate any other form of Christian worship.³⁶ Many Armenian Christian festivities, such as Derentes, Hambartzoum, and Vartavar had pagan overtones; their singing and dancing, could not have survived within such a society. Moreover, most informants remembered that city authorities had considered Derentes festivities hazardous and consequently they were abandoned. With time other festivities followed the same pattern. Thus, these festivities, which were not only religious outpourings but direct links with folk culture, singing, and dancing, gradually disappeared. Another reason, the split of the community into two alien factions, became the culminating factor in destroying many beautiful traditions and culture in general.

Education

In the beginning the church could fulfill the spiritual needs of its members. Eventually, social and political events, along with pastors "unacquainted with the life and attitude of young Armenians here,"³⁷ set a barrier between the church and the Armenian youth. During the 1930s the use of English in Armenian churches was "felt to be almost essential," and it was believed that in the near future, it would replace the use of the Armenian language and eventually become prevalent in all the churches."³⁸

Contrary to this prediction, English did not totally prevail in all Armenian churches. Most still say the mass as well as the Armenian chants in *Krapar* (the ancient language). One of the reasons for this was "the small but continual flow of immigrants from the more traditional Armenian societies of the Middle East."³⁹

The influx of new immigrants and the multicultural policy of the Canadian Government should be credited for the preservation of culture. As one informant stated, "Ever since multiculturalism became an official policy in Canada this (referring to an in-between period when her children were acculturated) is changing. Now, they are proud of their heritage." If in the 30s Armenians were willing to give up their centuries-old customs and traditions and embrace American values,⁴⁰ today they make a strong effort to preserve their heritage, at the same time adapting to the North American way of life.⁴¹

In the early days of settlement the Armenian language schools were run by parish priests and parents, and children attended these schools "because of parental insistence."⁴² After the 1930s it became difficult to keep children going to Armenian schools. The textbooks in these schools were inadequate for Canadian-born children. Teachers tried to transmit all they could to compensate for the inadequacy of textbooks, introducing poems and songs they had learned in their youth, and patriotic or revolutionary songs of little artistic value. Most were adaptations of popular East European marches and songs. No Keghi folk songs or dances were taught formally, not even those used in their gatherings and picnics.

Along with an overwhelming number of nationalistic and revolutionary songs, a few folk songs collected and published by Komitas (1869-1935)⁴³ early in this century were still known. Some informants learned these from their parents.

From the Soviet Armenian repertory two socialist songs were taught to the first generation Canadian-born informants.⁴⁴ Two very popular songs of more recent origin, also from Soviet Armenia, were of the abundant repertory of songs, either folk, popular, or otherwise, which had been exported from Armenia over the last thirty or forty years.⁴⁵

Before the 40s the community enjoyed visits of various musicians, including A. Shahmouradian, the outstanding interpreter of Komitas' songs, Z. Panosian, violinist Y. Mouradian, and *dhol* (large cylindrical drum) and *zoorna* (double reed instrument) players from Detroit. Some mentioned folk singers and *ashugh's* (travelling minstrels or troubadours) with *ud's* (a three-stringed long-necked Arabic lute).⁴⁶ All this was not transmitted formally even though the Society had committed itself to do so. The first Canadian-born generation could still sing and dance Keghi songs as well as the other songs they were taught, with a little prompting; the second Canadian-born generation was unable to do so.

It is clear that educational methods used for the first generation did not give the same results with the second. The time away from homeland and roots, and the adjustment factor affected all three generations in various ways. When the Keghi Patriotic Society passed a resolution in the 30s "to undertake the education of Keghetzi children in the U.S. only after fulfilling the educational needs of Keghetzi children in the overseas (referring mainly to the Middle Eastern countries),"⁴⁷ it seems as though they had abandoned all possibilities of educating children in their culture in North America.

Conclusion

It is difficult to judge whether the leaders considered the folk songs unworthy of teaching or their value was simply overlooked. Certainly the importance given to revolutionary and patriotic songs was a direct result of their social and political experiences. These were the only tools to kindle a feeling of belonging, a tie with a lost homeland and a will to survive and fight for their homeland. Obviously, the folk songs and dances could not have fulfilled this demand. They were considered

frivolous, pass-time (*kef-time*) music. By the time leaders, educators, and community members realized the gold mine they had lost, it was too late. The immigrant generation slowly passed away, taking with them a heritage that was never to be transmitted.

In spite of many shortcomings, my two-day field trip proved that, although scanty, there is still material worthy of effort. More time, and money are needed to rescue what little is left. Devoid of their old country environment and divorced from it as a result of events and experiences, it is necessary for these elders to go far back to their childhood and attempt to recall these beautiful songs.

My search for the nine Keghi songs continues. I am still looking for Keghetzis of all generations who remember these melodies, or others not included in my list. To form a cohesive image of the culture of a district, it is necessary to collect and record every aspect of their cultural life.

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END NOTES

1. Hasmig Injejkian, "The Musical Repertory of Early Armenian Settlers," *Polyphony*, ed. Isabelle Kaprielian (Toronto: MHS of Ont., 1982-83), 107-116.
2. *Keghi Yearbook*, (Detroit: Keghi Patriotic Society, 1937); *Nor Keghi: Ethnographic Album* (Beirut: Doniguan, 1964 and 1965), n.p.
3. For the etymology of the word see the *Yearbook*, 12., and *Nor Keghi*, 1965, 35-38.
4. For location of Keghi (Kigi) see map of Turkey in *Encyclopedia Americana* (New York: American Corp., 1967), vol. 27, 250-1. For historical events see A. Bardizian, "Why was Keghi left to Turkey by President W. Wilson," *Hayrenik Monthly*, 23: 4, 99-181.
5. *Keghi Yearbook*, p. 19, and *Nor Keghi*, 1964, 4.
6. *Keghi Yearbook*, p. 68.
7. *Keghi Yearbook*, p. 15.
8. *Keghi Yearbook*, p. 17. The Joint Company of Constantinople (Istanbul) initiated schools in major centres of Historic Armenia.
9. For a discussion of social upheavals see Robert Mirak, *Tom Between Two Lands* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U P, 1983), 22-31.
10. *Keghi Yearbook*, 17.
11. *Keghi Yearbook*, 17-19.
12. Sarkis Atamian, *The Armenian Community* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1955), 354.
13. Atamian, 357.
14. Moush and Van are south-east of Keghi. For maps see Note 4.
15. From taped interviews, Oct. 25-27, 1987.
16. *Keghi Yearbook*, 91-95.
17. *Keghi Yearbook*, 95-101.
18. For more information see Atamian, 352-76. These events outwardly social, in essence were political, intended to break up the unity of Armenian communities. In some cases, the efforts were successful. Armenian communities are segregated in major American cities which sometimes led to assimilation. In larger centres, communities were able to continue activities.
19. A visit to these communities during New Year's season may prove fruitful in learning about their customs and traditions.
20. Edouard Hagopian, *Daghs and Meghetis of the Armenian Mass* (Cairo: K. Trustees, 1963), 20-21, 48-49; Gregorian, art., *6 Melodies of the Apostolic Church of Armenia* (Watertown, Mass.: n.d.), 9-11.
21. By "trained singer" I mean one who has sung in church and been trained to sing these songs as traditionally performed by experienced *thins* (cantors). Melody variants are not necessarily the result of changes from generation to generation, but simply the coexistence of simple and complex variants of the same text, one for common days and the other for festive days. The simpler variants are closer to folk melodies collected during the past hundred years which had more ancient roots, while the complex melodies were likely created later as Armenian music came into closer contact with surrounding cultures.
22. *Nor Keghi*, 1964, 31.
23. The term *Khoulounjig* requires clarification.
24. *Nor Keghi*, 1965, 52.
25. Egg-dying and cracking at Easter is still common among Armenians.
26. For lyrics of *veejag* songs see *Nor Keghi*, 1964, 94-95, and 1965, 109.
27. *Nor Keghi*, 1965, 53.
28. *Nor Keghi*, 1964, 31; *Nor Keghi*, 1965, 52.
29. See Injejkian, 112 for more information on Keghi weddings.
30. *Nor Keghi*, 1964, 85.
31. See Injejkian, 112-15. For variations see *Keghi Yearbook*, 128, and *Nor Keghi*, 1965, 61.
32. *Keghi Yearbook*, 134.
33. *Keghi Yearbook*, 136.
34. For the lyrics see *Nor Keghi*, 1964, 85; compare with the Kharbert (south-west of Keghi) variant collected by M. Taoumajan in *Hayreni Yeng ou Ban, II* (Yerevan; ASSR Ac. of Sc., 1983), 68-69.
35. *Keghi Yearbook*, 93-94.
36. For the attitude of early missionaries see Mirak, 23.
37. Charles Mahakian, *History of Armenians in California* (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1974), 47-48.
38. Mahakian, 53.
39. Avakian, *The Armenians in America*, 82d.
40. Mahakian, iii.
41. Avakian, 10.
42. Mahakian, 10.
43. Komitas Vartabed, Armenian musicologist and composer, published three series of folk songs, for voice and piano, and for a cappella choir. See Injejkian, footnote 5.
44. These and similar songs were taught in Middle Eastern Armenian schools, regardless of their political orientation. Music teachers were ignorant of the connotations.
45. Since the 50s, song and dance ensembles, singers, instrumentalists, and various artists from Soviet Armenia have visited the United States and Canada. These perform only in cities where Armenian communities are substantial; Armenians in smaller towns have not been exposed to such cultural contacts. Recordings by these artists are occasionally available in larger centres.
46. Although A. Shahmouradian was well known as a performing artist, the other performers were local talents, mostly Keghetzis.
47. *Keghi Yearbook*, 95.

Appendix: Songs and Plays Mentioned By My Informants

	Immigrant	First Gen.	Second Gen.
REVOLUTIONARY			
Gargoud deghats		1	
Grouetsek deghert	1	2	
I zen Hayr	1	1	
Harach Nahadag (march)		1	
Lousin tchigar		2	
Tartzeal paylets		1	
Lepo le le		1	1
NATIONALISTIC			
Azad'n Asdvads	1	1	
Im Hayreneats		1	
Lrets ambere		1	
Mayr Araksi		1	
Dzidzernak		1	1
Sokhag intchou	1		
RELIGIOUS			
Hayr mer (Lord's Prayer)		2	
Avediss	1	1	
Daradseal		1	
Aravod Louso			
FOLK SONGS			
(from Komitas)		2	
Hov arek		2	
Groung (emigre song)		1	2
Haprran		2	
Kele kele			
KEGHI SONGS AND DANCES			
Zamboor	2	4	
Daldala	1	1	
Art me kari		1	
Mi lar Mayram	2		
(Orora chour)		1	1
Zarroum	1		
SONGS FROM SOVIET ARMENIA			
Begzadou aghchig	1		
Bravo, bravo, Armenian labourers	1	1	
Erebouni		1	
Khenjoujki yerik			
MISCELLANEOUS			
Bagh aghpuri mod		1	
Ledji mech navage		1	
Aghchi pakhtavor			
Kani vour djan im	1		
Soud e, soud e			1
Dililo lo			1
Tak bar			1
Hey djan			1
PLAYS			
Zeitoun (patriotic)		1	
Sev hoghere "		2	
Yote gakhaghannere "		1	
Oush lini, noush line (musical)		1	
Arshin mal alan			