Protest Music
in the Twentieth Century

Edited by
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Antoonee is a specific genre in the Armenian music. It is a song-type quite widespread and beloved in the Armenian culture. The word would be best translated as ‘without home’ or ‘without stanza’, since տուն-տուն (toon), which is the root of the word, has both the meanings of home and stanza. ‘An’ is a negative particle, and the suffix ‘ee’ presents genitive case.

Antoonee formerly has been a medieval literal-musical genre of the Armenian prosody, having stanzas with two lines consisting of seven and eight syllables. The verses with that prosodic meter in the earliest period were called հայրեն (hayren) or հայերեն (hayeren), meaning ‘in Armenian’ in translation from the Armenian language. It was spread in the Medieval Ages (i.e. 10th century). Antoonee was another name typical of some Armenian regions, specifically in Akn, now Kemaliye, in the territory of Turkey. Independent on the definition — hayren either antoonee, the feature of those verses is the structure of 7+8 syllabus. The literary texts had been recorded in medieval Armenian manuscripts and therefore are available now. As for music, they were recorded by the Armenian medieval neume system of notation, called khaz, which is not deciphered now. In the 20th century, antoonees continued being widespread in art (compositional) music as well.

In connection with the term antoonee, no general accurate interpretation exists. In one version, antoonee means not dividable into verses (according to the meaning of

This interpretation is considered doubtful by the scientists, since those texts have definite verses. According to one other interpretation, the definition of antoonee comes from a singer, whose name was Anton. This version is considered more unreliable, since the verses are numerous. They cannot belong to one singer, also because of stylistic variety. They should rather be folkloristic phenomenon. The third explanation of the word antoonee states that it means homeless, since the word toon has also the meaning of home. One more interpretation derives the word antoonee from փռանութե - entanee, meaning domestic⁵. However, all the versions of interpretation of the term are considered suspicious by the specialists.

These songs were not peasant ones according to thematic. They never presented tillage, sowing etc., and therefore should be considered as urban, rather than village folklore⁶. They also did not have direct link with spiritual music, which has always had direct links with peasant music in Armenian art⁷. Vice versa, those songs included details from patrician life, like nice shirt, silky buttons, pearl chain etc.

Formerly, the antoonees were various in content, presenting love, joy, concern, sadness, protest, wedding, other ceremony episodes etc. Although medieval antoonees of various content had been sung (wedding, love, life situations etc.), in the 20th century Armenian music, they are perceived as songs of expatriate workers or, so called, pandookht, that is to way, pilgrim people⁸. In Armenian պանդուխտ - pandookht, assumes a person, who has temporarily left home and family for another city or country, for working purposes. In fact, no exact translation of this reality would be possible; therefore conditionally here the definition of pilgrim is applied, as literal translation.

**Socio-Political Background**

By historical destiny, Armenians have had difficult life situations because of social, political and economical reasons. About a thousand years Armenia was under political hegemony of other countries. As described by D. M. Lang: «from Roman Times onwards,
and throughout the periods of Iranian, Byzantine, Arab, Mongol and Ottoman supremacy, Armenia has been a prey to repeated invasions\(^9\). This led to hard tax and duty system, economic downturn, resulting in inability to live and to keep the family. Many people found themselves on the brink of poverty\(^10\). That is why, in these conditions, also because of persecutions and harassments, many Armenians, mostly men, had to leave their home to look for livelihood. They used to expatriate to other countries and work there to be able to maintain their families. However, it was not migration with family, but rather alone, aiming at returning. In many cases, the circumstances led to tragic realities, such as downfall of one, who nothing could do abroad and perished, or of one, who became a rich man, but morally lost himself etc. In the first quarter of the 20\(^{th}\) century, this situation was especially widespread, after the Armenian Genocide of 1915\(^11\).

It is important to point that family was the most valuable factor for Armenians. This has been a rule during centuries. «In Armenian society, the family is more than just a solidarity network based on blood tier. It is a community in itself, with a strict hierarchy that still bears the marks of Indo-European heritage»\(^12\). Therefore, the difficulties of social adaptation were accentuated by personal problems. Because of traditional priority value of family, long separation of migrants from families and relatives, as well as concerns for them and for motherland, lead to permanent feeling of moral-psychological and psychic discomfort\(^13\).

In the result of emotional and psychological misbalance, the emigrants used to sing \textit{antoonee}, which expressed thoughts, concerns, emotions, as well as actions of those pilgrim people. Those songs reflect two-sided emotions, from one hand nostalgia, praise of home, love toward beloved people and homeland, and from the other hand, protest against existing situation and against incapacity. However, the varying emotions most of cases were ‘silent’. This was a form of restrained and moderate expression of protest. Even dissent and protest against social injustice was presented by humor and lyricism. Moreover, literary metaphors and allegories of various artistic contents were widely employed to express thoughts and feelings. At any case, those are songs with great psychological and emotional depth.

\(^13\). \textit{Armenians}, op. cit. (see note 10), p. 525.
It was the Armenian composer, ethnographer and musicologist Komitas (1869–1935) to pay special attention to those songs and to prove that they were not only simply display of folk activity, but also songs of great artistic value.

Komitas (Gomitas in Western Armenian) was an Armenian composer, ethnographer, theorist of music, as well as singer and choir-conductor. He is considered as the ‘savior’ of the Armenian traditional music both in spiritual and secular genres. Komitas is the name that he got when receiving theological degree. His birth name was Soghomon Soghomonyan. He was born in Turkey. Starting from 12 years old he studied at the Theological Seminary of Echmiadzin (Echmiadzin, formerly Vagharshapat is the Christian center of Armenia). Then Komitas studied in Berlin, at the faculty of history and philosophy of Humboldt University and at the private conservatory of Rikhard Shmidt. At the same time, he attended Theological Seminary in Berlin. After graduation, he returned Echmiadzin and worked there. Later, during the period of 1909–1914, he was living in Constantinople. Komitas’ creative life discontinued in 1915–1916, in connection with the tragic events of the Armenian nation. During the Genocide, Komitas was sent into exile and later, according to efforts of Arshag Shemavonian, the legal advisor at American embassy in Turkey, and intervention of Henry Morgenthau, the American ambassador in Turkey, Komitas was returned back from exile14. However, he could not overcome what he witnessed, and later, during 19 years, he lived in psychiatric hospitals in Constantinople and in Paris and with nobody desired to relate.

During his entire creative life, Komitas collected and studied Armenian traditional music. For that purpose, he visited cities and villages inhabited by Armenians, to see in process how the nation was creating in its place, as well as to study how people were singing in different Armenian churches and monasteries, situated both in large and small dwelling places. Thus, Komitas recorded many masterpieces of the Armenian music.

In the beginning of the 20th century, during his expeditions of folk music, Komitas besides many other folk tunes recorded a song created by a folk singer living far from home and expressing his thoughts and feelings and protest against life difficulties. Later, when arranging this song for vocal and piano, Komitas made some change in words, founding a new genre definition in the Armenian music. In the second line of the second verse of that song, the folk singer presented the following words:

\[Kévorkian, Raymond H. Op. cit. (see note 12), p. 537. A conjecture exists that Majid Effendi, the Turkish prince, who had studied music with Komitas, played a role in returning him from exile. See Terlemezian, Ruben. Komitas, Erevan, Haykakan Gidowt’yownneri Akademia, in Armenian. The study was written in 1941.\]
ANTOONEE IN ARMENIAN ETHNIC MUSIC

Ղարիբի սիրտն է տխուր ու մոլոր
(Gharibi sirtn e tkhur oo molor),

which in translation from Armenian means: ‘Pilgrim’s heart is sad and astray’.

Komitas changed the words the following way:

Անտունի սիրտն է տխուր ու մոլոր
(Antoonee sirtn e tkhur oo molor),

meaning ‘Homeless one’s (antoon one’s) heart is sad and astray’.

Here, according to the song’s content, antoon means homeless, one, who does not have home, because of being far away. Komitas picked the word and presented as the title of the song in his arrangement. In the result, later, the songs displaying the thoughts of emigrant pilgrims got the definition of antoonee. That is to say, pilgrims’ songs and antoonees acquired the same identification15.

The most important phenomenon is that Komitas’ song was not a traditional antoone from the point of view of its meter. Unlike the verses of 7+8 syllabus per two lines, Komitas’ Antoonee consists of five syllabuses per line. Moreover, if the traditional antoonees — both literary and musical, presented different content, such as love, sadness, joy etc., since the 20th century, antoonees are considered merely as songs of homeless and pilgrim. In fact, modification of genre occurred, and it was realized because of Komitas’ guileless initiative.

CONTENT AND AESTHETICS

Typical features in the content of this type of songs characterize them. One of these characteristics is applying migratory birds, such as crane, stork, swallow or falcon, asking them about some information from homeland and from dear people. The reason is that the migratory birds symbolize homeland in general, because they visit home more frequently and more regularly than one himself.

Կանչե՜, կռո՜ւնկ, կանչե՜, քանի արև է,
Ashnan kertas yerkir, yaris bareve…

Translation is as followed: «Call, crane, call, as long as it’s sun, In autumn you go homeland, greet my lover…»16.

From folk culture, the same psychology of applying the migratory birds was introduced into professional poetic culture as well. Raphayel Patkanian (1830-1892), the Armenian poet of the 19th century, in his poem Cradle Song, from mother’s name asked different birds to bring sleep to her son. Nightingale, turtledove, skylark, magpie and falcon were among them. The son did not sleep until falcon came, since it sang war songs for him.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Armenian</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Արի', ի'մ սոխակ, թո'ղ պարտեզ մերին, Թուժերով քուն բե'ր տըղիս աչերին.</td>
<td>Come, nightingale, leave our garden, With your songs bring sleep to my son's eyes;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Բայց նա լալիս է. դու, սոխակ, մի' գալ.</td>
<td>But now he cries, don't come, nightingale, My child doesn't wish to be a deacon.</td>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Արի', ի'մ սոխակ, թո'ղ պարտեզ մերին, Թուժերով քուն բե'ր տըղիս աչերին.</td>
<td>Come, monk-child, let hill and valley Rock my son, he's in need of sleep;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Բայց նա լալիս է. դու, ձագուկ, մի՜ գալ.</td>
<td>But now he cries, don't come, o monk-child, My child doesn't wish to be monk.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Արի', ի'մ սոխակ, թո'ղ պարտե즈 մերին, Թուժերով քուն բե'ր տըղիս աչերին.</td>
<td>Turtledove; leave your young and your nest, With your cooing bring gentle sleep to my son;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Բայց նա լալիս է. տատրակի'կ, մի՜ գալ.</td>
<td>But now he cries, don’t come, o turtledove, My son doesn’t wish to be mourner.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<td>Արի', ի'մ սոխակ, թո'ղ պարտեզ մերին, Թուժերով քուն բե'ր տըղիս աչերին.</td>
<td>Magpie, silver-loving, thieving, clever one, Bring sleep to my son with a story of profit;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Բայց նա լալիս է, կաչաղա'կ, մի՜ գալ.</td>
<td>But now he cries, don’t come, magpie, My son doesn’t wish to be a dealer.</td>
</tr>
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<td>Արի', ի'մ սոխակ, թո'ղ պարտեզ մերին, Թուժերով քուն բե'ր տըղիս աչերին.</td>
<td>Come, brave falcon, quit your prey, Maybe my son will favor your song…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Բայց նա լալիս է, կաչաղա'կ, մի՜ գալ.</td>
<td>When the falcon appeared my son fell still, And slept to the sound of battle songs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This text was introduced by a folk tune belonging to urban art, and became one of the favorite ones in Armenian the folklore. The reason was that in the 19th century the Armenian nation was anxious with the socio-political events occurring in Armenia and in Turkey’s Armenian inhabited territories, since the Armenian massacres had started earlier in 19th century. «The execution of the Armenians in 1915 was preceded two decades earlier by widespread massacres perpetrated by Sultan Abdul Hamid between 1894 and 1896. These massacres, which aroused the horror of Europe, may be regarded as an overture or perhaps as a dress rehearsal for the ‘final solution’ of 1915.»

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Cradlesong exhorted alertness for upcoming war. That is why it was falcon to make the baby sleep with battle song.

Water areas, such as river, stream or source, present other symbol of link between an emigrant-pilgrim and his home and relatives. The pilgrim asked from water, the same way as from birds, to transmit information about his family and dear people and to send information from him. The same way women (mothers or wives) waiting at home for return of their sons and men, sang imagining talk with the latter ones. Women also asked the rivers to transmit their thoughts to men.

The moon was one more character to be talked with instead of men. In an antoonee, the young wife asked the moon, elapsing over the home, to stop a little, since she had complaint:

«Երկու խոսք գանգատ ունեմ, / Ան գանկտեմ՝ դուն ալվա գնա, / Գնա ղարիպիս ըսէ. / Չի կենայ, թող ելլէ ու գայ»:
(Yerkoo khosq gangat oonem, / An ganktem – doon alva gna, / Gna gharipis yse. / Chee kena, togh elle oo ga).

The translation from Armenian is as follows: «I have a couple of words of complaint. / I will protest; you take my protest and go. / Go and tell my pilgrim / Not to stay there, to come back»19.

Antoonee - Lullaby Combination

Antoonee’s thematic can be displayed also in other music genres. The protest against the life situation was even expressed in the form of lullaby. In such a sample, known in folkloristic music, a situation is presented, when the young man had to leave his home for a foreign country, for the purpose of procuring livelihood. During his absence, his beloved girl forced married another man, whom she did not love, and they had a baby. In the lullaby such a situation is expressed, when her former beloved man returned from abroad. He was looking at her from the chimney of her home, and the young mother was singing a lullaby for the baby. While singing, together they were recalling their warm and cordial days, praising each other; however, they could not belong to each other anymore20.

20. This lullaby is recorded from Haryik Muradian, the famous Armenian folk singer, who was born and raised in Shatakh (Çatak) and had learnt folk songs from his ancestors. Native Songs, recorded from Hayrik Muradian by Alina Pahlevanian, Yerevan, Nor Girq, pp. 37-39, 59-60, in Armenian.
From the point of view of displaying historical events in lullabies, a sample is striking, in which the grandfather sings lullaby for the baby, whose father had settled abroad for the same reason. Here, the events of massacres are presented on behalf of a witness.

* Moosh or Muş was an Armenian town, now in the territory of Turkey.

**ANTOONEE IN ARMENIAN ETHNIC MUSIC**

“Պագ մի չէ, երկուք կուտամ
Ղարիբիս քովէն գալողեն:
Դու ինձմէ պագ կուզես,
Ես հազար կուտամ բերողին”:
(Pag mee che, yerkooq kootam
Gharivees koven galoghen.
Doon indzme pag koozes,
Yes hazar kootam beroghin.)

Translation is the following: «Not only a kiss, but also two / To one returning from my pilgrim. / You are asking for a kiss, / I will give a thousand to the bringer».

**MUSIC STRUCTURE**

One of the most noteworthy essences of antoonees to be noted is indeed musical structure. Virtuosity is typical to all of them. General features are presented here according to the following sample, which presents a song of pilgrim, asking the crane for information about homeland. The literary text states:

Կռունկ, ուստի՞ կուգաս, ծառայ եմ ձայնիդ,
Կռունկ, մեր աշխարհեն խապրիկ մը չունի՞ս,
Մի՛ վազեր, երամիդ շուտով կհասնիս,
Կռունկ, մեր աշխարհեն խապրիկ մը չունի՞ս։

Թողել եմ ու եկել մըլքերս ու այգիս,
Քանի որ ա՜խ կանեմ, կու քաղվի հոգիս,
Կռունկ, պահ մի կացի՛ր, ձայնիկդ ի հոգիս.
Կռունկ, մեր աշխարհեն խապրիկ մը չունի՞ս:

Translation is the following: «Crane, whence does thou come? I am servant of thy voice. / Crane, hast thou not news from our country? / Run not to thy flock, thou wilt arrive soon enough: / Crane, hast thou not news from our country? / I have left my possessions and vineyard, and I have come hither: / How often do I sigh, it seems that my soul is torn from me; / Crane, stay a little, thy voice is in my soul: / Crane, hast thou not news from our country?»

This medieval text’s author is unknown. It can be found in various medieval manuscripts starting from 1600s. As for music (Ex. 1), it was first recorded from a folk singer by Komitas in the beginning of the 20th century, although other variations exist as well. The

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improvisational essence of music is noteworthy, including numerous notes corresponding to one syllabus. All the songs belonging to this genre are improvisational, so this is their typical feature. Intonation principle of this song could be found in other corresponding songs as well. Intonation depends on the modal scale, which is presented in Ex. 2.

Ex. 2.

In the Armenian traditional music, both folkloristic and spiritual, definite principle of construction of modal scales emerges. It was Komitas to discover this structural peculiarity. He presented that the scales, which lay in the basis of the Armenian music, follow definite principle of construction. The scales of the Armenian music consist of

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24. Id. Die Armenische Kirchenmusik. i. Das Interpunktionssystem der Armenier, in: Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, 1/1 (1899), pp. 54-64.
associated tetrachords, unlike the principle of neighbour tetrachords laid in the basis of major-minor scales (Ex. 3).

Ex. 3 a, b.

a) Major scale with neighbour tetrachords.

b) Associated tetrachords.

Thus, the major scale includes two neighbouring tetrachords. In our example, C major is presented. It consists of c-d-e-f, as the first tetrachord, and g-a-b-c, as the second one, which starts from the next note after the first tetrachord. In the result, both the first and the last c have the function of tonic. As for the Armenian music, the second tetrachord starts on the last note of the first one. In our example, it is f-g-a-b. In the result, the interval of seventh bears the function of the octave of major scale.

Ex. 4: the basis for the scales of the Armenian music.

From b, the next tetrachord is built: b-c-d-e, then e-f-g-a (Ex. 4). From c downwards, there is c-b-a-g, then g-f-e-d. In the result, in different ranges no identical notes appear, but rather b and b, e and e, a and a, f and f. In different ranges, the same note appears in altered form, from the point of view of the European music; however, in this system, that is not alteration, but rather a note of natural scale. This system is monotonic, unlike the system of tonic equivalence of major-minor. For example, if c is the tonic, in the next octave it is the second note of the third tetrachord, therefore it has another function.
Interpreting the same way, the modal scale of the song Crane presented above, consists of three tetrachords: middle g-a\#-b-c with an augmented second, upper tetrachord c-d-e\#-f, and lower tetrachord (d)-e-f-g, in which d does not participate in the song (Ex. 2). From the point of view of Armenian music, this structure is natural. The contradiction of e and e\# which is displayed in the song, is natural as well.

The other sample, which will be presented here, is the Antooonee arranged by Komitas, mentioned above, through which shift of the genre occurred, and the antooonee started being perceived as pilgrim’s song. The arrangement is realized for voice and piano. The given sample presents only the melody itself25.

The words are as follows:

Սիրտս նման է էն փլած տներ, Կոտրեր գերաններ, խախտեր է սներ, Բուն պիտի դնեն մեջ վայրի հավքեր: Երթամ՝ ձի թալեմ էն ելման գետեր, Ըլնիմ ձկներու ձագերացն կեր: Ա՜յ, տո լա՛ճ տնավեր:

The translations is the following: «My heart resembles those destroyed homes. / The timbers are broken, the pillars are dislocated. / The wild birds will make nests inside. / I will go and throw myself into those rivers, / I will be feed for the pups of fish»26.

Here protest against the life situation because of being homeless and emigrant-pilgrim is displayed more expressively than usual. Disappointment and despair are evident in music as well. The melody consists of reciting phrases, which present the content of the words (mm. 1, 5, 9, 12-14, etc.), and following them melismatic phrases, which carry expression of the emotional burden. Syncopation in measure 16, putting accents on weak 16th notes, effecting in triplets, is another characteristic element employed here (see Ex. 6).

The modal scale is again typical of the Armenian music. Here is the structure:

Ex. 5.

\[
\begin{align*}
&b-c\#-d-e / e-f-g-a (e-f-g-a) / a-b-c-d (a-b-c-d) \\
&b-c\#-d-e / e-f-g-a (e-f-g-a) / a-b-c-d (a-b-c-d)
\end{align*}
\]

The usage of tetrachords with different inner structure is typical feature of this scale, preserving the logic of conjoint tetrachords at the same time. Thus, middle tetrachord is $e-f_g-a$ and $e-f_g-a$, or $a-b_c-d$ and $a-b_c-d$. This phenomenon of coexistence of two various structures of a tetrachord in a song is quite typical of the Armenian music and is found in many other genres.
TATEVIK SHAKHKULYAN

STRUCTURE CONGENIALITY WITH OTHER SONG-TYPES

For instance, in Armenian music there is a genre of men’s working song. Those are ploughing songs, called horvel, which had been quite widespread in the Armenian culture. As for now, due to the change of working methods, inputting different techniques in agriculture for cultivating land, those songs functionally do not exist, but continue living in artistic form, on stage.

In horovels, the same phenomenon of coexistence of tetrachords with different inner structures is usual. Here is a sample (Ex. 7):

Ex. 7.

a) Extract from plough song horovel.

\[\text{\textbf{Ex. 7.}}\]
\[
\text{\textbf{a)}} \text{ Extract from plough song } \text{horovel.}
\]

\[\text{\textbf{b)}} \text{ Coexisting tetrachords.}\]

The most striking is that in those working songs of ploughing process, which functionally have nothing common with antoonis, the thematic of protest can be displayed as well. Thus, the working people talk with the working animals (bull, ox etc.), encourage them to work, tell about hard process of physical work, tell about their different life problems in general. In fact, ploughmen sang those songs to reduce the feeling of difficulty of physical and psychological essence.

Therefore, according to song’s content, it is assumable that coexistence of tetrachords with different inner constructions in the same distance of notes is a usual form of expression of protest and dissent. This thought can be asserted by other examples from Armenian music as well.
Music form of both genres is compound, most of cases improvisational, freely evolving, virtuoso from the point of view of performing. Besides the diverse and multilayered modal basis and consequently intonation, in both of the genres presenting protest with love, hope and trust, the rhythm is rich of combination of various formulas. Both do not have any restriction of metric organization.

**Perspectives**

In the 20th century, the genre of antoonee entered into compositional music. One of the samples of usage was Komitas’ arrangement, who did not change the melody itself, but rather added accompaniment, deriving the harmonic and polyphonic features from the melody.

In 1969, the Armenian composer Edgar Hovhannisian (1930-1998) wrote the ballet Antoonee 27, in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of Komitas’ birth year. In this ballet, Antoonee is a definite person, who symbolizes Komitas’ character. In allegorical interpretation of the composer, different antoonees and pilgrim songs from folk music, as well as plough songs mentioned above were employed to present characters. Those ethnic songs were put in the environment of the symphony music, in harmony and in texture typical of the 20th-century art music, including fourth-chords, principles of serial music, clusters etc. In this ballet, the protest acquires psychological form. The character himself presents collective national image of Armenians, who had passed through historic injustices.

Ruben Altoonian (born in 1939) wrote Antoonee (2002) for tar, the Armenian and general Eastern ethnic instrument, and chamber orchestra. He also put the ethnic melody to quite modern environment. The correlation of ethnic and modern principles is displayed not only in music material (ethnic melody and compositional new technique), but also in music instruments (ethnic instrument and symphony orchestra).

There are other samples of usage of pilgrim songs in professional music as well (done by Ervand Erkanian, Jivan Ter-Tadevosian etc.), and in all of them the symbol of the Armenian pilgrims is traced. However, in the compositional music, these songs are interpreted not as units presenting protest, but rather compositions reminding of those former difficulties.

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27. The autograph is kept in the library of Armenian National Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet after A. Spendiarian.
Thus, *antoonee*, a typical song-type of the Armenian folklore, has had an organic process of development. Born in Medieval culture as life-song of various content, composed according to definite established poetic meter, later it was transformed. Starting from late 19th-early 20th century, it changed either meter and content, therefore becoming a song-type sung by emigrant-pilgrims, who sang because of their nostalgia towards home, because of being alone, depressed and disappointed. In fact, compositional music picked from *antoonee* all of its peculiarities, including structure, melody, content and aesthetics, and employed it in the new environment of music composition.