The Ethnomusicologist as Inventor of Musical Tradition*

Shai Burstyn

To Judith Cohen, longtime colleague and friend

Very little remains of the conceptual world in which ethnomusicologists received their education and worked in the first half of the twentieth century. Suffice it to recall some key words and concepts born in the second half of that century, which convey the scope and depth of the intellectual revolution: imagined communities, imagined ethnicities, ethnography as "writing culture", the ethnographer or ethnomusicologist as an objective outsider, and subsequent alternative titles – "participant observer" and even "insider" (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Nettl 1983; Barz & Cooley 2008). The very concept of tradition, a central tenet of anthropology and ethnography, underwent a thorough interpretive reevaluation, which now claimed it to be invented and malleable (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983).

In this article, I focus on a single case of invented musical tradition. It concerns Professor Edith Gerson-Kiwi, a well-trained historical musicologist, who switched to ethnomusicology mainly due to the circumstances of her life, that is, due to the historical and cultural-ideological trends and pressures of the time and place to which she belonged. Far from wishing to criticize her findings or methodology, my purpose here is to learn something about situations that might arise when ethnomusicologists intervene with the musical life of their own culture.

*An earlier version of this article appeared in Pál Richter (ed.), *Musical Traditions. Discovery, Inquiry, Interpretation, and Application* (Budapest, 2012).

Fig. 1: Prof. Edith Gerson-Kiwi (1908-1992)

Edith Gerson-Kiwi was born in Berlin in 1908 and died in 1992 in Jerusalem at the age of 84. A talented pianist, she nevertheless developed a deep interest in historical musicology, studied at the universities of Freiburg and Leipzig, and in 1933, at the age of 25, completed her doctoral studies at the University of Heidelberg under Heinrich Besseler. Her dissertation topic was the sixteenth-century Italian frotolla and canzonetta, two types of light madrigal cultivated by Giovanni Gastoldi and his circle. She also studied librarianship in Bologna and harpsichord in Paris with Wanda Landowska.

In 1935, Gerson-Kiwi immigrated to Eretz Yisrael (Jewish Palestine). The then young Hebrew University, the only university in the country, established only ten years earlier, did not yet have a music department.[1] Although obviously over-qualified, she taught music history at the Jerusalem music conservatory. More importantly, for three crucial years, between 1936-39, Gerson-Kiwi was research assistant to Dr. Robert Lachmann at the new Phonographic Archives for Oriental Music he had established in Jerusalem in 1935.[2]

1 Jerusalem and Tel Aviv Universities did not open departments of musicology until the mid-1960s. Bar-Ilan University opened its department of music in 1970.
2 For a selected collection of Gerson-Kiwi's writings, as well as a full bibliography of her publications, see Gerson-Kiwi 1980. For a detailed analysis of Lachmann's years in Jerusalem see Katz 2003.

Lachmann was a highly respected ethnomusicologist, specializing in Oriental, specifically Arab, music.[3] He and Gerson-Kiwi were both refugees from Nazi Germany: Lachmann lost his position at the Berlin National Library; Gerson-Kiwi was prohibited to publish her Heidelberg dissertation by a Nazi decree. Lachmann died in 1939 at the young age of 47. Influenced by her work with him, Gerson-Kiwi made a sharp turn in her professional orientation and became a full-fledged ethnomusicologist, focusing her research on various pan-Asiatic musical aspects and especially on the ethnic music of the Oriental Jewish communities of Jewish Palestine and Israel.[4]

In 1955, Gerson-Kiwi published a brief article in the non-academic Israeli cultural journal *Ofakim* (Horizons) entitled "The Israeli Village with its Instruments and Bands" (Gerson-Kiwi 1955). The title might arouse expectation for a promising survey of an existing, thriving musical scene. However, whatever did exist in reality was hesitant, arbitrary, and in any case far from Gerson-Kiwi's aspirations. The article centers on the future rather than on the present: what ***should*** our folk music instruments and bands be like? The State of Israel was only seven years old. Everything about it was new, including its very name. Although times were hard, there was a pervasive national atmosphere of optimism, a feeling that everything was possible if only we willed it strongly enough.[5]

Gerson-Kiwi opens by reminding her readers that when the new Israeli folksong came into being some three decades earlier, "we faced the problem of creating a unique, independent style, free of foreign influences" (ibid: 41). She is referring here to the intensive efforts to create a new national folksong style to match the then current national ideology of secular Zionism: rejecting the debilitating life of the Diaspora and presenting the renewal of Jewish life in Eretz Israel as a viable, desired personal and national

[3] The terms "Orient" and "Oriental" refer in this article to the Middle East.

[4] I recall that as a young music student at Oranim State Teacher's College in the late 1950s I was impressed by Gerson-Kiwi arriving for class from distant Jerusalem, always carrying heavy bags filled with large books, pictures, and the black records of Curt Sachs's *Anthologie Sonore*. Some fifteen years later, we became colleagues at the Department of Musicology of Tel Aviv University. I deeply admire and respect the personal and professional tenacity with which Gerson-Kiwi pursued her ethnomusicological work in truly pioneering conditions, much of the time without the institutional academic sustenance that we, her followers, tend to take for granted.

[5] Herzl's famous dictum "אם תרצו אין זו אגדה" ("If you will it, it is no dream") was among the best known and most often quoted slogans.

alternative.

Fig. 2: Members of "Hashomer" self-defense organization, 1907. National Photo Collection, D 23-064.

Although the folksongs of the Diaspora, mostly in East-European style, were sung everywhere, they were anathema to the eyes – and ears – of the small but influential group of cultural entrepreneurs. Their goal was to steer the developing local folk music repertory away from European melos based on the Western harmonic system, and to replace it with the new, Oriental-biased melodic style they had developed and promoted. (Burstyn 2008; Barth 2012). As Fig. 2 shows, theirs was a move well within a distinct and long-standing trend of "returning to the roots" – forsaking Western culture and reintegrating into the Middle East. Members of this small, loose group of musicians and music educators composed numerous songs in a new Oriental-leaning folk idiom, which symbolically reflected the renewed Jewish life in Eretz Israel. Emanuel Pugachov-Amiran (1909-1993) was the dominant figure and his songs adhered most consistently to the new style.

In 1942 the new folksong activists felt confident enough to convene the "First Conference on the Eretz-Israeli Song" to assess their achievements and outline directions for future action.

Fig. 3: First Convention on the Eretz-Israeli Song, Kibbutz Giv'at Hashlosha, 1942.[6]

Not only did Gerson-Kiwi participate in the deliberations of that conference, but she also delivered a plenary lecture on the new Eretz-Israeli song, presumably highlighting its Oriental leanings, a topic of vital and concrete interest to the participants.[7] Therefore, when she writes in her 1955 article "we faced the problem of creating a new song style free of foreign influences", she is speaking with the authority of one who has been following the folksong movement for quite some time. Her brief historical and stylistic account of the fledgling song style reveals surprisingly strong views, in fact, stronger than the views of most of the song activists themselves:

> We strove for absolute formal isolation, so that our song would be free of imitating and mixing the styles of the various diasporas. In particular, we aimed to release it [our song] from the European melos and its compositional means (major/minor scales, harmonic functions) as well as from its concomitant Western aesthetics (Gerson-Kiwi

[6] Gerson-Kiwi is seated in the front row, sixth on the left.

[7] On the previous evening, the participants attended a recital by Yemenite singer Bracha Zefira, with composer Paul Ben Haim at the piano. In Fig. 3, Zefira is seated in the front row, first on the left.

1955, 41).[8]

In reality, the stated attitudes and stylistic aspirations of most song composers were considerably less decisive. Their recipes for the new song style, let alone their actual songs, allowed (consciously or intuitively) for both Oriental and Occidental elements, notably East European and Hassidic ingredients (Burstyn 2008: 129-142).

Gerson-Kiwi next informs her readers that the employment of Oriental musical means has passed the stage of "pale exoticism", and that most folk composers have achieved a degree of originality and are using these means methodically. These Oriental means, she writes, include pentatonic, modal and neo-modal scales, tetrachordal cycles, chromaticism and even micro-chromatic intervals. She concludes her brief survey of the new folksong style by stating that the recent mass immigration from Mediterranean and Near Eastern countries has considerably helped counterbalance the East European song, confronting it with a much more influential Oriental orientation (Gerson-Kiwi 1955: 41). Here too, extant information about the songs actually sung in numerous community singing events, as well as recorded admonitions and warnings by the new style activists, indicate that her appraisal was more of a wishful thinking than a fair assessment of musical reality.

Gerson-Kiwi then arrives at her central concern, the "new problem" that arose with the new Israeli folk dances. Indeed, the appearance, virtually overnight, of scores of new Israeli folk dances was an extraordinary phenomenon, an invented tradition eclipsing even that of the new folksongs. Creating the new dance style, she writes, required many efforts to uncover the ancient and existing choreographic motives used to "put together" [her term] the dances out of Yemenite, Arabic, Druze and Circassian sources. This leads her to the main point:

> A much greater investigative effort is required of us now, as we face the difficult problem of discovering the appropriate [accompanying] instruments, for we have no tangible models by which to go… Parallel to the revival of the Oriental melos in the folksongs, we ought to model our [folk dance accompaniment] on amateur Oriental

[8] This and subsequent translations from the original Hebrew are mine.

> bands, not on professional European ones. …We should adopt instead the typical improvisational techniques of Oriental bands playing around a "cantus firmus" of certain songs, without score or conductor (Ibid.).

Gerson-Kiwi goes on to outline the makeup of these dreamed-up, nonexistent Oriental bands. In line with folksong activists like Emanuel Amiran and Menashe Ravina, she advocates abandoning Western musical orientation with its major/minor harmonic system, and instead recommends replacing it with the more favorable Oriental heterophonic texture. Heterophony, she reasons, is rich in free improvisation by each individual player, and yet results in appealing poly-melody (rather than in polyphony), in which a skeleton melody holds together this wealth of motivic combinations. Such heterophonic playing together, she argues, is "social music making in the full sense of the word" (Ibid.: 42).

Fig. 4: Two (!) accordionists accompany Hora dance (1945). Zoltan Kluger, National Photo Collection, D 87-025.

No less surprising than Gerson-Kiwi's textural choices and preferences for the nascent Israeli dance band is her virtual disregard of the actual situation in the field. In

the mid-1950s, a musical reality had already evolved naturally, free of – partly in spite of – any authoritative ideological "guidance". As this reality was not at all to her liking, she starts her discussion of prospective band instruments with harsh criticism of the accordion and mouth harmonica. These, she claims, "are no folk instruments, even though they have been adopted by folk players in ancient musical cultures". She characterizes them as "the products of international industry for international export". Furthermore, "their cheap, harsh sound contradicts the spirit of a folk tradition nursed by folk roots". She then proceeds to issue a warning: unless these two instruments are driven out of use, they will expose the young Israeli folksong to the "dangers of far-reaching mechanization and reduction to the simplest chord formations". Specifically,

> These ready-made chords are in opposition to the melodic idiom of our songs, as well as to all our conclusions regarding the need to liberate ourselves from the major/minor harmonic accompaniment, conclusions we have reached in recent years after a hard struggle. Folklorists and ethnographers the world over caution that wherever the accordion and mouth harmonica put down roots, folklore began to degenerate, and the original folk styles were contaminated by an urban, bourgeois style (Ibid.).

Fig. 5: Portrait of the author as a young accordionist

Gerson-Kiwi is not alone in objecting to these instruments so vehemently. In fact, she joins forces with other promoters of the new Israeli style, who had long since waged what they thought was a just war against the accordion, the main harmonic instrument on the scene, with its built-in, predetermined chord buttons in the left-hand. By their very harmonic nature, the accordion and mouth harmonica hindered anchoring and instilling the Oriental leanings of the style the musical activists were advocating, and hence were vociferously maligned. For example, in 1955, the same year of Gerson-Kiwi's article, Emanuel Amiran wrote an angry letter to Hayim Levanon, the mayor of Tel Aviv:

> I was shocked to hear from Mr. Halevy that you, at the *Adloyada* administration, have decided to play my music for the Biblical pageants with accordion accompaniment.[9] As the composer of these works, as well as the musical director of the *Adloyada*, I hereby declare that I will not agree to this musical joke, to which even Purim cannot provide a mask. Had an appropriate explanation been given by city authorities to the musician's union… I'm convinced that we would not have faced now this anti-musical and anti-artistic choice of presenting Moses, Deborah the prophetess, David the sweet psalmist of Israel and Solomon in the temple to the accompaniment of shrieking accordions... [10]

Fig. 6: Krakoviak dancing to mouth harmonica accompaniment. Arie Navon, *Bekav uvikhtav*, Am Oved (1966). With kind permission of Prof. D. Navon and Am Oved Publ.

The reason for Gerson-Kiwi's vigorous attack on the accordion and the mouth

[9] The *Adloyada* is a humorous parade held on the holiday of Purim. The first *Adloyada* took place in 1912 in Tel Aviv.

[10] Amiran's letter is dated 23.2.55. Moshe Halevy was the artistic director of the event. Amiran estate, letter file. Archive of Israeli Music, Tel Aviv University.

harmonica is quite clear: while her recommendations for the makeup of the Israeli folkdance band aim at the near future, her downgrading of these "decadent" Western instruments is very much aimed at the musical reality of her time. These instruments (together with the guitar) were the most frequently used ones in accompanying original Israeli folksongs and dances, as well as the vast repertory of popular Russian and other Slavic songs brought in the preceding 75 years by immigrants from Eastern Europe. Contrary to the express wishes and efforts of the new song and dance promoters, ad hoc dance bands proliferated, notably (and distressingly for the promoters) at the influential communal pageants held on agricultural holidays in the kibbutzim and moshavim. Contemporary photographs clearly show that for all their attempts, the activists could not get rid of the hated accordion. Indeed, this instrument sometimes proved indispensible even in bands headed by leaders of the new style. A particular case in point is the band led by the important folk composer Matityahu Shelem (1904-1975) at the annual celebration of the first harvest ("*Omer*") in Kibbutz Ramat Yohanan (Fig. 7).

Fig. 7: M. Shelem leading his band and chorus in the Omer pageant. Late 1940. Havay Umoed archive, Kibbutz Ramat Yohanan.

Having stated that in order "to root our future songs in good soil" we must combat ill-fitting musical substitutes of all kinds, Gerson-Kiwi finally arrives at her vision of the future Israeli folkdance band. It is made up of a variety of wind, string and percussion

instruments, either borrowed from or modeled on those used in Eurasian and/or Middle-Eastern folk music and dance. Mediterranean folk double flutes, Balkan folk clarinets, folk oboes of the zurna type and cane flutes are the preferred wind instruments. The popular recorder is also acceptable, albeit with some reluctance (its sound is judged inferior to that of the other winds). It is somewhat ironic that Gerson-Kiwi, who sought to put together a band of "folk instruments whose origin is in ancient Israel", should succumb to the European recorder mainly due to its availability and popularity.[11] Thus, it transpired that the imported Baroque recorder assumed in Middle Eastern Jewish Palestine and Israel the symbolic role of a folk flute presumably played by a mythical Biblical Hebrew shepherd. The recorder indeed fitted well into a culture that purposely interweaved past and present for ideological reasons.

Fig 8: Kibbutz Children playing recorders at *Shavuot* pageant (Sha'ar Ha'amakim, 1950).

Plucked instruments such as the folk lute, the guitar, and the mandolin are accepted as practical options, though without much enthusiasm: the "cheap sentimental expression of their sound" is considered inferior to that of their Iraqi and Persian counterparts. The role of revived percussion instruments "in our future folk music" has utmost priority as the "spiritual and musical foundation of any folk music, especially in an Oriental milieu". Similar to their position in the Middle East, they should be appreciated as musical art

[11] The European recorder was introduced in Eretz Israel by immigrant music teachers who were acquainted with its role in music education and its popularity in the early music revival. It was widely taught in elementary schools as a "first" musical instrument.

instruments rather than as noise making ones, as in Europe" (Gerson-Kiwi 1955: 43). Whence will all these envisioned instruments come? Well, as in other Oriental musical cultures, they will be made by the players themselves. Immigrant instrument makers from Mideastern countries "will guide us in this great historical mission by taking on a pioneer group of artists-artisans as their apprentices" (Ibid).

By discussing the musical instruments, Gerson-Kiwi touches on the issue of invented tradition:[12] As some historical instruments of the ancient Hebrew nation were still in use in the Middle East, parts of the Balkan and North Africa, they could be reintroduced into present-day Israeli musical folk culture "without great difficulty". Here, as elsewhere in the article, Gerson-Kiwi does not explicitly mention inventing, but rather "reviving" ancient, sometimes "fossilized folk traditions". Her repeated interchangeable use of "new" ("our new village dances") and "renewed" ("our renewed holidays"), so symptomatic of the contemporaneous Israeli national vocabulary, is facilitated by the double meaning of מקור/מקורי (origin/original) as both new and archetypal. Essentially, hers is still another example of the then frequent use of the Biblical verse "חדש ימינו כקדם".[13] Indeed, this verse, rival only to "אם תרצו – אין זו אגדה" for the most quoted Zionist slogan, was "a leading myth in Zionist thought and deed", serving to strengthen Zionist ethos, ritual, ideology and policy (Salmon 2004: 221).

Fencing off possible objections of artificiality, the author argues that when we model our folk instruments on historical specimens, we are acting exactly in the same way as in other areas of our national life in new Israel: rather than wait for the slow, generations-long development of tradition to take its course, we create one in the immediate present. This argument was extremely popular in Israel throughout the 1950s and 1960s and even beyond.[14] It was stated with full force and great conviction by Gurit Kadman, a central folkdance activist and folklorist, who may well have prompted Gerson-Kiwi to write

[12] The term itself and the concept behind it were obviously not yet invented. The well-known book *The Invention of Tradition* appeared only in 1983. See Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983.

[13] איכה ה', כא ; "Renew our day as of old" (Lamentations 5:21).

[14] In 1980 Israeli ethnomusicologist Bathia Bayer wrote: "It was not enough to let things happen: much had to be made to happen" (Bayer 1980: 52).

about the "problem of our folkdance bands" in the first place.[15]

Fig. 9: Folkdance activist Gurit Kadman with second-generation Israeli born dancers of Kurdish origin.

Kadman (1897-1987) was a central driving force on the new folkdance scene. She is particularly remembered for organizing the gigantic folkdance pageants at kibbutz Dalia, to which she also invited folkdance groups from local Arab, Druze and Circassian villages, being motivated by the same ideology prevalent in the folksong.[16] From the early 1950s, Kadman and Gerson-Kiwi, both of German origin and similar background[17] cooperated in a number of projects meant to preserve the fast disappearing musical and dance traditions of Israel's diverse ethnic groups, especially those of the newly arrived Jewish communities of the Middle East. In a 1952 article entitled "Folkdances as an Expression of Village Culture in Israel", Kadman describes in some detail the birth of Israeli folkdance, making it clear she was highly aware already then that she was engaged in inventing a folkdance tradition.[18] In her later book *A People Dances* (1969) Kadman confronts head-on the alleged "artificiality" of which the new folkdances have

[15] Kadman and Gerson- Kiwi shared the same deep conviction that an urgent need existed to document and salvage the folkdance and folk music traditions of the Oriental immigrant communities. They started their pioneering collaboration as early as 1951, with the great immigration influx. On one occasion, Kadman tells, they met and filmed Yemenite Haban immigrants just two days after their arrival on a "magic carpet" flight (Kadman 1982: 8).

[16] Intimate relationships existed between the new folksongs and new folkdances: numerous dances were invented to new song tunes; a number of song composers worked closely with folk choreographers and served as "their" accordionists (Friedhaber 1989-1990). Both songs and dances stemmed from the same "old-new" Zionist ideology, which purported to express the renewed Hebrew spirit.

[17] Gurit Kadman (Gert Kaufman) was older than Gerson-Kiwi by 11 years. She immigrated to Jewish Palestine in 1920.

[18] "We knew that since we have nothing concrete to rely upon, if we wish to see original Israeli folkdances still in our days, we have first to create them (Kadman 1952: 295).

been frequently accused, sometimes even mockingly:

> The dances are "artificial" as much as the State of Israel itself is 'artificial', as much as the entire history and fate of the Israeli people are extraordinary... International folklore scholars, who are normally highly conservative, understand and recognize that in present-day Israel folk art is created, dances and songs are created. The process of creating a folk art, which normally takes millennia or centuries, has been shortened here to a few years (Kadman 1969: 67).

Kadman strongly defends the authenticity of the new folkdances, arguing that their creation was genuine rather than synthetic, and that their sudden appearance was not pre-planned but rather spontaneous, bursting forth from the "high atmospheric pressure" of the times. She supports her argument by enlisting Oswald Spengler who, according to her, argued in his famous 1918 *Decline of the West* that new developments come about not by evolution, but rather by revolution and sudden outbreak (Ibid: 69).

Kadman's 1952 article teaches us that the folkdance activists grappled with the problem of musical accompaniment from the beginning of their enterprise. Gerson-Kiwi's prescriptions of three years later are very similar to the views Kadman airs here, which may have been their source: the popular accordion is maligned[19] and a mixed folk orchestra is rejected.[20] "The problems of musical accompaniment" receive a more detailed attention in Kadman's book. Fifteen years later, these problems had not yet been solved. Kadman candidly admits one main difficulty – disagreement between the dance activists and the musicians on certain principles:

> I was hoping to create small village bands of three to five musicians improvising together. I received approval and encouragement only from Dr. Gerson-Kiwi, the Jerusalemite expert on Oriental music. All other professional musicians claimed and constantly tried to convince us that even if improvisation is common among village bands of other nations, this is not possible here because our musicians lack the necessary knowhow, they do not have common traditional foundations (Kadman 1969: 42).

Kadman is referring to musicians who were central activists, her peers and colleagues

[19] We should not "put up with its increasing monopoly of our dances"; its "European harmonies and fixed chords" make it inappropriate for accompanying our numerous Oriental dance songs (Ibid: 299).
[20] Its Neapolitan instruments - harmonica, accordion, flutes, violins and so on - may be effective, but it is lacking character and originality (Ibid.).

in planning, developing and promoting Israeli folk music and dance culture.[21] As realistic entrepreneurs intimately in touch with the actual musical scene, they recognized the futility of attempting to implement Gerson-Kiwi's and Kadman's romantic fantasy of Oriental oral dance bands based on improvised heterophony. Instead, they pushed for the production and dissemination of notated arrangements as the only viable course of action. Eventually, their down-to-earth attitude prevailed.[22]

Kadman's 1952 article and 1969 book accurately portray her as the cultural entrepreneur that she was: led by vision, propelled by endless energy and enthusiasm, she was nevertheless always realistic, trying out new ideas, proceeding by trial and error. In contrast, Gerson-Kiwi, who had little direct contact with the folkdance scene, was unrealistic in recommending heterophony – a texture produced by music making that was foreign to the Israeli musical culture – as a norm for the new folk music tradition of modern-day Israel. Not only was her prescription out of touch with the actual folk scene; it was also inattentive to the broad socio-cultural situation. Did her infatuation with Oriental music and music making prevent her from acknowledging the real situation? Did she not realize that in spite of the fundamental socio-demographic change it caused, the recent massive Oriental immigration to Israel did not yet have a noticeable, let alone decisive, cultural impact in the mid fifties? That most creators and consumers of both art and folk/popular musical culture who continued the pre-State musical practices were of Western orientation?[23] That oriental(istic) elements, though existing, mostly played a secondary, embellishing role? If so, she was not the only one whose professional judgment was tinted by the intense national Zeitgeist; even researchers in the exact sciences, whose allegiance to scientific objectivity is axiomatic, were not exempt: A comparative study of the work of population geneticists in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in the 1950s was subtitled "the unconscious internalization of ideology". It found that "scientific endeavor may be influenced by the ideology and social context in which it occurs" (Kirsh 2003: 632).

Over forty years ago, Don Harrán wrote in a survey of Israeli ethnomusicology:

> There are Israeli researchers who believe it their duty not only to engage in research but also to build a dam to stop the massive wave of changes occurring in the objects they study. They preach for an accelerated education in folk and ethnic traditions which will result in preserving the old and halting the new…The question where does the role of the

[21] Nissim Nissimov and Shlomo Kaplan, both named here, headed successively the music section of the cultural center of the Histadrut (Worker's Union), arguably the most powerful cultural agent at the time, and closely collaborated with Kadman, who headed the folkdance section.

[22] In a 1977 booklet introducing five Kurdish folkdances to Israeli dancers, Kadman notes that the notated dance melodies, traditionally played on a zurna, have been arranged "for accordion and darbuka, the two most popular instruments in Israeli folkdance". One tune appears with added "variations-improvisations suggested by Gil Aldema". Kadman: "We've allowed ourselves to slightly arrange the music for Western instruments in order to make it more palatable to 'Western ears'" (Kadman and Squires 1977: 20, 23). I thank Ayalah Goren-Kadman for calling my attention to this publication.

[23] Gerson-Kiwi notes herself the deterioration of improvisational skill in Europe as a result of the excessive dependence on notation (Gerson-Kiwi 1955: 42).

> [ethnomusicological] researcher begin and where does it end is still in contention in our country (Harrán 1974: 207, n. 28).

In prescribing her recipe for the Oriental-leaning folkdance band, Gerson-Kiwi abandoned the typical position of the ethnomusicologist as describing and interpreting an existing musical culture. Instead, she explicitly intervened with it, seeking to introduce a non-existent element. Moreover, the musical culture in question was her own. In a curious change of roles, she assumed the position of an expert consultant to the musical practitioners, rather than relating to **them** as "consultants" (i.e. informants) assisting **her** in her research. In her article she uses throughout the first person plural "We". So does Kadman. By this choice, characteristic of their time and place, both declare themselves to be part of their culture. However, while Kadman is an unabashedly pronounced field activist, unfettered by any academic commitments, Gerson-Kiwi is an accomplished citizen of academia who pledged allegiance to unbiased, impartial research. I believe the case unfolded here is another telling example of acting academically under the influence of "unconscious internalization of ideology". It is therefore appropriate to end with this (rhetorical?) question: "Can the claims of ideology and desire ever be fully reconciled with the needs of theory and observation?" (Clifford and Marcus 1986: initial page).

References

Barth, Efrat 2012. *West Meets East: The Influence of the Encounter with the East on Early Hebrew Song Composers (1920-1960).* Doctoral Dissertation, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem.

Barz, Gregory. Cooley, Timothy J. (eds.) 2008. *Shadows in the Field. New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology.* Oxford University Press.

Bayer, Bathia 1980. "Creation and Tradition in Israeli Folksong: Some Specimen Cases". *Aspects of Music in Israel* 52-60. Tel Aviv.

Burstyn, Shai 2008. "'Old-New Song': The Legacy of Abraham Zvi Idelsohn and 'Roots' Songs". *Cathedra* 128: 113-144.

Clifford, James. Marcus, George (eds.) 1986. *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* Berkeley.

Friedhaber, Zvi 1989-1990. "Israeli Folkdance and its 'Klezmers"'. *Israel Dance* 9-11.

Gerson-Kiwi. Edith 1955. "The Israeli Village with Its Instruments and Bands", *Ofakim* 29-30: 41-43.

---------- 1980. *Migrations and Mutations of the Music in East and West.* Tel Aviv.

Harrán, Don 1974. *An Introduction to Musicology.* Bialik Institute, Jerusalem.

Hobsbawm. Eric J. Terence Osborn Ranger (eds.) 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press.

Kadman, Gurit 1952. "Folkdances as an Expression of Village Culture in Israel",

Kama 4: 293-300.

---------- 1969. *A People Dances*. Shocken, Tel Aviv.

---------- 1982. *Ethnic Dance in Israel*. Masada Press, Givatayim.

Kadman, Gurit. Squires Pamela (eds.) 1977. *Five Kurdish Dances.* Tel Aviv.

Katz, Ruth 2003. *'The Lachmann Problem': An Unsung Chapter in Comparative Musicology.* Magnes Press, Jerusalem.

Kirsh. Nurit 2003. "Population Genetics in Israel in the 1950s: The Unconscious Internalization of Ideology". *Isis* 94: 631-655.

Nettl, Bruno 1983. *The Study of Ethnomusicology*. University of Illinois Press.

Salmon, Joseph 2004. "'Khadesh Yamenu K'kedem' – a Zionist Myth". In M. Idel and I. Greenwald (eds.). *Myth in Judaism*. Zalman Shazar Center, Jerusalem. 207-221.

Richter, Pál (ed.) 2012. *Musical Traditions. Discovery, Inquiry, Interpretation, and Application.* Budapest.