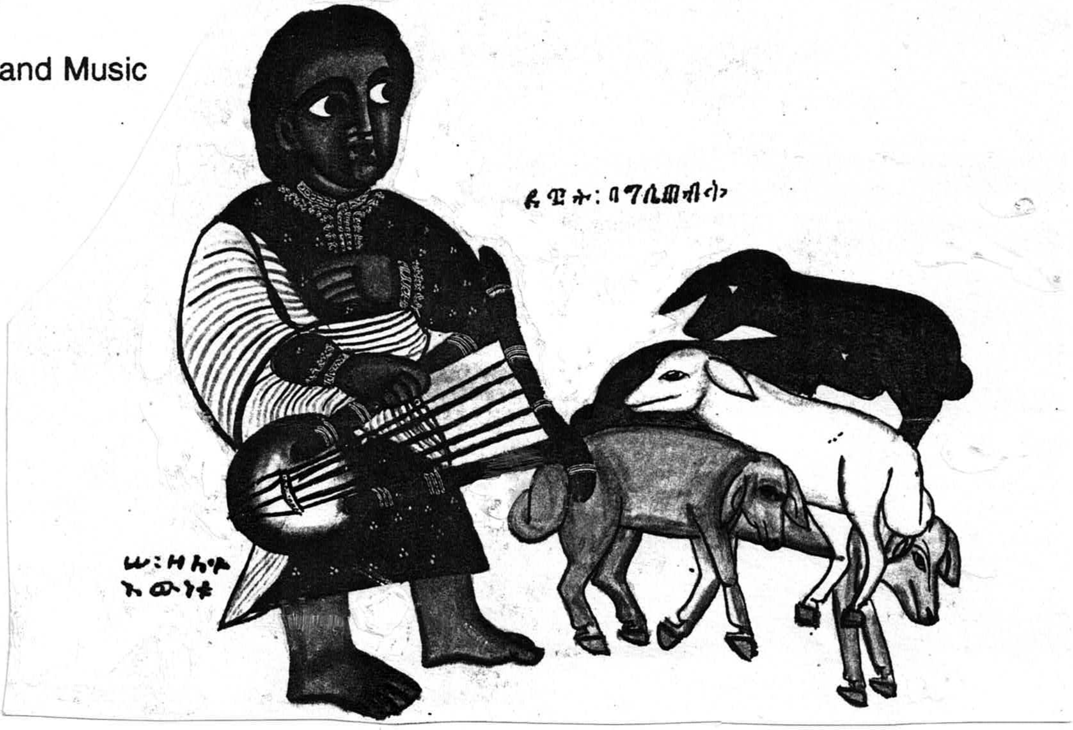
ETHIOPIAN JEWS IN ISRAEL -- A MUSICAL ETHNOGRAPHY

Nili Belkind

Senior Thesis

Anthropology and Music

Fall, 1991



Submitted to the Board of Studies in Anthropology and the Board of Studies in Music

University of California, Santa Cruz

Faculty Advisors: Prof. John M. Schechter, Music

Prof. Olga Najera Ramirez, Anthropology

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Introduction

During the summer of 1989 I spent approximately ten weeks conducting fieldwork with the purpose of working with Jewish Ethiopians in Israel and recording their secular music traditions. This project was the result of an attempt on my part to combine my diverse interests as an anthropology and music major at UCSC. As a student of both disciplines, I wanted to work on a project that would give equal emphasis to musical analysis and to contextual meaning of musical performance in a given society: it seemed to me that only few of the studies in ethnomusicology that I read previously had successfully bridged the two perspectives. The focus on the Jewish Ethiopian community in Israel stemmed from both personal and objective reasons. Being an Israeli, I was deeply interested in the dramatic story of this most recent mass immigration to Israel. But more importantly, I wanted to study both the cultural changes and the continuities that are reflected in musical performance in an immigrant culture undergoing intensive assimilation pressures.

Music has always been an important part of any group's national, or cultural, identity, and I believed that the study of the music of Ethiopian Jews shortly after their relocation would offer insights into the dynamics of assimilation and cultural continuity. Being aware that assimilation pressures in Israel did not necessarily favor the continuation of cultural traditions, I assumed that immediately following relocation, immigrants are mostly preoccupied with adjustment. Later on, however, the need to maintain some aspects of the group's cultural identity arises. These assumptions were confirmed in discussions I had with community leaders during a previous visit to Israel in the summer of 1988.

My goals for the project were twofold. As there have been no previous studies documenting the secular musical traditions of Ethiopian Jews, the first objective was the collection and documentation of secular musical materials of Jewish Ethiopian culture for ethnomusicological study. In 1989 the entire Jewish Ethiopian community had either relocated, or was hoping to relocate to Israel in the near future. It was therefore important to document their cultural traditions at this juncture in their history prior to a time when Ethiopia would cease to be the focal point of the community's cultural vitality.

Based on the assumption that music is closely and symbolically connected with the cultural identity of a given group, my second goal in studying the secular musical traditions of Ethiopian Jews was to find out in what ways music and musical performances reflect the sometimes conflicting dynamics of assimilation and assertion of cultural identity. By studying the various aspects of music, such as performance practice, performance contexts, song texts, attitudes of the community towards music and musicians, I sought to find out what aspects of music making have changed following the transition, what aspects remained the same, and what aspects were continuous but had changed their meaning following relocation. In other words, by studying the various aspects of this musical culture I expected to gain insights into the cultural forces operating in a community undergoing an identity crisis.

The subject has proven to be a more compelling research topic than originally envisioned. Not only has there been a paucity of research on Ethiopian music in general, but there is even less in the literature regarding musical life among Jewish Ethiopians. Furthermore, much of the research conducted in Israel among Ethiopian Jews was targeted towards facilitating the absorption of immigrants in mainstream Israeli culture, rather than the promotion of cultural continuity. Where studies did focus on Ethiopian Jewish culture, the emphasis was on the uniquely Jewish aspects of the culture, and not its situational context in Ethiopia. The lack of emphasis on the Ethiopian context of this Jewish culture not only gave researchers an incomplete picture of Ethiopian Jews, it also failed to promote the community's needs for cultural continuity as an immigrant group struggling for identity in a vastly different culture.

During my previous visit to Israel in the summer of 1988, I learned that to date, most of the efforts to document Jewish Ethiopian music concentrated on sacred music. Dr. Kaufman Shelemay had studied the liturgical music in the Jewish community in Ethiopia (Shelemay, 1986). And in Israel, the liturgical music sung by Jewish Ethiopian priests, or *kessim,* was being recorded at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in an effort to compile a complete liturgical calendar. The fascination with the sacred music of the Ethiopian Jews can be easily understood in light of the arguments concerning the Jewish origins and status of this community. My choice to concentrate on secular, rather than sacred music originally stemmed from the assumption that it would better reflect the transition experienced by the community. But my commitment to the study of secular music was reinforced by the fact that so little scholarly attention was given to the study of cultural traditions that have defined this group in the context of their Ethiopian homeland.

In fact, scholars who have chosen to concentrate on the historical and cultural aspects that Beta Israel shared with their Ethiopian neighbors, rather than the ones that were unique to this group, have often had to justify doing so. For example, Rosen writes the following:

> "First, the fact that the Beta Israel share a common literary heritage with their neighbors should in no way be understood as a contradiction of their claim to Jewish identity. Ethiopian Jews, like Jews throughout the world, participated in a wider national culture in which they lived. The Beta Israel's utilization of pan-Ethiopian symbols and themes to express their particular faith is comparable to the behavior of other communities in other parts of the world. Attempts to minimize or deny this feature of Beta Israel history, which have always stemmed from the fear that a balanced presentation might create doubts among the Beta Israel's Jewishness, have served primarily to create confusion and have served neither the community nor scholarship" (Rosen 1987:15).

A similar criticism of the disregard for the immigrants' cultural identity was expressed by Ashkenazi, who wrote that:

> "Notwithstanding a general avowed recognition of the need to preserve the immigrants' cultural values... 'the feeling that they are a 'tabula rasa' as far as our culture goes' is a pervasive one" (Ashkenazi 1987:90).

In addition to the academic goals stated above, I sought to participate as best I could in the efforts of the Jewish Ethiopian community in Israel to prevent its cultural disintegration by working as a volunteer within the community with those dedicated to the preservation of traditional music, arts and crafts.

The nature of fieldwork

Having arrived in Israel in July 1989, I spent the first two weeks in frustration; the connections I had nurtured in my previous visit and via correspondence didn't pan out and I did not meet Jewish Ethiopian musicians. But having learned that in the Galilean town of Nazareth-Illit there was a cultural center where Ethiopian Jews produce their traditional arts and crafts and where a traditional music and dance group was based, I decided to visit the place. During my visit at *Meseret* (which means 'roots' or 'foundation' in Amharic) I met with Gadi Nagusse, the director of the center, and Yaffa Schuster-

Baranowitz, the administrative manager and the only veteran Israeli working at the center. I stated my purpose -- the recording of music for non-commercial purposes, and discussed the possibility of volunteering to work at center.

Initially, I encountered a great deal of suspicion, stemming from the historic mistrust of outsiders. The Jewish Ethiopian community is a tight-knit community that had to fear the outside world for generations, and outsiders are not readily accepted. Added to this inherent suspicion was the fact that *Meseret's* music and dance troupe had previously been exploited by a French company that recorded them for no pay, under the guise of conducting research. A couple of their songs were later published on an album in France, for which *Meseret* was never compensated.

In the following weeks I met the music and dance troupe at various ethnic music festivals around the country, joined them at a party in Safad's absorption center for new immigrants, and begun to work in the *Meseret* as a guide for visitors. I was very lucky to have been offered the use of a vacant apartment in Nazareth-Illit that belonged to a family friend. The apartment was in the heart of the Ethiopian immigrants neighborhood in Nazareth-Illit, in the same apartment building where Gadi, *Meseret's* director, lived. In the following month I got to know *Meseret's* members and friends rather well. I took on more administrative responsibilities in the office when Yaffa left to give birth, and no replacement was found. I also became the troupe's quasi official photographer during their public performances. As the walls of distrust melted away, there were more opportunities to record and discuss music, until towards the end of my stay in Israel some of the recording sessions were initiated by others.

The setting: Nazareth-Illit and *Meseret*

The Jewish Ethiopian neighborhood in Nazareth-Illit grew around an absorption center for immigrants. The housing projects around the absorption center became, in effect , permanent homes for a community that numbered over 2,000 people in 1989. The founding of *Meseret* resulted from a need for a continuity of cultural traditions, as well as the drive and vision of Gadi Nagusse, its present director. The crafts included weaving of cloth, pottery making and basket weaving. With the help of family (several of Gadi's family members worked at the center), friends, and the Association of Ethiopian Immigrants, the Gadi managed to expand the center. By 1989 it contained six traditional looms, a pottery workshop and kiln, a display room, and musical instruments. The baskets were woven by women at home and brought to *Meseret* for sale. Since my departure in 1989, a traditional Ethiopian house, or *tukul*, including interior furnishings, was built on *Meseret* grounds.

In many ways, the rhythm and flavor of the Ethiopian village were maintained at *Meseret.* No clocks were punched, and work seemed to flow in a natural rhythm, which was sometimes broken by the arrival of guests. Much of the traditional division of labor practiced in Ethiopia was maintained: the men wove, the women spun the thread onto bobbins, took time off to shop in the market and to prepare (Ethiopian) food. As it was summer and the workers' children were not in school, *Meseret* also served as playground.

The musicians and dancers in *Meseret's* music and dance troupe were not professionals, and none received any formal musical training. They did not rehearse much as an ensemble, and their public performances resembled their own private parties in many ways. Indeed, the recordings I made in public performances were rather similar to those made in private parties. It was through my association with *Meseret* that opportunities opened for me to record other Jewish Ethiopian musicians, in solo performances, during my stay. All the musicians I recorded were either friends or relatives of *Meseret* members. When I attempted to go outside this circle, I found the same barriers of mistrust I originally encountered at *Meseret.* Gadi Nagusse was particularly helpful in introducing me to several musicians and facilitating recording opportunities.

In this thesis, musical examples from *Meseret's* ensemble repertoire will be discussed, as well as musical examples of three solo performers. These performers will be introduced by first name only: Ya'acov, a *masinqo* (a one-stringed spiked fiddle) player; Daniel, a *krar* (five or six-stringed lyre) and Natan, *Meseret's washint* (four-holed flute) player. The *kebero* (a double headed drum) completes this ensemble of Ethiopian instruments that are played in Israel. As it is solely an accompaniment instrument, it will be discussed primarily in the context of an ensemble piece performed by *Meseret.*

In order to contextualize the discussion of music played by Ethiopian Jews in Israel, the thesis will begin with a brief overview of the background and history of the Jewish Ethiopian community, focusing particularly on recent history.

Chapter I: Background and History of Ethiopian Jews

Origin of Ethiopian Jews

The origin of the Jewish Ethiopian community has not been definitively determined by scholars. Various theories differ in both the assumed country of origin of Ethiopian Jews as well as the time of their arrival in Ethiopia. It has been suggested that the Ethiopian Jews were descendents of the ten lost tribes, specifically the tribe of Dan. It has also been suggested that that they were originally Ethiopian Christians and pagans who converted to Judaism; that they were Jewish immigrants from the area of Yemen who intermarried with the local population; and that they were Jewish immigrants from Egypt who intermarried locally (Kaplan 1986:11).

According to the community's traditions, Beta Israel, or "House of Israel" -- the name which the community calls itself, are the descendents of the Jewish nobles who returned from Jerusalem with Menelik, who is believed to be the son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Christian Ethiopians, who refer to Jewish Ethiopians by the term Falashas[1], also share the belief regarding Menelik's origin. Thus Menelik I himself became the first of the Solomonian line of Ethiopian emperors; and hence the reason that Haile Selassie, the last emperor to reign (until 1974), called himself 'the lion of Judah' (Levin 1990:1).

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[1] the body of Christian Ethiopian chronicles which were written in Ge'ez, the ancient tongue of Abyssinia, provides a primary source of information. Other sources of information include Jewish travellers such as Eldad ha-Dani in the 9th century and Benjamin of Tudela in the 12th century (Parfitt 1985: 5-8).

Historical background

As far back as historic references are made with regard to Beta Israel, they are made in a context that points to antagonistic relations between between Christian kings and Beta Israel. It is assumed that this hostile relationship dates to the rise of Christianity in the fourth century AD, at which time Ethiopians who had accepted Judaism were persecuted. They therefore withdrew from coastal areas and established communities in the Gondar region, in high and relatively isolated spots in the Semien mountains (see maps in appendix 1). It is possible that later, Jews from Southern Arabia (Yemen), who were brought as captives during the sixth century by Kaleb, an Ethiopian emperor, bolstered the mountain communities. Due to their refusal to convert, in the following millenia Beta Israel were compelled to defend their communities against a succession of Christian emperors.

Until the 13th century, Beta Israel remained a force to be reckoned with in the region. But in 1270, when the emperor (*negus*) Yekono Amlak took power, he was determined to undermine the autonomy of Beta Israel, possibly because they could not be relied on as allies in the wars against the Muslim kingdoms of the South. This began an apocalyptic period of 400 years, during which Beta Israel were diminished in number, and during which they lost much of their independence. One of the most dire results was the decree issued by the emperor Yeshaq in the 15th century declaring that “He who is baptized in the Christian religion may inherit the land of his father. Otherwise let him be a Falasha!” (Parfitt 1985:10). "Falasha" means a rootless, or a landless person, and to this day it evokes derogatory connotations.

During the first half of this century, Beta Israel's response to continued pressure was the establishment of a set of laws concerned with ritual purification, called *attenkuan*, which means 'do not touch me'. In order to avoid pollution, *attenkuan* dictated frequent bathing, particularly after contact was made with outsiders, and precluded sharing food with outsiders (Kaplan 1986:15).

During the 16th and early 17th century, Beta Israel continued to revolt against Amhara rulers. But the Amhara were now equipped with guns and cannons obtained from the Portuguese, and in this period, most of the Beta Israel strongholds were demolished. Much of the population was annihilated, and the survivors were faced with the choice between death and conversion to Christianity. While the population numbered at least half a million people in the early 17th century, in the 19th century Beta Israel numbered an estimated 150,000 - 200,000. (Parfitt 1985:12). The community further dwindled in the 19th century, largely due to proselytizing campaigns led by British missionaries, and by the turn of the century there were an estimated 50,000 Beta Israel.

Since Beta Israel were not permitted to own land until the 1974 revolution, they eked out an existence by renting land from Amhara landowners and raising sheep and cattle. They also became an artisan class, specializing in metalwork, pottery, weaving and masonry.

Widespread prejudices and superstitions also ensured the low status and vulnerability of Beta Israel. In the 15th century, the Christian emperor Zara Yacob, in his *Book of Light* , accused the Falashas of of eating children (Parfitt 1985:10). Institutionalized discrimination was often reinforced by cultural prejudice at the local level. The artisan class held the lowest status in Ethiopia, and the Amhara detested Beta Israel occupations. In addition to low-status association, the artisan vocations were also imbued with evil-eye associations (Shelemay 1986: 45). Blacksmiths in particular were believed to be possessed by *buda* ; they were considered sorcerers and bearers of the evil eye, who turn into hyenas at night in order to prey on Christian children. A superstition prevalent in the Gondar region maintained that if a Jew crossed on to Christian land the land would become barren. Beta Israel were often blamed for calamities that befell their areas. To avoid persecution, Jews sometimes tried to pass off as Christians when travelling, and some Beta Israel women tattooed a cross on their foreheads (Parfitt 1985: 28).

In 1974 a series of strikes and protests swept Ethiopia. The turmoil was the result of a decade of growing opposition to Haile Selassie and his regime. The opposition was fueled by the government's mishandling of a drought and famine during which approximately 200,000 people perished. On September 12, 1974 Haile Selassie was deposed, and with this act a 2,000 year old monarchy was abolished. The revolutionary Marxist government immediately acted to destroy the hegemony of the landed class and the church by redistributing the land to the peasantry. Thus, initially, it seemed that the Ethiopian Jews had much to gain from the revolution. However, while in the South the reforms were largely successful, in the North they were violently resisted.

There were two groups which led the warfare against the Dergue -- the military council implementing the reforms. The first was EDU, the Ethiopian Democratic Union, which was supported by the dethroned royalty and the disenfranchised nobility. The second was the extreme left wing Ethiopian People's

Revolutionary Party (EPRD), which was also engaging in intermittent warfare against the Dergue. Beta Israel were a common target for both groups. It is estimated that hundreds of Jews were murdered by EDU. Some were forced into slavery, others were expelled from their homes. The nobility's vehemence stemmed from the assumption that maintaining control of their lands could be accomplished by extinguishing those who under the new laws were most entitled to their lands. The EPRD, an anti-Zionist group, attacked Beta Israel because as Jews they were thought to be pro-Zionist. Caught in between the hammer and nail, Beta Israel also suffered assaults which members of the Dergue conducted occasionally in the Gondar area, in order to intimidate the local population and to scare off the rebel groups (Parfitt 1985:28-29). In 1977, small groups of Jews began to flee to Sudan, to refugee camps inhabited by Christian Ethiopians.

Persecution of Jews continued even in 1980, after the EDU and the EPRD were defeated. Reallocation of land, which was implemented by local peasant associations, was often implemented to Beta Israel's disadvantage. During the same year, Major Melaku, member of the Dergue and newly appointed governor of Gondar, blamed the Jews for the recent crop failures and consequent famine in the north of the province Parfitt:1985:31).

Although initially the Marxist regime sought to aid all the minorities in Ethiopia to participate in the revolution, the government eventually came to believe that the only way to consolidate government control was to eliminate cultural diversity. The suppression of minority and tribal cultures became national policy. Amharic was to become the national language. Despite the government's anti-religious stance, the Amharization of Ethiopia also meant that it was Christian Amhara culture into which divergent ethnicities were expected to assimilate. Coptic Christianity and Islam were declared the only two officially recognized religions of Ethiopia. All those classified as "foreign religions" were now subject to government discrimination. In 1981 ORT, a Jewish aid organization, was ordered out of the province. The practice of religion and the teaching of Hebrew was forbidden, Hebrew books were burned or confiscated, Jewish schools and synagogues were closed.

Those who tried to escape via Sudan faced many potential dangers, including bandits, exposure to difficult desert conditions, and wild animals (Levin 1990:6). And those who attempted the trek and were caught, suffered atrocious tortures and inhumane prison conditions. In July 1980 a group of 90 were caught by the Sudanese border. All were taken in as political prisoners, thrown in jail and tortured. In order to cut down on human traffic via Sudan, strict regulations were passed. While Christians were allowed to take journeys of up to a week's length without a travel pass, Beta Israel were prohibited from travelling further than the next peasant association without special authorization from their own association. It was assumed that those found en-route without a pass were trying to escape, and they were subject to imprisonment. When, despite these measures, the exodus of Jews from Gondar continued, the policy of punishing remaining relatives ensued. Under the new regulations, fathers who failed to report the disappearance of their sons or daughters were liable to imprisonment and torture. And in an attempt to interfere with Beta Israel's observance of the Sabbath, local authorities began to hold market days on Saturday. However, even this measure failed to contribute to the assimilation of Beta Israel (Parfitt 1985:35).

The situation was somewhat improved towards the end of 1983, when the government began to realize that these draconian measures only fueled the Jewish exodus. Schools and synagogues were reopened. At the same time, Hebrew education and emigration continued to be outlawed.

The small groups of refugees which had begun trickling into Sudan since 1977 were evacuated to Israel in various clandestine operations, bringing the number of Ethiopian immigrants in Israel to an estimated 7,000 in 1983. In January,1985 the largest of the operations, titled 'Operation Moses', airlifted an estimated 7,000 refugees and brought them to Israel. Following worldwide publicity, the airlift was blocked by the Sudanese government. Approximately 650 Jews who remained in Sudan were brought to Israel shortly afterwards, on the C.I.A. sponsored 'Operation Sheba' (Rosen 1986:79). But the exodus exacted a heavy toll. In 1984 and 1985, when conditions on the road and in the refugee camps were at their worst, at least 4,000 Jewish Ethiopians died on the way or in Sudanese refugee camps. Between 1985 and my fieldwork in 1989, a few Beta Israel managed to emigrate to Israel via legal routes. In 1989, there were an estimated 18-19,000 Ethiopian Jews in Israel. This situation left the Beta Israel community divided, with approximately half the community remaining in Ethiopia.

Life in Israel

In Israel the immigrants were housed in absorption centers, constructed to provide a sheltered environment in which the immigrants were to learn Hebrew and adjust to the new home, while their primary needs were taken care of. But many of the immigrants encountered difficulties in adjusting. The sources of the problems the immigrants encountered were threefold. The first source of problems was the cultural and emotional 'baggage' the refugees brought with them. Many of the refugees were illiterate or semi-literate, and unaccustomed to urban lifestyle. The older immigrants in particular encountered difficulties in learning Hebrew in the context of the classroom, and acquiring marketable skills.

A more serious problem, however, was the emotional trauma that resulted from the deprivations of the road and the constant worrying for those left behind. Those who suffered most were the young who arrived alone. More than half of the all the Ethiopian Jews in Israel were under 18. Of those, over 1,500 had either lost parents en-route or had left one or both parents behind in Ethiopia (Levin 1990:7). In particular, the orphans and 'orphans of circumstance' experienced adjustment problems. But they were not the only ones to experience guilt and separation anxiety, which were acutely felt by the community as a whole. The guilt was intensified by the fact that those who were left behind were mostly mothers with children too young to travel, the elderly, and the infirm; in short, those least able to support and protect themselves.

A second source of problems was the paternalistic attitude and cumbersomeness of the absorption bureaucracy. In 1985, these problems were compounded by the sheer number of immigrants that had to be tended to simultaneously. Paternalistic policies, such as conferring Hebrew names upon the immigrants and the tendency to decide appropriate schooling programs for the children without proper consultation with the parents, often caused overdependency of the immigrants on the system. The absorption bureaucracy often exerted such control over the immigrants that it was severely criticized by some scholars:

> "Most conspicuous to anyone familiar with the absorption center organization, however, is the absolute control the center staff exercise over the life of the immigrants -- making them more like 'inmates' is some 'total institution' [Ashkenazi and Weingrod 1984:10]. All decisions, from such petty ones as menus, when the telephone may be used and who may visit up, to such fateful ones as what school to send the children to or to eventual location, are made by the staff and their superiors. Rarely are immigrants consulted on issues effecting their lives and their future, and certainly no cooperation exists with the different Ethiopian organizations that have emerged to give voice to the immigrants' grievances" (Halper 1987:131).

At times it was simply due to lack of resources that the absorption administration was often insensitive to individual needs. For example, housing was often allocated to immigrants where it was available, not necessarily where they wished to live -- near kin or in central locations (Banai 1988:124-125).

The third source of problems stemmed from the historic argument over the status of Beta Israel community as Jews. Being isolated from the rest of world Jewry and rabbinical Jewish law, Beta Israel practiced their own brand of biblical Judaism for thousands of years. The Rabbinate (the chief religious authority in Israel) did not officially recognize them as Jews until 1973, when Chief Sepharadi Rabbi of Israel, Ovadia Yosef, officially affirmed the Jewishness of the 'Falashas'. Until that time, Beta Israel were not entitled to Israeli citizenship under the law of return, and the few who arrived in Israel prior to that time often had to hide from immigration authorities. It was an ironic stroke of fate, that shortly after Israel recognized Ethiopian Jewry, the revolutionary government of Ethiopia severed ties with Israel, following the Yom Kippur War of 1973. Thus, the community's hopes for mass immigration were shattered. In any case, the acceptance of Ethiopian Jews by the rabbinate was not unconditional, and due to the differences the practices of Beta-Israel and rabbinical Judaism, the Rabbinate insisted that that the new immigrants perform a conversion ceremony to ensure their legitimate status as Jews. The ritual included immersion and ritual circumcision for the males (Rosen 1986:76-77).

While the rabbinate portrayed the ceremony as "renewal of the covenant" with the rest of World Jewry (Rosen, 1986:81), many Ethiopian Jews took this to be a racist stipulation and were deeply offended by it. Following public pressure, the Rabbinate later reduced its demands to ritual immersion prior to marriage, but many Ethiopian Jews felt that all requirements should be waived. In 1985 Jewish Ethiopian activists began to resist the ceremony. A mass demonstration escalated into a general strike and a month long demonstration in front of the *Knesset.* (Rosen 1986:80). The dispute continued until December 1988, when Rabbi Chelouche was appointed the official marriage registrar for Ethiopian Jews, with the authority to marry them without symbolic conversion.

Recent developments

I have thus far outlined the events that preceded my stay in Israel in the summer of 1989, and which were constantly in the background of many of my conversations with Ethiopian immigrants. Much has transpired since then. In Ethiopia, the situation worsened in the latter eighties. As the civil war intensified, the central government, under Colonel Mengistu, began to lose ground, and rebels gained control over much of the countryside, including the Gondar area. The situation was compounded by a famine that began in 1988 and a failed military coup in 1989 (Levin 1990:7-8). In November, 1989, Addis Ababa renewed ties with Israel, with the hopes of receiving military aid from Israel. Many of the remaining Jews flocked to the capital hoping to to be granted exit visas. Starting in January, 1990, several hundred Jews were allowed to leave

Addis every month. But in the summer of 1990 the Ethiopian government reduced the number of allotted exit visas. The Mengistu regime, which was losing ground in the civil war that engrossed the country, was in effect was holding the 15,000 Jews in Addis Ababa hostage and demanding extensive military aid from Israel.

Due to the periodic fluctuations in the number of exit visas, for the thousands of Jews who spent this period waiting in shanty towns surrounding the capital and hoping for a speedy transition, the wait often lasted months. At times the months extended into years. They frequently experienced a lack of sufficient food, clothing, medical supplies and adequate shelter (Levin 1990:8). By the spring of 1991, fear for the safety of this community was growing, in light of the recent escalation of civil war in Ethiopia, and the encroachment of rebel groups on the capital city. As the Ethiopian Jews were associated with Israel, which was supplying aid to Mengistu, it was feared that the rebels would take revenge on the community once the city fell. During the last days of the Mengistu regime, and following his escape from Addis Ababa, intensive negotiations between the government of Israel and the Ethiopian government were conducted. Pressure was also employed by the U.S. The negotiations resulted in another massive airlift , titled 'Operation Solomon', in May 1991. The operation brought approximately 14,500 Jews to Israel in 35 hours (Ma'ariv 1991:1). In the following day, the rebels took over the Addis Ababa airport.

As of now, it is not clear how many Jews remain in rebel-occupied areas in Ethiopia. Another problem which was realized during the airlift was that there are hundreds, if not thousands, of Ethiopian Jews that converted to Christianity under pressure but continue to maintain a Jewish identity and see themselves as part of the community. Many wish to emigrate to Israel and join their families there. It remains to be seen what shall become of this group. It also remains to be seen how successful the absorption policies will be. Hopefully, the absorption authorities will exhibit flexibility, and new immigrants, helped by their now-reunited community, will experience an easier adjustment than their predecessors.

Having briefly outlined and historical and cultural background of the Jewish Ethiopian community, I will now return to the object of my study -- their music. The following chapter discusses the current body of literature on Ethiopian music. The discussion will focus particularly on the four Ethiopian modes, as they are presented by three scholars of Ethiopian music.

Chapter II: the Literature on Ethiopian Music

Introduction

Ethiopia today encompasses over a hundred ethnic groups, each distinguished by its language or dialect. The Amharas have long been the most dominant group in Ethiopia, culturally and politically, though they comprise only 35% of the total population of over 25 million (Kimberlin 1980: 232). The Ethiopian Jews with whom I worked originated in the rural area of Gondar; some had family connections or had resided for a period in the area of Tigre. These areas were part of ancient Abyssinia, or the highland plateau traditionally peopled by the Amhara and Tigre ethnic groups, both of which are Semitic groups that speak Amharic and Tigrenya, respectively. Amharic was the native tongue of the Ethiopians I recorded in Israel, though some spoke Tigrenya in addition. Despite the fact that Ethiopian Jews occupied a special caste-like status in Ethiopia, culturally there is much that they shared with their Amhara neighbors besides the language. The music and dance of the immigrants in Israel were essentially forms of dance and music native to the rural highlands of the Amhara culture area.

The literature

Perhaps because of the primary association of Ethiopia with ancient Abyssinia, the scant body of literature that has been published on Ethiopian music has mostly dealt with this culture-area. There are several studies which I have found most useful for background information and comparative purposes; the most important of these are to be described briefly in this section. Despite the wealth of information that is encapsulated in these studies, each of those studies presents certain problems stemming from its author's approach. As these approaches can sometimes lead the reader to assimilate information that is either misleading or is contradictory to the information presented by other sources, the problems inherent in the different author's approaches will also be discussed in this section.

Michael Powne's Ethiopian Music: An Introduction (1968) is a survey of ecclesiastical and secular Ethiopian music, covering musical instruments, minstrelism, secular genres, dance, and many aspects of church music as well. From a comparative perspective, one of the problems that is presented by the study is that the fieldwork was conducted entirely in the urban environment of Addis Ababa, and for folkloric material Powne relied on performances of the National Folklore Orchestra of the Haile Selassie Theatre. Although Powne claims to believe that the performers were "...authentic exponents of the traditional folk music and folk instruments" (Powne 1968: ix) he admits that material had to be adapted to performances of its kind:

> The National Folklore Orchestra at the Haile Selassie I Theatre in the capital is an orchestra of folklore instruments. They play as a consort because of the size of the vast theatre which is their home, and the folk songs and dances that are performed by as many as twenty dancers, a chorus, and an orchestra of twelve players. In this respect they are cutting across tradition, but they are doing so in order to preserve it. Presenting folk music as they do, with a good deal of what is usually called 'showmanship' they attract good audiences, which probably they would not do if they were merely performing as the music and dances are performed in every village of the plateau. But the actual music, and the actual words of the songs, are all strictly folk-art" (Powne 1968:59).

Instrumental ensemble performance in itself has been a rather recent development in Ethiopia, inspired by exposure to Western musical traditions. In the Theatre orchestra, the *washint* assumes a leading role, as only one *washint* is played at a time (Kebede 1971: 156). I would argue that the use of such extensive musical forces alters the very nature of the music played in significant ways. Powne claims that "...the melody and words, and such polyphony as there is to be observed...are all genuine" (Powne 1986:ix). But improvisation and variation, both textual and instrumental, is a key element in Ethiopian music, which cannot but become lost in an ensemble of such forces where the stringed instruments are played in large sections. Another critique regarding the 'authenticity' of the orchestra was voiced by Kebede Ashenafi, an Ethiopian ethnomusicologist:

> "The *yebahil orchestra* (folklore orchestra), comprising traditional musical instruments played by traditionally dressed performers, presents versions of the national musical idioms...most of the musicians from the *yebahil orchestra* stem largely from a single language (ethnic) group (Amhara), and claim authenticity for their semi-composed, daily rehearsed repertoire covering the diversified and numerous cultural Ethiopian plateau" (Kebede 1970:502).

And:

> "The difference between a song sung by a traditional *azmari* (professional musician/minstrel) and the supposedly same song sung by a n urbanized Theatre "artist" or singer is drastically bewildering. Finding authentic music in Ethiopia could have been very simple for the author if he had not preferred the readily accessible Theatre musicians in the capital city to actual fieldwork in the provinces -- particularly in Gondar and Gojam" (Kebede 1970:503).

Being aware of the difficulties that outsiders encounter when attempting to make sense of the Ethiopian musical mosaic, Kebede Ashenafi himself wrote an extensive survey of Ethiopian music within the 'Hamito-Semitic' culture area in his Ph.D. dissertation (1971) titled The Music of Ethiopia: Its development and cultural setting. Kebede provides us with a much needed temporal and cultural contextualization of Ethiopian music. Particularly useful is his analysis of song types and song texts, as poetics are considered to be the force which propels and defines much of the stylistic elements of traditional music within the culture (Kebede 1971:59-60). However, Kebede's bicultural perspective, which sheds much light on the emic outlook, suffers somewhat from a lack of objective distance. For example, Ethiopia's origin myth, which claims that the line of

Ethiopian emperors began with the illegitimate son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, is taken at face value:

> "The Kingdom of Axum achieved considerable organization, unity, and strength, under Menelik I, son of *Etaigay Saba* (Queen of Sheba) and the first of the Solomonian line of Ethiopian kings" (Kebede 1971:9).

This information is extracted out of the *Kibre Negest,* an epic which holds the legend of the Queen of Sheba at its center. While this epic serves many important cultural functions and captivates the collective imagination of Ethiopians, it carries a dubious historical value (see Levine 1974: 92-101).

Kebede's biased perspective surfaces in particular when discussing the influences of western music and/or technology on traditional musical forms and instruments, as is exemplified by the following quote:

> "I have been dismayed to witness Albanian and Indian traders in Addis Ababa and Italian piano tuners in Asmara making *beganas* and *krars* with amplifiers and volume controls installed in the sound resonators -- these instruments , of course, use electric power...To accelerate the already rapid disappearance of the traditional sound quality, these electric monstrosities are being sold, as one of the Albanian manufacturers informed me in English, 'like hot cakes'..." (Kebede 1971:143)

While I share Kebede's sorrow with regard to disappearing traditions, he is passing a value judgement that does not belong in scholarly writing. Many performers who wish to preserve some of the soloistic elements of their instruments while playing in an ensemble, may have to rely on the use of electronics for amplification. *Meseret*, for example, required individual microphones for the *masinqo, krar* and *washint* in public performances. As was stated earlier, ensembles are a recent development in Ethiopian music, and those instruments could not be heard above the drum beats and the chorus.

Another scholar who devoted her efforts to the study of Ethiopian music is Cynthia Mei-Ling Kimberlin. Her Ph.D. dissertation, Masinqo and the Nature of *Qənət* (1976), focuses on the study of the music of *azmaris*, the contemporary version of Ethiopian minstrels, and the *masinqo*, their most prevalent instrument, in Addis Ababa. The study includes a detailed analysis of *masinqo* organology, and a discussion relating to the four Ethiopian modes, or *qənət.* It also includes the musical analysis of song components, and a detailed study that breaks into components the characteristics that identify a specific mode, other than intervallic relationships.

The depth of musical detail portrayed in Kimberlin's study is admirable. Kimberlin's methodology, which uses analytical criteria and sampling methods akin to those used in a science lab, results in descriptive detail and objectivity which are somewhat lacking in Kebede's dissertation. However, Kimberlin's methodology and detailed analysis often seem cumbersome to the point where the reader encounters difficulty when trying to construct a generalized picture. For, while the issues discussed -- be they masinqo dimensions, mode intervals, or phrase patterns -- are usually carefully quantified, organized in appropriate tables and their mean average calculated (see Kimberlin 1976: viii-ix), they not sufficiently qualified. For example, the intervals that define a mode were calculated by analyzing the pitch frequencies in forty songs, and determining the average interval in cents. (Kimberlin 1976: 56-57). But although the intervals are thus defined at the microtonal level, it is not indicated at what level of microtonality or inflection the ear of the Ethiopian musician operates -- quarter tone, eighth tone, etc.

Powne, Kebede, Kimberlin, and the four *qənət.*

Qənət is the Amharic term for mode, though according to Kimberlin, this is a rather inexact translation, for it encompasses more than a set of intervallic relationships (Kimberlin 1980:239). The term is derived from the Amharic word *maqənət,* which means 'to be inspired', or 'to be aware of'. It can also mean 'to tune', or 'tuning' (Kimberlin 1976:5). Ethiopian musicians use the term when refering to the tuning of their musical instruments, and identify four types of *qənət* in their song repertory. All the *qənət* are pentatonic (Kebede 1971:234).

Whatever the exact meaning of *qənət* is, the three scholars approach its discussion differently and assign the term different levels of significance, thus creating confusion for the reader attempting to grasp the foundations of Ethiopian music. Powne does not mention the term at all. His discussion of the four different modes is synonymous with that of the different possible ways to tune the *krar.* (As the *krar* has no fingerboard, its strings must be tuned according to the intervals in the mode being played, and perhaps it therefore is easier to demonstrate the modes on the *krar*) (Powne 1968:47-51).

Kebede includes a brief discussion of the *qənət* towards the end of his dissertation. Unfortunately, the discussion of *qənət* does not precede that of the transcriptions of traditional music but is presented following the transcriptions. Upon discussing a specific transcription, the type of *qənət* is not always stated, despite the fact that a scalar analysis is always present. Since the songs and their variations may contain intervallic variances which to the Western ear would sound enharmonic to the mode, it requires previous knowledge in Ethiopian music to know whether there are songs sung in other modes in the Semito-Hamitic culture area or whether the mode was simply not defined (see for example *Min Ale*, Kebede 1971:202). Since Kebede de-emphasizes his discussion of *qəñət* in this way, the reader is left with the impression that knowledge of the modes is an outcome of practice, not a necessary basis for the practice of Ethiopian music. If such is the case, it needs to be specifically stated by the author.

Kimberlin, on the other hand, attempts to define the *qəñət* system in depth. For the sake of accuracy, she computes the mean average of all the intervals that comprise a specific mode in cents, and does not provide the reader with a staff notation "translation" (Kimberlin, 1976:64,71 and 1980:239). While this may be the most accurate intervallic portrayal of the modes, it does not facilitate comparative work unless one has access to equipment that determines pitch frequencies. One also questions the importance of determining intervals at the level of cents, when all the musical transcriptions themselves are notated in Western staff notation, with very little indication of microtonal variation (Kimberlin 1976: 295).

The following table presents the four *qəñət*. According to each of the authors, since they are not in full agreement on the exact intervallic relationships within each *qəñət*. According to Kebede, the intervallic relationships within the modes quoted by Powne are not necessarily correct for Ethiopian music played outside the Theatre (Kebede 1970:502). But as Kimberlin's representation of modes in cents do not always correspond with Kebede's representation, I chose to compare all representations. For convenience sake I have ordered the notes from low to high, although Powne does not present them in ascending order, but in the order of the *krar's* tuned strings. And although the referent pitch varies in Powne's illustration, I have transposed all to modes so that the referent pitch is c. There is no fixed referent pitch in Ethiopian music, and open strings are usually tuned to accommodate the singers' tessitura (Kimberlin 1976:54).

I. *T∂z∂ta:*

Powne (1968:50) -	c	db	eb	g	ab	c
Kebede (1971:234) -	c	d	e	g	a	c
Kimberlin (1980: 239) -		200,	175,	350,	150,	325

II. *Bati:*

Powne -	c	eb	f	g	bb	c
Kebede -	c	eb	f	g	bb	c
Kimberlin -		325,	200,	175,	350,	150

III. *Ambas∂l:*

Powne -	c	db	f	g	ab	c
Kebede -	c	db	f	g	ab	c
Kimberlin -		115,	345,	235,	135,	370

IV. *Anchihoy:*

				#	#	
Powne -	c	db	f	f	a	c
	#				b	
Kebede -	c	db	f	gb	bb	c
Kimberlin -		135,	370,	115,	345,	235

Anchihoy and *T∂z∂ta* are thought to be the oldest modes, and it is quite possible that *Ambas∂l* is derived from the first and *Bati* from the second (Kimberlin 1976:79). The scholars are in general agreement that to Western ears, *Anchihoy q∂ñ∂t* is the most complicated to hear (Kebede 1971:235) due to its microtonal nature. It is possible that the chromaticism that characterizes this mode was the result of cross fertilization with the Arabic musical world.

In a latter publication on *krar* music, Kebede broadens the definition of *qənət* to say that:

> "... the term *Kignit* has a clear reference to song (poetry and melody) and to a system of tuning instruments to relative pitches found in the melodic patterns of major song genres. Thirdly, the same term also applies to tuning instruments through a process of improvisation and variation" (Kebede 1977:385).

In this paper, Kebede proceeds to introduce a *qənət* , the intervallic structure and name *(YefiKir Ketaima)* of which does not correspond to the four modes introduced in all previous publications (Kebede, 1977: 385-387). This reenforces the hypothesis that in practice, Ethiopian music employs other modes than the "officially " recognized ones.

During my stay in Israel, I attempted to determine whether the musicians that I recorded were consciously employing a theoretical body of knowledge, particularly scales, when playing their music, or whether they were playing in a style which they assimilated without theoretical knowledge. It soon became clear to me that *Meseret* members could not articulate to me why they tuned their instruments in a particular way or played them in a particular mode. Due to language barriers, I could not discuss this issue with Ya'acov (the *masinqo* player). Daniel, the *krar* player, knew the name of one mode - *Bati* (which he refered to as 'tuning' in Hebrew), and all the songs he composed were in *Bati* or *Təzəta*. He also knew that altogether there were four modes. When asked if he could recall other "tunings", he tuned his *krar* and played in a scale which most resembled *Anchihoy* mode, which he could not name (see appendix 5, transcription 3). He claimed that it was a mode his father often employed when playing the *krar*, and that it was no longer as popular as it used to be. It is quite likely that Daniel's bias for *Bati* and *Təzəta* resulted from their similarity to

Western modes, which may have popularized them among the younger generation. On the other hand,Ya'acov, the *masinqo* player, frequently employed *anchihoy* and *ambasəl* modes. Ya'acov's ability to perform in all modes may be a testimony to his greater skill, but as he was much older than Daniel, it may also point to a difference in taste between the older and younger generation. I shall further expand on this point in chapter VI, in the discussion of stylistic elements in performance among the different musicians I recorded in Israel.

Having discussed the existing literature on Ethiopian music and the foundations for Ethiopian music theory, I now turn to the contexts of music performance in Israel. The following chapter will discuss the role of music in the lives of Ethiopian Jews, and the ways in which the role of music changed in Israel. The discussion will also specify how both change and continuity are manifest in performance practices.

Chapter III: The function and role of music in daily life

Introduction

Music plays an important and integral role in the life of Ethiopian Jews both in Ethiopia and in Israel. It often accompanies entertainment, ritual, work and other aspects of daily life. However, due to the disruptions experienced by the Jewish Ethiopian community now living in Israel, some aspects in the role of secular music in the lives of Ethiopian Jews have changed. Consequently, some questions remain about the future of this musical culture transported thousands of miles from its origins.

In this chapter, both the continuities and the changes - which are most often manifested in performance practice - will be described. The dynamics of continuity and change are best described through an examination of the different contexts in which music is performed, as well as an examination of the role of musicians in the community. Directly following will be a description of the settings in which Ethiopian music is performed in Israel. In particular, I will focus on the relationship between music and dance, and the music performed during the ritual engagement prior to a wedding. I will also discuss the role of the *azmari,* the traditional musicians of Ethiopia, whose functions have been in part subsumed by the Jewish Ethiopian musicians in Israel.

Performance contexts

There were two types of music performances that I attended during my fieldwork -- the more formal ones, which included public performances and recording sessions, and the informal performances that took place in various social gatherings and celebrations. The informal performances that I attended took place at a party in the Safad absorption center, when *Meseret* members visited friends and relatives after a public performance; at a wedding, and at a circumcision in Nazareth-Illit. In such group performances, music was always accompanying dance, and people took turns playing and dancing. The difference between the two types of events was not great, for as with other aspects of life among Ethiopian Jews, music was played and performed in a rather fluid and somewhat unstructured manner. Even during a semi-formal recording session, if it was a group recording, the musicians alternated between playing, singing and dancing, and the session usually took on the spirit of a party.

Outside of recording sessions, I have not witnessed any solo performances, other than at the cultural center, when the men would at times pick up a *krar* or *masinqo* and sing for a little while as a form of repose from work. For all the musicians that I recorded in solo performances, playing was a private means of self-expression, rather than a means of entertaining others.

Music and dance

Music and dance appeared to be distinctly intertwined concepts in the culture. The songs performed at the celebrations and gatherings mentioned above were called *zefen,* which was defined to me as "a song which is also a dance"; no conceptual linguistic differentiation was made between the two. The dance usually consisted of one or two dancers dancing at the same time, while the rest of the group would form a circle around them, and encourage the dancers with their singing, and clapping. When dancing, the dancers would hold scarves that were tied around their waists, and move in small steps. The Amhara dance style performed by the immigrants focuses on shoulder movement, and periodically the drumming would intensify and the dancers would break into intensely vigorous shoulder thrusts, which were called *ǝskǝsta*. If there were two dancers in the circle, they would sometimes face each other and loosely mirror each other's movements. When the dancing became exhilarating, the singers would further push the excitement with ululations and throaty vocables.

Kebede broadens the immigrants' definition of *zefen* in the following quote:

> "*Zefen* is a generic term of all happy, delightful and jovial songs. *Zefen* is often sung on occasions like births, engagements, weddings and national holidays that call for festivity and merry making. It is performed solo by *azmaris* (professional musicians) or ordinarily by groups comprising men, women, children, or mixed. In group performance, the *zefen* is accompanied by clapping and drums; it also includes dancing (*iskista*) and ululations (*ilita*).
> The song texts consequently contain elements of humor, wit, praise and love that reflect contentment and optimism. The texts are often improvised and set to the standard favorite tunes. It must be noted here again that the words in all the *zefens* are always far more important than the melody that accompanies them" (Kebede 1971:61).

Although much of Kebede's description corresponds to the *zefens* that I witnessed performed in Israel, there are some differences. Kebede distinguishes between the group performances that include responsorial singing, clapping and dancing, and *ye azmari zefen,* performed by soloists with instrumental accompaniment:

> "Both the melodies and the texts of the *zefen* become intricate, complex, and specialized in the hands of the *azmari*; this is the kind which we called *ye azmari zefen* and which is almost always sung solo accompanied by a musical instrument or two" (Kebede 1971:62).

In Israel, the performances of *zefen* in Israel were not differentiated in a similar way. The group perfomances of *zefen* were always accompanied by drums, call and response style singing, clapping and textual improvisation. However, instruments such as the *krar, masinqo* and less frequently the *washint,* were often played simultaneously. It is possible that this change in performance practice took place due to the lack of professional *azmaris*, whose role in Ethiopia was to provide the entertainment: For as the instruments were played by lay musicians, the differentiation between the soloists and responsorial group performance was not maintained. I shall return this point when discussing the role of the musicians.

While Kebede delineates the stylistic differences in performance of *zefen* in Ethiopia as stemming from the nature of the performers -- be they semi-professional musicians or not -- in Israel the differences noted were the result of performance context. In public performances of *Meseret* (music festivals, television, etc.), *zefen* performances always included the string instruments and the *washint.* While in private celebrations these instruments were often played, only the *kebero* were mandatory. Also, in public performances there were fewer alternations of the lead singer, and songs were performed as distinct units. In private celebrations singers would take the lead very spontaneously, and as the excitement , teasing and bantering grew, songs tended to performed in a stream of consciousness medley. Transitions from song to song would occur as one of the singers would take charge in a spontaneous manner.

The transition which was experienced by the immigrants in their new home was symbolized by the performers' dress habits. During an official performance, *Meseret* members always wore the traditional white Ethiopian dress, or *shamma*, over which the embroidered scarves, or *məqanet,* were tied around the waist. In private, the immigrants wore their everyday Western clothing, but even when wearing Western clothes, they often tied the *məqanet* around their waists when dancing, for the scarves appeared to be an integral part of the dance.

Music and ritual: the wedding

While music is associated with merrymaking in all celebrations, when associated with a ritual, it takes on a function which by nature is more formally structural to the occasion. The ritualized proceedings that take place in preparation for a Jewish Ethiopian wedding provide a good example.

In his analysis of song genres, Kebede discusses the *zefen* sung at a wedding as a class by itself -- *Yesereg zefen* , or wedding songs (Kebede 1971:73). Among Jewish Ethiopians, as it is among Ethiopians in general, marriage is one of the most important occasions in a person's life, and the preparations for marriage begin long before a marriage is in effect (See description of Jewish Ethiopian marriage, as described by Gadi Nagusse, appendix 4: Song M.2). In Ethiopia, all first marriages were pre-arranged by parents, and as Beta Israel practiced an exogamy rule going seven generations back, the bride and groom typically resided in different villages. As often the bride and groom were still children, the bride was commonly shuttled back and forth between her parents' residence and the groom's residence, until she was old enough for the marriage to be consummated. Prior to signing the marriage contract, the families of the groom and the bride identified themselves as potentially antagonistic camps.

This antagonism was put into play in a musical fashion. When the groom's party approached the bride's residence (which, in Ethiopia, could be several days walking distance from the groom's village), they broke into a song, titled *Addis Ababa* (meaning "the young flower") which presented the groom to the brides party:

shubo halugau shubo	*the young man grows like the reed, we enter*
ababa, addis ababa	*the new flower, will flower again*[1]

In this way, the groom's party is announcing its arrival and demanding the right to enter the bride's home. The references to the reed and the flower point out that the groom is in his youth, and therefore is growing like the reed, and is as fresh as the flower. At this point, the bride's friends and family come out of her home. For now, their position is that the bride's honor must be guarded, and therefore the entrance of the groom's party is delayed, until the matter is respectfully settled. The bride's party sings:

ababa honowal f∂rasu inadet naw esu	*where is he, his horse turned*
into a flower Ezaw mataw beger∂kh	*stomp around, stomp around*
ababa, addis ababa	*the new flower, will flower again*
agebayeh ∂geb honowal f∂rasu inadet naw esu	*the people assembled: "where is the horse"*
ababa yabebal gana	*the new flower, will flower again*

The bride's party is reacting to the groom's arrival by joking about his dramatic arrival on horseback. The people assemble in order to prevent the groom's easy access to the house. In other words, the bride's party is asking for assurances that the groom's intentions are honorable; until everything is settled in a respectful manner outside of the house, the groom's party is treated as an opposition camp. The two parties continue with this ritually performed debate before the groom's party is allowed to enter the house.

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[1] As I do not speak Amharic, the translations for the text of this song was provided by Abraham Mekuria. All the contextual explanations were provided by my friend and informant Gadi Nagusse.

There are essentially two wedding celebrations performed at a Jewish Ethiopian wedding -- one at the bride's place of residence and one at the groom's. The honor of both families is tied into the provision of adequate food, drink and entertainment for the wedding parties, and song continues to be the form through which the two parties offer their opinions, for as I was told -- "if it's not respectable enough, it can spoil everything and come out in the songs".

Having seen *Addis Ababa* being performed by *Meseret* in the context of a mock wedding, I was not surprised when one day, walking back to my Nazareth-Illit home from work, I saw scores, if not hundreds of people clustering in the open spaces of the block. *Addis Ababa* was being performed in front of one of the apartment building, and I immediately realized that a wedding was taking place. After being invited to join the festivities, I found out that the two families were conducting this musical ritual despite the fact that the bride and groom lived in the same apartment building across the hall from each other; their respective families knew each other well and had visited with each other many times previously. In other words, the performance of this ritual, which emphasizes the polarization of families prior to their unification via marriage, was enacted despite the fact that the context was greatly changed; the families already lived in proximity as kin would in Ethiopia. The performance of *Addis Ababa* in this case was a symbolic enactment of cultural continuity in the face of changing conditions.

The musicians

With music an integral part of daily life and secular rituals among Ethiopian Jews, it is important to examine who the musicians are; for the role that music plays in the context of cultural change or continuity within an immigrant community greatly depends on the role played by the community's musician. In Ethiopia, the *azmari,* or the professional musician, was often hired to play in village celebrations. In Israel it was mostly lay musicians who played the instruments in parties and celebrations, thus taking over the role of the *azmari* as entertainers. In this section I will examine the possible connections between the lack of a musician-class among Ethiopian Jews and changes in performance practice in Israel. I will then discuss the historical role played by the *azmari,* a role which, by its very nature, precluded Ethiopian Jews from becoming professional musicians in the past.

Changes in performance practice

As I have noted earlier, Kebede divides secular Ethiopian music into two broad classes: the music of the folk, typified by responsorial singing, hand clapping, ululations and percussive accompaniment, and the music of *azmaris*, characterized by solo instrumental accompaniment, and intricate textual and instrumental improvisation (Kebede 1971:56, 62). Kebede further claims the following:

> "Traditionally, these four instruments *(masinqo, krar, begena,& washint)* never perform as an ensemble; neither do they need percussive accompaniment, In the hand of the music craftsmen (the *azmari*), they are used to accompany solo singing or in the solo instrumental duplication of the vocal melody. The *kebero*, on the other hand, is an important instrument used to accompany both sacred and secular group singing" (Kebede 1971:137-138).

Among Ethiopian Jews in Israel, this breakdown between ensemble and solo instruments did not hold. Stringed instruments as well as the *washint* were often played along with group performances and percussion, in both public and private performances. In part, this breakdown of tradition may be related to the recent development of ensemble music in Ethiopia; ensembles such as the Haile Selassie I Theatre Orchestra had been performing in Ethiopia since 1955 (Kebede 1970: 501). Although mostly an urban phenomenon, it is quite possible that Ethiopian Jews were also exposed to ensemble music, particularly via the radio. As *Meseret* members were also performing publicly, it is possible that such ensembles provided the model for *Meseret* performances. It is also possible that by extension, the performance of group *zefen* in private celebrations began to incorporate instruments other than the *kebero.*

Another possible reason for this development in performance practice may also be related to the lack of a class of professional musicians among Jewish Ethiopians. In the absence of a professional musician with a defined musical role, joining the ensemble may be a convenient outlet for the lay musician who plays a musical instruments but does not necessarily see himself as a soloist.

This returns us to the point of departure -- the lack of professional musicians among Ethiopian Jews. During my stay in Israel I did not meet any musicians who considered themselves *azmaris.* While *Meseret* as a group made some nominal income from their public performances, which catered to a very broad audience of Ethiopians and non-Ethiopians alike, I did not see any solo performances of Ethiopian musicians at these events. Neither were there solo performances in the festivities I attended. The solo musicians that I recorded played mainly for their enjoyment and self expression. Ya'acov, the *masinqo* player, had occasionally entertained wedding guests in Ethiopia with his playing of the *masinqo*, but this was not a frequent occurrence. In any case, he did not continue the practice in Israel. Although I had heard of several musicians who had occasionally performed in Ethiopia, none of them were actively pursuing music in Israel. For example, a female singer who had achieved relative success in Ethiopia, was currently studying agriculture. The few Ethiopians who were pursuing studies or a career in performing arts were interested in Israeli theater and popular music rather than Ethiopian music. All in all, considering the integral role of music in the culture, there seemed to be a surprising lack of professional musicians within the community.

The reason for the lack of professional musicians among Jews in Ethiopia, was that music playing was actively discouraged by the adult members of the family. I was once told by Daniel, the *krar* player, that pursuing music as a career was discouraged for "Jews are supposed to spend their time praying, not playing instruments". I have also heard from two separate sources, who reported that in their personal cases this discouragement was manifest by breaking newly made instruments. In Ethiopia, it was Christian musicians who were often hired to entertain in Beta Israel villages on special occasions (Shelemay 1986: 47). This practice occurred at least once in Israel, when in 1990 when the Christian *azmari* Yerge Dubale, a favorite musician, was flown from Ethiopia to Israel to perform at a wedding hall. In order to cover the extensive cost, the guests were asked to pay admission.

This negative attitude towards music playing is not unique to Ethiopian Jews, but is a prevalent attitude in Ethiopia. Kebede relates to us the historical reason for the disregard towards music making in the following quote:

> " Group dancing, group singing, *Tirunba menfat* ('blowing on instruments' or instrumental performance), *negarit medelek* (beating on drums), and the entire area of clowning and entertainment has always been conceived to be the specialty and the inclination of slaves. Although slavery was abolished officially by Menelik II (1889-1913), this negative conception and attitude towards music and musical performance has left far-reaching repercussions in the minds of our people later; consequently, entertainers and performers of music, no matter their popularity or their economic status, are considered still, and have been made to feel, less than second class citizens by their Ethiopian audiences, and particularly by those members of the older generation" (Kebede 1971:161).

And:

> "All branches of craftsmanship (including music) are conceived to be specializations that should be left alone to those scum, slaves, bums and beggars that comprise the lowest stratum of the society" (Kebede 1971:167).

Today the *azmari* occupies the same low class status as do other occupations which are open to illiterates, such as weaving, blacksmithing, pottery, etc. (Kimberlin 1976: 8-9). As mentioned in the overview of Jewish Ethiopian history, these occupations are despised by the Amhara, who consider farming to be the highest occupational status in rural society. But because Beta Israel could not own land, they filled precisely those artisan occupations considered to be the most contemptible by the Amhara. It is therefore surprising that of all the limited vocations that were open to them, musicianship was so disregarded. It is quite likely that the reason for this disregard is rooted in the fact that the lifestyle of the *azmari* is incompatible with being Jewish in Ethiopia. In order to understand the sources for this this contempt, a brief examination of the historical development of the *azmari's* social role is needed.

The *azmari*

Azmari is the Amharic word that designates semi-professional musicians in Ethiopia. The term applies to both male and female musicians, and is derived from the Ge'ez infinitive *mezmer*, or 'to sing' (Kebede 1971:168). According to

Kimberlin, the word *azmari* refers specifically to professional *masinqo* players, for *masinqo* is the instrument most closely associated with the wandering minstrels. However, for lack of a word in Amaharic which denotes a person playing a specific musical instrument, the term has grown to include all musicians (Kimberlin 1976:7).

The development of the *azmari* was closely linked with the rise of a feudal society. The *azmaris* were minstrels and led a nomadic life, for permanent aristocratic patronage of *azmaris* never developed in Ethiopia. Originally, The *azmari's* role was to praise the nobility in song. Later, the *azmaris* repertory came to include poems of criticism against their their patrons, their allies as well as their enemies (Kimberlin 1976:7). Thus the *azmaris* expressed the community's concerns through musical entertainment. *Azmaris* performed in village celebrations, drinking houses (*Tej-bet*), and accompanied caravans (Kebede 1971:71).

Being the social commentators of their day, *azmaris* could criticize the ruling class in satirical songs which would be unacceptable from another source. They followed political currents closely and recorded them is song. *Azmaris* were particularly known for their ability to improvise appropriate texts on the spot, which were often fitted to extant melodies. Kebede sums the historical role of the azmari in the following quote:

> "It should be quite obvious... that the *azmari* is mainly an entertainer. He does, however, assume many important interrelated secondary roles as well ; he is a news forecaster, social critic, companion, clown, commentator, religious observer, political agitator, stroller, poet, servant, musician and beggar" (Kebede 1971: 175-176).

The *azmari* continued to function within this historical role well into the 20th century. Apparently, many *azmaris* were killed by the occupying Italian army between 1936 and 1941, for they disseminated patriotic, anti-colonial messages to the people (Ministry of Information 1968:38).

Azmaris received musical training in various ways. As in the feudal European societies of the Middle Ages, and until fairly recently in Ethiopia, the church was the focal center for artistic creativity. In order to become a church musician, or *debtarra*, one had to study at the church school of music from an early age. Those who were unable to climb up the the church hierarchical echelons dropped out, and some became *azmaris* . Others discovered their talents through participating in village activities, and did not receive any formal musical training. The profession is open to women as well as men, but unlike the male *azmaris,* village activities were the only means by which females traditionally developed their musical talents (Kebede 1971:172). In addition, females could sing, and some could play the *krar,* but the *masinqo* was a strictly male instrument.

Most of the *azmaris* of today, encountered by both Kebede and Kimberlin, have assimilated the disregard expressed towards them by Ethiopian society and dislike their form of livelihood. Unlike other feudal societies, in Ethiopia, the vocation was not passed on from father to son. Today the *azmari* receives training through apprenticing with another *azmari*. *Azmaris* always maintained their individualistic status, and did not form guilds or brotherhoods. The contemporary *azmaris* interviewed by Kebede, professed an intense rivalry towards one another. None wished for their children to become *azmaris* , though some wished to learn and play Western instruments, for those are associated with formal training and are therefore considered respectable pursuits (Kebede 1971:176-177 & Kimberlin 1980:235).

Today, with the rise of urban society, the establishment of mass communications, modern transportation systems and the competition from outside musical traditions, the traditional functions of the *azamari* are on the wane. The available locations for performance remain the traditional village celebrations (Kebede 1971: 179). In the city most *azmaris* perform in *taj-bets* (drinking houses frequented by men) where they play in exchange for gratuities, and private parties. Few *azmaris* attained financial stability and professional success by joining government sponsored groups or making a record (Kimberlin 1976:17-18).

I now return to the reasons that prevented Ethiopian Jews from becoming *azmaris.* Interestingly, although professional music-making was perceived as a contemptuous pursuit by Ethiopian Jews, they did not voice contempt for the other low-class professions which they maintained, such as weaving, blacksmithing, pottery, etc. I would argue that in the case of professional musicians, Ethiopian Jews shared the same attitudes towards as them Christian neighbors precisely because historically, they could not become *azmaris* and maintain their Jewish identity. As mentioned earlier, a primary way of becoming an *azmari* was through attending, and dropping out of, the church music schools. However, The church music schools were obviously not open to Jews, with village activities becoming the sole means by which a musical education could be obtained. The active discouragement of music playing on the part of the older generation results from prejudice against the *azmari* profession, but it is quite likely that this among Jews, this prejudice is rooted in the fact that the profession required a nomadic existence. The nomadic lifestyle was not feasible for Jews for several reasons: First, due to the antagonistic relations between Christian and Jews over the centuries, Jews could not travel safely, particularly not on their own; Second, the dietary restrictions, which precluded food sharing with non-Jews, as well as the ritualistic restrictions associated with *attenkuan* precluded sharing of food and close contact with strangers, an inevitability in the life of a nomadic *azmari.* In short, Ethiopian Jews already led a precarious existence, which they could not further endanger by taking on the lifestyle of the *azmari.* It is therefore of little wonder that music playing was so discouraged.

In Israel, a change in attitude was beginning to take place among the immigrants. Several members of *Meseret,* who did not play musical instruments in Ethiopia, began to play their traditional instruments after emigrating. Many expressed to me the need to continue Ethiopian traditions in the new home. Music was now perceived as part of the complex of attributes which make up one's ethnic identity, and as such, had to be preserved and continued. Obviously, any establishment of such a tradition will depart in some ways from the musical traditions found in Ethiopia, for in the process of establishing a musical tradition in a new context will result in modification of tradition. The group performance of *zefen* accompanied by instruments may be such an example of modification.

It is still early to say whether the immigrants will succeed in establishing a viable musical tradition in Israel. While there are many talented lay musicians among the immigrants, the lack of an established professional class of musicians may, in the long run, hamper the process of establishing a living tradition of Ethiopian music in Israel. On the other hand, other developments may reinforce the efforts of those currently playing and performing Ethiopian music in Israel, such as *Meseret.* In the summer of 1989 there were two music stores in Israel that imported audiotapes and video cassettes from Ethiopia. And as mentioned previously, the first *azmari* had been brought to perform in Israel in 1990. Such importations, coupled with a renewed interest in Ethiopian music as a symbol of cultural identity, may promote the establishment of a viable tradition of Ethiopian music in the immigrants' new home.

Having discussed the role of music and the musician in the lives of Ethiopian Jews, I now turn to discuss the musical instruments used by Jewish Ethiopians in Israel -- their organology, function and symbolic value.

Chapter IV: Musical instruments

Introduction

Although instruments are the subject matter of this chapter, it must be emphasized that pure instrumental music did not exist in Ethiopia. Instruments were always relegated a secondary role, accompanying vocal music. The instruments therefore usually duplicated or embellished the vocal line and singing style (Kebede 1971: 134).

The instruments played by Jewish Ethiopians in Israel were also common instruments of the secular music traditions of the Amhara and Tigre groups in Ethiopia. They include two chordophones -- the *masinqo* and the *krar;* an aerophone, called *washint;* and a membranophone, called the *kebero.* Although only these instruments are to be described in this chapter, it must be noted that many other instruments of both sacred and secular musical traditions are found in Ethiopia.

As they did in Ethiopia, the materials used by the instrument makers came from what was readily available in the environment, and the instruments did not adhere to absolute standards in size, shape and materials. For example, although *washints* were traditionally made of bamboo, in Israel I encountered a *washint* which was made from a discarded piece of a metal pipe. The *krars* also varied a great deal in shape and design. And where the *kebero* was not available, people danced to the beat of a Palestinian *darbukka.*

The instruments to be described in this chapter will be presented in the order of their graded importance in terms of their musical role in Ethiopian culture and among Jewish Ethiopians in Israel. The chordophones will therefore be described first, with the *masinqo* presented prior to the *krar.* As aerophones as a class are secondary in importance, the *washint* will be presented next. All three melodic instruments are used by *azmaris* in Ethiopia, with the *washint* also being widely played by amateurs. Last to be discussed is the *kebero,* in the membranophone class (Kebede 1971:137).

The *masinqo*

Organology and playing position:

The *masinqo* is probably the most popular and versatile of the Ethiopian instruments. It is a single stringed spiked fiddle with a diamond shaped sound box (see appendix 2 for illustration and photographs). It is the only bowed Ethiopian instrument. The materials that go into the making of the instrument are goatskin for the soundbox covering, horsehair for the bow and spike strings and wood for the rest of the instrument (Kimberlin 1980: 238-239). Other accounts claim the soundbox covering is made of cowhide parchment (see Powne 1968: 40 & Kebede 1971:150), though all the musicians interviewed in Israel agreed that the cover had to be made of goatskin.

The sound box is built from a diamond-shaped wooden frame, over which the parchment is stretched to cover both faces of the sound box. The two goatskin faces are then stitched over the frame. The wooden neck pole juts from the top and bottom corners of the diamond shaped sound box through openings in the frame, and four sound hole are cut in the corners. The neck can be either round or rectangular, and at its top end a hole is bored for the tuning peg. The tuning peg is always round, and narrower on the front side where the string is tied (Kebede 1971:150). The spike string and bow string are made of many strands of horsehair. The spike string is passed from the tuning peg, which is carved to prevent sliding of the string, to a hole in the bridge. Behind the bridge the string is knotted to a thong made of fiber or leather, which is stretched around both sides of the bottom corner of the sound box and fitted around the bottom end of the neck pole. The bridge is shaped like a splayed, inverted V or U . The bow is arched, with a sharper curve at the end opposite the hand-grip. Its string is thicker than the spike string (Powne 1968: 40).

Masinqos can vary in shape and dimensions. For example, depending on the maker, the average length of the spikes measured by Kimberlin could be as short as 73. 53cm or as long as 85.72cm, and the bow string could be as short as 36.20cm or as long as 40.32 (Kimberlin 1976:34). The greatest variability however, exists in the box volume, which is apparently correlated with the ethnic affiliation of the makers and size of performance locations (Kimberlin 1971:36-38).

The *masinqo* player can play in either sitting or standing positions. When standing, the *masinqo* is carried by a leather strap (Kimberlin 1976:45). Otherwise, the player sits holding the instrument between his knees, with the neck of the instrument resting on his left shoulder. He uses the finger and thumb of the left hand to stop the string, while the right hand is used to bow the instrument (see photo 2.c in appendix 2). The bow is usually treated with resin prior to playing, and is held in a vertical position to the spike string. The *masinqo* lends itself to the production of harmonics, slides, microtonal inflections and nuances of tone color (Kebede 1971:151).

Origin, performance practice, and style:

The *masinqo* is almost identical in construction to the Arabian *rbab*, with the exception that the latter has two strings (Kebede 1971:148); it is possible that it came to Ethiopia with the Guhaina Arabs, from Southern Arabia (Kebede 1971:141).

The *masinqo* is the instrument most closely associated with the *azmari,* and is played solely by men. It is usually used to accompany both secular songs and semi-sacred popular religious songs (Kebede 1971:151). Although it is mainly a solo instrument, it is played at times in consorts before a large religious festivals such as *Maskal*, or the True Cross (Powne 1968: 42).

A vocal performance is usually preceded by an instrumental section which introduces the proper *qəñət* within the singer's range, and sets the general mood of the song. Instrumental interludes are played in alternation with the vocal cycles which are accompanied by the *masinqo*, thus allowing the singer to rest his voice and prepare for the forthcoming textual improvisation (Kebede 1971:152). Both the instrumental interludes and sung sections are subject to variation and improvisation. The *masinqo* part supports, enriches, and ornaments the vocal line. The essential relationship between the *masinqo* and voice is heterophony, with the *masinqo* playing some elaboration of the vocal line.

Unlike solo performances, in *Meseret's* ensemble performances, the *masinqo* usually played a rhythmic drone that enhanced the texture during the song, rather than embellished the melody. Melodic improvisation in free rhythm occurred at times in the introduction to songs, but ceased with the entrance of vocals and percussion.

The *krar*

Organology and playing position:

The *krar* is a five or six-stringed lyre which can be plucked or strummed with a plectrum (see illustration and photographs 2.d - 2.i appendix 2). The *krar* comes in various shapes and sizes, depending on ethnic styles and the availability of materials that go into its making. The *krar's* sound box may be trapezoidal, and made from wood, or it may be round, and made from wood or metal bowls over which goatskin is stretched. According to Kimberlin, the trapezoid shaped sound box is of Dorze derivation, while the bowl shape is the Amhara and Tigre style (Kimberlin 1980: 237). On the other hand Kebede claims that In urban locations there is generally a preference for higher volume than in rural locations, and that is where metal bowls are more common (Kebede 1977: 383). Among the Ethiopian Jews in Israel, both designs are found. *Meseret's* director, Gadi Nagusse, who had constructed a trapezoidal *krar* himself, believed that the bowled *krar* was of ancient design, while the box *krar* was a more recent adaptation.

In the hide covered resonators of the bowled *krars*, two holes are made in the membrane through which the side arms are passed. In the trapezoidal wooden design, the arms extend from the frame. No sound posts are used in the bowl resonator (Kebede 1971:146), but the sidearms are held together against the inner rim of the bowl by a wire. The wooden side arms extend in a V shape from the bowl and are joined together by a crossbar.

According to Kebede, the strings of the *krar* were traditionally made of gut, but currently nylon, silk or wire are more common. Kimberlin divides the string materials by ethnic affiliation -- with gut used by Dorze, metal by the Tigre, and gut, metal or nylon by the Amhara (Kimberlin 1980:238). In Israel, all the *krars* played the immigrants displayed nylon strings, cut from fishline. The strings are stretched from the bottom of the instrument, where they are fastened to a wire loop that is attached to the sound resonator, over a shallow notched bridge placed on the resonator, and are fastened at the other end to the cross-bar and the tuning pegs. The tuning pegs are attached to the cross-bar through the pressure of the strings that are wound around both. The purpose of the bridge is to lift the string from the membrane and create clear sound production. The notches on the bridge prevent the strings from slipping, and their number is equal to the number of strings (Powne 1968:43-44 & Kebede 1971:147). The six stringed *krars* are tuned to the five notes of the appropriate *q∂ñ∂t* plus an octave doubling of the tonic (Kebede 1977:388-389). In Israel, the two *krars* observed were five stringed instruments.

The player usually sits with the the soundbox resting on the left thigh and under the armpit, the length of the instrument extending in front of the musician. The face of the instrument angled somewhat towards the player (See photographs 2.e & 2.i in appendix 2). When standing, the *krar* is balanced against the left hip. The *krar* can be plucked or strummed. The five fingers of the left hand are used to mute the strings that should not sound, and it is the unmuted open strings which ring out when struck. The right hand may be used either for rhythmical strumming of the instrument or plucking, for which a leather plectrum is used (Powne 1968:45-46). In Israel, the plectrums were sometimes made of discarded pieces of plastic.

Origin, performance practice, and style:

The *krar* is not the only lyre found in Ethiopia, although it is the only lyre played by the Ethiopian Jews in Israel. The *begena,* an eight to ten stringed trapezoid lyre is also found in Ethiopia. It was traditionally associated with the nobility and the upper class, and the instrument was seldom played for an audience (Kimberlin 1980:236). An Ethiopian legend recounts that the *begena* was made by God, who gave it to King David so that the latter will compose and sing songs of praise. The *krar* was a distorted imitation that was made by the devil in order to arouse destructive emotions and to accompany songs whose subject matter is carnal love, feminine beauty as well as obscenities. To this day, the *begena* is used to accompany semi-sacred verse and poetry, while the *krar* always accompanies secular poetry and song (Kebede 1977: 380-381).

The association of the *krar* with King David was prevalent among Ethiopian Jews in Israel, and musicians often commented on it when playing the instrument. It is very likely that this mythology is rooted in fact, for apparently there is much resemblance between the *krar* and the ancient Hebrew lyres, and the extensive interaction between Ethiopia and the Mediterranean countries makes this route of dissemination highly plausible:

> "The Hebrew lyres resemble the lyres of the Nile area and particularly those found in Ethiopia. The Hebrew lyres were small, triangular, with circular resonators and were held in a slanting position. The strings were made of sheep gut. There are some functional similarities between the Hebrew lyre and the Ethiopian bowl lyre. It is believed that during their Babylonian exile, the Jews suspended the use of the instrument because it produced "joyful" sounds (Kebede 1977:379)".

Kebede claims that the *krar* is an instrument which is played by *azmaris* in Ethiopia (Kebede 1977:381). Kimberlin, on the other hand makes distinction between *masinqo* players, who are considered to be *azmaris,* and who traditionally were retainers of noblemen, and *krar* players; for the *krar* was traditionally associated with those who made their living as pimps or prostitutes, as well as repertoires of an immoral purposes (Kimberlin 1976:8). Daniel, the *krar* player interviewed in Israel, told me that in previous generations, the *krar* was very much an instrument of self expression, in the sense that it was not used to play for entertainment, as the *masinqo* was used in village celebrations. The *krar* was played privately, by those "who carry with them a real love of music" in a quiet place where "there is no sound". Another account claims that "the *Kerar* is traditionally associated with hunters and lonely men of the wilderness" (Lemma 1975:11).

Upon first reading, it appears that the accounts differ in the cultural symbolism that is assigned to the *krar*. However, these varying symbols may simply originate in different locations, thus creating divergent traditions. As Kimberlin's research centered in Addis Ababa, it is possible that the association of the *krar* with illicit activities is a more urban phenomenon, which is supported by the legend that tells of the origin of the two lyres. On the other hand, it is possible that in the rural areas, and specifically in Gondar, the *krar* was more often a self expressive instrument that was played by men for their own ears, rather than for entertainment purposes.

Perhaps because of the different functions of the two instruments, the *krar* was once less widely distributed than the *masinqo.* Apparently, in recent years the *krar* has become an instrument of choice among the young generation (Kebede 1971:230). This seemed to be consistent with the fact that among Ethiopian Jews in Israel, I met several *masinqo* players who played in Ethiopia, but only one *krar* player who played prior to immigrating. However, the younger members of the community were much more inclined to listen to solo *krar* music than solo *masinqo* music, and several expressed their interest in learning to play the instrument.

Daniel claimed that the popularity of the *krar* was further enhanced after the 1974 revolution. This was in part due to the efforts of the Marxist government to encourage playing of the instrument -- both for its value as a symbol of Ethiopian culture as well as a musical means by which government propaganda could be disseminated. The new role for the *krar* meant an increase in the building of instruments and a growing trend of playing the *krar* in an ensemble context. The *krar's* new popularity was also reinforced by the instrument's inherent versatility -- it could easily be combined with the "modern" (Western) instruments attractive to the younger generation.

Although the *krar* is primarily played by males, there is no known taboo that prevents women from playing it. Daniel had heard of women who played the instrument, but had never encountered a female *krar* player. Although there is a lack of female instrumentalists in general among Ethiopians, it is possible that in the case of *krar* playing, the licentious associations of the instrument prevented women from playing. This is supported by Kimberlin, who reported that:

> "...derogatory opinions were voiced concerning women in the musical professions.Women dancers, singers, or *krar* players were considered harlots or in the same class as harlots" (Kimberlin 1976:17).

In any case, the number of female *krar* players is apparently growing fast in Ethiopia today (Kebede 1977:381).

According to Kebede, the *krar* always produces monophonic music, for only one string is is allowed to vibrate at a time, while the others are dampened (Kebede 1977:387). Kimberlin, on the other hand, defines this style of playing as an Amhara characteristic, while the Tigre style is typified by rhythmic chordal accompaniment which outlines the basic vocal melody (Kimberlin 1980:248). The playing style which I observed in Israel was characterized by chordal rhythmic accompaniment during the strophes, with an unmeasured monophonic instrumental introduction and interludes. In the introduction and interludes, strumming was often replaced by plucking.

In *Meseret* ensemble performances, the *krar's* role was changed to play an unvarying rhythmic ostinato accompaniment that emphasized the main notes of the melody, with some variational freedom in the introduction. Like the *masinqo* playing in the ensemble, the resultant effect was primarily that of texture enhancement.

The *washint*

Organology and playing position:

The *washint* is an end blown bamboo flute with four finger-holes (See illustration 2.j and 2.i in appendix 2). *Washints* vary in length, thickness, and spacing of sound holes depending on the available materials and the tonal range preferred by the performer (Lemma 1975:16). The *washint* can be as short as 35cm or as long as 75 cm (Kimberlin 1980:239), and its length is traditionally measured by the number of rings on the bamboo. Therefore, pitches are not duplicated from one instrument to another (Kebede 1971:155). Obviously the longer the pipe is, the lower the pitch, and tone becomes harder to produce. Differences in embouchure and fingering techniques also contribute to the timbral differences between *washints* (Kebede 1971:154). In Israel, I saw one *washint* that was made of a piece of metal pipe, and it is quite possible that the player resorted to metal for lack of available bamboo.

The *washint* is a relatively easy instrument to make; a hot wire is used to bore out the bamboo segments and the finger-holes, and both ends of the pipe are left open (Kimberlin 1980:239) . It is common for the performer to make his own instrument. When playing, the performer holds the *washint* at a diagonal position to his right.

Performance practice and style:

The *washint* is used solely for secular repertoire. Although it is played by *azmaris,* its construction and performance is most commonly associated with cowherds, shepherds, watchmen, and those who have a lot of time to spend in solitude. Among Ethiopian Jews, the task of shepherding and guarding the crops was commonly given to young boys, who sat on a wooden platform in the fields (Shelemay 1986:47). The association of these tasks with the *washint* among Ethiopians Jews so strong that when during a party, Natan, *Meseret's washint* player, played a *washint* solo, the men around him began to vocalize spontaneously, providing the animal sounds which were part of the original sound environment for the instrument (see transcription 4, appendix 5). Popular lore informs us that the instrument has an hypnotic effect on animals, particularly leopards and serpents (Kebede 1971:157). Like the *masinqo,* and perhaps due to the male tasks associated with the instrument, the *washint* is never played by women.

Although Powne observes that because the *washint* is four holed, it is essentially pentatonic (Powne 1968:28), my experience has shown that players can, and do, produce more notes when playing by utilizing fingering techniques (again, see transcription 4 in appendix 5). Overblowing allows the player the range of two octaves. In solo playing, inflection and ornamentation can also be produced by varying the angle of blowing against the edge of the pipe (Kebede 1971:156). The *washint* naturally lends itself to melodic ornamentation:

> "The *washint,* whether played by a traditional or contemporary theatre "artist", displays quite complex melodic ornaments, dizzy descents, and staggering ascents; because of the finger-holes, consistently accurate intonation is maintained" (Kebede 1971:227).

As with the *masinqo*, *washint* solo improvisations are ornamented to the degree that the rhythmic pulse becomes obscured in the listeners ear.

Powne observes that in ensemble playing, the *washint* assumes a lead role, with the stringed instruments tuning themselves to it (Powne 1968:27). *Washints* are never played in consorts; the lack of absolute measuring standards for making the instrument probably prohibits the use of more than one *washint* in an ensemble. In *Meseret* performances the *washint* would play a rather ornamented introduction, based on the the main melody of the song. At the end of the song, the *washint* sometimes resumed its dense ornamentation before tapering off. But when the vocals came in, the *washint* followed the vocal line more closely. This is consistent with ensemble playing in Ethiopia (Kebede 1971: 228-229).

The *kebero*

Organology and playing position:

The *kebero* is a double headed cylindrical or conical drum (see photographs 2.l & 2.m appendix 2), that comes in various sizes and is carried with a shoulder strap (Kimberlin 1980:237). The body is usually made of a tree trunk. The desired length of the drum is measured after the tree is cut down, and the inside of the log is then gouged out. The variations of height among four instruments measured by Powne ranged from 38cm to 75cm (Powne 1968:16). After the desired length is cut from the tree trunk, both the interior and the exterior are then filed down (Kebede 1971:159). In keeping with the tradition of making the most from available materials, in Israel I saw one *kebero* which was made out of an old barrel, and Kimberlin reports the use of recycled cylindrical metal containers for the body (Kimberlin 1980 237). Powne notes that the shape of the instrument is determined by the shape of the tree-trunk, and most *keberos* taper on one end, creating two faces of different sizes for the drum. Kimberlin distinguishes between conical *keberos* , used only for religious functions, and cylindrical *keberos,* which are used only for secular functions by the Amhara and Tigre (Kimberlin 1980:237). The two *keberos* that were played by *Meseret* were both cylindrical, and I did not learn whether this was the preferred shape or an inevitability of the construction materials.

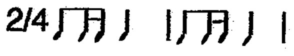
According to Kebede, the two faces of the *kebero* are always made of ox-hide (Kebede 171:160). This fact which was consistent with what I was told by Ethiopian Jews in Israel, who made the observation that ox-hide provides the best resonance. The skin is prepared by scraping, stretching, wetting and stitching it on top of the drum body. The tautness of the two faces is maintained by connecting them to each other with thongs that are tied in different patterns (see photographs in appendix 2). In order to produce two different pitches with the two faces of the drum on both conical and cylindrically shaped drums, the skin on one head (the smaller head in the case of a conical drum) is stretched tighter than the skin on the other head. Once the instruments are made, the tuning is not altered (Powne 1968:17). In Israel, to allow better resonance, the drums were usually left to bathe in the sun prior to a performance.

The *kebero* is played with bare hands. When standing, the drum is slung around the player's neck with the drum hanging in front of him. The larger, or lower pitched head of the drum, is positioned higher than the smaller, higher pitched head. The larger, lower pitched head is struck by the right hand, while the other head is struck by the left hand (Powne 1968:16). When the player is sitting, the drum stands on its smaller head, and only the larger head of the drum is struck. In Israel, this was the preferred playing position. The *kebero* was slung over the shoulder only when the performance required playing of music while moving from one location to another, as in the performance of the pre-wedding ritual described in chapter III.

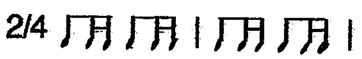
Performance practice and style:

The *kebero* is the only drum used by the Semito-Hamitic peoples of the Ethiopian plateau in performances of secular music, though it has a role in both secular and sacred traditions (Kebede 1971:159-160). While among Christians the *kebero* is played in religious processions, among Ethiopian Jews a different drum, the *negarit,* is used to accompany religious music, and specifically, the liturgy (Shelemay 1986:184). According to Kebede, the *kebero* is far less important than the instruments of the chordophone class, for traditionally in secular music, the music played by azmaris did not require any percussive accompaniment, and the *kebero* was only used in group performances of lay musicians (Kebede 158-159). Among Ethiopian Jews in Israel, the drum was essential to celebrations that included dance, and when *keberos* were not available other drums were used. Without the energetic contribution of the drums, played alternately by the singers, dancers and musicians, it was difficult to inspire the unbridled enthusiasm that was attained with the percussive accompaniment of the drums. Thus although the *kebero* may not have a key role in the diverse secular musical genres of Ethiopia, it carries an important social function in being an essential part of any good party.

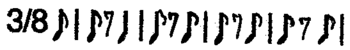
In ensemble performances of *Meseret,* a pair of *keberos* were always played in unison. The pairing of *keberos* is not necessarily a feature of ensemble playing in Ethiopia. Powne claims that in 1963, the drummer of the Haile Selassie I Theatre orchestra played drums of various sizes, though only one *kebero* (Powne 1968:60). Unlike the other instruments in the ensemble, which required training, the rhythms were simple enough to be played by all the members of the group, and the *kebero* was the only instrument which I ever saw the women play. In the performances of *zefen*, the drumming would periodically cue the dancers to intensify their dance, who would then break into the shoulder dance called *əskəsta*. The intensification of the drumming was characterized by an increase in volume and sometimes also greater pitch density. For example:



became



Although patterns varied somewhat in the introduction and before *əskəsta* performance, the above was one of two basic patterns that *Meseret* members played in the accompaniment of *zefen.* The other pattern was:



According to one informant, the first pattern in duple meter is an Amhara drumming pattern, while the second is a Tigrenya pattern. I have not been able to corroborate this information, but if the information is true, than this is an example of percussive syncretism that is reflective of the interactions of the Gondarine Jewish community with the Tigre area.

Having presented the four musical instruments that are played by Ethiopian Jews in this chapter, the following chapter will focus on another aspect of Jewish Ethiopian song; the song texts. As the analysis of the topical content of the songs offers insights into the singers' perspectives, chapter V will describe some of the concerns, problems, customs, and world-views of members of the Ethiopian Jewish community in Israel.

Chapter V: Song texts

Introduction: Amharic -- the language and the people

Mindful of the wealth of cultural information that is usually encoded in song texts, during the period that I worked with the Ethiopian Jews in Israel I attempted to have translated the songs I recorded by *Meseret* and the other musicians. As I do not do not speak Amharic, I could not provide the translation myself. Most of the Jewish Ethiopians with whom I worked had very rudimentary reading and writing skills in their mother tongue, Amharic. Of all the people I recorded, only Daniel, the *krar* player, could read and write with facility. Consequently, in most cases I resorted to writing the translations of the songs as they were spoken to me in Hebrew. I was somewhat surprised that the men with whom I worked encountered tremendous difficulty in providing exact translations. In an attempt to explain the songs, they would often resort to telling stories and anecdotes which seemed to be very long winded explanations of short texts. When I insisted on word-by-word translations, they usually made very little sense. I soon realized that the subtleties of expression in Amharic were impossible to convey in the direct mannerism of modern Hebrew.

Scholars often claim that it is poetic expression which embodies and symbolizes the identity and creativity of Amhara culture. The subtle and multi-layered forms of communication in Amharic is well demonstrated by the *Sam-enna warq*, or "wax and gold" analogy. It is a formula which, for the Amhara, symbolizes their favorite form of verse. The form is built on two semantic layers; the apparent being the "wax", and the actual significant meaning being the "gold". The term is drawn from the lost wax method employed by the goldsmith, who constructs a clay mold around a form made from wax, removes the wax, and then pours the molten gold into the clay mold (Levine 1965:5). There are several types of "wax and gold" constructions in Amharic poetry, and in the most obscure forms only the "wax" is given; it is up to the listener to decipher the gold. The result of such poetic constructions is thusly described:

> "The chief delight of Ethiopic poetry is to attain a maximum of thought with a minimum of words... The point may be a serious moral comment, the understanding of which requires one to decipher hidden references to biblical passages or sacred legends; or it may be a jest about love based on a pornographic pun. In any case, the more ingeniously compact and obscure the construction of the verse, the more pleased will be the poet and his audience" (Levine:1965:7).

Although some of the educated Amhara elite claim the command of "wax and gold" techniques as uniquely theirs, "wax and gold" is more than than a technique of composing verse. According to Levine, it is the cultural key by which the Amhara negotiates life in society:

> "The ambiguity symbolized by the formula *sam-enna warq* colors the entire fabric of traditional Amhara life. It patterns the speech and outlook of every Amhara. When he talks, his words often carry double-entendre as a matter of course; when he listens, he is ever on the lookout for latent meanings and hidden motives. As one of my Ethiopian colleagues has said: 'Wax and gold is anything but a formula -- it is a way of life' " (Levine 1965:8-9).

In other words, wax and gold is a metaphor for the Amhara's way of communicating, which is often indirect, secretive and ambiguous. Wax and gold has various social functions. It provides the vehicle and supplies an inexhaustible source of humorous interaction, both in daily life and more formally on celebrations, where *azmaris* are hired to sing. It is a means by which insults can be amicably exchanged, in a society which places a high value on social etiquette. It can be used to defend one's privacy against intrusion. And it provides an outlet for criticizing authority figures in a society with strong hierarchical controls (Levine 1965:9). In essence, it is a safety valve which lets out the steam in a society where parental, political and religious controls are potent. It is obviously also the tool by which *azmaris* were able to pass criticism on the rulers of their time (see chapter III), which was unacceptable coming from any other source.

Rosen affirms this interconnection between Amharic language constructions and the Ethiopian style of communication:

> "For people who grow up speaking Amharic and Tigrenya, the idea of being precise with language is a foreign one. Ethiopians, perhaps Amharas more than Tigreans, are always on guard with others, suspicious about the motives of almost everyone, and on the alert for verbal assaults of one sort or another. The Amhara does not assume good intentions -- he expects people to harbor disruptive inclinations. He deals with authority cautiously, always seeking to perfect his verbal means for giving vent to his criticisms and frustrations, but without incurring the wrath of powerful superiors.
>
> Language becomes, for many Amharas, their primary means of self-defense and also of offense. One must live a long time in the midst of Ethiopians, speaking with them in Amharic... in order to begin to appreciate how much calculation is invested in each phrase, each answer to a question, each overt response to a situation...When a person speaks, he wants to do so subtly, being able to make his point effectively, yet not so directly that he might find himself involved in an altercation or worse with some equally sensitive opponent" (Rosen 1987:59).

I return now to the discussion of immigrants in Israel. The problems I encountered when seeking to translate the song texts are but a clue to greater communication breakdowns that the immigrants experienced when dealing with veteran Israelis, a problem which did not always disappear even once the immigrants learned to speak Hebrew. Israelis have a very direct manner of communication (some may even say abrasive), which stands in sharp contrast to the Ethiopian mannerism, and this was the source for many misunderstandings in the absorption center, in the classroom, and in the social environment in Israel (see for example Ben-Ezer 1987:63-72).

Song texts

Keeping the above in mind, it becomes clear why, to the immigrants, whether they played musical instruments or did not, the text was the most important aspect of the song. This finding was supported by Kebede, who noted that "Ethiopian culture attached precedence to poetry and textual meaning over melodic content or development" (Kebede, 1977:ii). Kebede further notes that:

> "...Ethiopian tradition attaches precedence to the meaning over the melody that accompanies it; this forms the basis of the Ethiopian aesthetic conception. Thus, the melodies are relatively repetitive, requiring no special effort from the performer or the listener, while the song text contains varied stanzas, artfully interwoven with subtlety and ambiguity, which only the knowledgeable, attentive listener can translate meaningfully" (Kebede 1971:60).

As the song texts are so important to the singers and their audience, I chose to analyze the texts in this paper. Knowing full well that it is most likely that I could only access the "wax" in the translations, I nevertheless expected to learn something about the general topical repertoire in the songs and the concerns of the immigrants living in Israel. Since my return to the U.S., I attempted to obtain translations for the same repertoire of song texts, for comparative purposes. I was often unsuccessful, for two reasons: The Amhara dialect spoken by rural Gondarines is somewhat different from the Amhara spoken by the educated city dwellers whom I know in the U.S.; also, it is sometimes difficult to interpret the the meaning of a compacted song text outside its performance context.

In this section, I will present three different repertoires; the repertoire of *Meseret*, the repertoire of Ya'acov, the *masinqo* player, and that of Daniel, the *krar* player. Although the three repertories are different, there are some basic universals. As the text is given primary import, the melodic content is often repetitive, a common tendency for Ethiopian music in general (Kebede 1977:33). From the textual point of view, songs are strophic, and often they are set in couplets. This usually governs a melodic structure that is of antecedent and consequent statements (I will further this discussion in chapter VI, where musical transcriptions will be analyzed). There is usually either one or two melodic patterns to accommodate the couplets. Sometimes one couplet serves as a textual refrain, and is repeated alternately after every other couplet in the following pattern: A a1 A a2 A etc. When there are two melodic patterns, the structure is usually such that B serves as both a textual and melodic refrain, for example; A B a1 B a2 B etc., or A a1 B A a2 B etc (see *Hailalo* transcription 5 in appendix 5).Texts are often set syllabically to allow maximum clarity.

Whether in group or solo performances, texts were also often improvised on the spot to favorite extant melodies. The fact that metaphors that pertain to a certain topic sometimes appear in different songs sung by different people suggests that the singer has a body of common lexical metaphors, proverbs and the like that exist in the language, and that fall into certain syllabic and metrical classifications, which he or she can use when improvising lyrics. For example, *Meseret's untitled love song # 1* (song M.3 in appendix 4) ends with:

> *I wish I was the chaff near your house*
> *so you would gather me and take it in*

The same metaphor appears in a different song sung solo by Daniel (see *Damai damai,* song D.1b in appendix 4):

> *I wish I was the chaff of your surroundings*
> *for then you would add me to you*

In both ensemble and solo performances, instrumental interludes between strophes were often embellished by vocables, or in the case of a love song, with a repeated word of endearment. Sometimes whole refrains are made of vocables. The use of vocables served to enhance the groups role as well against the leader in ensemble singing, and in the case of the solo performance, it allowed the singer to prepare for the next strophe. The preferred voice quality for vocal performances was thin, focused and somewhat nasal.

Meseret's repertoire:

As I could not obtain the Amharic versions of the song texts, only the English translations of the *Meseret's* songs are provided in appendix 4. Since some of the songs are untitled, for convenience sake *Meseret* songs will be referred to as M.1, M.2, etc. I will refer to the topics covered by those songs only in general terms. The translations and interpretations of the song texts were provided by Gadi Nagusse, *Meseret's* director. Although I recorded *Meseret* on numerous occasions, the translations brought here are for songs recorded on several specific occasions. Most of the translations given here, were for the songs performed in one informal recording session/party in August 8th 1989, and the reader can assume that unless specified, this was the occasion that spawned the textual performance discussed in this section.The translations may often seem obscure, but wherever possible, explanations that were given to me by Gadi Nagusse are provided with the song.

There were a few differences between recording at an informal gathering and a public performance. In an informal party, the tendency was for songs to be performed as a seamless medley, with group members taking the role of lead singer in a most spontaneous manner, as well as relinquishing their instruments to someone else to get up and dance. On the other hand, in public performances songs were usually performed as distinct units, with instrumental introductions and endings. The musicians sat with their instruments throughout the song; the lead singer was usually one of the two *kebero* players while the dancers also doubled as the chorus. The second significant difference in performance styles was that there was less textual improvisation in public performances. In an informal gathering, when the singing and dancing was more spontaneous, the singer in the role of lead changed frequently and there was more textual improvisation. This is not to say that public performances were completely fixed, a point which is well illustrated by the following anecdote: Prior to a public performance at the Safad music festival, one of the festival managers asked Gadi Nagusse how long a certain song was going to be. Gadi's intuitive response was: "How long do you want it to be?"

Meseret's repertoire consisted mainly of joyful and danceable *zefens* and this was reflected in the thematic content of many of the songs, with love being the most common theme (see songs M.3, M.4, M.6, M.9, and M.10). The love metaphors (more commonly sung by a man to a woman) often vividly, though also humorously, describe the effect of the beloved, or a longing for the beloved, on the singer. For example, the subject of song M.3 *(untitled love song #1)*, is unrequited love. The lover tells the beloved that she should disappear, so that he wouldn't have to sense her presence everywhere, the way one can smell chicken soup. But having wished the disappearance of the lover, the singer ends the song wishing that he was the chaff that is found around the lover's house, so that she may gather him in. In song M.4,*Sadula*, the jealous lover tells his beloved not to wear perfume or make-up, for "your eyes, darting back and forth, can invite an unwanted guest". And although double-entendres are difficult to translate, the dual meaning that is assigned to the beloved's gaze is poignant even through the literal translation of these lines from song M.10 *(Menaune):*

> *From her eyes one receives light in the evening to eat*
> *Her eyes have broken my ribs.*

The songs are often replete with descriptions of the beloved, usually analogies that describe her physical beauty by associating it to beauteous objects and in particular, the regional landscape. For example, in M.4, the lover compares her eyes to the moon before sunrise. In M.6, the beloved's teeth are compared to the whiteness of the pea-flower. The beloved's breasts in M.4 are compared in smoothness to the calf's head, and in M.9 to the Golan mountains. References which associate the beloved with the lovers' birthplace are also found, not only in *Meseret's* repertoire but also in the repertoires of Daniel and Ya'acov. This is likely to be an expression of nostalgia, towards both the singers' native land and the loved ones they have left behind. The following text, from M.10, is an example of this:

> *Dear girl of Gojame, may you and I be at peace*
> *you are as dear to me as my birthplace*

While love inspired texts are abundant, there are other themes which appear in the immigrants' songs. The song *Mona Ney* (M.5) was recorded both at a public performance and at the informal gathering on Aug. 8th; in the second recording another verse was added. The song essentially discusses the immigrant's situation, comparing the past, which entailed hardships and difficulties for Ethiopian Jews in their native land, with the present, where "life is better". It also discusses the need of the immigrant to adapt to his new environment by receiving an education. It is interesting that even in this context, the central image that is evoked -- the farmer -- is an image that in a metaphorical context is used to evoke both the past, when farming was actually part of of the lives of Jewish Ethiopians, as well as the future, when farming is not likely to be part of the immigrants' lives. The first metaphor discusses the "farmer who plows with songs"; the metaphor stands for a person that performs his or her work without questioning -- a basic technique of survival in Ethiopia. The second reference to the farmer is part of a metaphor which stresses the importance of planning for the future -- if one plows in the autumn, one will have cereal to grind until spring. But planning for the future in Israel requires a different kind of effort, such as getting an education. The agricultural metaphor, however, remains appropriate. In this way, the continuation of symbols, constantly re-appropriated, remains an important aspect in the use of language.

As could be expected, the texts sung in a public performance were often less personal than the texts of an informal performance of the same song. The song *Hailalo* (M.1) provides a good example of textual differences between the public and the private performance contexts. According to Gadi Nagusse, The song is apparently an eclectic mix of elements; the melody is an Agau melody (see transcription 5 in appendix 5) and the words are a mixture of Agau, Amharic and Tigrenya. The translation of the song as it was sung in a public performance at the Safad music festival reads as following:

our multitudes came on the road
but through this, may they preserve their health

with much patience
it's either our health or theirs

Although this was apparently the original song-text , the words had taken on a different meaning since the immigrants had left Ethiopia. I do not know what the original meaning of the song was, but for *Meseret* members, the song discussed the trek from Ethiopia through Sudan and to Israel, and the wish for health is a poignant reminder that not everyone made it.

Another rendition of the song was recorded after the performance at the Safad music festival. *Meseret* members went to visit friends and relatives who were living at the Safad absorption center and whom they had not seen in a long time. The occasion turned into a celebration with singing, playing and dancing, and song M.1 was performed there as well. The lead singer did not remain the same throughout the song. The translation of the song, with the singer's initials provided as well, reads:

M: *please my mother, prepare a* *meser* *cake for me*
not to eat now, but because I am parting

If they will tell me to cry out: "Sudan"
please leave may good, good things for me

G: *thank God for providing our meals*
one cannot cook for Him, or serve him food or drink in his home

God loves thankfulness
It's his food, night and day -- "thank God"

In comparing the two texts, it becomes clear that although both texts deal with the journey to Israel through Sudan, the texts sung at the party were much more personal than the texts of the public performance. At an informal gathering, this sort of singing becomes a therapeutic and joyful way of dealing with an emotionally charged and difficult issue -- issues such as the hardships of the journey to Israel, those left behind, (like the singer's mother), and thankfulness for having survived, are brought up as the participants are singing, dancing and playing musical instruments.

A song which I have seen performed often in public performances, but not at informal gatherings, is the song *Gedaine* -- M.12; the version discussed in this section was performed at the Safad music festival. Thematically, it is a song that falls under the common category of songs of praise that celebrate cultural heroes. In this case, the hero is a lion hunter. Hunting a lion was considered a test of manliness in Ethiopia, and traditionally the praise was sung to the returning hunter by his wife at a celebration. In *Meseret* performances, the song was usually sung be one of the men. The hunt was also acted out through dance, with one of the dancers wearing a lion-mane wig and tying the scarf, or *meqanet*, to create a tail. The usual dance and *əskəsta* were somewhat modified, for the lion-dancer would spend some of the time in a crouching position, or leaping, like a lion. The textual metaphors in the song aggrandize the lion-hunter as a hero, saying: "One can rest in his shade", one can "trust him like a brother". According to Gadi Nagusse, the reference to the "...hero who seems prepared in the morning, as though he is hosting guests" means that the hero is always fully dressed, with his ammunition belt, and can honor his guests even as he gets up from bed in the morning.

The praise of important personages and the celebration of heroes in song has always been part of the *azmari's* repertoire. However, the fact that song M.11

was only performed in public may point to a process of cultural selection with regards to what part of the tradition is kept alive because it is still appropriate in the people's lives, and what part is important to preserve as a cultural emblem, but not as a living tradition. In Israel, obviously, Ethiopian men do not hunt lions. But for *Meseret, Gedaine* remains an important aspect of their performance, for they do wish to present a picture of how things were. It is for the same reason that they built a traditional Ethiopian *tukul*, or house, on *Meseret's* grounds. While they do not necessarily wish to live in *tukuls* again, it is an emblem of their heritage.

Ya'acov's repertoire

Unlike many members of *Meseret,* Ya'acov played the *masinqo* in Ethiopia. Although he did not consider himself an *azmari,* he did occasionally play his *masinqo* at weddings and celebrations in Ethiopia.

Of all the musicians presented in this paper, Ya'acov was the one I knew least intimately, both because I spent only one evening with him and his family, and because he spoke very little Hebrew. Our conversations required a third party to mediate the translation, and I could not obtain translations, let alone the interpretations, for his song-texts from him. The texts presented here were translated by Abraham Mekuria, an Ethiopian from Addis Ababa who now lives in the U.S. Due to differences in dialect, there are lines that he could not translate, and thus some of the texts are incomplete. Both the English translation and the Amharic text are provided in appendix 4, with the Amharic texts directly following the English translations.

Ya'acov's style was similar to *Meseret's* style in private performances in that his songs were performed in an improvisatory medley, making it difficult to tell where one song ended and when another began. At times the subject of the song changed, while the melodic phrase patterns continued to be the same, and at other times the melody changed, while the textual subject remained the same. Ya'acov had set himself a goal at the beginning of the recording session: To fill both sides of a 90 minute tape with his music, with the first side in Amharic and the second side in Tigrenya. He stopped playing very few times during the session, mainly to check how much more tape was left before the end of the side. Only the translations for the Amharic texts are discussed here. The songs are all untitled, and for convenience sake they are marked as Y.1, Y.2 etc. (see appendix 4, Ya'acov's repertoire).

As with the other repertoires discussed in this paper, the songs also contained one or two main phrase patterns, which were alternated with instrumental interludes. But unlike the other musicians presented in this paper, Ya'acov's style of singing was somewhat more ornamented and melismatic, particularly when a melodic cadence was being approached. His embellishments included glissandos and microtonal inflections. The difference in song styles may be related to the singing style of the older generation, which Ya'acov represents, or it may by related to the genre of songs played solo with *masinqo,* which is an instrument that lends itself to ornamentation.

While being aware that the texts can only be discussed at a superficial level, and that many translated texts contain abstractions and metaphors whose meaning remains obscure, they are nonetheless important to discuss. Ya'acov's texts represent a point of view that is somewhat different from all the other immigrants recorded. Ya'acov, who was in his fifties, was the oldest person recorded. Although Ya'acov (who was a relative of Gadi Nagusse through marriage) had been in the Israel several years, he never managed to learn to speak Hebrew, and was therefore not as acculturated, or well adjusted to Israel as most of the other men that I recorded. At the time that I met him, in the summer of 1989 at his home in Hebron, he was unemployed. It was obvious that for Ya'acov, the displacement from his native land was a tremendously disruptive force in his life. This is reflected in his song texts, which to a great degree function as a medium for reminiscing about people, landscapes and foods from the past. Indeed, Ya'acov's songs do not discuss hopes for the future, but dwell largely on the past.

The songs are filled with references to the people whom Ya'acov left behind. The people missed are often brought up in the same sentence as Ethiopia. As with some of *Meseret's* songs, there are references in Ya'acov's songs which associate the beloved with the geographical place of origin. In the song Y.6, for example, there are many references to the beloved, who is not named, but referred to with various terms of endearment -- "my beautiful", "*damai* " (which translates literally to "my blood"), "my *alem"* (or "my world") and "my five cents" (which figuratively means "my treasure"). But it is soon made clear that those words of endearment are also evocative of Ya'acov's native land, for he sings:

> *my alem, my alem*
> *there is no country like you*

While references to Ethiopia are often made in the song texts of the immigrants whom I recorded, the sense of trauma felt in those songs relates mostly the separation from loved ones (this will also be discussed in the context of Daniel's repertoire). In Ya'acov's texts, the trauma of separation from people is also greatly enhanced by the cultural disruption he experienced in separating from his native land; being older, he found it more difficult to adapt to his new home. His songs are therefore filled with nostalgia for his native land, and there is a sense that the people missed and the country missed are the same entity, for they are wrapped together in the lyrics. In the first song on the tape, Y.1 begins with a greeting to the people he left behind:

> *Father, mother, my country*
> *how are you doing, far away*

In song Y.3 both the people and the country are again mentioned in the same breath. It is a whole world that is missed by Ya'acov -- the people, the family, the country, the food (*Injira* is the flat Ethiopian bread, which is made from a local cereal called *teff,* and has a somewhat sour taste):

> *The man from Gondar*
> *the people who left*
> *I miss them*
> *like my mother's* *injira*
> *like my mother's* *injira*
> *Ethiopia, country of warriors*
> *how come we have abandoned Ethiopia?*

Homesickness for both family, people and country are also expressed in songs Y.5, Y.7, and Y.8.

The acuteness of the pain of separation and disorientation is portrayed in the last lines of song Y.3. In these lines Ya'acov expresses his sense of incompletion; in Israel, his new world, he cannot be fulfilled, he cannot be whole:

> *time doesn't stay the same*
> *please send my heart back*
> *your heart is enough for you*
> *my heart is not.*

And in the song Y.8, Ya'acov spells out his frustration at being suspended between the two worlds, Ethiopia and Israel, and unable to assimilate the new world with the following dietary metaphor (*talla* is a type of beer made from barley):

> *I was accustomed to drinking talla*
> *please my stomach, learn how to drink beer!*

Although Ya'acov is very nostalgic for his native land, he nonetheless does not shy from criticizing its political system. In song Y.1 Ya'acov criticizes the disparities of wealth and power between the nobility, who divided all the buildings of the city of Begemder among itself, and the poor people, who, like the shoemaker in the song, go hungry. In the song Y.2, Ya'acov makes another reference to this disparity, and warns the nobility of the dangers. He continues to describe the sickness among the people, the lack of farm animals. The song ends with the following lines:

> *You have fought with God*
> *for merely a piece of injira*

These lines may refer to the revolution and its results. The Marxist revolution, which resulted from the disparities in wealth between the nobility and the poor people, in the end offered the people a mere "a piece of *injira* ". In other words, the revolution did not deliver on its promises.

Daniel's repertoire:

Daniel was not a part of *Meseret* because he lived too far away to perform regularly with them, but he maintained close ties with his friends in Nazareth-Illit and performed with them occasionally. One of the songs that was performed in every *Meseret* performance, *Kwane kwane*, was written by Daniel (see also transcription 2 appendix 5). In many ways, among the musicians I encountered, Daniel was the most acculturated in Israel. He was well educated prior to his arrival in Israel, and had worked as a school-teacher in Ethiopia, which facilitated his adjustment in Israel. Although he lacked a formal education in the arts, he was interested in various forms of art and music, not only Ethiopian forms (appendix 3 provides a short biography of Daniel). Daniel played the *krar* as a hobby prior to his arrival in Israel.

Unlike the performances of *Meseret* and Ya'acov, Daniel's songs were always performed as discrete events, with a clear beginning and ending. Each song contained an embellished introductory formula and an arpeggiation of the *krar's* open strings at the end. The instrumental introduction, which was part of every song, was sometimes also accompanied by melismatic vocables. As with *Meseret's* songs, Daniel's songs were strophic, and built on couplets, which corresponded with antecedent-consequent melodic structure (I will further elaborate on this aspect in chapter VI).

Another difference between Daniel's performances and those of *Meseret* is the fact that Daniel composed many of the songs he sang, while *Meseret's* repertoire, with the exception of one song that was composed by Daniel, consisted of songs based on melodies imported from Ethiopia.

Although I recorded Daniel at various times[1], the songs that will be discussed in this section were recorded at one recording session, which took place on August 27th, 1989 in Tel-Aviv. This is the only recording session for which I have a full translation. The sample from this recording session contains 11 songs (see appendix 4, Daniel's repertoire), and they will be referred to as D.1, D.5, etc. The translations obtained are somewhat crude, for they are my own translations to English of Daniel's translations from Amharic to Hebrew. Keeping in mind "wax and gold" constructions, it is not surprising that Daniel experienced difficulties in attempting to translate his song texts to Hebrew, but as he could read and write quite fluently in both languages, those are the fullest translations that I was able to obtain of the three repertoires. Thus, although the translations may be somewhat inadequate, the texts do allow an insight into some of Daniel's' most vital concerns, both personal and communal.

The importance of the words over the melody in Ethiopian music becomes evident upon an examination of Daniel's song repertoire. Despite the prejudice against playing music professionally among Jewish Ethiopians, Daniel has always loved music, considered it an important part of his life, and even wanted to receive formal musical instruction when he first arrived in Israel. Songs D.1

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[1] I recorded Daniel on three separate occasions: The first time in a recording session with members of Meseret in Nazareth Illit, the second time by himself, in Tel-Aviv, and the third time in my family home in Jerusalem, where he asked my brother to join him with the flute.

and D.7 share the same Agau [2] melody and the same topic -- Daniel's love of music. However, the texts are not duplicated, and the songs were considered to be two different songs by Daniel. The two songs use different expressions to describe Daniel's love of music. In song D.1 music "is the way in which I convey my thoughts, my problems, my happiness, my sadness". While this sentiment is almost duplicated in song D.7; "I love music, because in it I can reveal my happiness and my sadness", there are also texts and metaphors which do not duplicate. For example, in song D.1 music is "also the way in which I receive and give teachings". On the other hand, in the song D.7 Daniel states the following:

> *I wish I was a generation of minstrels and musicians*
> *because I could walk with musical instruments.*

As with the example shown in the introduction to song texts, this too suggests that on-the-spot textual composition is partly based in the existence of common lexical metaphors which can be fitted into the metric and syllabic constraints set by the song. The importance of textual improvisation in Daniel's repertoire points to the fact that despite his formal education and his literacy in both Amharic and Hebrew, Daniel is still very much steeped in a rich oral tradition and the constructs of his mother-tongue.

Following song D.1, after singing his own lyrics, Daniel continues with the words of the original Agau song (see *Damai Damai*, appendix 4), which is a love song. As Daniel classified this song as a song #2, it will be classified here as song D.1.b; for despite the textual differences the song is based on the same melody as D.1 and the two are performed without a break. This too shows the importance of text over melody within the culture). Other than D.1.b, there are two other love songs in this sample, neither of which were composed by Daniel. The songs are also in a scale that Daniel did not commonly use, but that he remembered was used by musicians of his father's generation (the scales will be further discussed in chapter VI). As with the repertoires of *Meseret* and Ya'acov, it is interesting to note the common love metaphors used in song D.1.b and song D.11. In both cases there is a correlation between the beloved and a specific place, the composer's own birthplace and region. Song D.1.b opens with:

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[2] The Agau people lived in the vicinity of the Gondar region. Jewish Ethiopians may have originated from Agau stock.

> *how are you my love, you from my birthplace,*
> *how are you my love, you from my river.*

Song D.11 contains similar images: “oh, come, come girl of my birthplace”, “girl of my river”, “girl of the field”, “girl of Gondar”. From these two songs, it appears that the association of woman with a regional landscape is a common popular image. In these dual images, the lover expresses homesickness for both.

While the traditional songs sung by Daniel discussed love, those composed by him conveyed other themes. The issue of cultural continuation and preservation seems to occupy Daniel a great deal. In this sample, three of the songs address this issue. Song D.3, titled *Culture*, is essentially an appeal for cultural continuity:

> *The culture of others does not suit us*
> *the clothing of others does not suit us*
> *our tradition and culture suffices us.*

This statement is perhaps one of the most revealing of the dissonances that result from the conflicts Daniel must struggle with as a Jewish Ethiopian and as an assimilating Israeli. Unlike the majority of his peers, I have never seen Daniel in traditional dress, not even during performance. This points to the fact that although Daniel has been removing himself from the external symbols of group belonging, he is not completely comfortable with this removal.

This dissonance is further expressed in another statement from the song, which proposes both the preservation of tradition, as well as its 'rebuilding' and 'development:'

> *It is not shameful to us to preserve our culture*
> *and there is no need to leave our traditions*
> *on the contrary, we must rebuild and develop them...*

In this quote both stasis and change are implied in one thought. By rebuilding and developing culture, one is changing what one wishes to preserve. Thus, in this quote Daniel is expressing the essential conflict he is experiencing; how does one change and yet remain the same.

The other two songs which relate to cultural preservation are song D.4, titled *Meseret*, and song D.6, titled *Farmer*. In the song D.4 Daniel sings *Meseret's* praise. It is described as "the hall of culture", and "center of the built home, in which ceramics and weaving whistle together". In *Farmer*, Daniel talks of the importance of agriculture and its continuation in an Israeli context:

> *All our people, go and plow*
> *assemble the tools, work together*
> *there is no reason to leave and forget it.*

Again, it is somewhat ironic that despite this feeling, Daniel was the one studying nursing, while others were continuing their traditional crafts. It is likely that having received the education he had, Daniel could not participate in traditional Jewish Ethiopian vocations -- neither weaving nor farming was how he made his living in Ethiopia. Straddling the two worlds, Daniel now conveys his positive feelings about his former world in song, but does not, and perhaps cannot, fully participate in it any longer.

Song D.9, the *Song of Longing of a Bride to Her Parents and Home*, is not a plea to continue a cultural tradition, but a depiction of traditional life in Ethiopia. Instead of simply translating the words of the song, Daniel chose to provide me with the context verbally (see translation of context in appendix 4, introducing song D.9). The song itself is an improvised duet between the new bride and her future husband and parents-in-law. The bride, who is singing about her longing to her birthplace, friends and family, is depicted in falsetto, while the future father-in-law and husband are in Daniel's regular register.

As mentioned in chapter III, in the discussion of song in the context of ritual, in Ethiopia it was customary for marriages, to be arranged by the parents of the future couple. As In Ethiopia Jews observed an exogamy taboo that excluded marriage between related families going back seven generations, the bride and the groom often came from villages geographically far removed from each other. In this way, any member of the family usually had a wide a network of kin spreading over a wide geographical area. While the arranged marriage took place when the bride was very young (often 9 or 10 years old), it was not consummated until she had reached puberty. In the intervening period, she may be sent to live with her in-laws for some of the time, in order to accustom her to her new surroundings.[3] In conversation with Daniel, I learned that he felt rather ambivalent about Jewish Ethiopian marriage customs. On the one hand, he was somewhat uncomfortable with the matter-of-fact attitude about formation of relationships in secular Israeli society. On the other hand, he also thought that the fact that couples did not get to know each other before the marriage was to the disadvantage of the marriage.

Song D.2, *Kwane kwane*, and song D.8, *World*, are two songs which express Daniel's opinions about general topics such as history, politics, the world. In *World* Daniel decries the unfairness of the status quo in a world in which "one person has enough to eat without working", while "the other cannot make ends meet even though he works".

Kwane kwane is historically more important of the two. It was composed by Daniel during the 1985 demonstration in front of the *Knesset*, or Israeli parliament, where Jewish Ethiopians were demonstrating against the stipulations set by the rabbinate compelling Ethiopian Jews to undergo a conversion ceremony to ensure their Jewishness. Daniel felt very strongly that Ethiopian Jews do not need to become 'more Jewish' than they already were, and that the stipulations stemmed from simple prejudice and racism -- the very causes which brought such hardships to Jews in Ethiopia.

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[3] Although first marriages were typically arranged by the parents, divorce was not uncommon among Jewish Ethiopians. Both men and women were given freedom of choice the second time around.

In *Kwane kwane* he states, "the covenant with God was *always* kept" (emphasis mine). The song speaks for itself:

> *Even though we suffered and lived through much trouble*
> *for this country of the covenant and Zion*
> *we are gladdened and we forget them [the sufferings] all.*

Kwane kwane concludes with a reminder of the Jews who remain behind, be they Ethiopian or otherwise:

> *Every Jew in the world*
> *should not find obstacles in the love of Zion*
> *in order that they will return to the homeland*
> *we must strengthen in prayer.*

This song was popularized during the demonstration, and later entered the repertoire of *Meseret,* being the only song in their repertoire not imported from Ethiopia. It is interesting to note that while the *krar* was traditionally associated with licentious activities in the cities and "men of the wilderness" in the country side, the only love songs that Daniel sang were traditional. The songs that he composed himself often commented on social and political situations. It is possible that this broadening of topics that are sung with *krar* accompaniment is related to the politicization of the instrument by the Marxist government. If in Ethiopia the *krar* was promoted by the government as an instrument via which propaganda could be disseminated, the singing of all types of social commentary can become a natural adaptation for *krar* players.

The last song I will touch on in this discussion is *Parting,* song D.5. Although written by Daniel as a personal expression of his reaction to the separation from his family, the song expresses the same emotions recounted by every immigrant I met in 1989 with family members still in Ethiopia. All shared the pain of parting and separation as well as a heavy burden of guilt for having made it to Israel while others either died in the attempt or were still struggling in Ethiopia and Sudan. For Ethiopian Jews, the extended family is a primary source of support and security throughout life; and in many cases, separation, loss and guilt became overwhelming burdens that impeded the adjustment to life in Israel. In the first verse of *Parting*, Daniel expressed this guilt over the separation, which he viewed as betrayal:

> *Parted from mother and father suddenly,*
> *parted from sisters and brothers suddenly,*
> *regret it all the time --*
> *I turned my back on them suddenly.*

The song concludes with the desperate wish for family unification: "It's a dream...it's a hope, it's a dream...and I don't lose hope, one day will arrive, and I will meet with them".

In conclusion, the song texts in all three repertoires reflect the spirit of a community in transition. While some of the songs discuss love and cultural heroes, the traditional thematic material of songs in Ethiopia, other songs looked to the future, or discussed the situations that affected the immigrants in 1989 -- the difficulties of adjustment to the new home, the trauma of separation from loved ones, etc. The song texts also present different points of view in the community; the problems faced by Ya'acov, an older, uneducated member of the community are very different from those faced by Daniel, a younger community member with the advantage of twelve years of schooling in Ethiopia. These different points of view are revealed in the song texts. As song-texts are

These different points of view are revealed in the song texts. As song-texts are so important to Ethiopians in general, and as personalized textual improvisation is an important factor in Jewish Ethiopian song, there is much that could be learned from textual analysis regarding the concerns of the community of Jewish Ethiopians in Israel, its cultural symbols, and its relationship with the language. Hopefully, a study of this nature will be undertaken on in the future.

Having discussed the song-texts, I now turn to the accompanying music. The following chapter discusses the music itself. The chapter covers specific examples of transcribed music that cover group song, as well as solo *masinqo, krar* and *washint* music.

Chapter VI: Musical Analysis, transcriptions, and stylistic characteristics.

Introduction

Because of its improvisatory nature, Ethiopian music is exceedingly difficult to notate in Western notation. Ethiopian music developed as an oral, rather than notated tradition, and therefore does not have a notational system of its own (Kebede 1971:194). The inadequacies of Western notation as a means of representing Ethiopian music stem both from the notational limitations of the system and the oral limitations of the Western-trained musician approaching Ethiopian music. This fact has also been documented by Kimberlin:

> "To the Western ear, nothing in Ethiopian music seems fixed. Though two people may perform a song in the same *qəñət*, intervallic variances occur which are correct in terms of Ethiopian music but not in necessarily so in Western terms. Rhythm is also difficult to assess since a number of rhythmic factors come into play simultaneously, as in the case of the *masinqo* player whose singing, instrumental accompaniment, body movements and mood changes are all integrated into a single rhythmic complex. When notated on paper Ethiopian music appears frozen and bland, but what we actually hear is an unending variety of changes, fluctuations, and nuances difficult to capture on paper" (Kimberlin 1980: 240).

Despite the limitations of staff notation, scholars of Ethiopian music have not yet found an alternative system that enables the analysis and description of stylistic elements in the music. To date, all the scholars studying Ethiopian music have chosen to adapt staff notation to their needs, and in all cases the musical characteristics were somewhat compromised in the effort to "freeze" them on paper. In Powne's transcriptions, for example, the music is metered and barred. As there is no tape that accompanies the transcriptions, it is difficult to say whether the music sounded as metrically oriented as it was notated. (Most of the examples were performed by the National Folklore Orchestra of the Haile Selassie Theater. See Powne 1968: 126-142). If so, it is quite likely that the music was played in a much more rigid manner by the orchestra than it would be by traditional *azmaris.* In any case, only short excerpts are provided, rather than complete pieces.

Other scholars have also found ways to adapt Western notation in order to describe Ethiopian music, with varying degrees of success. Both Kebede and

Kimberlin chose to provide complete cycles of the songs they analyzed, which was more useful for comparative purposes than Powne's transcriptions. Kebede's transcriptions are truer to the music than those of Powne. For example, the music is not barred unless the meter is evident (see *Tizita masinqo introduction* Kebede 1971:219). However, Kebede's transcriptions also lack the more subtle but important aspects of the music, including phrasing, inflections, bowings etc; many of these subtle aspects could not be portrayed in staff notation (see for example *Ambasel,* Kebede 1971: 210). Kimberlin modified staff notation in her transcriptions of *masinqo* music to her needs; for example, structural notes are notated with stems pointing upwards, whereas ornaments are notated with the stems pointing downwards (Kimberlin 1976:101). Kimberlin does not attempt to provide exact rhythmic subdivisions. The notated examples are approximations of both pitch densities and note durations; the basic meter that can be assessed from note groupings is marked as either 2 or 3 (duple or triple) at the beginning of the excerpt (Kimberlin 1976:101-102). In other words, Kimberlin is portraying stylistic elements of the music but forgoing the portrayal of a real musical performance.

In order to describe a broad sample of Jewish Ethiopian music, I have transcribed specific examples of solo performances, including all the instruments played by Jewish Ethiopians in Israel, as well as a group performance that exemplifies responsorial singing as well as all the instruments played by Ethiopian Jews in Israel. All the transcriptions are found in appendix 5, and the corresponding performances are found on the audio tape enclosed. The transcribed sample includes a segment from *masinqo* -accompanied song Y.1, played by Ya'acov, that is over two minutes in length. Also included are two songs played by Daniel on the *krar* --D.2 *(kwane kwane)* and D.11 *(Come, come),* a solo *washint* performance, and a transcription of the group song M.1 *(Hailalo).*

Although staff notation loses some of the qualitative aspects of the music, I have attempted to duplicate the music on paper as closely as possible for two reasons. As a performance of a song is never repeated exactly the same, and as the transcriptions were made for specific performances of particular songs, it was important to include as many of the details of the performance as possible to portray its flavor. Also, my lack of a long term acquaintance with the music required that I transfer to paper as much as possible without filtering out information that may seem less important. In order to achieve this level of detail, the songs (excluding transcription 3) were taped at half-time prior to transcription. In order to asses note values in unmeasured songs, a pulse (tapped, rather than machine produced) was recorded over the half-time versions of the songs. In this way, both pitch densities in fast ornaments and durations were better approximated. The symbols used in transcriptions to mark glissandos, ululations and such are song-specific, and a legend is therefore provided with each transcription.

Transcription 1: Y.1, untitled, Ya'acov -- vocals and *masinqo*

Formal structure:

As with the repertoire of *masinqo* songs analyzed by Kimberlin, this song adheres to the pattern of alternating sections that are purely instrumental and vocal sections that are accompanied by *masinqo* (Kimberlin 1976: 87-89). Because the music is not measured, and there are no barlines, it is this division which marks the music in the transcription. The instrumental sections are marked by the letter M, and are chronologically numbered (M1 for the introduction, M2 for the first interlude, etc.), and the vocal sections accompanied by the *masinqo* are marked by the letter V (V1, V2 etc.). The vocal part conveys the text and outlines the main melody, while the *masinqo* interludes provide a contrast with highly ornamented melodic constructs. In this song, the instrumental introduction (M1) is longer than the vocal phrases and other instrumental interludes, thus providing ample time for the musician to set the mood of the song and prepare for the sung part. A sudden shift in key may be part of this preparation (see sudden transition in key signature during M1); possibly, it may indicate an adjustment made by the player to his tessitura, made after he had begun playing. Although the alternation of M and V provides the basis for the formal structure of the song, there is much variational freedom and neither the interludes nor the vocal phrases are fixed in length. V5 for example, is longer than V1 for it contains several phrases that are strung together.

Voice and *masinqo* relationship:

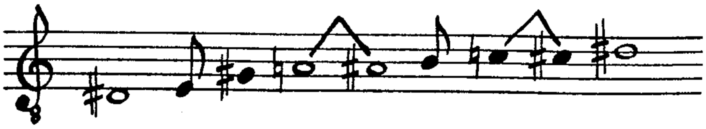
According to Kimberlin, the sections in which both the voice and the *masinqo* are sounded are essentially in heterophony, though the vocal part dominates. The degree of divergence between voice and *masinqo* depends in part on the *qə̃ñət* employed:

> "The vocal and masinqo parts perform in heterophony where they simultaneously perform variants of the same melody. *Anchihoye* and *təzəta qəñət* songs have a more homogeneous relationship with a few contrasting characteristics between the parts. The vocal part is dominant and the *masinqo* part is supportive. *Ambasəl* and *bati qəñət* songs have a more heterogeneous relationship with more contrasting characteristics between the parts. The two parts have a more equal relationship where the vocal part is no longer dominant "(Kimberlin 1976: 237).

Kebede's transcription of the song *Ambasəl* is also illustrative of a heterophonic relationship (Kebede 1971:210). In contrast, song Y.1 exemplifies complete domination of the vocal over the *masinqo* part: In the vocal sections the *masinqo* is mostly played in unison with the voice. A few instrumental ornaments are sometimes played simultaneously with a held note in the voice part in order to create an organic transition from the solo *masinqo* sections to the vocal ones and vice versa -- for example, in the transition from M.1 to V.1 or from V.3 to M.4. However, on the whole the *masinqo* follows the voice as closely as possible. The contrast to the vocal line is provided mainly by the solo *masinqo* interludes. Those are constructed from melodic and rhythmic cells which are derived from the main melody, but they feature a much higher pitch density and are highly ornamented. I shall return to elaborate on this point in the discussion relating to melodic building blocks.

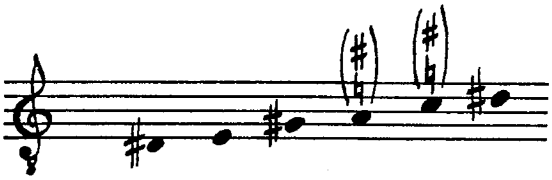
Mode:

As it is the voice that outlines the main melody, and therefore the mode itself (Kimberlin 1976:107), it is from the vocal part that the mode may be derived. However, as intervallic variances may occur which can seem incorrect to Western ears, and as there are differences in opinion as to the exact intervallic relationship within a mode among the scholars, the mode can be difficult to determine. The song Y.1 is such an example. In order to attempt mode identification I have formatted a process that may be useful to musicologists lacking a long term acquaintance with *masinqo* music. The first step in the process was outlining all the pitches in the vocal part of song Y.1 in ascending order. This resulted in the following scale:



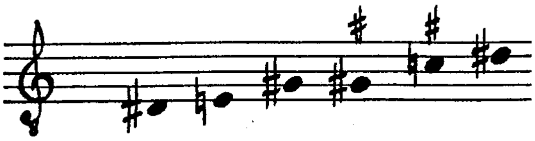
The structural import of the notes within the scale is reflected in the note values assigned. This was determined by both placement of pitches in a phrase as well as duration and frequency of occurrence. The pitches that are given half note values, D#$_4$ (and D#$_5$), A$_4$, and A#$_4$ are structurally the most important in the scale. A quick look at the piece points to D#$_4$ as the tonic, or reference pitch of the piece, and final cadencial arrivals exemplify this relationship, as can be seen in the reiterated D#$_4$ in V5. Overall in the piece it appears that melodic contour prevails over exact pitch vocabulary (the propensity for vocal glissandos also emphasizes this fact). The pitches that are structurally interchangeable are therefore bracketed in the synthetic scale created above. For example, the pitches A$_4$ and A#$_4$ share the same structural functions, and are often played interchangeably in repeating melodic units. Structurally, their function is to provide a contrasting tonality to D#$_4$ (and D#$_5$). Melodically, the contour of the vocal phrase patterns repeatedly outlines a descending or ascending contour that emphasizes those pitches (see V1 and V4). Thus, pitches A$_4$ and A#$_4$ are structurally interchangeable both in terms of providing a polar tonal center as well as in terms of melodic function (see V4), and therefore, they are bracketed. The pitches that are given quarter note values, G#$_4$, C$_5$ and C#$_5$ appear less frequently and are less important structurally. C#$_5$ and C$_5$ appear either as passing references within an ascending or descending line (see V1) or when approaching the notes D#$_5$, A$_4$ or A#$_4$ (see V4, V5, etc.). As they are structurally interchangeable, they are also bracketed. The pitch G#$_4$, although not as frequent as A$_4$/A#$_4$, performs the same structural role in providing a polar tonality to D#$_4$ and is used as a cadential reference point. However, it is a temporary tonality; it appears first in V5 and does not appear again after V6. The pitches E$_4$ and B$_4$ in are given eighth-note values, because they are rare or non-existent in the vocal part. B_4 only appears twice in the vocal part - in V2 and V9 and functions strictly as a passing tone; it is difficult to determine whether this pitch is sounded intentionally or simply as part of a descending contour. The pitch E_4 is not found in the vocal part, but is very much emphasized in the *masinqo* interludes and is therefore included in the synthetic scale (see introductory melodic cells into M2, M3, M4, etc.).

In order to attempt the derivation of a the specific pentatonic mode, or *qəñət*, I have attempted to collapse the synthetic mode presented above into a viable pentatonic scale. Keeping in mind the fact that my Western oral bias may not be the correct determinant of intervals, the determinant for "collapsing" became the notes that are structurally interchangeable. As the structural role of the pitch appears inconsequential both in the vocal part and the *masinqo* parts, it could be omitted entirely. In so doing, the following scale is created:

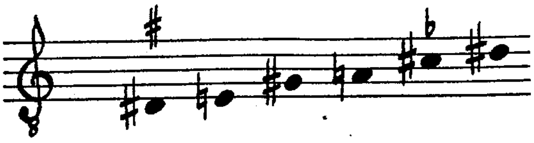


This scale is remarkably consistent with the *anchihoy qəñət*, which is given by the various scholars to be the following:

Powne:



Kebede:



Kimberlin: 135 370 115 345 235

As there are discrepencies between all three scholars as to the exact intervallic relationship within the *anchihoy qənət,* and as the structural analysis described above points to the fact that certain "pitches" may encompass a number of discrete frequencies (for example - A_4-$A\#_4$, C_5-$C\#_5$), it is quite likely that song Y.1 is in *anchihoy* mode. This may also be partially supported by the degree of homogeneity between the vocal and the *masinqo,* which according to Kimberlin, is a mark of *anchihoy qənət* (see quote above). Another clue which further supports the proposition that song Y.1 is in *anchihoy qənət*, is the mode's propensity to sound "diminished " to Western ears (Kimberlin 1976: 268). The vocal line in song Y.1 begins with a melodic cell which basically outlines a tritone ($D\#_5$-A_4-$D\#_4$ -- see V1), and many of the phrases are simply elaborated versions of this tritone outline. The overall sound quality of this piece is therefore "diminished".

Meter and Rhythm:

The song Y.1 is unmeasured, in the sense that there are no regular downbeats. This is characteristic of *masinqo* solo performances (see also Kimberlin

1976:85). This is not to say that there is no regulative rhythmic principal. The operating regulative principal was termed by Kimberlin as the time line pulse:

> "The time line pulse...is the regulative principle underlying *masinqo* music. It is a recurring pulse which is overtly (foot tapping, body movement, accented pitch, etc.) or inadvertently felt throughout the musical performance... The *azmari* does not consciously feel a recurring 1-2-3 or 1-2 pattern but does consciously feel phrases" (Kimberlin 1976:85-86).

And:

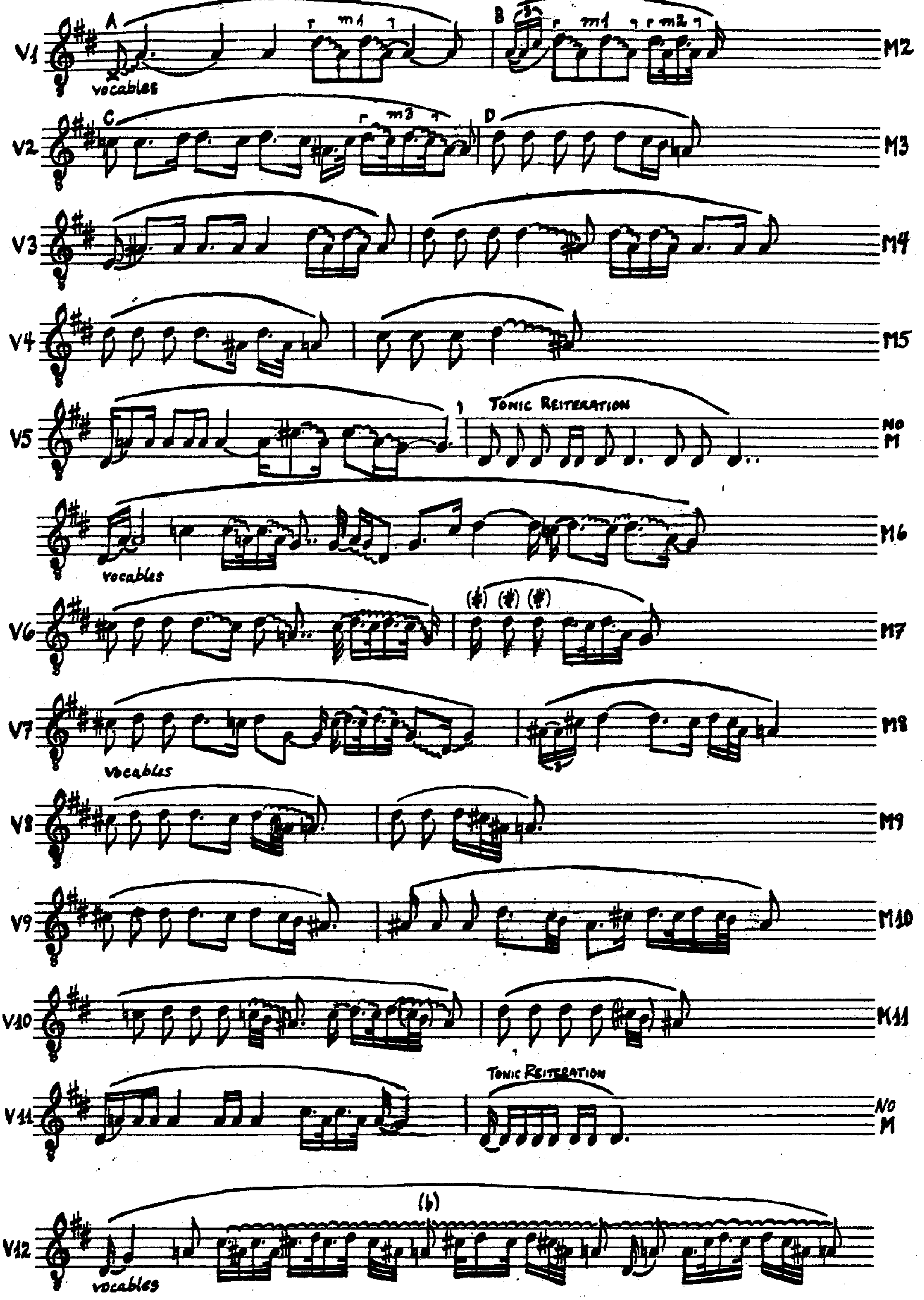
> "It (the time line) is always present but is not always felt in the melody or in the text. However, the time line pulse does correspond to the primary recurring *ǝskǝsta* dance accents for these songs. My teacher says that masinqo songs are regulated by the performer's heartbeat" (Kimberlin 1976:134).

Although I have not witnessed dancing occur in the context of a *masinqo* solo performance, *masinqo* players in Israel, including Ya'acov, were usually tapping their foot when playing the instrument. The relevance of the time line pulse concept to the song Y.1 was also validated by the fact that despite the lack of an obvious sense of a consistent rhythmic organization within the song, when the pulse that the song implied was tapped out and recorded over the half-time version of the song, it consistently coincided with structurally important pitches and arrival points within the song.

Melodic organization and structure:

As I have mentioned in chapter V, the textual organization of the song, which also governs the melodic organization, is binary (Kimberlin 1976:178). The melody assumes an antecedent-consequent structure which accommodates the text. In the unmeasured *masinqo* songs, this binary structure does not necessarily correlate with a repeated and fairly symmetrical metric principle, as they do in the measured repertoires. In order to demonstrate the binary principle in song Y.1, as well as other elements pertaining to the melodic organization of the song, all the vocal parts included in the transcription were extracted and organized in table 1 (see below). (I have not included V11 in the complete transcription, for I do not have an exact duplication of the rhythmic subdivisions within V11). However, the pitch content of V11 is accurate and complete, and as it is important for the illustration of structure within the song, it is included in table1). The table is organized to show the vocal parts in

TABLE 1 *binary phrase structure:* SONG Y1.


A
B
C
D
V1
V2
V3
V4
V5
V6
V7
V8
V9
V10
V11
V12
vocables
r m1 ┐
r m1 ┐ r m2 ┐
r m3 ┐
TONIC REITERATION
(#) (#) (#)
(b)
M2
M3
M4
M5
NO M
M6
M7
M8
M9
M10
M11
NO M

* *Unless canceled, sharps continue to be in effect until end of subphrase.*

sequence (marked as V1, V2, etc. to the left of the staff). The sequence of the *masinqo* interludes is marked to the right of the staff; where there are no instrumental interludes following a couplet, it is marked as "No M". Where there are entire phrases sung with vocables, rather than text, the marking vocables appears under the key signature. The binary character of the phrases is marked with bar-lines; the division is not arbitrary but a result of the singer's phrasing.

A quick look at table 1 shows that the structure of song Y.1 consists of a binary melodic phrase which follows and is followed by an instrumental interlude. All such binaries end with, and emphasize, the pitches that function as polar tonalities to the tonic of the piece: the pitches A_4, $A\#_4$, or $G\#_4$. After several such couplets, a longer vocal part which is approximately twice the length of two couplets is sung with no solo *masinqo* interruption -- see V5 and V11 in the table. These vocal refrains can be broken down into a binary phrase of an antecedent-consequent nature which emphasizes and reiterates the referent pitch of the piece in its consequent phrase, followed by a longer, non-binary phrase in which a return to the polar tonality is emphasized - the pitches $G\#_4$, A_4, $A\#_4$. Although Western musicological terminology does not apply to this music, to Western ears the relationship between the polar pitches and the reference pitch is that of a melodic half cadence that ends all the vocal phrases from V1-V4, followed by a a full cadence in V5. In order to avoid a sense of finality in the listeners' ear, the singer than returns to emphasize the polar tonalities without an intervening *masinqo* interlude. It is possible that at this point the musical direction takes momentary precedence over the text, for those refrains are consistently sung with vocables rather than text. Using the symbol "PT" for polar tonality and "T" for reference pitch, or tonic, the two cycles of transcribed vocal interludes presented in table 1 can be charted in the following way:

V1	PT	PT
V2	PT	PT
V3	PT	PT
V4	PT	PT
V5	PT	T
	T -------PT	
V6	PT	PT
V7	PT	PT
V8	PT	PT
V9	PT	PT
V10	PT	PT
V11	PT	T
	T--------PT	

At the level of the phrases themselves, the first two binary phrases in table 1 have been marked with the letters A and B for V1 -- the first antecedent and consequent subphrases -- and B-C for the sub-phrases comprising V2. The four subphrases are not completely independent of each other. The melodic cells that form the subphrases may be exact duplications, as can be seen in melodic cell m1 which appears in both subphrases A and B, or it may be related variations, as in m2, which duplicates the pitches and contour of m1, but not its rhythmic subdivision or its use of glissando. In the same way, the motive marked m3 in subphrase C duplicates the rhythm and contour of m2 but not the exact pitches. A recurring motive, which accentuates the relationship between the reference pitch and the various polar tonalities is the outlining of the descent from D#$_5$ to any of the polar tonalities (G#$_4$, A$_4$, A#$_4$) at the ends of all subphrases to create the sense of "half-cadence", and the descent from the polar tonalities to D#$_4$ to create the sense of tonicization in V5 and V11. These descents also clearly delineate the octave and the range within which the performer is singing.

A quick glance at the following phrases shows that they are melodic permutations of V1 and V2, supporting Kimberlin's observation that "The primary phrase pattern forms the larger nucleus for the entire melodic phrase pattern complex" (Kimberlin 1976:116). The subphrases that comprise the couplets following V1 and V2 are either approximations of the subphrases in V1 and V2, or they are new permutations of the motivic content of subphrases A, B, C, and D. For example, the antecedent subphrase of V3 is a very close approximation of subphrase A. The consequent subphrase of V3 combines subphrase D and the motive m2. The same can be said for all the couplets that end on a polar-tonality pitch.

The predominant intervals in the vocal part of song Y.1 are seconds, fourths, and augmented fourths. It is interesting to note that the tritone does not carry a special intervalic significance, and is often used interchangeably with fourths (or fifths, which are not specified as a category for they are inversions of fourths), particularly at cadential arrivals. The cadential arrivals of the subphrases in V4 provide a good example; the first subphrase ends with an outline of the descent from D#$_5$ to A$_4$, while the second subphrase ends with the outlining of D#$_5$-A#$_4$. The point of arrival may be reached directly, (as in subphrase B of V1), or it may outline intervening notes (as in subphrase D of V2).

Masinqo interludes:

As with the vocal parts, the *masinqo* interludes are also constructed from melodic cells. Although the *masinqo* part is highly ornamental and the pitch density is greater than in the vocal part, there are regulative principals in the ordering of the melodic cells which contribute to the cohesiveness of the piece (the melodic cells are labeled in the transcription of the piece as mc1, mc2, etc.). In the *masinqo* introduction, phrases always begin with the motive labeled mc1. It is essentially the motive that starts sub-phrase B of V1 in the vocal part, and is found in subsequent couplets as well. Another melodic cell, labeled mc2 in the *masinqo* introduction (see transcription), always appears, though with slight variations, immediately following a vocal phrase. The melodic cell mc1 usually follows mc2 in those interludes; again, variations are very frequent. For example, in M4, both the retrograde and the regular pattern of mc1 are played in succession. Other variations within a melodic cell include pitch contents and densities. For example, mc2 contains two alternating pitches and always outlines the interval of a third or a fourth. The alternating pitches can possibly be G#$_4$-D#$_4$, (in beginning of M9, for example), G#$_4$-E$_4$ (M2) or A$_4$-E$_4$ (M7). Pitch densities and rhythmic subdivisions may also vary. However, because the melodic cells occur frequently as well as at regular structural points in the music -- mc2, for example, in the transition from voice to *masinqo* solo -- the overall impression is that of infinite variation within a highly cohesive structure.

Transcription 2: D. 2, *kwane kwane,* Daniel -- vocals and *krar*

Formal structure:

As with all the songs composed by Daniel, D.2 *(kwane kwane)* is a strophic song, with the first strophe acting also as a textual refrain that is repeated every other strophe. An instrumental introduction establishes the mode and the general mood of the song. Although the song is measured, the instrumental introduction is very rhapsodic and metrically free. The changing time signatures in the introduction of the piece serves to designate downbeats and relative note values, rather than a distinct time signature. The instrumental introduction becomes measured in preparation for the entrance of the sung part. The overall structure of the song is the following:

Instrumental intro. - rhapsodic
recitation of A (no music)
Instrumental intro. cont.- rhapsodic-metric
A, a1, A, a2, A, a3, A(fade out)

"A" stands for the textual refrain, while "a" stands for the strophes in which the melody is the same but the text is different (transcription 2 in appendix 5 encompasses the introduction and the first two strophes - A and a1). The strophes are not exact in length, for lines are sometimes repeated (the strophes will be further analyzed in the discussion of melodic organization). Short, measured, instrumental interludes are sometimes inserted between the strophes and textual refrain, for example, in the transition from a1 to A. At other times, as between A and a2, there is no instrumental transition. Unlike the repertoires sung by *Meseret* or Ya'acov, Daniel's proclivity to perform songs as discrete units is here demonstrated by the use of the fade out technique and the *krar* emphasis on the referent pitch of the piece at the end of the song.

Voice and *krar* relationship:

According to Kimberlin, there are ethnic-based stylistic differences in the playing of the *krar* and the relationship between the *krar* and the voice among the different ethnic groups of the Ethiopian plateau. In the Tigrean playing style, the right hand strums the strings with a plectrum; the left hands mutes the appropriate strings. The *krar* plays a chordal accompaniment which outlines the basic vocal melody in repeated rhythmic patterns. On the other hand, the Amhara playing style features plucking of the strings; the *krar* plays a melodic, rather than chordal accompaniment, which is in heterophony with the vocal line. Rather than rhythmic patterns, the *krar* plays a variation of the melodic line (Kimberlin 1980: 248). According to Kebede, strumming is the most common technique, though the master performers of the *krar* prefer the plucking technique to strumming (Kebede 1977: 387-388). However, although Kebede does not specify the ethnic group in the article, referring to the music simply as '*krar* music', it is quite likely that he is discussing Amhara style, for the *krar*-related nomenclature given in the article pertains to Amharic terminology.

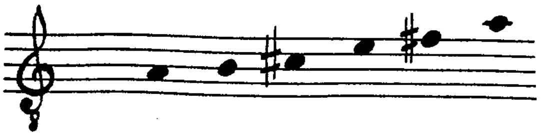
It is interesting to note that in song D.2, during much of the instrumental introduction, Daniel employs the plucking technique. At the same time, the music is non-metrical, playing variations on the main vocal melody of D.2 and melismatic ornaments. While accompanying the voice, however, Daniel employs what was characterized by Kimberlin as the Tigrean playing style -- a rhythmic, chordal accompaniment (mostly arpeggiated) outlining the main vocal melody. This dichotomy of free, plucked introductions (and some time interludes as well) and rhythmic, chordal accompaniment is characteristic not only of D.2 but of Daniel's playing style in general. It is quite possible that although Daniel is from the Gondar area, and Amharic is his native language, his playing style is an example of musical syncretism, showing both the influences of Amhara and Tigrenya styles on Jewish Ethiopians. Another reason for the preference for strumming while accompanying the voice may be the influence of Western music (particularly guitar playing). Although the strummed arpeggiated-chordal accompaniment played mostly one note at a time, intervals, mainly thirds or fourths, were sometimes sounded together in the song D.2 (see transcription 2, measures 41 and 54, for example). This may be the result of subconscious assimilation of Western harmonic principles.

Although, as the transcription indicates, the voice coincides metrically with the *krar* accompaniment, Daniel's declamatory, rubato singing style stands in contrast to the percussive, rhythmic *krar* accompaniment. The *krar's* role in the accompaniment is in part to maintain a greater pitch density, which permits long, sustained notes in the voice while keeping the overall motion in the song.

The voice quality employed in D.2, as well as in Daniel's repertoire in general, is somewhat nasal, focused and reed-like.

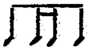
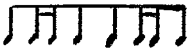
Mode:

D.2 is in the *təzəta* mode:



The *təzəta* and *bati* modes were the modes preferred by Daniel, and the only two modes he used in his own compositions. Although he remembered how to play other modes (as the transcription discussed next will show), he only played them upon request; he considered them to be "old" modes, played by his father's generation and by "music specialists". It is possible that the popularity of *təzəta* and *bati* modes among the younger generation (the two modes, and particularly *təzəta*, also appeared to be the modes favored by *Meseret)* is influenced by their compatibility with Western modes. Both are unhemitonic pentatonic scales: the scale degees of *təzəta* correspond to the major scale, taking out the scale degrees following a semitone, and the scale degrees of *bati* correspond to the minor scale, leaving out the second and sixth scale degrees.

Meter and rhythm:

Following the free introduction, song D.2, *kwane kwane,* is in compound duple meter. All the songs that I have recorded by Daniel were either in triple meter or in compound duple meter, with standard rhythmic patterns of either  in 3/8 or  in 6/8. According to Kebede, most Amhara songs are in triple meter, when not performed in "free" meter (Kebede 1971:226), and this may account for the metric uniformity of Daniel's repertoire.

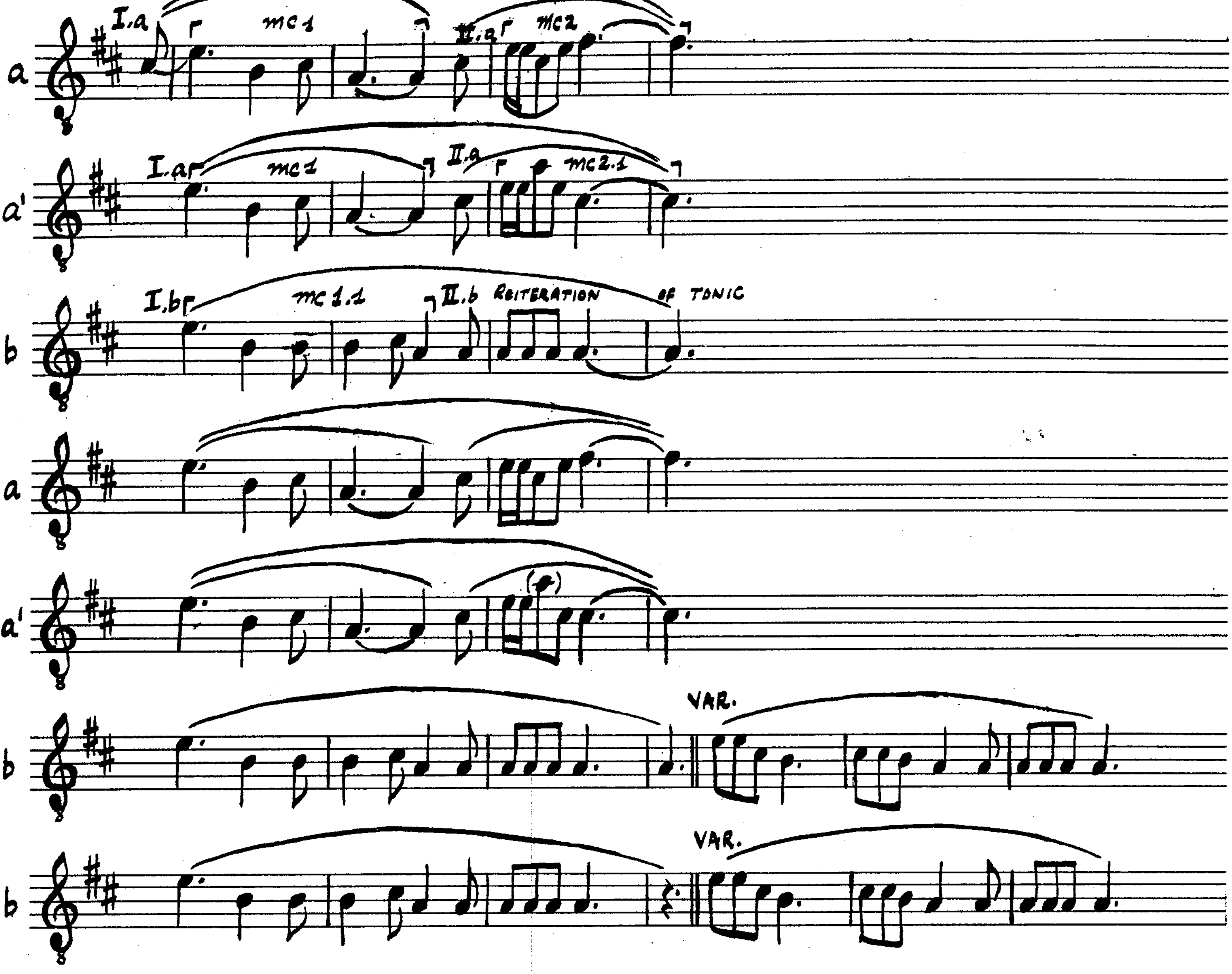
Because of the freedom in the vocal style, however, accents may sometimes shift, due, for example, to the prolongation of a cadential note by an extra beat (see for example phrase beginning on the pitch E in measure 69 and in measure 78). As there is an element of textual improvisation, the placement of the shifts may change from strophe to strophe. I chose not to change the key signature at the appropriate measures to 9/8 or 12/8, with the result that phrase beginnings, felt on the downbeat, sometimes do not correspond with new measures. However, the continual rhythmic ostinato in 6/8 underlying the melody, in which the phrases shift in length from 9/8 to 12/8 per subphrase, results in the asynchronous effect of overlapping rhythmic and melodic units.

Melodic organization:

The basic melodic organization of the phrases in each strophe is the following: a-a'-b-a-a'-b (sometimes b is repeated twice at the end of a strophe) . The letters represent distinct phrases which are found in table 2 below. For comparative purposes, the phrases in table 2 have been lined up so that the beginning of the phrase corresponds to a new measure, although it may not appear so in the transcription. This will aid in the demonstration of the balance in the structure of the phrases. Each phrase is equal in length and poetic meter. As with song Y.1, each phrase is a binary phrase, corresponding with a textual couplet, and can be divided into two sub-phrases, which are marked with Arabic numerals in table 2. The balanced, symmetrical structure of the phrases is further enhanced by the the cadential subdivisions of the phrases. All the antecedent subphrases (marked as I.a, I.a', and I.b in table 2) end on the pitch A_4, the reference pitch of the piece. The melodic motion in subphrase II either leads away from tonic, towards $C\#_5$ and $F\#_5$ (as in subphrases II.a and II.a') or it simply reiterates the reference pitch (subphrase II.b) to provides a sense of a full cadence. (These shifts from motion to stasis are also emphasized in the *krar* accompaniment). The pitch $F\#_5$ ending subphrase II.a' serves as to direct the melody away from tonic. The pitch $C\#_5$ (the third scale degree) acts as a polar tonality to the referent pitch - A_4. $C\#_5$ is the melodic axis from where the referent pitch is approached and through which melody is set in motion again, leading away from A_4. The cadential structure within each strophe can thus be charted in the following manner ("T" stands for reference pitch, or tonic, and "PT" stands for polar tonality):

a. I: (pitch E_5 - PT) -T II: (PT) - pitch $F\#_5$
a'. I: (pitch E_5 - PT) -T II: (PT) - PT }2
b. I: (pitch E_5 - PT) -T II: (T) - T

TABLE 2 *binary phrase structure:* SONG D.2


a
I.a
mc1
II.a
mc2
a'
I.a
mc1
II.a
mc2.1
b
I.b
mc1.1
II.b
REITERATION OF TONIC
a
a'
b
VAR.
b
VAR.

Aside from pitch content, the structure is also enforced by the melodic contour, which is essentially concave for phrases a and a', and descending (to the referant pitch) in b.

Slight variations in pitch and note values occur between strophes. This allows for text variations and the insertion of extra syllables, to fit within the meter and the regularity of accents. For example, line c in the second strophe (a1) is a slight variation of line c in strophe A.

The most common intervals in the vocal part of D.2 are major seconds and thirds. Perfect fourths are the largest interval employed, but they are less common; the perfect fourth sets every antecedent subphrase in motion, in the descent towards the referent pitch. It is also present in subphrase II of a', emphasizing the descent towards the pitch C#$_5$, and thus emphasizing the tension created by the motion towards the polar tonality.

Meter, pitches, intervals and cadences are not the only contributors to the balanced structure of the strophe. The subphrases can be essentially seen as interrelated melodic cells. Subphrase I of phrase a is identical to subphrase I of phrase a' ; they are therefore both marked in table 2 as m.c1. Subphrase I of phrase b is a variation on subphrase I of phrases a and a'; the variation results from the need to prolong the cadence on A$_4$. Subphrases II.a and II.a' are also essentially related melodic cells, and are therefore marked in table 2 as mc2 and mc2.1. They are rhythmically identical; pitchwise, they vary in only two notes. There is an inner balance created by the opposing direction of the approach to the final note of the subphrase (ascending in mc2 and falling in mc.2.1) with the axis of the motion being the pitch E$_5$. Subphrase II.b is also rhythmically related to mc2 and mc2.1, though melodically it simply reiterates the referent pitch of the piece.

The *krar:* Instrumental introduction and accompaniment.

The *krar* introduction serves to set the mode and mood of the piece. The unmeasured part consists of variations on the melodic cells interspersed by melismatic ornaments emphasizing one or two pitches at a time. The melodic cells are marked in the score by the designation given to the "parent" melodic cell in table 2 -- either mc1 or mc2. It is interesting to note than in this part, it is the pitch B_4, or the second scale degree, which serves as the polar-tonality pitch, rather than $C\#_5$ (the third scale degree); it also serves as the axis leading away from the referent pitch (see for example measures 6, 8, 11, 13 and 14).

On the audio tape enclosed, two versions of D.2 are found: one is the version sung solo by Daniel, the other is the *Meseret's* group version. The group version is sung reponsorially, and is a public performance accompanied by drumming, clapping and dancing. It is interesting to note that the song, which was first sung at the demonstrations held in front of the *Knesset* against the rabbinate's conversion stipulations (see text analysis of D.2 in chapter 5), was subsequently turned into a danceable *zefen*.

Transcription 3: D. 11, "come, come", Daniel -- vocals and *krar*

It is interesting to look at song D.11, for it is not one of Daniel's compositions, but rather a traditional love song. The song's mode was remembered by Daniel to be a mode played by his "father's generation", and as mentioned above, Daniel only played this mode upon request. The song will be analyzed mainly for comparative purposes, rather than for description of stylistic characteristics; the points of divergence between D.2 and D.11 are the points to be mainly elaborated upon.

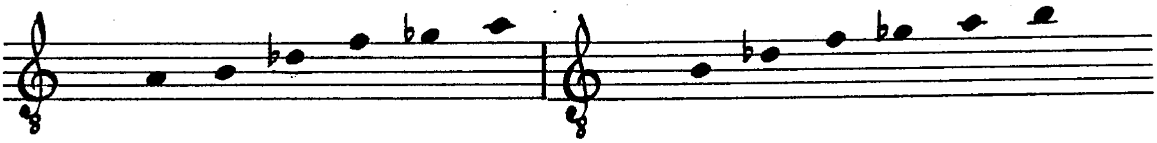
Formal Structure:
A. introduction- instrumental, alternating metered and melismatic-unmeasured, m. 1-75
krar + vocables, melismatic, unmeasured, m.78-90
B. body- binary phrase; repeated melody, changing text , m.91-161 }x7
A'. ending- like introduction: Instrumental, alternating metered and melismatic-unmeasured, m. 162-220 (end).

Voice and *krar* relationship:

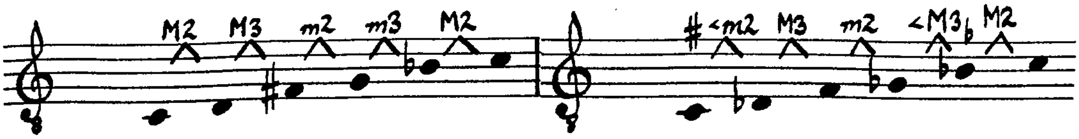
The same basic relationship of *krar* and voice interaction described for D.2 is true for D.11. During the instrumental introduction, particularly in the rhythmically free parts, the *krar* strings are plucked, while strumming is employed when accompanying the sung text. However, there is a somewhat more rhapsodic quality in the vocal part of D.11 than in D.2. This quality is particularly felt in the sung part of the introduction, and is enhanced by the use of vocal glissandos when singing vocables. Although Daniel uses vocables in other songs, the vocal rhapsodity combined with the melismatic ornaments of the *krar* over the vocal line in this section (m. 78-90) are unique to this song. This may suggest that, to Daniel, the more ornamental, rhythmically free style of singing is suggestive of an older style associated with his father's generation.

mode:

Song D.11 is in the following mode, which is a pentatonic mode characterized by one semitone. The mode is organized in an ascending order of pitches. Mindful of the fact that the mode is derived from the vocal part, and seeing that A_4 does not appear in the sung part, the mode has also been reorganized (on the right hand of the staff) to follow the arrangement of notes in the vocal melody, with the pitch B_4 acting as lowest pitch:



The mode does not correspond exactly with any of the Ethiopian modes, or *qənəts*, previously described. The intervalic structure of the mode employed in song D.11, when organized according to the vocal lines, is very reminiscent of the intervallic structure of *anchihoy qənət.* The main difference between the the mode of D.11 and *anchihoy* is the interval between first and second scale degrees. In the mode of song D.11 there is a major second, while according to Kebede and Kimberlin, the interval should be either slightly smaller than a minor second or slightly larger. For convenience, the two modes have been transposed to C on the following staff, in order to compare their intervallic structure. The example on the left is derived from song D.11, while the example on the right is the intervallic structure of *anchihoy qənət* according to Kebede (Kebede 1971:234):



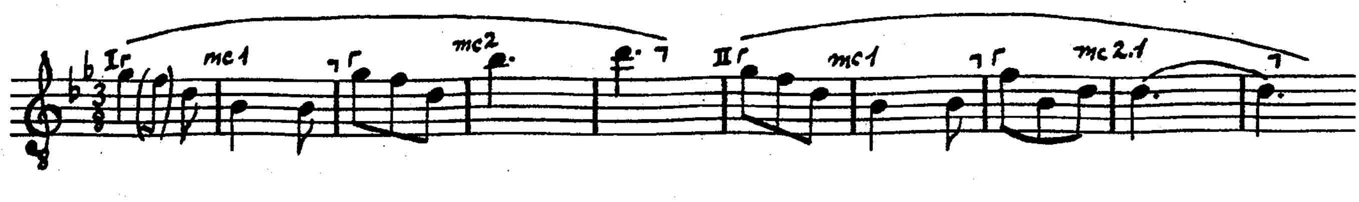
As we have learned from the transcription of the *masinqo* song Y.1, the intervallic structure of the Ethiopian modes as they are played in various song genres does not always correspond to a Western perception of what construes a "correct" interval. Also, the *anchihoy qənət* seems to be the most elusive mode to the scholars of Ethiopian music; their descriptions of it vary more than those of the three other modes do (see also discussion on *qənət* in chapter II). Taking into account also the "diminished" sound quality of song D.11 and the predominance of melodic tritones, it is quite possible that this song is also in the *anchihoy* mode. Another possibility may be that the mode for D.11 is particular to Daniel's musical background and has not been discussed by scholars.

Meter and rhythm:

Song D.11 is in triple meter (3/8), with the same characteristic *krar* accompaniment mentioned previously --♪♬♪.

Melodic organization:

As with the song D.2, the basic melodic unit of song D.11 is a binary phrase comprised of an antecedent (I) and consequent subphrases (II):



Unlike the structure of D.2, the melodic phrase is simply repeated to create one long strophe. But as with D.2, the phrase is a symmetrical unit. Both subphrases are equal in length and identical in rhythmic subdivisions and poetic meter. As with the song D.2, the two subphrases are made up of interrelated melodic cells which enhance the internal symmetry and balance of the phrase. The melodic cells are marked in the above example: both subphrases begin with an identical melodic cell, marked as mc1, mc2 and mc2.1. (Slight variations can occur among the phrases when the pitch F_5 is omitted in mc1 of subphrase I to accommodate fewer syllables in the text). The melodic cell mc2.1 acts as the consequent to mc2. Although both end on the same pitch, Db_5, the question and answer built into the subphrases are formed through a change in register to the high Db_6 in subphrase I, and back to the low Db_5 at the end of subphrase II. The musical tension created in the register changes is emphasized by the skip of a seventh, where most of the melodic motion is formed by intervals of seconds and thirds. The melodic cells are further related in that the falling motive Gb_5-F_5-B_4 is the beginning formula of both mc1 mc2, with a variation on the motive, anticipating the cadential pitch of the phrase (Db_5) in mc2.1.

Although it is not the lowest sung pitch in the mode, Db_5 is the referent pitch, or tonic, of song D.11. Db is always cadencially approached through the pitch B_4 or B_5 which is orally perceived as the "subtonic" in the piece, and when moving away from the referent pitch, B (either B_4 or B_5) is the pitch which is temporarily emphasized as the alternate tonality (see second measure of mc1).

Krar: instrumental introduction and accompaniment:

As with the song D.2, the instrumental introduction of D.11 consists of variations on the same melodic cells that make up the main melodic phrase of the piece, in the measured parts. Those are interspersed by melismatic ornaments emphasizing mostly one or two pitches. When accompanying the sung text, the *krar* plays a rhythmical ostinato, while outlining the main pitches of the piece. As with D.2, at times more than one pitch is sounded, with the vertical intervals in this case consisting of either seconds or thirds. When notes are sustained in the vocal part, the *krar* keeps the motion going with percussive accompaniment and the maintenance of a high pitch density.

Transcription 4: "Shepherd's Tune", Natan -- *washint*

According to Norma McLeod, there are three principals that are relevant to the study of music in culture:

> "First, whatever a particular society calls music is very highly ordered. Second, wherever else it may appear, music is always connected with ritual. And third, music is always context sensitive" (McLeod 1974: 103)

There could be no better example for the demonstration of the third principal defined by McLeod than "Shepherd's tune"[1]. While the setting or the occasion can inspire or dictate an appropriate musical performance, "Shepherd's tune" is an example of a musical performance creating an evocation of temporal and situational context.The piece was performed by Natan at an informal party/ recording session held at *Meseret* on Aug. 7th, 1989. During the evening, following a period of singing, dancing, and a high expenditure of energy, there was a momentary pause in which people sat down to catch their breath. It was at that moment that Natan began to improvise on the *washint,* playing in a highly ornamental and rhythmically free style. Shortly after he began, one of the men present imitated the lowing of a cow. The other men in the circle soon joined with animal imitations, laughter, and calls, such as "bring in the cattle". Taken aback for a moment, Natan paused, but soon he resumed playing and continued through the commotion. Thus the men recreated the entire sound environment they experienced as youthful herders in Ethiopia.

---

[1] the title is my own

As herding is the task of young boys among the Jewish Ethiopians, and as none of the men were presently employed as herders, it was obvious that part of the men's enjoyment in this spontaneous performance of "Shepherd's tune" was due to the fact that the music transported them to both another place, and another time -- their village in Ethiopia -- and their youth.

"Shepherd's tune" also provides a good example of the versatility of the instrument, the degree to which the instrument lends itself to ornamentation, and its two-octave range. The transcription of "Shepherd's tune" includes both the *washint* melody and the "sound environment", with all the non-*washint* sounds notated on the bottom staff. The calls in Amharic and Hebrew are sequentially numbered and transliterated in the score; their translations are also enclosed with the score. As the piece is unmeasured, places in the score will be referred to by phrases, which are numbered sequentially.

Formal structure:

"Shepherd tune" is a melodically improvisatory and rhythmically free piece, and its unifying principals do not lie in an overall formal structure. Rather, the unifying principals are created by the mode and the elaboration of melodic units.

Mode:

The mode of "Shepherd's tune" is *təzəta*, which, as mentioned in the discussion of D.2, may be the most popular mode among the younger generation of Jewish Ethiopian immigrants in Israel. It is interesting to note the key shift in the score (middle of phrase 1 - 5), resulting in a change of key signature from one flat, to four sharps, cancelling the G#$_4$ in phrase 4, and returning to one flat in phrase 6. Notes outside the pentatonic *təzəta* mode are also found in phrases 9, 24, 25, 65, 66, and 77. As the *washint* is a four holed flute, theoretically it can play five pitches, with octave transpositions (see also Powne 1986:50). If the intervals played on the *washint* match the *təzəta* mode, theoretically it should not be able to play pitches enharmonious to the mode. There are two possible explanations for the the "extra" pitches and shifts in key signatures:

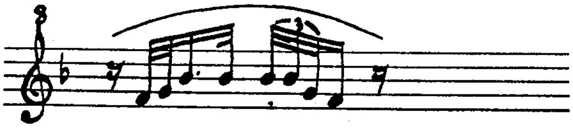
The first is that pitch alteration was intentional on the part of the performer, resulting from the fingering and blowing techniques he employed; the second explanation is that the weather conditions influenced pitch production, for the performance was held outdoors, and the evening was cool and somewhat windy (Nazareth Illit is at a relatively high elevation in the Galilee Mountains).

Meter and rhythm:

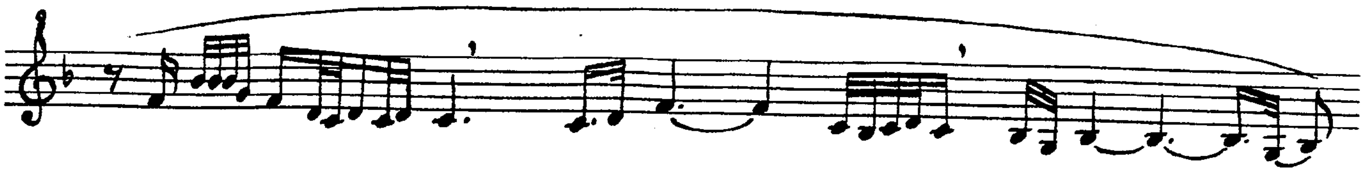
As mentioned previously, "Shepherd's tune" is unmeasured and rhythmically free. In order to approximate note values, a pulse was recorded over the half-time version of the music. The quarter note value (♩=108) equals one beat in the time line pulse recorded over the music.

Melodic organization:

Although "Shepherd's tune" is highly improvisatory, it is the *təzəta* mode's intervallic framework that provides the most important cohesive principal in the piece. Another unifying factor are the melodic units on which much of the improvisation is based. The melodic units emphasize two specific pitches: Bb_3, the tonic of the piece, and F_4, the fourth scale degree in *təzəta* mode; almost all the phrases end on either one of the two pitches or in their octave transpositions. Although never duplicated exactly from one phrase to the next, the most basic melodic cell outlines an arched contour, leading from the pitch F_4 to Bb_4 and returning to F_4 (+ octave transpositions), as is exemplified in phrase 18:



An extension of this melodic unit continues the downward contour towards tonic, which is often directly approached from the pitch G_3, a third below. Phrase 12 provides a good example:



Other permutations of this basic melodic unit continue to emphasize the motion between the two tonalities -- the motion from Bb to F and vice versa. For example, phrase 27 (see transcription 4 appendix 5), further extends the contour of phrase 12 by "tacking on" the basic melodic unit at the end of the phrase. In this way, the motion between pitch Bb and pitch F is perpetuated. The lengthening of phrases via extension also serves to emphasize the motion between the first and fourth scale degrees at the local level of the melodic unit, as well as at the overall level of the entire phrase.

Transcription 5: M.1, "*Hailalo*" , *Meseret -- vocals, washint, krar, masinqo* and *kebero*

Hailalo is a typical example of *Meseret's* repertoire. It is a *zefen* (a song which is also a dance), and is is performed as an ensemble piece. The performance includes all the traditional instruments played by Jewish Ethiopians in Israel. As I have mentioned earlier, ensemble playing is a recent development in Ethiopia. Song M.1 is a good example showing the roles taken on by the various musical instruments when played simultaneously.

Formal structure:

Song M.1 begins with an instrumental introduction. The sung part consists of two distinct melodic patterns, corresponding with the strophes and the refrain. The refrain is inserted every two or three strophes. Using upper case A to designate both a melodic and a textual repetition of a strophe, lower case a to designate melodic repetition and textual variation, and B for the refrain, the song can be charted in the following manner:

Instrumental introduction
A, a, a, B
A, a, B
A, a, B, B (> fade out)

Vocal performance characteristics:

"*Hailalo*" is sung reponsorially, with one leader answered by a chorus. It is interesting to note that within each strophe, the same melodic pattern repeats twice; in the second time, the lead and the chorus exchange roles, with the chorus leading (see measures 16-21 and measures 21-28). As with the singers discussed previously, the voice quality is focused and somewhat nasal. Some of the lines are sung to vocables, rather than to a text. Within the strophes vocables and text are sung interchangeably, while the refrain is made up entirely of vocables ("*Hailalo*" is not a real word in Amharic). With the buildup of enthusiasm during the dance, the singing is often punctuated by shouts and ululations (see refrain). Although not heard in this performance, another common sign of enthusiasm is the vocable "lesh", which is produced deep in the throat.

Ethiopian instruments as an ensemble:

According to Kebede, in contemporary ensemble music in Ethiopia, it is the *washint* that assumes the leading role, with the stringed instruments being tuned to it. However, it is the vocal part that remains most dominant:

> "As a general rule, all the Ethiopian musical instruments introduce and accompany vocal music. Introductions are often melodical variants of the song that follows; it is in instrumental introductions that the performer attempts to display his virtuosity by playing variations on the vocal thematic material. When accompanying, the instruments closely duplicate the voice part with little or no variation" (Kebede 1971: 227-229).

This concept of vocal supremacy generally applies to the songs performed by *Meseret.* In song M.1. However, rather than duplicating the vocal line, the instruments assume different roles. These roles can be demonstrated by looking at both the introduction (measures 1-15) and the body of the song. In the introduction, the *washint* is the sole melodic instrument, playing a highly improvisatory melody. Towards the entrance of the vocal part (measures 13-15), the *washint* plays a distinctly recognizable version of the main melody. Once the singing begins, the *washint* is the only instrument playing variations of the main melody (see for example measures 16-18), though overall it follows the melody and its rhythmic component much more closely than in the introduction (as in measures 19-21). As can be seen in the transcription, the *washint* continues its improvisation in strophe a as well. While only two strophes were transposed, the *washint* continues to improvise throughout the other strophes as well.

Unlike Kebede's description, the stringed instruments do not follow the vocal line; rather, they play a repetitive ostinato, which underlines the melody and enhances the texture. Only the first two measures of the *masinqo* playing are notated in the transcription, for I found it impossible to discern the notes from the musical matrix. However, the *masinqo* continues to play throughout the song, with the effect being that of a continual rhythmic drone which supports the overall texture. The *krar* also plays a rhythmic ostinato. While in the introduction there is some variation in the pitch content of the *krar's* accompaniment, once the singing begins, the *krar* plays an unvarying ostinato pattern, which emphasizes the main notes of the melody (Bb_3-D_4-F_4). Thus, both the *masinqo* and the *krar* essentially enhance the texture which is also supported by the *kebero* and hand-clapping.

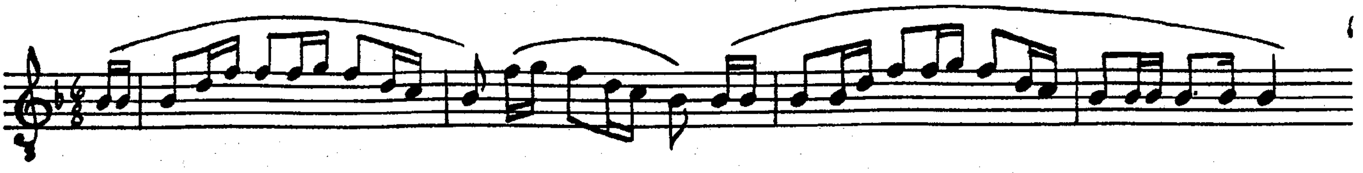
It is interesting to note that despite the fact that the stringed instruments have become part of the "rhythm section" in ensemble playing, in many ways linearity of the music continues to dominate over verticality. As long as an instrument is playing within the mode, at the local level instruments do not necessarily match pitches with the vocal tonality. For example, in measures 45-46, the *krar* continues to play its Bb_3-D_4-F_4 ostinato against a sustained C_5 in the vocal part, and a sustained D_5 in the *washint* part. The same occurs in measures 54-55.

Mode:

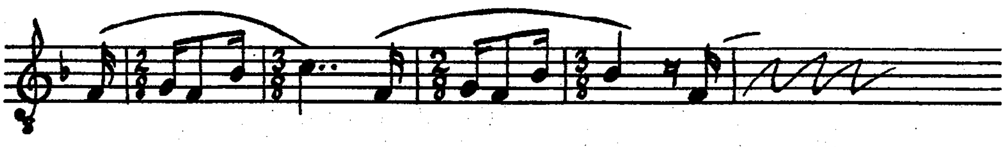
"*Hailalo*" is in *təzəta* mode.

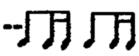
Meter and rhythm:

Both the percussion and the stringed instruments' ostinato in song M.1 is basically in duple meter (2/4). However, the accents of the vocal melody do not always fall on the downbeats, for within the strophe, the melody is essentially in compound duple meter (6/8) and could be barred in the following manner. (Stems facing upward indicate the leader, and downward indicate the chorus):



In the same manner, in order to accommodate the shifting accents of the refrain, meters would be alternated in the following manner:



However, as song M.1 is primarily a dance, and as the *əskəsta* dance patterns respond to the percussion rather than to the cross rhythms created between the vocals and the percussion, I chose to keep the entire song in 2/4. The rhythmic subdivisions of the strophe's melody ---- echo the drumming pattern and therefore also reinforce the overall sense of a duple meter. In any case, it is interesting to note that the melodic phrase, which is longer than the rhythmic ostinato patterns played underneath it, results in an asynchronous overlapping of melodic and rhythmic units. This characteristic is also found in Daniel's *krar* repertoire, in song D.2.

Melodic organization:

As can be seen in the above example of the melody (A), it has an arched contour. Symmetry and balance are achieved in several ways. First, the main melody is stated, its second half being echoed by the chorus. The main melody is then stated again; the length of melody plus the echo is now matched by the reiteration of tonic. Secondly, as with "Shepherd's tune", the two pitches that are emphasized are the pitch Bb($_4$), which is the tonic, an the pitch F($_5$), which is the fourth scale degree. The symmetry of the arches is created by the motion from Bb$_4$ to F$_5$ and the return to Bb$_4$. Rhythmic emphasis on the two pitches, which are either on the downbeats or are holding the longer note values, also affirms the structural importance of the first and fourth scale degrees.

While not necessarily characteristic of the other transcriptions in *təzəta* mode, the melody of strophe A is triadic in structure, with the pitch D$_5$ acting as the melodic axis through which the motion from Bb$_4$ to F$_5$ and vice versa is achieved. Both the tonic of the piece and the triadic structure of the melody of strophe A is also reinforced by the Bb$_3$-D$_4$-F$_4$ ostinato patterns of the *krar.*

The melodic content of the refrain provides an element of contrast to A. The phrases are shorter, the contour is slightly ascending, rather than arched, and the tonic (Bb$_4$) is approached from below, rather than from above. Other than tonic, the two emphasized pitches are those least emphasized in strophe A: The pitch C$_5$, or the second scale degree, and the pitch G$_4$ -- the fifth scale degree.

Other than being one of the *Meseret's* favorite dance tunes, "*Hailalo*'s" import also lies in the fact that is was the first song in which a collaboration took place between Ethiopians playing traditional music and Israeli musicians. During the Safad music festival, in July 1989, Ehud Banai, an Israeli pop-rock musician, approached *Meseret* members, asking them to perform with him. The result was a combination of two songs: "*Hailalo*" and "Dark Skinned Brothers", a song about Ethiopian immigrants written by Ehud Banai (see translation in appendix 4). The combined song was performed that evening, with a simple alteration of verses. *Meseret's* ensemble was joined by a guitar and a *darbukka.* It remains to be seen whether such collaborations will continue to stimulate a fusion of Ethiopian music and local genres.

Conclusion

The accelerated pace of historical events and constant flux of political forces in our world has not only greatly impacted traditional arts, but it has also made impossible the up-dated documentation of the arts within their cultural contexts. To this end, there can be no ultimate conclusion to this thesis, for it captures but a small slice of a musical culture in a specific time and place. Since my fieldwork in 1989, virtually the entire Jewish Ethiopian community has relocated to Israel, with the inevitable outcome that the Ethiopian context will no longer continue to shape the cultural evolution of this community. It is therefore doubtless that this transition will have profound effects on Jewish Ethiopian arts.

However, the survival and continuation of traditional arts in a new environment and in the face of tremendous pressures to assimilate points to the obvious conclusion that the traditional arts are a necessary vehicle for personal and communal expression of self-identity. The dedication of groups like *Meseret* and of individual musicians, basket makers and potters to the preservation of traditional arts, despite the fact that these pursuits are often economically unrewarding, is a testimony to this need for artistic outlets of cultural expression within the community. The fact that in Israel some immigrants who have never played musical instruments in Ethiopia began to play traditional music also points to the conclusion that, when wrested from one's natural environment, traditional arts take on a profound new meaning as a necessary link to one's cultural roots. It can only be doubly true when an entire community relocates, for taken out of its original environment, the practice of traditional arts becomes a practice in group identity.

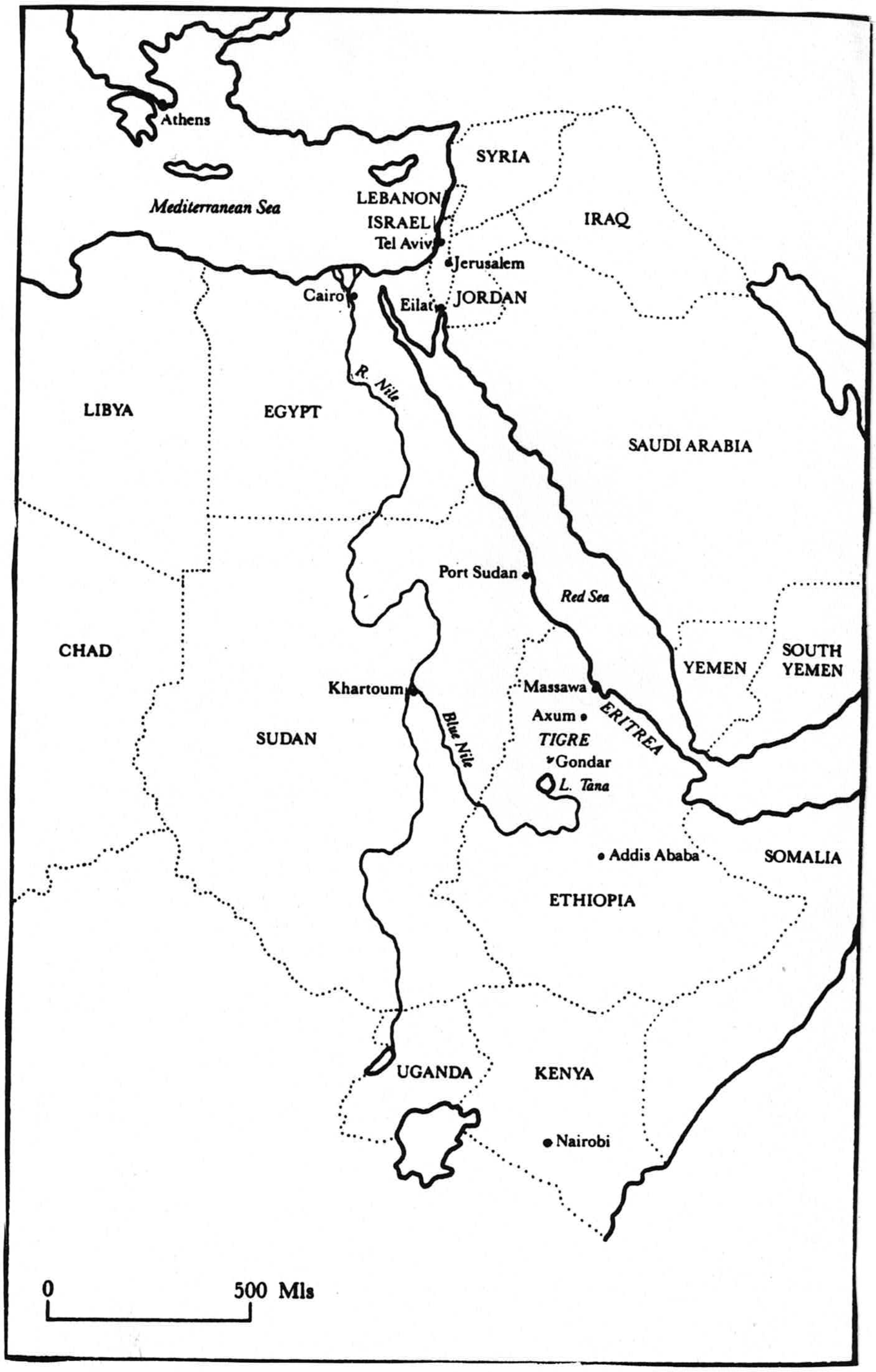
In this thesis I have undertaken a study of Jewish Ethiopian secular music as it was played and performed among a small group of Ethiopian Jews living in Israel in 1989. Although music can be appreciated by those outside the culture as an entity on its own, true understanding of the music can only be approached when it is looked at as part of a rich cultural fabric. Therefore, my approach to looking at Jewish Ethiopian music necessarily involved looking at all the parts that makes up the fabric from which this music emerges: The history of the community; the comparisons made with other musical studies conducted in the country of origin; the role of music, performances, and musicians in daily life and the ways in which this role may have changed following relocation; the making of musical instruments and their relationship to the physical and social environment; the ways in which song texts are constructed and topics discussed; and, finally, the analysis of the music itself in a language understandable to those not initiated into the culture. In doing so, I hoped to convey the some of the beauty and richness inherent in this culture, the sum total of which is so much greater than any of the parts separately analyzed.

As mentioned in the introduction, many of the studies of Jewish Ethiopian culture conducted in Israel were goal oriented, with either the smooth assimilation of Ethiopian Jews, or the query into their status as Jews, being the motivation of these studies. While studies of this nature have their own merit, it is important to note that any culture that is being analyzed deserves to be studied, and its inherent richness recognized, on its own terms. Immigrant communities that are under the pressure to assimilate are in even greater need of this recognition. In the long run, this understanding would both serve the purposes of the absorption agencies and the need of the community to maintain its cultural identity. Practically speaking, this could be achieved by further studies of Jewish Ethiopian culture and traditional arts that would not be constructed in terms of public policy goals. Outside the academic arena, the active support of traditional arts, be it music, weaving, pottery or basketry, is essential.

Now that the great majority of the Jewish Ethiopian community have relocated to Israel, and the turmoil resulting from the separation has subsided, the time is particularly ripe for further studies of Jewish Ethiopian traditional arts. Such research would necessarily be based on longer fieldwork and be conducted by a scholar conversant in Amharic.
For, although this thesis provides an initial basis for the understanding of Jewish Ethiopian music, both the community and academia could benefit from more extensive study.

Appendix 1: Maps.

Ethiopia and Red Sea Region[1]:


Athens
Mediterranean Sea
SYRIA
LEBANON
ISRAEL
Tel Aviv
Jerusalem
IRAQ
Cairo
Eilat
JORDAN
R. Nile
LIBYA
EGYPT
SAUDI ARABIA
Port Sudan
Red Sea
CHAD
YEMEN
SOUTH YEMEN
Khartoum
Massawa
Axum
ERITREA
TIGRE
Gondar
L. Tana
Blue Nile
SUDAN
Addis Ababa
SOMALIA
ETHIOPIA
UGANDA
KENYA
Nairobi
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500 Mls

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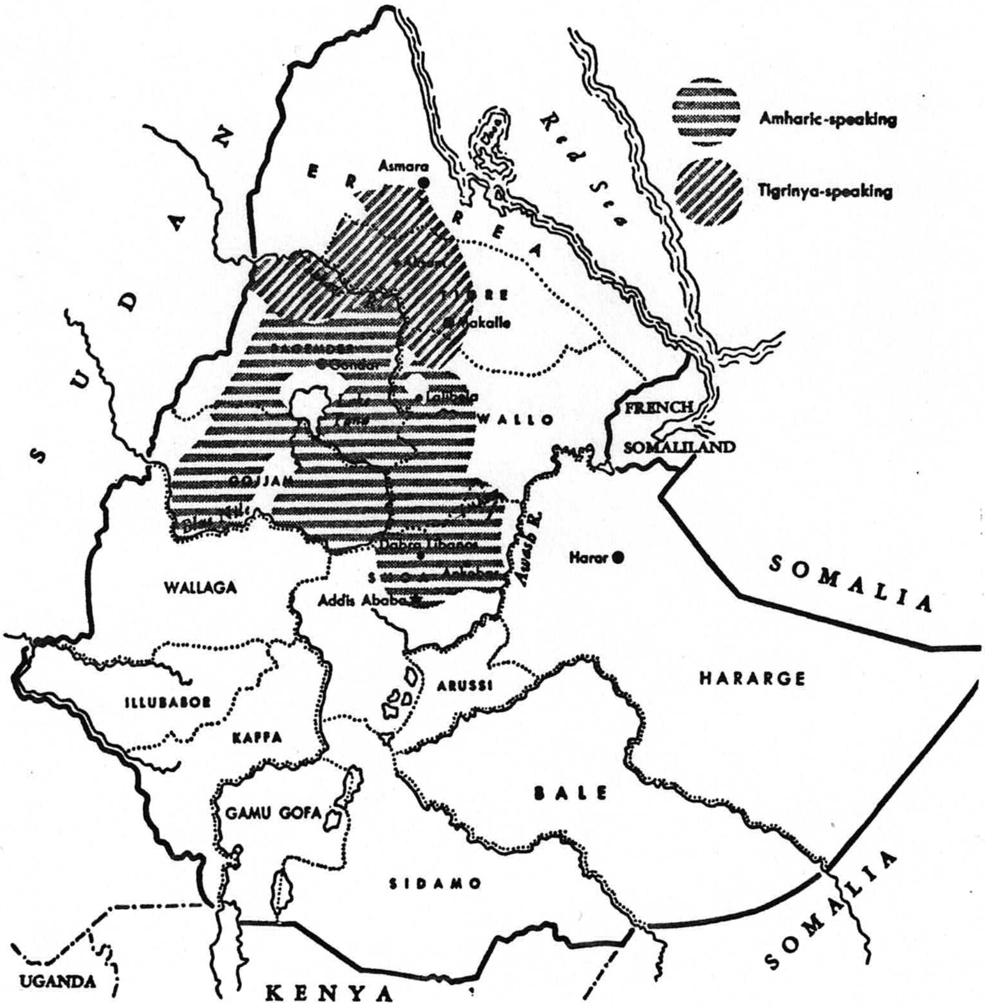
[1] map reproduced from Parfitt, 1985

Amhara and Tigre Culture Area[2]:


Amharic-speaking
Tigrinya-speaking
SUDAN
ERITREA
Asmara
Red Sea
TIGRE
Makalle
BAGEMDER
Gondar
Lalibela
WALLO
Lake Tana
GOJJAM
Blue Nile
Dabra Libanos
SHOA
Ankober
Addis Ababa
Awash R.
FRENCH SOMALILAND
Harar
SOMALIA
WALLAGA
ILLUBABOR
KAFFA
ARUSSI
HARARGE
BALE
GAMU GOFA
SIDAMO
UGANDA
KENYA
SOMALIA

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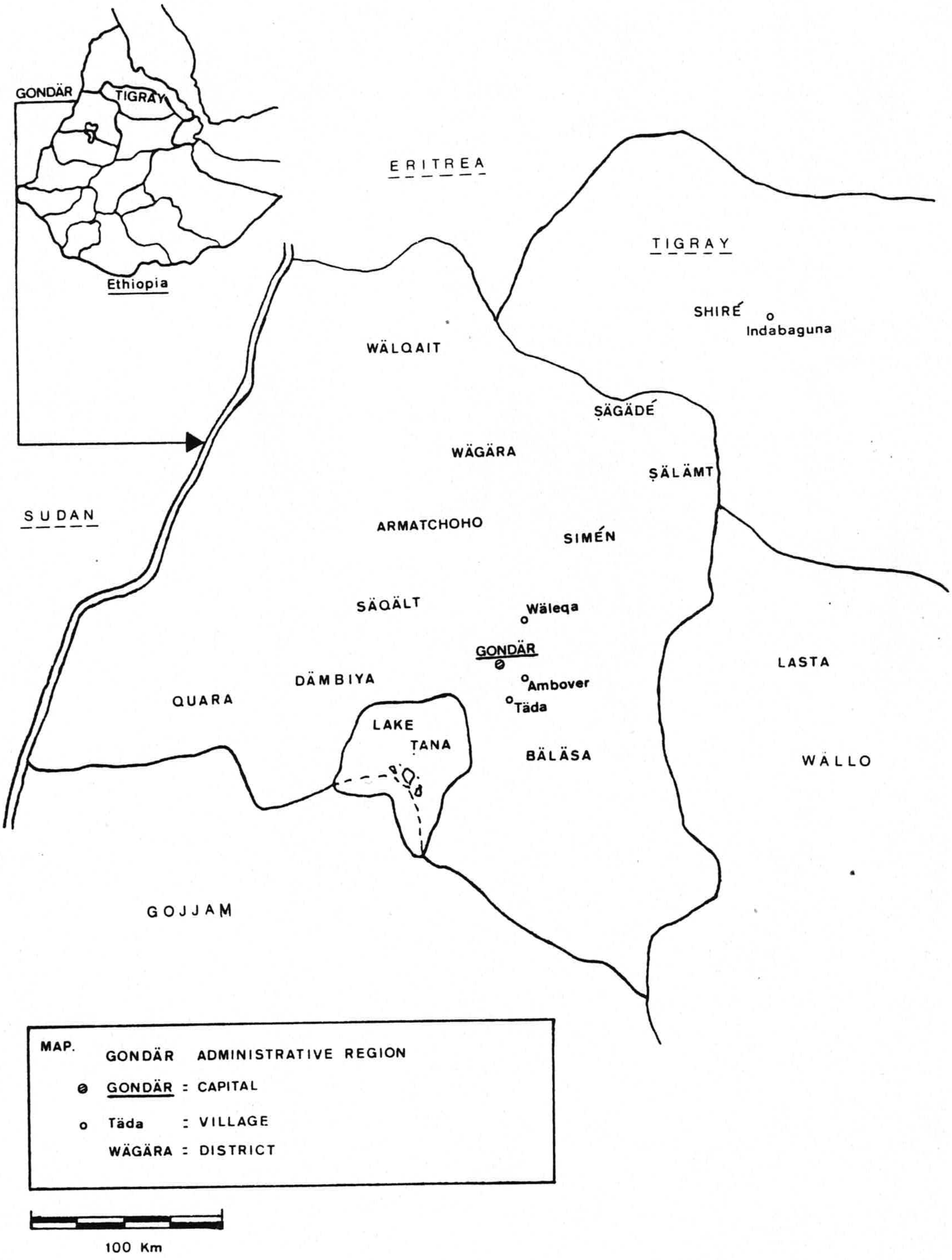
[2] map reproduced from Levine, 1965

Gondar Area and Jewish villages[3]:

Ethiopian Jews


GONDÄR
TIGRAY
Ethiopia
ERITREA
TIGRAY
SHIRÉ
Indabaguna
WÄLQAIT
ṢÄGÄDÉ
WÄGÄRA
ṢÄLÄMT
SUDAN
ARMATCHOHO
SIMÉN
SÄQÄLT
Wäleqa
GONDÄR
Ambover
Täda
LASTA
DÄMBIYA
QUARA
LAKE
TANA
BÄLÄSA
WÄLLO
GOJJAM
MAP.
GONDÄR ADMINISTRATIVE REGION
GONDÄR : CAPITAL
Täda : VILLAGE
WÄGÄRA : DISTRICT
100 Km

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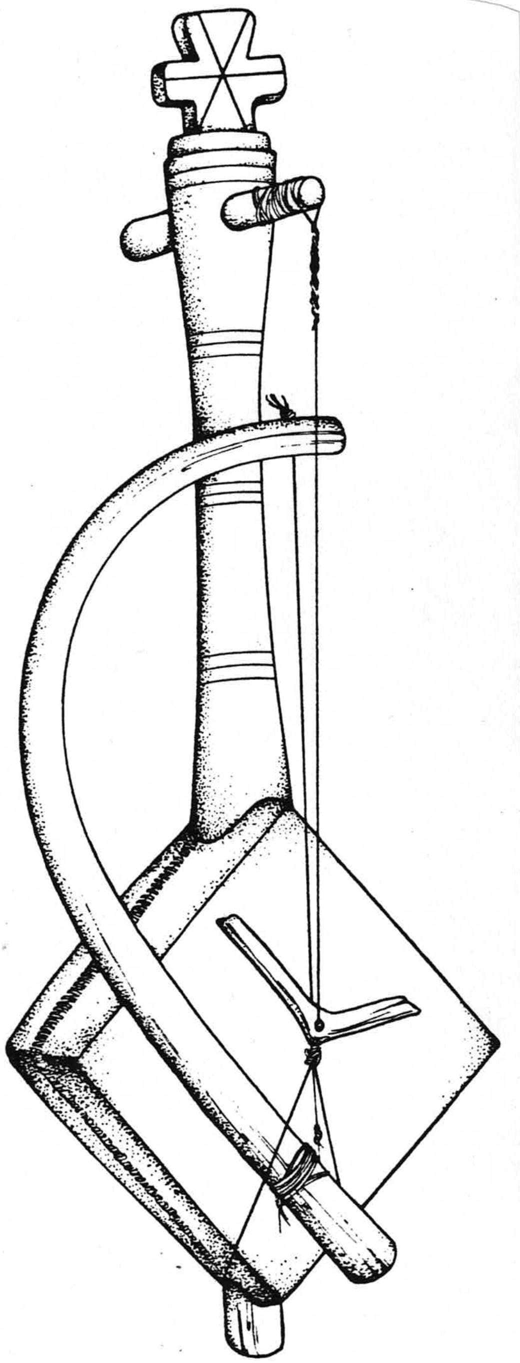
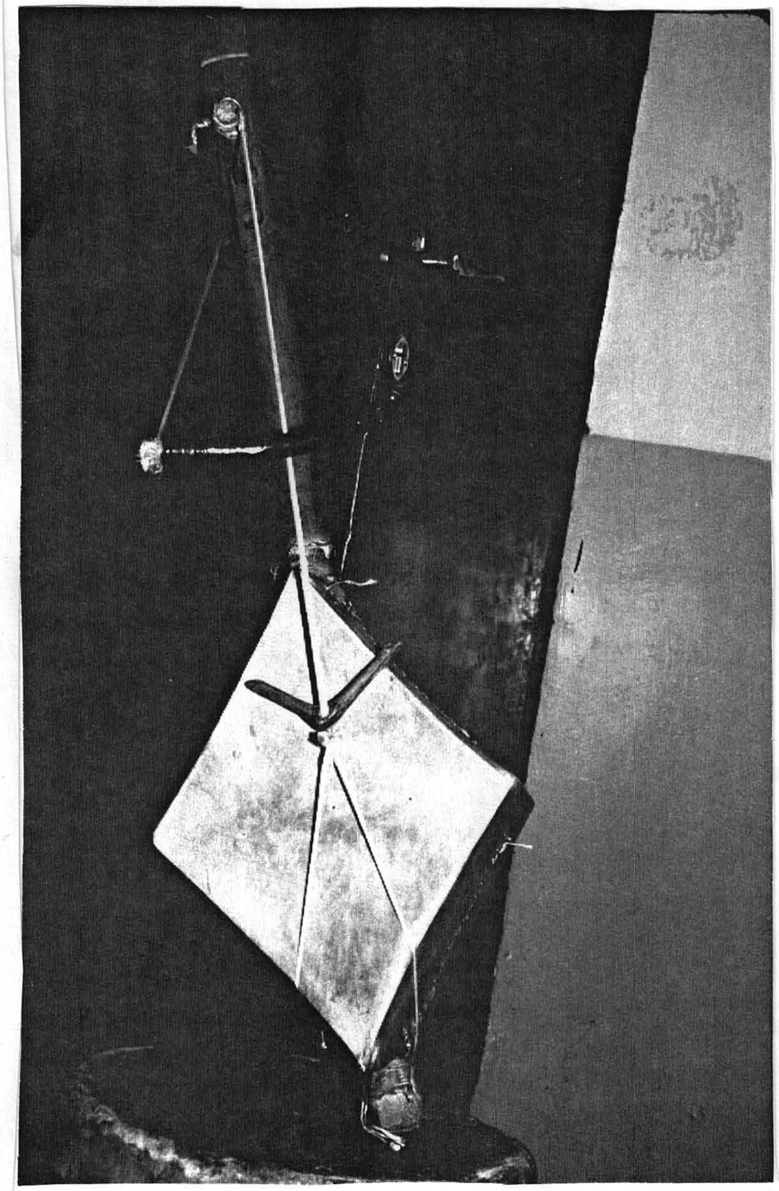
[3] map reproduced from Ashkenazi and Weingrod, 1987: 8

Appendix 2: Musical instruments

Masingo[1]



2.a.



2.b.

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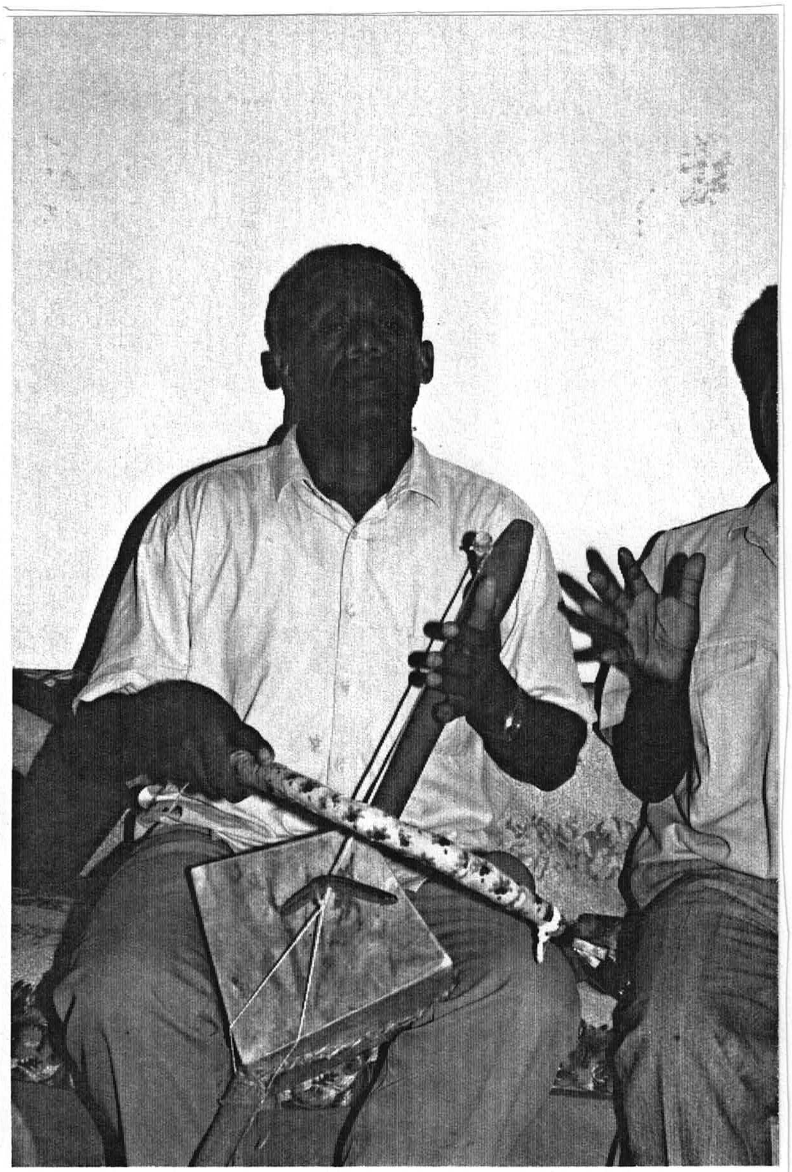
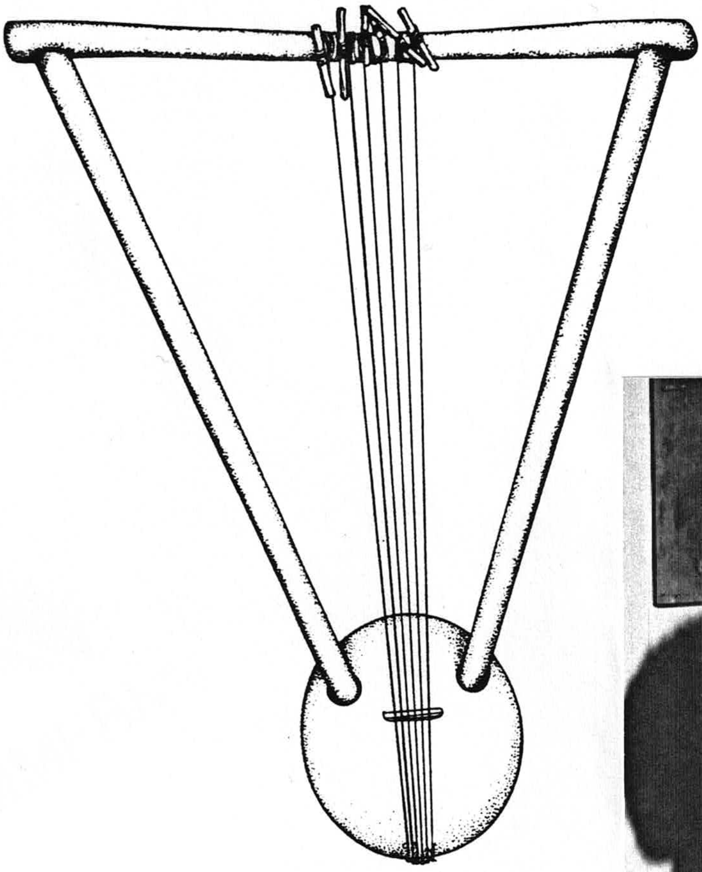
[1] illustrations 2.a, 2.d and 2.j in this appendix were reproduced from Kimberlin 1980:238-239. Photographs were taken by the author.

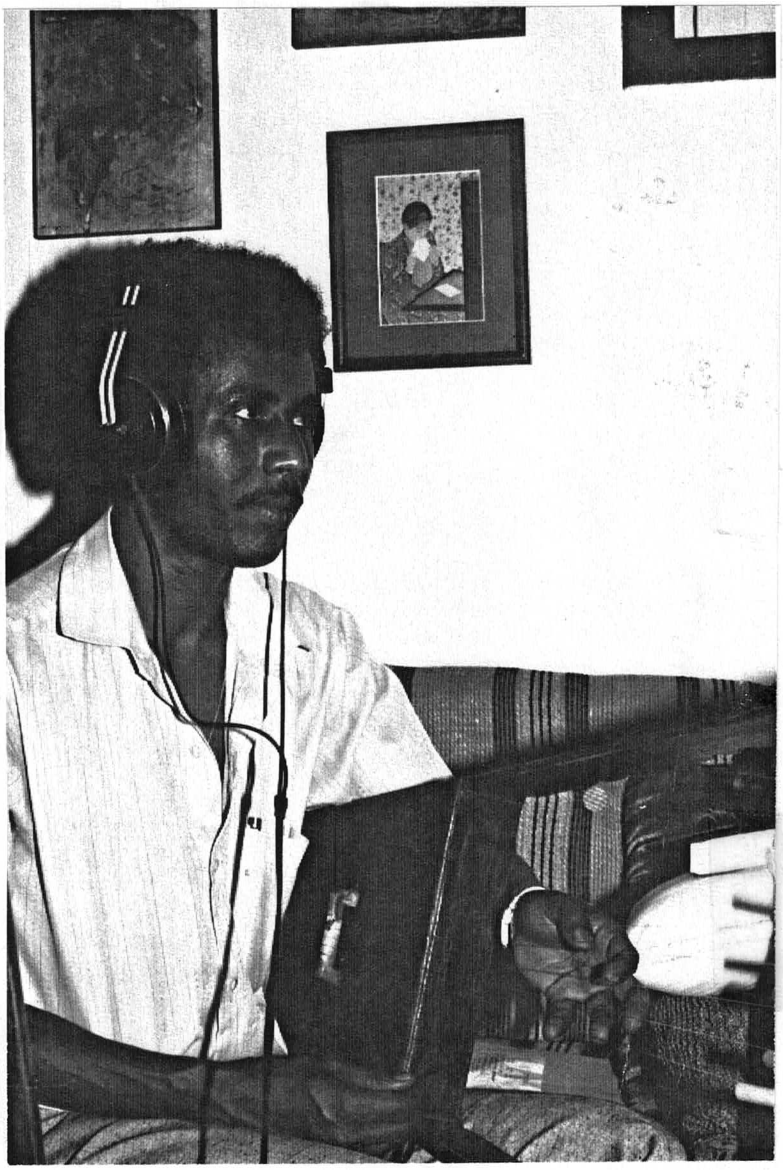


L.C.

Krar

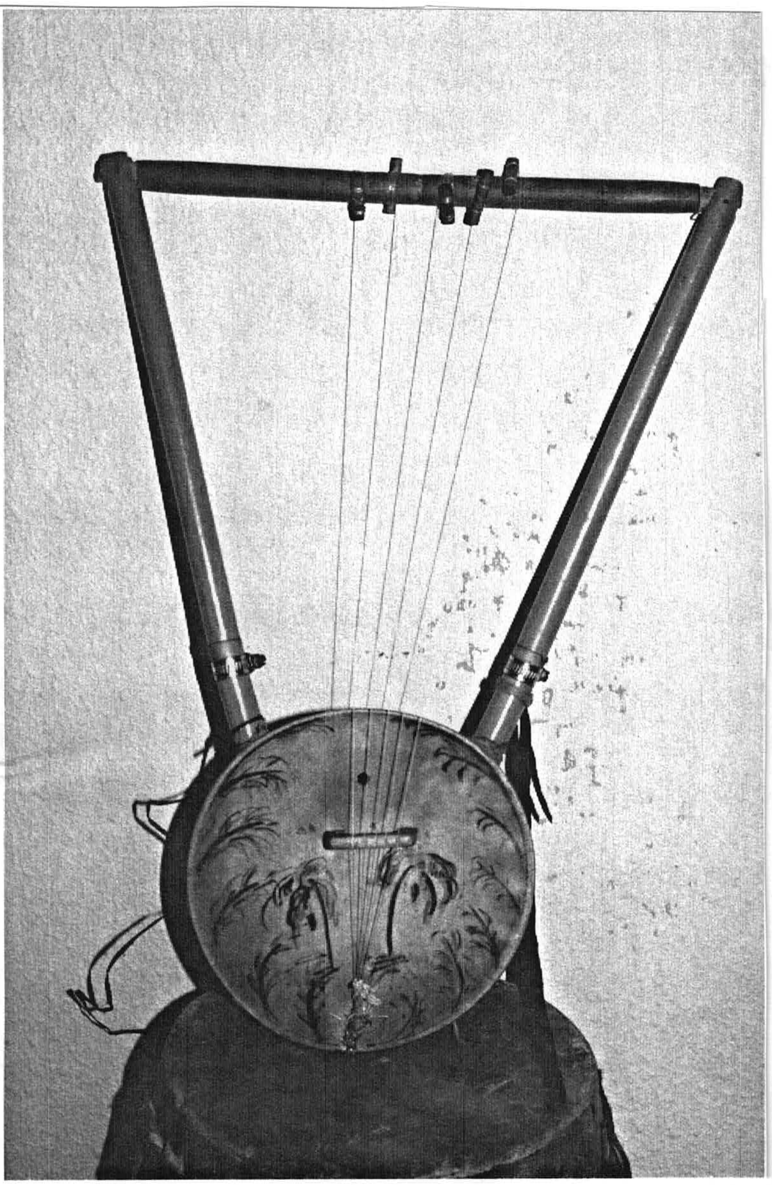


2, d.

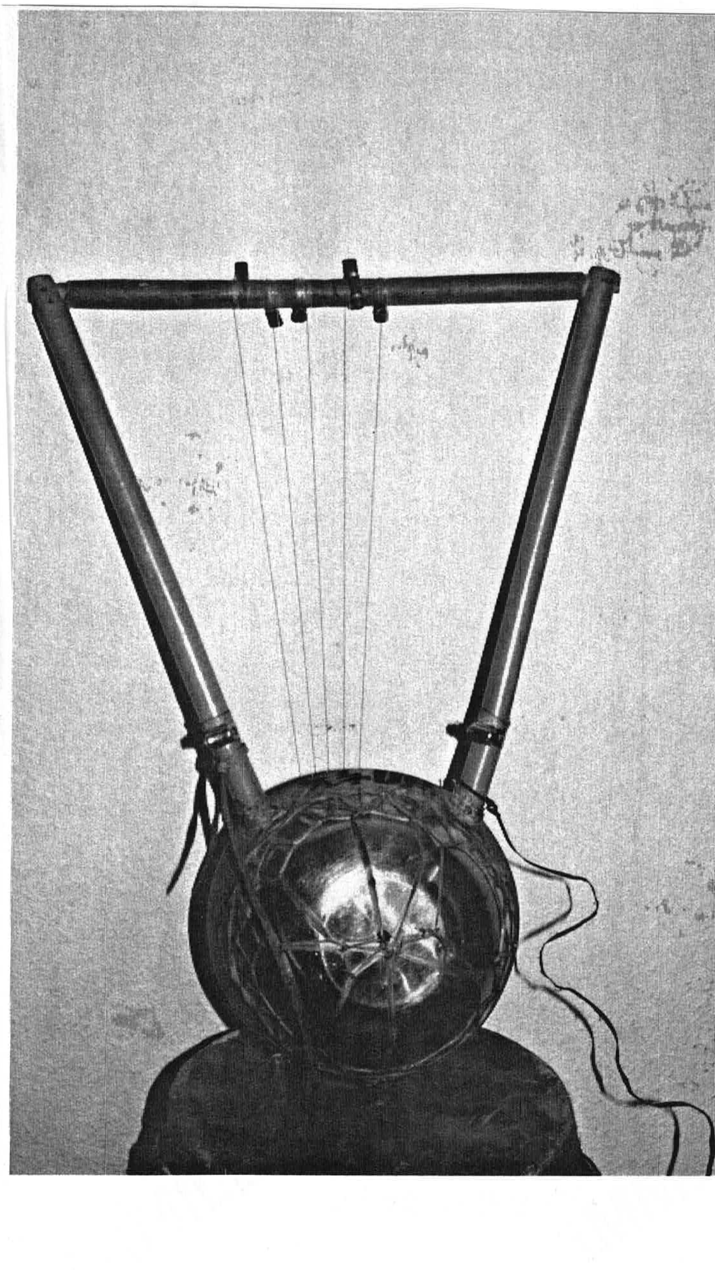


2. e.

Bowled *krar*

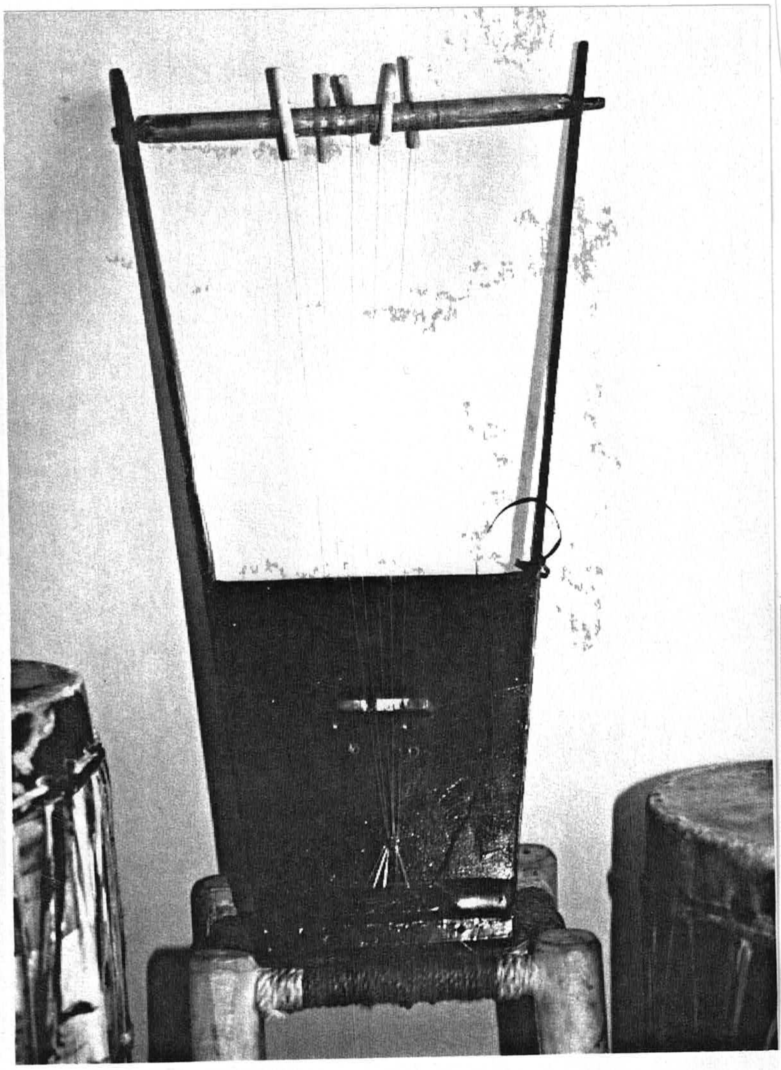


2.f.



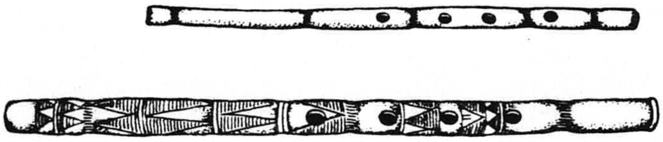
2.g.

Trapezoidal *krar*

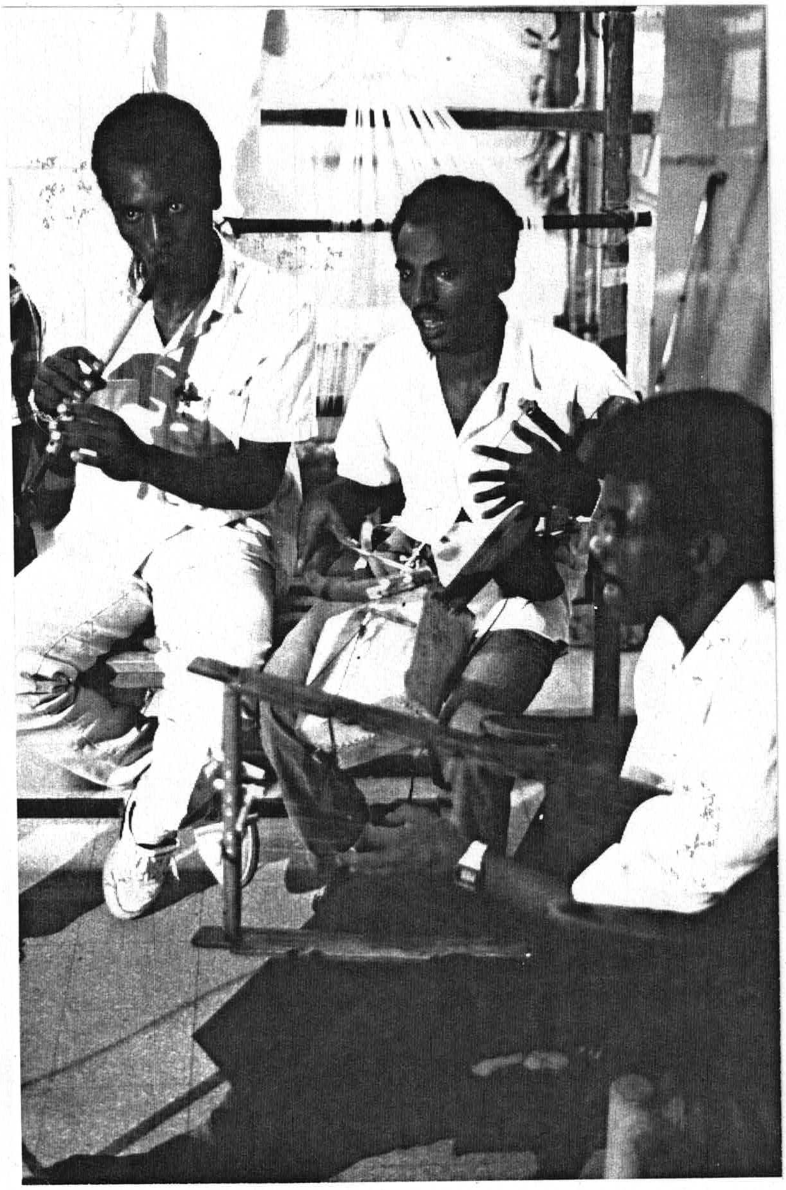


2.h.

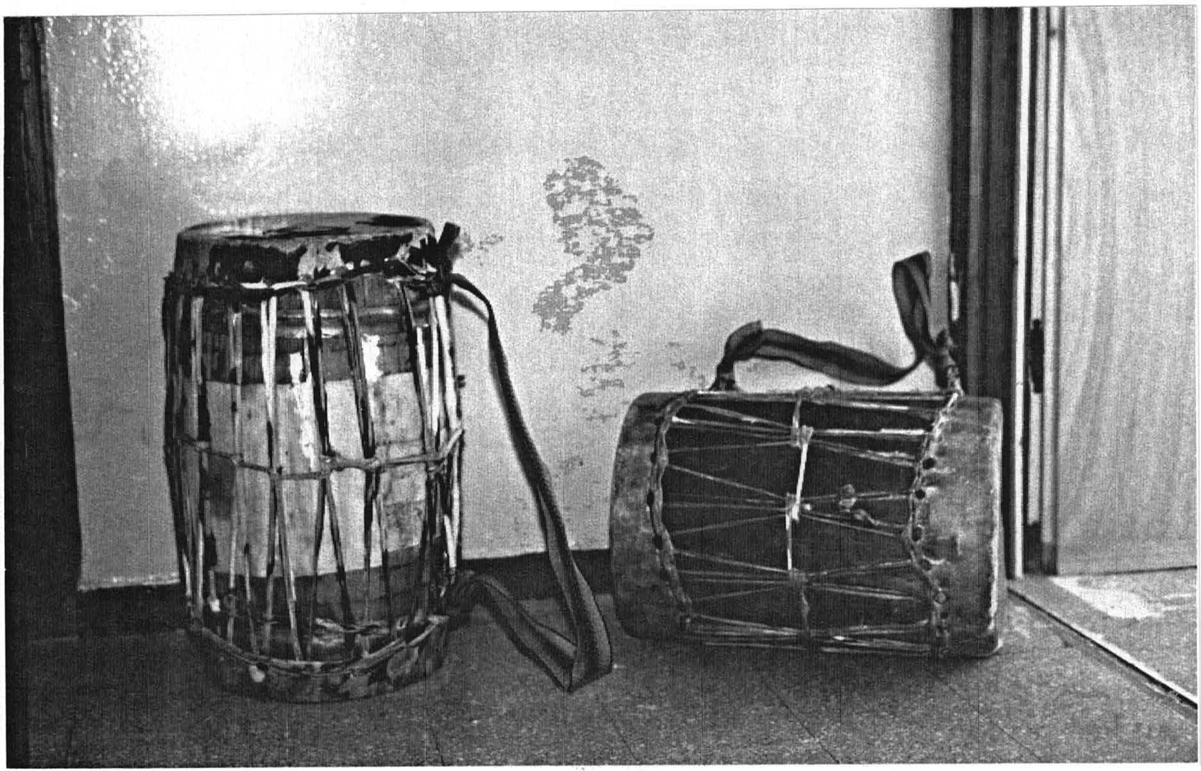
2.i.



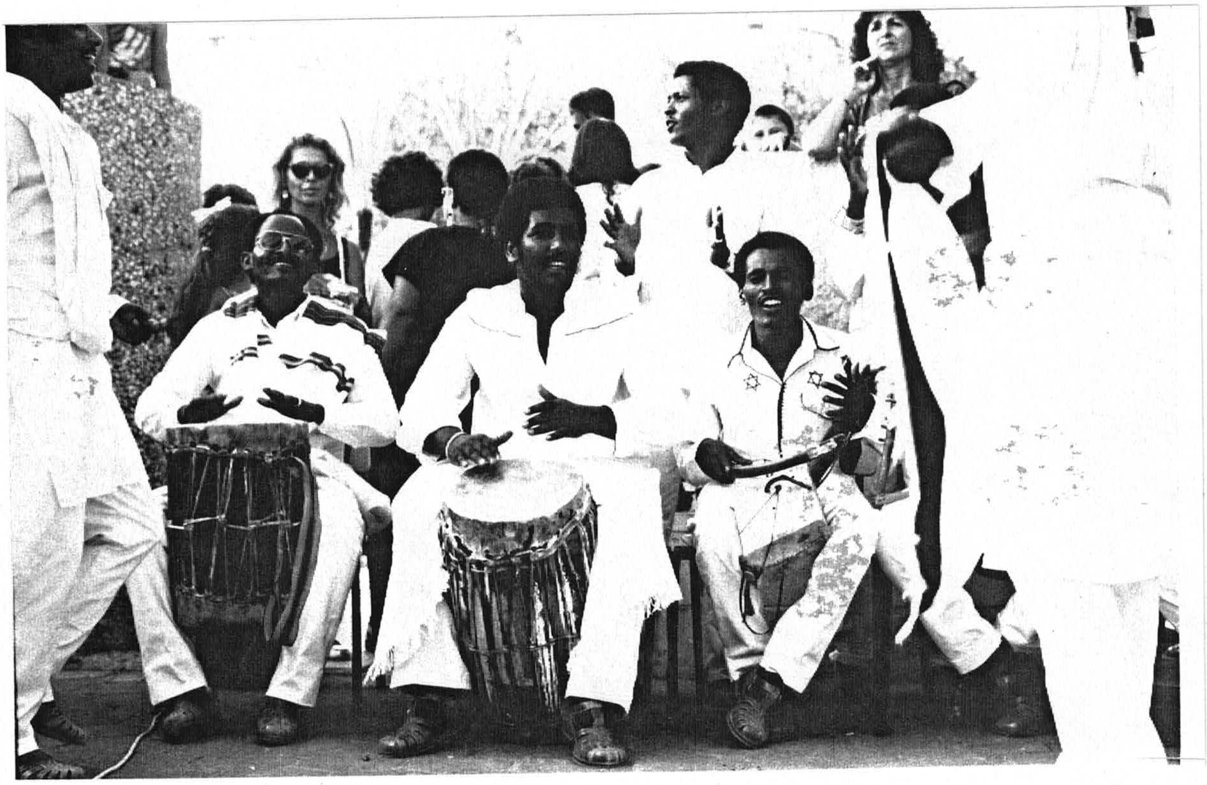
2.j.



2.k.



2. l.



2. m.

Appendix III: Daniel -- life history of a *krar* player and painter

Introduction

In a political world that is in constant flux, culture and the arts experience accelerated rates of change. The study of Daniel's art and his relationship to it offers insights into the impact and meanings this accelerated change forges within the individual. Daniel's music and painting mirror all the major components that constitute his changing world: his roots in a Jewish Ethiopian village; his education, unusual for his background; his experiences as a refugee; and the current concerns facing him as a new immigrant in Israel.

Born in Ethiopia circa 1956, Mulugeta now lives in Israel, and has been given the Hebrew name Daniel. Although Daniel is a gifted artist, both musician and painter, he is now studying to become a nurse. The focus of Daniel's life history will be Daniel's relationship to his art within two conflicting contexts; that of an Ethiopian Jew and that of an assimilating Israeli. This focus will bring to light the process by which musical and artistic changes, fueled by cultural change, occur in the life of an individual. It will also enhance the reader's understanding of the difficulties of faced by a Jewish Ethiopian musician who wishes to continue his craft in Israel (see chapter III) and provide the biographical context for the analysis of Daniel's song-texts in chapter V.

Daniel's life history

Born in Tadeh, a small village of Beta Israel in the Gondar region, Daniel was about 18 years old in 1974, the year of the revolution. It was the same year in which he graduated from high-school. This was rather unusual, for the majority of the Jewish Ethiopian immigrants in Israel had very few years of formal schooling. Although Daniel did not tell me this, I suspect that he was chosen by his family to receive the 'extra' education; for in Ethiopia, the father of the family would often choose the child who would continue his or her schooling, in order to become "teacher of the people", while the others would be sent to help with agricultural tasks (Banai 1988: 80).

After Daniel graduated, and in order to acquire a much needed travel pass, he began working as a schoolteacher in a primary school. Like many other Jewish Ethiopians who traveled or worked outside their home village, Daniel had to hide the fact that he was Jewish in order to retain his job. However, after several years of working in various places, the secret leaked out, and as Daniel put it, "I began to feel the ground burning under my feet".

Rumors had been going on for a while that it was possible to leave Ethiopia through the Sudan, and Daniel began to plan his escape with a few other people. At the time of this research project in 1989, Daniel felt very sorry that he never left with his family while it was still possible to do so. All of Daniel's close family, his parents as well as many brothers and sisters were still in Ethiopia. But when he was planning his departure, circa 1983, he did not ask them to join the escaping group because he didn't know how safe the route would be.

In 1989 the Ethiopian government was using new tactics to prevent emigration -- often, older people's exit could be procured, while younger people were not allowed to leave, on the pretext that they are needed in the labor and fighting forces. Many Jewish Ethiopians encountered this problem. So while in 1989 Daniel's parents could probably leave, his brothers and sisters could not, and the parents were not willing to leave without them.

One of the most painful memories for Daniel was having to leave without saying goodbye. Originally, he planned to go to his parents' village, Tadeh, before leaving, in order to part from his family. But he had to leave very unexpectedly, when a friend who was working in the same village as Daniel, and with whom he was planning the escape, came to Daniel and declared that he was leaving that very night. Daniel's friend suspected that the government was close on his tail. Daniel knew that if he didn't go as well, the authorities would search him out to find out the whereabouts of his friend, for they were often seen together. This left him with little choice. Towards the evening, he packed very few things, so as not to arouse suspicion, and started out. He told the schoolchildren who saw him leave that he was on his way to visit some friends in a nearby village and would be back shortly.

The trek from the Gondar region to the refugee camps lasts over 150 miles. Much of the walking was done at night, to avoid detection, despite the fact that at night the danger of wild predators was greater. Although Daniel captured much of this trek in his paintings, he did not discuss his experiences in the refugee camp.

Following Daniel's arrival in Israel he drifted through various places: The Kfar Vitkin Immigration Hostel, where many young single immigrants attended a period of schooling in an environment resembling a boarding school; the Safad absorption center; and Nazareth Illit, a town that hosts one of the largest concentrations of Ethiopian Jews in Israel. He also tried the kibbutz life but did not like the fact that one's investments of time and labor are not reciprocated by actual earnings.

At some point, after getting married, Daniel opted to join a university preparatory course that was designed for Ethiopian immigrants who came from a more educated background like himself. When he began the course, Daniel was asked what he wanted to study. He said that he wanted to study music -- guitar and piano. He believes that the directors understood that he wanted to become a music teacher, and that therefore preparatory classes he was sent to were geared towards that. But Daniel didn't like what he saw in Israeli classrooms; the childrens' behavior was obnoxious and "wild", and he disliked the atmosphere in the classroom. In Ethiopia the children were very disciplined and obeyed the teachers. Daniel was not the only Ethiopian to complain to me about the conduct of Israeli children. Indeed, many immigrants I met discussed the disrespectfulness of Israeli children and the negative effect it had on their own children.

Despite the misunderstandings, Daniel joined the class, which was given in Jerusalem. However, after two months of studying Daniel received a letter from his parents in Ethiopia, describing their situation as absolutely destitute and predicting that they may not live very long. Daniel described the feeling he had upon receiving the letter as "being hit very hard". He decided to drop out of school in order to work and send money to Ethiopia. He worked in the Tel-Aviv for a while, until he got a job as a nurse assistant in a hospital in Hod-Hasharon (approximately a half an hour's driving distance from Tel Aviv) and moved there. His wife joined him there after completing her studies in Jerusalem.

At the end of summer 1989 Daniel began studies to become a certified nurse. He was very proud an excited when he told me that he was accepted to nursing school and was about to begin studying. As he had put it, in Israel he often felt "like a nothing", despite his education, because he lacked a profession. And following his experience working in a hospital, he decided to become a nurse, a profession that would afford him a better living as well as allow him to serve others.

When I asked Daniel what was to become of his lifelong desire to become a musician, he responded: "The music will be with me no matter what I do with my life".

Daniel as musician and painter

Daniel learned to play the *krar* by watching his father, who, according to Daniel was an excellent krar player. While his father did not teach him directly, Daniel kept watching, and one day he built his own instrument with the help of a cousin, and began to practice. Unlike other Ethiopian Jews, Daniel did not experience the same prejudice against music playing as a young boy. In fact, Daniel told me that while growing up he was unaware of a negative stance towards playing music and he was not discouraged from it.

Although not continuously active in making music or painting, these artistic expressions, and music in particular, are of central import in his life. Daniel told me many times that he wanted to become a musician, and that when he first arrived in Israel he hoped to become acquainted with other instruments. At one point he bought a guitar and was hoping to some day purchase a piano. He did not, however, pursue the career of a professional musician because he was discouraged by the Ethiopian community and was often faced with the question: "What kind of a profession is a musician?". Thus it appears that even if Daniel's *krar* playing was not discouraged when he was a child, being a professional musician was not considered an honorable or prestigious way of making a living.

Although Daniel did not specifically say so, I suspect that part of the problem lied not only in discouragement from friends in the community, but the lack of opportunity to meet other skilled players from Ethiopia and/or adapt his musical skills to a musical milieu in Israel. In 1989 there were no groups or individuals who were making a living from playing Ethiopian music in Israel, and the only group to perform Ethiopian music rather consistently was *Meseret*:. As mentioned in chapter III, *Meseret's* string players did not play prior to living in Israel. Also, they did not consider themselves as skilled as Daniel. On the other hand, it was only within the Ethiopian community that Daniel had friends and acquaintances with whom he could play music. In 1989 Daniel was working in a hospital in a small town outside of Tel-Aviv, and was not socially connected with an artistic milieu in Israel which would allow a musical cross-fertilization.

There is no doubt, however, that musical expression is very important to Daniel, and that he is quite devoted to it. When Gadi, *Meseret's* director, invited him to an evening of music and dance, (during which I was to record), Daniel came despite the fact that it meant a three hour bus ride each way and despite the fact that he had to be back at work the following day at 7:00 AM. He subsequently made himself readily available to recording, despite his difficult working schedule. Unlike other musicians I observed, he was very much absorbed in music playing and singing, and did not get up to dance. Likewise with painting, which he picked up following immigration to Israel; he did not have the time to be continuously involved with it. But when the municipality in the area in which he lived suggested organizing an exhibit of Ethiopian painters, Daniel stayed up painting through the night, over a period of about two months, to produce a series of about 20 paintings depicting the overland route from Ethiopia to the refugee camps in Sudan. The paintings are highly realistic and I have often heard Ethiopian immigrants discuss how similar they were to the landscapes along the route.

The importance of music as a creative and emotive outlet for Daniel is also shown in his song texts (See Daniel's repertoire in chapter V and appendix 4, songs D.1 and D.8). Two out of a set of 10 of Daniel's songs recorded in one recording session discuss the importance of music in his life. Both songs are actually two different textual versions based on the same melody; both versions discussed the meaning of music. For example: "Music, music...awakens the heart, awakens the feelings, it is the way in which I convey my thoughts, my problems, my happiness, my sadness..." and "I wish I was a generation of minstrels and musicians, because I could walk with musical instruments...". Music allowed Daniel an expressive outlet which, being rather introverted, was not always expressed in speech. As Daniel himself said: "I don't always tell someone that I love them, or that they are beautiful. I expect them to understand by signs. I'm just more closed in that way. Some people get together with you and after five minutes they eat *injira* [Ethiopian bread] with you. I'm not like that." The striking metaphor of eating injira is particularly appropriate in this context, for Ethiopian Jews consider the ritual of 'breaking bread' the first basic step of a trustful relationship. In other words, what Daniel is saying is that he does not come to trust people very easily. But as the song text implies, in music his is able to express all the aspects of his experience.

Despite the recommendation of others, claiming that Daniel was an excellent musician, Daniel himself had a very modest view of his musicianship: " There are five tunings. Because I'm not a specialist I can't remember the names...", and: "Even though... it's not my specialty, it's something I inherited from my father...". But unlike all the other musicians that I had the opportunity to record, who tended to perform music with a "stream of consciousness" during which songs would be strung together, Daniel's performances appeared to be more polished and were performed. As mentioned in chapters V and VI, each song was a discrete event, with a clear beginning and an end, an embellished introductory formula, and a ringing of the open strings in the beginning and the end. When recording, Daniel tended to stop after every song and request a play-back. If he was not satisfied with the results, he would ask to record the same song over again. And unlike *Meseret's* repertoire, which was entirely based on folk-melodies, most of Daniel's songs were composed him. Thus there is room to speculate that Daniel's performance of songs as discrete events was the result of a more 'academic' outlook. On the other hand, as mentioned in chapter V, textual improvisation in song remained an important constant which Daniel absorbed from the rich oral tradition he was raised in.

Altogether, Daniel's songs and paintings mirror the diverse identities which Daniel harbors within himself. For example, Daniel's identity as a Jewish Ethiopian from a rural area in the Gondar region is reflected in song D.9 *(Song of longing of a bride to her parents and home)* , depicting an aspect of traditional Jewish Ethiopian life. Daniel's identity as an educated Ethiopian is reflected in a divergent performance practice in which songs are performed as discrete events. Daniel's identity as a refugee for whom the normal course of life was profoundly disrupted is depicted in his paintings of the trek to Sudan and songs such as D.5 *(Parting)*. And his identity as an assimilating Israeli is depicted in songs such as D.2 *(Kwane kwane)*, which expresses his views of his status as an Israeli citizen. At times, these identities coexist harmoniously. But at times, these identities cause dissonances that produce internal conflicts. One such conflict is the need for cultural continuity, expressed in songs D.3 *(Culture),* and D.4 *(Meseret)*. For as mentioned in chapter V, despite this expressed need, Daniel was studying to become a nurse, while others were continuing to produce traditional Jewish Ethiopian crafts.

Appendix 4: Song Texts

The three song repertoires presented in this appendix appear in the same order as they do in chapter V: *Meseret's* repertoire, Ya'acov's repertoire, and Daniel's repertoire. Where background information and interpretations are available, they are presented prior to the corresponding song. Amharic texts are available for Ya'acov's repertoire and fore Daniel's repertoire.

Meseret's **repertoire**

All translations and interpretations for this repertoire, with the exception of song M.2, which was translated by Abraham Mekuria, were provided by *Meseret's* director, Gadi Nagusse, and are quoted verbatim. As *Meseret's* repertoire was assembled in various recording occasions, the performance date is specified for each song.

M.1 *Hailalo*

The language of this song comes from the Agau area. It is in Amharic with some Tigrenya words mixed in. The current meaning of the text is that many people were lost on the way to Israel, but nothing could be done about it. One must be thankful for one's health.

a) July 16th, 1989. Occasion: public performance at the Safad music festival.

> *Our multitudes came on the road*
> *but through this, may they preserve their health*
>
> *with much patience*
> *It's either our health or theirs*

b) July 16th, 1989. occasion: party at Safad absorption center). The initials of the lead singer are provided.

M: *please mother, prepare a meser cake for me*
not to eat, but because I am parting

if they will tell me to cry out: "Sudan"
please leave many good, good things for me

G: *thank God for providing our meals*
one cannot cook for Him, or serve Him food or drink in his home

God loves thankfulness,
its his food, night and day -- "thank God"

In the public performance at the Safad music festival, *Hailalo* was performed in combination with Ehud Banai's song *Dark skinned brothers* (See discussion of *Hailalo,* transcription 5, chapter VI). As the song represents one of the Israeli points of view on the Ethiopian immigration, as well as the first collaborative musical effort between veteran Israeli and Jewish Ethiopian musicians, the song text is included here. The following text is my translation from Hebrew of the song. The reference to the barefoot walking and the stone building in the fifth strophe is made in regards to the demonstrations that took place in front of the *Knesset,* resulting from the arguments over status of the Ethiopian community as Jews.

Dark skinned brothers

Dark skinned brothers, coming from Ethiopia
Bringing with them an ancient, wondrous tradition
The lost sons, after the treacherous journey
Are now discovering this distant land.

For years they dreamt of her, and now it is real
When they tell them to immerse, rinse off their naivete
And I, in their eyes saw a kind of light
Who knows if Abraham wasn't black.

Dark skinned brothers, at the Tiberias absorption center
Trying to absorb and be absorbed, it's not easy at all
From the shadow of the bonfire, across the mountains of darkness,
To the local street, digital, confused.

For years they dreamt of a home, now it is real
But even at home it happens, diaspora continues
And I, in their eyes, saw a kind of light
Who knows if Abraham wasn't black.

Dark skinned brothers, barefoot at the side of the road
taking their insult on foot to the city
They stand across from the building, facing a heart made of stone
Waiting for the door to open from inside.

They were loyal, yes, they waited for the message
And now what's left is unskilled labor
And I, in their eyes saw a kind of light
Who knows if Abraham wasn't black.

M.2 *Addis Ababa*

Occasion: August 8th, 1989 (informal recording session/party at *Meseret*)

The interpretation of this song was provided by Gadi. The song text was translated by Abraham Mekuria:

A person gets married at a young age, still a virgin. The bride and groom don't meet until the parents call for a meeting. When the groom sets out to the bride's village on his marriage day, the time of his return depends on the distance between the two villages. If it's near by, he will return the same day. If it's far, he'll take longer. Actually, two weddings are held; one at the bride's village and one at the groom's village.

The respectable way to do it is for the groom to return with the bride to his village. The bride's girlfriends control the situation, making sure that the bride will be honored. When the groom shows up, they receive his party with song. The groom brings mirrors, oil and make-up for the bride's friends. In the villages the groom shows up riding a decorated horse and dressed in gold.

The groom's friends want to enter. The bride's girlfriends enclose the entrance, because before the groom enters, things must be settled respectfully. The two parties argue in song, until they come to a settlement. Then the groom's party enters. The groom is seated in a honored place. Everybody receives food and drink when dusk falls.

The groom is supposed to bring a decorated rooster as well as other food and drink with him. If what he brought is insufficient, he may be teased about it in song, and his good time may be spoiled.

The guests are invited the following day. In the middle of the day, the groom's party begins to sing. In order to bring the bride to the groom, the groom's three best friends enter the bride's house to present her and her girlfriends with two candles. The three friends have titles:
dakarmizie
wegermizie
kesherkwanta

All three will swear loyalty to the bride. The *kesherkwanta* groom is the most important as the three. He is supposed to take care of the bride from now on. She is supposed to trust him, tell him her secrets and he is supposed to bring food to her if she is shy. He will always remain in touch with her and keep and eye on her.

After the three friends enter, the candles are lit and they swear loyalty to her: "I must always see her as though she were my family". Thus they promise that everything that will happen to her in her joined life with her husband will influence their lives. After the friends have sworn, the candles are put out, so that if the oath is not kept, God will put out those who have not kept the oath, just as they have done with the candles. Thus the bride is accepted into her new milieu.

The *dakarmizie* lifts the bride on his back and carries her out. She is presented to the guests. Then the *kes* blesses the wedding and the wedding contract is signed by both parties. The bride's father gives her money or money equivalence (cattle) to the groom's family. Sometimes if the groom's father is well off, money is exchanged equally on both sides. When there is no money, a simple agreement is made, and the *Khupa* (the *khupa* is the cloth supported by four poles under which a Jewish marriage is conducted) ceremony is performed. The *khupa* symbolizes that the agreed upon belief will remain standing like earth and sky.

The *kes* then takes signatures from witnesses. If the bride is young (under 15) they add three witnesses. Should bad blood fall between the two families, and something happens to the bride, the witnesses (guarantors) are held responsible and are caught. If the bride is young, the groom's mother is supposed to watch over her so that nothing happens to her. The bride and groom are allowed to play with each other, so that they may get to know each other. The bride is shuttled back and forth between the two homes to give her time to get accustomed to her new surroundings.

Wedding song: Addis Ababa

grooms party:
The young man grows like the reed; we enter
The new flower, will flower again.

The warrior will flower again
The new flower, will flower again

An ox climbs to the top of the hill
The new flower, will flower again

The new flower, it is fragrant
The new flower, will flower again

bride's party:
where is he, his horse turned into a flower
stomp around, stomp around

the people assembled: "Where is the horse"
The new flower, will flower again

Although it is not part of this performance, according to Gadi, if the bride is over 15 years old, the following text is is sung to her when she is taken out of her parents' house:

friend, build a home,
build a home

put flour on the oven
and build a sitting room

M.3 *Untitled love song 1*

Occasion: August 8th 1989

Interpretation:

If he loves her and she doesn't love him back, this is the common saying:"Either you will go far, and we won't hear you, or change your name and go where you cannot be seen; because where you are now, one can smell you like one smells the spices in chicken soup". The second verse means that the singer sees his love in everything and everywhere.

Either you go further away, or change your name
where you are located now, I can smell it like soup

On the way to the car, the car comes
On the roads of humans, humans come

My eyes are like ice, melting like water
we shall play with time, play longer

Our young women will not return to us
(unintelligible line)

I wish I was the chaff near your house
so you would gather me and take me in

M.4.*Sadula*

Occasion: August 8th, 1989

Interpretation:

This is a love song. Guys are very attracted to a women's loose hair (Afro) or her braids. The stylized braids or shaved parts in the back (of the head) are called *sadula*.

chorus:

come sadula, come sadula

strophes:

a wolf is fearful of your father's yard
my heart goes and returns alone, with no fear

I told you not to wear perfume, make-up your eyes when going out,
your eyes, darting back and forth, can invite an unwanted guest

your eyes are like the moon before sunrise
your breasts are smooth like the calf's hornless head

You are rising to the peak, to her house
There is nothing as difficult as parting
It's like the bite of an insect

M.5. *Mona ney*

Occasion: July 16th, 1989 (public performance at Safad music festival)

Interpretation:

Mona is a term of endearment for a woman. The song also brings up a place that was like a closed up ghetto, and a continuation of the story in a free country. The references to things that must be told relates to criticism of the government. The reference to the farmer, relates to people who simply do their job and don't concern themselves with things outside their work. The last two verses refer to the hopes of the people now in Israel, and their general concerns, such as education and security.

> *it must be told, so that the audience will hear*
> *about something I have experienced which was difficult*
>
> *I like the peasant who plows with songs*
> *I like the peasant who walks with his plow and equipment, accompanying the songs*
>
> *wishing that we will not suffer hardships in the future*
> *that we won't be ignorant, but scholarly*
>
> *in order that there will be no casualties, we fight*
> *life is better to us now than it was in the past*

(the song repeats the second verse, continuing with a part from *Sadula)*

Occasion: August 8th, 1989 (informal recording session/party at *Meseret*)

A repeat performance of *Mona ney.* To the verses translated above the following verses were added.

Interpretation:

In Ethiopia, the peasant must wait for God to send the rain. Therefore one does not plant in the summer. Only in the winter, when the rain comes. The phrase "will be better off" relates to having food.

he who holds the plow reins in the autumn, turning the earth, will be better off
he will hear the grinding until the coming of spring.

M.6. *Yeshavava*

Occasion: August 8th, 1989

Interpretation:

This song is about love and longing. The reference to smiling teeth is made in regards to the happiness of meeting again.

you're the flower of thousands, the flower of my eyes
greetings to you, I was in Deveresina overnight
teeth smile to the one you love

everytime you will talk with me, only she will talk with me
her teeth are as white as the pea-flower

she does not see me, as in a dream
my heart is your door and your yard

M.7. *Genev-genev*

Occasion: August 8th, 1989

Interpretation:

Musicians are not good marriage candidates in Ethiopia.

Chorus:
not yet, not yet.

Strophe:
I wish I was the son of a musician
playing the masinqo

M.8. *Lahalomagenan*

Occasion: August 8th, 1989

play some more, play now
our youth will not return

you were raised in my homeplace,
with me in Melaya

M.9. *Naunaylit*

Occasion: August 8th, 1989

Chorus:
come, come.

Strophe:
your breasts are like the Golan mountains
either you have no husband, or you are a nun
I will just say to to you: unwed, or divorced

M.10. *Menaune*

Occasion: August 8th, 1989

Interpretation:

This is an improvisatory song, which is usually sung and danced to in weddings. It provides the atmosphere and it gets everyone to warm up to the dancing. It is a very old song. The line referring to the sword is sung by a woman, and the other lines are sung by a man.

come here, for I am accustomed to you
come here, one with the sword

dear girl of Gojame, may you and I be at peace
you are as dear to me as my birthplace

from her eyes one receives light in the evening to eat
her eyes have broken my ribs

M.11. *Gedaine* (=still)

Occasion: July 16th 1989 (public performance at the Safad music festival)

Interpretation:

The lion-hunter is considered a man and a hero, and someone who can be trusted like a brother. He shows his manliness by taking risks and putting his life on the line (first strophe).The hunter gets up in the morning already wearing his ammunition belt, and ready to host guests, as though he never went to sleep (third strophe), and he can be trusted to protect and care for the people that are with him "like a brother".

Chorus:
still, still, still
the killing hunter: "Come, come, come".

Strophe:
I like the hunter and the manly sniper
because I can rest in his shade

when you see the smoke, and hear the boom
you know it's him, the manly hunter who forgot his own life

(chorus)

Strophe:
A-ho, ho they say to you sniper
he's a hero, a hero

there in the woods, in dense vegetation
prepare to sleep, no one will touch you

(chorus)

Strophe:
a lion on the plain seems calm and harmless
but when he gets angry -- who will touch or approach him?

I am gladdened by the hero who seems prepared in the morning
as though he is honoring guests

(chorus)

Strophe:
the killing hunter - I like him
the hunter says: "I like the accomplished hunter "

I love the hero and the sniper
when I sleep with him in the desert, I can trust him like a brother

(chorus)

M.12, *untitled love song 2*

Occasion: August 8th, 1989

Interpretation:

Alemi is a term of endearment, which means "my world".

Alemi, let us go for a tour, here is the horse
if the waters are overflowing, we will cross the bridge
the driver is Tadese, the market was full

M.13, *Amarika*

Occasion: August 8th, 1989

her waist does not fill a hand grip
her food is fresh honey
until my gun falls apart
no one will touch you

Ya'acov's repertoire

Translations from Amharic to English by Abraham Mekuria. The Amharic song texts are found following the English translations. All songs were recorded on September 5th, 1989.

Song Y.1

father, mother, my country,
how are you doing, far away?
I am doing fine, let me share with you
mother, father, they create
what did they do about death?

my country is full of nobles
I am tired of it
they divided all our buildings.

in my capital city, Begemder,
up on a hill, a shoemaker lives
she is poor, she has no food
she sleeps on an empty stomach
who taught her how to make shoes?
our body is mortal.

telling of a young mule
I paid less than its worth
I showed my father that I bought a young mule
look, everyone hates me,
we have been struggling for a long time
God came to earth to teach swimming
we always see the honest person.

Song Y.2

Interpretation:

Injira is the Ethiopian bread.

the merchant of Jerusalem
many outlaws are against him,
outlaws who bought the name of the money.
now, if he saved his life,
nobles of Shoa, beware,
we eat our cheap food, while you eat fish,
why is it cloudy there in Dessie?
all my fathers are immobile with sickness
all dead.
how am I going to farm and with what?
I have to get an ox.
I grow my hair without knowing it is shameful for me.
they all shave their heads
why did I keep my hair?
about Gojam, and a place called Damota.
which is bigger of the two?
if you really look at it, Damota is bigger.
you have fought with God
for merely a piece of injira.

Song Y.3

Interpretation:

Damai is a term of endearment, which translates literally to "my blood".

damai, damai,
stop beautiful, stop beautiful
how are you doing, how are you doing?
The man from Gondar
and the people who left
I miss them
like my mother's injira
like my mother's injira.
Ethiopia, country of warriors
how come we have abandoned Ethiopia?

How are you, beautiful girl,
grinding and squeezing.
a brother is better than anyone.
do not worry about time,
for time stays the same
please send my heart back
your heart is enough for you,
but my heart is not.

Song Y.4

Interpretation:

Wat is the sauce in which *injira* is dipped and eaten. The references to spices and the beautiful body pertain to the person named "Shorty".

the big bird from Corma
we are worried for it,
for we cannot see its neck, bobbing up and down.
oh, how are you?
they call him "Shorty"--
may your life not get cut down.
he is good spice for wat.
how beautiful the body, if you see it.
seven plus seven equals fourteen,
the fresh and young, light of Ethiopia.

Song Y.5

Interpretation:

See song Y.2 for meaning of "*damai*". Arrack is an alcoholic beverage made with anisette.

oh my country, how are you,
damai, damai, mother damai,
oh my country, how are you doing, my country?
I have a country -- who told them
when you feel homesick?
how are you, how are you?
if someone killed your father, you forgive him.

you're a servant, you servant,
you are the lime of the desert
and you are outside of arrack
what kind of troublemaker she is,
but it is too difficult to take her out of my system.
who is going to help me out?

Song Y.6.

Interpretation:

Alem means "world", as well as anything one identifies with. *Damai* means "my blood", and is a term of endearment. *Mashala* is a type of grain. "Five cents" is a metaphor for "treasure".

oh beautiful, I believe in truth.
how are you, alemi, how are you?
oh beautiful, I believe in truth.
why, damai, how, damai.
oh beautiful, I believe in truth.
please alemi, bring me an ox
so that I can have mashala.
my alem, my alem,
there is no country like you
my alem, five cents
there is nothing like you.
my alemi, my cow has a calf
how are you alemi, how are you doing?
there is a big hill full of grass,
but there are no cows to eat it.
how are you alemi, my five cents?
there are none like you.
my alemi, my sister,
went over to Gəlblel.
how, my beautiful damai, how are you doing?
when I begin to eat, I cannot stop,
my stomach is like a cave.
how are you doing, how are you doing?
if someone kills your father, you forgive him.
why, why are you doing this to me,
why don't you forgive me?

Song Y.7

as a man, I wish
peace on my countrymen,
look forward, don't look back,
are you happy?
how are you, mother, how are you doing?
why don't we greet each other?
if someone killed your father,
you forgive him.
how are you, how are you doing?
the farmer from my home --
you have everything that you want.
how are you?
how are you doing, my country?
without father, and without mother,
I am by myself.
how are you, my country, Ethiopia.
how are you, how are you doing?
the moon is out towards my country,
you are my proud country.
how are you doing, my country,
how are you doing, my country?
there is an ox, far away,
how is my family doing there?

Song Y.8

Interpretation:

Talla is the Ethiopian beer.

while I am here, eating and drinking,
my heart went to Ethiopia, to visit my family, and came back.
far away, there is a big tree.
mother, my country,
there was always happiness there.
how are you, how are you doing, my beautiful?
who says that he is a healthy person?
people say something.
I do not forget,
a warrior named Mahari, who lived in Lasta.
how are you, how are you doing, my beautiful?
I was accustomed to drinking talla.
please, my stomach, learn how to drink beer!

Ya'acov's repertoire -- Amharic texts

የኪሰዓርፔ፡ መዘፈቻ፡ ከተንበር፡ ጠቆላ ገዘገ፡
ያበቻ፡ እለለኮዉ፡ ሳገ፡

ተቀባዮች፡ ክክዉ፡ ውዕ፡ ውዕ

ተቀባዮች፡ እሁ፡ ገዳዮ፡

የእኔ፡ ከበገ ናፒ፡
የእኔ፡ ከበበገ ናፒ፡

ቁልክወ፡ ከበገ፡
በላ ዕመነተ፫፡ ናፒ፡ ከገገዮ፡

የእኔ፡ ከበበ፡ የእኔ፡ ከበገ

ገቀገ፡ እኔ፡
ያእንግፒ፡ እሮቴ፡
ያእንግፒ፡ እሮቴ፡
ገሞሳ፡ ቆዮ፡ ያፈለሙን፡
ለቀሳ፡ ያእሉቻ፡ ከሮቻ፡
ወበ፡ ያፈለሙን፡
ለቀላ፡ እኔ፡ ዮ፡ ለቀላ፡
እጣጣጣ፡ ለዮ፡ ለጁ፡ ለወፌ፡
እሌ፡ ከበገ፡ እኔ፡ ከበበ
ለኔ፡ ከበገ፡ እኔ፡ ኤካ
ለኮሮወ፡ ላቃጣ፡

ከዓይናሁልኝ፡ ወይ፥ ካለንካው፡ ከጠላን፡
ከዓይዮስ፡ ወዜ፡ ሌጁም፡ ነው፡ ቀመል፡ ከወመሬን፡፡
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እሸን፡

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የበቁ፡ መሳንት፡ ወጾጥናቸው፡
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ያእነቴ፡ በበጦ፡ ተናል፡
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በምን፡ እሁኮ፡ በእሬሰሁ፡
ወዲሬን፡ ሳእገናሁ፡፡
ሐገጬንሁ፡ ጠተሎን፡
ገሐው-ቀው፡ በኮ፡ ዋወሮን፡፡
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ወያጆቸው፡ የበወጠ፡ በበሬቱ፡፡
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በኮላ፡ ሐዓይሐከም፡ በእኔዉ፡ እኔንሴሉ፡፡

ተይ፡ ሐቀ፡ ተይ ሐቀ፡
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የፅዋው፡ ካሣመጣ፡ ካከመም፡ ቶጁ፡ ካሣ፡
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እንሷ፡ እሰቴ፡ እነቶቼ
እያከኝ፡ ቆሮ፡ ቆሮ፡

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ኢትዮጵያ፡ እንደሏት፡ የቆሮ፡
ተሀ፡ ሳማ፡ እንግሏት፡ ምሃ ነገለ፡
ተቆመጠ፡ ተቆመጠ፡
ያው፡ መንግሥም፡ የሊካል።
በቁጣ፡ ባመጣሊ።
በሐገራችን፡ ወሬን፡
ወሬሽ፡ የበቆጣል፡

በበሙ፡ ወሰ፡ ዉዴሽ፡ ሰዉን፡ ባገር፡ እሚተገል።
እንደዚን፡ እንጂ፡ ሳየው፡
ንገስ፡ እሁበቶው፡
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ሁሉቴ፡ የተፀለ፡
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እምሰሟቸው፡ ፀጠር፡
ፓርላማ፡ እንቺ፡ ወጣ፡ የሚፀለመ።
ለን ቆኝ፡ ካሣሽከም፡ መሷ።
ዥው፡ ገካ፡ የሚጀምር፡
የወሐዋችን፡ ቋዉ፡ ሂኝ፡ በገፉን፡ ለገፉ፡
ሀዋንፍ፡ ካሳበ፡ የኢትዮጵያ፡ መበከቻ፡

ኧረ፡ ሃገሬ፡ እንዴት ነሽ፡
ጫካዬ፡ እንዴት፡ ነሽ፡፡
እናቴ፡ ውዴ ውዴ
እህዬ፡ እንደምን ነሽ፡
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ወገኔም፡ ካሏገባዉም፡
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ካገኘ፡ ካዩት፡ ሃገሬ፡
እንዴት፡ ካሳተዉ፡ ሰዉዬ (2)
እንጌ፡ ጫፍ፡ ካዘህ፡ ካምሳሌን፡ ተሰሊሁ፡
ካገኘ፡ እንዴ፡ ከሬጣ፡ (2)
ያዋትን፡ ሃገር፡ ምን፡ ምኒሳ፡
ሃገሬን፡ ካላገኘ፡ ሰላዩን፡
እያጫገረን፡ ጋዉተን፡
ተናፈቀኝ፡ ካጠ፡ ያሽን፡ ካገቀ፡
በጭምቃር፡ ዉጋን፡ ካሏጠ፡
ዛዘይ፡ ካሏ ጊዜ፡ ሰላ፡
ጫካዉ፡ ካጠ፡ ጠም፡ ጅላሁ፡

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Vocablos

ዩኔን፡ ማከም፡ እንችከሚ፡ ባጋያ፡
ወዐረፉ፡ ገከሶከ

Vocables

መንዳ፡ ዕፍ፡ ወማሪት፡ በከም፡ ያንጂ ናን፡

Vocables

እንቦመ፡ ሠሣሣ፡
እንቿምን፡ ክከሽ፡
ሽማማከመ፡ ሁሙ፡

Vocables

እንየ፡ ጅከከመ፡ ክዷያ፡ ጂከመ፡
ተዩ፡ ሠዩ፡ ሠረበ፡ እንቦ፡

Vocables

እንየ፡ እንደዎን፡ ናሸ (2)
ተዩ፡ እንሃሠኽ ፡ ናሸ፡
በወ፡ ገለለን፡ ገማየ፡ ያተረቃ፡ የከም፡ መዩ፡
ምንም፡ ምንም፡ እንደ፡ ከወሰሸ፡ እንየ፡ ገዩ፡

Vocables

ከወ፡ መንዳ፡ ዕፍ፡ ወማማ፡
በከም፡ ነገር፡ ያዕፍ፡
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ተቦሠ፡ ሣረበ፡
እንሠዩ፡ እንደሠተ፡ ናበ፡
እንየ፡ ምንከ፡ ምንም፡ እንደተ፡ ከማማበሰ፡
እንመዩቦ፡ እንተሠም ናበ፡

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እንደሷንጣ: ነሽ: ካንገባገንም: ውዴ:
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ምርኩዝ: ለችግሬ:
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እንደናት: ነሽ: እንደናት:

ሞረቴ: መሞ: እንዴ: ወዳ: ሀገሬ:
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ለእናቴ: ነው: የቆሃሰው:
እኔ: ተረፍፍ: እኔተዬ:
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የዛ: ሰማክ: ሸከላ: በላ:
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Daniel's repertoire

The songs texts were translated by Daniel from Amharic to Hebrew, and from Hebrew to English by me. The Amharic/ Hebrew versions follow the English texts. All the songs presented here were recorded on August 27th, 1989.

D.1. *Music, music*

Music, music, and *Damai, damai* share the same melody, but not the same text. As Daniel perceived them as two different songs, they are marked here as D.1 and D.1.b. The text of D.1 was composed by Daniel, while the text of D.1.b is traditional.

Music music
awakens the heart
awakens the feelings
it is the way in which I convey
my thoughts
my problems
my happiness
my sadness
it is also the way in which I
receive and give teachings.

D.1.b. *Damai, damai*

As mentioned previously, *damai* is a term of endearment.

how are you my love, you from my birthplace
how are you my love, you one from my river
return hastily, I have missed you
I wish I was the chaff of your surroundings
for then you would add me to you (common lexical metaphor)

D.2. *Kwane, kwane*

It's good that we have all arrived safely
that was our dream
it's good that we have all arrived safely
many were left on the road

As it was first written in the bible
this was also our fathers' dream
the covenant with God was always kept
and after the keeping of a period of time
its end has come and we have arrived

Even though we suffered and lived through much trouble
for this country of the covenant and Zion
we are gladdened and we forget all

Nobody has found our fate
and every Jew in the world
should not find obstacles in the love of Zion
in order that they will return to the homeland
we must strengthen in prayer.

D.3. *Culture*

The culture of others does not suit us
the clothing of others does not suit us
our tradition and culture suffice us

The Indians for example are developed
but they do not mingle their heritage

It is not shameful to us to preserve our culture
and there is no need to leave our traditions
on the contrary, we must rebuild and develop them
and we must show it to our surroundings and the world.

D.4. *Meseret*

How are you, the hall of culture
that is located in Nazareth

Nazareth - the center of the built home
in which ceramics and weaving whistle together
attracting all inside.

Think of me once and I will say from inside
when I'm there I think of Ethiopia
and I see the tools I was raised with.

D.5. *Parting*

Parting, parting, parting is a terrible occurrence
that pricks inside like a (silk)worm
parted from mother and father suddenly
parted from sisters and brothers suddenly
regret it all the time -- I turned my back on them suddenly.

I ask of you people, look for a method
I ask of you people, look for a way
it is now hard for me to open the road.

It's a dream, it's a dream, it's a hope, a hope
it's a dream, It's a dream, and I don't lose hope
one day will arrive
and I will meet with them.

D.6. *Farmer*

Farmer, farmer
assemble the work tools and leave to work
thanks to you the environment exists
the local bread, the local animals
everything you find at your home
farmer continue to plow, its to the benefit of us all

All our people, go and plow
assemble the tools, work together
there's no reason to leave and forget it.

D.7. *Lavai lavai* (introduction to *Music, music*)

It is a longing song from the tribe of Agau. As Daniel put it, his words are "mixed in".

Daniel sings the words *lavai lavai* and then *musica, musica* as a refrain.

Music, music.

I wish I was a generation of minstrels and musicians
because I could walk with musical instruments
Music music, I love music
because in it I can reveal my happiness and my sadness
music music, rejuvenates my mood
music music, brings life of happiness.

D.8. *World*

World, world, rolls and turns
one person sits in his chair and acts wild
the other lives in hard labor, and can't manage to get by

The world lives in a lie
one person has enough to eat without working
the other can't make ends meet even though he works

World speak, speak the word of truth
pay attention, see the good
one must judge equally on both sides.

D.9. *A song of longing of a bride to her parents and home*

A lot of falsetto is used in this song, obviously to mimic the bride. Normal voice register is used to portray others.

Translation of Daniel's explanation of the song:

"In Ethiopia in the villages a husband and wife don't get married by falling in love. The husband doesn't always know his wife before they get married. Rather, the parents of the two, who are not related, create a friendship, they want to maintain some kind of a tie. If there are no kin to connect them, they find another way, that is, they try to marry the son from one family to the daughter of the other, and so they continue the friendship. They get married. The girl has never seen her husband, she doesn't know him. She sees him for the first time on the day of the wedding. After that it is customary to take the girl to her husband's family, where she remains for two weeks, a month. Then she is returned home. So they go on. The purpose is to accustom her to her new family, which she doesn't know. So the lonely little girl starts to think about her family, the place where she was raised, her girlfriends and boyfriends, all kinds of things. And she starts to sing. So the song I'm trying -- actually it's not a song, it's vocalized longing. How much she is longing for her family, how lonely she is. These are just a few words, but she tries to bring it out with her voice. The song, I guess can call it a song, because it has meaning, is a little sad, full of longing. So I'm trying to imitate and sing it, in order to remember it."

After the husband takes her
the bride begins to miss her girlfriends
the place where she was raised and especially
her parents, her brothers and her sisters
and she begins to sing
when she works at home, as well as when she works outside
then her father and mother in-law try to encourage her
and they try as much as possible
to make her feel at home
and they explain to her that they too, are like mother and father.

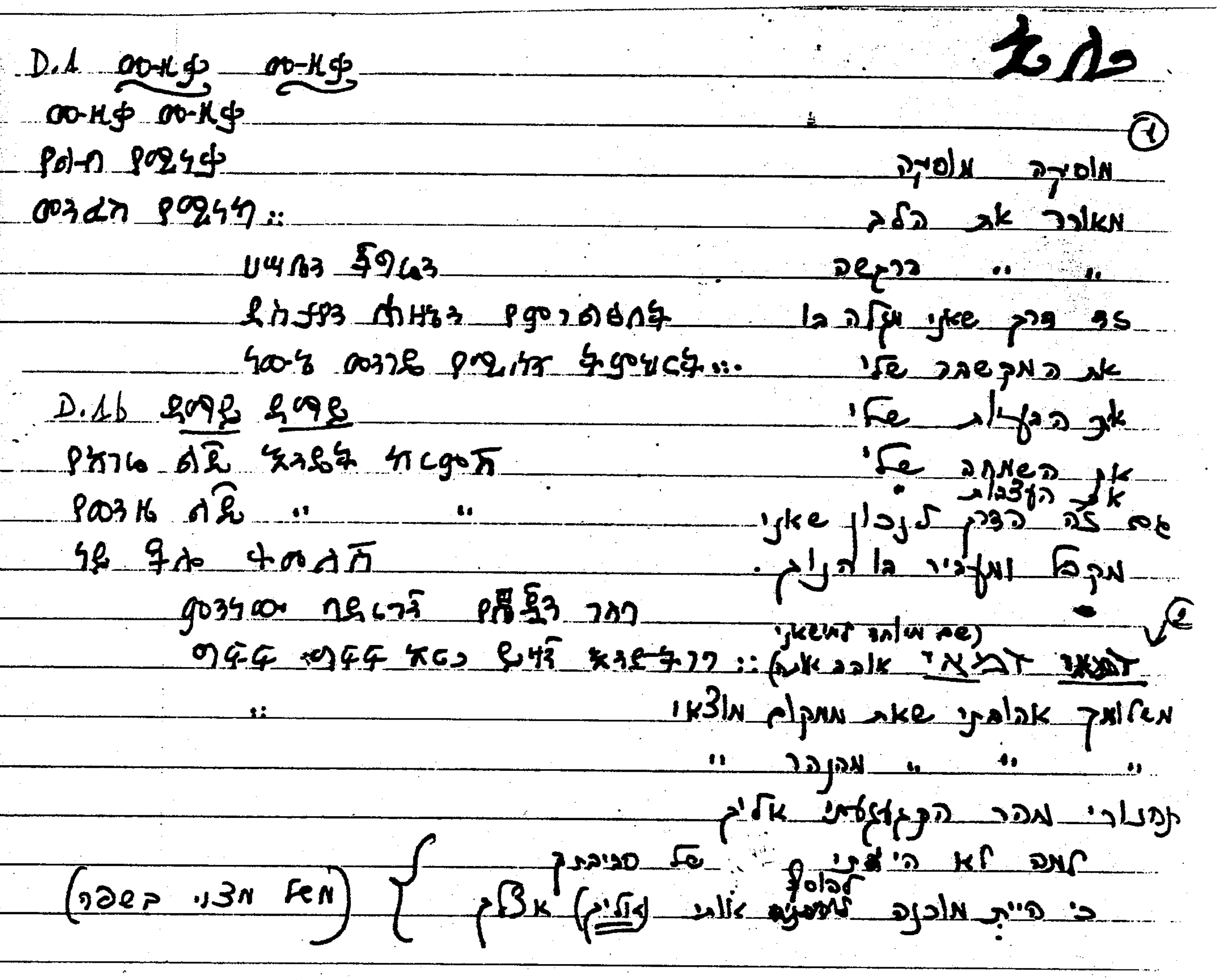
D.10. *Untitled*

Songs D.10 and D.11 were both traditional songs played in a key that Daniel associated with the older generation in Ethiopia (see chapter VI, transcription 3). Daniel explained this association in the following quote: "This is the type of playing that our fathers used. The young generation tries to continue. This is a popular tune that the young generation tries to play. Usually the songs try to convey the love of the singer to a woman, or to tell of heroes and heroic deeds."

All the time I go out on the mountain
so that if you [female] will hear me, here I am singing.

D.11. *Come, come*

I live by the seashore, I can invite you for fish
but I have no chicken soup.
Oh come, come, girl of my birthplace
oh come, come, girl of the river
oh come, come, girl of the field
oh come, come, girl of Gondar.



D.1 ሙዚቃ ሙዚቃ
ሙዚቃ ሙዚቃ
የልብ የሚነካ
መንፈስ የሚነሳ ::
ሀሳቤን ችግሬን
ደስታዬን ሐዘኔን የምገልፅበት
ነው መንገዴ የሚያስ[illegible] [illegible] ::
D.1b ዳማዬ ዳማዬ
የአገሬ ልጄ [illegible] [illegible]
የመንዝ ልጄ " "
ኑዪ ቶሎ ተመለሽ
ምንነው [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ::
::

כתב
①
מוסיקה מוסיקה
מאורר את הלב
״ ״ ברגשה
זה דרך שאני עולה בו
את המחשבה שלי
את הגעגוע שלי
את השמחה שלי
את העצבות
אם זה הדרך לנכון שאני
מקבל ומכיר בו הנכון.
②
(שם אוהב למשאני)
~~דמאי~~ דמאי אבא אמא)
מתגעגע אהובתי שאת ממקום מוצאי
״ ״ ״ מהנהר ״
תחזרי מהר התגעגעתי אליך
של סביבתך
למה לא היית
לפופי
כי היית מלכה ~~למצא~~ אותך (עולים) אצלם
(אין מצוי בספר)

Daniel's song texts -- Hebrew and Amharic

D.2 እንኳን እንኳን

እንኳን እንኳን ደረሳችሁ ②	② טוב שהגעתן בשלום אלינו
" " "	זה היה החלום שלנו
ይኸው ነበር ምኞታችን	
እንደተፃፈው ከጥንቱ ከመፃሕፍ	כמו שכתוב קודם בתנך
ከነያዕቆብም አባቶቻችን ነበር	גם זה היה חלום של אבותינו
እንደ ቃሉም የአምላክ ቃል ኪዳን	קיום הברית של ה' כל הזמן
ጊዜውን ዘመኑ በመድረሱ ለዘመን	אחרי שמירת של תקופה לזמן
ፍፃሜው ሆነና ይኸው ደረሳችሁ::	הגיעה סיומו והנה הגעתן

አዝ

פיזמון

ምንም ብንሰቃይ ብንገላታ እንኳን	למרות שסבלנו הסתובבנו הרבה
ለቃል ኪዳን ሀገር ለጽዮን ብለን	בשביל ארץ של ברית וציון
ደስታ ይሰማናል እንደዛሬው ሁሉን ትተን	הכל אנחנו שמחים ושותפים

አዝ

פיזמון

የእኛን እድል ለሌላ ሰው ሁሉ	לאיש לא מצא את מצב שלנו
በዓለም ለአይሁዶች ይሁን በማለት	לבד היהודי שנמצא בעולם
ጽዮንን ተመልክተው በእምነት በፍቅር	מבשחים מי ... באהבת ציון
በሰላም እንዲመለስ ወደ ትውልድ ሀገር	שיחזרו בשלום לארץ מולדת
እስከ ሁለትም በፀሎት እንድንቀርብ	לחזור להתקרב בתפילה

פיזמון

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תרבות

አዝማች D.3 ባህል

ለኛም አይስማማንም ደግሞ የሌላ ምንጊዜም	פיזמון לא מתאים לנו תרבות של אחרים
ባህላችን ይበቃል ለሁሉ የሌላ [illegible] ነው	" בשלנו " "
① ለምሳሌ ሀገራችን በጣም ስለሚበዛ ልብሳችን	במסורת ותרבות שלנו מספיק לנו
እንዲተቀላቀልም አይበላሽም ባህላችን	① למשל הבגדים הם המסורתיים
አዝ	אבל התרבות הם לא מעורבבים
② ባህላችን መጠበቅ እያስፈለገም	פיזמון ② זה לא בושה לנו לשמור את התרבות
ወገኖችንም መተው አያስፈልግም	גם לא צריכים לעזוב את המסורת
ይልቅስ ወደፊት እንድንቀጥለው	להמשיך צריך להקים ולפתח אותו
ለማስተዋወቅ ዓለም [illegible]	ולהביא לגלות בעולם ולספר
አዝ	

175

I D.4 የገሀል ክዳሪክ

የገሀል ክዳወክ እንጀራ ናክ ②
ነፀሬት ጀለክ
ነፀሬት መክክል የተሠራ ቤት
ከማቃና ከአለው እያንዳንድ መለቅ
ዶፍን ሀገነገን ከተሬደው ነተቀቅ
ክህ

① משהו מהעולם של תרבות
שנמצאת בנקברת
נקברת - במטבח הבית שבנה
שורקים במה קרמיקה ואריגה
משכולאות מלם והבניה אלמם שם

II
ስሙን ለንገሯችሁ የሰበን ያንጸፋን
ነፀሬት ስለሰስ እያዩዳይ መሰለኝ
ያደማቱ ማቸውን ከልቴ እያጎዳኝ

②
תמיד עולה לי פעם ואומר מתוכי
בזמן שאני נמצא מרגיש באיתיופיה
נראה את הכלים שגדלתי איתם

D.5 መለየት

መለየት መለየት መለየት ክፉ ነው
እንዳይመጣብን የሚያስጠላ ሰው
① ከናቴ አባቴ ድንገት ተለየሁ
ከእህቴ ወንድሞቼ .. ..
እንቅልፍ ቀርቶብኝ መሰለኝ አንድኛ

② እባካችሁ ሰዎች መን ፈልጉኝ
እባካችሁ ሰዎች መንገድ ፈልጉልኝ
የሄን መቋቋሚያው ክዋጃጨስ ውሳኔ

③ እንደዚያው ተከፋ ተከፋ እንደዚያው ሆነው
" " " + ለዉጥ እውቀትም
ካዝመደም ጆርም መንገዱ ድረስ እያቀረብም

פרידה

① פרידה פרידה פרידה דבר נורא
שבוקר פתאום כמו תלונה אשי
נפרדתי מאמא ואבא פתאומי
" מאחים ואחיות פתאומי
מתחרט כל הזמן הפנימי עורף פתאומי

בבקשה אנשים תחפשו לי שכה
מקשב " " " דרם
לי קשה לי פנים לפגוע את הדרך

זה חלום חלום זה תקווה תקווה מקווה
" " " לא עובד תקווה
יביא יום אחד
שאפגש איתם.

D.6 ገበሬ	החקלאי
ገበሬው ገበሬው	האיכר. האיכר
ተው እርሱ ገበሬው ሀገሩ ወጣት	תרבה כי עבודה לכאן ולכאן
እርሱ የሚያዘንበው ::	~~[illegible]~~ בגבורה בסביבה ק"ם
እንጀራው ከብቱ እንስሳው ከብቱ [illegible]	הלחם מקומי החיות מקומיות
ሁሉም ከቤቱ ነው	הכל בבית שלו
ገበሬ ተደሰተ ቀንበሩ ላይ እንደገና :: [illegible] ገበሬ	החקלאי ממשיך לחרוש בכוחו [illegible]
እዚ	
ከእንግዲህ የኔ ሰው ወደ እርሻ [illegible]	[illegible] כי אנשי שלנו באו לחרוש [illegible]
[illegible] :: [illegible]	תרבה כי עבודה עבודה ביחד
	אין סיבה לעזוב [illegible] את זה.

D.7 ሰለፌ ሰለፌ	לווי לווי (זה שיר של שבט אגאו)
[illegible]	זה שיר מעורבב של מלים [illegible] שמשמעם [illegible]
[illegible]	ומילים של [illegible]
ሙዚቃ ሙዚቃ ሙዚቃ [illegible]	מוסיקה מוסיקה
[illegible]	(באורקסטרה) הווי שבייתי דור של משוררים ונגנים
[illegible]	כי ביתי יכול ללכת יחד עם כלי נגינה.
ሙዚቃ ሙዚቃ [illegible]	מוסיקה מוסיקה אני אוהב מוסיקה
ሙዚቃ ሙዚቃ [illegible]	כי אני יכול לגלות את השמחה בלב שלי
	מוסיקה מוסיקה מחמם את הלב שלה
	" " נותן חיים של שמחה.

D.8 ዓለም	עולם
ዓለም ተሽከርካሪ ተዛዋሪ	עולם מתגלגל מסתובב
እንደ ሰውነት ተሽከርካሪ	אחד יושב בכסא ומשתולל
[illegible]	באחר מי בעבודה שחורה ולא מספיק [illegible]
[illegible]	עולם מי בעבודה של שקר
[illegible]	לאחד יש לא מה לאכול כי לעבוד
[illegible]	השני לא משנה לא לאכול הוא עובד
ዓለም [illegible]	עולם דבר דבר אמא
[illegible]	קשים לב המסכנה טוב
[illegible]	ברכים לשפוך שווה בשני צדדים

D.9 [illegible]

[illegible]	שר עצוב של הכלה אבל מאנה
[illegible]	לבחורים שלה ולסבתא שלה
[illegible]	הכלה אחרי שלוקחים אותה הביתה
[illegible]	היא מתחילה להגיד את החברות שלה
[illegible]	את המקום שגדלה בו ואת הנוף
[illegible]	הבחורים אחים ואחיות שלה
[illegible]	ואז מתחילה לשיר עם [illegible]
[illegible]	שהיא לעזוב עם הבית עם החג
[illegible]	אז מנסים לנחם אותה ולעזור אותה
[illegible]	ומנסים עד כמה שהם יכולים שתרגיש
	כמו בבית של הבחורים שלה ומספרים
	לה שהם גם כמו אבא ואמא.

D.10 ניגונה של אבולון ~~אהבה וגבורה~~

זה סוג של ניגונה שאבולון
משתמשים בו. והבחור הצעיר
מנסה להשמיע הניגונה של
אבולון ברגע זה אחד
המנגינה המקורית שהבחור הצעיר
מנסה לנגינה
בדרך כלל משתמשים להגביר
את אהבה שלהם למישהו
אותה. וגם בשירי גבורה
לאשל

[illegible]	כול הגוף ולא [illegible] ההר
[illegible]	אם נשאל אותי הנה אני שר.

D.11 [illegible] בואי בואי

[illegible]	אני חי [illegible] של ים [illegible]
[illegible]	ואמר אין לי ארץ של [illegible]
[illegible]	הלי, בואי בואי בצורה של משוגעת.
" " " [illegible]	" " " " " נבר
[illegible]	" " " " " דבה
[illegible]	" " " " " נמר

Appendix 5: Transcriptions

Transcription 1: Y.1. Untitled, Ya'acov -- vocals and *masingo*

- Aside from the flats and sharps within the key signature, which are continuous throughout the piece, flats and sharps are valid throughout the phrase marking, unless cancelled within the phrase.

Legend:

(b) above note = pitch is flat.

(#) above note = pitch is sharp.

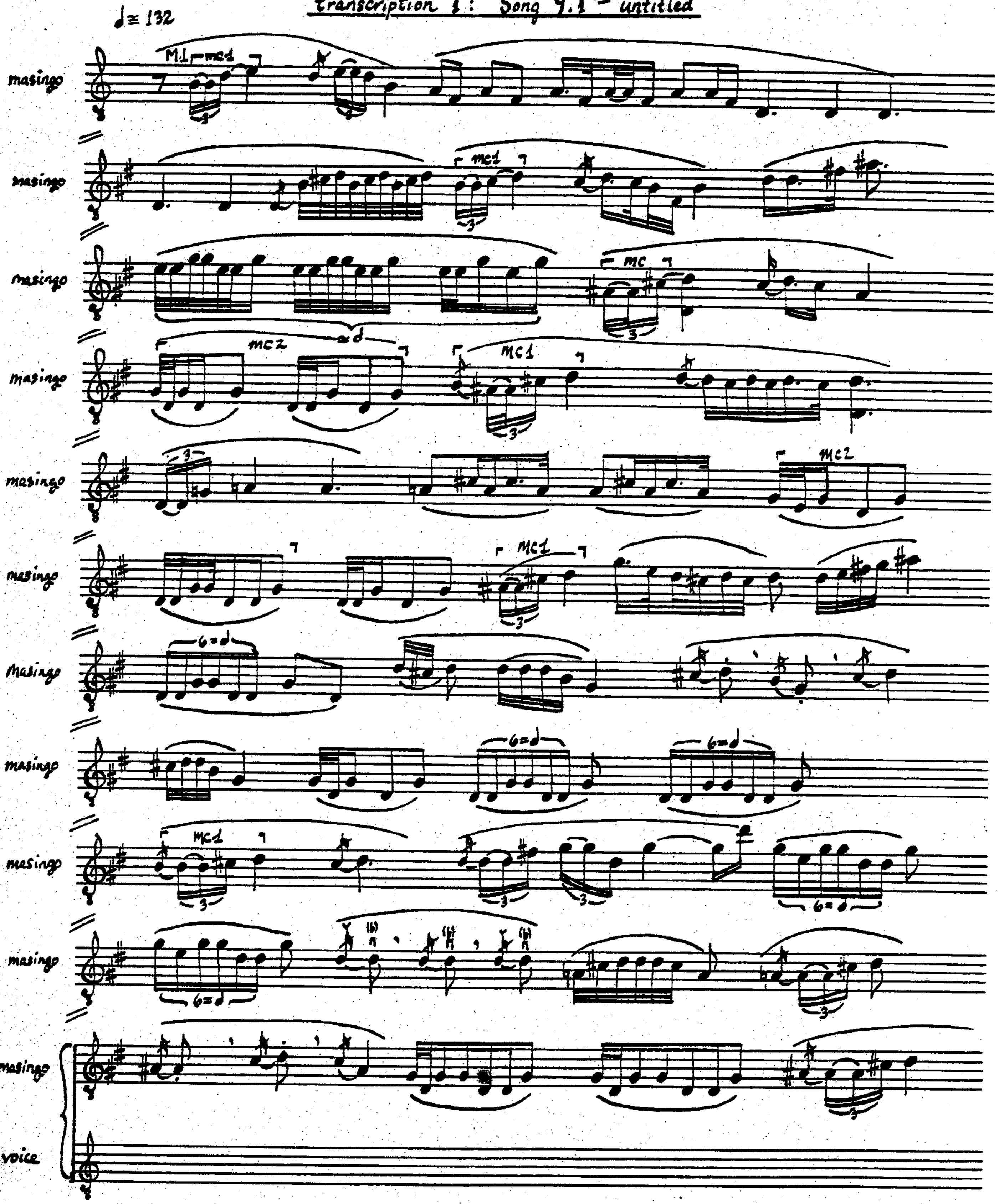
(♪) = pitch uncertain.

〰 = glissando.

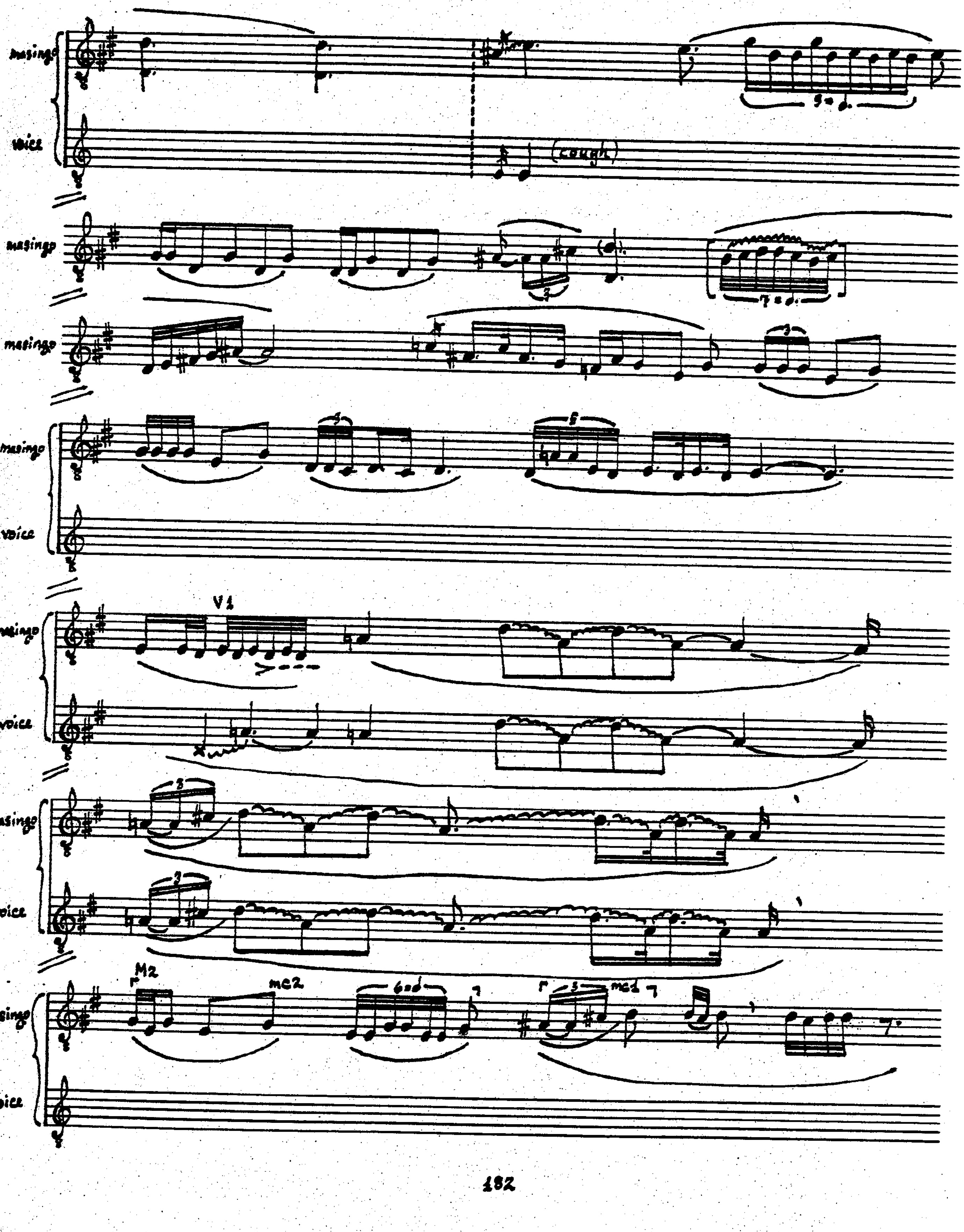
[〰] = due to glissando, distinct notes are difficult to asses.

> --- = fade out.

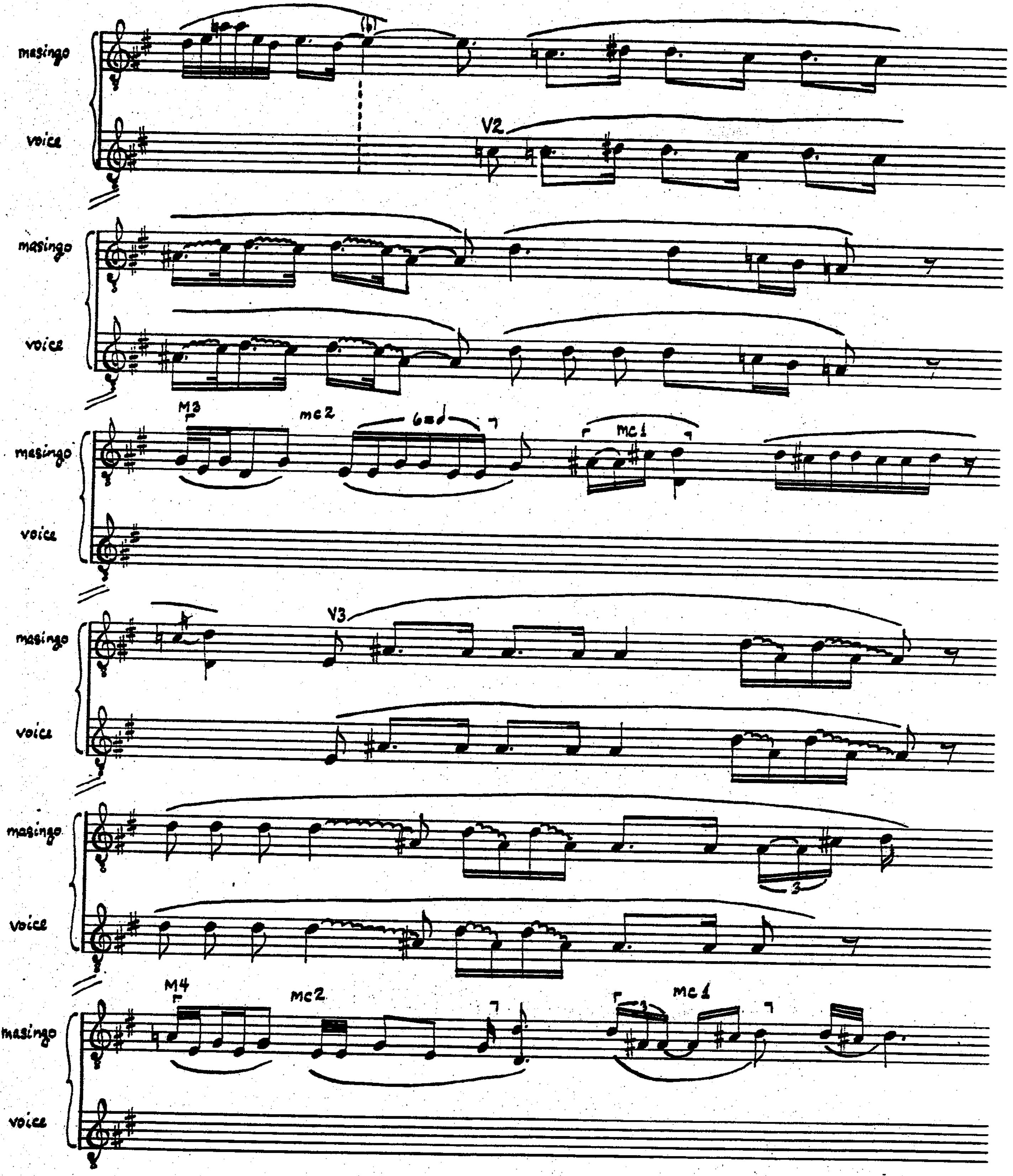
transcription 1: Song Y.1 – untitled


♩≅ 132
masingo
M1 – mc1
mc1
mc
mc2
mc1
mc2
mc1
6=♩
6=♩
6=♩
mc1
6=♩
6=♩
voice

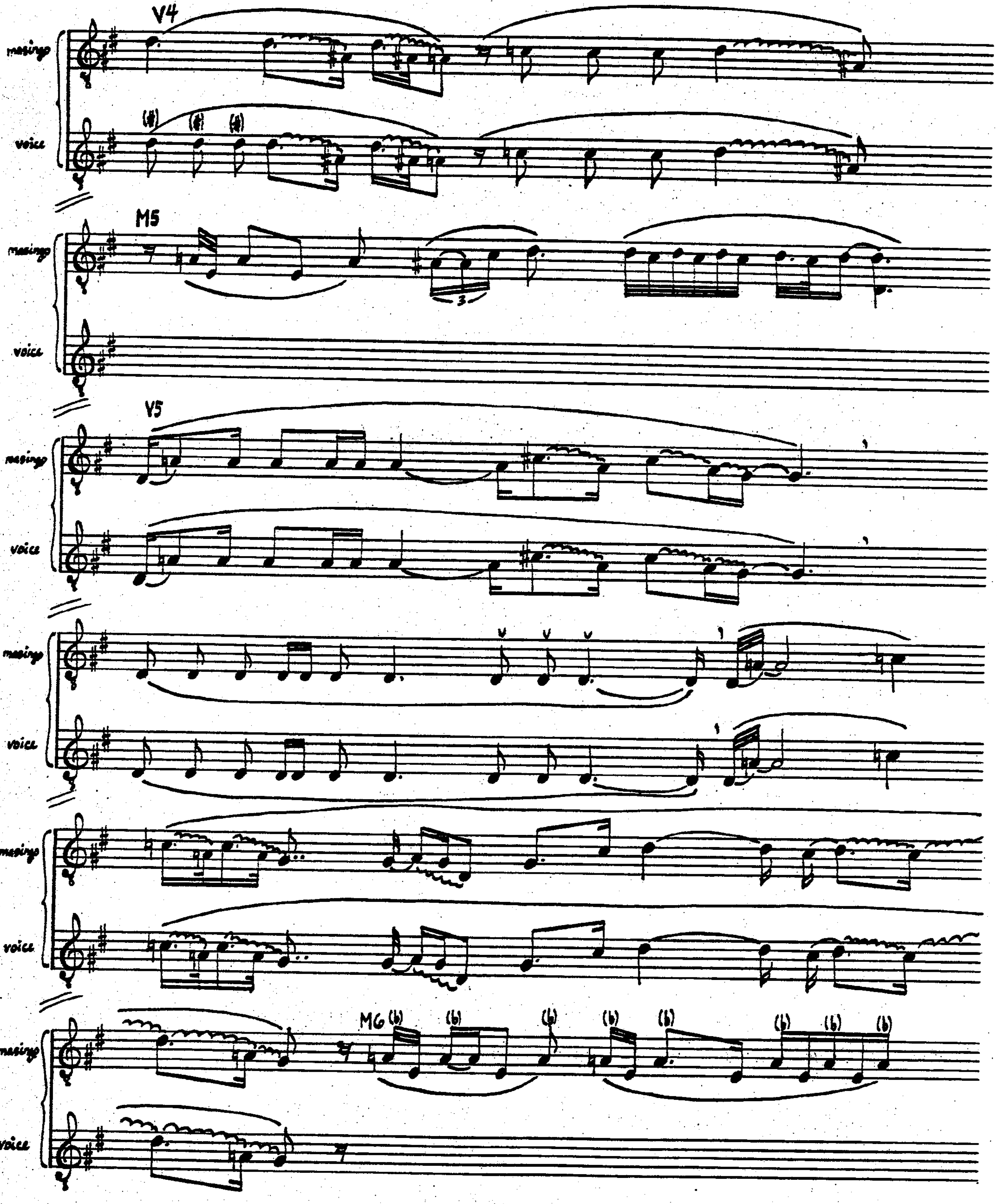
untitled #1: Yaacov


masingo
voice
(cough)
9 = ♩.
masingo
3
7 = ♩.
masingo
3
masingo
3
3
6
voice
masingo
V1
voice
masingo
3
voice
3
masingo
M2
mc2
6 = ♩
3
mc1
voice

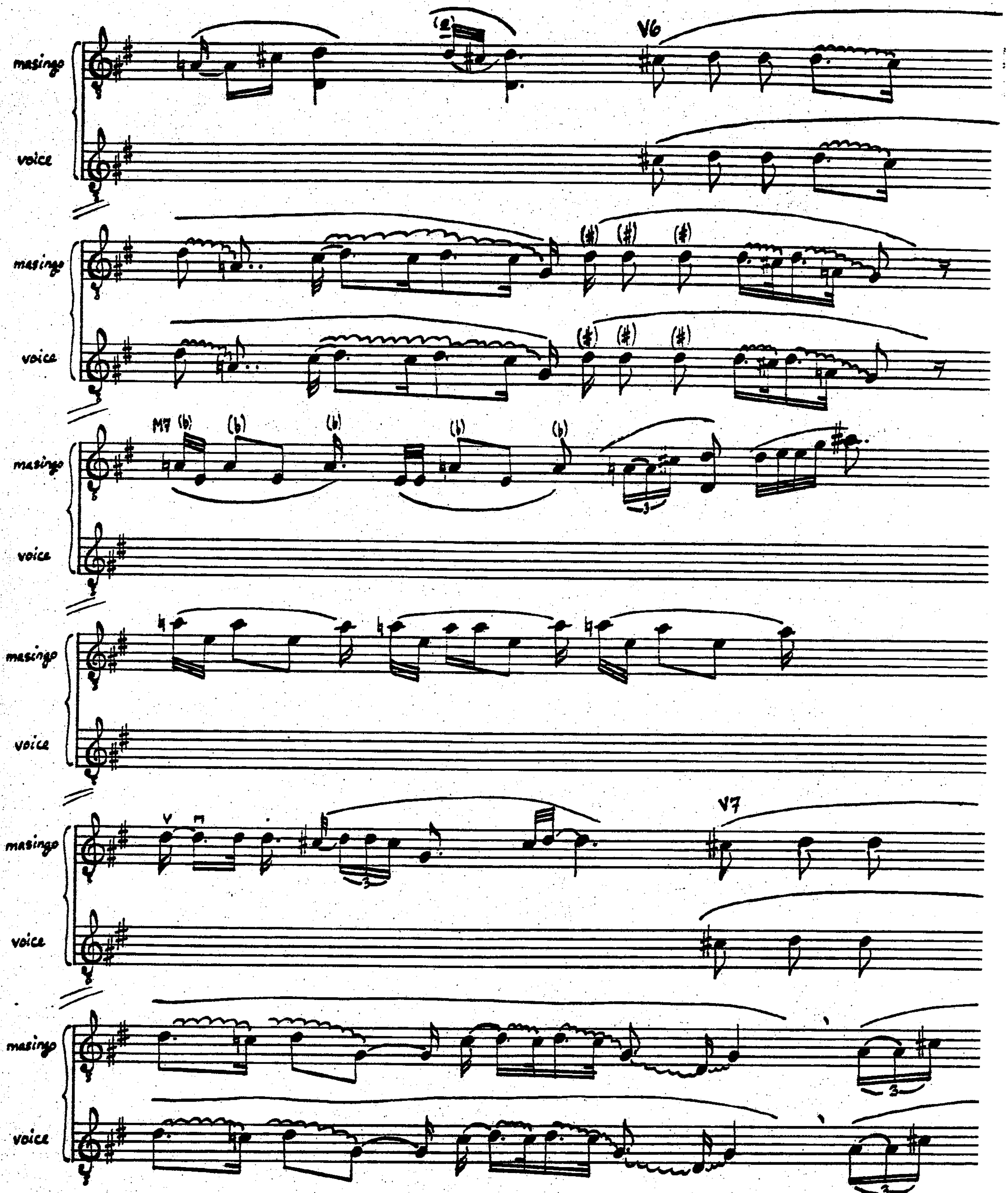
untitled #1: Yaacor


masingo
voice
(♭)
V2
M3
mc2
6=♩
mc1
V3
3
M4
mc2
3
mc1

untitled #1: Yaacov

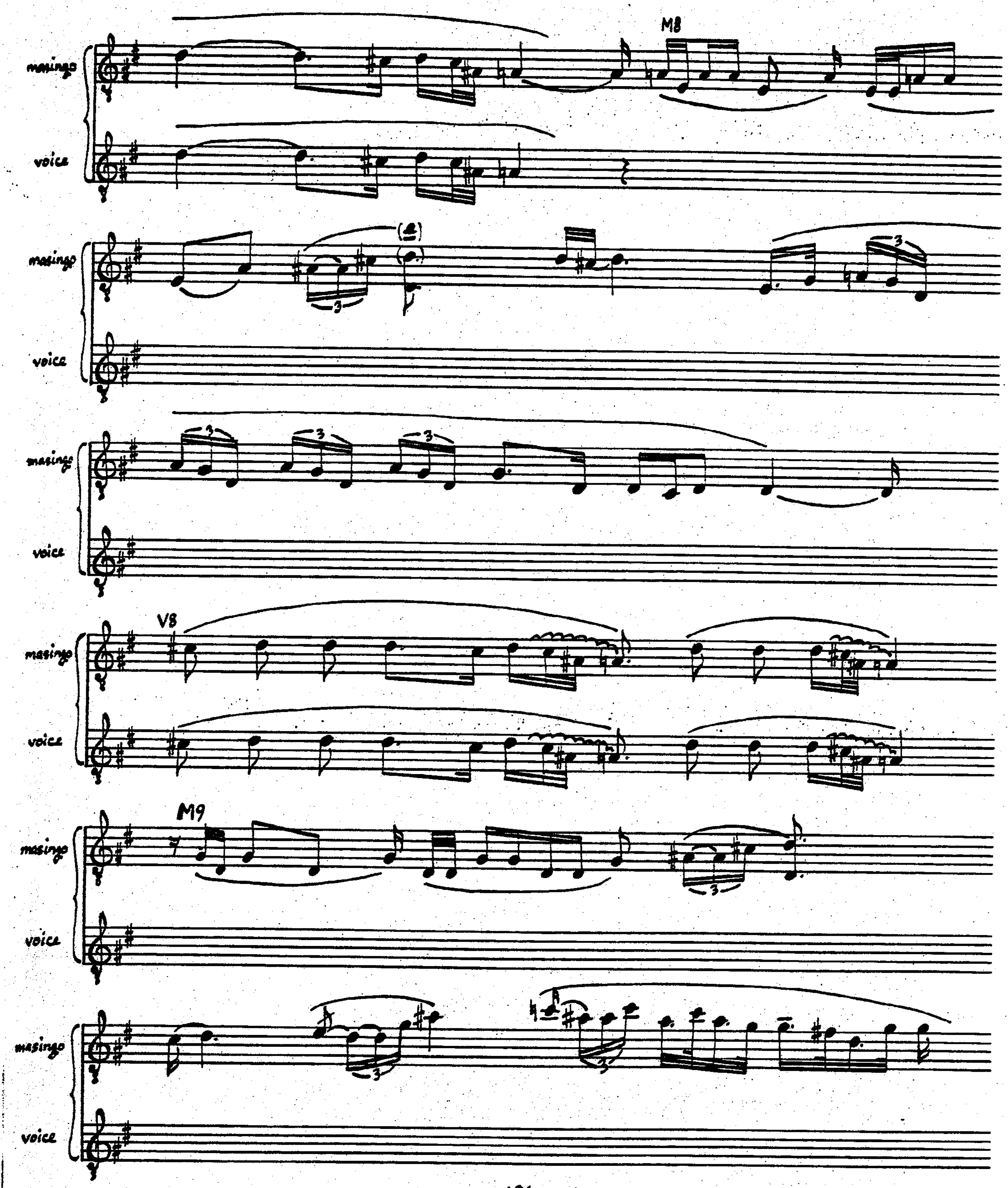

V4
masinqo
voice
(#)
(#)
(#)
M5
masinqo
voice
3
V5
masinqo
voice
masinqo
voice
masinqo
voice
M6
(b)
(b)
(b)
(b)
(b)
(b)
(b)
(b)
masinqo
voice

untitled #1: Yaacov

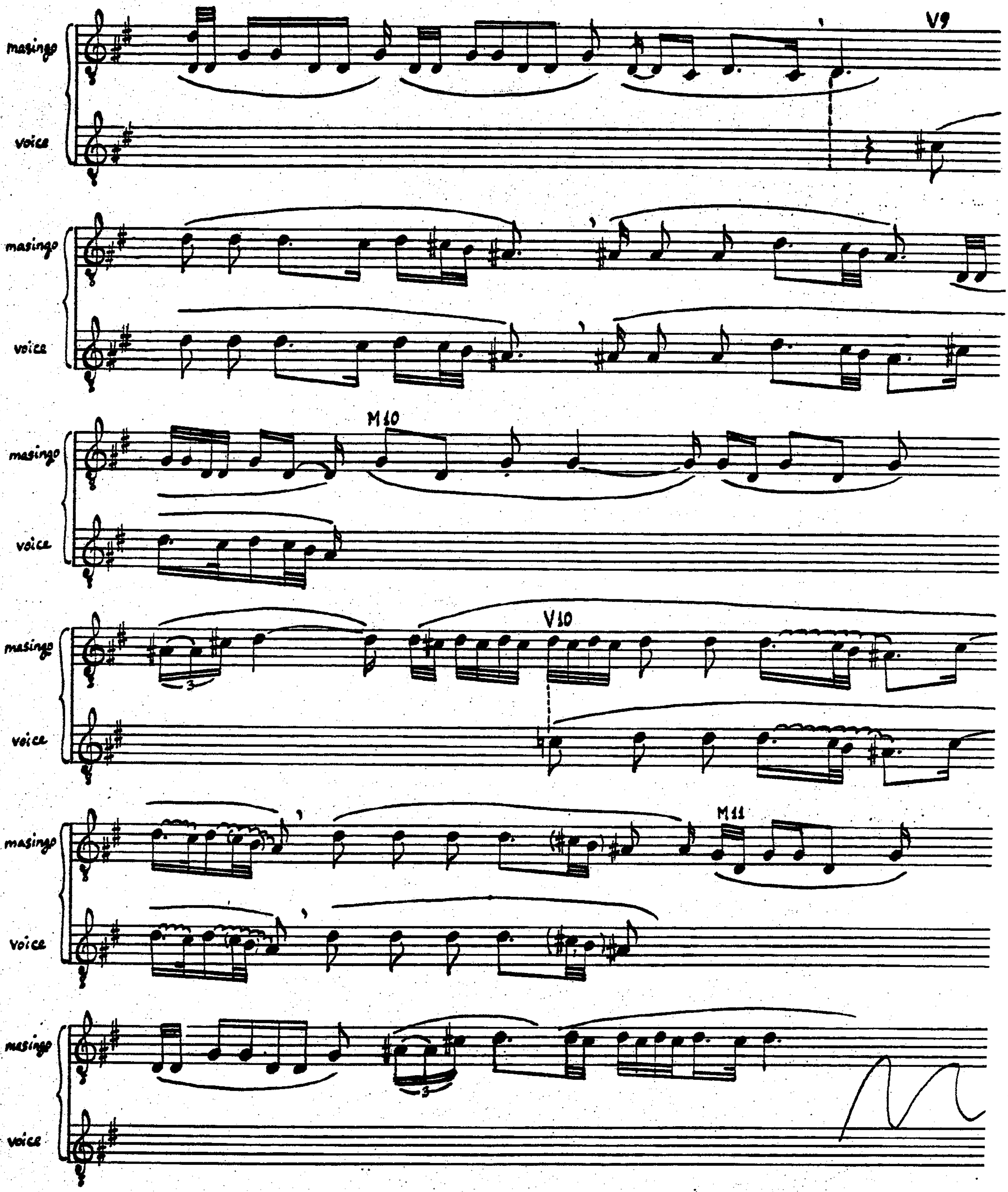


masingo
voice
V6
(#)
M7
(b)
V7
3

untitled #1 : Yaacor

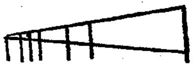

masingo
voice
M8
V8
M9

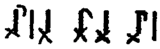
untitled #1: Yaacor


masingo
voice
V9
M10
V10
M11

Transcription 2: D.2. *Kwane kwane.* Daniel -- vocals and *krar*

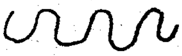
Legend:

 = trill moves from fast/high pitch density to slow/low pitch density.

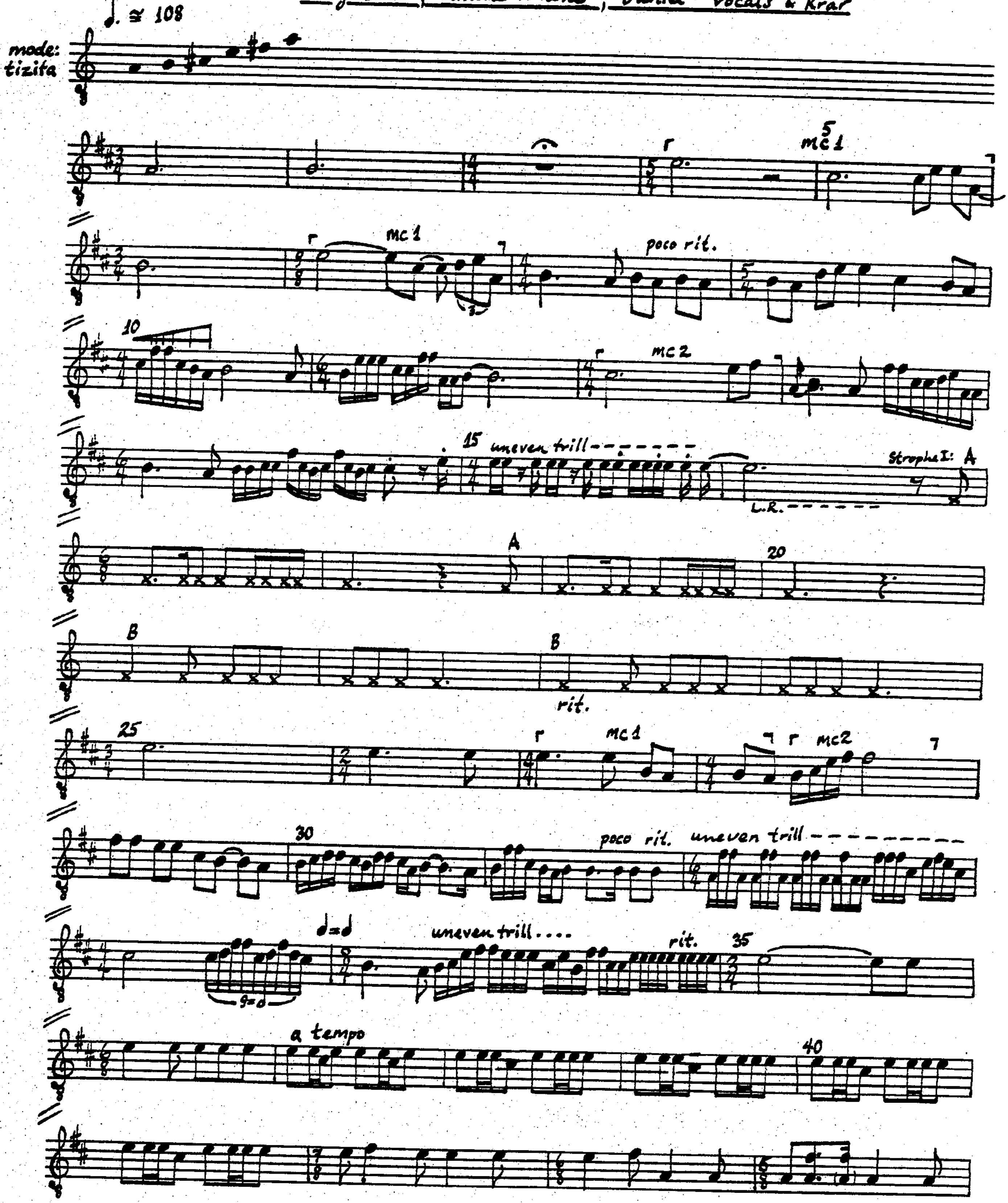
 etc. = the strophe is recited, not sung.

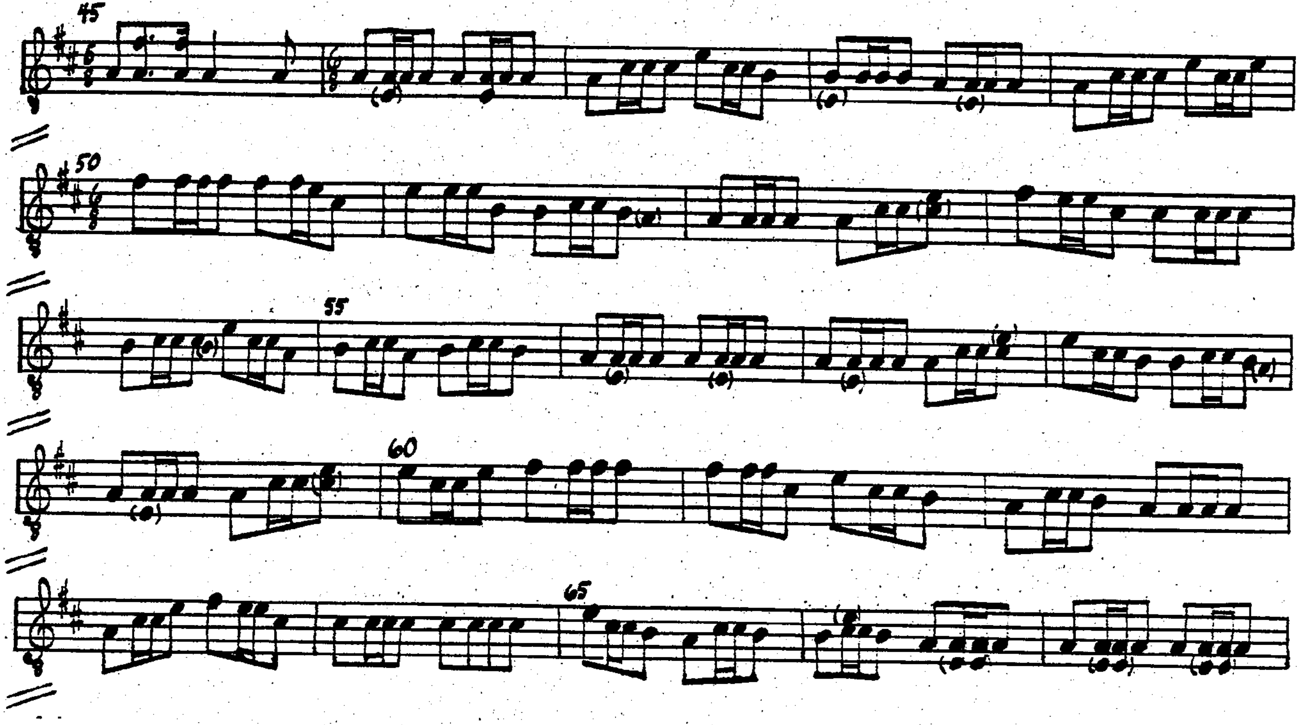
(♩) = pitch less audible.

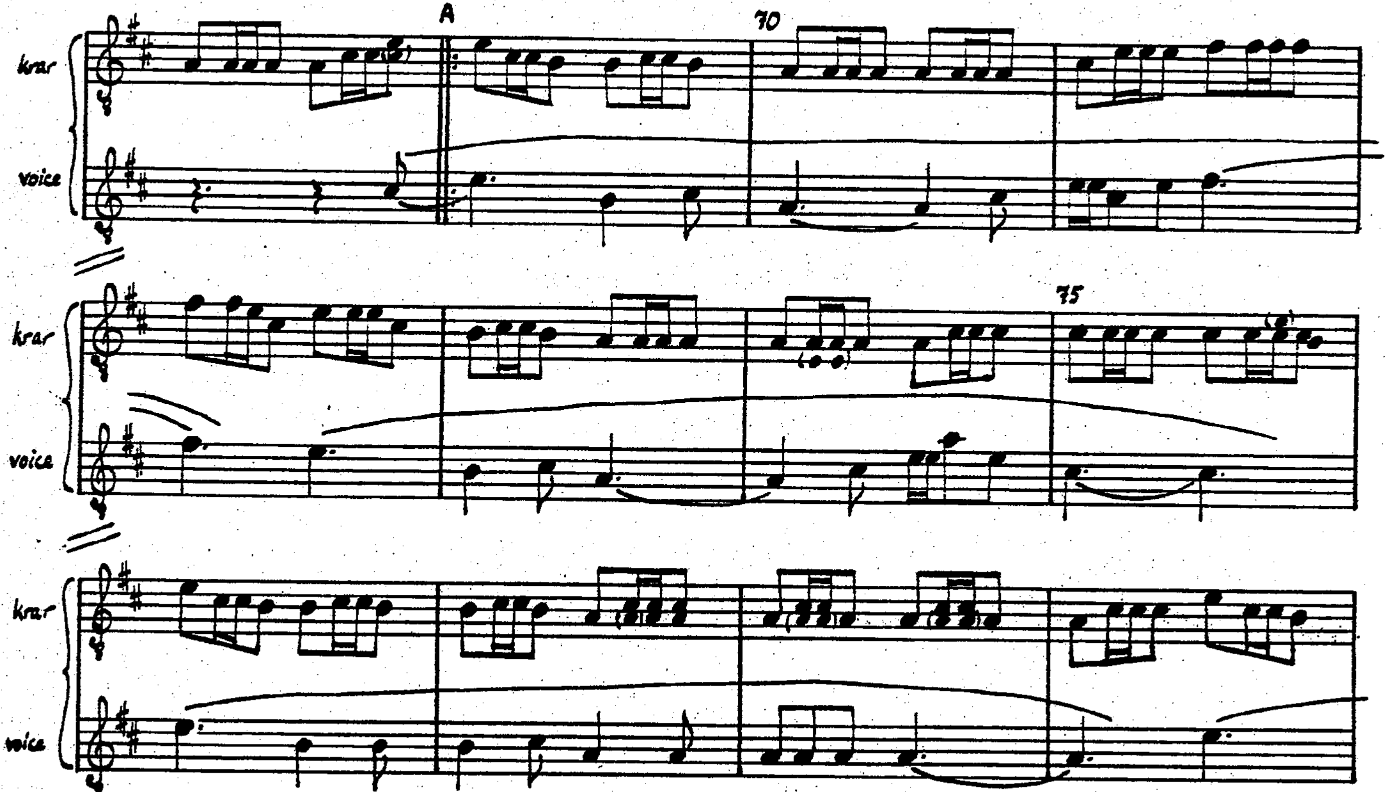
[♩] = pitch uncertain.

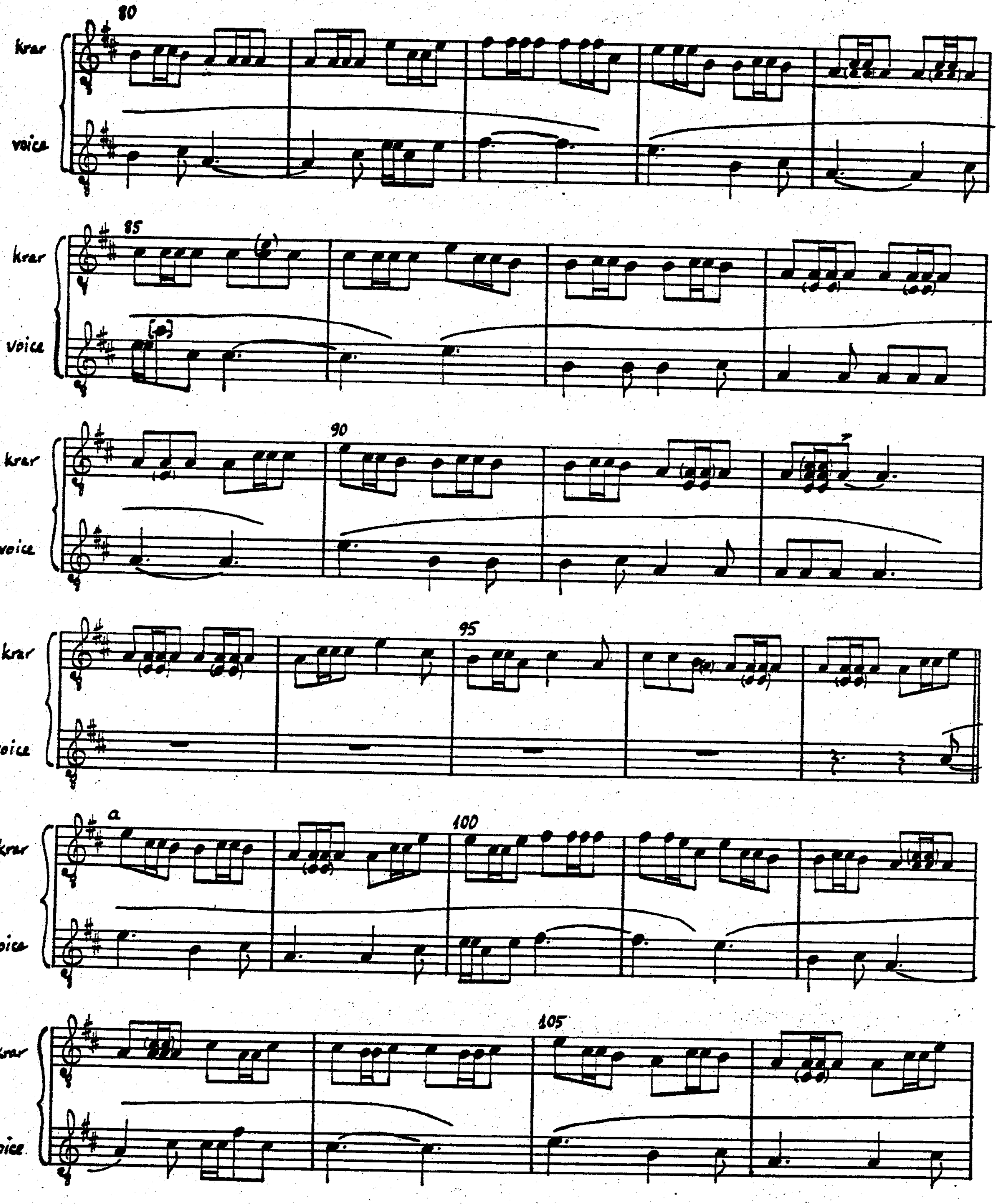
 = includes four more song cycles: A, a^2, A, a^3 > --
the last couplet in the strophe is sometimes repeated.

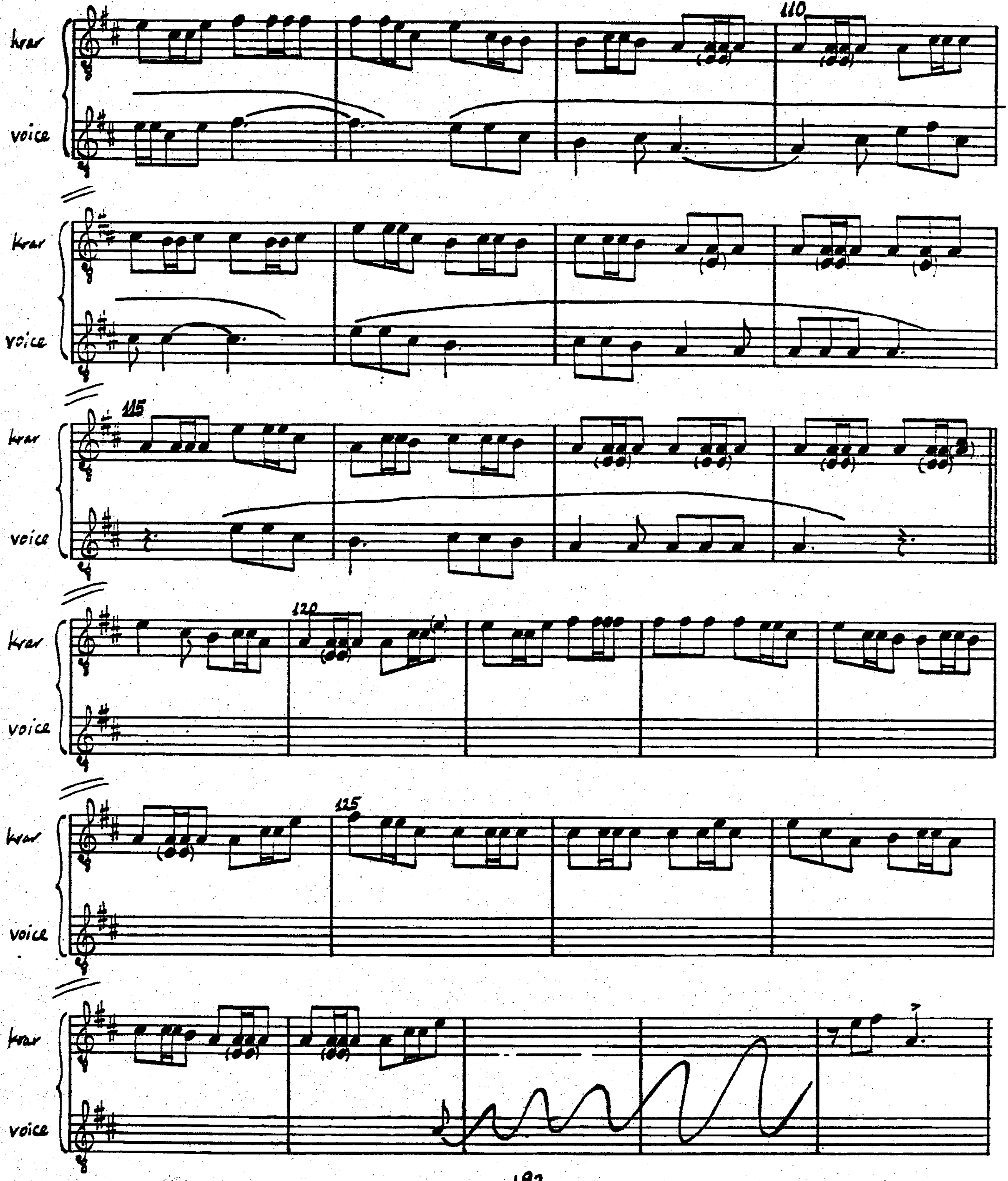
Song D.2, "Kwane Kwane", Daniel – vocals & krar


♩. ≅ 108
mode: tizita
r
5
mc 1
r
mc 1
poco rit.
10
r
mc 2
15
uneven trill
L.R.
Strophe I: A
A
20
B
B
rit.
25
r
mc1
r
mc2
30
poco rit.
uneven trill
9=♩
♩=♩
uneven trill....
rit.
35
a tempo
40




krar
voice
A
70
krar
voice
75
krar
voice


80
krar
voice
85
krar
voice
krar
90
voice
krar
95
voice
a
krar
100
voice
krar
105
voice


krar
voice

Transcription 3: D.11. "Come, come", Daniel -- vocals and *krar*

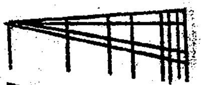
Legend:

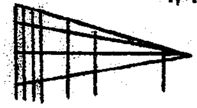
(♩) = pitch is possibly restruck, possibly still ringing. In any case, it is less audible than accompanying pitches.

= cluster.

‿ L.R. = let ring.

♩ = pitch not identifiable.

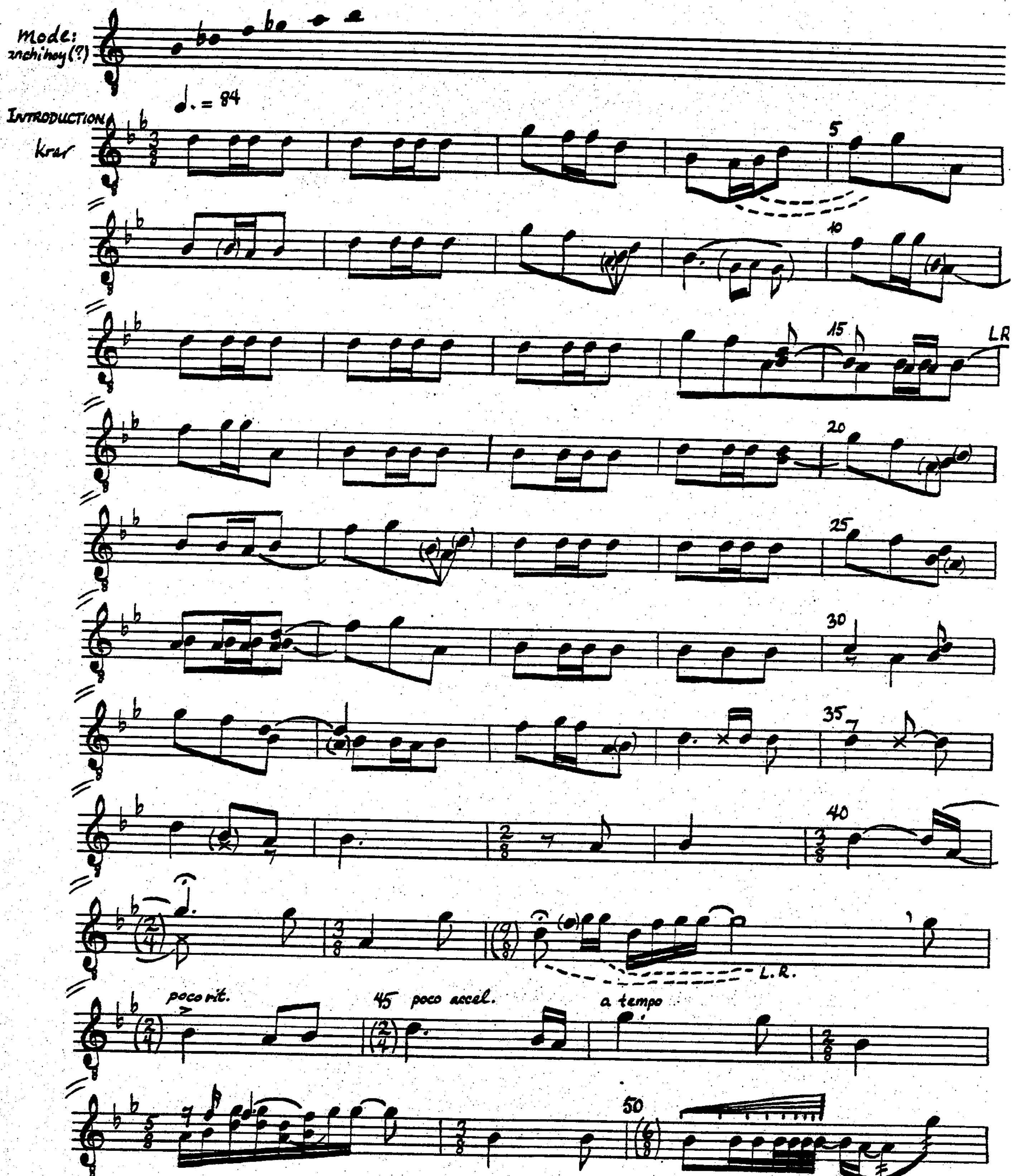

= accelerando and increase of pitch density.

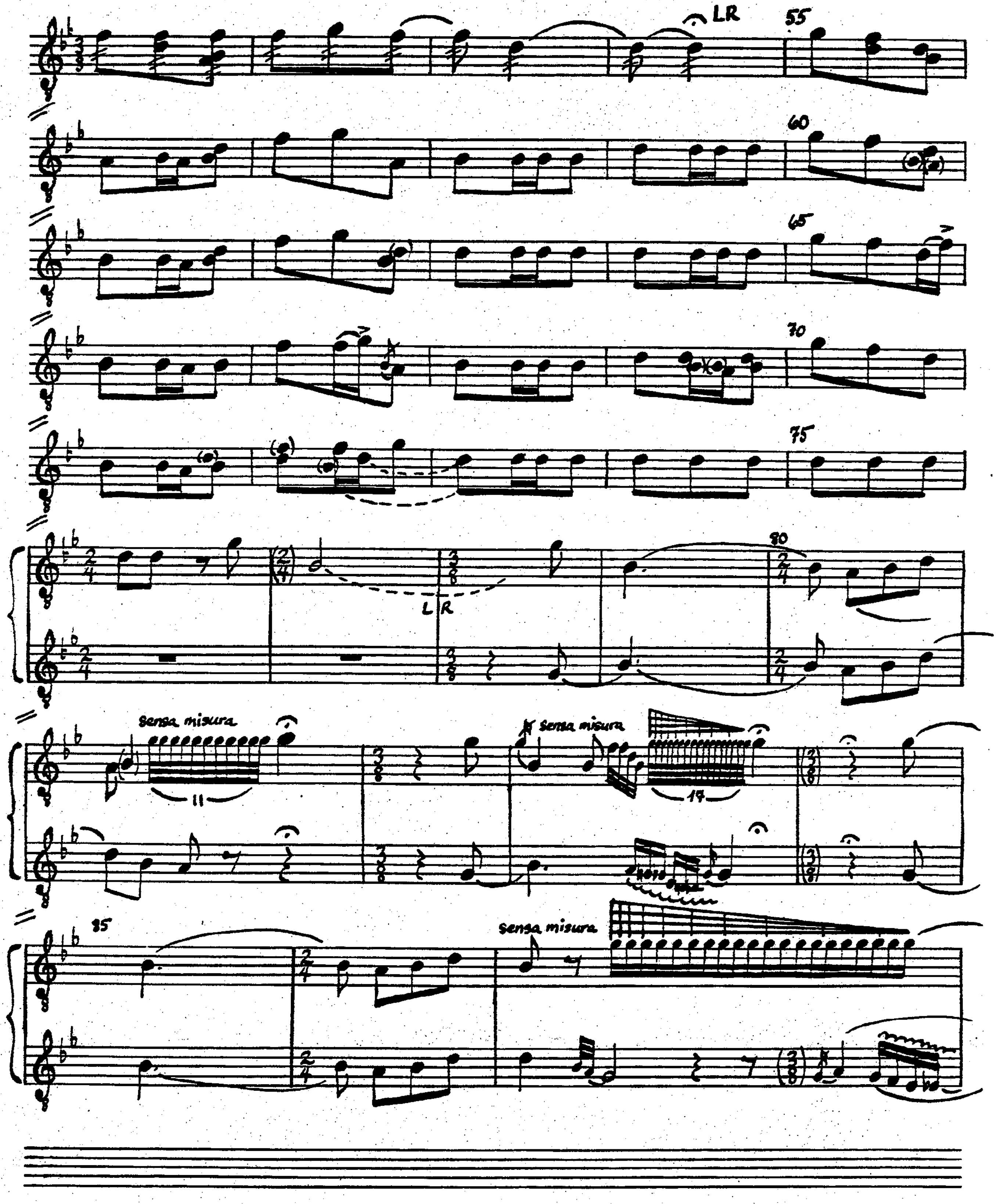

= ritardando and decrease of pitch density.

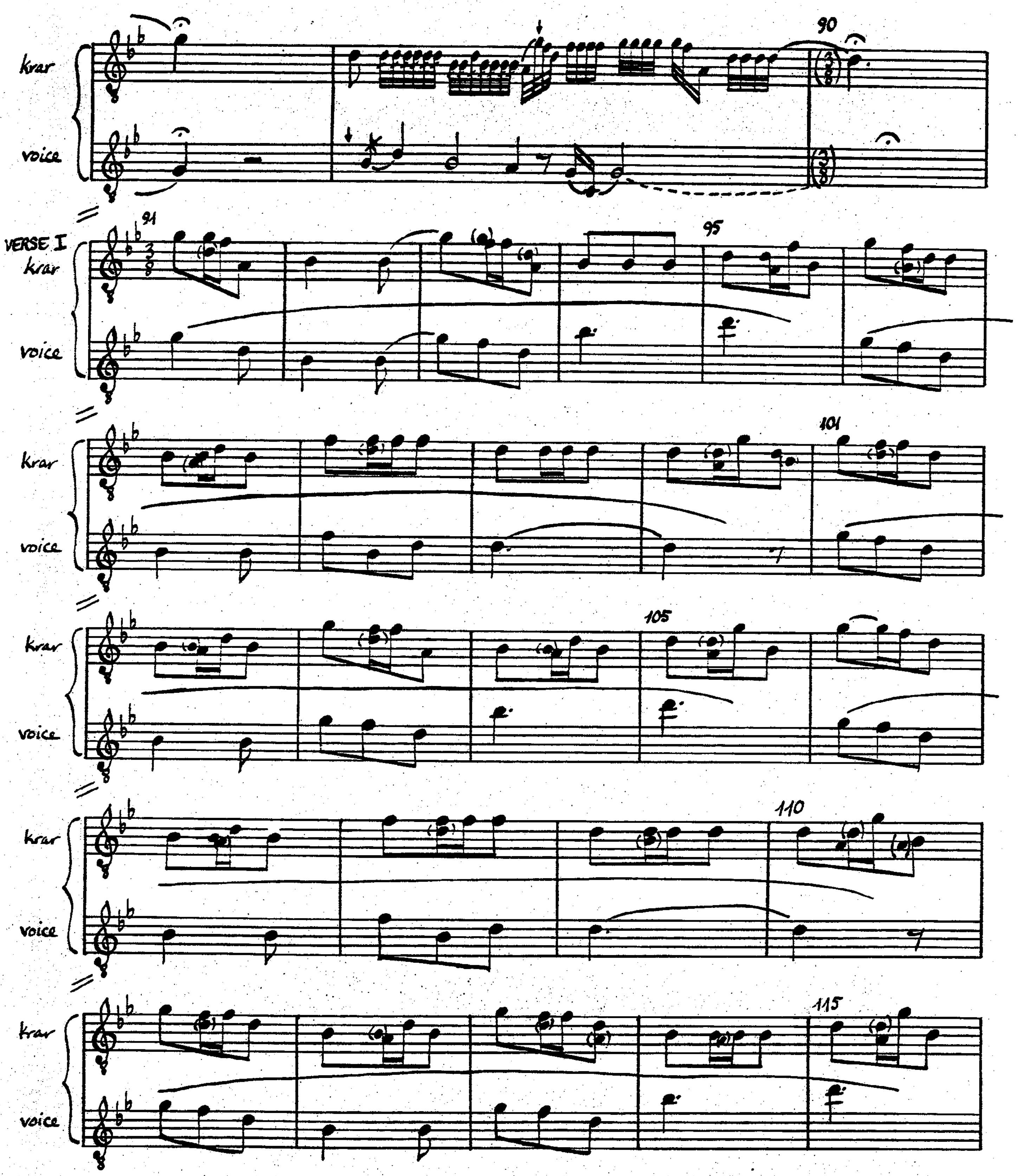
~ = glissando.

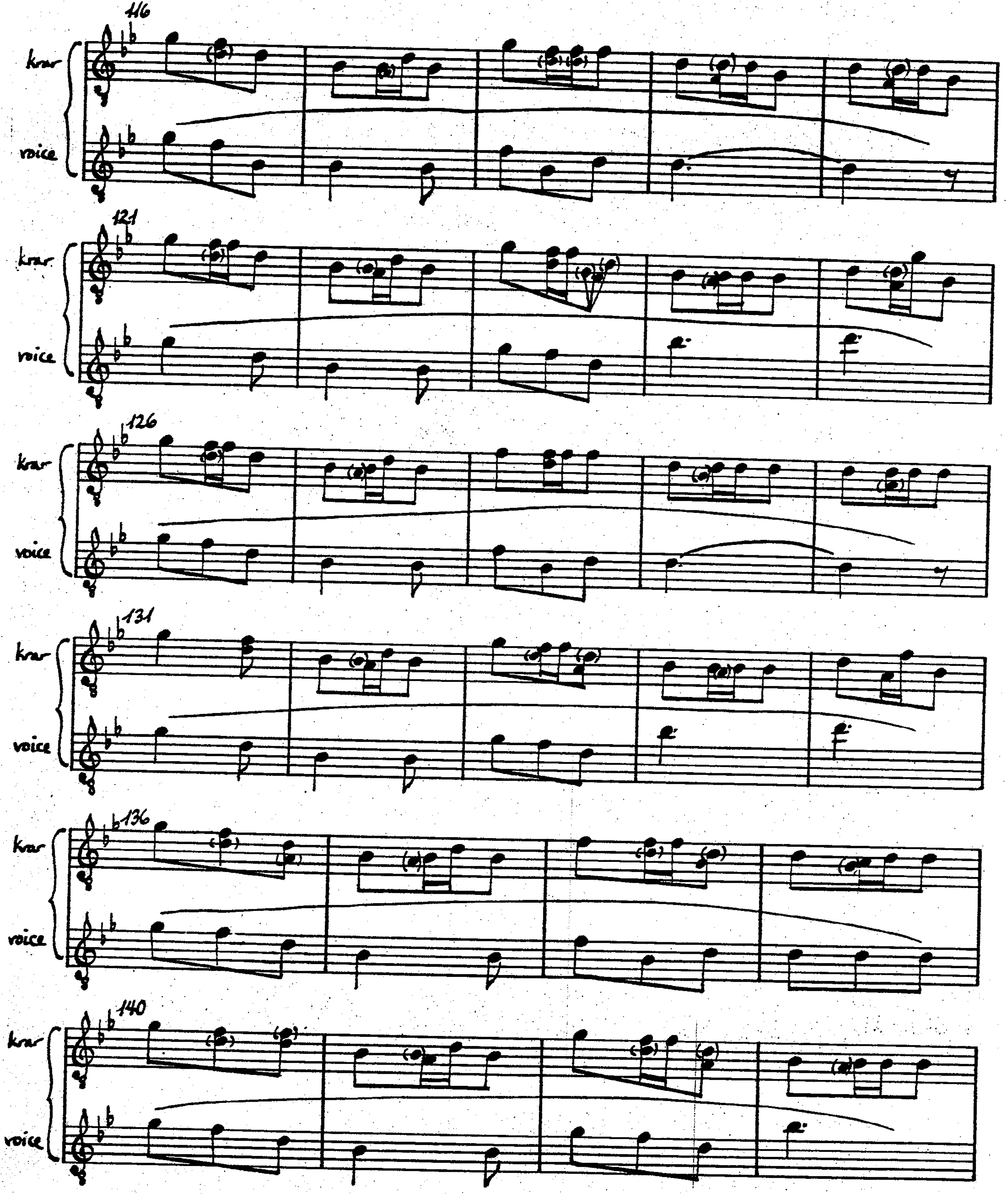
↓ = strong downbeat.

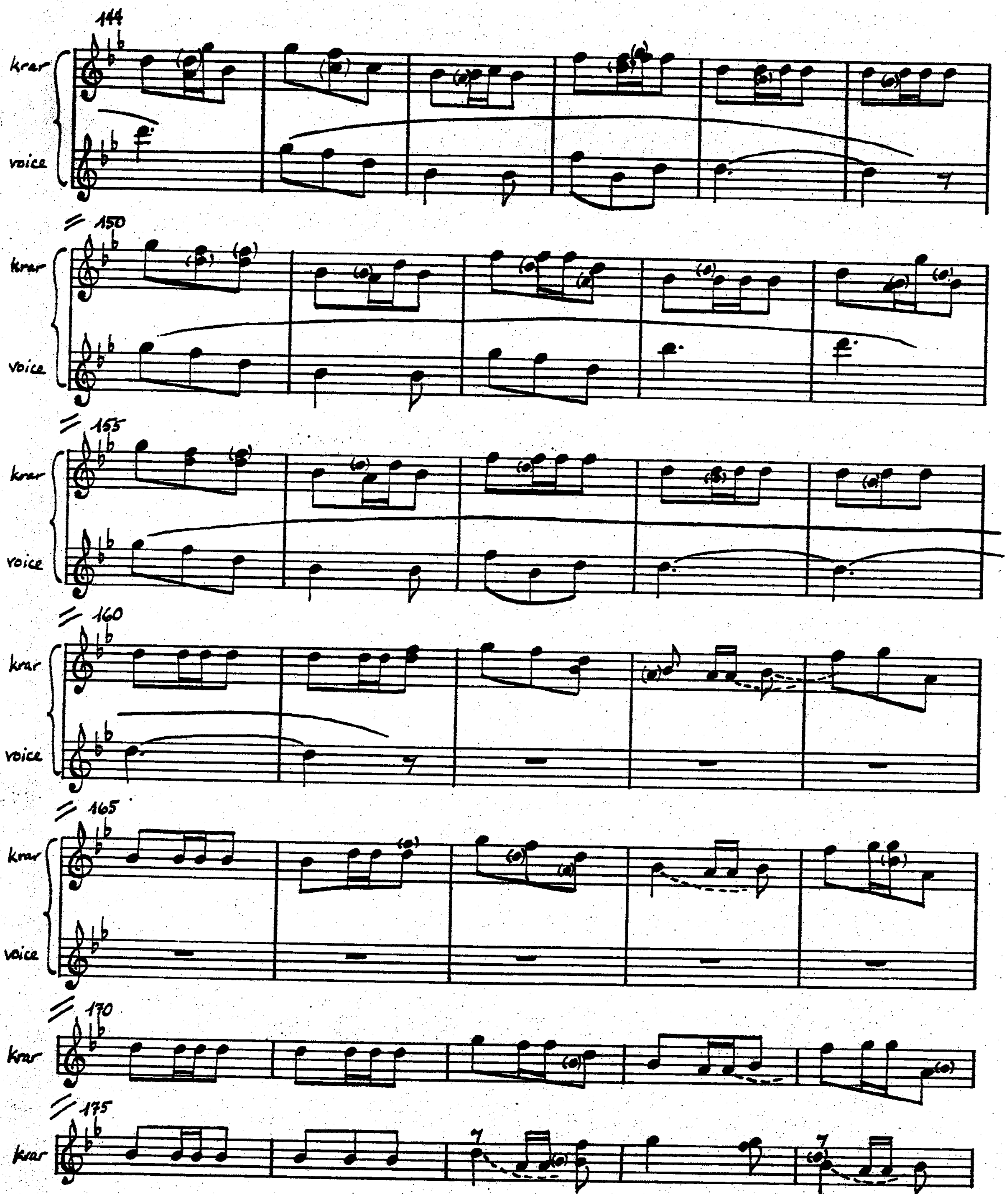
Song D.11: "Come, Come", Daniel - vocals & krar

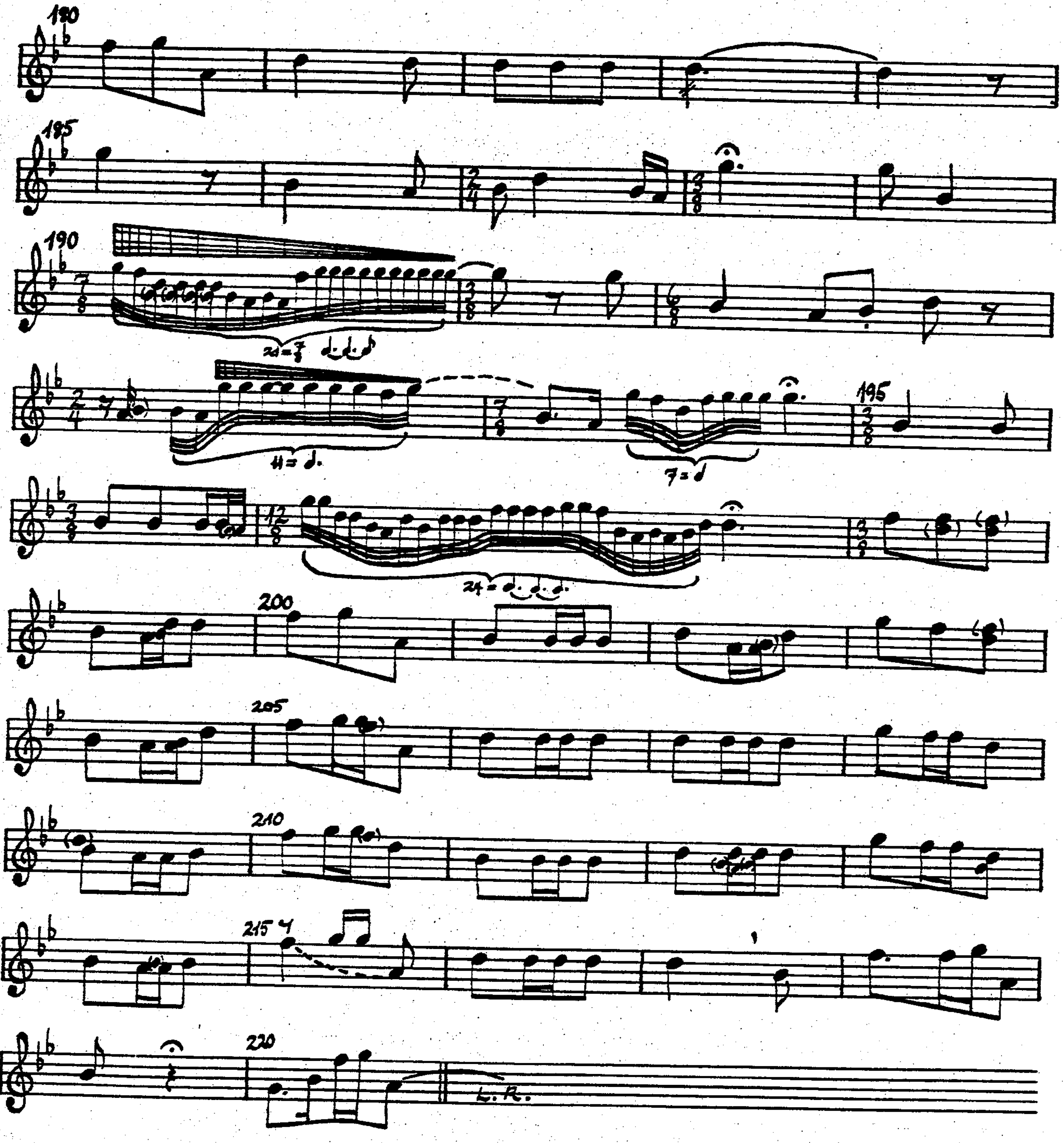

mode: anchihoy(?)
♩. = 84
INTRODUCTION
krar
5
10
15
LR
20
25
30
35
40
L.R.
poco rit.
45
poco accel.
a tempo
50


LR
55
60
65
70
75
Krar
voice
80
L R
sensa misura
11
sensa misura
17
85
sensa misura


krar
voice
90
VERSE I
krar
voice
91
95
krar
voice
101
krar
voice
105
krar
voice
110
krar
voice
115


116
krar
voice
121
krar
voice
126
krar
voice
131
krar
voice
136
krar
voice
140
krar
voice


144
krar
voice
150
krar
voice
155
krar
voice
160
krar
voice
165
krar
voice
170
krar
175
krar


24 = 7/8
11 =
7 =
24 =
L. R.

Transcription 4: "Shepherd's Tune", Natan -- *washint*

Legend:

(#) = pitch bent sharp.

(b) = pitch bent flat.

(♪) = pitch uncertain.

tr.
(♫) = notes of trill.

|____cow____| = length of sound identifying a particular animal.

|∿∿∿∿∿∿| = smothered laughter.

|/\/\/\/\/\| = clear laughter.

{♫♫} = performer is held back by laughter.

((♫♫)) = pitch is faintly audible.

((?)) = pitch cannot be discerned.

* The trillo in phrase 54 is uneven. Notated rhythms are coarse approximations.

Translation of spoken texts:

I. *be'emet, mamash ze tov* (Hebrew) = really, it's very good.

II. *anti basigib kabitochun malesachow* (Amharic) = you, Basigib, bring back the cattle.

III. *mən?* (Amharic) = what?

IV. *aante endaygabu* (Amharic) = don't mix them.

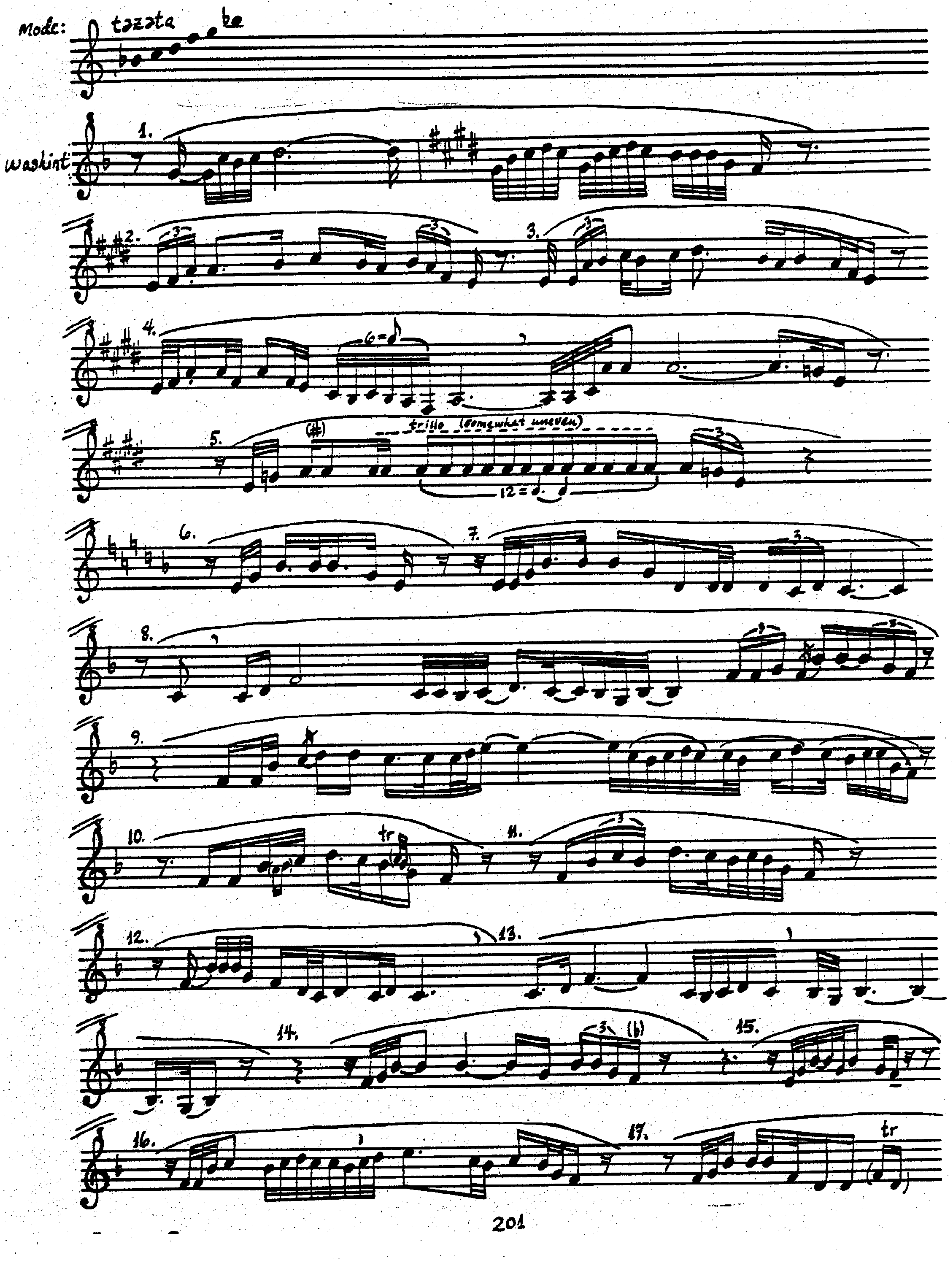
V. *tasigeraun amatale* (Amharic) = bring me the pail.

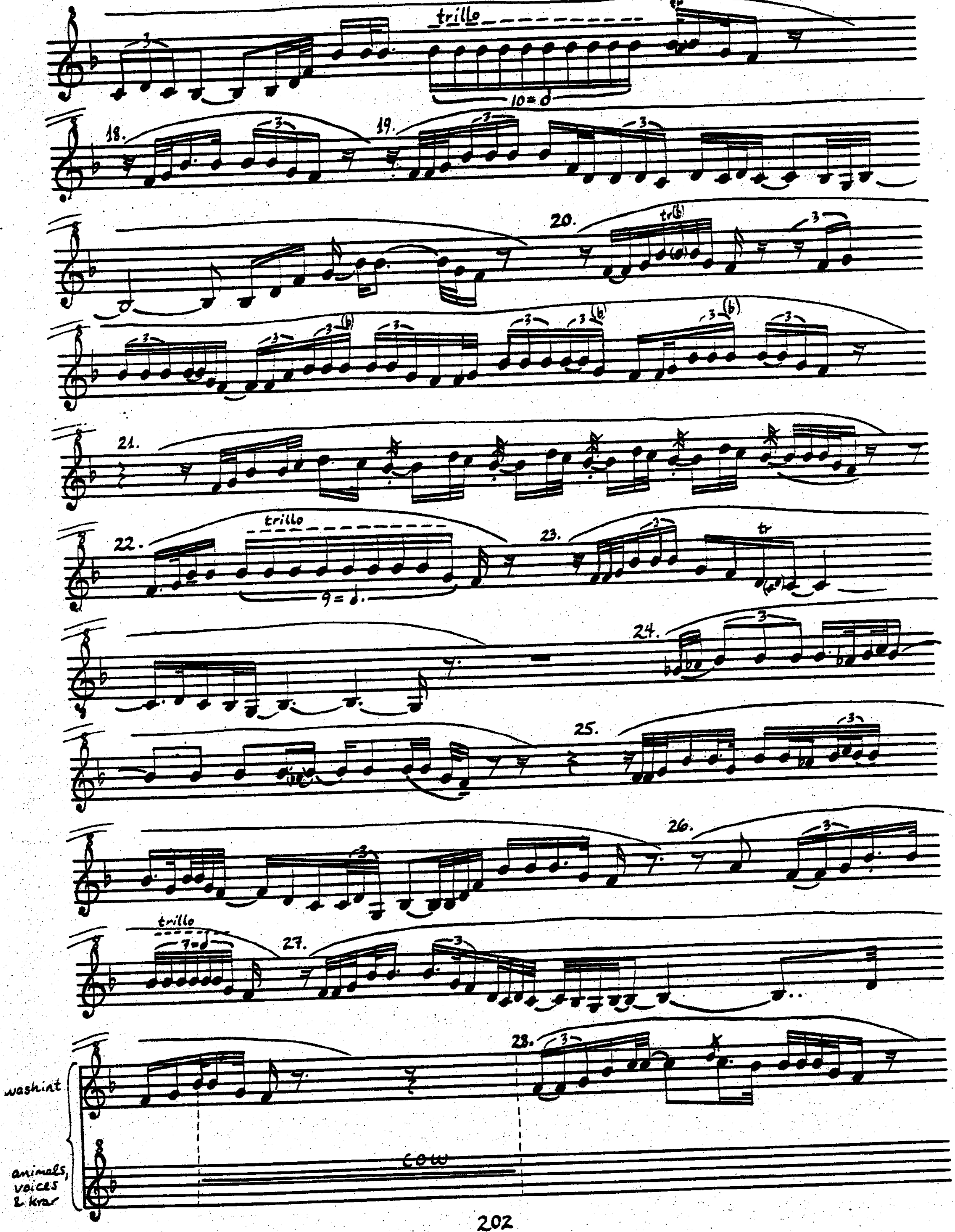
VI. *dorochun amt'achow* (Amharic) = bring back the hens.

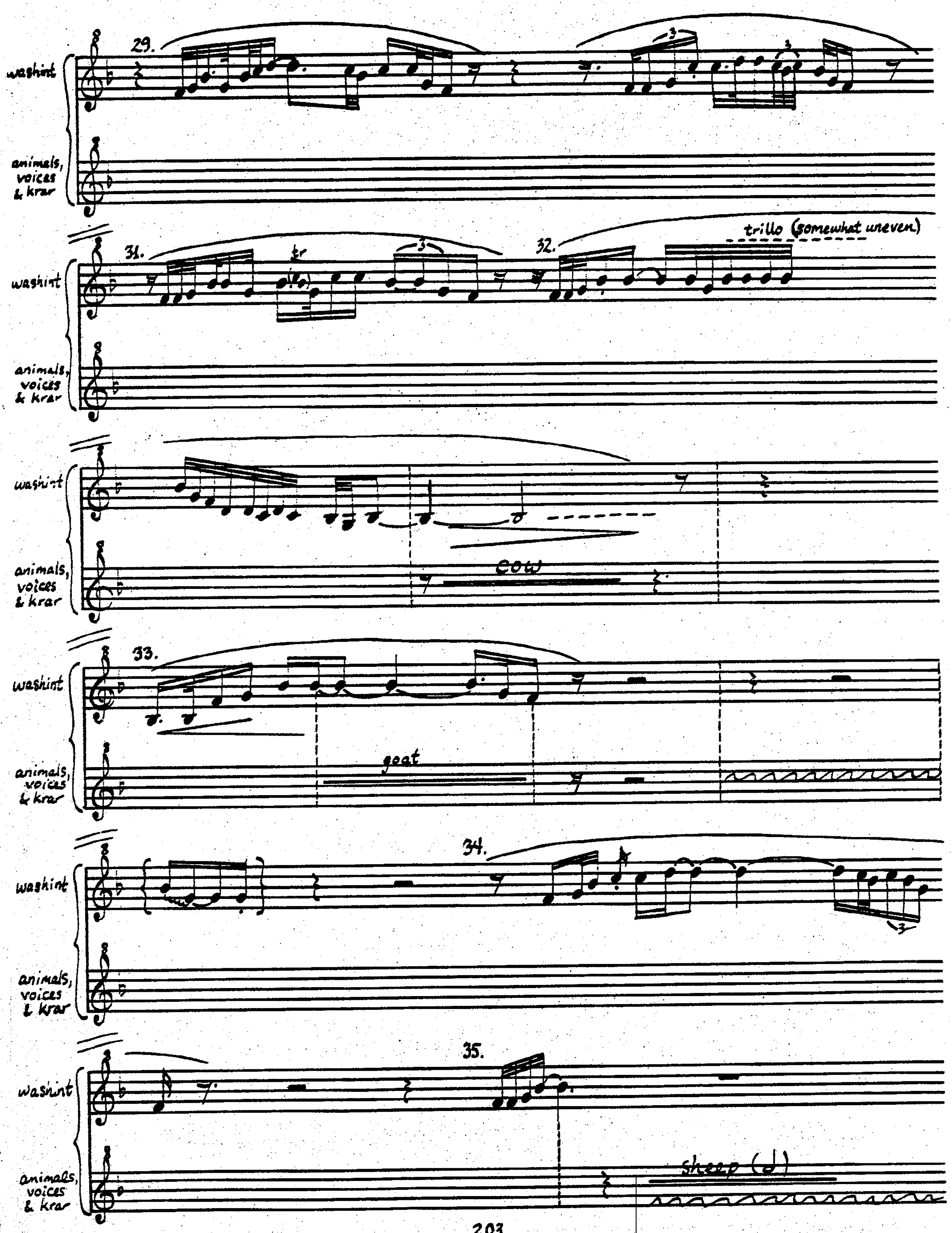
VII. *arasun kibata malisachowu* (Amharic) = bring back one from the herd.

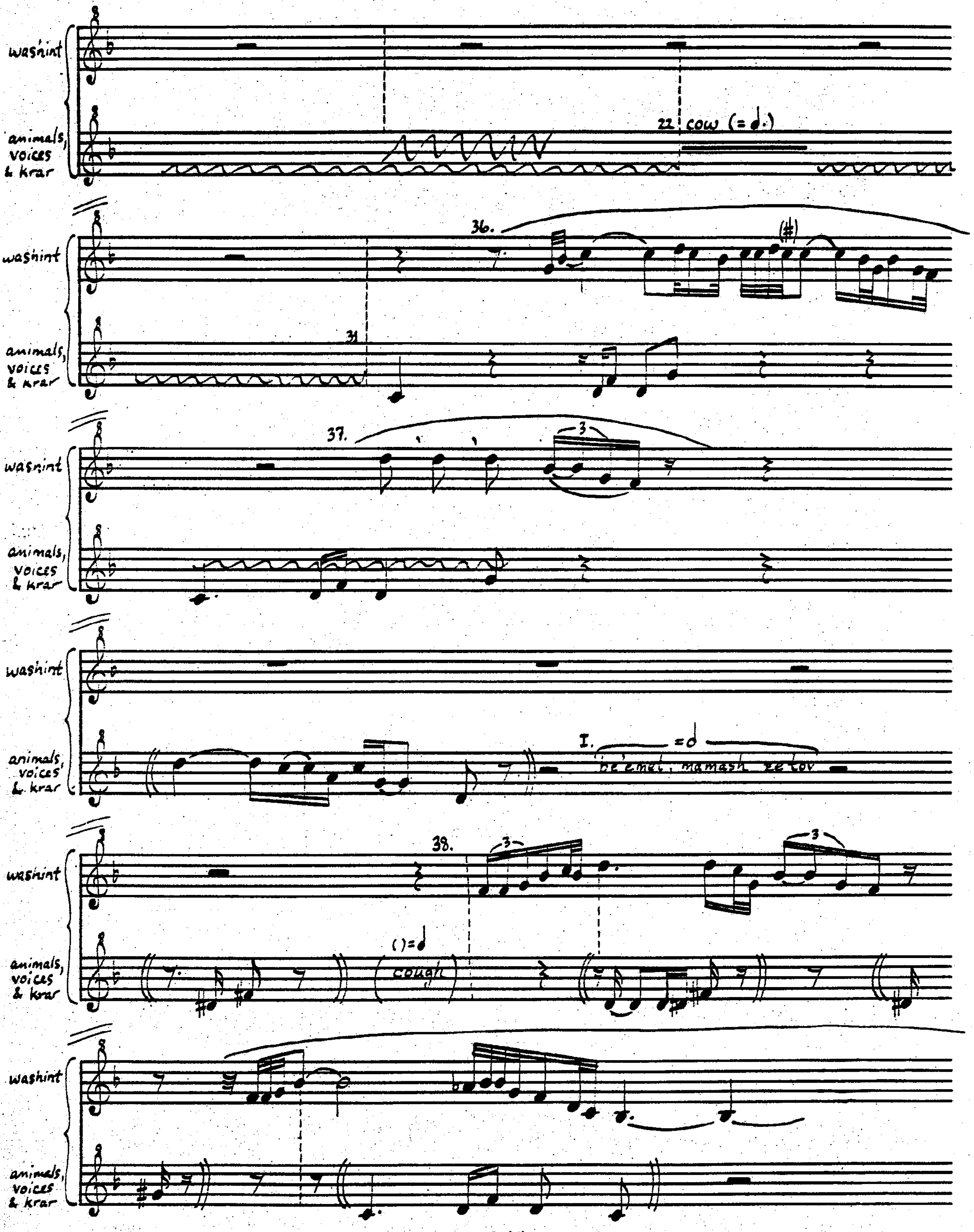
VIII. *Dai!* (Hebrew) = enough!

"Shepherd's Tune": Natan-washint Meseret-- Sound environment

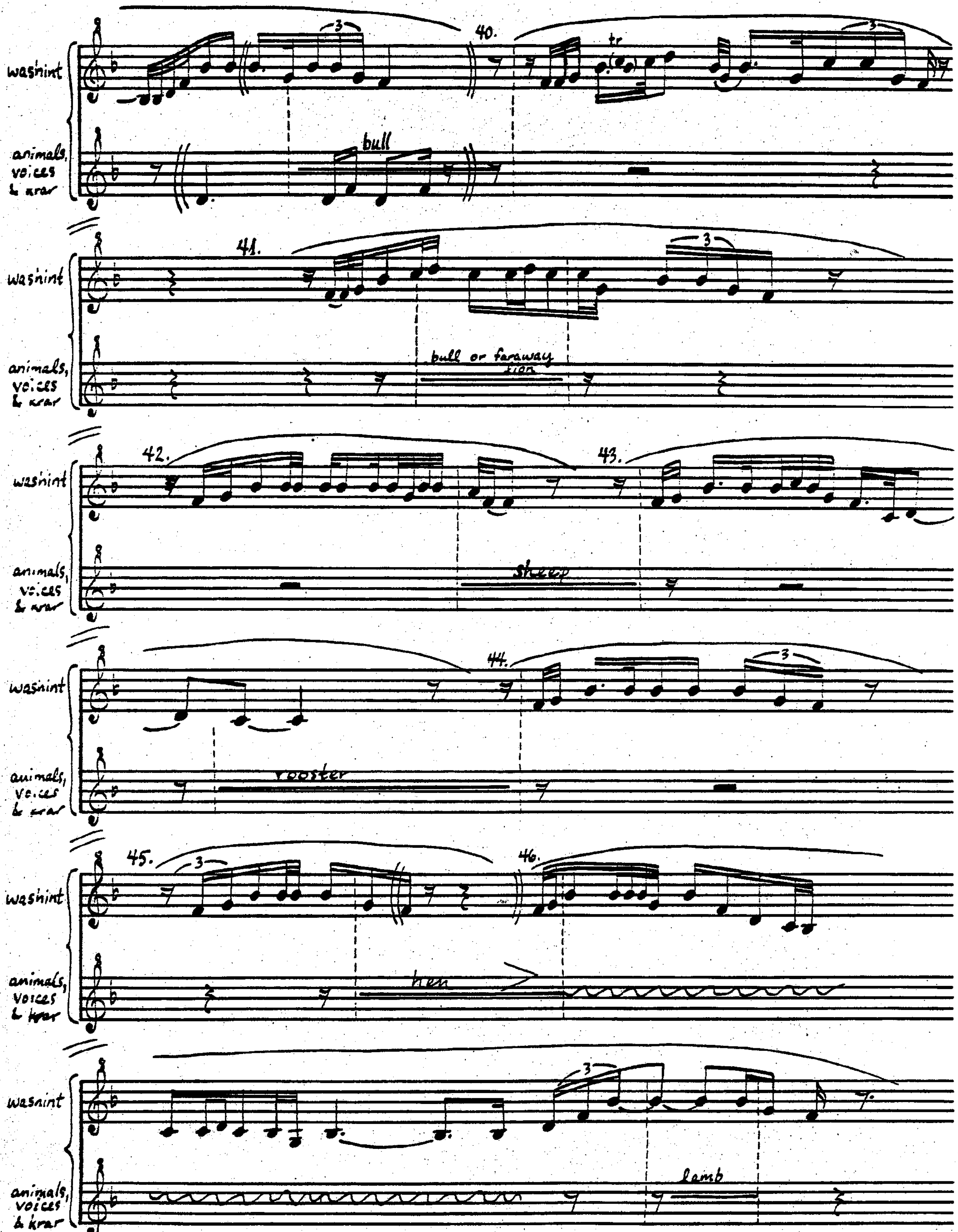

Mode:
təzəta
washint
trillo (somewhat uneven)
tr


trillo
10=𝅗𝅥
tr
18.
19.
20.
tr(♭)
(♭)
21.
22.
trillo
9=𝅗𝅥.
23.
tr
24.
25.
26.
trillo
7=𝅗𝅥
27.
28.
washint
cow
animals, voices & krar

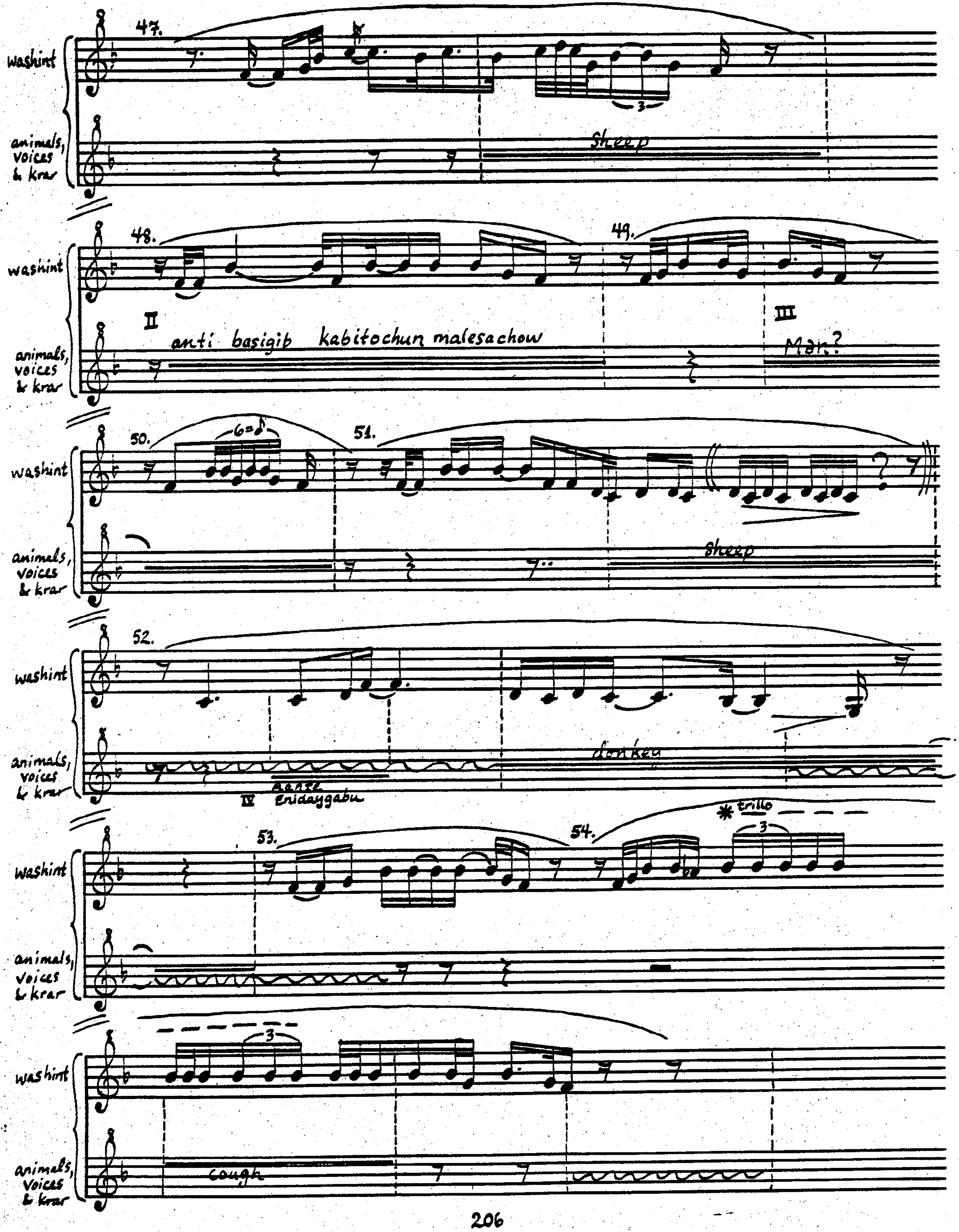

29.
washint
animals, voices & krar
3
31.
tr
32.
trillo (somewhat uneven)
cow
33.
goat
34.
35.
sheep (♩)

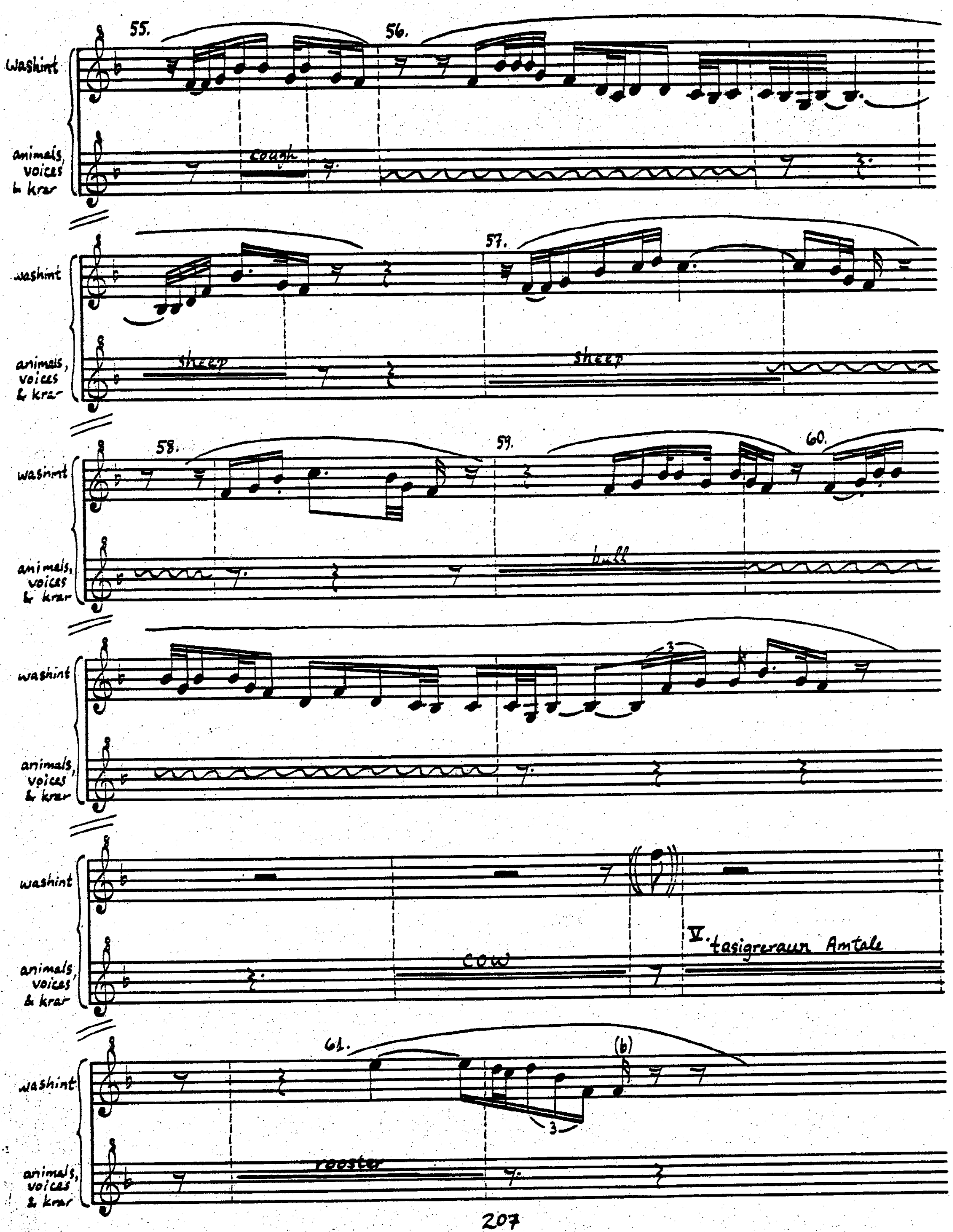

washint
animals, voices & krar
22
cow (=♩.)
31
36.
(♯)
37.
3
I.
=𝅗𝅥
be'emet, mamash ze tov
38.
( )=♩
cough

ARCHIVES
D125-12 Stave

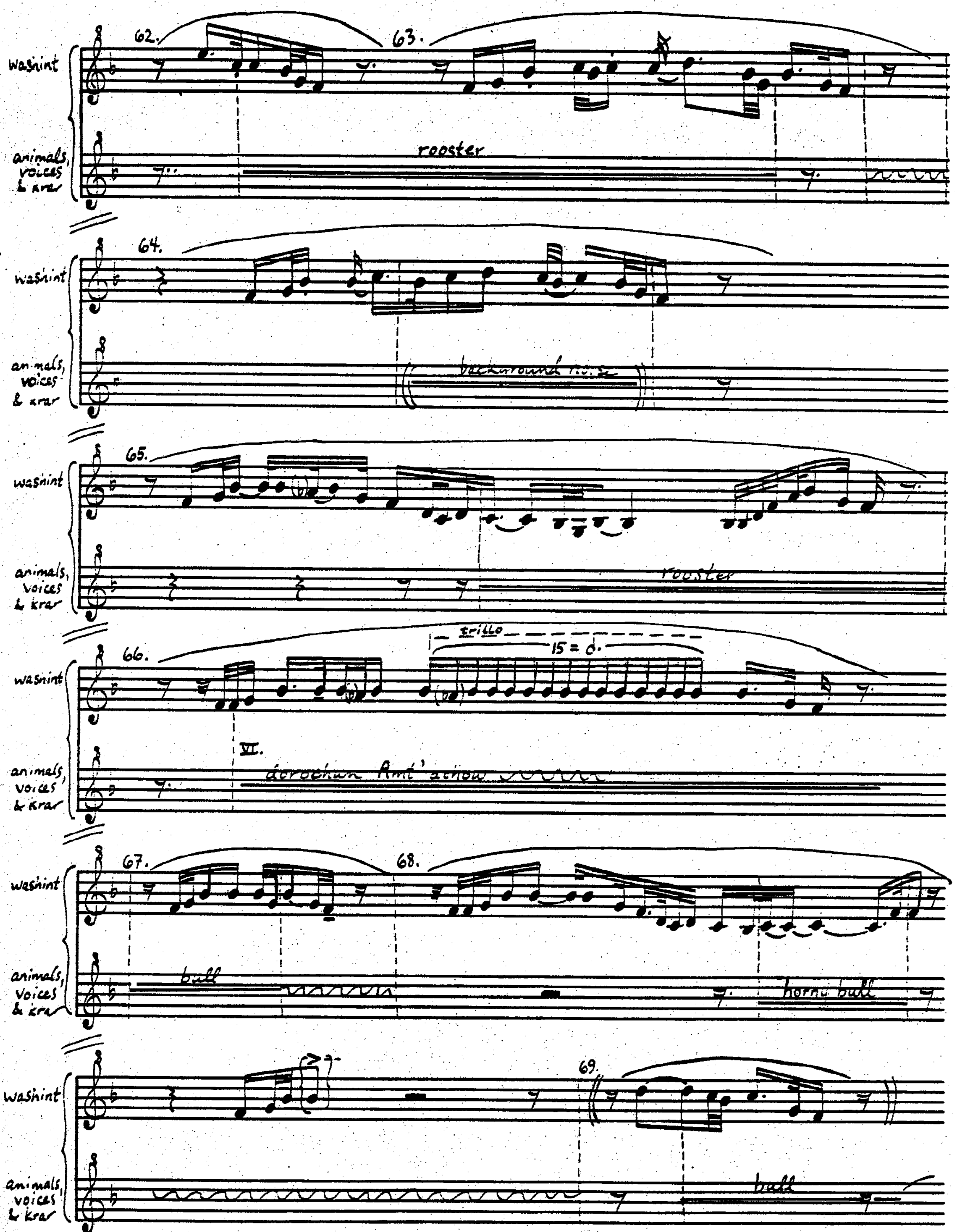

washint
animals, voices & krar
40.
tr
3
bull
41.
bull or faraway lion
42.
43.
sheep
44.
rooster
45.
46.
hen
lamb

ARCHIVES

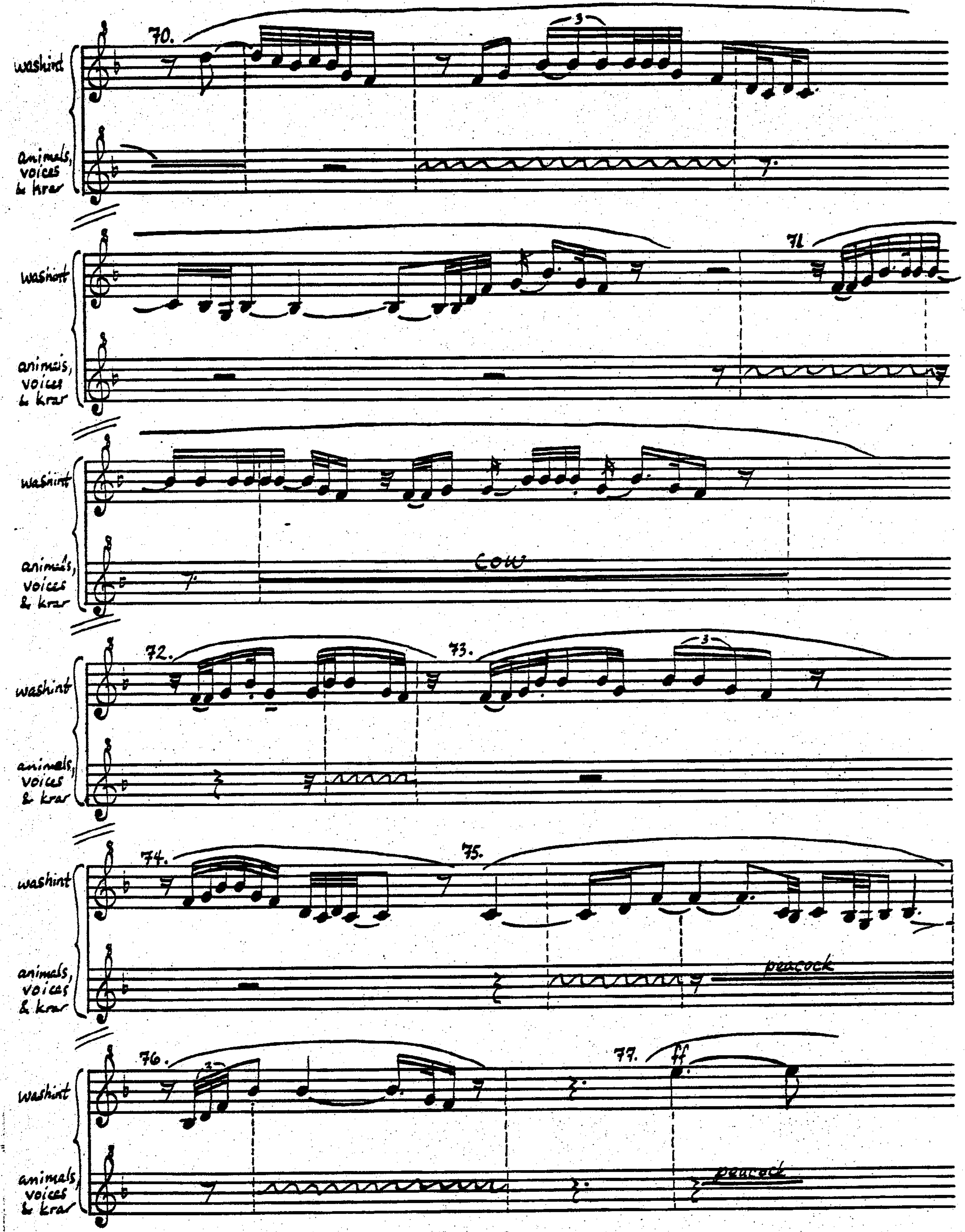

washint
animals, voices & krar
47.
3
Sheep
48.
II
anti basigib kabitochun malesachow
49.
III
Man?
50.
6=♪
51.
Sheep
52.
donkey
Bante
IV Enidaygabu
53.
54.
* trillo
3
3
cough

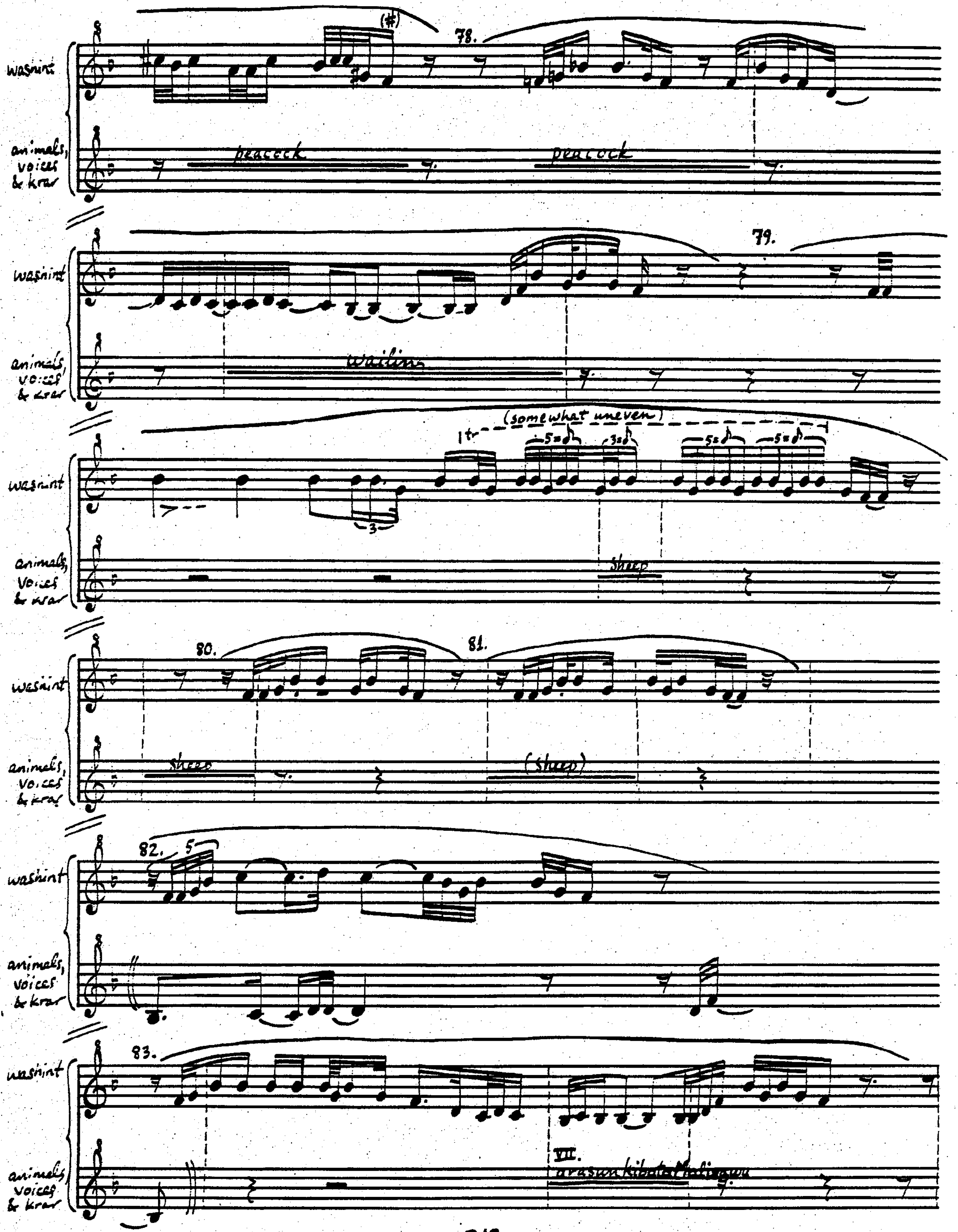

55.
56.
Washint
animals, voices & krar
cough
washint
animals, voices & krar
57.
sheep
sheep
58.
59.
60.
washint
animals, voices & krar
bull
washint
animals, voices & krar
washint
animals, voices & krar
cow
V. tasigreraun Amtale
61.
(b)
3
washint
animals, voices & krar
rooster

ARCHIVES

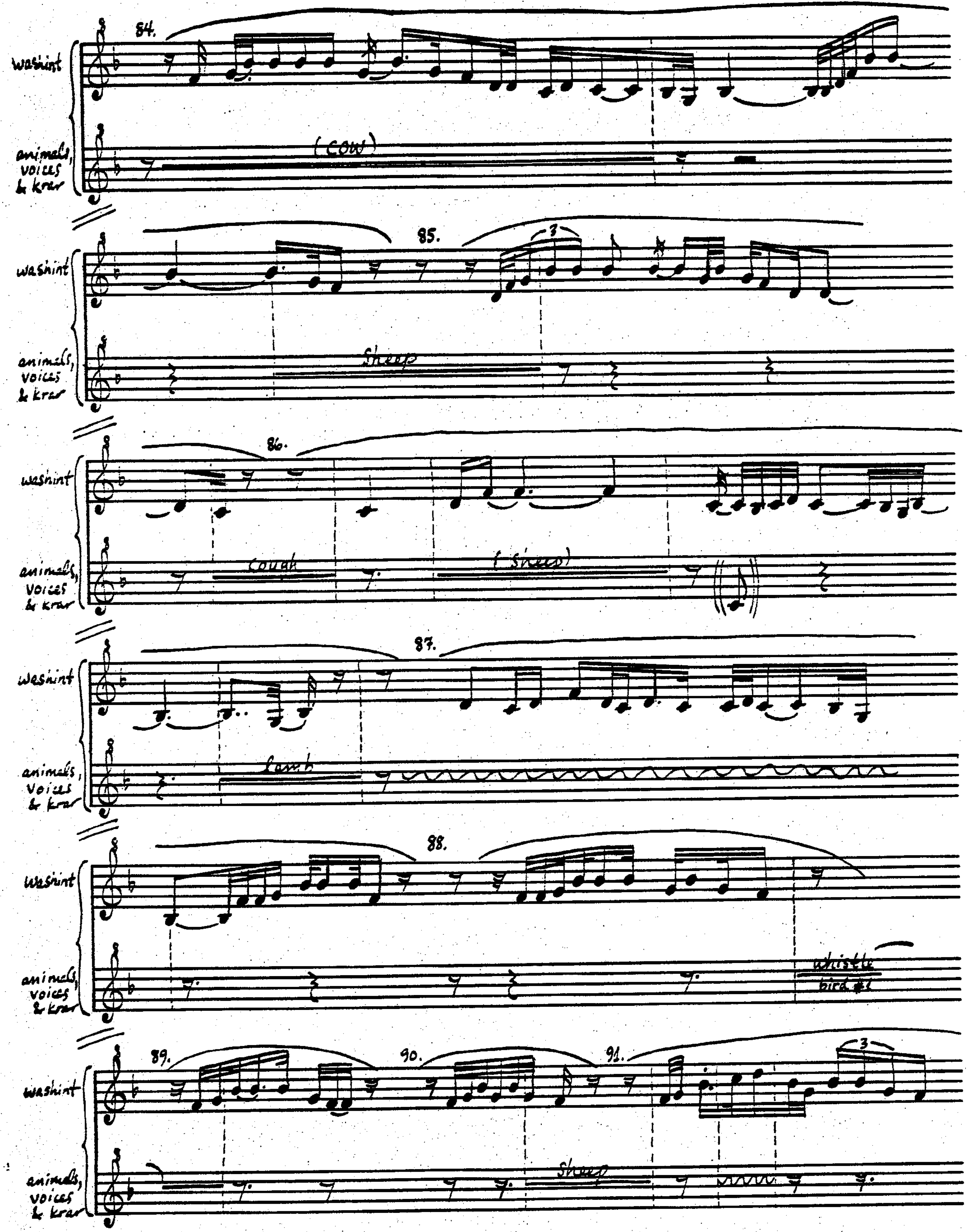

washint
animals, voices & krar
62.
63.
rooster
64.
background noise
65.
rooster
66.
trillo
15 = o.
VI.
dorochun Ant'achow
67.
68.
bull
horny bull
69.
bull

ARCHIVES

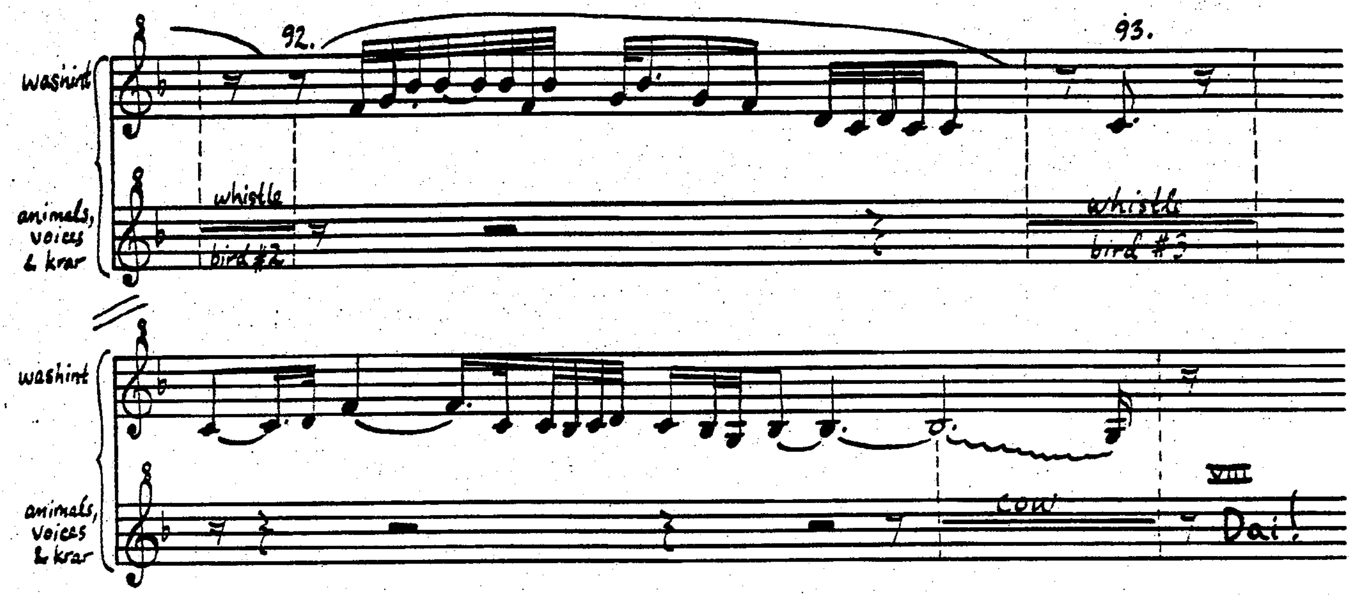

70.
washint
animals, voices & krar
3
71
cow
72.
73.
3
74.
75.
peacock
76.
3
77.
ff
peacock


washint
animals, voices & krar
78.
(♯)
peacock
peacock
79.
wailing
(somewhat uneven)
tr
5=
3=
5=
5=
3
sheep
80.
81.
sheep
(sheep)
82.
5
83.
VII.
arasun kibata Maligwu

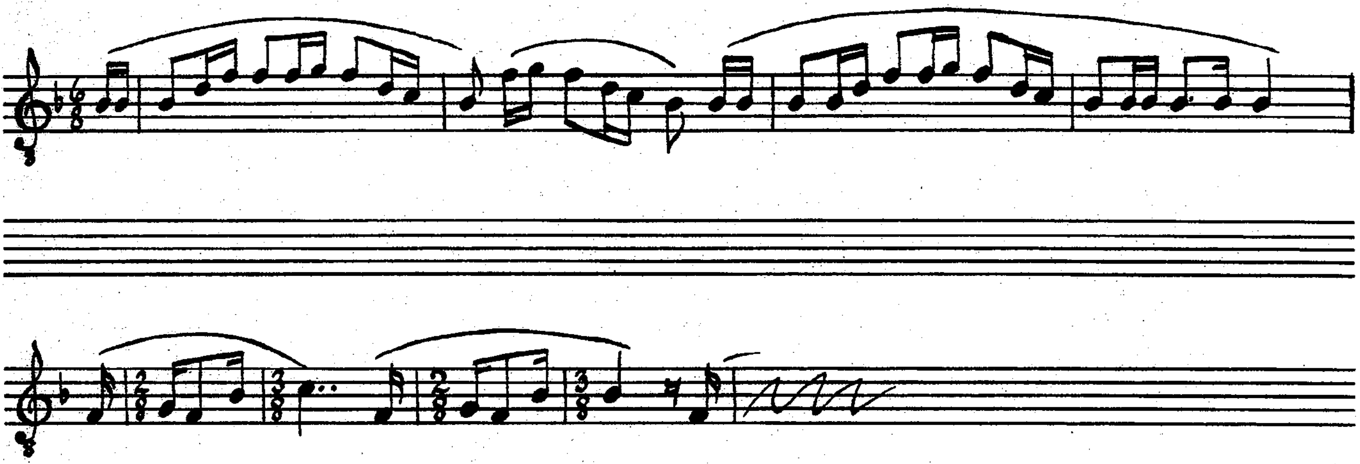
ARCHIVES


84.
washint
animals, voices & krar
(cow)
85.
sheep
3
86.
cough
(sheep)
87.
lamb
88.
whistle
bird #1
89.
90.
91.
sheep
3

ARCHIVES


washint
animals, voices & krar
92.
93.
whistle
bird #2
whistle
bird #3
cow
VIII
Dai!

ARCHIVES



Transcription 5: M.1. *Hailalo. Meseret* -- vocals. *washint. krar. masinqo. & kebero*

- The disturbances on the tape are due to the fact that this recording was conducted during and outdoors public performance.

The score:

- The *kebero* is not a pitched instrument. It is notated in the score to differentiate it from the hand claps.

- The *masinqo* continues to play throughout the song. However, it is not notated for individual notes cannot be determined from the matrix. The *masinqo* part mainly enhances the texture by playing an ostinato pattern centering on the pitch Bb$_3$, as does the *krar.*

- The lead singer sometimes changes between the strophes.

- In the Da Capo sections, the *washint* plays slightly different variations each time.

Legend:

♪ = claps.

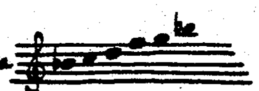
{ ♫ } = pitches are uncertain.

{-------} = pitches cannot be determined.

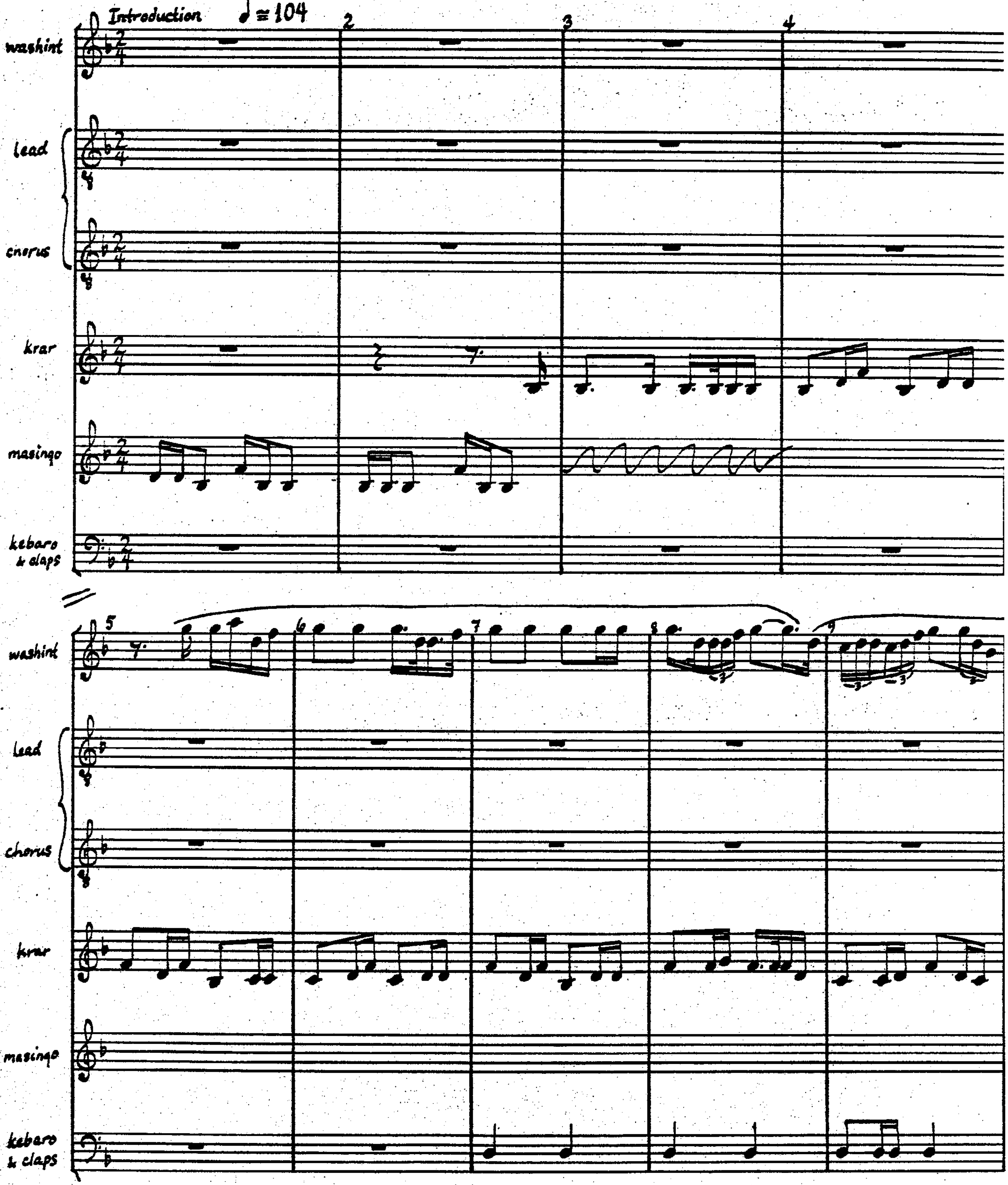
(♩) = pitch less audible.

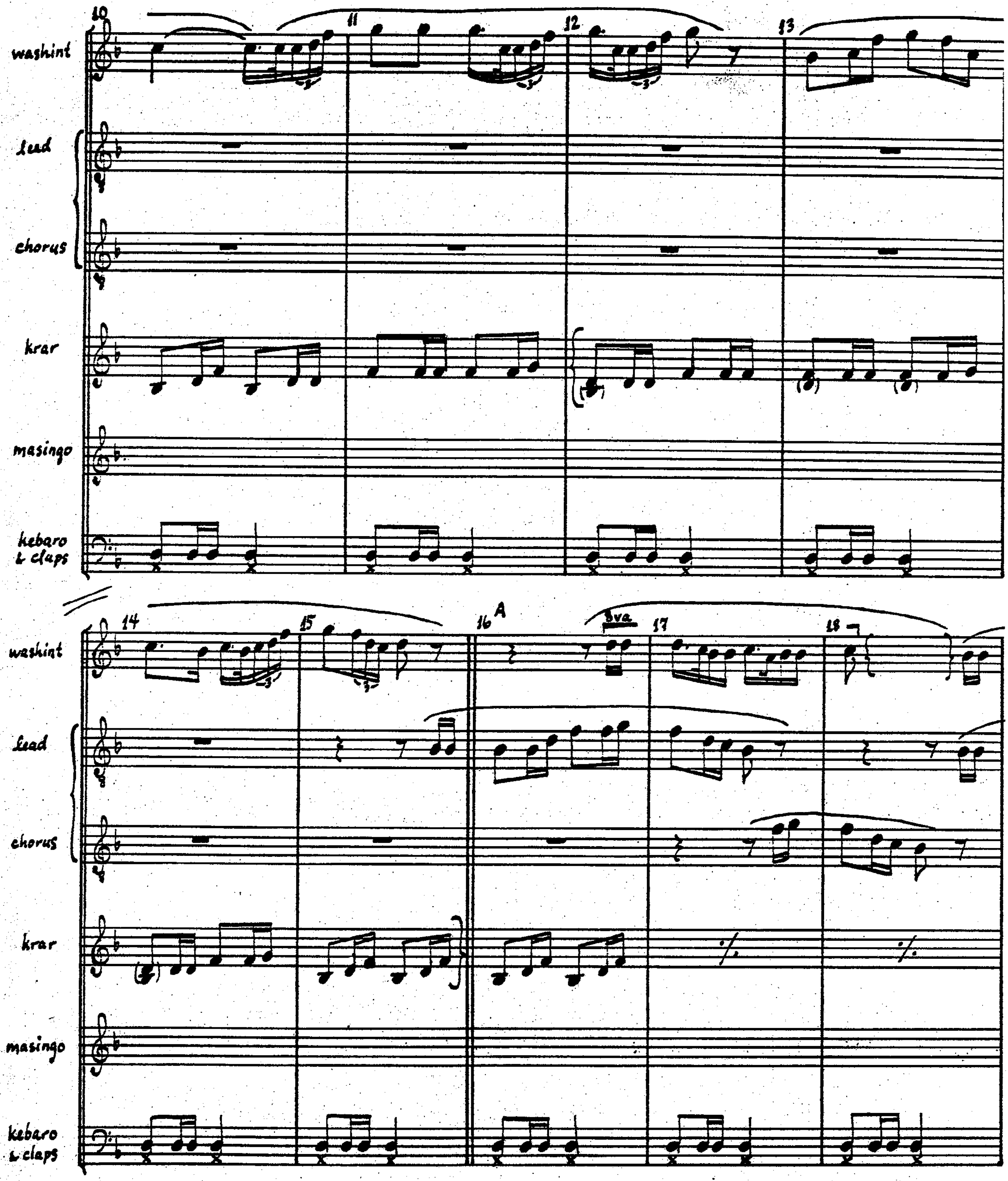
II. 〰〰〰 = ululation. Roman numeral refers to the chorus number.

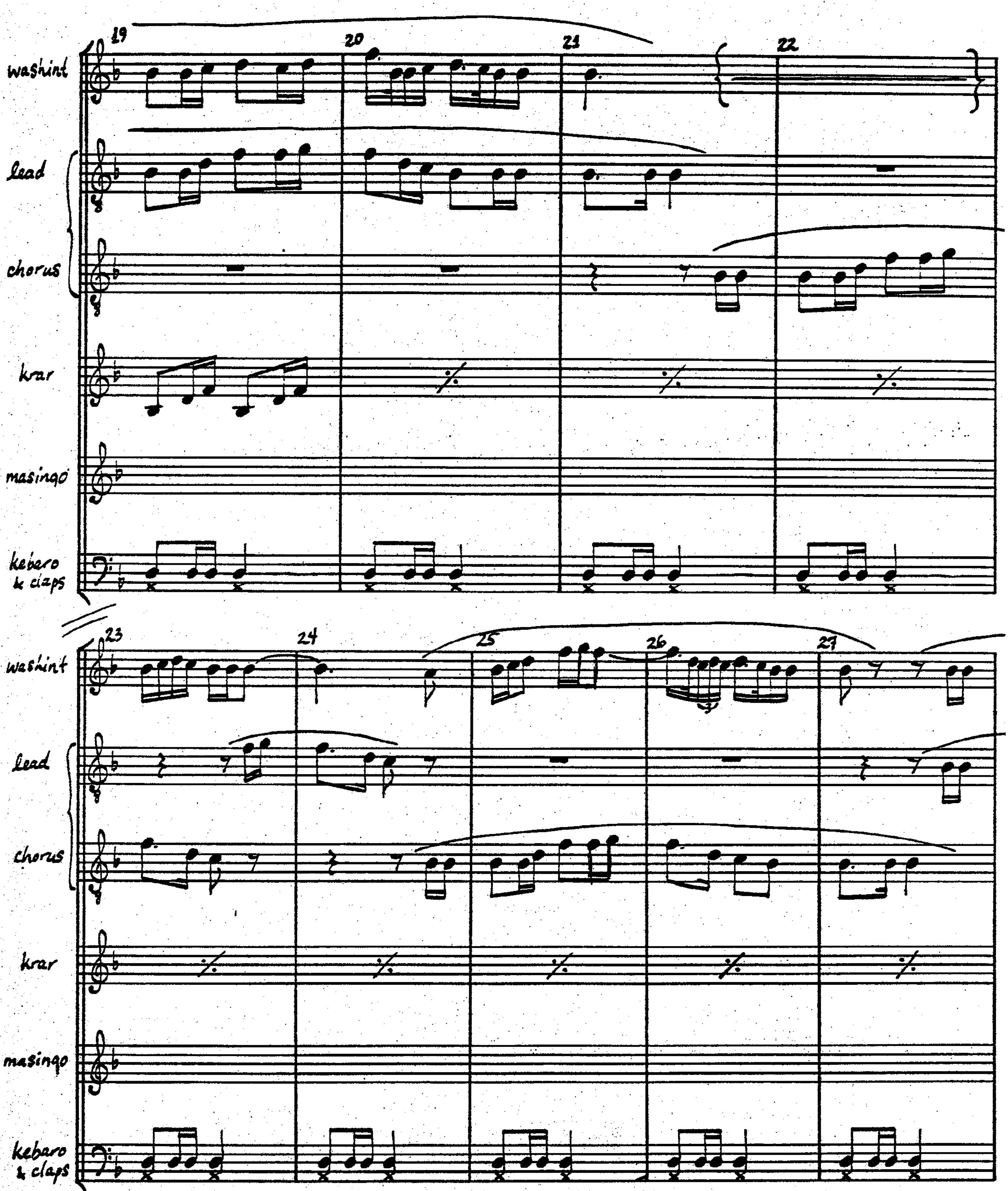
mode: tezeta

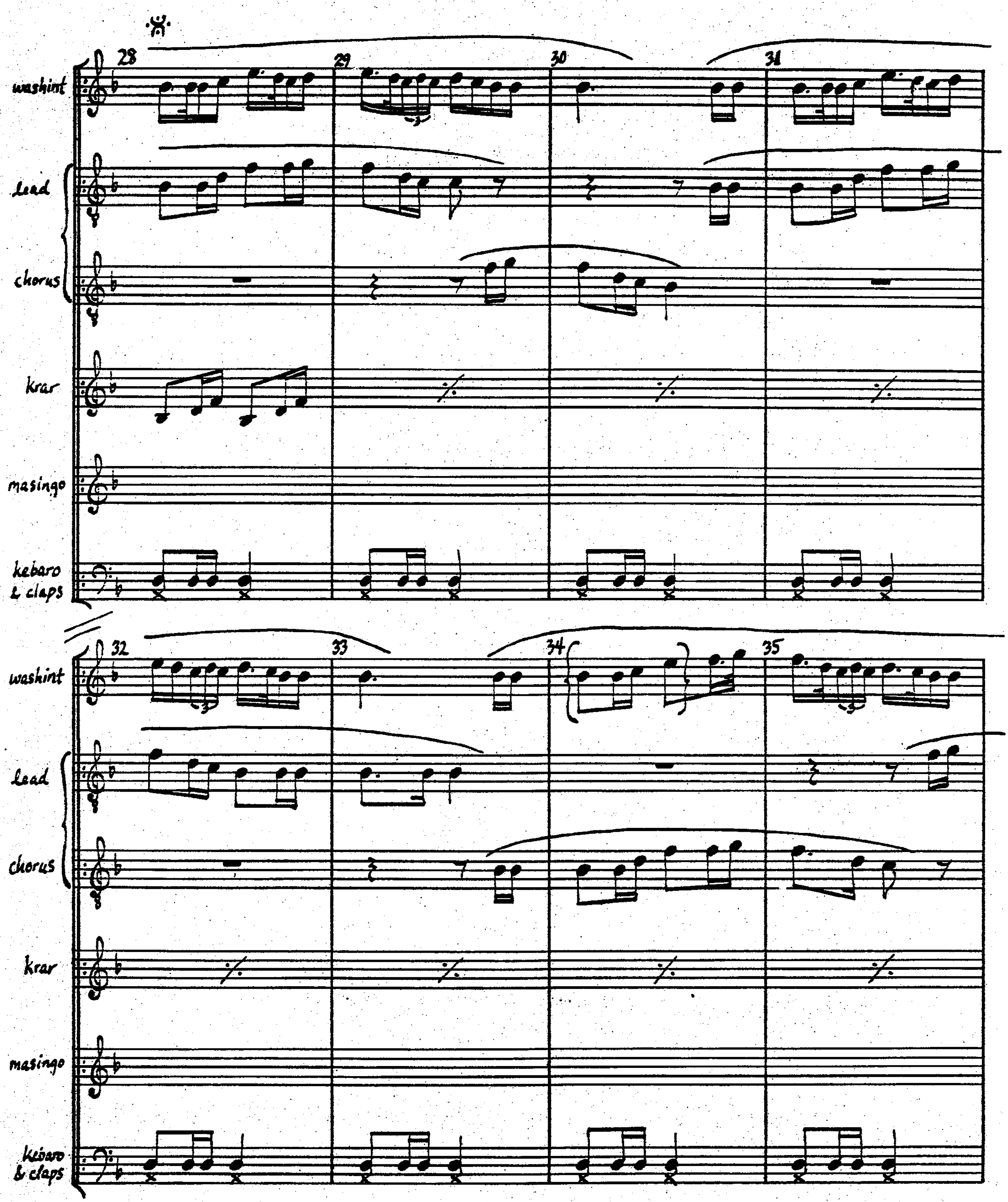


Song M.1 Hailalo, Meseret -- vocals, washint, krar, masinqo & kebaro

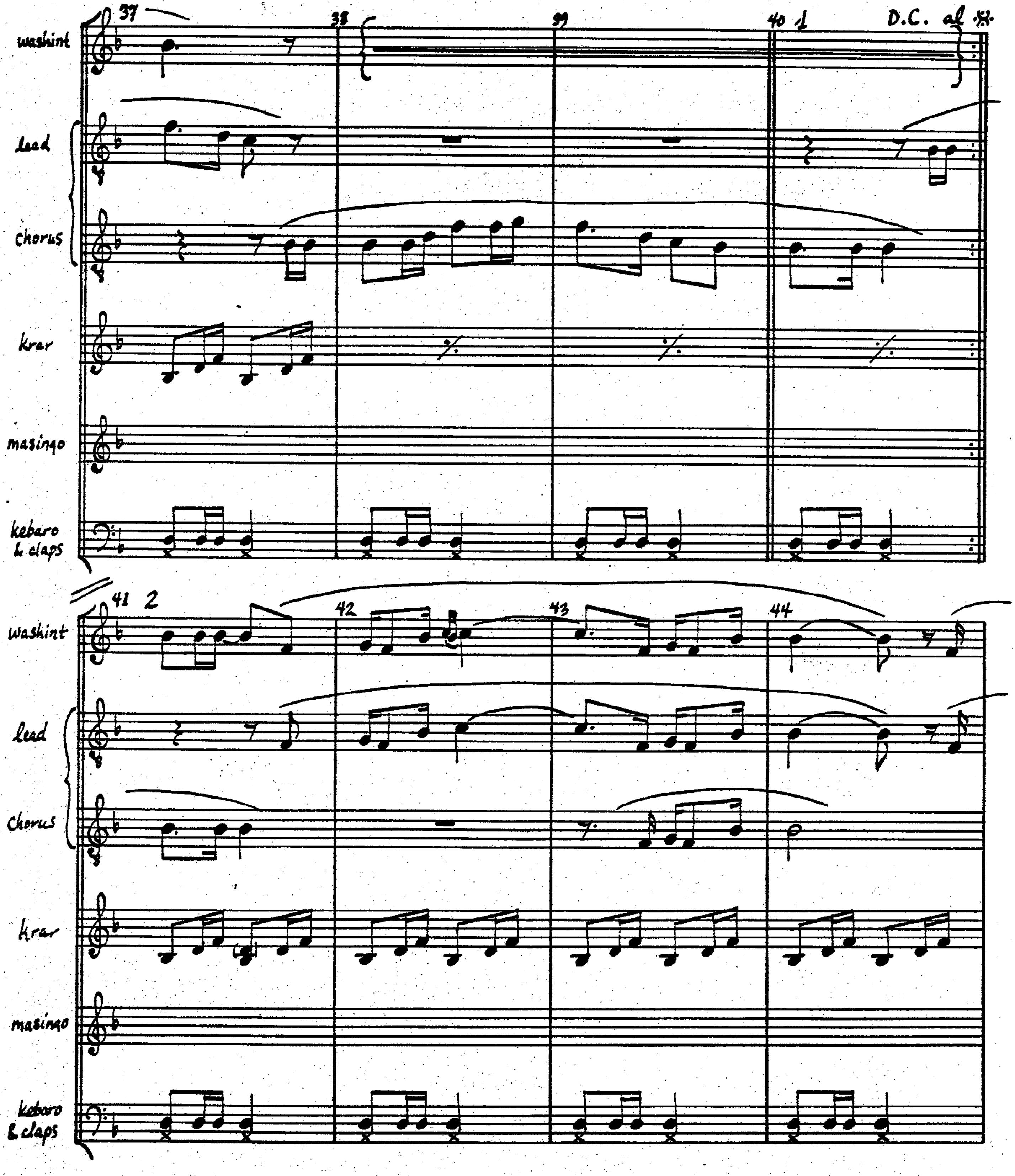

Introduction
♩ ≅ 104
washint
lead
chorus
krar
masinqo
kebaro & claps
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
3

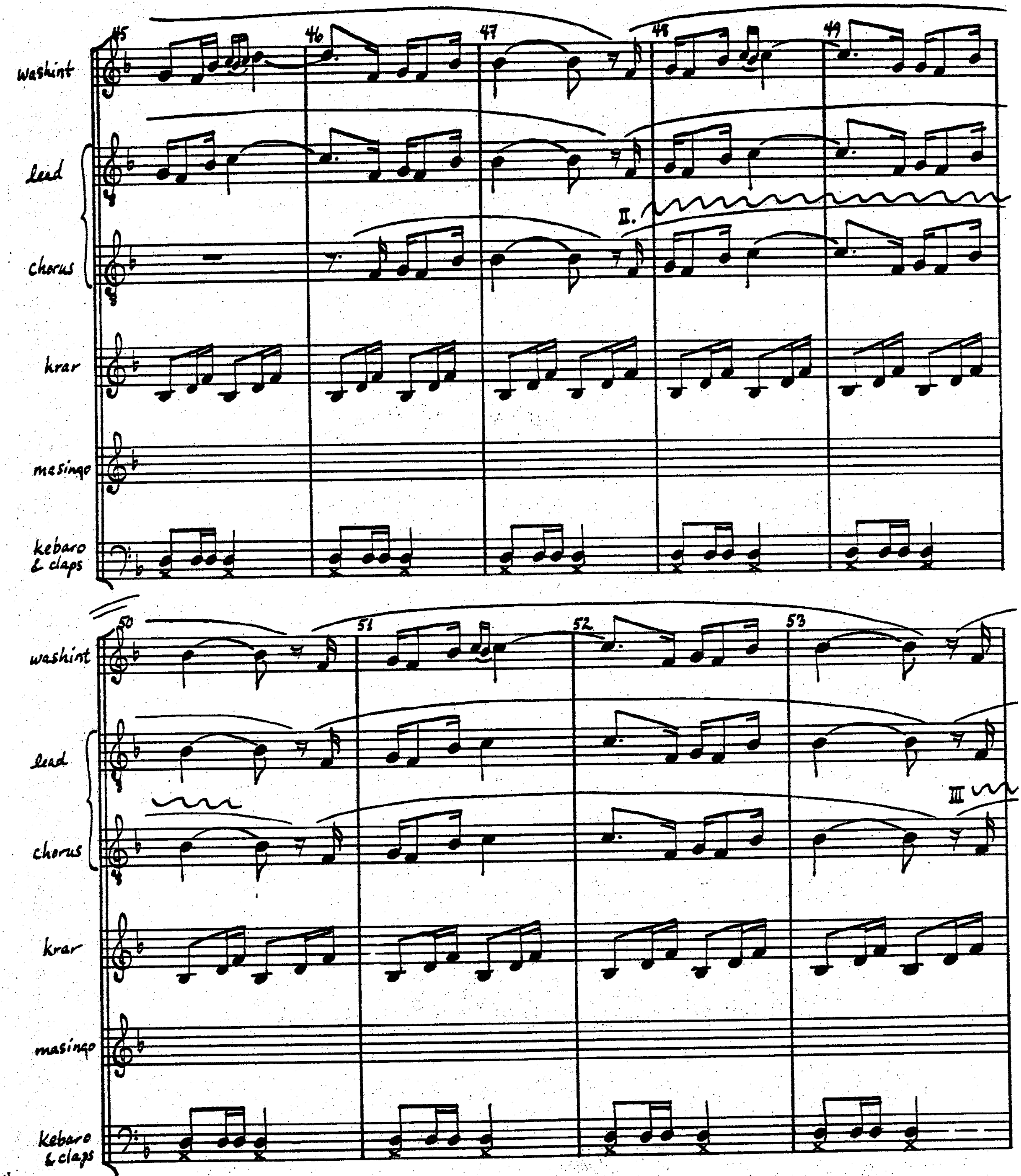

washint
lead
chorus
krar
masingo
kebaro & claps
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
A
8va
17
18
3

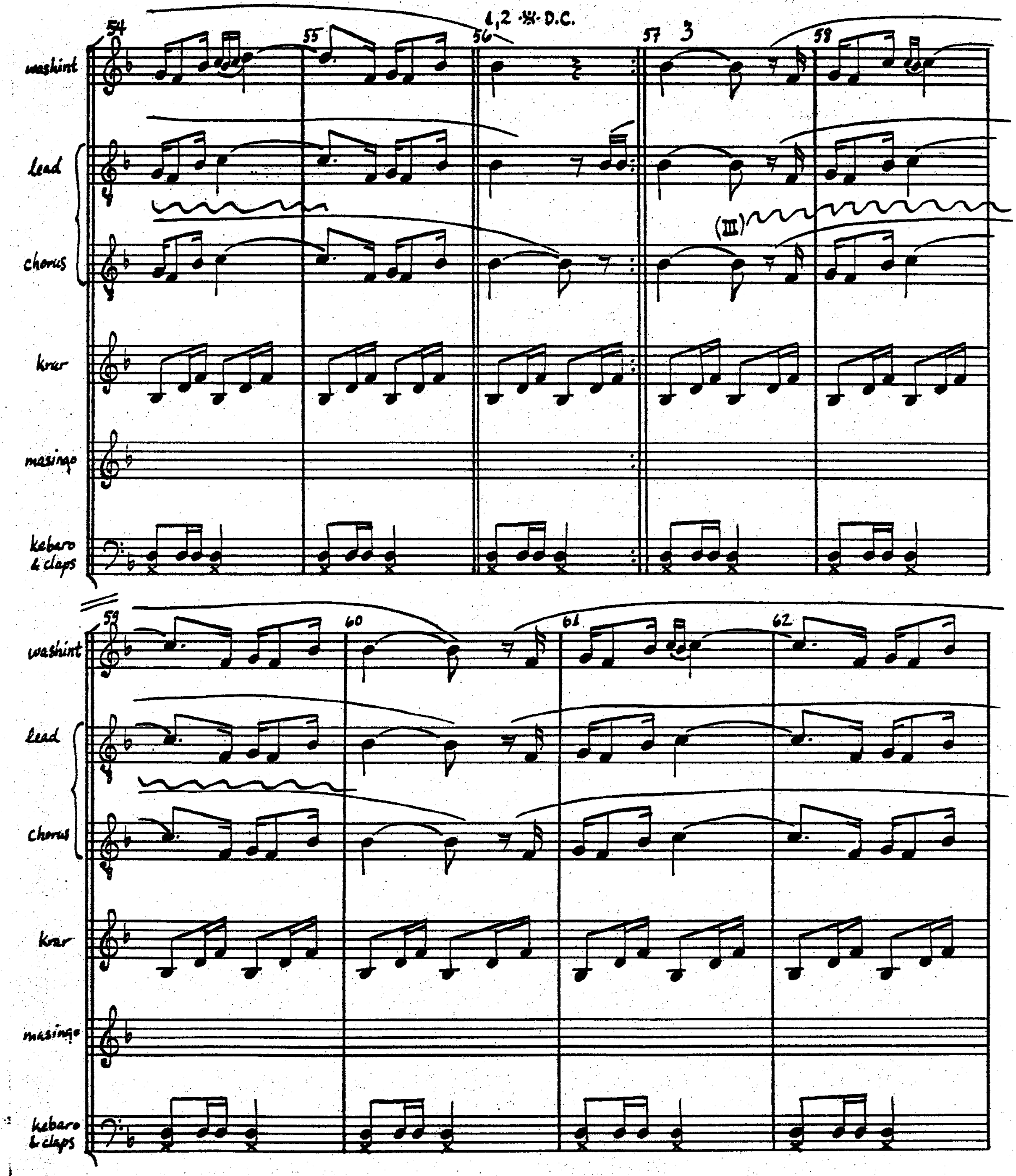

19
20
21
22
washint
lead
chorus
krar
masinqo
kebero & claps
23
24
25
26
27
washint
lead
chorus
krar
masinqo
kebaro & claps

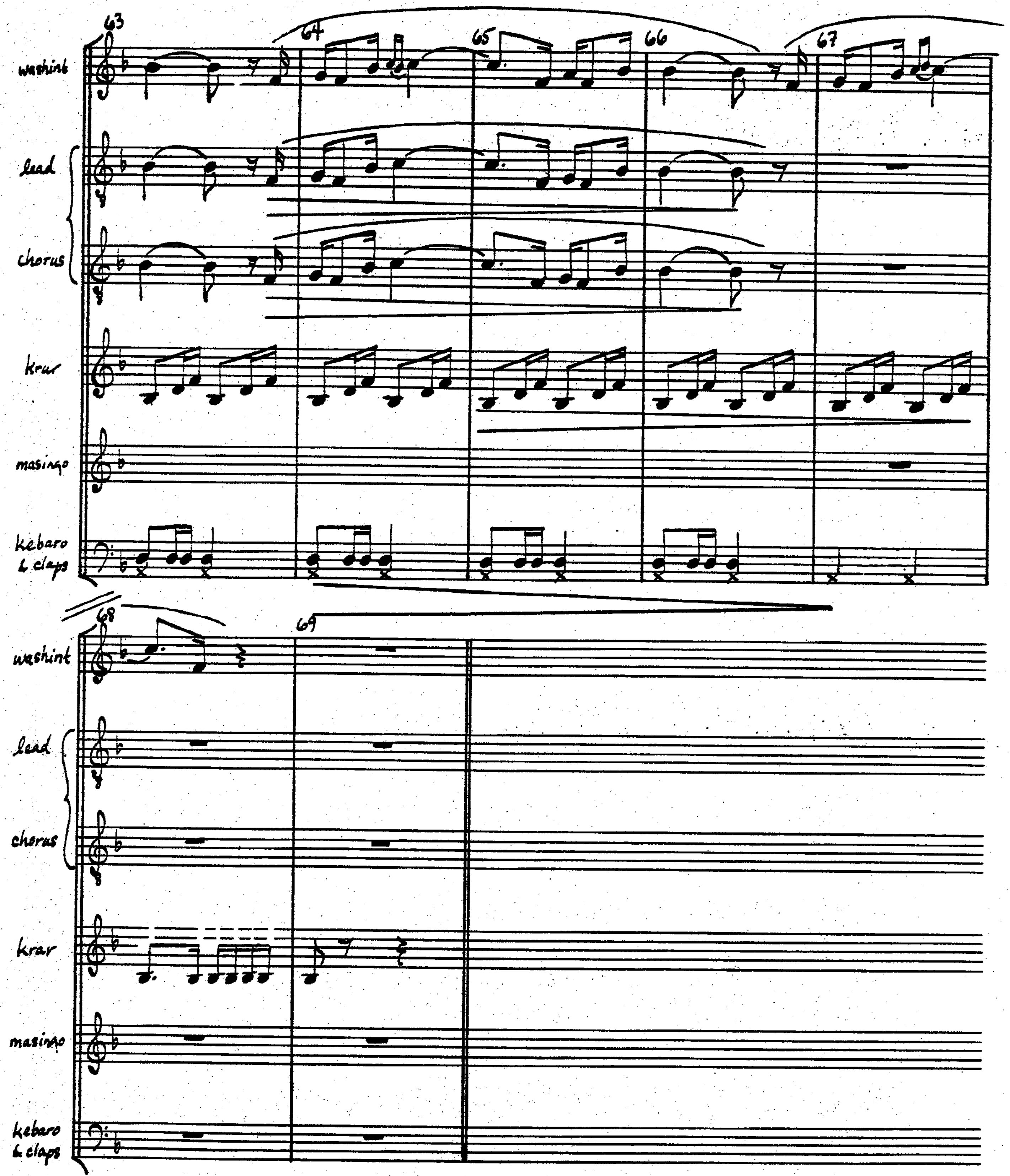


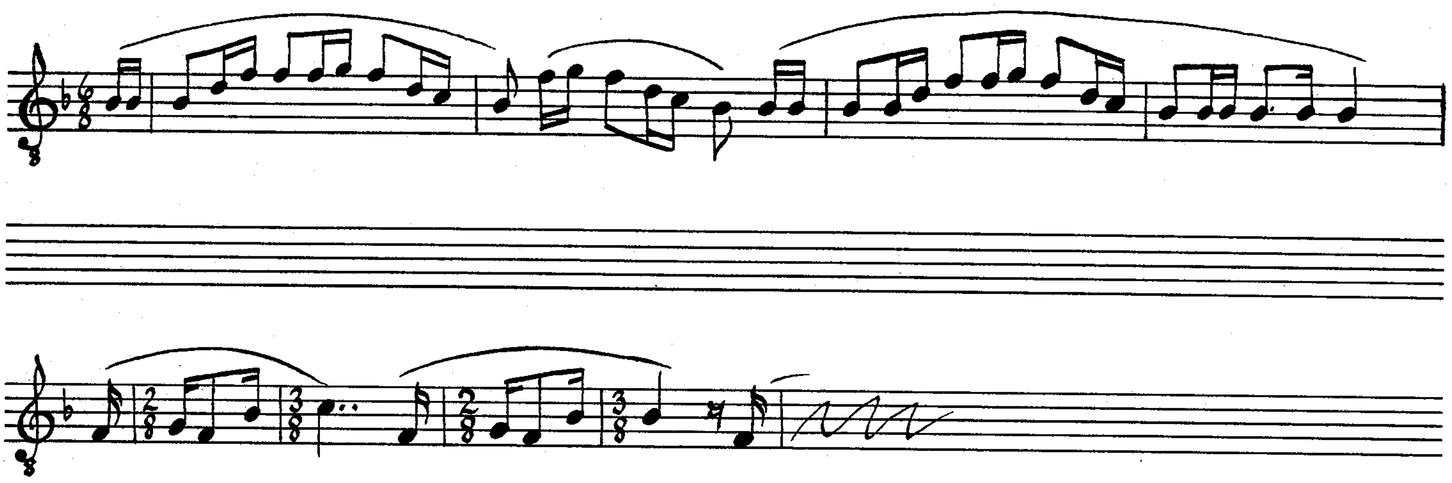
ሽ
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
washint
lead
chorus
krar
masingo
kebaro & claps


washint
lead
chorus
krar
masinqo
kebaro & claps
37
38
39
40
1
D.C. al 𝄋
41
2
42
43
44


45
46
47
48
49
washint
lead
II.
chorus
krar
mesinqo
kebaro & claps
50
51
52
53
washint
lead
III
chorus
krar
masinqo
Kebaro & claps


1,2 𝄋 D.C.
3
(III)
washint
lead
chorus
krar
masingo
kebaro & claps
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62


63
64
65
66
67
washint
lead
chorus
krar
masingo
kebaro & claps
68
69
washint
lead
chorus
krar
masingo
kebaro & claps



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