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M'EVEL L'YOM-TOV (FROM MOURNING TO FESTIVAL): ISRAELI MUSIC FOR YOM HAZIKARON AND YOM HAATZMA'UT

This thesis deals with the body of Israeli popular music for Yom Hazikaron (Memorial Day for the Fallen of the Israel Defense Forces and the Victims of Terror) and Yom Haatzma'ut (Independence Day) and examines the role that this music plays in Israeli civil religion. The goal of the research was to determine the meaning and function of the music for Israeli participants in civil religious rituals and ceremonies. This work furthers the study of secular "religion" in Israel and gives insights into how music functions as a liturgy for Yom Hazikaron and Yom Haatzma'ut. I found that this body of music serves many parallel functions to synagogue music: bringing participants together as a community, marking place and time, uplifting the spirit, and giving Israelis a ritualized way to express their connection to a shared history and their hope and vision for a better future.

The thesis is divided into an introduction and five chapters. Chapter One deals with the nature of secular Judaism in Israel; Chapter Two overviews history and customs for Yom Hazikaron and Yom Haatzma'ut in Israel; Chapter Three examines secular liturgies written for the two holidays; Chapter Four looks at how music functions in ceremonies for the holidays; and Chapter Five examines the significance of music in communal singing rituals. Sources include scholarly studies done in Israel about the holidays, civil religion, and Israeli music as well as my own investigative research and experiences during the holidays in 2006. I also analyze texts and music appropriate to the subject.

M'EVEL L'YOM-TOV (FROM MOURNING TO FESTIVAL): ISRAELI MUSIC FOR YOM HAZIKARON AND YOM HAATZMA'UT

BY

MIA FRAM DAVIDSON

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CONTENTS

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INTRODUCTION

Throughout my time working as a synagogue musician and in Cantorial School, I have been interested in the way that synagogue music touches even the most agnostic of Jews. Something about it transcends doubt and cynicism and allows people to participate in a praying community. In Israel, I discovered a parallel example of this phenomenon: Israeli folk music. Secular Israeli Jews, who are largely agnostic, attend ceremonial events and community gatherings where they sing for hours the Songs of the Land of Israel, a body of popular music that expresses the core values of classical Zionism and Israeli society. Following the lead of other researchers, I conceptualized the ceremonial events as civil religion, seeing it as parallel to traditional religion but in a secular vein.

How does this music speak to people who don't acknowledge God but do acknowledge another transcendent power: individual Jews united to build a new society, one that is intimately connected to its land, history, culture, and language?

This thesis challenged me, as I had never worked in this direction before. I conducted my research in a new country with a different language and musical sensibility. Understanding the transcendent significance of the events depended on personal interviews and cultural studies. I tried to understand what insiders (Israelis) saw in the events, and felt while singing and listening to the music, while maintaining my outsider's (American Cantorial student's) perspective and neutrality.

This thesis is about the impact of secular music (as God is never mentioned) with clear religious overtones. I begin by looking at secularism through Zionist history and

the writings of pioneering Zionist philosophers. Chapter Two overviews the history and customs of Yom Hazikaron and Yom Haatzma'ut in Israeli civil religion, and Chapter Three examines some secular liturgy that has been written for the holidays. I located examples of liturgy that follow traditional Jewish prayer patterns but completely excise the name of God and God's power in the universe from the texts. Chapters Four and Five study how music works as text in itself and how it functions in the context of Israeli civil religion.

I found that this body of music serves many parallel functions to synagogue music: bringing participants together as a community, marking place and time, uplifting the spirit, and giving Israelis a ritualized way to express their connection to a shared history and their hope and vision for a better future. The content of this musical canon is certainly worth further study for anyone connected to Israel or searching for Jewish meaning beyond God-centered spirituality. I now begin this study with the philosophy and history of Israeli secularism.

CHAPTER ONE

SECULAR JUDAISM IN ISRAEL:

PHILOSOPHY, PRACTICE, AND CIVIL RELIGION

The nature and spectrum of secular Jews in Israel is complicated and broad. On a most basic level, the secularists define themselves in relation to the religious Jews who observe *halachah*, while the secular population tends to reject much of Jewish law. Secular Israeli Jews often believe that simply by living in the state of Israel they are Jewish by nationality and have no need for religious practice.

Modern Israeli secularism has its roots in the Zionist movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The role of Judaism in the future state, particularly, concerned many of the founding Zionist thinkers. Three secular Zionists of this time— Ahad Ha'am (1856-1927), Micah Joseph Berdichevsky (1865-1921), and Berl Katznelson (1887-1944)—among others, sought to develop variations of a meaningful secular Jewish identity for the collective people and for the individual Jew. These philosophies helped shape the Jewish "practice" of secular Israelis and led, eventually (albeit unintended) to the development of Israeli civil religion.

Philosophy and Practice

Ahad Ha'am was born Asher Zvi Ginsberg in Russian Ukraine into a pious family high in the Jewish aristocracy. He gradually rejected his Hasidic background in favor of Enlightenment and *Haskalah* and lost his religious faith. Instead of traditional religion, Ahad Ha'am favored Jewish ethnicity, morals, and culture as the basis of Jewish

peoplehood. The movement begun by Ahad Ha'am came to be called "Cultural Zionism." This branch of Zionism foresaw that the Land of Israel would become a cultural center for Jews around the world. There, Jews would express their national identity in a secular, modern way and thereby strengthen Jewish identity in the Diaspora as well.

Ahad Ha'am advocated the development of a national infrastructure supporting participation in national Jewish culture:

> Complete national life involves two things: first, full play for the creative faculties of the nation in a specific national culture of its own, and, second, a system of education whereby the individual members of the nation will be thoroughly imbued with that culture, so molded by it that its imprint will be recognizable in all their way of life and thought. (1909, 273)

In Ahad Ha'am's vision, the Jews will have their own language, land, and society. Shimoni summarizes,

> It was... a secular identity of normative character that Ahad Ha'am epitomized and advocated, one bound to certain fixed philosophical outlooks and moral principles no less than to the Hebrew language, the Land of Israel, and the society of the Jews. (1995, 278)

In summary, Ahad Ha'am envisioned a secular identity for modern Jews in Israel, one based vaguely on Jewish culture, language, and land—not on religion.

Micah Joseph Berdichevsky was Ahad Ha'am's strongest opponent. Born in Russia, Berdichevsky was a scholar of Talmud, Kabbalah, and Hasidism. Like Ahad Ha'am, he discovered works by enlightenment authors and could not reconcile his modern sensibilities with the tradition into which he was born. Berdichevsky fled from Jewish tradition completely, although he tended to romanticize it to some extent in his writings.

He argued that there could be no synthesis between modernity and tradition as proposed by cultural Zionists. Instead, he urged for a real break from the past. Jews, in Berdichevsky's view, must create a new, secular culture based solely on the individual and Jewish nationalism. Berdichevsky promoted individualism and radical secularism as the best path for Zionism to follow.

For Berdichevsky, Jews have become a "culture of the book" to their own detriment. Rabbinic Judaism, in "Yavneh ... symbolizes the supremacy of the written word over life, a dominion that leads to a retreat from natural life, abstraction, enslavement to legalisms, a passive bravery that involves submission before the might of life" (Luz 1988, 166). Jews have left their ancestral roots and misplaced their values. Berdichevsky sees the solution to the problems of Judaism in the creation of a "culture of the sword," as represented by Jerusalem, not Yavneh. "Jerusalem represents the period before 'the tyranny of the written word,' a period distinguished by its adherence to explicitly secular values: natural beauty, spontaneity, an intimacy with nature, and, of course, active bravery" (Luz 1988, 166). Berdichevsky idealizes the pre-exilic period as containing the lost secular values he wishes to reestablish.

Berdichevsky's proposed "New Jew" is connected to the land and free of all bonds: both to other people and to the Law. He clearly supports the primacy of the individual Jew over Judaism itself. Each individual, as they choose to express themselves with their own freedom, represents the ideal Jew. Berdichevsky writes,

> The resurrection of Israel depends on a revolution—the Jews must come first, before Judaism—the living man, before the legacy of his ancestors. We must cease to be Jews by virtue of an abstract Judaism and become Jews in our own right, as a living and developing nationality. (1900-1903, 294)

Berdichevsky's view emphasizes individualism—a value definitely expressed in modern Israeli identity. Examples abound, from ignoring (or not even noticing!) no-smoking signs; to the number of small, one-issue parties in the Knesset. Historically, collectivism balances individualism in Israeli culture. *Kibbutz* communality and mandated army service reflect the reliance on *klal Yisrael* (Jewish peoplehood) and communal responsibility. Israeli society in the last ten years has moved more towards individualism, a stance that can be problematic, as we will see later with regard to evading army service and resuscitating communal bonds.

Also born in Russia, Berl Katznelson was strongly influenced by his father, an educated Jew. Katznelson spent his childhood immersed in Hebrew literature. As an adult, Katznelson ceased practicing *halachah* but retained many customs, such as Passover (Shapira 1984, 18). "Berl, the disciple of Russian revolutionaries and, at the same time, of Berdichevsky, combined rationalism with something beyond logic and intellect, and felt a profound affinity for traditional Jewish symbols" (Shapira 1984,184). Thus, through his work with the Social Zionist movement, Katznelson built a bridge between the radically secular world of Berdichevsky and the Russian revolution and the symbols and meaning found in traditional Judaism.

According to Katznelson, Zionism should be careful to retain aspects of the tradition that fit with modern sensibilities and make them meaningful in the modern context.

> A renewing and creative generation does not throw the cultural heritage of ages into the dustbin. It examines and scrutinizes, accepts and rejects. At times it may keep and add to an accepted tradition. At times it descends into ruined grottoes to excavate and remove the dust from that which had lain in forgetfulness, in order to resuscitate old traditions which have the

> power to stimulate the spirit of the generation of renewal. (Katznelson 1934, 292-3)

In the spirit of renewal, Katznelson placed special emphasis on celebration of Jewish holidays such as Tisha B'Av and Passover. Of Passover, he wrote: "I know of no other remembrance of the past that is so entirely a symbol of our present and future" (1934, 294). The *seder*, in Katznelson's vision, became an important retelling of Jewish past that foretells Zionist self-redemption in the present and future. New *haggadot* were written by the *kibbutzim* to celebrate the *seder* in this fashion. Katznelson also wrote a special *Yizkor* memorial prayer for the martyrs of Tel Hai (see Zerubavel 1995 for a discussion of this historic event in the development of civil religion and collective memory). The prayer combines traditional symbols with secular peoplehood, saying "*Yizkor Am Yisrael*" (the people of Israel will remember) instead of "*Yizkor Elohim*" (God will remember). The use of the genre "*Yizkor*" evokes powerful Jewish symbolism, but the content is reinterpreted and rewritten to reflect modern agnosticism. As we will see at length in Chapter Three, Katznelson pioneered secular liturgical development.

Katznelson's reinvention of the tradition but in a modern context closely resembles the holiday practice of many secular Israelis, nearly all of whom retain some aspects of Jewish tradition: circumcising their sons on the eighth day, for instance, and living by the Jewish calendar. Many build *sukkot* with their families and hold *seders* every year with modified texts that speak to their own beliefs.

In the last ten years, a change seems to have occurred in some aspects of secular Jewish life in Israel. Some of the descendents of those making a radical break with tradition seek more meaning in their lives—they want to reclaim some of the tradition

their parents and grandparents knew and rejected. Indeed, many options for Jewish revival have sprung up across the country, including secular prayer communities and *batei midrash.* Even among those who do not frequent the *batei midrash*, there is a growing urge to become more and more familiar with the "*aron hasefarim hayehudi*," the "Jewish bookcase." The secular community, though non-*halachic*, certainly possesses sufficient Jewish knowledge and Hebrew language ability to open the door easily into Jewish learning. Its members are familiar with the Jewish calendar because they live by it; they speak Hebrew fluently; and even if they don't know who the Rambam was, they know that there is a hospital in Haifa named for him. Indeed, many seculars are now voicing an objection against the religious community for claiming a monopoly on Jewish tradition as if they alone possess it, and are trying to reclaim it for themselves.

Civil Religion

Zionism replaced the image of the thin, poor yeshiva student in the Diaspora with the "New Jew" who is strong, self-reliant, close to the land, and secular. This "New Jew" is Jewish by belonging to the Jewish people and acting in history to rebuild Zion. A civil religion developed for secular Israelis that, like all civil religions, contained a central belief system, symbolic language, and ceremonial practices. Leibman and Don-Yehiya define civil religion as "ceremonials, myths, and creeds which legitimate the social order, unite the population, and mobilize the society's members in pursuit of its dominant political goals. Civil religion is that which is most holy and sacred in the political culture" (1983, 9). In Israel's case, its symbolic language and ceremonial practices to

some extent are traditionally Jewish; however, its theological center is the state of Israel, not God. Indeed, the focus on the state rather than God characterizes all civil religions.

Israeli civil religion tends to employ traditional Jewish symbols but reinterpret them in nationalist understandings. For example, the word *avodah* is transformed from Temple service and prayer into the holy work of agriculture and manual labor. Festival holidays continue to be observed, but in their earlier agricultural form. Hebrew, the ancient language of the bible and prayer, is revived as a spoken language—and knowledge of it is considered a holy act. Another poignant example can be found in the debate surrounding memorial plaques in memory of terrorist victims. Secular Jews, following Katznelson, tend to promote the phrase *Nizkor* ("we will remember") in place of a more traditional *Yizkor* ("God will remember"). The change maintains the symbolic structure of a Jewish memorial, yet focuses on the people of Israel, as opposed to the God of Israel, remembering.

The holiest days on the civil religious calendar celebrate the state and memorialize those who sacrificed their lives for it. These holidays, Yom Hazikaron (Memorial Day for the Fallen of the Israel Defense Forces and the Victims of Terror) and Yom Haatzma'ut (Independence Day) will be discussed in depth in the next chapters.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY AND CUSTOMS OF YOM HAZIKARON AND YOM HAATZMA'UT

Israeli civil religion culminates each year in the commemorations and celebrations of Memorial Day for the Fallen of the Israel Defense Forces and the Victims of Terror (Yom Hazikaron) and Independence Day (Yom Haatzma'ut). As one might expect, given the need to be both "religious" and "civil," the symbols and language of holidays are Jewish but largely if not completely devoid of God. The holidays together form a narrative of the glory and sacrifices made by the soldiers of the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) as they fought to create and maintain the state of Israel. Within a very short two-day period, intense commemoration and celebration makes the sacrifice and miracle of the establishment of the modern state of Israel come alive, in such a way as to situate the latter as a direct consequence of the former. On one day, that is, Israel remembers its fallen heroes; on the next, it celebrates what their self-sacrifice brought about.

The difference between these two holidays and other holidays that celebrate miracles (such as Chanukah) is clear: the Jewish people themselves acted in history to bring about the miraculous redemption. The Rabbis went to great length to remove human role in defeating Antiochus from the Channukah story. The *Amidah* insert virtually ignores the military and focuses instead on the miracle that God brought about; the historical books of the Maccabees were omitted from the canon of the Hebrew Bible; and the Talmudic *sugya* begins with the miracle of the oil, ignoring the military bravery. For Yom Hazikaron and Yom Haatzma'ut, the reverse phenomenon exists. God's might

and ability to bring miracles is censored out of the story. Instead, we find military parables, stories of individual bravery, and songs of human empowerment.

History

Memorial Day and Independence Day fall one day after another on the fourth and fifth of Iyar. The two holidays form a meaningful unit together, as Israel has an intrinsic need to memorialize those soldiers who gave up their lives for the independence and continuation of the state of Israel. In addition, Memorial Day comes exactly one week after Holocaust Commemoration Day, Yom Hashoah. The days in between the two commemorations are dark and somber. The ordering of the holidays as such leads history to be viewed in a similar succession—the suffering of the Holocaust led to the Jewish people's ability to fight for their own state, and in the ultimate creation of the State of Israel. Thus, in the eyes of the Israeli public there is a direct line drawn from the Holocaust to the fight for independence of the State of Israel to the culmination in Independence Day. This ideology, that the State of Israel was founded as a direct response to the Holocaust, has received second thoughts in recent years, yet still remains potently reflected in the Israeli civil religious holiday cycle.

Independence Day takes its location in the calendar from the date when Ben Gurion announced from Tel Aviv that Israel was an independent state. The Declaration of Independence was proclaimed on Friday afternoon, the fourteenth of May, 1948, which corresponded to the Hebrew date of the fifth of Iyar. A law passed in the Knesset in 1963 formalized the link of Memorial Day as the day before Independence Day, though this had been the custom for some time. Indeed, in 1950 the government

dedicated the day before Independence Day to the memory of those who died in the War of Independence. The powerful link between the two holidays "is a bond intended to reflect the fact that, above all, thanks are offered to the children whose utter devotion and heroism gave the people national independence" (Schweid 2000, 292).

The transition between mourning and celebration can be extreme and wrenching, especially for families of those being memorialized. However, as Schweid comments, "Precisely on the day when Israel rejoices in political independence, those who gave their lives for the victory and defended it must be remembered; there must be a connection between mourning and joy" (2000, 299). This link recurs in other places in Jewish practice. For example, in Ashkenazi custom as modified by *Minhag Polin* (the custom of most Jews who hail from Eastern Europe), during the Three Festivals, when joy and celebration are particularly mandated, one reads traditionally reads the *Yizkor* memorial.

Commemorations and Celebrations

Although Memorial Day is officially an ordinary work day, many customs make it unique in the Israeli calendar. On Memorial Day, a siren blares for one-minute at night, and two-minutes in the morning while "human life stands still" (Handelman and Katz 1995, 77). Traffic stops, and people stand at attention in honor and memory of fallen soldiers. Commemorations take place at monuments, army cemeteries, and, in the evening, at the *Kotel*. Memorial Day traditions include the lighting of torches, lowering the flag to half-mast, presentation of wreaths, a military *Yizkor*, and eulogies (Leibman and Don-Yehiya 1983, 119). Moreover, "Memorial Day... is rich in religious associations. Public ceremonies include the reciting of the traditional Jewish prayer for

the dead. Indeed, in the national ceremony broadcast by radio, the prayer is chanted by a professional cantor" (Leibman and Don-Yehiya 1983, 154).

Yom Hazikaron in Israel is a truly somber day. Israelis all know someone who has been killed in war or in a terrorist attack. Because of the raw reality of this closeness to death, Yom Hazikaron contains within it a powerful poignancy. Music plays a major role in the commemorations: in ceremonies, on the radio, and on television. All venues of entertainment are closed, including many light television stations which instead broadcast sad stories about lost loved ones or the *Galatz* radio station, which plays classic Israeli music. The radio stations play sad folk music and army music, much of which exudes a simple, mournful beauty. Music thus pervades all of Israel on Yom Hazikaron, expresses the common bond of mourning and yearning for those who have died.

Independence Day celebrations have changed throughout Israel's fifty-year history. In contrast to Memorial Day, Independence Day goes back officially to the early state period. At its inception, it was marked by riotous celebration. According to Schweid, Independence Day was an "inherently secular event, initiated by the institutional authority of the political state in order to express joy at the achievement of its own existence" (2000, 291). Secular events included open-air stages, dancing in streets, singing, house-parties at night, family picnics, and fireworks. National ceremonies emphasized history and military strength in Israel's secular context. "They neither begin with a prayer, involve the participation of a rabbi, nor evoke any religious association" (Leibman and Don-Yehiya 1983, 153). The main event in the 1950's-'60's was the military parade, which was designed to exhibit Israel's strength and to show that Israel is an established state like any other.

Symbols of the community of Israel and its unity abounded, not just the military parades, but flags in general, and all sorts of processions. Beginning in 1954, the Israel Prize was awarded on Independence Day to twelve people (representing the twelve tribes) who had achieved excellence in their field. Trees were planted, and new buildings, monuments, and parks were dedicated. "The joy of Independence Day is presumed to be the natural and spontaneous response of the soul to the bountiful good which it sees in the existing achievement" (Schweid 2000, 293). Newly emergent home rituals for Independence Day included *seders* modeled after Passover celebrations and festive meals with a reading of the Declaration of Independence. In the next chapter we will examine one of these *haggadot* for Yom Haatzma'ut in detail.

The pre-1948 *Yishuv* culture changed dramatically with the mass influx of immigrants in the years immediately following independence. With the population change, which converted the very secular socialist era into what is generally called the period of statism, traditional religious symbols began to penetrate further into Israeli secular culture, though (in accord with the civil religious needs of the state) they were still reinterpreted in relation to that state, not to God (Leibman and Don-Yehiya 1983, 165). It may be too, that as time went on even more, beyond the statist era, the national meaning of Independence Day eroded, leading more to celebrations more than ceremony. Specifically, Cantor Eli Schleifer adds that Independence Day is celebrated today through the television set: in the evening, the opening ceremony is broadcast live and watched by a great number of families. Stations broadcast special programming all day—song contests, programming, a youth bible competition, the Israel Prize ceremony—and people remain glued to their televisions rather than attending local or national ceremonies

(Schleifer 2005). While Memorial Day still remains poignant as a public act of witnessing the past, Independence Day requires a rejuvenation if it to continue as a powerful civil religious experience.

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS OF SELECTED LITURGY FOR YOM HAZIKARON AND YOM HAATZMA'UT: *YIZKOR* FOR FALLEN SOLDIERS AND *HAGGADAT HAATZMA'UT*

Yizkor

Many versions of the *Yizkor* prayer for fallen soldiers exist and are used to memorialize soldiers on Memorial Day, depending on the community present. I will examine two—the Orthodox Union *Yizkor* and the official IDF *Yizkor* as found on the IDF's Memorial Day website—and compare them in form to a traditional *Yizkor* "In Memory of Jewish Martyrs" as found in Birnbaum's *Ha-Siddur Ha-Shalem.*

The IDF *Yizkor* is a type of Liturgical Communal Memorial as defined by Freehof, since it "refer[s] to the dead which were to be honored by the entire community" (1966, 181). This liturgy developed from the remembrance of martyrs killed during the Crusades and the Black Death. The tradition became connected to Yom Kippur and (in eastern Europe – though not in Ashkenaz proper [*minhag Rinus*]) to the last day of the Three Festivals, when traditionally the *Yizkor* service is said in memory of family members and Jewish martyrs. Birnbaum's translation for *Yizkor* for Jewish martyrs follows (Hebrew text found in Appendix A):

> May God remember the souls of the saintly martyrs who have been slaughtered, burned, drowned or strangled for their loyalty to God. We pledge charity in their memory and pray that their souls be kept among the immortal souls of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, Leah, and all the righteous men and women in paradise; and let us say, Amen. (1999, 606)

The formula for this *Yizkor* asks God to remember the souls of the martyrs, and then lists how they may have died for the sake of *k'dushat haShem* (more commonly called *al Kiddush haShem*), translated here as "loyalty to God" but more literally, "For the Holiness of God's name." Then (as Freehof records it—many customs omit the next part) charity is pledged, and the hope is expressed that the martyrs' souls will rise to heaven with all the great heroes of the Jews. The congregation responds with *amen*.

The Orthodox Union *Yizkor* follows a similar pattern to the traditional *Yizkor* for martyrs, though it replaces generalities with details of their specific acts of heroism. The translation follows (Hebrew text found in Appendix A):

> **For Martyrs of the Israel Defense Force**
> May the L-ord remember the souls of the fighters of the Israel Defense Force who gave their lives for the sanctification of the Name, the People, and the Land; who died a heroic death in missions of liberation, defense and security. They were quicker than eagles and stronger than lions as they volunteered to assist the people and with their pure blood soaked the clods of our holy earth. The memory of their self-sacrifice and heroic deeds will never perish from us. May their souls be bound in the Bond of Life together with the souls of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and with the souls of the other Jewish heroes and martyrs who are in the Garden of Eden. Now let us respond: Amen. (2005)

The Orthodox Union's *Yizkor* asks for God to remember the souls of these specific martyrs who died for the sake of *k'dushat haShem* and also, interestingly, for the People and the Land of Israel. Why the addition? Perhaps there is an underlying understanding of the secular nature of many of the soldiers who did not die for God, but rather for Zionist ideals. The OU may be glorifying these fallen soldiers because of their heroic contribution to the people of Israel, regardless of their religious intentions. It may also be that service in securing the Land of Israel is considered service to God as well, since it is accord with the *haklakhic* intent of seeing their land as sacred. Whatever the reason, this

text omits the reference to giving charity in the memory of the martyrs, and instead asks that the memory of their sacrifice and heroism never fade from *our* memory. In place of a monetary contribution, their memory contributes to ideals of behavior that we seek to emulate. This change perhaps expresses the universalism of a prayer for fallen soldiers—instead of money spent to memorialize particular people in a community, their memory should live on through all Jews, everywhere. The prayer ends with the traditional hope that their souls should ascend to heaven (interestingly omitting the matriarchs) and has the congregation respond with *amen.*

The IDF's official Memorial Day *Yizkor* radically differs from the pattern established above in that it never mentions God or heaven. Like the OU text, it glorifies specific acts of bravery of all manner of fighters for Israel and asks that their brave deeds be sealed forever in our memory. A translation follows (Hebrew text found in Appendix A):

> May the people of Israel remember its sons and daughters, The faithful and the brave soldiers of the IDF and all the fighters of the underground and the war brigades of the battles of the people, and all the people in the intelligence community, security, and policemen that bravely risked their lives in the War of Independence, and all those who were murdered here and abroad at the hands of assassins and agents of terror. Let Israel remember and be blessed by its seed, and mourn the glory of youth, the great heroism, the holy will, and the devotion of the soul that fell during heavy war. May the heroes of Israel's wars will be dedicated in victory and sealed in the heart of Israel for ever and ever. (IDF 2005, translation mine with help from Dorit Perry)

It is striking that the text omits the traditional reference to martyrs. It is, moreover, not God, but the people of Israel who do the remembering. Also omitted are any references to *k'dushat haShem* with its implication of martyrdom. Instead, their bravery, heroism, and *k'dushat haratzon* or holiness of the will, are heralded. Also missing is the plea for

their souls to ascend to heaven. The final prayer for them is that they be remembered through future victories and remembered forever by all of Israel. This *Yizkor* follows a pattern found in traditional liturgy but truly secularizes it into a prayer appropriate for civil religious memorial for fallen heroes. "Heroes" is the key. Zionism was built on the denial of the Diaspora mentality of weakness and victimization. By definition, Israelis who die in battle are not "martyrs" but "heroes," dying for the state, not for God. Similarly, the powerful symbolism of the word *Yizkor* is reinterpreted for the people of Israel without a redeeming God. The People of Israel have been freed from their enemies in war, and the People of Israel mourn and remember the heroes who accomplished this, and who died in service.

Haggadat Haatzmaut

In 1952, the author Aharon Megged wrote *Haggadat Haatzma'ut*, a *seder* for the celebration of Independence Day in the army base and in the home. As will be shown below, the *seder* loosely follows traditional *haggadic* structure and transforms the *seder* into a tale of Israel's self-redemptive struggle. The *Haggadah* proved extremely controversial because of its atheist liturgy. Indeed, the orthodox leaders of the army banned its use and few copies still exist today.

The Passover *seder* follows a regular pattern of sections (*kadeish*, *urchatz*, etc) and contains four cups of wine, the retelling of the Exodus from Egypt, songs of enjoyment, and symbols of freedom, among many things. As Friedland states,

> The *seder* serves as an unsurpassed opportunity for reunion and reaffirmation within the context of a joyous memorialization of a formative communal experience. Prayer, narrative, exegesis, symbol, memory, and song all play

> ineluctable parts in highlighting the Exodus experience and elucidating its significance over time and space. (1997, 294)

The very form of the *seder* allows people to recall and reenact its history through home ritual. Hence its popularity: one need not attend public "services" to do it.

Haggadat Haatzma'ut, though modeled after the Passover *seder*, is not altogether the same, neither in form nor in content. Its topic is not the Exodus from Egypt, but the Exodus of Diasporan Jewry from servitude to the nations of the world. Both represent deliverance in *Eretz Yisrael*, however, the first in biblical antiquity, the second in relatively recent history. The form of the *seder* changes the *kadeish ur'chatz* pattern; its components do not parallel the traditional text entirely, so it omits the traditional mnemonic. The *seder* does begin with *kadeish*, but then skips immediately to *maggid*, on which it focuses. The *maggid*, of course, tells not of Israel's redemption from Egypt by God's mighty hand, but redemption from the *golah*. The Israeli army fulfills the Zionist dream in the War of Independence. Various political events such as the United Nations partition in 1947 are recalled, but especially celebrated is the heroism of Israel's army.

Haggadat Haatzma'ut contains four cups of wine as is traditional for Passover, but it radically reinterprets them in the context of Independence Day. Most interesting is the opening phrase for each, *L'chayim*! ("to life!") instead of the traditional blessing for wine, which celebrates God's sovereignty over the universe. If there is any "sovereign" here, it is Israel's collective heroism. The first cup is to the life (*l'chayim*) of the State of Israel; the second is to the life of the pioneers of the state, its builders and fighters; the third is to the life of the Israel Defense Forces; and the fourth to the life of the army unit in which one celebrates this *seder*.

I will now examine the flow of the liturgy of *Haggadat Haatzmaut* liturgy and show how it systematically removes the role and name of God and glorifies the Jewish military strength. The blessing for the first cup of wine recalls the first Zionist stirrings in 1878 and then blesses the wine with *shehechiyanu*, noticeably omitting the role of God. The absence of God is not altogether accomplished, however, since the blessing reads, *baruch shehechiyanu v'kiy'manu, v'higianu layom hazeh, yom cheiruteinu, hag haatzma'ut* ("blessed is *the One* (!) who gave us life, sustained us, and brought us to this day, day or our freedom, holiday of independence). Still, God's surviving presence in the blessing is just implicit, since "the One" could as easily be any human deliverer, including the state as a whole. Nonetheless, however we read it, the formulaic beginning of blessing that includes praise of God's role has been shortened to "blessed is the One that..."

The song *Avadim Hayinu* expands the locale of slavery from Egypt to all the states of the world. Pharaoh is reinterpreted in the telling of the story as the Arab attackers and the British officers, and the four sons about the creation of the State of Israel. The text *v'hi sh'amda* affirms that more than one oppressor has risen up against us—but instead of God saving us in every generation, *we* defend ourselves to survive. In the place of ten plagues against Egypt, the *haggadah* lists twelve plagues that our army wrought upon our enemies.

The song *Dayeinu* in *Haggadat Haatzma'ut* follows the pattern for its Passover counterpart, and is even easily singable to the same tune. True to the above pattern, it replaces God's actions with that of the army. A translation follows:

> If the army had repelled the enemy but not brought us judges.... *Dayeinu*!
> If the army had brought us judges but not conquered its forts.... *Dayeinu*!

If the army had conquered its forts but not broken through its borders.... *Dayeinu*!
If the army had broken through its borders but not scattered them to the wind.... *Dayeinu*!
If the army had scattered them to the wind but not established infantry.... *Dayeinu*!
If the army had established infantry but not established the air force and the navy.... *Dayeinu*!
If the army had established the air force and the navy but not established the armored corps and artillery and extra soldiers.... *Dayeinu*!
If the army had established the armored corps and artillery and extra soldiers but not established the *Nahal*.... *Dayeinu*!
If the army had established the *Nahal* but not trained all of Israel.... *Dayeinu*!

The format of the song clearly follows the traditional pattern. Interestingly, the text retains one phrase from the traditional song—that of bringing us judges. The Jewish community throughout history needed judges—in biblical times and modern ones. The song systematically lists the achievements of the army and the establishment of its various branches. It ends with the idea that all of Israel is part of the army, thereby extending the glory to every citizen of the State.

The *seder* ends with a modified *nirtzah*: instead of "Next Year in Jerusalem!" since the people celebrating here are already in the Land of Israel, the closing words are the traditional *Chazak, Chazak, V'nitchazeik*, "be strong, be strong, and we shall be strengthened," a perfect reprise for soldiers. The entire message of the *haggadah* can be encapsulated in this phrase—through our strength, we have strengthened one another and created the State of Israel. The phrase is also a command for future soldiers to continue being strong and strengthening the State.

Analysis

The celebrations and their liturgy detailed above help to elucidate the nature of civil religion in Israel. Their focus is on the modern, secular state and its own power—not on God. However, Israel, though modern, is a Jewish state, a homeland for the Jewish nation. How can the holidays conform to modern secular sensibilities and still maintain the celebrants' Jewish identity? The answer seems to lie in the symbolism and language of religion that is reinterpreted for modernity.

The language of symbolism connects modern Jews today with traditions of past. The very idea of a *Yizkor* prayer as being the appropriate way to memorialize Israel's modern martyrs is inherently Jewish, and whether or not it mentions the name of God, it resonates through the liturgy of time. Recreating our sacred history through a festive meal also is inherently Jewish. In our table groups, whether at home or on the army base, Israeli Jews retell the glorious history of the creation of their state, relive the beginnings of the Zionist dream, and fight alongside the Palmach for the creation of the State of Israel. I believe, however, that Aharon Megged missed a great opportunity for visual symbolism by failing to create a *seder* plate for his new *haggadah*. Some special dishes, such as *Hubbeza*, did exist for the *seder*. Imagine, however, the power of items that would symbolize oppression in the Diaspora, the tears of the ghetto, and the sword of victory!

The powerful symbols of the *seder* and *Yizkor* have the ability to connect the modern Israeli Jew with traditional Jewish patterns and thereby create a religious experience even for the secular modern. As we will see, national ceremonies and private celebrations of the modern commemorations in Israel use the symbolism and language of

traditional Judaism and reinterpret them as love for and power of the modern State of Israel.

CHAPTER FOUR

TEXTS AND CONTEXT A: *TEKES* (CEREMONY)

As I went about my research by observing first hand the still prevailing civil religion of Yom Hazikaron and Yom Haatzma'ut, I experienced a wide range of commemorations, celebrations, and events, some of which met my expectations and some of which did not. I found Yom Hazikaron to be an intensely poignant day. Israelis truly mourn for sons, friends, and comrades who lost their lives in the line of duty. Secular Jews may have trouble relating to religious models of facing grief. Secular rituals on Yom Hazikaron fill this void.

From what I observed, however, (and in keeping with Schleifer's observations, above, p. 12), the civil celebrations of Yom Haatzma'ut seem to lack the fervor of those still kept for Yom Hazikaron. They are hardly the exciting moments that Yom Haatzma'ut is said to have enjoyed during the early days of the state. The Israelis I saw celebrated the holiday with barbecues and late-night dancing, taking the opportunity mostly to have a day off with family and friends.

In this chapter and the following one, I will discuss two major types of secular rituals, the ceremony (*tekes*) and communal singing (*shirah b'tzibbur*).

Generally, the government, schools, and other official organizations within Israel organize ceremonies for Yom Hazikaron and Yom Haatzma'ut. The major government ceremonies are broadcast on television, and the smaller ones attract local communities in the evening or school children during the day. The ceremonies may consist of music,

poetry, reading of names, lighting of torches, military displays, dancing, and other rituals appropriate to the particular holiday.

Communal singing tends to be more informal, organized in someone's home or at a community center. Guided by a song leader and/or instrumentalists and using a songbook (*shiron*) or slides, communal singing can last for hours, with everyone singing together popular and nostalgic Israeli songs about topics such as homeland, memory, and hope. We can appreciate this role of communal singing in the context of current-day Yom Haatzma'ut customs: music retains the nostalgia, communal unity, and national pride that have been lost in the purely recreational celebration of the holiday.

Here, then, is an analysis of my experiences in 2006 with these secular rituals on Yom Hazikaron and Yom Haatzma'ut. In this chapter and the next, I will explore the role I believe that music plays in them, based on personal interviews I conducted as well as musical and textual analysis. I will attempt to answer the following questions: What is the purpose of the music? Why is this particular music chosen? How and why do Israelis respond to the music, and to what do they specifically respond? In these ways I hope to elucidate the texts and contexts of music for Yom Hazikaron and Yom Haatzma'ut.

Tzofim (Scouts) ceremony, *Erev* Yom Hazikaron Mt. Herzl, Jerusalem

The first ceremony I attended was organized by a troop of the Israeli scouts, the *tzofim*. The ceremony began on Mt. Herzl at 8:00 pm with the one-minute siren that is heard throughout the country. We were assembled with a few hundred people in a grove around a memorial pool. Scouts stood at attention on a stage and around the pool. Also

present were families of those who had been killed, graduates of the troop, family, and friends. The mood was very solemn: everyone stood at attention and no one clapped or talked during the entire ceremony.

After the siren, scouts lit torches—large standing ones and a blazing sign behind the stage that read "*Yizkor.*" Then a torch was lit around the pool for every scout who had died. His name was read and his picture was displayed on the video screen as his memorial torch was lit. A period of about twenty to thirty seconds passed between each name. The ritual of remembering each soldier individually was imbued with respect and holy memorial.

The ritual continued with the reading of the military *Yizkor* (discussed in chapter four), then older scouts alternated leading songs and readings. The readings were letters about the departed, poems about loss, and stories of tragedy from terror and war. The musicians—a pianist, cellist, guitarist, and four singers—performed newer songs, not the traditional ones associated with Yom Hazikaron.

According to one respondent I interviewed (Shmulik Havilio, an Israeli attorney now in his mid-thirties who is an alumnus of this troop), all the songs' lyrics spoke about the same themes—war, remembrance, hope, and camaraderie. However, he continued, as much as new music adds creativity to a ceremony that people attend year after year, it often causes the ceremony to "fail." When people do not know the music, they cannot fully participate, and do not feel part of the community—both key goals of the memorial event according to Havilio. He and his friends thought the ceremony was disappointing – it failed to move them the way it would have if the music had been "older" and "nostalgic" (2006).

Havilio and his friends bring up two issues relating to the use of new music in memorial ceremonies: first, not knowing the music, and second, not growing up with it. Both relate to two goals of the ceremony as I interpret them, namely to memorialize those who have given their lives to the State of Israel and to connect new generations to this history of sacrifice.

How does knowing the music in a memorial ceremony help accomplish these goals?

Singing together creates community. When people sing, especially in a setting and occasion such as this one, their voices blend together into a single unity that transcends the individual, binding all together with the melody and text of the song. As Shmulik Havilio says, "People look to feel on such occasions as part of the ceremony. Part of that is knowing the songs... People like to hear the songs that they know, sometimes to join maybe" (2006). To connect with the ceremony, participants should be familiar with the songs and be able to join in themselves with singing them. In Israel, children learn a canon of Yom Hazikaron music from an early age, both in formal music classes in school and during ceremonies they attend year after year. They are taught to connect particular music to Yom Hazikaron. Nadav a fifteen-year-old Israeli boy whom I interviewed summarized the result of this education, saying "The old songs are more commemorative, they look at Yom Hazikaron in a stronger way" (N. Yudkevich 2006). Thus it seems that knowing the traditional music for Yom Hazikaron, even for the younger generation, marks the holiday and has the ability to connect people in communal singing so that they feel united as a community and connected to the memorial ceremony.

Must one grow up with the music in order to be moved in such a way by it? Certainly immigrants (*olim*) to Israel can experience some of the power of the Yom Hazikaron music, though not to the same extent as native-born Israelis, I believe. Ruti Yudkevich, the mother of Nadav and a 26-year citizen of Israel comments: "With the years I've sort of adopted [the music of Yom Hazikaron]. But can I say that I know the nuances of every word? Absolutely not, it almost doesn't matter because the melodies are so stunning" (2006).

Native Israelis go beyond descriptions of the music as beautiful, and say that it represents their own life history. Ron and Dorit Perry, middle-aged secular residents of the Jerusalem suburbs call this music "the soundtrack of our lives" (2006). Ron told me about his connection to Yair Rosenblum's *Unetaneh Tokef* that was written following the 1973 Yom Kippur War.

> We are the generation of the Yom Kippur War, and this is the soundtrack for us for the losses of that war. It is a song that evokes very deep emotional responses. They are things that remind of specific things, of events, of people, of people in our lives. It's a very specific event, it's very personal. It brings a whole atmosphere, not just the song. (2006)

Because Ron and Dorit lived through wars in Israeli history, they strongly associate the music written around these experiences with their own lives, feelings, and losses. Hearing the music evokes a powerful, personal memory that connects them back to a period in their lives and the people they loved.

Yossi Yudkevich, the *sabra* father of Nadav, expresses a similar life-history relationship to the music, saying, "It's like a group of songs that represent my childhood, my army time, after it. Every song, it's a part of it" (2006). Clearly, much of the power of the Yom Hazikaron music in ceremonies derives not only from familiarity with the

music but also from growing up with it, either through rote teaching or life experience. The combination of teaching the music in the schools and repeating it in meaningful ceremonial ways helps to connect younger generations who did not experience the wars of Israel to this history, and to inspire them to continued duty. Traditional music for Yom Hazikaron brings ceremony participants back to the time when the comrades whose names are read were lost, and evokes powerful memories that keep their individual presence and history alive in the minds and hearts of modern Israelis. Musical memory gives intangible meaning to songs and connects the singer or listener to other places, people, and times. The example of the *tzofim* ceremony seeming to "fail" shows by negative proof the power of music in memory and memorial.

Gymnasia High School, Yom Hazikaron morning, Rehavia, Jerusalem

In the morning of Yom Hazikaron, I attended a ceremony at the local public high school. Music in this ceremony came directly from the canon of music for Yom Hazikaron. The ceremony began with the two-minute siren at 11:00 a.m. that was heard throughout the country. Everyone in the courtyard of the school stood at attention as the siren blared in a memorial to those killed. All the students dressed in blue and white, and we sat underneath a blue and white canopy. Stages with students on them formed the focus of the ceremony. Above one of the stages was a large sign that read "*Yizkor*" and beside it the students lit a memorial torch.

After the siren, we all remained standing for the recitation of the military *Yizkor* and the *Kaddish*. Students read out loud from lists all the names of former students and teachers who had been killed, organizing their lists by war or terrorist incident. After

each set of names was read, the musicians performed a song. Poetry was read similar to that read in the *tzofim* ceremony, about those who died.

The goals of this ceremony were similar to the one discussed above: to memorialize those who have given their lives to the State of Israel and to connect new generations to this history of sacrifice. The music at this school ceremony more appropriately aided in accomplishing these goals. Accompanied by piano, the group of singers (all but one girls) sang *L'chol Shana Bastav*, *Shneinu Mei'oto Hakfar*, *Choref* 1973, *Lu Y'hi*, and *Hatikvah.* These songs, more than those sung the night before at the *tsofim* ceremony, exemplify the Israeli national canon for Yom Hazikaron. Their lyrics deal with memory, identification with the dead, and hope. The familiar melodies from the canon of classic Israeli music, as discussed above, evoke a sense of nostalgia and identification with the past.

Israeli scholars term the canon of music considered authentically Israeli the "Songs of the Land of Israel" (SLI). Motti Regev and Edwin Seroussi define the SLI as:

> A musical reflection of the ethos of the Jewish society in *Eretz Yisrael*... SLI elevates the values venerated by the majority of Israeli Jewish society, such as the attachment to and praise of the Land of Israel, the defense of the land, and the experience of immigration and settlement. (2004, 69)

They hold that the songs can be categorically distinguished by their themes: "descriptions of the Land of Israel... cultivating the land, and the defense of the territory" (Regev and Seroussi 2004, 57). Because of they represent a "wide consensus of Israeliness," SLI are traditionally heard on the airwaves on national holidays, especially days of mourning (Regev and Seroussi 2004, 65). Thus much of the music traditional for Yom Hazikaron falls within the SLI.

Gil Aldema, a popular music artist in Israel, says, "When people talk about the SLI, they mean the old songs, song before the State of Israel, songs of togetherness, and in them we find many expressions in first person plural 'we'" (Eliram 2001, 33). The songs, he says, are not personal, and also not pop or rock. Songs emphasize community and togetherness both through their message (as described above) and in the plural language. Songs about individuals do not belong in the canon, only songs about the group.

Eliram, in her dissertation on the musical and social characteristics of the SLI describes the music of the SLI: The melody should be easy to sing, harmony not too complicated or shallow, with frequent chord changes, in a minor key, and featuring syncopation (2001, 45).

Let us take the Naomi Shemer song *Lu Y'hi* as an example of a SLI commonly associated with Yom Hazikaron (see Appendix B for music and Hebrew text). Originally recorded by the Hagashash Hachiver Trio in 1973, Naomi Shemer wrote *Lu Y'hi* as a Hebrew paraphrase of the Beatles' *Let It Be* (Regev and Seroussi 2004, 67). Regev and Seroussi go on to explain that "*Lu Y'hi* became an instant hit and gained the status of a secular prayer soon after its release, a status extended to many other SLI songs" (2004, 67).

The melody and style, especially in the chorus, recall the Beatles' song. Indeed, through the song is in minor (as typifies Israeli music), the chorus temporarily modulates to the major third (mediant), perhaps emulating a more western style. The melody for the chorus is very catchy and easy to sing, with a narrow range of a minor sixth and mostly step-wise motion. Though no syncopation presents itself in the written music, the custom

is to sing with syncopation on the line *ana—lu y'hi*. The verses are more complicated than the chorus, with a range of a minor tenth and some difficult leaps. The underlying harmony, however, grounds them by remaining basic in a tonic, subdominant, dominant pattern.

A translation of the text follows:

> *Lu Y'hi* (All We Pray For)
> There is still a white sail on the horizon opposite a heavy black cloud. All that we ask for, may it be. And in the evening windows the light of the holiday candles flickers. All that we seek, may it be. May it be, may it be, please, may it be. All that we seek, may it be. What is the sound that I hear? The cry of the *shofar* and the sound of drums. All that we ask for, may it be. If only there can be heard within all this one prayer from my lips also. All that we seek, may it be. May it be... Within a small, shaded neighborhood is a small house with a red roof. All that we ask for, may it be. This is the end of summer, the end of the path. Allow them to return safely here. All that we seek, may it be. May it be... And if suddenly, rising from the darkness over our heads, the light of a star shines, all that we ask for, may it be. Then grant tranquility and strength to all those we love. All that we seek, may it be. May it be...

Immediately noticeable is the use of the plural "we" in the chorus. This is not an individual prayer but, rather, a communal one. What is the community praying for? Life for everyone, where holiday candles can be lit in the windows of small homes. For soldiers to return home safely from a nationally scarring war. For peace, tranquility, and an end to war. The 1973 Yom Kippur War marked a turning point in Israeli faith in their military might that had been bolstered during their crushing victory in the 1967 Six-Day War. Taken by surprise in 1973, and at risk of fatal collapse, Israelis were forced to reevaluate their place in the Middle East. Naomi Shemer writes the prayer of secular Israelis, and by singing the song in Yom Hazikaron ceremonies today, modern Israelis connect to this earlier period of Israeli history and re-dedicate themselves to the hopes and values expressed in the song.

National Ceremony ending Yom Hazikaron and starting Yom Haatzma'ut, Mt. Herzl

I was privileged to attend the final dress rehearsal for the national ceremony that marked the transition between Yom Hazikaron and Yom Haatzma'ut. I later watched it live on television as well. The ceremony took place on a huge stage surrounding Herzl's grave. An army orchestra played from a bandstand in the back, and large screens lined either side of the stage. In front of the stage was a large square where dancing and military marches would take place. I felt an air of excitement—possibly because everyone there knew they were at a genuine rehearsal, "backstage," as it were. However, on television too, the crowd seemed jubilant. People waved flags and smiled as they bundled themselves up against the cold.

The people around me seemingly represented all Jewish parts of Israeli society: religious and secular, Mizrahi, Ashkenazi, and Ethiopians. Large groups attended from the army and schools; police and security forces were prominent. Everyone waved Israeli flags. The family seated behind me sang along with everything during the ceremony. Even while we waited to begin, the father hummed a familiar melody—*Ein Li Eretz Acheret*, a ballad about steadfastness in faith in and support of Israel despite her shortcomings.

"*Ufaratzta...* " "You shall spread out to the North, South, East, and West" hung proudly on a big banner above the stage. On either side were the seals of Israel and of the IDF. The theme for the ceremony was the Negev and the Galil, so I interpret the biblical

phrase to mean strengthening the periphery of the legal state of Israel, rather than expanding into the territories – possibly a conscious rebuff to traditionalists who would have claimed otherwise.

Throughout the ceremony an active sand artist's work was projected onto the stage and ground. He stood in a booth near the stage working at a table filled with sand to create different designs appropriate to the action of the ceremony.

The ceremony began with an army processional to the beat of drums; then Shimon Peres entered and saluted the flag while trumpets sounded. The military *Yizkor* was again read, with the orchestra in the background playing *Etz Hasadeh*, a contemplative song traditional for Tu B'Shevat in Israel. The lyrics compare man to a tree in the field, both of which need water, reach upward towards the sky, and yearn for peace and stability. The flags were then raised to signify the end of Yom Hazikaron and the move into Yom Haatzma'ut. A large choir, dressed in ethereal white, sang *Sha'ar Harachamim*, a song by the Mizrahi composer Meir Banai, with a modern accompaniment. After they finished, the group clapped.

The ceremony continued with a reading from the book of Isaiah, followed by Peres's speech and torch lighting. A group of army singers performed *B'eretz Ahavati*, recalling the great age of army bands (*lahakot tzvayot*) of the 1970s. Then recorded music began and continued through the torch-lighting ceremony. The first song was *Anu Nosim Lapidim*, a Chanukah song that speaks of the miracle Israelis themselves (not God) brought about. Ze'ev Aharon, first Chief Education Officer of the IDF wrote the lyrics and Mordechai Ze'ira composed the folk tune. A translation follows (see Appendix B for music and Hebrew text):

Anu Nosim Lapidim (We Carry Torches)

We carry torches in dark nights,
The path shines under our feet,
And he who has a heart that thirsts for light
Will lift his eyes and his heart towards us, towards light, and come!
No miracle has befallen us, no discovered flask of oil.
We climbed the hills and went down into the alleys.
We discovered the founts of hidden light,
In rock we quarried until we bled- and then there was light.

Themes pertinent to Israeli civil religion pervade the song. Self-reliance is emphasized as Jews act themselves to create miracles. "No miracle has befallen us" negates the traditional Jewish idea of God performing miracles for the Jews while "We discovered the founts of hidden light" shows the Jews saving themselves from darkness. Themes of ingathering of the exiles and light/ fire also figure prominently. The structure of the song as a military march reflects the strength of the Israeli army. *Anu Nosim Lapidim* connects with past Jewish tradition but reinvents it. Chanukah, a holiday of God's redemption of the people Israel, becomes Independence Day, a holiday of the Jews' redemption of the people Israel.

Another song played was *Ha'amini Yom Yavo*, recorded originally by Yaffa Yarkoni. Her singing exemplifies collective memory of the early years of the state, as she performed many of the classic songs on army bases and in now-old recordings.

The annual torch-lighting ceremony consisted of twelve people speaking about themselves and lighting twelve torches. The announcer said twice that the twelve torches symbolize the twelve tribes of Israel, a symbolism that was apparently less than obvious

–hence the need to explain it obviously and repeatedly. Each torch also was on a stand with a name of a tribe on it.

At this point things began to get a little riotous and less ceremonial. Fifty-eight flag-bearers came out and formed shapes representing different branches of the army. Again using symbolism that failed to speak for itself, the announcer made it clear that the fifty-eight flags represented the fifty-eight years of Yom Haatzma'ut. Then many kids dressed in blue and white joined in the shape-making. The large shapes with flags and children looked great from an aerial view, but was there meant to be a greater message?

A Mizrahi man emerged playing the flute, and then much dancing began. One of the songs danced to was the classic *Hora Mamtera* sung by Shoshana Damari. Like Yaffa Yarkoni, Shoshana Damari's singing recalls the early days of the state. The song speaks about the miracle of water when the early *kibbutzim* were established.

To begin the end of the ceremony, the national flags were handed over to the Southern Guard unit of the IDF for safekeeping until next Yom Haatzma'ut, and a song about the flag was performed. Everyone stood for *Hatikvah*, which was played according to an arrangement by the Israeli art music composer Paul Ben-Haim. This moment seemed to me to have more of a religious connection for people singing it, perhaps because of the solemn way they rose from their seats, and perhaps from the potent melody and artistic arrangement. Israelis still do dream about the hope and freedom expressed in their national anthem, the hope that is still to be fully realized. My opinion could also have been formed by my own experience with *Hatikvah* in primarily religious settings (I did not expressly investigate this matter in my interviews).

From there, the ceremony concluded with more military processionals and a young rock idol from the Israeli version of "American Idol" who emerged to sing the pop song *Yad B'yad.* Even more dancing continued on the stage, with fireworks shooting all around us.

The ceremony left me with many questions. What meaning did those organizing the ceremony intend, and what message did Israelis participating in it receive? The short Yom Hazikaron section at the beginning seemed to me akin to the other ceremonies I have described above, another solemn memorial to those who have given their lives to their country. But it lacked the smaller ceremonies' focus on the individual because it included no name reading or individual stories. Instead, this part of the ceremony simply acknowledged the end of Yom Hazikaron, by offering the military *Yizkor*, a torch-lighting, and contemplative music. Quickly, the ceremony moved to Yom Haatzma'ut with the flag raising, and continued in a much brighter mood. Parts of the ceremony even seemed to border on the ridiculous—namely, the colorful dancing displays, stylized flag-movements, and the sand artist.

When asked, many Israelis reported that their favorite part of this ceremony was the torch lighting. They often discussed the selection of people who lit the twelve torches (that represent the twelve tribes of Israel). Each should represent the greatness of some aspect of Israeli society, and Israelis loved to talk about people they know who have served in this capacity during the ceremony, and they quickly explain if they themselves had been offered the opportunity. Each had a favorite torch lighter from this year's ceremony, and most disagreed with another person's selection. The messages intended

by the torch lighting ritual, as I perceived them, seemed to be unification of different aspects of society as well as glorification of the achievements of individual Israelis.

What roles did the music serve in the ceremony? Possibilities include entertainment, connection to the past, group community building, or showcasing talented Israeli musicians. Of particular interest to me was the transitional role of *Sha'ar Harachamim* between the Yom Hazikaron and Yom Haatzma'ut sections. The song, written by Meir Banai in 1992, appears on no traditional list of songs (that I have found) for either holiday. Meir Banai is a Mizrahi Israeli Jew from a prominent Persian family who grew up near the Mahane Yehuda *shuk* in Jerusalem. Banai's lyrics, composed in fairly simply Hebrew, speak of his dream-like search for the *Sha'ar Harachamim*, the "gate of redemption" that will open when the Messiah comes. What does this song signify, given its strategic placement at this important transition point of the ceremony?

Perhaps, first of all, it is validation of the Mizrahi influence on Israeli music and acceptance of this sometimes marginalized sector of society. It can also be seen as a reaffirmation of the religious symbol of the gate of redemption in a secular context: the hope that through the struggles of wars and the loss of life, redemption and peace lie just around the corner.

During the Yom Hazikaron ceremonies I attended, no one clapped following any music or performance. In this dual ceremony, people clapped wildly after each song. What does this change signify? The lack of clapping may have suggested that Yom Hazikaron ceremonies were experienced as religious services more than as performances. During a religious service, no one claps, because singing is not a "performance" but a

prayer. The clapping, then, transformed the national ceremony of Yom Haatzma'ut into more of a show than a religious experience.

Certainly I felt the ceremony celebrated the wonder and achievements of the Israeli state, with talented people from various areas of society lighting the torches, large groups of beautiful children and teenagers dancing with bright colors on, and a strong presence of the military. For the secular, largely socialist, population that determined the early years of the state, the military replaced God as the vehicle of redemption. It was semi-worshiped as the strength and rock of the people of Israel. One secular woman related a story to me about a lesson she taught about the Holocaust. Usually, she said, in this type of lesson someone will ask her where God was during the Holocaust. In an Israeli elementary school, however, one boy asked not, "Where was God?" but "Where was the Air Force?"

Today, however, for many Israelis, the golden age of the military has ended. Instead of clear-cut wars that unquestionably require sacrifice for the very life of the Jewish State and People, soldiers now face morally ambiguous situations in the West Bank and Gaza. Rather than fighting a strong enemy army, they guard the Palestinians, a civilian population which contains among it militants who desire to harm the soldiers and Israeli citizens. Many Israelis who are against the occupation no longer feel that the sacrifice of young life is worthwhile. Many young men even find reasons not to serve at all, a position unheard of a decade ago.

The military culture with the army at its center seems to have eroded. The national ceremony of 5766 included the military, but also emphasized the beauty of the country, Israelis' scientific and technological achievements, and culture and dance. The

multi-faceted ceremony may reflect the view that Israel currently seeks to portray to the world—that of a strong state in many areas, including the military as well as technology and culture.

Analysis

Examination of the ceremonies for Yom Hazikaron and Yom Haatzma'ut can reveal much about Israeli society and how the State of Israel wishes to present itself to Israelis and to the rest of the world. Ceremonies can be seen as secular rituals that yearly mark "holy" time in the calendar. Leaders and participants in these ceremonies retell important communal stories each year through these rituals. They also transmit community values from one generation to the next.

From the three ceremonies I examined above, Israel is portrayed as a strong, diverse yet unified country with a vibrant military history and continuing tradition. The story of war and sacrifice is retold in a way to connect younger generations to history and inspire continued commitment. Rituals emphasize community togetherness, secularism, and the greatness of Israeli society.

How does music work to achieve these goals? Singing songs about togetherness creates community among participants. Songs about periods of Israeli history connect individuals to the narrative of war and sacrifice as their own life history. The diversity of Israeli society can be seen in the variety of types of Israeli music used: army band-style music, nostalgic old songs, modern "Israeli Idol" music, and Mizrahi music, to name a few. Secular values are embodied in the music whose lyrics promote human, not divine efficacy, and the near absence of God-language, even in *Yizkor*.

As David Mendelsson, a history professor at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Jerusalem, explains, "*Tekes* is very powerful. It's together, but I notice it's also somewhat ritualized, and it has a dimension of prayer, albeit not the prayer phenomenon of God necessarily" (2006). The three ceremonies I attended bring people together in annual rituals of memorial and celebration. They emphasize values and history that are central to the Israeli secular community, and mark this time in the calendar as distinct from the rest of the year. I will continue the discussion of secular "prayer" in the next chapter in my examination of the *shirah b'tzibbur* (communal singing).

CHAPTER FIVE

TEXTS AND CONTEXTS B: *SHIRAH B'TZIBBUR*

Shirah b'tzibbur (communal singing), to which I have already referred, is the "typical performance ritual" by which Israelis sing together the musical canon of their land: the Songs of the Land of Israel (SLI) (Regev and Seroussi 2004, 18). As defined in the previous chapter by Regev and Seroussi, the SLI are a body of popular music that reflect the essential values of classic Israeli society. Singing them in a group setting, especially on Yom Haatzma'ut, gives Israelis a sense of nostalgia and community.

Shirah b'tzibbur began during the pre-state period. The labor movement or local councils would organize communal singing in order to teach and sing new songs. Singing Hebrew songs and folk dancing were seen as ways to socialize immigrants into the new Hebrew culture (Regev and Seroussi 2004, 28). Music educator and critic Menashe Ravina wrote in a letter to the Ministry of Education dated March 31, 1949: "Singing in public is one of the best means to unify the masses and to inculcate the new *melos* being created in our country" (quoted in Hirshberg 1995, 236).

After a lapse in popularity, today *shirah b'tzibbur* again abounds in Israeli popular culture. Settings can be at a private home, a community center, music club, hotel lobby, auditorium, or *kibbutz* dining hall, to name a few. A song leader, usually accompanied by a piano or accordion, leads the singing, and participants view the song lyrics on slides or in a *shiron* (song book). The singing lasts for hours. *Shirah b'tzibbur* can be held for entertainment purposes, such as during the evening in a hotel, or can serve a different function, such as in memorial of Yitzchak Rabin at Rabin Square in Tel Aviv.

Contexts

I attended a memorial *shirah b'tzibbur* at a community center in Talpiyot on the outskirts of Jerusalem in honor of a soldier Colonel Amir Zohar *z'l* who died in the Intifada. According to his brother-in-law, Shmulik Havilio, the family and community center with which he had been involved chose a yearly *shirah b'tzibbur* because they "wanted to do an event, you don't want it to be sad, you just want it to be an event for his memory. It's very appropriate, I think to do something like that" (2006). Why was this event so appropriate? Tamar Havilio, wife to Shmulik responded, "Amir simply loved *shirah b'tzibbur*—he grew up a *kibbutznik*—so the old folk and pioneering songs of Israel especially meant a lot to him, he knew every word to the songs" (2007). The *shirah b'tzibbur* also brought together all those who remembered Colonel Zohar for a meaningful evening of community singing of nostalgic songs with classic Israeli values. The songs seemed to express that Colonel Zohar had not died in vain, but rather for a greater purpose—the hope for peace in Israel and the values Israeli society is based upon. The gathering also gave his family and friends a ritualized way to memorialize him yearly.

Shirah b'tzibbur is particularly prevalent in Israel on Yom Hazikaron and Yom Haatzma'ut. The songs are selected to reflect the theme, setting, and mood of the holidays. Gali Klain, a song leader for *shirah b'tzibbur*, described to me how she planned a Yom Hazikaron evening:

> I had *erev shirei zikaron* (evening of memorial songs) that was with slides because it was in the evening. The whole evening was *shirei zikaron* (memorial songs). Very sad and very beautiful. [I chose them because of] both [text and melody]. This Yom Hazikaron actually, I built the evening like the history of

> Israel. I started from Hannah Senesch, *Eili Eili*, that's before Israel was created, and then I went to the songs of '48, *Bab el Wad*, and so forth. And then The Yom Kippur War, and we went through the history of Israel through the songs. [I chose based on] the history of the songs, the beauty of the songs, and I think the audience will like. But the order was really going through the history of Israel. (2006)

As we can see, Klain picked up on the idea of SLI as history of the country, choosing her program, both in content and in order, to reflect Yom Hazikaron. Each song evoked a different period of Israeli history, particularly military events (appropriate for Yom Hazikaron) that shaped the nation's conscience.

At Beit Shmuel, I attended a *shirah b'tzibbur* led by Klain for the morning of Yom Haatzma'ut. It lasted four hours. She led the program with a pianist, and participants looked at *shironim* (song books) while sitting together in a beautiful garden. Secular Israelis of varied ages attended and sang along boisterously. Some songs flowed one from another without stopping, while others ended with applause from the audience.

Meanings

What is the meaning of singing in *shirah b'tzibbur* for Israelis? Firstly, the music evokes a sense of nostalgia. When asked what she thinks of the music for Yom Hazikaron and Yom Haatzma'ut, Mazal Cohen, a Hebrew teacher and native Jerusalemite immediately responded, "I love it," explaining that it inspires nostalgia for her childhood and hope for better times ahead (2006). Nostalgia is, apparently, just one side of the effect these songs have on people. The nostalgic reminiscence revives hope of the past, which participants project on their future. Michal Zemira-Cohen, another leader of *shirah b'tzibbur*, clarifies the connection between nostalgia and vision:

> It seems that in us there is a nostalgia for the vision that was in the time that the state was built. We lost the vision, and when we come back to this singing, there is nostalgia to a period of ideas, and there is nostalgia for the feeling of together, 'us', 'we.' (quoted in Eliram 2001, 47)

Mazal Cohen attends a *shirah b'tzibbur* with her friends every year on the evening of Yom Haatzma'ut. She describes:

> And we all meet, and these are friends who I went to school with, people I knew for forty years, even more than forty years, or were with me in the youth movement. We eat and sing, this is what, we sing for hours. I think we usually start at about nine or ten, and, we sing for I think five hours or six hours. With a piano. [One of my friends leads the singing] and prepares a *shiron*. (2006)

But the experience has become mixed in recent years. Visions of old are becoming jaded.

> Some of them [my friends] seem as though they're growing tired of it in the last years. Especially when, you know, if there was an act of terrorism or you think you're very much against the policy, or, I think some of them are growing tired, but most of us still like to sing. For me, sometimes it's hard to see the words, I mean, you don't... there were years when you really believed in the words of the song. Now when you look at them, I sometimes feel a bit of irony. Because all of us are less naïve than we used to be. But most of us still like sitting together and singing. We love the songs. (2006)

Singing of the nostalgic songs, according to Mazal Cohen, can be difficult when the current situation challenges one's belief in the message of the songs. Interestingly, many Israelis today disagree with the messages of the texts of the SLI, yet still attend *shirah b'tzibbur*. Mazal Cohen explains that after a terror attack or political scandal, many of her friends will sit in the back of the *shirah b'tzibbur*, not singing, because they cannot bring themselves to sing the hopeful, Zionist texts the way they used to (2006). They still attend the event, to feel part of the community and see friends for the holiday, but the song's nostalgic power can only go so far, when the message totally contradicts people's reality.

Another meaning found in *shirah b'tzibbor* for Israelis seems to be a profound feeling of *b'yachad* (togetherness), being an integral part of the community – a sense that they do not manage any more to feel in every day life. As Gil Aldema points out, the SLI include "songs of togetherness, and in them we find many expressions in first person plural 'we'" (quoted in Eliram 2001, 33), not the singular "I." According to Gali Klain, the purpose of *shirah b'tzibbur* is "to experience Israeliness and togetherness. You know, during the everyday life, there's not so much togetherness. It's more the opposite.... I think the songs really bind people together. They have a certain power" (2006).

Singing the SLI in *shirah b'tzibbur* breaks through barriers that divide people in society. The songs also have this uniting power on their own, as Amitai Neeman, a radio disc jockey, explains:

> We listen to these songs on Yom Hazikaron, Yom Hashoah, or when some disaster happens. Then the songs help people, they give them a sensation of belonging, they share sadness of other people, and even if they hear them when they are alone, they feel as if they belong to the country. (quoted in Eliram 2001, 44)

Perhaps this statement helps to explain the phenomenon of *shirah b'tzibbur* among Israelis living in New York City!

As Neeman alludes to, hearing the canon of music for Yom Hazikaron, even when alone or if it is not Yom Hazikaron, gives Israelis a feeling of belongingness. The canon also transcends this feeling, setting time and place for Israelis. Dorit Perry described how she reacts when hearing Yom Hazikaron music on the radio: "What happened, it's Yom Hazikaron today?" (2006). The music cues in Israelis a feeling of memorial and community togetherness that they usually feel on Yom Hazikaron.

Music serves a similar role in traditional Jewish synagogues through the medium of *nusach*. *Nusach* "somehow specifies, stipulates, or situates a musical moment, perhaps in a particular locale" (Slobin 1989, 260). In other words, the musical mode and motives used during a service for a particular part of the calendar year marks that specific time in the year for a community. Take, for example, the well-known melody for Rosh Hashanah evening services. Upon hearing it, most Jews recognize the tune and situate themselves mentally in Rosh Hashanah services. The music for Yom Hazikaron functions very similarly. Moreover, the SLI as a whole can serve this function. As Shmulik Havilio told me, "I always say that in Israel, especially on the weekend, you can walk on the street and immediately know what day it is" (2006). Depending on what is playing on the radio, Israelis can determine the time of year—a kind of *nusach* of the street.

Secular "Prayer"?

The *shirah b'tzibbur* seemed like the closest thing to a secular "service" for Yom Haatzma'ut that I found. As Naomi Cohen, my Israeli folk and popular music professor, told me, *shirah b'tzibbur* "is a chance to view first-hand how the communal singing of Israeli songs gives a feeling of unity, hope and even prayer to the participants" (2006). Gali Klain expressed a similar sentiment, saying, "After two to three hours you get a certain special feeling. That's a feeling of being together, a kind of 'we will manage somehow, we will overcome, everything will be good in the end'" (2006).

The benefits of *shirah b'tzibbur* abound: to bind people together, to voice shared values, to evoke a feeling of nostalgia for better times, to generate a sense of Israeli

identity, to give comfort during difficult times, to provide hope, and even to uplift the spirit.

The idea that *shirah b'tzibbur* is a secular religious service is by now commonplace, achieving varying degrees of acceptance by the general population. Parallels to synagogue services definitely exist. A group of people of all ages sings together a canon of music whose text speaks of their core values and hopes for the future. Ehud Manor, a prolific and famous Israeli song writer, says, "In *shirah b'tzibbur* they feel that they are kind of in synagogue, and they think about things they believe in—love, their country, the state, what has been, hope for a better future" (quoted in Eliram 2001, 47). A leader (Hazzan?) chooses the order of the "liturgy" of songs, which are printed in *shironim* or projected onto a screen. The main goals seem to be to encourage community building, feelings of unity, nostalgia, and connection to a common history.

Major differences obviously exist as well. *Shirah b'tzibbur* is by nature egalitarian and accompanied, two major differences from traditional Jewish prayer (and therefore how an average Israeli would understand synagogue worship). People clap between songs or sets of songs as in a performance setting. Moreover, in prayer, one seeks to communicate with the Divine—who is absent in a *shirah b'tzibbur*. But this is civil religion after all; the state takes the place of the divine.

People do speak of "uplift of the spirit to a different level, a different state of mind" when talking about *shirah b'tzibbur* (Klain 2006). Moreover, as Dorit Perry explained to me, "Yom Hazikaron is considered for secular people the Yom Kippur. This is holy for us like Yom Kippur is holy for them" (2006). While people will acclaim the "uplifting" and "holy" aspects of *shirah b'tzibbur* and Yom Hazikaron, when asked

directly if this constitutes prayer, they usually disagree with the parallel. Ron Perry, husband to Dorit, told me pointedly, "We have little patience for this post-Zionism semi-spiritual stuff" explaining that he does not like the idea of a secular need for prayer, or a substitute for synagogue (2006). Many others expressed similar sentiments in conversation. Professor David Mendelsson disagrees, saying, "Some people want to deny any religious dimension, because they're secular. After Rabin was assassinated and everyone was in the square in Tel Aviv, they were singing songs... those songs were prayers" (2006). These different views may reflect where people come from existentially—the inside or the outside, so to speak. The Perrys both grew up as secular Jews in Israel, whereas David Mendelsson, an academician, immigrated from England as a young man and may still have an outsider's perspective.

Conclusions

The music for Yom Hazikaron and Yom Haatzma'ut seems to serve as a liturgy for the holidays. It forms the backbone of the ceremonies and rituals secular Israelis attend and view. The music as a text speaks of secular Israelis' core values and beliefs: communality, love, Jewish culture, language, land, and modern agnosticism, among others. Singing the music together inspires a nostalgic reminiscence of the hopes of the past, which participants then project on their future. The music also evokes time and place of the holidays in a way similar to the *nusach* of traditional Jewish worship.

The texts and the contexts for the music seem to provide secular Israelis with a substitute for traditional Jewish religion. The ritualized settings often parallel Jewish prayer services and holiday celebrations. In place of the God in Whom they do not

believe, the ceremonies, in civil religious tradition, instead center on the State of Israel and Israeli citizens themselves as the source of power in the universe. In a truly Jewish and Israeli way, the music for Yom Hazikaron and Yom Haatzma'ut unites Israeli Jews together as a community and gives them hope for a better future.

APPENDIX A: HEBREW TEXTS FOR *YIZKOR* PRAYERS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER THREE

Birnbaum text:

In memory of Jewish martyrs:

יִזְכּוֹר אֱלֹהִים נִשְׁמוֹת הַקְּדוֹשִׁים וְהַטְּהוֹרִים שֶׁנֶּהֶרְגוּ, שֶׁנִּשְׁחֲטוּ וְשֶׁנִּשְׂרְפוּ, וְשֶׁנִּטְבְּעוּ וְשֶׁנֶּחֱנְקוּ עַל קִדּוּשׁ הַשֵּׁם. בַּעֲבוּר שֶׁנּוֹדְרִים צְדָקָה בְּעַד הַזָּכֶרֶת נִשְׁמוֹתֵיהֶם, בְּשֵׂכֶר זֶה, תִּהְיֶינָה נַפְשׁוֹתֵיהֶם צְרוּרוֹת בִּצְרוֹר הַחַיִּים עִם נִשְׁמוֹת אַבְרָהָם יִצְחָק וְיַעֲקֹב, שָׂרָה רִבְקָה רָחֵל וְלֵאָה, וְעִם שְׁאָר צַדִּיקִים וְצַדָּקָנִיּוֹת שֶׁבְּגַן עֵדֶן, וְנֹאמַר אָמֵן.

OU text:

For Martyrs of the Israel Defense Force - Hebrew Text

FOR SOLDIERS OF THE ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCE

יִזְכֹּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת נִשְׁמוֹת חַיָּלֵי צְבָא הַגָּנָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל שֶׁמָּסְרוּ נַפְשָׁם עַל קִדֻּשַׁת הַשֵּׁם. הָעָם וְהָאָרֶץ, וְנָפְלוּ מוֹת גִּבּוֹרִים בְּתַפְקִידֵי שִׁחְרוּר, הַגָּנָה וּבִטָּחוֹן. מִנְשָׁרִים קַלּוּ, וּמֵאֲרָיוֹת גָּבָרוּ, בְּהִתְחַלְּצָם לְעֶזְרַת הָעָם, וְהֵרִיעוּ בְּרָנִים הַטָּהוֹר אֶת רִגְבֵי אַדְמַת קָדְשֵׁנוּ. זִכְרָם עִקְּרָם וּמַעֲשֵׂי גְּבוּרָתָם לֹא יָסוּפוּ מֵאִתָּנוּ לְעוֹלָמִים. תִּהְיֶינָה נִשְׁמוֹתֵיהֶם צְרוּרוֹת בִּצְרוֹר הַחַיִּים עִם נִשְׁמוֹת אַבְרָהָם יִצְחָק וְיַעֲקֹב. וְעִם נִשְׁמוֹת שְׁאָר גִּבּוֹרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְקִדּוּשָׁיו שֶׁבְּגַן עֵדֶן. אָמֵן.

IDF text:

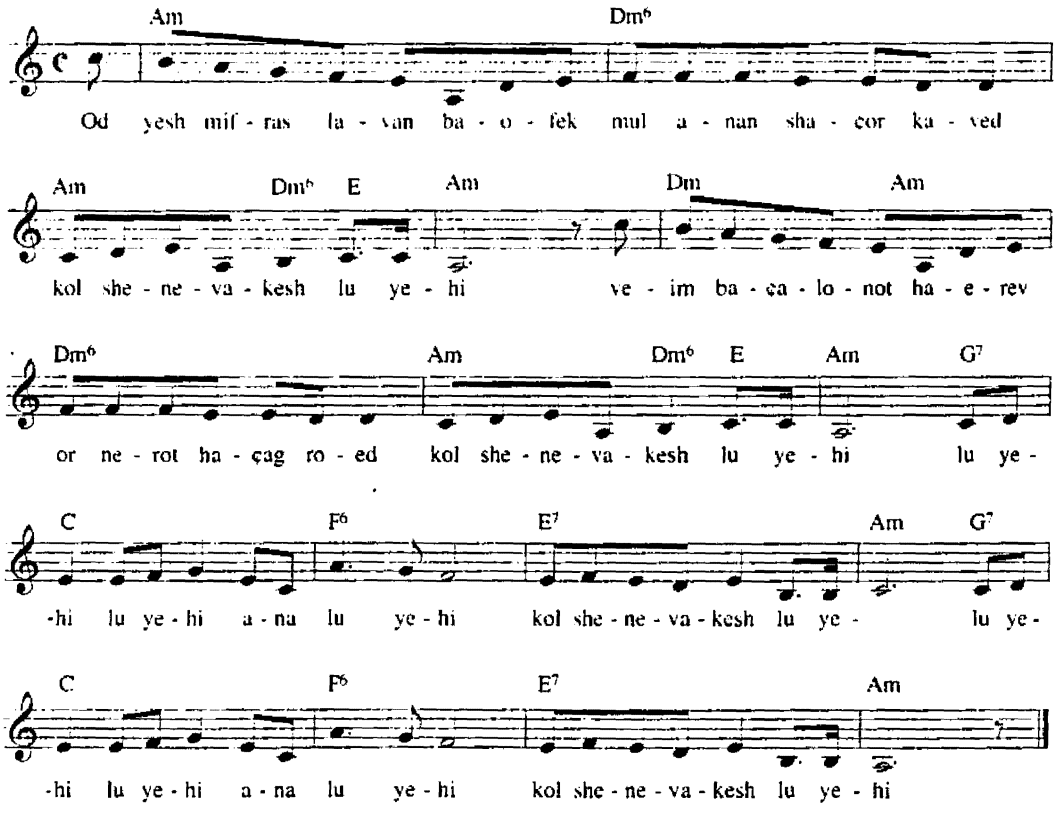
יִזְכֹּר עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת בָּנָיו וּבְנוֹתָיו,
הַגִּבּוֹרִים וְהַגִּבּוֹרוֹת, הַחַיָּלִים עֲבָדִים הַמְּסוּרִים לְיִשְׂרָאֵל,
וְכָל שׁוֹחֲרֵי הַטּוֹב וְהַיְּשָׁרָה. הַשּׁוֹחֲרִים

במַערכות הָעָם, וְכָל אַנשי קהילַת המודיעין
והַבטָחון ואנשי המשטָרה אַשר חרפו נַפשָם
בַמלחָמה עַל הקומַת ישרָאל,
וכָל אלה שנרצחו בָּאָרץ ומחוצָה לָה
בידי מרַצחים מארגוני הַטרור.

יזכר ישרָאל ויחבָרך בזַרעו ויאבַל עַל זיו הָעַלומים
וחמדַת הַגבורָה וקדשַת הָרָצון ומסירות הַנפש
אַשר נספו בַמערָכה הַכבדָה.

יהיו גבורי מלחמות ישרָאל עטורי הַנצחון
חתומים בלב ישרָאל לדור דור.

APPENDIX B: MUSIC AND HEBREW TEXT FOR TWO SONGS ANALYZED IN CHAPTER FOUR



עוֹד יֵשׁ מִפְרָשׂ לָבָן בַּאֹפֶק
מוּל עָנָן שָׁחוֹר כָּבֵד
כָּל שֶׁנְּבַקֵּשׁ — לוּ יְהִי
וְאִם בַּחֲלוֹנוֹת הָעֶרֶב
אוֹר נֵרוֹת-חֲנֻכָּה רוֹעֵד
כָּל שֶׁנְּבַקֵּשׁ — לוּ יְהִי

לוּ יְהִי — לוּ יְהִי — אָנָא לוּ יְהִי
כָּל שֶׁנְּבַקֵּשׁ לוּ יְהִי

מַה קּוֹל עֲנוֹת אֲנִי שׁוֹמֵעַ
קוֹל שׁוֹפָר וְקוֹל חֲפִים
כָּל שֶׁנְּבַקֵּשׁ — לוּ יְהִי
לוּ תִּשָּׁמַע בְּתוֹךְ כָּל אֵלֶּה
גַּם תְּפִלָּה אַחַת מִפִּי
כָּל שֶׁנְּבַקֵּשׁ — לוּ יְהִי

לוּ יְהִי — לוּ יְהִי — אָנָא לוּ יְהִי
כָּל שֶׁנְּבַקֵּשׁ לוּ יְהִי

בְּתוֹךְ שְׁכוּנָה קְטַנָּה מֻצֶּלֶת
בַּיִת קָט עִם גַּג אָדֹם
כָּל שֶׁנְּבַקֵּשׁ — לוּ יְהִי
זֶה סוֹף הַקַּיִץ, סוֹף הַדֶּרֶךְ
תֵּן לָהֶם לָשׁוּב הַלּוֹם
כָּל שֶׁנְּבַקֵּשׁ — לוּ יְהִי

לוּ יְהִי — לוּ יְהִי — אָנָא לוּ יְהִי
כָּל שֶׁנְּבַקֵּשׁ לוּ יְהִי

וְאִם פִּתְאוֹם יִזְרַח מֵאֹפֶל
עַל רֹאשֵׁנוּ אוֹר כּוֹכָב
כָּל שֶׁנְּבַקֵּשׁ — לוּ יְהִי
אָז תֵּן שַׁלְוָה וְתֵן גַּם כֹּחַ
לְכָל אֵלֶּה שֶׁנֹּאהַב
כָּל שֶׁנְּבַקֵּשׁ — לוּ יְהִי

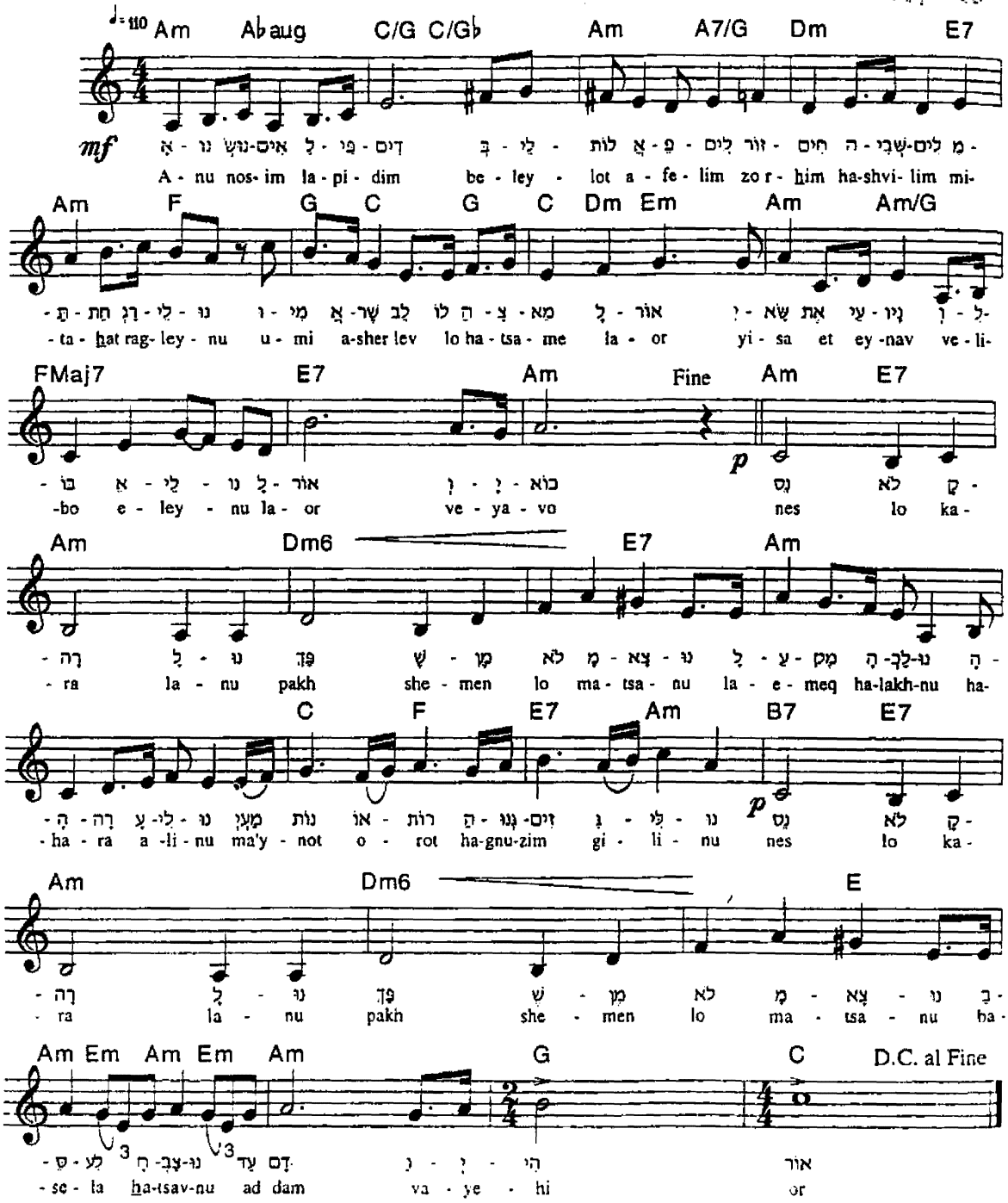
לוּ יְהִי — לוּ יְהִי — אָנָא לוּ יְהִי
כָּל שֶׁנְּבַקֵּשׁ לוּ יְהִי

סתיו 1973

אָנוּ נוֹשְׂאִים לַפִּידִים
ANU NOS'IM LAPIDIM

Music: Mordehay Zeira
Lyrics: Ze'ev

הַלַּחַן: מָרְדְּכַי זְעִירָא
הַשִּׁיר: זְאֵב



אָנוּ נוֹשְׂאִים לַפִּידִים
בְּלֵילוֹת אֲפֵלִים.
זוֹרְחִים הַשְׁבִילִים מִתַּחַת רַגְלֵינוּ,
וּמִי אֲשֶׁר לַב לוֹ,
הַאֲמֵא לָאוֹר-
יִשָּׂא אֶת עֵינָיו וְלִבּוֹ אֵלֵינוּ,
לָאוֹר,
וְיָבוֹא!

נֵס לֹא קָרָה לָנוּ-
פַּךְ שֶׁמֶן לֹא מָצָאנוּ,
לָעֲמֹק הָלַכְנוּ,
הָהָרָה עָלִינוּ,
מַעְיְנוֹת-אוֹרוֹת
הַגְּנוּזִים גִּלִּינוּ.
נֵס לֹא קָרָה לָנוּ-
פַּךְ שֶׁמֶן לֹא מָצָאנוּ,
בַּסֶּלַע חָצַבְנוּ עַד דָּם-
וַיְהִי אוֹר!

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