

Imported sound, Imported Style: The Influence of Jaroslav Jakubovič on 1981-1991 Israeli popular music

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Abstract

This study explores the influence of saxophone player and musical director, Jaroslav Jakubovič, on Israeli 1980s pop-rock music, by “importing” the saxophone timbre and production style made popular in the US. I demonstrate that the saxophone timbre, as manifested in 1980s music world-wide, represents America’s cultural influence on Israeli music, leaning on two central claims: (1) for a while, the saxophone was an integral cog in what Regev refers to as ‘aesthetic cosmopolitanism’, the ethnonational cultural uniqueness, expressed through the global resonance of rock music, and (2) that the saxophone timbre of the 1980s was introduced in Israel mainly as a specific case of the American cultural influence, with Jakubovič acting as a mediator. The study demonstrates how a unique historical and professional convergence enabled the transfer of an American cultural commodity that reshaped Israel’s musical landscape during the 1980s.

Keywords: Aesthetic cosmopolitanism, saxophone timbre, cultural influence, 1980s popular music, American cultural commodity

Introduction

The saxophone and its visual and auditory appearance represent several aspects of music and culture: the bebop era of Charlie Parker and John Coltrane; the cheese 1980s and smooth pop hits; or perhaps the American president Bill Clinton performing live. The saxophone impacted rock and popular music, affecting not only local US and British charts but the musical tapestry of countries worldwide. It was very popular in Israel between 1981 and 1991, appearing in numerous hit songs, and representing the new cultural and economic influences on the country. In this context, I use the term *cultural commodity* to refer to the saxophone timbre

as an aesthetic and symbolic object circulating through systems of cultural production, mediation, and consumption (Appadurai 1988; Regev 2013). Much like other commodities, their value derives not only from production but also from consumption, recognition, and circulation across audiences and markets. Within this framework, a sound or timbre—such as the saxophone tone in early 1980s Israel—can be understood as a cultural commodity: an imported sonic marker tied to the flow of global popular culture, whose popularity and decline mirror the social dynamics of taste and cultural economy.

Focusing on timbre rather than melody or harmony allows for a more immediate and precise tracing of musical globalization. Unlike melody or lyrics, which require cognitive processing and are typically attached to semantic meaning, timbre operates on an affective and perceptual level. The encounter with a timbre or with an instrument's tone is thus more immediate, bodily, and emotional. Timbre functions as an instantly recognizable sonic signifier, portable across languages and harmonic systems, and therefore serves as a key medium of cultural translation (Eidsheim 2015). In the Israeli case, the saxophone's timbre acted as an audible marker of 'Westernness' and modernity, linking local production to global pop-rock sound aesthetics. Treating timbre as a cultural commodity foregrounds its dual role: mediating between material infrastructures (recording, production, and broadcasting) and symbolic meanings of taste, class, and cosmopolitan belonging.

However, the instrument's impact extended beyond its sonic appeal or visual allure. It was associated with what it represented in the Israeli musical marketplace—novelty, modernity, and an American aesthetic edge.

Rock'n'roll as a concept is an American product that, since the 1950s, has reached nearly everywhere worldwide, and has been adopted by different local cultures, who blended their cultural uniqueness into it and created an expressive channel with global resonance referred to by Regev (2007, 2014) as aesthetic cosmopolitanism. Though manifested differently in some cultures, rock or pop-rock music has a strong foundation composed of the rhythm section, mainly the electric guitar, as both a backing and a leading instrument of diverse timbre (Regev 2014). In this article, I wish to focus on the saxophone, and particularly the American pop-rock sound of the 1980s, and demonstrate two main claims: (1) for a period of time, the saxophone was an integral cog of what Regev (2007, 2014) refers to as 'aesthetic cosmopolitanism', the ethnonational cultural uniqueness, expressed as a part of current world resonance of rock music, and (2) that the saxophone timbre of the 1980s represents a specific case of the American influence over Israeli culture, mediated by Jaroslav Jakubovič. I will do so by referring to certain characteristics of rock bands containing a saxophone-playing member, and the importation of the sound to Israel during the 1980s, focusing on the case study of the instrumentalist, composer, and musical director, Jaroslav Jakubovič.

Early American influences

America's status as a rock'n'roll influential power affected the musical tapestry of Israel. However, for several reasons, American cultural influences had a later arrival than in places like Western Europe. Israel maintained conservative economic

approaches and restrictions over cultural influences, and it was not until the late 1970s and early 1980s that these approaches took a turn (1). Folk songs of American singer-songwriters, duos like Simon & Garfunkel, or bands like The Mamas and The Papas had an impact on Israeli performers (2).

These troubadours' charm enchanted Israeli artists primarily as a visual and aural concept. The criticism-filled content that characterised American counterculture performers protesting the Vietnam War was not acceptable at this time in Israel, which, in May 1967, was on the verge of war. This could be seen in the performance of Shuli Natan in the annual Song Festival in May 1967 in Jerusalem, singing the Neomi Shemer song *'Yerushalaim Shel Zahav'* ('Jerusalem of Gold') (3). Natan was an Israeli manifestation of the then-popular Joan Baez (Fatimer 2017), with long straight hair, nothing but a guitar, and a clear, naïve voice. But while Baez sang "There but for Fortune" (4), appealing to people's compassion towards one another through a global message, Natan voiced nostalgic longing for a city once central to the Israeli consensus, in a song that echoed Zionist aspirations. In Israel of the late 1960s, the army bands dominated the hit parades (5) with songs that presented a mix of unity and tradition with up-to-date musical innovation (Seroussi & Regev 2013). The annual Song Festival was a front for a country operating as a production company, controlling the materials chosen, the performers, and the musical arrangements (Ziv 2015). Meantime, outside influences in the form of British rock'n'roll gradually gained popularity in the non-conformist areas of the industrial towns' clubs (Kutner 1998).

Early influences of American rock

In the 1970s, as it began establishing its roots in Israeli music, rock music was not popular. Bands like *Acharit Ha'yamim* (1972) were considered too extreme, and while they gained critical credit, they were a commercial failure (El Or & Regev 2017). The eclectic and mellow sound of the rock album *Badeshe Etsel Avigdor* (1971) by Arik Einstein presented an American cultural influence of both rock aesthetics and a counterculture substance of an anti-war and free-spirited generation (ibid.). However, it was the 'wrong' American product at the time, delivered in the wrong hands. Einstein was a 'classic' representative figure of the elite group, funded and liked by the establishment (Seroussi & Regev 2013), and thus was considered a consensus rather than a counterculture icon. His failure to establish an Israeli youth counterculture through rock led him in the mid-1970s to create nostalgic music, longing for the 'simple days' of Israel (Dubnov 2015).

Kaveret, an Israeli rock group that gained enormous popularity between 1973 and 1975, was an attempt at creating a combination of a local sound with the electric aesthetics of American rock groups like The Allman Brothers and Moby Grape. Sanderson, a founding member, explains: 'I was impressed by the fact that these were two bands with many guitar players, and everyone was singing' (Kutner1998:). Though Kaveret's guitar sound was indeed a presentation of highly skilled players with a huge range of rock styles, their lyrics and themes were extremely abundant in local humour, and their 'Esta' rhythm was the mark of the Israeli *Hora*-dancing youth of the early culture. In other words, the American product was reshaped just enough to lose most of its foreign spark.

The return of Louis Lahav in 1975 from the US, where he had worked with Bruce Springsteen as an engineer and producer, marked a pivotal point in the importing of the American sound. Lahav quickly took over the production of a new Israeli group called *Tamuz*, whose leaders had also recently returned from abroad: Shalom Hanoch from England and Ariel Zilber from France (Cohen 2017). Lahav brought the intensity and edge that was still missing in Israel and combined with his uncompromising attitude, the band was able to create a pure rock sound that, to them, felt like 'the real deal'. As Hanoch told a journalist: 'You don't need to write about us, but in a year, if you wish to do so, we might not be interested' (Wallach 1975).

The latter half of the 1970s witnessed a decline in Israeli rock following the breakup of Tamuz in mid-1976, a period that nonetheless left its imprint on the national rock archive through a somewhat belated attempt to develop a local progressive sound. The albums *Ktzat acheret* (1975) and *Sheshet* (1977), which in time became Israeli all-time classics, were initially commercial flops supporting unsuccessful tours (Wertheimer 2017). It was not until the 1980s that the real American pop-rock sound hit Israel.

The 1980s – an American market

Culture has been considered an asset and has been traded as such within Western capitalism (Philips & Tomlinson 2004). Late 1970s developments and products like the portable TV, the videocassette recorder, and the personal stereo made individual consumption common and market-influential (ibid.). By that time, Britain was swept by American culture: jeans, American football, TV programs, music, and fast food (Strinati 2004). It took a while for what happened there to reach the Israeli market (6). The liberal turn in Israel's economy after 1977, marked by policies such as legalizing foreign currency ownership, triggered high inflation but encouraged a new culture of consumerism. The social government of Israel's first decades kept a closed market and firm supervision over local consumers and importers, not only for economic reasons but also for cultural and identity-formation ones (Seroussi & Regev 2013; Zilberfarb 2005). The governments that restricted performances in financially supported events, the ones that allowed some musical influences but rejected others, were also a barrier to the Americanisation of the Israeli market.

The saxophone timbre and Americanization

The saxophone timbre, was not only a musical product, finding its way to the Israeli market mainly while representing American culture, but also a member of a certain rock style, accompanied by an attitude. Regev's (2007,2013) notion of aesthetic cosmopolitanism, which focuses on cultural forms and aesthetic participation, is situated within broader material transformations of late modernity. The ability of small national cultures such as Israel to participate in the global aesthetic field depends not only on symbolic aspirations but also on concrete geopolitical, economic, and media infrastructures (Regev 2013: 47–52). In Israel's case, the country's close political and economic ties with the United States—intensified after

the 1973 Yom Kippur War through military and financial aid (Lipson 1996; Feldman & Koren 2013)—and the adoption of market-liberalization policies (Zilberfarb 2005) established the conditions for aesthetic cosmopolitanism to materialize. The influx of multinational media companies, notably the CBS Israeli branch (Seroussi & Regev 2013), and the rapid expansion of American cultural commodities during the 1980s created an infrastructure through which local musicians could engage with globally circulating pop-rock styles. Thus, aesthetic cosmopolitanism in Israel emerged not merely as an artistic or ideological orientation but as a materially enabled condition—an outcome of intertwined cultural, economic, and political relations that bound Israel to the global West.

In framing the aesthetics of the rock sound, Regev (2014) focused on the electric guitar as its core, stating that it has a mechanical ‘body’ of sound that was lacking in acoustic instruments. The amplitude, frequency, and waveform, whose manifestations are volume, pitch, duration, and timbre, possess unique qualities (ibid.). Regev uses the guitar as a symbol of the infiltration of rock music into Israel, ever since the early 1960s. Meanwhile, he characterises the sound as Anglo-American, referring mainly to influential British bands, who were themselves influenced by American rock’n’roll. Thus, American rock was mainly mediated through Britain at that point. The penetration of rock into the Israeli mainstream in the 1980s, he claims, is expressed, among other things, in the amount of work that guitar players had in various recordings (ibid.).

This paper argues that, at least for a while, the distinctive sound of the saxophone left a significant mark on the rock music of its era, and that—considering American cultural exportation to Israel and commercial influence at the time—the saxophone timbre should be regarded as an integral part of that process. Its signature sound and character made it a musical product identified with the American sound of period hits. Regev’s aesthetic cosmopolitanism, the local re-figuration of world culture under pop-rock characteristics (Regev 2013, 2014), should be an ever-changing aesthetic, and forever portrayed in the context of its time. The 1980s were the pop-rock years of the saxophone.

The saxophone - an innovative idea with an unexpected effect

The saxophone came about as a classical instrument in an attempt by Adolphe Sax to replace the clarinet (Ingham 1988). Sax believed that there was a way to overcome the complexity of both the manufacturing and the playing of the clarinet. As a wooden instrument, in which fingering changes in every register, and sometimes between the instrument’s family members, and whose tone is highly dependent on the player’s finger pads for covering the holes (Aber & Lerstad 1982; Dickens et al. 2007), it is hard to learn and achieve virtuosity. Sax designed a metal instrument that was easier to manufacture and included a register key, allowing players to change registers while using the same fingering—a feature applied across the entire instrument family. Using a similar mouthpiece of close enough embouchure to the clarinet’s, Sax hoped that his instrument would be enthusiastically welcomed, gradually pushing aside the inelegant clarinet.

However, innovation was not always appealing to the conservative artistic musical field, and the clarinet’s unique tone remained in demand, while the

saxophone was adopted mainly as a marching band instrument (Liley et al. 1988). From there, it found its way to the jazz scene of the early 1920s, with which it was associated for most of the century. The instrument's efficiency over the clarinet was in filling the space of the big jazz halls with its high-volume resonance (Ennis 1992). During the 1960s and 1970s, it became popular among other musical styles, which allowed jazz musicians like Stan Getz to join João Gilberto and Antônio Carlos Jobim in the popularisation of the Bossa Nova, reaching a new audience.

The saxophone timbre

The acoustical definition of timbre refers to the presence and strength of partial tones (harmonics) and their location along the frequency continuum, which distinguishes one resonating sound from another (Wedin & Goude 1972). Though not as clear as the word-carrying voice, and not as common as the electric guitar, the saxophone has a timbre that is distinctive and easily detected, and in some ways resembles the human voice, making it approachable and emotional. Liley and colleagues refer to it as the 'singing' instrument (Liley et al. 1988), while Brackett (2000) compares the instrument's high (altissimo) registration to James Brown's falsetto on 'Superbad'. The reason for its being reminiscent of the characteristics of the human voice is its fundamental note and balance with the partials. Its strong formants – the peaks in the resonating sound – make it possible for the sax to resemble vowel sounds (Nykänen et al. 2009).

An important reason for the saxophone, and especially the tenor, to be a significant member of the rock group is the clarity of its timbre within the musical fabric, which makes it detectable as a strong, leading melodist. Because its first six partials are stronger relative to the fundamental, the instrument produces a brighter, louder, and more penetrating sound than instruments characterised by stronger fundamentals and weaker partials (Benade 1990). The saxophone is, therefore, both identifiable and relatable to the audience, and not merely to musical arrangers choosing to use it. In fact, listeners who are laypeople tend to describe the instrument much like trained musicians or music critics (Gridley 1987).

However, it is important to note that there is not one sound that characterises the tenor saxophone. As articulated by Fink et al. (2018), there is a whole range of timbres that are associated with it, but we are nevertheless able to distinguish between them while attributing them to the same source. Perhaps the instrument being less mechanical than the guitar and more human-like due to its acoustic characteristics is what explains its popularity.

Much like a person revealing different emotions, the saxophone offers a wide range of expressive sounds, due to the players' abilities to use different techniques. While the natural, basic way to trigger the instrument's reed creates a warm sound, by using extra air during the attack and the decay of the sound, as Stan Getz did, one can achieve an even warmer, softer sound. Techniques like growling and sliding are more aggressive and are considered 'animalistic' and wild (Woodward 2018).

However, the appeal of the saxophone to the audience is not a matter of audio-relatedness alone. Besides the 'animalistic', masculine expressions, the shape of the instrument, and the nickname 'horn' (and the brass section – horn section) all refer

to the male sexuality – a fact used on stage by some instrumentalists (Woodward 2018). Its presence as a front-of-stage figure in many rock and fusion bands added a visual connection with audiences.

The jazz era

Despite not fulfilling its original purpose and gaining little success in the 1800s, the instrument's potential in fostering virtuosity among its users was picked up by jazz musicians in the 20th century, firstly in the swing big bands, but most notably during the Bebop era. The style (7), introduced most extensively by the sax player Charlie Parker, expressed a philosophy, suggesting that the player should stand out and be more responsible for the musical outcome than the composer by contributing their own syntax and musical approach (Owens 1996). While involving a more complex harmony and chromatic melodies, the style presented not only accomplished instrumentalists, but also the idea that music does not have to be sweet and appealing, but can be harsh and expressive, as an art form should be (Stewart 2011). Parker, but even more so John Coltrane, also introduced a new approach to articulation on the saxophone, with little emphasis on accuracy and smooth timbre and frequent use of slurs and bandings (Owens, 1996).

New sound, new audience – rock'n'roll

The saxophone's expressive but melodic quality enabled it to transition naturally into the new rhythm of rock'n'roll. Rooted in jazz, and leaning on the structural patterns of the blues, the style was initially the next step in African-American culture. Unlike Bebop, it was not artistic by nature and was aimed at a wide audience, popularity, and the breaking of boundaries that were not necessarily musical, but cultural and commercial (Ennis 1992). Hit-producing performers like Little Richard, who between 1956 and 1959 had 16 top ten hits (Broven 2011: 304), were facilitators of the saxophone's popularity, making both background and front-of-stage appearances (8). This was also where and when the raspy sound, adopted later by 1970s and 1980s pop-rock sax players, appeared. The saxophone section accompanying Richard was, at times, a genuine rhythm section, shadowing the guitar that was the prominent instrument for others, like Chuck Berry or Carl Perkins (9).

Rock'n'roll was a new phase of American cultural commodification, rapidly sweeping not only the American public but Europe and the world. American post WWII military bases across the globe, along with the baby boomers who adopted rebelliousness against their parents, established a solid ground for the distribution of rock'n'roll, (Ennis 1992). By the early 1960s, the new style had marginalised most others, and though the guitars and drums had the spotlight and strongest appeal, the saxophone remained popular, and this occurred under specific musical circumstances.

R&B, funk, and heavy soul

After the undeniable success of rock'n'roll in the late 1950s and its adoption by white performers on both sides of the Atlantic, in the 1960s, it was R&B, a style combining gospel soul with blues and jazz, that manifested among many African

American hit performers. Among them, Wilson Pickett was the one who adopted the edgy, ragged, rock'n'roll attitude of those who were his inspiration (Fletcher 2016). His use of a horn section in hits like the 1965 song 'In the Midnight Hour' further established the saxophone as both an expressive rhythmic instrument and as a filling harmonising one.

The power created by a rock'n'roll backing band accompanied by a horn section inspired white musicians with rock and jazz backgrounds to form bands combining the musical styles of rock, R&B, and jazz, and create popular music. The most famous ones were Chicago and Blood, Sweat & Tears, both formed in 1967. The horn section players were not hired musicians but founding members who took part in both writing and arranging the music. In fact, the idea of Chicago was formed by the Wind members (10). Trombonist James Pankow explained that in their early gigs, they were required to play top 40 hits, which were mostly R&B songs by Pickett, Aretha Franklin, James Brown, and others. For a horn-playing band, this was no problem, since many of those songs had horn arrangements, though they were backing instruments. The intention was to foreground that sound. Although this was a step forward for the saxophone, getting solo time in many songs, it was sharing the stage with the flute, the trumpet, and the trombone (11).

The saxophone began to attract special attention shortly before the formation of the aforementioned bands, serving as a manifestation of dynamic onstage masculinity—largely influenced by James Brown and his saxophonist, Maceo Parker (12). In addition to supplying rhythmic and harmonic support, the sax player and the lead singer often communicated on stage in a raw, non-verbal way (13). Brown was seen using the instrument's improvisational melodies as a bewitching expression, causing him to move (14). Brown's funk music was a testimony of truth, inspired by the church and its preachers, appearing as if a spontaneous reaction to the Holy Spirit (Bolden 2013). While the soulful, spiritual characteristics of the music and performance impossible for white musicians to emulate, the conversational format, the sex appeal, and the energy were adopted by rock performers, perhaps aiding the 'truth-telling' status of their musical content.

Part of the band – the soloist is hitting their roots

In the mid-1970s, American East Coast musicians' rock style was starting to boom. Artists like Bruce Springsteen and Billy Joel produced a fresh sound, influenced by rock'n'roll and R&B greats like Elvis, the Beatles, Ray Charles, Otis Redding, the Drifters, the Four Seasons, and Bob Dylan – but with a sharper, less naïve, and more cynical sound (15) (Duchan 2017; Springsteen 2016). The saxophone quickly became a prominent member of the new artist's backing band, receiving a prime cut of the repertoire, solos, and stage spotlights (Duchan 2017).

Early in the 1970s, Clarence Clemons joined Springsteen's E Street Band and performed live and in the studio with the band up to his death in 2011. Clemons, who had a silky, cool look standing in the band's front line, added a raspy sound that would become his signature. As a tenor saxophone player, Clemons was the instrumental counterpoint to Springsteen; a melodic relief, an expression of what a voice of a similar range and hoarseness wishes to say but cannot. Clemons' techniques included growling; singing while blowing into the instrument and using

a flutter-tongue; rolling his 'R' against the reed on the mouthpiece, creating a rapid and hard attack on it (Roach 2009). His raspy sound can be heard playing solos with the E Street Band on songs like 'Thunder Road', 'Born to Run' (1975), and 'Bobby Jean' (1984).

Around the same time as Springsteen's big break with the *Born to Run* album (1975), Billy Joel, who was looking for a sax player, met Richie Cannata, who became part of Joel's great success with 'The Stranger' (1977). Though mainly an alto sax player, Cannata also used a range of timbres, from smooth and melodic in songs like 'Scenes from an Italian Restaurant' from the hit album to a more aggressive but still melodic performance in 'New York State of Mind' (1976) and 'You May Be Right' (1980).

From the mid-1970s on, the two artists were touring, with saxophone players as key members. Mark Rivera replaced Cannata in Joel's band in 1982 and has accompanied him ever since, bringing the tenor sound forward in songs like 'This Night' (1984). His flirtation with the crowd and mobility on stage added to the instrument's sex appeal persona and is visible in videoed concerts (16). By that point, the saxophone was a key feature of the rock'n'roll scene, presented both visually and audibly to the audience and appearing on numerous hit songs.

The instrument's versatility and ability to contribute to the musical fabric led several bands, outside the US, to include a full-time saxophone-playing member (Ingham & Helliwell 2009). Examples include the British bands Roxy Music, Supertramp, Spandau Ballet, and Madness.

In April 2017, Kelsey McKinney asked why an instrument that was had been popular in American culture in the 1980s was nowhere to be heard anymore, saying that there was not one song in the top 40 containing a solo saxophone (17). This realisation indicates the true difference between the instrument and the rhythm section of the rock band, which constitutes the heart of the aesthetic cosmopolitanism (Regev 2014) worldwide. The saxophone was a fashion. Though lasting for almost two decades in the heart of the rock band, it does not have the status of the guitar or the drums. Rock'n'roll will continue without it. Be that as it may, like other fashion products, from clothes to hairstyles, from the Walkman to breakdancing, the saxophone timbre was a commodity, reaching every pop-rock consuming culture.

It's here, it's there, it's everywhere

Considering the history of the saxophone, its place in popular music throughout the 20th century, and the pre-eminent role of the American Billboard as a music exporter (Giles, 2007), it is fair to say that its timbre, manifested in different American genres, is an American cultural product, especially among American-influenced cultures. Therefore, even though the sound could be heard worldwide during the 1970s and early 1980s, its marketing as a rock symbol, both audibly and visually, should be observed as an exported American product.

The Israeli music import market did not lean solely on American productions, and other markets had occasional impacts. The saxophone timbre, and especially the raspy, aggressive sound, could be found in several non-American hits that

reached Israel. Among them, it's worth mentioning 'Night Boat to Cairo' (1979) by Madness; 'Who Can It Be Now' (1981) by the Australian band Men at Work, which reached no. 1 in both Israel and the US; and 'Your Latest Trick' (1985) by Dire Straits, featuring the highly busy Michael Brecker, who contributed to bringing jazz and rock closer by appearing on numerous albums.

A special mention should go to Gerry Rafferty's hit 'Baker Street' (1978), which featured a melodic and catchy sax solo. Although recorded under the American United Artists Records company, the song was produced in England, while the sax player and the composer/vocalist themselves were Scottish. The song has a special status, having created what would come to be known as 'the Baker Street effect', which referred to the song's success resulting in a boost in saxophone sales and use of the instrument in songs and commercials (Ingham & Helliwell 2009).

Incidental saxophone hits were everywhere to be found, including ones featured by a band famous for their guitar and keyboards—Pink Floyd—who incorporated the instrument in their albums *The Dark Side of the Moon* (1973) and *Wish You Were Here* (1975). Similar cases happened in the US, with hits appearing in the cinema as well. Glenn Frey's 'The Heat is On' from 1984, featuring David Woodford on sax, appeared in the movie *Beverly Hills Cop* and reached no. 2 in the US, among other places. The song was also Frey's, from The Eagles, highest-peaking hit (18).

Racial Timbre, Global Sound

The vocalicity of the saxophone timbre cannot be separated from its cultural genealogy in American popular music, where it emerged as a marker of Black expressivity and sensuality. As scholars such as Eidsheim (2015) and Brackett (2000) note, its resemblance to the human voice—especially in techniques like growling and sliding—was central to rhythm and blues and soul performance styles in which racialized notions of "soul" and authenticity were sonically coded. The saxophone's raspiness and flexibility thus came to signify both emotional truth and corporeal intensity, qualities linked to African American masculinities in mid-century popular culture. Within the commercial sphere of rock and pop, these elements were rebranded as desirable, marketable signifiers of virility, freedom, and eroticism.

When transferred to the Israeli pop-rock soundscape of the 1980s, this timbral code was partly neutralized, appearing primarily as a symbol of Western modernity and cosmopolitan refinement. Yet its audible lineage—its association with Black American styles—persisted as an unspoken component of its appeal. In this sense, the saxophone's circulation exemplifies how aesthetic cosmopolitanism operates through sounds stripped of their explicit racial referents while carrying the sedimented affect of their origins. The Israeli recontextualization of this American cultural commodity thus both effaced and depended on the racialized and class-inflected histories that produced it.

Once established as a popular commodity, the exporting of the saxophone as an American music icon should have been effortless. America was already the leader of the free market. The issue should therefore be whether there is demand – the openness to the pop-rock culture of the US, the ability to contain the sound in the

mainstream channels, and a local market that allows that. Despite economic problems, towards the 1980s, Israel was becoming fertile ground, capable of absorbing the American cultural abundance, due to privatisation and diminished government supervision (Zilberfarb 2005). It simply needed the right importer.

Jaroslav is coming bearing goods

Jaroslav Jakubovič was born in 1947 in Czechoslovakia and came to Israel following the Soviet invasion in 1968, defecting from the army where he served in the band (Bar-On 1980; Hersonski 1981). By then, he was already an accomplished jazz saxophone player and was able to take part in the local music industry (Kutner 1979). He spent most of the 1970s in the US, starting as a music student at Berklee College, and becoming a sought-after session musician and performer. It was there that he was 'infected by the rock bug', and he explains that switching from Jazz to rock was due to his work with Bette Midler. Before that, he had worked with jazz greats like Buddy Rich, Tony Bennett, and Miroslav Vitous. After his experience with Midler, he concentrated mainly on pop-rock, playing with Paul Simon, Carly Simon, and others (ibid.). He toured with Manhattan Transfer in 1980 as their musical arranger and sax player, before returning to Israel permanently (Hersonski 1981).

Jakubovič's views on the jazz music of that era are of high importance, since it encouraged his advocating of American rock within the Israeli music industry, using the saxophone timbre at first, and gradually becoming more involved as an arranger and composer. The saxophone had quite a low profile in the Israeli music of the late 1970s. Most of the musicians were jazz players and were occasional contributors to session recordings. This situation continued well into the 1980s, and top musicians included find Peter Wertheimer, Guri Agmon, Amikam Kimmelman, and Morton Kam.

Standing out was the band Gazoz (1978-1979), which had a three-saxophone horn section. The band played catchy pop songs, and according to Kutner (1979b), a music critic, did not take full advantage of its accomplished personnel, with carefully arranged songs and no improvisations. About Sanderson, the music writer and director, Kutner (1979c) said: 'it's time he gave up *Gazoz* (soda pop) for some stronger drinks'. In other words, the light pop songs had no edge as required in rock aesthetics.

The musical scene from which Jakubovič came was fed up with jazz and interested in something new. He explains: 'Jazz is a "has-been: music. It's nostalgic. There's no new jazz. There's this style, called Fusion. I call it "confusion", because nobody knows what it is, really... It's neither here nor there' (Kutner 1979). Jakubovič sensed something about rock music. It was the future for anyone seeking change and development. Since disco music was very popular in 1979, Jakubovič insisted he had no plans to create in that style. 'I play rock'n'roll. It's a successfully popular genre, like disco' (ibid.), he clarifies, probably because in 1979 in Israel it was far from obvious.

Style and appearance

After giving up jazz in favour of the resurgent rock scene, Jakubovič quickly adopted the raspy sound of the tenor saxophone he eventually became known for during his days with Manhattan Transfer and all through his Israeli collaborations. His stage persona, marked by distinctive physical traits reminiscent of the Muppet character Zoot, contributed to his recognizable visual identity as a performer. Realising that, he adopted and enhanced these characteristics, which made him stand out as a stage musician.

Coming to Israel, looking the way he did, using the saxophone more aggressively than anyone else around, with the astonishing experience in the American scene, Jakubovič was like nothing and no one local rock consumers (and industry) had encountered before. Bands like Acharit Ha'Yamim, Kaveret, Tamuz – despite their edge and sound, were lacking something bigger – an American sound, which was not only punchy and loud but also commercial.

Prominent Israeli contributions – the early 1980s

In 1980, Jakubovič came back to Israel, following the birth of his son. He explained that as a descendant of Holocaust surviving parents, this was the only place to raise his kids, and so he promised his mother (Shalev 2009). Soon after arriving, he was employed as a producer by CBS. In 1981 alone, he produced and musically arranged six top albums of highly acclaimed artists, including Shalom Hanoch, one of the pioneers of Israeli rock music (ibid.).

Jakubovič's work on Hanoch's *White Wedding* album, along with art director Louis Lahav's, radicalized Hanoch's evolving rock sound. On his 1977 album, Hanoch maintained a folk and soft-rock style consistent with his work prior to, and even during, Tamuz—particularly in relation to his vocal timbre. *White Wedding*, however, introduced a hoarse vocalist and a more forceful rock sound, whose production was widely criticized for its roughness. Michael Tapuach, the producer, explains: 'Nobody knew what Jaroslav had in mind and what eventually came out shocked us all. It was a powerful wall of sound... and Shalom struggled singing over it' (Schwartz 2021). Jean-Paul Zimbris, one of the drummers on the album, recalls: 'certain steps had to be taken to make things progress in Israel. Up until *White Wedding*, things were faltering a bit (ibid.). What was then a commercial disappointment, a production that resulted in debt for the people involved (ibid.), became one of the most acclaimed and inspiring rock masterpieces of all time in Israel (Israeli 2015; Schiff 2010), a country in which the genre's consumers gradually grew accustomed to the heavy sound (Schwartz 2021).

Jakubovič's raspy timbre could be heard on the song 'Ze Rak Ga'agua' (1:45) from Hanoch's *White Wedding* album. Hanoch's transition happened along with the saxophone's transition in the Israeli musical tapestry. In a sense, the album presented a new era of a musical relationship between a lead vocalist and their melodic counterpart. This kind of relationship that existed between Springsteen and Clemons's tenor, and between Joel and Cannata's alto, was now manifested for the first time on stage and on record in Israel. It was an American relationship by nature and felt out of context at first: aggressive, attacking, restless, hoarse, and uncompromising. But like in the American relationships mentioned, Hanoch's

newly hoarse sound needed a counterpart, and the guitar was not the immediate option anymore.

Meni Beger was an up-and-coming star in Israel's rock scene with whom Jakubovič also collaborated in 1981. Unlike Hanoach, who had a privileged path to stardom (Seroussi & Regev 2013), Beger was born in Turkey, came to Israel at the age of ten, and settled with his family in the industrial periphery of Haifa. His musical entrance was through the crack opened by British rock bands like Led Zeppelin and Yes (Shalev 2015). He was a rocker from the get-go, receiving semi-recognition with his band Gan Eden, and claiming that 'you don't have to know music in order to compose' (Bar-On 1981).

After signing with CBS, Beger teamed up with Jakubovič, who produced his first solo album, *Rock Tel Aviv*, which gained popular and critical success (ibid.). Beger admitted having reservations about the rough image constructed for him by CBS producers, including Jakubovič, (Kutner 1998). The importing of the heavier, rugged sound was not an organic thing, as can be seen in the conference room discussion by CBS executives (19), but rather taking advantage of opportunities and careful design of a public image. Jakubovič's tenor is leading the song 'Halaila Levad' from the intro through the bridge (1:39; 3:13) to the solo (3:28). The song sounds like slightly toned-down Springsteen's backbeat songs from the 'Born to Run' era, both in terms of tempo and aggression.

That same year, 1981, Jakubovič composed and produced 'Duet Preda', Beger's duet with Gali Atari, the Eurovision winner of 1980 and a popular Israeli singer. The song, a rock ballad, opens with a sharp, husky improvisation by Jakubovič, who reappears for the solo at 2:14 and again in the song's outro. Atari herself was a new prodigy of Jakubovič's, who turned her from Israel's sweetheart to a rock leader. Her transformation led to the title of Shir's article (1981), 'Gali Be'or Hadash' (Gali in a new skin), referring both to her sound and to the new outfits she adopted. Jakubovič, according to Atari, taught her to open up to new music, to really listen, and evolve: 'I wasn't aware of the fact that I can sing differently, till Jaroslav came and started pushing. He knew what to insist on and how to bring sounds out of me I didn't know existed' (ibid.). CBS, which signed Atari, also insisted she recorded all her songs in English, to leverage her European fame after the 1980 Eurovision (ibid.). Jakubovič, who wrote all the songs for Atari's album *Take Me Home*, could be heard in the title song's solo, which lasts for 34 seconds (2:18-2:52), and never really leaves till the song ends (3:51).

Between 1981 and 1982, Jakubovič worked as an instrumentalist and co-producer for the short-lived band Premiere (1982). The band had three vocalists (two male, one female), and according to Hersonsky (1982), the vocal arrangements led by Avner Kenner and Jakubovič resembled those of Manhattan Transfer, the American band that Jakubovič had recently produced. Their hit song 'Hamesh Baboker Ozevet' not only had a jazz-rock, free-spirited, wild sax improvisation (3:12), but also contained an even more interesting phenomenon. Jakubovič was able to get Mazi Cohen, the female lead vocalist, to sound just like his tenor altissimo range timbre. Cohen, formerly with Gazoz, was also a graduate of an army band and a collaborator with several Eretz-Israeli projects (Bar-On 1982). Suddenly she had a raspy, sore-throated voice, thinner than before, encased in an 'angry' attitude. In the song's verse (1:44, for example), her voice could easily be replaced

by the tenor sax if only for the emotional effect. She explains: 'It requires a lot of force to perform such a song, and when it demanded a hoarse voice to add some tone to the song, it just came out' (ibid.).

Besides leading artists and bands, Jakubovič also contributed to many session recordings. In 1981—a particularly prolific year for Israeli rock—Shlomo Artzi released *Hatzot*, the final installment in his “entry into the rock world” trilogy (Seroussi & Regev 2013). The album presented an edgier frontman, writer, and bandleader, who does not shy away from lyrical risks and from flirting with rock boundaries. The song ‘Lanegev’ has a melodic, easily hummed solo, played by Jakubovič (2:09), which is repeated in the outro. Jaroslav also continues to the next chorus, over Artzi’s voice, resonating almost like a banded, distorted guitar. In fact, the sax also performs in the song much like a backing guitar. Its timbre is not only close to the crunchy and sharp electric string instrument heard in the background, but its parts include steady staccato 8th notes on the first chorus, similar to a power chord muted part.

Established musician, established sound

Following 1981, Jakubovič left his mark on numerous other productions during the 1980s, changing the tonal fabric of Israeli rock in the process. Among the albums he produced: *Itzchak* by Itzchak Klepter (still in 1981); two albums for Yardena Arazi (1983, 1984); and the album and supporting tour of Hakol Over Habibi, *La'avor Et Hagvul* (1983), who became the Israeli version of Manhattan Transfer. Yuval Dor, one of the group’s vocalists, writes that at that point the group had reached maturity due to their attraction to jazz and complex harmonies (20). Though the style of the group might be complex pop and not truly rock, it was an embodiment of an American product of the era. As a means for the refinement and softening of his sound, Jakubovič often chose the alto sax over the tenor, as could be heard in ‘Laila Bakrach’, where his improvisation complemented the one by Shlomit Aharon, the female vocalist.

During the 1980s, Jakubovič continued to contribute his sax timbre to artists as a session musician and reunited with Hanoach on his album *Rak Ben Adam* (1988). By then, the Israeli musical landscape had already evolved, and his timbre had become a familiar sonic feature across mainstream broadcasting. The backbeat rock ballads in the album, ‘Neged Haruach’ and ‘Basof Emtza Otach’, are probably the most ‘Springsteen-sounding’ productions ever made in Israel. They both feature Jakubovič with his Clemons-resembling timbre, and ‘Basof Emtza Otach’ opens with a sax solo that continues on and off, conversing with the vocals. Hanoach, whose voice was at that point heavily hoarse, came to resemble Springsteen even more. On top of that, the early 1980s productions, new to the American sound, were now replaced with a ‘stadium rock’ sound, featuring heavy reverb on both Hanoach and the sax, giving the music a distant, huge effect.

The beginning of the end

As a popular composer and producer, Jakubovič did not shy from the occasional poppy engagements, some of which he truly came to regret (Shalev 2009). However, one he is particularly proud of was another transformation and decade-

closing project he oversaw. In 1989, he produced Margalit Tzan'ani's album *Menta*, composing the music to her huge hit 'Od Yhieh Li'. Tzan'ani, though experienced in rock, blues, and theatre music, was mainly known as a prominent performer in the Mizrahi music scene, proud of the Mediterranean sound and the 'Hafla' (feast) culture, in which the audience actively participates in the musical experience (21). The collaboration with Jakubovič, an Ashkenazi from Czechoslovakia, and the lyricist Rachel Shapira, both accepted by the mainstream industry, proved both symbolic and highly successful. Yemenite culture—classified by the Israeli establishment as part of the broader Mizrahi category—represented Israel's ethnically marginalized populations. Yemenite singers such as Tzan'ani, who rose to popularity from the 1970s onward, embodied both a link to religious tradition and a virtuosic, melismatic vocal style. With Jakubovič's touch, Tzan'ani required little effort to become a local 'gospel' artist (22) and present a 'funkier' sound. It happened through the celebration of vocal expression within ethnic pop, the singing of hope and overcoming obstacles, and through the rise to mainstream stardom from the marginal ethnic and traditional community. It was an Israeli manifestation of an American phenomenon.

Paradoxically, Jakubovič's influence can be linked to both the rise and subsequent decline of the saxophone's prominence in Israeli popular music. His collaboration with Tzan'ani represented the beginning of a tidal change in Israeli popular music, gradually assimilating ethnic characteristics. In the second half of the 1980s, music by several 'Mizrahi' singers was becoming less authentic and more approachable to the mainstream audience, gaining popularity in the process (Seroussi & Regev 2013). Rock musicians contributed to many of the new style's recordings. Meanwhile, rock singer-songwriters were developing ethnic rock, which combined rock aesthetics with ethnic rhythms and instruments (*ibid.*). The American edge was in decline. Jakubovič's reshaping of Tzan'ani's sound, while contributing to the mainstreaming of Israeli ethnic music, was a bow to the populist industry. Though addressing it as one of his peaks, at least in terms of contribution to the Israeli musical fabric, Jakubovič sacrificed the authenticity of rock music just as much as Tzan'ani sacrificed Yemenite characteristics. But while she was on her way up, the saxophone, along with the big American sound, was dying.

Conclusions

The early 1980s were the beginning of a new musical era in the pop-rock musical field in Israel. Considering Jakubovič's contributions as a CBS producer, 1981, musically symbolized the decade just starting: rock music had taken a heavier yet more popular turn, the saxophone timbre became a prominent member of aesthetic cosmopolitanism, and both aspects represented a cultural reflection of the American influence Israel was gradually undergoing. Significant credit for this musical direction should be given to Jaroslav Jakubovič, who was at the time in a unique position to contribute to such changes. As a returning citizen with an impressive musical record in the US, Jakubovič was the perfect importer of the then-current American cultural assets.

Timing, as always, was important. Jakubovič's return came just after Israel's treaty with Egypt, slightly after a new economically liberal government was established, when the political and cultural horizon seemed full of possibilities. CBS, which signed Jakubovič, was then well-established in Israel. Had it been a few years earlier, his popularity, as well as interest in his style, might have been negligible. The five-year gap between Tamuz's disbanding in 1976 and 1981 in terms of successful rock productions is, in itself, evidence. Jakubovič was in the US for just enough time to realise that rock is the present and future, to absorb and develop the new sound, and came back to Israel just when the country was ready for some changes.

Armed with a tenor saxophone and a rough sound, Jakubovič imported to Israel a cultural element that was gaining momentum in the US and elsewhere. Even though the saxophone gained worldwide popularity by 1981, appearing in several non-American hits, its implementation in the Israeli sound as a form of local aesthetic cosmopolitanism should be viewed considering commercial and political events. Emerging as a prominent timbral presence in Israeli pop-rock of the early 1980s, the saxophone exemplifies how aesthetic cosmopolitanism assumed a distinctly local form. Following Regev's argument (2007; 2013; 2014), Israeli popular music in this period was not simply an imitation of Western models but an *articulation of belonging* within a global field of musical modernity. The instrument's new expressive function was shaped by Israel's concrete geopolitical and economic integration with the United States—an alignment that made cosmopolitan participation materially possible.

The liberalization of Israel's economy after 1977 (Zilberfarb 2005), the growing presence of U.S. capital and media industries such as CBS (Seroussi & Regev 2013), and the infusion of American consumer culture (Philips & Tomlinson 2004) all contributed to the creation of a domestic market receptive to Western sounds and production aesthetics. In this environment, the saxophone—long associated with global pop modernity—became a *cultural commodity* that symbolized sophistication, urbanity, and international relevance. Its adoption by Israeli musicians like Jakubovič was not merely stylistic but ideological: a sonic manifestation of the aspiration to situate Israel within the Western cosmopolitan order.

Understanding the instrument's local resonance, therefore, requires holding together the symbolic and material dimensions of cultural globalization. The saxophone's timbre embodied Israel's dual position as both participant in and periphery of global modernity—an emblem of the desire to "sound Western" while translating that aesthetic into a Hebrew and Middle Eastern context. In this sense, aesthetic cosmopolitanism, as Regev suggests, is not a rejection of the local but its re-articulation through the infrastructures, economies, and aesthetics of global capitalism. The saxophone's timbre thus captures a historical moment in which Israel's musical, political, and economic horizons converged to produce a distinctly Israeli version of cosmopolitan modernity.

Arriving in Israel, Jakubovič entered a mellow mainstream rock scene, leaning towards pop and folk, and relying mainly on the rhythm section, with the guitar or the occasional flute for melodic relief. Jakubovič's timbre and his production approach intertwined, whether naturally or as a strategy. The saxophone was brought forward at the expense of the guitar, flirting with the vocalists, riding on the

worldwide popularity wave. Productions often supported the saxophone timbre, molding the vocals and the musical space in a way that made it more flattering, more integrative, and yet standing-out. Jakubovič not only possessed the knowledge, experience, and ability to lead a new direction but also the support and funding of the American record company's Israeli branch. The incorporation of the saxophone into the rock sound was not only a matter of agenda but the most natural step for the musician.

Changes in the musical tapestry of Israel involved rock music and ethnic characteristics, and Jakubovič did not shy away from the new movement, perhaps not realizing the effect it might have on the reception of pure 'American stadium rock' style. Ironically, after referring to fusion, the blending of jazz and rock, as 'confusion', Jakubovič led one of the most significant fusionist styles of Israeli music: pop-rock Mizrachi.

Symbolically, the saxophone's position as a steady member of rock aesthetics in Israel lasted exactly a decade and involved not only Jakubovič but Shalom Hanoch, an Israeli rock icon. What started with *White Wedding* in 1981, Jakubovič's experimental and heaviest production, which introduced the country to the new sound, ended with *Bagilgul Hazeh*, Hanoch's 1991 album. Unlike their first collaboration, *Bagilgul Hazeh* was an immediate commercial success, leaning on ten years of established aesthetics.

Like most fashionable items, the following years showed a decline in the saxophone's popularity. The fresh American product, grunge, was much darker, tended towards minimalism, leaned heavily on the rhythm section, and had no room whatsoever for the smooth, sophisticated saxophone. Nonetheless, the American influence over local culture and economics grew stronger, and rock aesthetics remains an issue to be analysed within its historical context.

Endnotes

(1) The conflict between Israel and its neighbors, Egypt and Syria, and Soviet support over the Arab states tilted the USA towards Israel (Beinin & Hajar, 2014; Lipson, 1996). At this point, in the late 1960s, an economic and cultural relationship between the two grew due to the militant foothold of the United States, mainly through the Israeli Air Force (Frankel, 2019).

(2) See for example the 1960s music by C. Alberstein, HaHalonot HaGvohim, Hashlosharim, M. Ariel.

(3) Shuli Natan performs in the festival, 1967
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qDK128y_Gv4

(4) Joan Baez performance, full concert, 1965
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kqsdWhT6zL4>

(5) In the Israeli Annual Hebrew Song Chart of 'Kol Israel', 1969, only three out of twenty-two songs were not performed by an army band or a then-current/former member of one.

(6) About the 1977 liberal right-wing party government and Israel's social economics, see: Zilberfarb, 2005. About American military aid reaching a peak in 1979, following the peace treaty with Egypt, see: Feldman & Koren, 2013.

(7) Introduced in the early 1940s and developed throughout a couple of decades (Owens, 1996).

- (8) Long Tall Sally' by Little Richard showing a sax solo and a sax section
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q0cBzyYlJuo>
- (9) In 'Good Golly Miss Molly', the sax section can be heard playing the rock'n'roll common backing riff, as well as the solo
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lQ6akiGRcL8>
- (10) James Pankow, Chicago's trombone player and founding member, discusses the formation of the band. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CLyHCyySYmo>
- (11) Chicago's horn section front-of-stage solo, live
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q8w1BO0vyUo>. Blood, Sweat & Tears, live in Stockholm, 1973 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NGpvcv-7-FI>
- (12) Brown's music was actually the first music jammed by Chicago members on their first rehearsal. See the link above.
- (13) Example of the Brown-Parker dialog
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=29r46mlO1ko>
- (14) Brown moving to the melody of the saxophone
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UmPcQsgehG0>
- (15) Interviews with Bruce Springsteen discussing influences, among other things
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zjYmcuN_9iU;
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cnBQgbdQ5OM>
- Billy Joel talks about his influences <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3W0X-MpVz2o>
 Billy Joel, songwriter's hall of fame page https://www.songhall.org/profile/Billy_Joel
- (16) See for example this performance of 'Moving Out'
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jMsOH16tkaY>
- (17) 'Woodwinds' online article <https://theoutline.com/post/1409/saxophones-in-american-pop-music-history>
- (18) Glenn Frey on the billboard <https://www.billboard.com/artist/glenn-frey/chart-history/hsi/>
- (19) From Kutner's documentary, 1998, an interview with Beger and footage from a CBS conference room <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zMhEmEd3Bt4>. Though the situation was staged for a news story, it leaned on the CBS executive view of the consumer appeal.
- (20) Yuval Dor's web page:
https://web.archive.org/web/20130927194856/http://yuvaldor.co.il/article_page.php?article_id=13
- (21) Tzan'ani as a talk-show guest <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R1nvuaggh0I>
- (22) Stories behind the songs, from Arie Gavish's web sight
<https://www.gavisho.com/%D7%90%D7%A4%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%A9-%D7%9B%D7%A0%D7%A4%D7%99%D7%99%D7%9D>

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