The Palestinian music-making experience in the West Bank, 1920s to 1959: Nationalism, colonialism, and identity

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The Palestinian Music-Making Experience in the West Bank, 1920s to 1959: Nationalism, Colonialism, and Identity

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Abstract

The dominant theme of this dissertation is to highlight the significance of national discourses in the formation of Palestinian national identity in the context of songs. The research has been steered through chronological investigation of the widespread signs and formalities which pertain to music-making. Such traits are examined from the perspective of Palestinian identity, its development and change from the 1920s to 1959. The two case studies of Lebanon and Jordan have complemented the research, with the Palestinian West Bank as the focus. The dissertation explores how Palestinian national discourses manifest various facets and connotations of the nation's identity and often function as either unifying or divisive forces. Palestinian songs directly impacted the various communities they represented and point to the meaning of such encounters. By the late 1920s, songs were already a popular medium for expressing nationalism in Palestine, not only on the streets but also in schools. On March 1, 1936, the Palestine Broadcasting Service (PBS) began a radio broadcast from a transmitter in Ramallah which marked the beginning of a new era in Palestinian music-making. The British divided PBS's listening community according to religious identity and language, and subsequently three sections were created to serve each community: Arab, English, and Jewish. Within weeks, the three-year Arab Revolt in Palestine began. Despite the PBS being under British control, Palestinians used it as a tool for national expression. In 1948, Israel declared its independence, and subsequently hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were displaced. Therefore, two main historical periods will be examined in terms of identity-making and sustainability, 1920s–1948 and 1948–1959, which marks the complete transition of PBS to Jordanian rule. As identity in music can be challenging to trace, discussions of songs will be examined from either Western and Eastern musical perspectives, or both, as necessary.

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2. In the last two decades, many private collections started to float by private collectors, enthusiasts, forums, and organizations.
3. Broadcast recordings from radio or television programs that were never released commercially.

Information about such productions is minimal, and often speculative. In the case of copyrighted recordings, I use excerpts to demonstrate my point, given the extreme difficulty I have encountered in attempting to obtain permission. There are many recordings that I received from collectors, of which I use both excerpts and full recordings as needed.

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Note on Musical Analysis

I do not provide a full musical analysis of the repertoire I discuss in the study. I provide analysis as necessary to fulfill the purpose of this study. The term *maqām* is often used interchangeably to describe the *maqām* system, which entails all the practices associated with it, and the scale itself. In order not to confuse the *maqām* system or practices with the *maqām* scale or mode, I use the phrase "*maqām* scale" each time I mention *maqām* as a scale (see Glossary).

Note on Translation and Transliteration

All translations are mine, except where noted. For the most part, I have followed the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* system of transliteration, except in the following instances:

1. The names of certain Palestinian cities, sites, and villages. Although I use Jerusalem instead of al-Quds, I use Yāfā instead of Jaffa, ʿAkkā instead of Acre. I do this because names of Palestinian villages and towns and cities, as well as how they are pronounced, were mentioned in Palestinian songs as an issue of contention signifying collective memory and identity.
2. The use of the definite article al is replaced with the as its equivalent in English for nouns other than names. For example, al-Muntada magazine will become the Muntada magazine, and al-Ṣarīḥ newspaper will become the Ṣarīḥ newspaper, but when the definite article appears in the middle of the name of a place, newspaper, magazine and so on it will be retained, such as Mirʾāt al-Sharq newspaper.
3. When the definite article al appears in the family name such as for example ʿAzmī al-Nashāshībī, the al will be retained: ʿAzmī al-Nashāshībī resigned in 1956, or when appearing at the beginning of a sentence, al-Nashāshībī resigned in 1956. However, if the name of the family appears by itself signifying the family, not only one person, then the al will be dropped and replaced with "the." For example, instead of the al-Nashāshībī family was powerful; the sentence will become the Nashāshībī family was powerful.

4. When two separate words are connected in how they are pronounced an underscore symbol will be used. For example, al-nawm al-thaqīl will become an-nawm_ith-thaqīl.
5. The sun and moon letters and hamzat waṣl pronunciation rules apply to all transliterations, especially in the lyrics of songs. The exceptions to this rule are the titles of songs, names of places, book titles, articles titles, newspaper names, genre names, and personal names. For example, I use ʿAzmī al-Nashāshībī instead of ʿAzmī n-Nashāshībī, and I use *raqs al-samāḥ* (a dance genre) instead of *raqṣ_is-samāḥ*.

Glossary of Terms[1]

ʿatābā	ʿAtābā is a traditional ad libitum song form in colloquial Arabic.
baḥr	The meter of the rhythmical poetry is known in Arabic as *baḥr* (pl. *buḥūr*). The measuring unit of *buḥūr* is known as *tafʿīla*, and every *baḥr* contains a certain number of *tafaʿīlāt* (sing. *Tafʿīla*) which the poet has to observe in every line of the poem. Each line consists of two identical hemistiches, and each hemistich consists of a number of *tafʿīla* that form feet. The measuring procedure of a poem is very rigorous. Sometimes adding or removing a consonant or a vowel can shift the *bayt* (verse) from one meter to another. Also, in rhymed poetry, every *bayt* must end with the same *qāfiya* (rhyme) throughout the poem. The most popular *buḥūr* are *al-basīṭ*, *al-mutadārak*, *al-raml*, *al-rajaz*, *al-wāfir, al-kāmil.* In traditional contexts, the poetic meter is named according to genres, such as the *dalʿūna baḥr*, or *murabbaʿ baḥr*, and so on.
bashraf	*Bashraf* is an Ottoman instrumental form which is similar in structure to the *samāʿī*. The main difference is that the rhythmic structure of the *bashraf* is generally more complex and preserved throughout the piece. The *bashraf* is also based on a *maqām*.
basta	*Basta* is a term used primarily in Iraq describing *shaʿbī* songs.
dabka (pl. dabkāt)	Traditional line dance. The term also refers to the act of dancing or stomping.
dūlāb	Short instrumental piece that aims to present a *maqām* before a longer piece of music or song.
dalʿūnā	Traditional song-type in colloquial Arabic that often accompanies dance on multiple occasions.
darbukka	A goblet-shaped percussion instrument.
dawr (pl. adwār)	An Egyptian composed vocal form. It is complex to produce and perform, and very demanding of the vocalist.
dhimma	*Dhimma* refers to the people of the *dhimma*, a historical term referring to non-Muslim communities living in an Islamic state with legal protection (Campo 2010).

[1] Words not included in standard English dictionaries are italicized if they are not included in this glossary. All definitions are by the author except where noted.

farʿāwī	A type of sung *zajal* in colloquial Arabic typically addressed bravery, courage, strength, triumph, practiced at weddings.
ḥidāʾ [singer called ḥadādī or ḥaddaya]	A type of sung *zajal* in colloquial Arabic typically practiced while riding.
layālī	The *layālī* is a solo vocal improvisation on the phrase *yā lail yā ʿain* (O Night, O Eye). The phrase is just a pun on words and does not imply a literal meaning. It functions as a vehicle for vocal ornamentations and transitions. *Layālī* can stand alone, but often before other vocal forms such as *mawwāl*, or *qaṣīda*.
Maqām (pl. maqāmāt)	The *maqām* system is the principal musical practice in Middle Eastern music, which encompasses the general principles which govern the melodic, rhythmic, and aesthetic construction of repertoire.
maqām scale	The *maqām* scale is a set of pitches used to translate *maqām* principles. Some of the *maqāmāt* mentioned in the study include bayātī, rast, sikāh, huzām, ḥijāz, jihārkah, ʿajam, nahawand, kurdī, rāhit il-arwāḥ (see "List of Maqāmāt" in the Appendix).
Mashriq	The Mashriq refers to the countries bounded between the Mediterranean Sea and Iran. Currently, it loosely refers to Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan. Its geographical corollary is the Maghrib, which comprises the countries of North Africa.
mawwāl	*Mawwāl* is an ad libitum song-type in colloquial Arabic.
mihbāsh	*Mihbāsh* is a carved wooden coffee grinder, which includes a base and pestle. A *mihbāsh* is the Arab emblem of honor, leadership, and hospitality since historically, only tribal leaders would afford serving coffee.
mījānā	*Mījānā* is an ad libitum and metered song-type in colloquial Arabic.
mijwiz	Double-tubed reed woodwind traditional musical instrument.
muʿanna	A type of *zajal* appears typically in weddings, common in Lebanon.
murabbaʿ	A quatrain type of *zajal* appears typically in weddings and accompanying *saḥja* (*malʿab*) dances. This type includes the phrase *yā ḥalālī yā mālī*, always repeated by the attendees. The term is used to describe two things, the poetic meter or *baḥr* of the *murabbaʿ* and the *murabbaʿ* song type.

muwashshaḥ (pl. muwashshaḥāt)	*Muwashshaḥ* is a strophic and secular song genre mostly known in Aleppo. It is accompanied by *takht*, and several *maqāmāt* and rhythms may occur in the same song.
nashīd (pl. anāshīd)	The Arabic verb *nashada* means to recite, sing, or ask. In music, a *nashīd* is a work of vocal music. It is either. There is the *nashīd dīnī*, religious song, typically sung acapella or accompanied and or accompanied by a percussion instrument, or musical instruments such in *nashīd waṭanī*, national song, accompanied by a band or other musical instruments. Anthems fall into the latter category.
nāy	*Nāy* is a wind instrument that consists of a hollow cylinder with seven finger holes.
qānūn	A trapezoidal shaped plucked zither used widely in the Middle East.
qarrādī	A metered fast traditional song. It is often sung during wedding ceremonies while people are seated and not during dances.
qaṣīda	When translated, the term means a poem in standard Arabic. In music, it refers to two song types: 1) *qaṣīda muʾaqqaʿa*, a metered or pulsed song; 2) *qaṣīda mursala*, non-metered, and free. Both song types are set to standard Arabic poems. Such songs are usually performed by a solo vocalist accompanied by *takht*. They tend to be elaborate and complex in terms of *maqām*. The reason I use the term pulsed, not rhythmic, is that rhythmic cycles are not strictly followed if exited in the first place. Rhythmic values can be equal to one beat, two beats, three, four, and so on. In Byzantine music, this practice is called tonic rhythm, where the weight of the music, the downbeat, is determined by the accent of the word. For more about this, see Nicholas M. Kastanas (1990).
Qurʾan	The Muslim holy book.
rabāba	The *rebab* is a type of a bowed string instrument, typically with one or two strings.
sanṭūr	A hammered dulcimer used in the Middle East, Central Asia, and part of Asia Minor.
samāʿī	An Ottoman instrumental form. It consists of four sections; a refrain called *taslīm* follows each. The first three sections are in the rhythm 10/8, and the fourth must be based on a different rhythm. It is based on *maqām*.
shaʿbī	*Shaʿbī* songs are derived from traditional tunes where additional sections or expanded melodic phrases occur. The word *shaʿbī*

	(populist) comes from *shaʿb*, meaning people. A *zajjāl* may also become a *shaʿbī* poet, or *shāʿir shaʿbī*, a poet of the people. The Arabic word *shaʿbī* does not precisely mean popular, which is its literal translations. Based on this context, the term implies poetry-writing, which is expressive of what the people feel. Such poems are set according to local poetic forms. The closest word to it in English is "populist."
shabbāba	The *shabbāba* is a wind instrument that consists of a hollow cylinder with six finger holes.
shurūqī	A type of ad libitum sung poetry to narrate a story or highlight a specific moral. It appears in traditional *zajal* contexts.
takht	An ensemble consisting of *ʿūd, qānūn, nāy*, violin, percussion (*bendir* [frame drum], *darbukka*, or *riq* [tambourine]).
taqsīm (pl. taqāsīm)	A form of instrumental improvisation where the instrumentalist chooses a melodic mode, offers an interpretation of the mode, ascends or descends in pitch, and modulates to other modes.
tarḥīl	A vocal technique is called where the singer drags behind the pulse for dramatic effect and then finally lands on the downbeat. It is also used as a cadence.
tarwīda (pl. tarāwīd)	A slow type of traditional song, with a beat, but non-metered. Common among women.
ṭaqṭūqa (pl. ṭaqāṭīq) (also ihzūja or uhzūja [pl. ahāzīj]	A short song with multiple verses and a repeating refrain, often strophic. It utilizes simple rhythms and accessible lyrics, easy to sing along to or memorize.
ṭarab	*Ṭarab* refers to the ecstatic experience associated with the performance of *maqām* music.
ʿūd	A short neck lute type pear-shaped string instrument. Commonly used in the music of the Middle East.
ughniya	A generic term meaning song. It has been used to describe a long song developed toward the middle of the twentieth century.
yarghūl	A double-tubed reed woodwind traditional musical instrument. One of the tubes is longer than the other.
zajal	A generic term describing various forms of vernacular poetry declaimed or sung at social and family celebrations and in daily life.

zajjāl (pl. zajjālīn) The person who recites or sings *zajal* is called *zajjāl*, poet-singer.

List of Abbreviations

ALECSO: Arab Organization for Education, Culture, and Science

AMAR: Foundation for Arab Music Archiving and Research

AUB: American University of Beirut

CMS: Church Missionary Society

FRUS: Foreign Relations of the United States

ISA: Israel State Archives

LRC: Lebanese Recording Company

NEBS: Near East Arab Broadcasting Station

NLI: National Library of Israel

PBS: Palestine Broadcasting Station

NAWA: Palestinian Institute for Cultural Development

PLO: Palestinian Liberation Organization

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

UAR: United Arab Republic

UN: United Nations

UNGA: United Nations General Assembly

UNISPAL: United Nations Information System on the Question of Palestine

UNRWA: United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

YMCA: Young Men's Christian Association

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Introduction

Establishing a narrative of the music-making scene in Palestine between the 1920s and 1956 presents many research challenges, especially with the loss of materials, governmental censorship, and distorted historiographies. Nonetheless, this dissertation aims to answer some questions about music-making among Palestinians and to re-examine the historical narratives surrounding it based on the material that is available. In order to study music-making among Palestinians, one must take into consideration the ramifications of the conflicts in Palestine during the first half of the twentieth century, and understand the political, geopolitical, historical, cultural, and religious factors that directly affected music-making among Palestinians. Given the complexity of the Palestinian situation and the unsettling conditions that Palestinian populations faced, the attempt here is to capture a small part of the Palestinian music-making experience. My intention is not to formulate a theory that describes how political, geopolitical, and socio-cultural forces shaped society, identity, nationalism, and culture. Instead, I focus on how Palestinian musicians navigated such dynamics in the context of music. I furthermore examine how music provided mechanisms to help musicians form, maintain, or adjust their identity at home and abroad. To achieve this, I focus on two eras, namely from the 1920s to 1948, during the British Mandate of Palestine, and from 1948 to 1959 in the West Bank (under Jordan) and Lebanon. With regard to the era before the Palestine Broadcasting Station (PBS) began broadcasting in 1936, I trace historical narratives of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I investigate the role of Christian missionaries and their records and influence. I then investigate the impact and role of PBS and the Near East Broadcasting Station (NEBS) on Palestine's musical culture from 1936 to 1948. Finally, I shift to the era after 1948 and explore the role that Palestinian musicians

played in Lebanon and Jordan during the 1950s. The concluding date of this study is 1959, the year that Jordan Radio (previously PBS) was permanently moved from Ramallah to Amman.

On November 29, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) passed Resolution 181, which proposed the partitioning of Palestine into two independent states, one Palestinian Arab and the other Jewish. The Resolution proposed for Jerusalem to be internationalized (UNISPAL, A/RES/181[II]). The partition plan recommended dividing the territory into a Jewish state on 54.4% of the land, and an Arab state on 42.8%. The proposal came at a time when Palestinian Arabs owned 93% of the total land area and comprised 66% of the population (Chatty and Hundt 2005). Following the declaration of the plan, armed conflict spread throughout Palestine. By the time Arab armies decided to intervene, most of the major cities and towns in Palestine had already fallen. The Haganah and other Jewish militias were superior to the local Palestinian forces and Arab armies combined. Subsequently, the Jewish population implemented the partition plan unilaterally and declared independence as Israel. Palestine, on the other hand, never came into existence. Dawn Chatty and G. Lewando Hundt argue that the events of

1948 marked two contrasting historical experiences: for the Zionists, it was the culmination of the dream of creating a state for world Jewry, as a means to put an end to European anti-Semitism; for Palestinians, it was the time of expulsion and destruction of their land and society (2005, 15). The Arab-Israeli war in 1948 in Palestine and the series of events leading up to it resulted in hundreds of thousands of Palestinians seeking refuge in neighboring Arab countries.2 According to David McDowall,

[2] The number of Palestinian refugees varies depending on the source. For 1948 refugees, for example, the Israeli government suggested a number as low as 500,000 as opposed to 1–1.2 million by their Arab counterparts. A report by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the UK in February 1949 estimated the number to be 810,000, while the

Most refugees were peasants who had not left their area before, and now found themselves dependent on the good-will of strangers. They faced a mixed reception, sympathy tempered by the strain of absorbing such large numbers and had to adjust to the loss of identity and community status. In Lebanon, the refugees constituted one-tenth of the total population and were perceived to threaten the fragile confessional balance and dominant position of the Maronite Christian community on which the political system operated. With the annexation of the West Bank, Jordan became pre-dominantly Palestinian (1998, 10)

As a result of the conflict, over 700,000 of the 900,000 indigenous Palestinian population fled or were expelled by Jewish armed militias to neighboring countries. They sought shelter in the West Bank (280,000) and Gaza (200,000), which had fallen under the control of Jordan and Egypt respectively, Lebanon (110,000), Syria (75,000), and Iraq (4,000) (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East [UNRWA] 2003).

According to Jalal al-Husseini, Arab regimes were discredited and shamed after their military defeat in 1948. Rumors of a collaboration with the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency during the conflict were also spreading (al-Husseini 2007). Al-Husseini argues that the mass arrival of hundreds of thousands of refugees in the neighboring countries was feared as a potential cause of socio-economic and political volatility. The United States contributed to those fears by wielding the threat of possible exploitation by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) of the refugee situation (Foreign Relations of the United States [FRUS] 1951). To try and contain potential problems, the Arab League issued Resolution 231 on March 17, 1949. The resolution reiterated that the lasting and just solution to the problem of Palestinian refugees

UN cited 726,000 people. For further reading, see Gang Yin, *Arab-Israeli Conflict: Problems and Way Out* (2002, 309–310).

would be their repatriation, and the safeguarding of all their rights to their properties, lives, and liberty. It also stated that the UN should guarantee such rights (Knudsen 2011, 143). Accordingly, the Arab League instructed its members to deny citizenship or naturalization to Palestinian refugees or their descendants. This decision was, in their view, to avoid the dissolution of Palestinian identity and to protect the refugees' right to return to their homes (Haddad 2004).

Nevertheless, the legal and political status of refugees depended on the politics of the host country as well as the international community (Makdisi and Prashad 2017; Shiblak 1996). Al-Husseini (2007) claims that Arab countries viewed any social or economic development of Palestinian refugees as potentially leading to an uncontrollable situation where refugees could question their legal status. Such scenarios would challenge the host countries' political and social status as well as test the effectiveness of the restrictions which they imposed on refugees (ibid.). In 1949, according to Resolution 302 of the UNGA, the UNRWA was created as a subsidiary and temporary UN body. Its task was to provide basic needs to Palestinian refugees in five countries/territories (FRUS 1951).

The three significant clusters of Palestinians, including refugees, were by then based in the two nation-states of Jordan (including the West Bank), Lebanon, and Gaza, which was then a protectorate under Egypt. In Jordan, the government pursued a two-side policy concerning the political status of refugees, granting them citizenship while maintaining their status as refugees (Plascov 1980). It also advocated for one Jordanian identity to fit both Transjordanians and Palestinians. However, the measures that the Jordanian government took to accomplish the annexation of the West Bank were extreme and designed to keep Palestinians at a disadvantage. In his book *Jordanians, Palestinians, and the Hashemite Kingdom in the Middle East Peace*

Process (2000), Adnan Abu Odeh describes this period in detail. According to Odeh, the Jordanian historian Sulaymān Mūsa, who wrote extensively about the period, stated that the Transjordanian administration in Palestine between 1948 and 1950 committed unwarranted, painful, and regrettable mistakes against Palestinians (57). Palestinian refugees viewed ʿAbdullah I bin al-Ḥusain, king of Transjordan, as the one responsible for their plight (ibid.). Some Palestinians who did not leave their homes and towns in the West Bank viewed King ʿAbdullah as their protector and savior (ibid.). Nonetheless, despite all the difficulties the refugees in Jordan faced, their residency in Jordan was permanent and somewhat secured. Palestinian refugees in the remaining host Arab states, however, constituted a noncitizen group (Peteet 2007).

During the early years of the Palestinian displacement, most Palestinian Christian refugees in Lebanon obtained Lebanese citizenship (Suleiman 2010). Meanwhile, most Muslim refugees retained the status of refugees and had no rights to residency (Haddad 2004). Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the Lebanese army intelligence agency known as *al-Maktab al-Thānī* (Second Office) subjected Palestinian refugees to tight control (Suleiman 2010). Palestinians were forced to live under restricted legal, political, economic, and social conditions and were deprived of fundamental civil and human rights (ibid.). Such limitations included restrictions on travel and internal movement, as well as on their right to work and own property. Ultimately, these conditions contributed to divisions among Palestinians not only geographically but also socially, economically, politically, and in terms of the discourse concerning their future identity.

Research Question

Throughout history, Palestinian communities in Bedouin, rural, and urban environments incorporated music, especially songs, in various aspects of their daily lives. Music was present as part of secular and religious rituals, entertainment, spreading news, affirming values, storytelling, and social and political commentary (see Racy 1976, 1983, 2004; Mishaqa 1847; Jessup 1910; Jessup and Ford 1885; Dalman 1901). During the first half of the twentieth century, al-Mashriq underwent a revival of its peasant and Bedouin musical traditions primarily through PBS and NEBS. Various types of literature romanticized Bedouin culture and presented it as wise, pure, untouched, and representative of the soul of Arab identity. Some of these renderings took a performative approach to music-making while others followed a pedagogical one. At times, tension between these two approaches was evident, especially between urban and folk genres. After 1948, some of these practices were sustained by Palestinian communities, but to varying degrees due to the displacement of these communities and the rapid transformation of the social fabric of Palestinian society. Various rural and Bedouin musical practices survived in diasporic contexts because music-making was entwined with social practices more generally. Sustaining an urban music scene, however, required infrastructural components such as production companies, facilities, venues, publications, and skilled musicians; most of which were lost after 1948. Therefore, little is known about the urban music scene in Palestine before 1948. The current understanding about the Palestinian music-making experience is dependent on where these musical practices occurred, how they were carried out, and for what purpose.

In September 2016, the National Library of Israel (NLI) launched Jrayed, an online archive that provides free access to approximately 250 newspapers and journals published in Palestine between 1908 and 1948. In addition, many recordings from this period have started to appear in private collections and archives over the last decade. Based on these new materials, an

unknown chapter of Palestinian music-making was unveiled and pointed to a vibrant and complex urban music scene before 1948. The recordings demonstrate an evolved landscape of music-making ventures involving various previously unknown artists. The publications shed light on the ways in which the music scene evolved, and how Palestine became an extension to Egypt's revival movement in music. In addition, such publications highlight the establishment and influences of the Palestine Broadcasting Station (PBS) in 1936 and the Near East Broadcasting Station (NEBS) in 1941. The broadcasting programs of these two stations show how music-making among Palestinians grew exponentially, and how the outcomes reflected not only the emergence of local types of music but also how these developments reflected the various expressions of Palestinian identity. During this period, Palestine became a destination for many Egyptian artists to perform and record their songs as well as a leading force in shaping music-making in the region. However, with such findings, various questions arise:

1. What was music-making among Palestinians like before 1936?
2. As a colonial power, the British established PBS and NEBS to serve their interests in the region. What role did the British play in transforming musical practices in Palestine?
3. How did music-making change after the events of 1948?
4. How did the transformation and evolution of Palestinian culture, society, and identity in the first half of the twentieth-century impact music-making among Palestinians and their neighbors, and vice versa?
5. Did geopolitical forces influence music-making in and outside Palestine after 1948?

6. Christian missionization in the region focused on musical activities since the mid-nineteenth century. What role did missionaries play in transforming musical practices in Palestine?

Since most musicians who worked at the two broadcasting ventures ended up leaving Palestine after 1948, my research travels beyond the geographic limits of the West Bank to assess how these musicians engaged in music. Specific musical examples will be used to examine how music was used to signify modernity, nationalism, religious affiliations, identity, class, political sovereignty, and cultural elitism. I analyze these examples musically and literary to explain the similarities and variations from one geographic area or community to another and shed light on the later developments related to music.

The British Mandate (1917 to 1948)

Various researchers and scholars have explored the role of the British Mandate of Palestine. Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Provincializing Europe* (2012), which focuses on the context of Bengal, offers a theoretical framework for understanding colonial conditions and their impact on native populations. With regard to the context of Palestine, the question is to what extent colonial attitudes and practices still linger in music-making in the post-colonial period. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin argue that, to make political questions clearer, we must consider them in relation to the colonialist past. Such an examination may account for the perspectives of nation-states regarding issues of race, class, economics, and politics and how they related to colonial discourses. This approach is necessary because these structures of power, like nation-states, were established by the colonizing process whose influences remain undeniable, but which are often hidden in cultural relations throughout the world (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 2000). They also argue that

> Terms such as 'race' and 'ethnicity,' for example, have generated extensive discussion and debate in anthropology, but in post-colonial discourse, these terms provide a particular focus for unraveling the complex nature of colonial relations, of the sorts of binaries imperialism itself establishes, and of the ways in which effective resistance may be undertaken by post-colonial societies. (2)

In her book *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West* (2013), Rachel Beckles Willson examines the presence of Western music in Palestine through the lenses of projects aimed at researching music, teaching music, setting up orchestras, and opening conservatories. She explores the role that Palestinian Anglicans played in music-making in Palestine since the 1930s but focuses little on the anti-colonial and post-colonial perspectives of the Palestinian narrative. To address this gap, I utilize Mary Louis Pratt's ([1992] 2008) "contact zones" to describe the ecosystem where colonial encounters took place. According to Pratt, contact zones occur when different peoples who are geographically and historically separated from one another "come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (8). She argues that the contact zone designation is an attempt to invoke the spatial and temporal co-presence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjuncture. The interactive trajectories of such subjects sustain dimensions of colonial encounters, despite being easily ignored or suppressed by diffusionist accounts of conquest and domination. Pratt also argues that relations between the colonizers and the colonized include interaction and co-presence, rather than separation. In a similar vein, Peter Childs and Patrick Williams assert that colonial encounters constitute "a site of compromise and resistance, assertion and imitation, hybridity and adaptation" ([1997] 2013, 185).

As a contact zone site, Palestine is vital to the West because of its biblical history and as a continued imagined place that is essentially part of the West (Willson 2013, 8). This

categorization applies to the era before 1948, during the British Mandate of Palestine (1917-1948). After 1948, reciprocal patterns of behavior and conflict characterized the relations between the colonizer and colonized. I argue that during that period various notable families nonetheless continued to act as connoisseurs, especially after the sharp decline in Western music practices in PBS. One of the most important families that played such a role is the Nasir family. I describe some of the activities surrounding this Palestinian Anglican family's commitment to Western music not only as forms of "imitation, hybridity and adaptation" to Western values but also as practices frozen in time and space. Martin Stokes points out that one consequence of modernity is the separation of space from the place, where places are penetrated and shaped by social influences that are distant from them. I employ this approach to argue that the separation of space from the place among various Christian families, especially Anglican ones, created a different system of meaning that captures time and space in a subcultural capsule. This exploration reveals aspects of institutionalized colonialism in post-colonial Palestinian music-making. Most importantly, attention to this era demonstrates how colonial ideology and its accompanying practices, without any military presence, extended well beyond the British Mandate. I support my argument with various forms of evidence from the period, including songs, poetry, nationalist literature, articles, and concert programs. I also examine the use of Western scales, instruments, forms, and instrumental formations.

1948 to 1959

Despite the growth of nationalism and identity among Palestinians, after 1948 they were mostly unable to connect, evolve, or transform as a unit. Palestinian communities in the diaspora and within Palestine reacted to and interacted with their surroundings differently. Stokes argues that music "does not then simply provide the means by which the hierarchies of place are

negotiated and transformed" (1997, 4). He explains that "[m]usic is socially meaningful not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries that separate them" (5). In the diaspora, Palestinian populations had to reimagine their identity and rearrange their perception of it. Therefore, they transformed their social interactions into altered versions of their "authentic" identities.

Reflecting on the presence of Palestinians in Jordan, my colleague David McDonald (2013) has advanced an argument supporting the view of Palestinians in Jordan as an ethnic group. He argues, however, that once an ethnic group claims to lead the state or take it over, it is no longer an ethnic group, and instead becomes a national group. McDonald uses Thomas Turino's (2008) definition of ethnicity as a subnational social group or minority group, which in this case belongs to the broader social unit of Jordan. I argue that most Palestinians in Jordan acted as a transnational diasporic community with tangible and intangible ties to the homeland, which is a preconceived nationalist discourse. However, some Palestinian communities, such as notable families, behaved like an ethnic group.

Elizabeth Mavroudi (2008) argues that Palestinians in the diaspora may be seen as part of a diasporic or transnational community that is engaged in long-distance nationalism. As a nation in exile, they engage in state-building based on the politics of the homeland (Hammer and Schulz 2005). For Turino, a nation is a type of identity unit linked to the idea of political and territorial sovereignty and independence, which is typically constructed through a nationalist discourse. Sheldon Stryker and R. T. Serpe argue that identities are organized into layers of obligations that match the meaning of identity (Stryker 1980; Serpe and Stryker 1987). Peter Burke (1991) and W. B. Swann (1990) argue that connections, collaboration, and shared understanding and sentiment lead to the verification of ideas, values, and identity. All of these characterizations are

applicable to Palestinians, especially given the extreme contrast between the statuses of Palestinian communities and how each has perceived their identity.

My study of Palestinian music-making during the colonial period from 1917 to 1948, and the postcolonial era from 1948 onward, cannot exclude the socio-cultural and political activities of certain notable Palestinian families, nor the status and struggles of those in the middle or at the bottom of the social and political spectrum, especially refugees. To identify associations between historical events and cultural and political practices in private and public contexts, I analyze the gradual shift in the diasporic status of certain Palestinian communities from 1948 to the late 1950s—from a transnational group engaged in nationalism and nation-building to an ethnic group. I examine this transformation in the context of music and broadcasting in order to shed light on how Palestinian musicians navigated their positions in the politics of Jordan and Lebanon and bring attention to the bipolarity of their situation.

In Jordan, some notable Palestinian families acted as loyalists to the Jordanian monarchy before 1948 and sustained the same position after 1948. They became a reliable "ethnic group" rather than bear the status of a diasporic, transnational community like most of the disadvantaged Palestinian populations. I provide a portion of the diasporic narrative for three reasons: 1) to examine the music made by Palestinian musicians in the diaspora; 2) to explore the fate of music-making in the West Bank after 1948, and 3) to assess Palestinian sentiment or identity in these practices.

The Two Eras

Palestinian music-making took various shapes and played different and often contrasting roles from the early twentieth century to the mid-1970s. According to Andrea Stanton (2013), Palestinian music in the context of formal colonial institutions such as PBS and NEBS was not a

reflection of the consciousness of the people, but rather an echo of the colonial perspective "modernization first" (3). Meanwhile, music-making among most Palestinians drew a different picture, one which sought to resist, renounce, and dismantle colonial ideology. In light of these differences, I divide music-making among Palestinian not only into time periods, but also according to how each community practiced music in ways that signified its respective identity, position, and outlook. I treat the pre-1948 period as a colonial contact zone as described by Pratt, and the postcolonial period after 1948 as another contact zone. I focus on the latter contact zone with respect to music-making among the Anglican community.

During the pre-1948 period, Jerusalem became an important representation of colonial societies. In their article "Colonial Cities in Palestine? Jerusalem Under the British Mandate," Ruth Kark and Michal Oren-Nordheim (1996) characterize the role that colonial cities played during the later phases of colonialism. They conclude that colonial cities led to "the organization or reorganization of the urban hierarchy in colonial societies to form political, administrative and military centers, including colonial capitals" (51). They view colonial cities as examples of diffusion, Westernization, or Europeanization—essentially as a contact zone. They also identify characteristics that distinguish colonial cities from each other. Such features established Jerusalem as a colonial city, and as an embodiment of colonial rule. The city fulfilled the following functions:

1. it reflected geopolitical necessities;
2. offered acceptable working conditions for the public;
3. engaged businesses, associations, and agencies of government to sustain the city;
4. emphasized economic principles for the benefit of notable families;
5. dominated the tertiary sectors, and parasitic exploitation of the local rural section;

6. implemented political dealings towards creating or strengthening a local bureaucratic notable class for colonialists to rule through community leaders indirectly;
7. propagated specific social and cultural standards, which buoyed the superiority of the representative of the governing body and enforced the inferiority of local people;
8. reflected residential differentiation through racial, religious, and class divisions;
9. implemented occupational stratification according to national and religious orientation; and
10. reinforced residential separation between foreign nationals and locals.

After 1948, Jordan annexed the West Bank, and Jerusalem began to lose its status as a primary regional hub for cultural and political transformation. With the British no longer steering the path towards modernization, notable families attempted to take over that role. Notable Muslim families continued to occupy high political positions in Jordan's new government while notable Christians continued to focus on culture, especially music. However, since Palestinian Christians, especially those belonging to Western congregations, lost most of their direct access to governmental institutions such as PBS, this change impacted them the most and gradually confined them to small circles of pro-Western communities. Meanwhile, Palestine became an open field for Palestinian and Jordanian political and cultural rivalry due to the following reasons:

1. the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan annexed the West Bank, a process during which a new contact zone emerged in the shape of a trajectory that aimed to create a new national identity for all Jordan's citizens;

2. Palestinians in Israel, the West Bank, and the diaspora were not in opposition to each other; instead, they kept strong ties to the 'homeland' and were critical of the annexation;
3. encounters between Palestinians and Jordanians were not marred by conflict despite the disparities between the two communities;
4. Palestinian human resources, as well as cultural expressions and practices, were used as building blocks of the new collective identity, which gave Palestinians more power;
5. characteristics of Jordan's emerging national identity favored Transjordanians; and
6. confrontation defined the relationship between the Jordanian state and Arab nationalists.

Methodology

Historical research has evolved as a method to discover the beginnings of certain events and understand their trajectories. It attempts to reconstruct what occurred during a specific period as thoroughly and accurately as possible. Through systematic collection and evaluation of data, the outcome of historical research describes, explains, and offers insight into how events may have affected subsequent ones. To achieve this with regard to the context of Palestine, I focus on individuals and their works, institutions, events, and social and political movements. I believe that this approach can identify known gaps in history and offer a narrative, rather than a historiography by necessity, which makes the unworking of subaltern histories visible (Chakrabarty 2000).[3] I use "microhistory" as a narrative approach for important events and to

[3] The term subaltern designates the colonial populations who are socially, politically, and geographically outside the hierarchy of power of a colony.

identify specific goals within the narrative as necessary (Lepore 2001). The microhistory process allows for an intensive historical study of relatively well-defined smaller objects, events, communities, families, and individuals (Sigurour and Szijártó 2013). In the words of Gylfi M. Sigurour and István Szijártó: "Focusing on certain cases, persons and circumstances, microhistory allows an intensive historical study of the subject, giving a completely different picture of the past from the [other] investigations about nations, states, or social groupings, stretching over decades, centuries, or whatever *longue durée*" (2013, 5).

Through this type of intensive historical investigation, I examine the lives of various musicians, composers and other key individuals, including Ḥalīm al-Rūmi, Riyāḍ al-Bandak, Ṣabrī al-Sharīf, and Rawḥī al-Khammāsh. I aim to understand how Palestinian music-making and thought transformed under the British, and subsequently influenced the development of Lebanese and Jordanian music scenes. The exploration of the careers and achievements of specific Palestinian composers and influential individuals offers a more in-depth understanding of their unique contributions as well as their impact on nation-states other than their own.

In keeping with the Academy of Creative and Performing Arts' (ACPA, Leiden University) conception of Ph.D. research, my experience as a Palestinian growing up in the West Bank and participating in Palestinian musical culture is at the center of this dissertation. My research, however, arises not only from "indigenous knowledge" (Semali and Kincheloe 2011; Johnson 2012) but also through extensive musicological fieldwork. As Rainer Diriwächter and JaanValsiner (2006) point out, methodology itself is not a "toolbox" of different techniques that researchers select from according to personal or social preferences (1). While indigenous knowledge is not a method, I utilize my expertise as a practitioner of *maqām* music, poet, and researcher. I use this knowledge to carefully observe music from various perspectives, including

theoretical, linguistic, geopolitical, religious, and cultural. I also select my examples and depend on those who have inherited traditional musical practices from their predecessors, such as poet-singers. Most of these practices have traditionally relied on oral communication and observation to accomplish transmission from generation to generation. My early training similarly relied on oral communication and observation. I believe that my ability to identify subtle differences in dialects, musical intonations, rhythms, melodic variations, forms, function and use, language and performance practice is of great benefit to my work as a researcher.

Through the lens of performance, I examine various types of music-making that occurred in Palestine and explore how they interacted, changed, and evolved, including peasant, Bedouin, urban, and contemporary types. I compare modes, intonation schemes, melodic contours, rhythms, instruments, vocabulary, poetic meters, dialects, geographic locations, and context. I base my description of Palestinian music on my research findings, readings, transcriptions, and hands-on knowledge of the types of musical genres that exist or have existed in Palestine. In this way, my musicological work and indigenous knowledge work hand-in-hand, rather than in opposition or competition. This approach is in line with Walter Mignolo's (2011) argument that epistemic defiance and the restoration of links are two sides of the same coin. In other words, my approach is a process in which indigenous knowledge does not necessarily avoid qualitative methods, and which embraces an indigenous perspective within musicological research. Lastly, in chapters 3 and 4, I integrate methods that focus on everyday life as well as the broader issues of power, politics, and economics in society. The reasoning behind this inclusion is the intertwined relations that reflect the complex landscapes and nature of any research about Palestinians. Michael Carter and Celene Fuller argue that:

> Central to symbolic interactionist thought is the idea that individuals use language and significant symbols in their communication with others. Rather than addressing how

> common social institutions define and impact individuals, symbolic interactionists shift their attention to the interpretation of subjective viewpoints and how individuals make sense of their world from their unique perspective. Symbolic interactionists are often less concerned with objective structure than with subjective meaning—how repeated, meaningful interactions among individuals come to define the makeup of "society" (2015, 1).

In this process, I utilize an approach that connects such discussions to the concepts of social space, ethnicity, identity, and the nation-state. Such a method has the potential to narrow the gaps of perception between anthropology, sociology, and ethnomusicology (Charles 2016). This approach furthermore helps ethnomusicologists to think about music-making not only as a marker for identity but also as means for creating a musical sense of where they live.

Research Techniques

Researchers of Near Eastern music depend on recordings, interaction with artists, fieldwork, Western transcription, publications, and records of earlier researchers. In the Palestinian context, lost material from the era before 1948 represents the most significant research challenge towards establishing an evaluative momentum to the study of the music scene in Palestine. As for the period after 1948, lost or unavailable materials present additional research challenges. In this dissertation, I have used data from the following sources:

1. interviews, testimonies, transcriptions, fieldwork, my experience in the field and interaction with musicians, all of which have helped me understand and define the diverse musical types and practices among Palestinians;
2. PBS publications from the Israel National Library, British archives, private collections, newspaper articles, journals and magazines, official documents, and the archive of the Palestinian Institute for Cultural Development (NAWA)

3. publications by other researchers, which include reviews and analyses of various music trends, including those classified as folk, modern, patriotic, religious, educational, as well as other local and regional forms.
4. The materials that I consulted in my research are thus varied, and include photos, recordings, tables, reports, and statistical data.

My Personal Experience

I was born in Jerusalem and grew up a few miles north in the town of Ramallah, in the West Bank. I have been an active musician since childhood and obtained training in both Arab and Western musical traditions. My casual research as an ethnographer started during my teenage years in an attempt to answer various questions about music-making among Palestinians. I was then active in the scene and performing on *ʿūd* with local groups and on the keyboard with wedding bands. I established my own group in 1985 to create original music. In 1986, I joined al-Raḥḥalah, an underground group that focused on creating original resistance songs. During this period, I encountered folklorists, songwriters, poets, and a wide variety of musicians.

I attended college for one year from 1988 to 1989 in Chicago and returned to Ramallah to record an album with al-Raḥḥalah. I sustained a high level of activity with local groups during that period and started producing my works in a home studio and releasing them on unlabeled cassettes. I also started working at the Popular Art Center as the principal instructor of various musical instruments as well as singing for five different music groups that were affiliated with the center at the time. Moreover, I acted as director of Birzeit University's band Sanābil until 1994. I eventually went back to college and focused on music composition and graduated in 1998. I earned my Master's degree in music composition in 2000. By then, I was in my second year of directing the Middle East Music Ensemble at the University of Chicago. I met the

ensemble's founder, Professor Martin Stokes, in 1998, upon my first engagement with the ensemble. My interactions with Martin and the rest of the faculty at the University of Chicago heightened my interest in research. I thus began to explore historical narratives, performance practice, and the notions of nationalism and identity.

Working with the Middle East Music Ensemble provided me with firsthand knowledge and understanding of music-making trends in the Arab World, Turkey, Iran, Greece, and Asia Minor. It also exposed me to the various tensions, similarities and differences, and contentious matters such as nationalism, which connected and polarized these communities at the same time. Such encounters prompted me to examine the Palestinian narrative because I noticed that similar tensions and disparities also occur among Palestinians both inside and outside Palestine. From this point forward, I engaged in fieldwork. I interviewed dozens of musicians, documented several testimonies, and transcribed and analyzed hundreds of pieces, poetry, and lyrics. I eventually published a book of songs that is used today in Palestinian schools.

My career as a composer, researcher, lecturer, visiting artist, performer, and educator have presented to me valuable opportunities to:

1. witness a variety of interactions, including a firsthand look at the impact of national discourses and identity formation on various Near East communities;
2. observe how different cultures interact with one another with regard to religion, identity, and politics;
3. navigate issues of performance practice, poetry, theory, lyrics, dialects, interpretation;
4. identify musical characteristics that symbolize identity, culture, and political discourses;

5. gain access to enthusiasts and practitioners, and audio recordings of various non-mainstream music genres, and
6. observe processes that lead musicians to make decisions about specific musical issues based on non-musical criteria.

In my research, I have observed that misunderstandings and ambiguities concerning Palestinian musical practices are common and caused by various factors, including: incomplete research done by Westerners such as Gustaf Dalman; modest local research which focuses on poetry and lyrics but lacks the knowledge or skills necessary to understand how musical practices are connected to songs, such as the writings of ʿAbd al-Laṭif al-Barghūti's; and over-theorization of music-making, such as in the book *Palestinian Arab Music: A Maqām Tradition in Practice* by Dalia Cohen and Ruth Katz (2006).

To avoid these tendencies in my own research, I approach the topic here as a practitioner who is informed about local musical traditions. Having been repeatedly asked to discuss Palestinian music in lecture settings and answer some of the questions that surround its evolution, I have had to find ways to clarify several ambiguities. To achieve this, I began to distinguish between two types of practices: a traditional presentation, and a traditional performance. For example, an event carried by a *zajjāl* in a village can be perceived as a social event. Therefore, it may not be useful to interpret such a practice as conscious artistic effort of making music. Ultimately, spontaneous and ceremonial musical activities that convey cultural values tend to comment on current events or play a specific role in highlighting customs, beliefs, and religious affiliations. I thus describe such routines as traditional presentations. I recognize that individuals such as poet/composers, dancers, and singers deliver traditional presentations as a collective social effort, not to "entertain" others. Therefore, I approach an individual,

traditional or not, who showcases his or her work as part of a community-wide social event, such as a wedding ceremony, as a traditional presenter, not a performer. For example, if I, as a professional musician, participate in singing a wedding song during an actual traditional wedding, my performance would be a traditional presentation. If I perform the same song on stage, it becomes a traditional performance. The two types of performances, however, can smoothly transition into each other.

Because such traditions are reflections of belief systems, in my initial forays into research I began to examine musical practices from the perspectives of geography, language, religion, collective aspirations, and politics. I noticed that many methods appear in Palestinian culture to preserve such practices. Such measures may include tribal, nationalistic, regional, political, practical, or even theoretical frameworks. Moreover, musicians who appear in performance contexts rehearse beforehand and perform at designated performance spaces. Such performances may take place at a theatre or concert hall, and often in both rural and urban settings. Various elements of commercial production accompany such performances, including lighting, sound equipment, costumes, staging, written text, and entertainment themes. There is often also some degree of artistic direction and consideration towards the audience involved. Traditional presentations, on the other hand, may take place in the center of town, in the street, or at someone's home or backyard. They lack elements of rehearsal, production, and staging, and tend to depend almost entirely on time-tested practices. Moreover, they depend on commonly accepted texts to fulfill the desired function of the presentation, not on modified modern versions. Nonetheless, there are several common characteristics between the two types: 1) both can occur in both urban and rural areas; 2) during a single musical event, both of them can move

in either direction at any given moment; and 3) both can occur in any physical space, sometimes simultaneously.

While interacting with musicians in the West Bank during the 1980s and 1990s, I noticed that certain Palestinian communities advocated for Western music and detached themselves from local musical practices. In such cases, musical performances took shape in a completely different way, in a manner somewhat distinct from traditional performances or presentations.

Significance and Aim

The purpose of this dissertation is to reexamine the history of Palestinian music and to provide a framework for future research. This study is groundbreaking because it offers an original and in-depth examination of the historical dynamics that transformed music-making among Palestinians. The study is also important because:

1. it reconstructs the past and reexamines the discussion of Palestinian history and the evolution of Palestinian music;
2. it explores how and why Palestinian music-making took different shapes in various local and diasporic contexts;
3. it examines the role of Palestinian musical thought in Lebanon and Jordan;
4. it looks at the role of Palestinian Christians and music among them;
5. it examines the roles of PBS and NEBS in promoting local styles;
6. it provides the basis for recognizing the fluctuations in how Palestinians responded through music to notions of identity, culture, nationalism, political mobilization.

The dissertation consists of a chronological examination of the events that have shaped the identity and the socio-historical, political, and cultural upbringing of Palestinians. It explores music among Palestinians until 1959. In chapters 1, 2, 3, and 4, I explore music-making among

Palestinians in various contexts and geographic locations, including the West Bank, Jordan, Iraq, and Lebanon.

Chapter 1

1.1 Early Identity and Nationalism

Offering a clear definition of nation, nationalism, and identity has its challenges. Historians often label specific historical events or phenomena in a retrospective, to tag them as possible origins of national discourses. In some cases, such narratives provide new nations with legitimacy while potentially marginalizing others. When two or more emerging nations compete over the same geographical space, such scholarly interpretations may subsequently contribute to creating a different definition of the identities of these nations. However, the social fabric of such national groups may draw a different picture when compared to their proposed national identity, one which is potentially more homogeneous than different. Often, confrontations arise when such definitions contradict certain ideological agendas on either side. Such confrontations are often accompanied by political, nationalist, religious, or socioeconomic components, as well as external forces. As a product of modernist and colonial interventions, national identities and the establishment of nations are dependent upon a reordering of indigenous spaces for colonialist purposes that is rooted in supremacist ideologies. Therefore, national identity emerges as a constructed result of such discourses and historical processes and from the subsequent narratives which follow.

While the historical narratives and attributions concerning the nature and discourse of modern Palestinian national identity are debatable, the reality of it is not. Several monographs explore the story of how Palestinians acted and responded to Arabism, Zionism, Western ambitions, and three decades of British rule. I, therefore, see no reason to add another version of this story. Discussions about Palestinian identity and nationalism are only used here to establish a framework for identifying certain trends that had an impact on music.

Several factors seem to have shaped Palestinian nationalism during the 1930s and 1940s:

1. religious connections which were vital to Palestinians throughout the Holy Land (Khalidi 2010);
2. Ottoman reorganization of 1873 which established administrative boundaries in Palestine and remained in place until 1914 (Pappé 2003), see the map (figure 1 in the Appendix);
3. the common interests and fates which the inhabitants of these lands shared or were subjected to;
4. the establishment of colonial powers in the region and growing European interests; and
5. established cultural connections between communities beyond this region, which include shared linguistic, cultural, religious, and historical heritage.

Rashid Khalidi (2015) argues that the sense of Palestinian identity that emerged during this period included elements of Ottoman, Arab, Islamic, Christian, local Palestinian, and European ideologies. In another publication, Khalidi (2010) adds that such formations can be seen through the lenses of religion, nationalism, local patriotism, and affiliations of family and clan. Muhammad Y. Muslih (2005) points to various other emerging national identities that arose elsewhere in the region, at the same time, with which Palestinians were connected. He argues that the artificial borders that the mandatory governments imposed on the Arab populations in the region did not confine people to ideological boundaries. Consequently, various conflicting visions of the nature of this Palestinian nation started to emerge. Each vision came with a set of ideas and often presented itself to the public by imposition or appropriation. Two approaches that demonstrate such complexities are the cases of Kahlil Totah in 1932, and ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif in 1933.

Totah attempted to achieve his vision through modern education, while al-ʿĀrif tried to nationalize Bedouin culture. They both proposed a system for all communities in Palestine to adopt.

Khalil Totah, a Quaker from Ramallah, was the headmaster of the Friends Boys' School in Ramallah, a Christian missionary school. He was a member of the Board of Higher Studies, author of *The Contribution of the Arabs to Education*, and co-author of *The History of Palestine* and *The Geography of Palestine*, and formerly a principal of the Men's Training College in Jerusalem (Totah 1932). Totah was aware of the dilemmas surrounding the formation of a new nation. At first, he expressed the need for a united and independent Palestine for all Muslims, Jews, and Christians (Ricks 2009). He believed that national leadership, political unity, and imaginative social strategies would lead all communities in Palestine to this goal.

To achieve this, Totah defended the critical role of education and development of joint schooling for Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Palestine; he even expressed this on the record before the Peel Commission, formally known as the Palestine Royal Commission. However, according to Thomas Ricks, Zionist opposition to all mixed or cooperative educational systems "defeated [the] repeated attempts by the Mandate Department of Education to use the schools and educators to build bridges between the European Jewish colonies and Jewish Agency, and the indigenous Palestinian communities" (2009, 52). However, according to Ylana Miller (1985), the British designed the education system in Palestine to deny the validity of ideological movements and forces among Palestinian Arabs. They gave autonomy to the Jewish Vaad Leumi or National Council, which developed a curriculum that promoted Jewish nationalism (Ricks 2009).

The British considered mixed schools as notable achievements while acknowledging their limitations (Peel 1937, 341). To fulfill the vision that Palestine would become a home for the Jews, the British separated the concepts of citizenship from the cultural base of Palestinian Arabs and treated them as religious minorities (Miller 1985). They praised the attempts by Christian missionary schools for embracing such schooling and encouraged Western educational ideals and methods and their Christian-type character. Such schools, according to the Peel Report, did not promote Jewish or Arab nationalism, "not so much by suppression of such aspirations as by diversion of interest into other channels" (Peel 1937, 341). The "unifying interests of school life have found on the whole more powerful than the political antipathies of the parents" (ibid.). The British hoped for a subdued educational system for the Palestinian Arabs, one that acted as a vehicle for controlling their nationalist sentiment and emphasizing religious identities.

By 1936, Totah's vision was no longer viable. The question that he faced was how to champion modernity while advocating for nationalism based on shared traits amongst the various Palestinian communities. He believed that education must also play a leading role in achieving this balance. He argued that all schools in Palestine needed radical changes and that rural education must focus predominantly on agriculture and town schools on vocational. In the concluding section of his article, Totah praised the British for what they offered and said that it would "behoove" Palestinians to learn all they can from them (Ricks 2009, 165). Elizabeth Brownson (2014) argues that providing elementary education to the rural masses during that period was meant to arbitrate the preservation of the privileged status of notable Palestinian families. Advocacy for a secular version of Arab nationalism seems to have also challenged Islamic nationalism (see McMeekin 2012). It was during this period that al-ʿĀrif, an author of many books about Bedouins, advocated for the modern Arabs to adopt Bedouin values and

customs. He argued that Bedouins represent the pure and unaltered past. Adopting Bedouin law, according to al-ʿĀrif, offered a middle ground where Islam would not become the basis for nationalism, rather tribal traditions, culture, and values (al-ʿĀrif 1933). However, to reconcile the contradictions between West and East, modernity and tradition, al-ʿĀrif's version of nationalism also attempted to appropriate Bedouins through a Western colonial discourse while extending their culture to an Arab nationalist cause. In his view, this approach constituted the most authentic source of Arabness (Likhovski 2006). Essentially, both Totah and al-ʿĀrif attempted to redefine populations according to a predetermined set of values. Despite their efforts to reconcile the various identities through a specific nationalist vision, their idea can still be seen as cultural appropriation, one that is in line with the colonial discourse.

According to Khalidi (2015), local communities in Palestine reacted differently to the general interests of the West. During that time there were three different attitudes among Palestinian Arabs: 1) disadvantaged or unprivileged groups who fought the colonial powers using arms; 2) an educated class of nationalists who resisted the British through rhetoric; and 3) notable families who accommodated the British and condoned the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine (58, 85). There is no doubt that Palestinian society suffered from deep internal divisions in the decades before 1948. Such divisions can be seen as mere differences between the lifeways among the various communities that inhabited Palestine at that time. The attitudes of such communities in the years following the beginning of the British Mandate reveal a great deal about how colonial powers managed to exploit such differences and maintain control of the general population. For example, the large landholding class which dominated Palestinian society at the time was "largely made up of notable traditional families who had held high religious offices and served as intermediaries between the Ottoman authorities and the

population" (Khalidi 2015, 20). The same class expanded rapidly under the British and started to include new merchant entrepreneurs who had purchased land with their newfound wealth (ibid.).

Britain had made a series of promises to support Arab independence. However, when it came down to Palestinian Arabs, the British demanded acceptance of the Mandate by the Palestinians, which meant recognizing the privileged national rights of the Jewish community, "and formal acceptance of their own legally subordinate position, indeed of their nonexistence as a people" (33). As Khalidi puts it,

> Seeing this strikingly disparate behavior on the part of the colonial powers [granting independence to Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon] […] the primary response of the Palestinian elite (unlike many of their counterparts in Egypt and Syria) was to beseech, petition, and beg the British to give them what they considered to be their natural entitlement. The idea of mobilizing the Arab population of Palestine against the British on a sustained basis was thoroughly alien to most of them, for notwithstanding their modern Western educations, they were deeply imbued with the top-down traditions that permeated Arab society and the Ottoman political system, and were strongly influenced by their upper-class origins, and by the networks of ties with the British mandatory authorities that had developed since 1920. (49)

Despite all signs of unfair British policies, the notable class assumed that sooner or later the British would come to their senses and deal with them as the "natural rulers" of Palestine (48).

1.2 Class, Ottoman Reforms, and Schools in the Nineteenth Century

The Ottoman transformations of the nineteenth century forged new lifeways and statuses. They changed not only the political dynamics in the region while still part of the Ottoman Empire (1516 to 1917), but also the fundamental socioeconomic foundation of many of the communities, particularly in Palestine (Horner 1993; Hanioğlu 2010). During that period, Palestine faced several daunting changes, including industrialization, urban development, territorial disputes, land purchases, nationalism, Christian mission activity, and class conflicts

(Frantzman and Kark 2013; Beinin 1990; Stein 1984). It also experienced immigration, slavery, migration, and human colonization. Such changes influenced local communities in profound ways. Issues of class, religion, socioeconomic status, language, and political power gradually stirred into conflicts. An example demonstrating the disparities of the time is the widening socioeconomic gap between rural and urban communities in Ottoman Palestine, a state which continued well through the twentieth century (Horner 1993). Such conditions were due in part to the Ottomans' neglect of rural areas in terms of development, as well as the expanding socioeconomic and political powers of notable local families and the massive wealth which they have accumulated through land ownership, trade, and business. Most of such families resided in urban centers and operated as loyal servants to the central government in Istanbul and were actively engaging in business and trade (Horner 1993). Such a gap in wealth and status enabled notables to decide the future of their subjects, the poor.

One of the most important vehicles for the change was the *Tanzimat* or reforms. The reforms were a series of proclamations issued between 1839 and 1876 and intended to transform and modernize the Ottoman Empire based on European models (Hanioğlu 2010). While they were directed at Europe to suggest that the Ottoman Empire belonged among the European nations, the reforms were considered the first undertaking towards secularism in the Empire (ibid.). The proclamations' main objective was to establish a uniform and centralized administration linked directly to each Ottoman citizen while following national principles of justice, which applied equally to all (ibid.). The reforms, however, were not favored by notable families, including Palestinian ones. These families derived their power from religious status, heroic lineage, wealth, and lineage to the Prophet Muhammad, or through becoming willing agents of Istanbul's policies (Horner 1993). The consequences of such proclamations threatened

to diminish the independent power of the notables (Hourani 1993). Mostly, the reforms instigated the gradual development of a public consciousness among specific communities who were no longer willing to be ruled and wished to take part in the political process (Horner 1993). As the reforms represented a general disposition toward a more civil and secular future of the Ottoman Empire, structural changes to how Ottomans ruled their subjects were inevitable. According to M. Şükrü Hanioğlu,

> The state came to stand for Ottomanism, an inherently secular ideology. It began to appoint non-Muslims to important bureaucratic positions. Likewise, it undermined the traditionally dominant position of theclergy within the various communities by organizing representative assemblies to manage community affairs; in these a new balance between laymen [laypeople] and clergy was established. (2010, 76)

Palestinian notables, especially in Nablus and Jerusalem, felt threatened and vulnerable. They, however, managed to adjust their positions and benefit even further from the reforms system and the new changes which came along with it. In Paul Horner's words:

> The notables of Jerusalem and Nablus not only successfully adapted themselves to these new structures but most often were able to redefine them in a manner that served both theirs and the central government's interests. Through their near-monopoly over positions on the various civic councils established during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Palestinian Arab notables of Jerusalem and Nablus ensured that the administrative and fiscal reforms initiated by Istanbul did not have an overly negative effect on themselves or their allies. (1993, 30)

The momentum towards a secular Ottoman Empire necessitated the establishment of a school system that was consistent with the aim of the reforms. However, it was not until 1869 that the Ottoman government succeeded in establishing a network of elementary and secondary public schools that followed the French curriculum (Abu Saad 2006). These schools, however, were not successful in attracting the Palestinian Arab population since all textbooks were

translated from French into the Ottoman language, instead of Arabic. Subsequently, such schools attracted the children of leading families to prepare them for future careers as civil servants within the Ottoman state (Khalidi 2010). According to John Coatsworth et al. (2015), the Ottoman language was "little studied in the Arabic-speaking provinces except by local provincial officials and high elites" (295).

During the same period, various Christian churches and mission organizations established hundreds of private schools in Palestine, mostly on lands which they purchased (Kark 1984). These private schools taught in Arabic in addition to at least one European language, which attracted the Arab Christian population (Abu Saad 2006). During the second half of the nineteenth century more schools were established by Christian mission organizations in Palestine, which resulted in expanding their networks substantially (ibid.). Such schools played a significant role throughout the region in the education of Christians. However, it was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that the Ottomans allowed Muslim students to enroll in them (Davis 2002). Overall, the presence of such schools raised literacy and education rates for Christians considerably higher than for Muslims (Robson 2011). According to Ismael Abu Saad (2006), by the end of the Ottoman period only 22.2% of the Muslim population in Palestine attended schools, of whom 50% studied in private schools.

The resulting exposure to European educational systems, languages, and attitudes had a great impact on the lives of notable Palestinian families, and both at the social and political levels (ibid.). This influence demonstrated itself in different ways, including attire, taste in music and literature, and fields of study. Missionary schools had varying educational goals and sociopolitical orientations, a situation which also resulted in increased educational opportunities for the poor and girls, as shown in table 1 below:

Table 1. The number of students in Jerusalem schools in 1882 by type of school and gender (Davis 2002)

	Girls	Boys	Total
Christian schools	926	861	1,787
Christian schools for Jewish students	?	?	138
Jewish schools	160	1,547	1,707
Muslim schools	0	360	360
Total Number of Students	1,086	2,768	3,992

Demographically, the rural and Bedouin stagnant isolation and limited interaction with the urban centers of the Ottoman Empire was also about to change (Kushner 1986). The thirty-fourth Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, Abdul Hamid II, wanted to integrate Arabs into modernity (ibid.) and to pacify Bedouins (Frantzman and Kark 2011, 2013). The completion of a telegraph link with Istanbul in 1865 reveals the importance that the Ottomans placed upon linking the central government to the villages and towns of Palestine (Horner 1993). However, such efforts were not always benevolent. The authorities and contemporary writers alike viewed such efforts as a control contest between Arab Bedouins in particular, and the Ottoman state (Frantzman and Kark 2011, 2013).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the policies of Sultan Abdul Hamid II continued to aim to control Bedouins and to increase security and government income in the Empire, including in Transjordan and Palestine (ibid.). From 1838 to the early 1900s the Ottoman governors of Jerusalem complained that bloody clashes between the different Bedouin clans inflicted a state of desperate poverty on the region and its people. This subsequently led to a dramatic decrease in government revenue (ibid.). The Ottoman government, therefore, established settlement sites in Baysan, Marj Bin ʿĀmir, Jericho, and on the borders of the desert of Naqab (Frantzman and Kark 2011); first, to discipline the Bedouins and extend control over

their strongholds, and secondly to force Bedouins to abandon their lifeways and declare loyalty to the Ottomans. The Ottoman government took further steps to weaken Bedouins and placed "dependable" and "more loyal" Muslim immigrants from the Balkans (Bosnians) and the Caucasus (Circassians), as well as Egyptians in the same areas dominated by such Bedouins tribes (6).

Such changes in Palestine demonstrate that demographic movements were not only taking place as internal migrations. The change in Ottoman laws opened the door for European interests and immigration as well, which started to emerge and proliferate rapidly (Kark 1984). By the end of the nineteenth century, Palestine consisted of a mix of ethnicities and widely dispersed populations and communities. Based on such demographic diversity, one cannot make generalized statements about music in Palestine, rather more specific ones that pertain to each community separately.

It seems likely that musical practices in rural and Bedouin settings were just as Dalman described them in 1901. His findings are consistent with all subsequent research, including that of Cohen and Katz (2006). While most musical practices in such contexts can be seen as traditional presentations, Western models found their way to local Christian communities through Christian mission. These communities gradually embraced Western values, including Western music. Such interaction was supported by various publications, including a book that was published in 1885 in Beirut entitled *Mazāmīr Wa Tasābīḥ Wa Aghānī Rūḥīyya Muwaqqaʿa ʿala Alḥān Muwāfiqa* (Book of Psalms and Praises and Spiritual Songs Conditioned to Suitable Melodies).

1.3 Arabism, Local Nationalism, Islamism

Though offering a definition of nationalism, culture, and identity is never a straightforward task, Khalidi argues that the composition of Palestinian Arab society during that period was culturally and linguistically homogeneous (Khalidi 2015). This assessment is debatable. Nevertheless, the events of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries prompted reactions and actions among the Arabs in Palestine. Some came through as embracing the ideals or ideologies of Arab nationalism, Islamism, secular European nationalism, or as mere patriotic resistance to Zionist colonization.

Although the Great Arab Revolt of 1916 against the Ottomans appeared to be a rebellion rooted in a secular Arab nationalist ideology, it was not described as such by Sharīf Ḥusain bin ʿAlī (McMeekin 2011). Instead, he accused the Young Turks of embracing a European style reform party that violated the sacred tenets of Islam (ibid.) Strategically Ḥusain wanted to appeal to populations where pan-Islamic sentiments had grown (Commins 2006; Yamani 2009). On the one hand, this positioned the Hashemite family at the center of the struggle for an independent Greater Syria and placed Islam as a vehicle for resistance (Khalidi 2015). Pan-Islamic sentiment competed heavily with secular trends, and regional nationalisms were emerging as an alternative to a broader form of Arab nationalism (Cleveland 2015).

On August 13, 1932 fifty Arab delegates from North Africa, Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, and the Fertile Crescent convened in Jerusalem to discuss Arab matters (Shabīb 1981). The representatives focused on three main themes: 1) to consider all Arab countries as an integral and indivisible whole; 2) achieving complete independence required each Arab country to gear its efforts towards that aim; and 3) the Arab nation would oppose and fight imperialism with all the means available to it. During the conference, a group of notable Palestinian delegates

met in Jerusalem and established the Istiqlāl Party (ibid.).[4] ʿAjāj Nuwayhiḍ, a later important figure in steering music-making in Palestine, was among the founders. The goal of the party was to seek independence for all Arab countries, with the basic understanding that Palestine was part of Greater Syria historically and geographically (ibid.).

In 1936, the Arab Revolt in Palestine erupted against the British administration, demanding Arab independence and the end of the policy of open-ended Jewish immigration and land purchases. In mid-1937 the Peel Commission proposed to divide Palestine into a small Jewish state (20 percent of the British Mandate for Palestine) and to annex the remaining land to Transjordan (ibid.). King ʿAbdullah supported the Peel Commission, a position which increased his importance to the West as a significant player in the region (Morris 2008).

Jewish Zionism put Palestine's Arab population in an unavoidable oppositional stance. Ultimately, both Christians and Muslims had no place in the Zionist project. Therefore, promoting Arab nationalism became an endeavor which offered an alternative from colonization and potentially the means to confront external threats. The period shows a significant impact by nationalist Palestinian Christians who took the lead in promoting national identity for Palestinian Arabs. The religious rhetoric of the period, however, continued to highlight an Islamic narrative of the conflict, which Arab Christians supported but only as a component of a broader Arab nationalist discourse. Yet, familial, tribal, geographic, religious, economic, and political divisions branded Palestinian identity. Such divisions were manifested through the continuous shortcomings of the Palestinian leadership during that period, and even earlier, leading to the events of 1948. Khalidi argues that "Arabism, Palestinian patriotism, local Jerusalem loyalties,

[4] For further reading see 'Abd al-Wahhāb Kayyālī's *Palestine: A Modern History* (2000).

and Ottomanism were overlapping identities which complemented one another and could be reconciled when a contradiction between them arose" (2010, 85). He claims that the impact of nationalist ideologies was less widespread among Palestinians, and the few who were affected by it tended to be influenced by Western European models (ibid.).

1.3.1 Arabic Language and Music as a Reagent of Christian Mission

The Protestant Christian communities in Palestine emerged from Christian missionary activity beginning in the mid-nineteenth century (Robson 2011). The Church Missionary Society (CMS) was founded in 1799 and commenced its operation in the Middle East in the 1820s and sent its first missionary to Jerusalem in 1826 (ibid.). As missionaries navigated the region looking for ways to spread their religion, they encountered many obstacles and dilemmas. At first Christian missionaries arrived in Palestine intending to proselytize the Jews. But since they achieved little success, it soon led them to focus their attention on Palestine's indigenous Christians. They invested in developing Arab Christian communities through schools, charities, hospitals, and other institutions despite the relatively small number of converts. Laura Robson writes:

> By the late nineteenth century, Palestinian Christian populations were involved with the European powers in an unprecedented way. The links between Palestinian Christians and this European religious presence assisted the emergence of sectarian urban geography, as Palestinian Christians took advantage of land, housing, and jobs available to them from these new European institutions. At the same time, though, the foreign-driven expansion of Palestine's cities also assisted the emergence of multi-religious, middle-class neighborhoods and public spaces. (2011, 21)

Many secondary schools were run by Christian missions, including German, Russian, French, American, and British institutions. Although deviating widely in their academic offerings, the foundation of their curriculum was strictly European, and often included vocational training (ibid.). In their schools, missionaries used Arabic instead of the Ottoman language as the

primary language of instruction and the most vital tool of proselytization. During the second half of the nineteenth century, a group of American Presbyterian missionaries based in Beirut embarked on a mission to translate the Bible into Arabic. One of their main objectives was to confront Muslim growth and doctrine, and direct Evangelical mission to the indigenous population. This endeavor of translating the Bible was pursued first by Eli Smith (1801–1857) in 1847, a major missionary figure who was based in Beirut (Jessup 1885). After Smith's death, Cornelius Van Alen Van Dyck of the Syrian mission completed the task. Others, including Naṣīf al-Yāzijī, Butrus al-Bustānī, and Yūsuf al-ʿAsīr aided him.

During this period many Christian missionaries rigorously worked on mastering their Arabic skills in preparing for the Arabic translation. Based on the accounts of Henry Jessup the circle of those utilizing Arabic as a tool for Christian mission expanded and included many local poets and scholars. Many of them previously got involved in translating hymns and psalms into Arabic as well as writing their own.

The Beirut mission realized early on that knowledge of Arabic, and having an Arabic Bible, as well as setting hymns and psalms in Arabic, was key to the success of their undertaking, and a significant step for affirming their presence in the region. They were also careful not to impose new linguistic terms on Arab converts. For example, Jessup openly opposed introducing the word "Presbyterian" or the Arabic "Evangelical" Church altogether. Instead, it was called *al-Majmaʿ al-Mashīkhī* (Congregation of the Elderly).

In 1847, Eli Smith published a translation of Mikhail Mishāqa's book *al-Risāla al-Shihabiyya fī al-Ṣināʿa al-Mūsiqiyya.* To this day the book is considered one of the essential

theoretical treatises on Arab music.[5] In the introduction of the translation, Smith himself states the purpose behind his endeavor:

> The mission, with which I am connected, has not yet succeeded in introducing singing into Arabic worship. The obstacles, which have prevented, are two; *one,* the peculiarities of Arabic versification, the *other,* the equally strong peculiarities of Arab music. The former is such, that a hymn composed according to Arabic rules of prosody, would, in very few cases, if any, be adapted to our tunes; and one composed according to our rules would be still less adapted to Arab taste. (1847, 173)

In the process of translating Mishāqa's treatise, Smith consulted with various manuscripts, including *Kitāb al-Aghānī*,[6] al-Fārābī's book on music,[7] and a treatise by an anonymous author written in 1267.[8] At the end of his introduction, Smith says:

> It is a matter of sincere regret to me, that the compilation of this article [sic] had not fallen to someone, capable of throwing and additional interest around it, from a personal acquaintance with the science of music. As it is, I claim only to have done the work of a translator and compiler; and it is possible that even in doing this, I may have fallen into errors, from ignorance of the science under discussion. (175)

In the summer of 1862 Henry Jessup supported the publication of a children's hymnbook published at the mission's press. He wrote to his musical friend Dr. Charles S. Robinson of New York:

> It has sometimes been a question with me whether the Arab race is capable of learning to sing Western music well. (This is partially due to the one-third intervals between the whole notes as against our one-half intervals.) The native music of the East is so monotonous and minor in its melody (harmony is unknown), so unlike the sacred melodies of Christian lands, that it appeared to me at one time that the Arabs could not learn to sing our tunes. It is difficult for the adults to sing correctly. (Jessup 1910, 251)

[5] For further reading see Mishāqa, Mikha'īl and Izīs F. A. Jabrāwī (1996)

[6] See *Kitāb al-Aghānī* by Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī.

[7] See *Kitāb al-Mūsīqa al-Kabīr* by Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Fārābī (872-950).

[8] It is likely that he is referring to *Kitāb al-Adwār wa-l-Iqā'* by Ṣafi al-Dīn al-Urmawī.

In his letter to Robinson, Jessup complained that when Arabs sing Western tunes, they sing with passion but not with much understanding. He noticed, however, that children can sing anything, and "carry the soprano and alto parts with great success" (ibid.). He also described the children singing at school, in the street, at home, in the Sunday school, in public worship, and at the missionary society meetings. Jessup expressed what he felt when those children were singing and said that "[t]here is a tide and a power in children's singing which carries onward the older people and not only drowns out the discords and harshness of older voices but actually sweeps away prejudice and discordant feeling from older hearts" (ibid.).

Jessup's records indicate that missionary hymns and tune books sold thousands of copies. Teachers used them to train their students to sing at their schools. He also noted that pianos were common during this period and that the locals started to embrace European musical standards (ibid.). In 1862, Jessup's records show that there were thirty-seven members of the Beirut church, 150 in Sunday school and 175 of the native missionary society. He also directed weekly singing classes of 350 children (Jessup 1910).

Jessup described how singing psalms and hymns was central to the lives of Christian missionaries in the area, and how it became central to the lives of the new Arab converts. He wanted to introduce musical harmony to the Arabs while recognizing that it was not, as he thought before, universal or natural. Nevertheless, he attests that through education a genuine musical taste was already on the rise among the young generation of Christian Arabs. He tells a story about an Arab teacher in Beirut and his wife, who were both trained in singing Western tunes. Their second son developed a passion for music at an early age. He taught himself to play the piano and used to borrow Mrs. Jessup's sheet music of Mozart, Beethoven, Handel, and Mendelssohn and play them at sight. He composed an oratorio with orchestral accompaniment,

which was performed by the Anglo-American chorus in Beirut. In his own words, Jessup described the achievement of this young man as follows:

> With the aid of friends, he went to Paris, studied, supported himself by playing at evening meetings of the McCall Mission and the Y. M. C. A. entered the Conservatoire, achieved great success, and is now organist of the largest French Evangelical Church in Paris. His sister is an organist of the Syrian Evangelical Church in Beirut. He is a modest young man of exemplary character. (Jessup 1910, 252)

When the Arabic translation of the bible was published, a large group of Arab young men, who worked at the press and were members of the Protestant community, started to sing in Arabic to the tune of Hebron by Lowell Mason (1792–1872). The Arabic text of this new song, "Even Praise to Our God," was written for the occasion by Ibrāhīm Sarkīs (1834–1885), one of the church's Arab poets. Jessup witnessed this event and described the singing as a sweet sound arising from Syria by pious young men "ascribing glory and praise to God, that now for the first time the Word of God is given to their nation in its purity" (Jessup 1910, 76).

Christian Arabs have been involved in writing religious poetry for hundreds of years (Cheikho 2007). During the nineteenth century, which was an era of intense Christian missionary activity, many poets and scholars also got involved in writing religious poetry that rhymed with Evangelical values and teachings (Jessup and Ford 1885). These poets were also becoming increasingly mindful of the poetic meters which worked best with Western tunes. Samuel Jessup and George A. Ford mentioned that in 1883 the American missionaries in Beirut established a committee that included four prominent Arab Christian poets: Ibrāhīm Sarkīs, Asʿad al-Shudūdī, Ibrāhīm al-Ḥūrānī, Asʿad ʿAbdullah, and Salīm Kassāb (Jessup and Ford 1885). The team, including the authors, edited the poems from the previous 1878 edition of the *Mazāmīr* book and added new ones. Jessup and Ford indicated that in matching Arabic poetry to Western tunes, they continued to use standard Arabic poetic mnemonic device, *tafʿīla*, which lies at the heart of the

theory behind setting Arabic poetry and prosody. Also, according to Ford, it was crucial for adjusting the melodies to fit Arabic poetic meters (Ford 1913). They also noted that they transcribed some Arab tunes as an attempt to preserve them from being lost (ibid.). Although the authors labeled such transcriptions as Arab, some have Turkish, Armenian, and Greek characteristics such as numbers 403 and 419 in Jessup and Ford, which sound Greek and Armenian, respectively. This borrowing and sharing of melodies is not surprising given that it was common during this period, and well into the twentieth century, for songs to travel across linguistic barriers. Moreover, the authors did not indicate whether such tunes were secular or religious.

Based on my examination of the transcriptions, I found some secular songs such as number 395 in the 1913 edition of Ford's book, and number 88 in the 1885 edition. The first song (Figure 1) first appeared in the 1885 edition of *Mazāmīr*, and later in Iṣṭifān's article about Palestinian dabka in the *Muntada* magazine in 1944, as shown in Figure 3, and Dalman's *Palästinischer Diwan* (Figure 4).

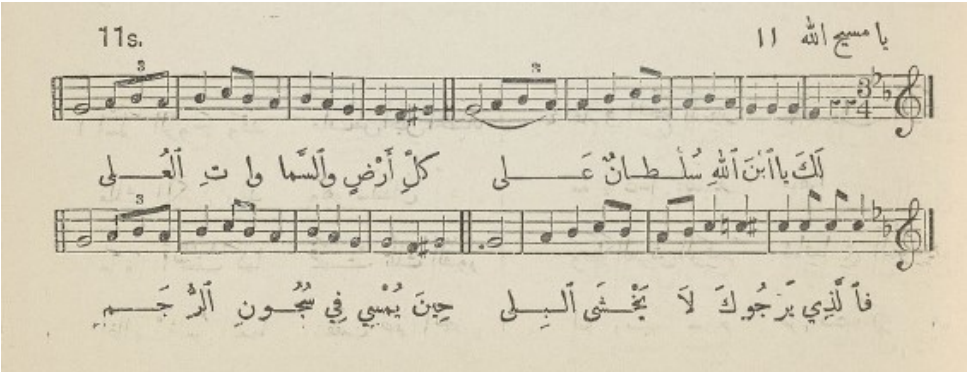


Figure 1. Secular melody adapted to a Christian religious text (Jessup and Ford 1885)

The second song (Figure 2) is known as "al-Bulbul Nāgha," which is a popular song to this day. Iṣṭifān, a local Palestinian researcher, referenced the same lyrics in his 1928 book *The*

Smell of Lebanon: Twenty-Four Syrian Folk Songs (Iṣṭifān 1928).[9] The lyrics of the song noted by Dalman and Iṣṭifān are identical and confirm its secular nature. The one from 1885, while positioned on a religious text, was assigned a Western melody, as shown in Figure 5.

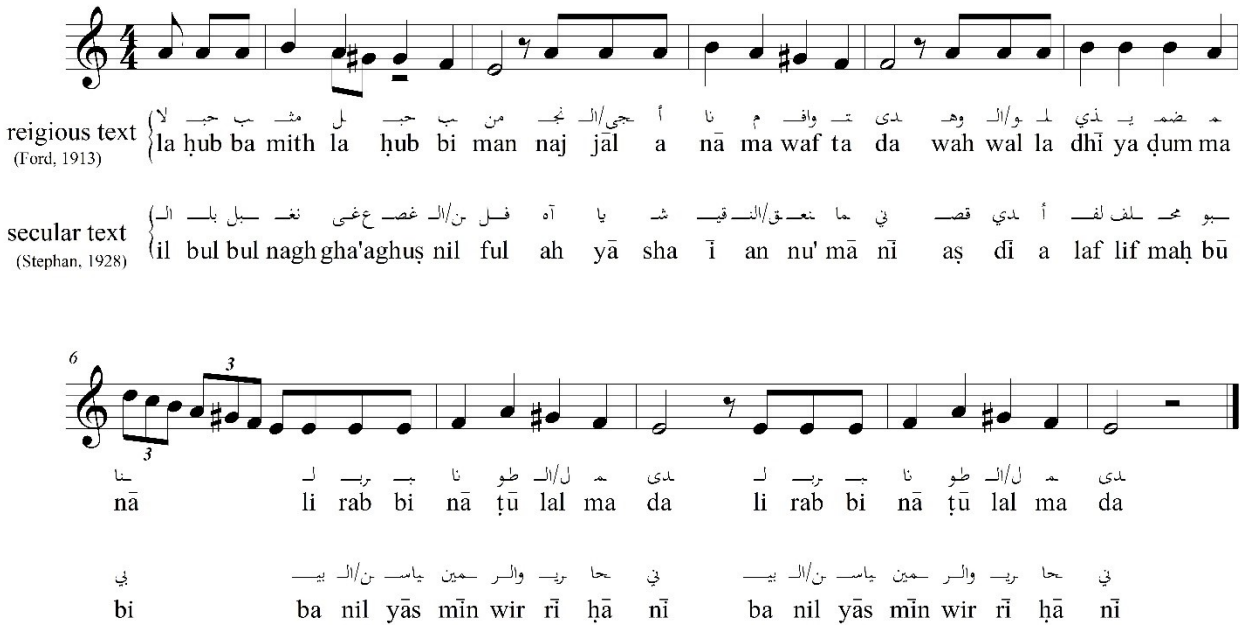


Figure 2. Secular melody of "il-Bulbu Nāgha" adapted to a Christian religious text (Ford 1913)

[9] Iṣṭifān Ḥannā Iṣṭifān is the same person as Stephan Hanna Stephan. Born in Beit Jala in 1899 and died in Lebanon in 1949.

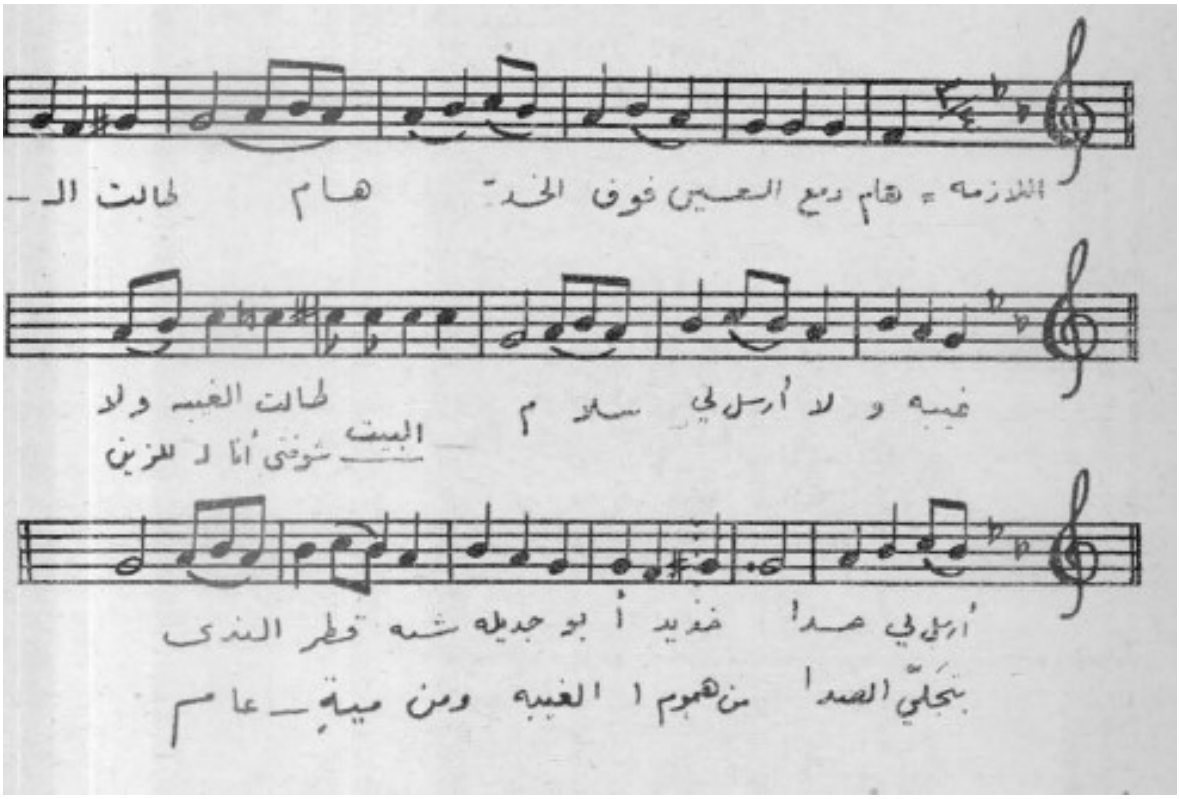


Figure 3. Secular song (Iṣṭifān 1944)

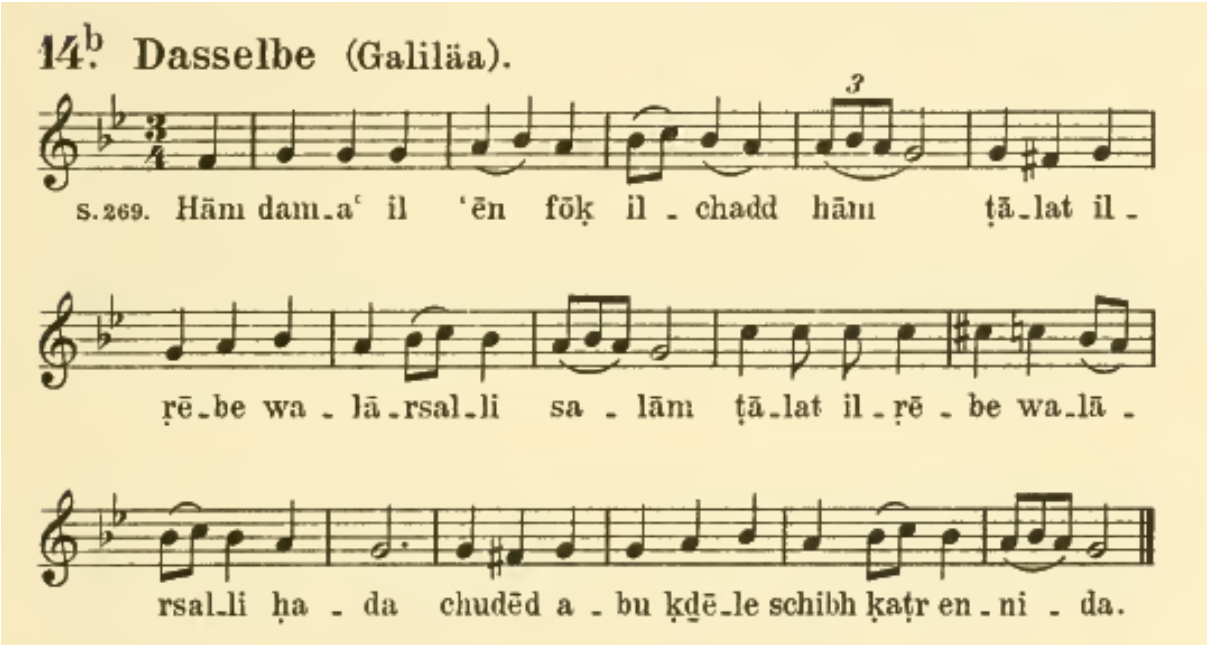


Figure 4. Secular song (Dalman 1901)

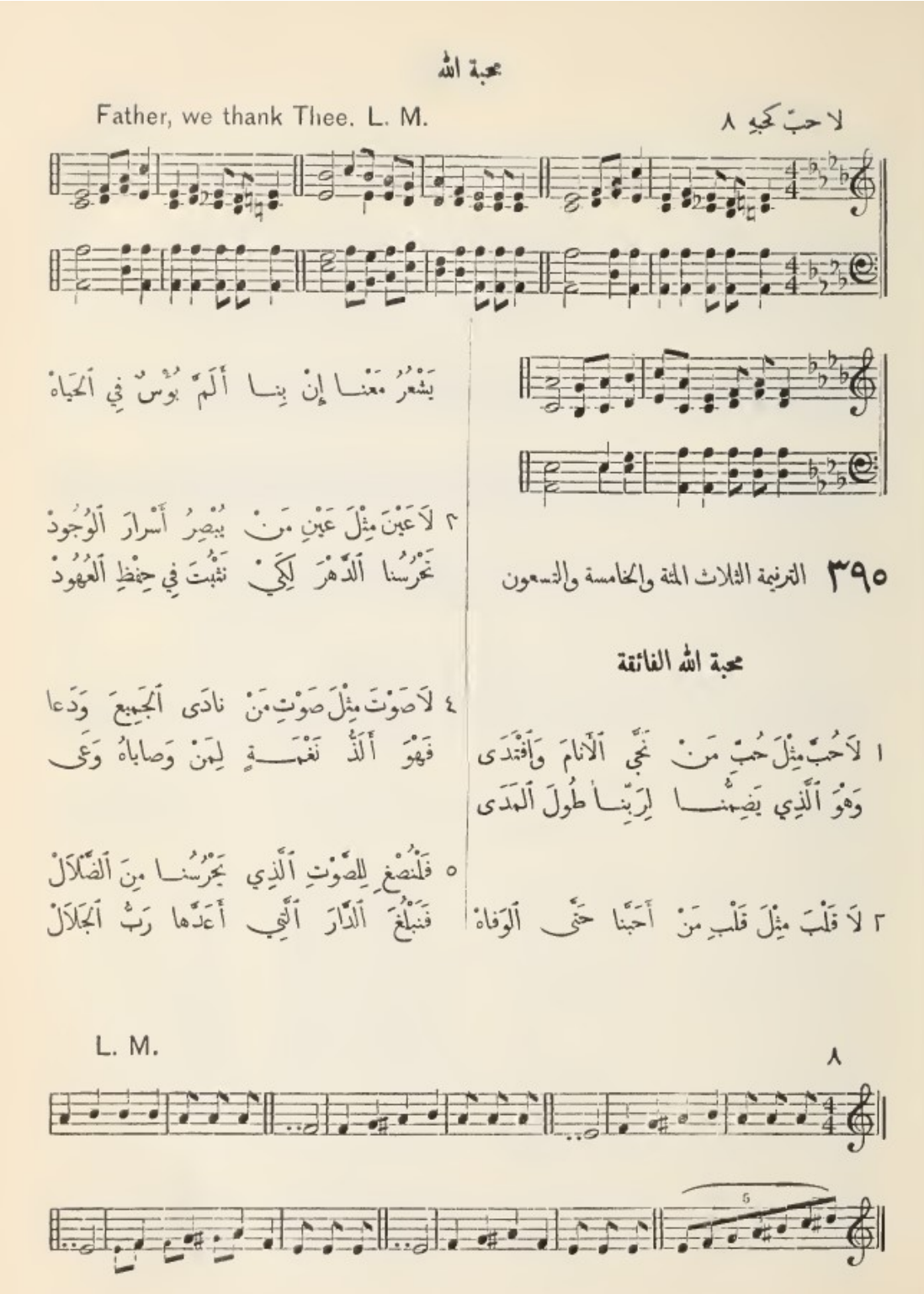


Figure 5. Secular song “al-Bulbul Nāgha” adapted to Christian religious text (bottom); same text assigned to a Western melody (top) (Ford 1913)

1.3.2 Reflections

Local and simple secular melodies had Arabic religious poetry assigned to them. The same religious poetry had also been assigned to fully harmonized Western melodies. While investigating the survival of local secular songs and their related religious texts, it appears that only Western tunes and their Arabic texts have survived. Most of the secular Arab songs did not even survive in secular contexts. Also, none of the original lyrics of the secular songs were referenced, except by Dalman and Iṣṭifān who included the text of some of the songs but not the notation, as in the case of Iṣṭifān.

Smith, Jessup, and Ford recognized that Arab music itself is difficult to understand, especially its intonations, scales, rhythms, and performance technique. They were, however, determined to make music an integral part of their work as missionaries and bring the local population to worship in the same way. However, to Jessup's ear Arab music sounded like minor scales (Jessup 1913), and the musically inclined missionaries seem to have given up on the idea of learning the Arab music idiom.

The transcriptions of Arab tunes were also selective. They restricted themselves to modes which the missionaries were able to understand. Those include melodies in major, Phrygian, Aeolian, and scales that have the descending augmented second as a featured component, such as the harmonic minor scale and the *maqām* scale *ḥijāz*. Their understanding of the rhythmic cycles tied to each of the melodies was also lacking, despite the access they had to people like Mishāqa. After all, learning the Arabic language is much easier than learning the *maqām* system. Therefore, Christian missionaries gradually pursued the matter from a different angle, the native language. By then, the concept of using Arabic as a tool of proselytizing native Arabs was also used to shape music-making in the direction of Western music. The publications that they put out

in the following years continued to include sheet music of mostly Western tunes, but the lyrics were all set in standard Arabic. The Beirut Press published several books after the 1862 children's hymnbook. Those include several editions of the hymns and psalms as well as many new ones. In the 1913 edition of the *Mazāmīr* book, it is noticeable that many of the poems, although religious, were set to embrace the homeland and assigned to march-like Western melodies.

Missionaries by this time were determined to bring their musical practice to local populations through the Arabic language, and not through Arab music. They supported this endeavor by publications, training, and formal instruction. As Jessup put it: "The introduction of melodeons, pianos, harmoniums, and organs by Americans and Europeans in the last fifty years and the regular instruction in harmony in the schools have developed in the second generation of educated Syrians several very remarkable cases of the musical genius of the European style" (1910, 566). Jessup took pride that the total number of pupils in 1891 was 7,117. He noted that by adding the numbers at other Protestant missions in Syria and Palestine, it went up to 15,000 children, all under Evangelical instruction (1910, vol. II, 593).

During the nineteenth century, industrialization, urban development, and mass migrations to urban centers affected rural and urban musical traditions in Palestine (Davis 2010). Contact with other cultures had transformed music-making in the region, and more dramatically in urban settings (Lachman [1936-1937] 2013). Nevertheless, musical connections occurred not only at the *maqām* level but also across the poetic landscape of the Arabic language. Melodic contours and poetic meters of vocal music in Syria show significant structural connections that probably go back hundreds of years (see Dalman 1901; Jessup 1885; Ford 1913; and Sbaiṭ 1986). Such links can still be seen despite the limited documentation of the Palestinian musical landscape. At

the same time, the transformations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been particularly striking, especially with the pressures of modernity, as well as the phenomenon of change (Shiloah 1981, 19). The resulting musical blend reveals that the history of the region has always intertwined with many influences. The history and evolution of musical traditions are related to such trajectories, but also to the rapid changes that influenced Palestine's cultural, political, and demographic environment during the nineteenth century. Christian Arabs were not immune from change and their interactions with missionaries gradually transformed their musical outlook and expression.

1.4 Poetry

The poetry in Palestinian songs is usually in a colloquial Arabic, which is specific to the region. This type of poetry does not follow the grammatical rules of standard Arabic used by authors of literary poetry. However, it incorporates many of the devices found in literary poetry. It also loosely uses *buḥūr*, the meters used in Arabic poetic schemes (Sbaiṭ 1986, 1993). Beats or pulses, as well as silence, are measured and counted according to *buḥūr* and conferring to the basic rules of the local vernacular Arabic diction, articulation, and pronunciation.

Ḍurghām Sbaiṭ highlights the connections between colloquial and literary poetry. He demonstrates how certain literary devices are used in colloquial poetry, such as paronomasia, antithesis, metaphor, and meronymy. He also illustrates how poetic rhyme schemes distinguish song types from each other and influence melodies (Sbaiṭ 1986). He shows how music and poetry in the Near East are tightly interconnected. David Samuel Margoliouth articulates this notion perfectly and argues that "[s]ome of the Arab poetic meters seem to suggest either the dance or music or both" (Margoliouth 1925, 447), and often forcefully determine musical discourses.

Arab literary poets practiced the melodic-poetic recitation from ancient times. This style of reading can easily give the impression that melodies in rhythmic cycles and bars are organized in equal units as Virginia Danielson describes:

> Traditionally, recitations of poetry form part of ceremonies, celebrations, and other performances. Sophisticated poetry and colloquial verse are frequently sung, with the expectation that the singer's rendition will enhance the mood and meaning of the poetry but not obscure its puns or other wordplays. The singing of a *qaṣīda*, a long narrative poem describing nature, political events, or religious devotion, exemplifies pre-Islamic classical tradition. In this tradition, singers select a dozen or more poignant lines from much longer poems and create melodies for them. Their performances featured lengthy variations or improvisations on lines at the behest of listeners who felt themselves drawn into the mood of the poetry and music. This tradition continues in a multitude of genres of song, including highly colloquial folksongs performed in small villages, that operate similarly—that is, they combine clever ideas and wordplay with creative musical rendition. (Danielson 2004, para. 4)

It seems logical, therefore, to assume that there is a link between poetry and the musical traditions related to them, on the one hand, and with those of the Arab musical and literary past on the other. The survival of song types in the Ottoman period is likely due to the structure and multiethnic nature of the Empire in addition to the centralized governance which positioned progress around major urban centers, and neglected development in rural and Bedouin communities. It is safe to assume that urban musical practices were subjected to outside influences more so than rural and Bedouin trajectories.

Despite the pivotal link between music and poetry, poetry consistently plays a more dominant role in Palestinian songs, not music. Music occupies a subordinate status to poetry, especially in rural and Bedouin contexts where it conveys and presents text and serves as its carrier or transporter. Therefore, I examine lyrics and poems in terms of their poetic meters and literary connections. This procedure becomes necessary to demonstrate how syllabic orientation levies itself over the type of rhythmic cycles or duration of measured metrical units, as well as identifying shared historical traits.

1.5 Song

I divide Palestinian songs into three major categories which nonetheless often overlap: 1) a short song with a pulse (beat); 2) a strophic, binary, or ternary song with a pulse, and 3) a longer song with a pulse, rhythmic cycle, or free. I describe such categories in detail below, but must highlight that musical practices among Palestinians are primarily vocal, monophonic, and transmitted orally, as described below:

1. *Vocal*: Despite the variety, context, and function, Palestinian musical traditions are primarily vocal. An exception to this occurred in some urban pockets where instrumental music, mostly Ottoman, was present (Thompson 1860; Lachman [1936–1937] 2013).
2. *Monophonic*: A typical song would consist of a single melody, usually sung by one singer with occasional group participation. One or more musical instruments may join the singer(s) and play the same tune, in unison, or an octave apart. When performed by a group, the song texture can be regarded as a kind of complex monophony. Multiple voices may also present the same basic melody differently by applying various rhythmic or melodic embellishments. In this case, the texture becomes heterophonic.
3. *Oral and Observatory Transmission*: Palestinian musical traditions are transmitted orally or by observation. Informal master/apprentice scenarios occur, and even those rely heavily on memorizing the text first, and then the melody. The masters in this context are poet-singers.

An important aspect of Palestinian music-making in these contexts is that it also allows a degree of improvisatory elements which appear to various degrees in both music and poetry. Since most performers have little awareness or theoretical knowledge of *maqām*, any regularity

or irregularity occurring in melodies and the rules and principles structuring the melodic contours tend to be spontaneous, intuitive, and subconscious. Even within the same song type, poet-singers may, for example, change to a different *maqām* scheme during a giving performance. This flexibility allows them to have extra liberty, which reflects on *maqām*, rhythm, melodic contour, lyrics, and poetry (Cohen and Katz 2006), but seldom at the expense of text. An example of this is shown below by comparing the various versions of one single traditional song, "ʿal-Rūzānā," Figures 6, 7, 8, and 9. The transcriptions illustrate how the syllabic orientation remained the same across all four versions of the song despite the change in *maqām* and rhythm. The text of the refrain verse also remained mostly the same, but dozens of verses occur in each region where any of these versions appear. In all the transcriptions, I added slurs on certain notes to indicate how the diction rules of Arabic persist despite the change in *maqām* and rhythm. Essentially, melisma or any extension of a syllable must always occur while attached to the sound of one of the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*.

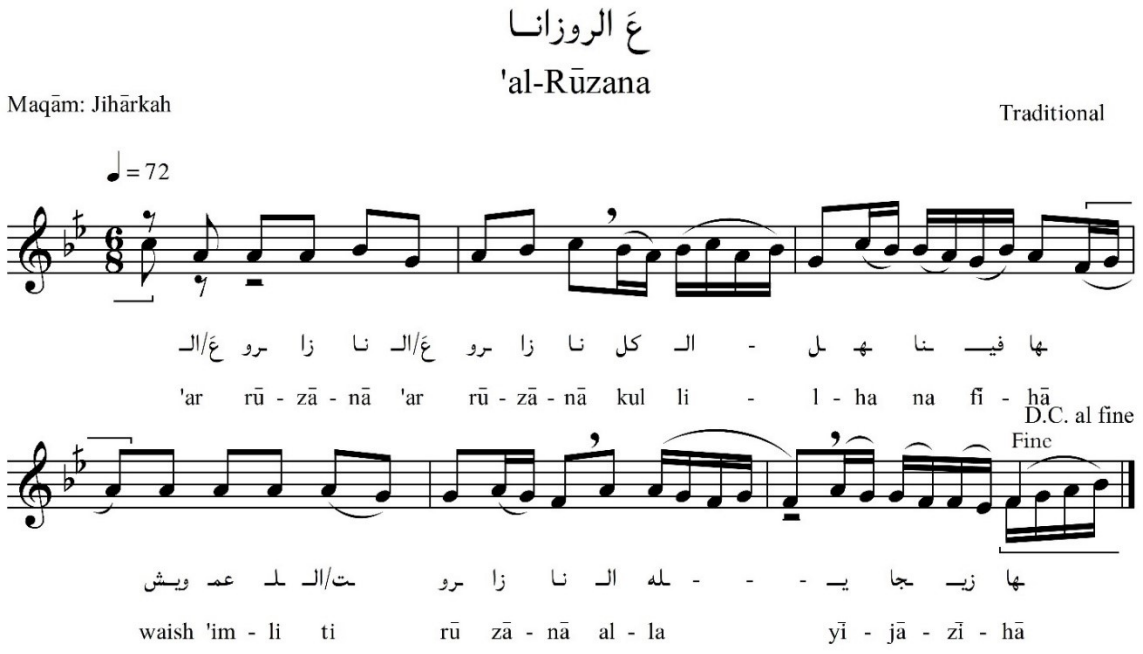


Figure 6. "ʿAl-Rūzānā," *maqām jihārkah*, 6/8 rhythm

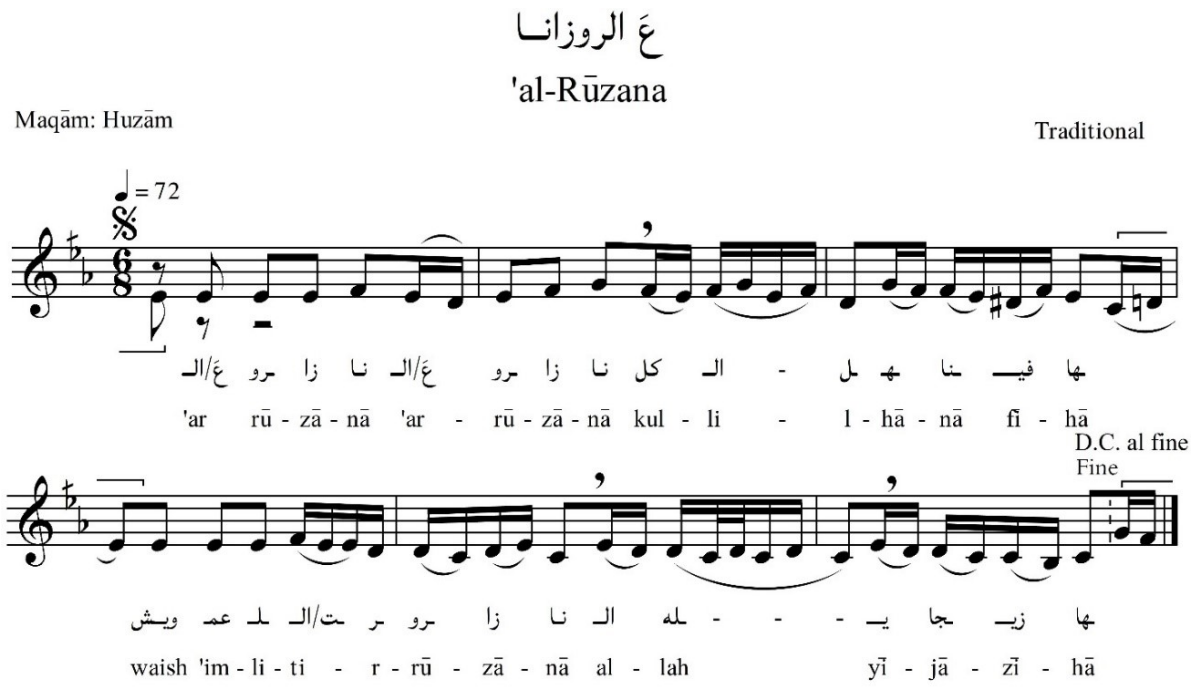


Figure 7. "'Al-Rūzānā," *maqām huzām*, 6/8 rhythm

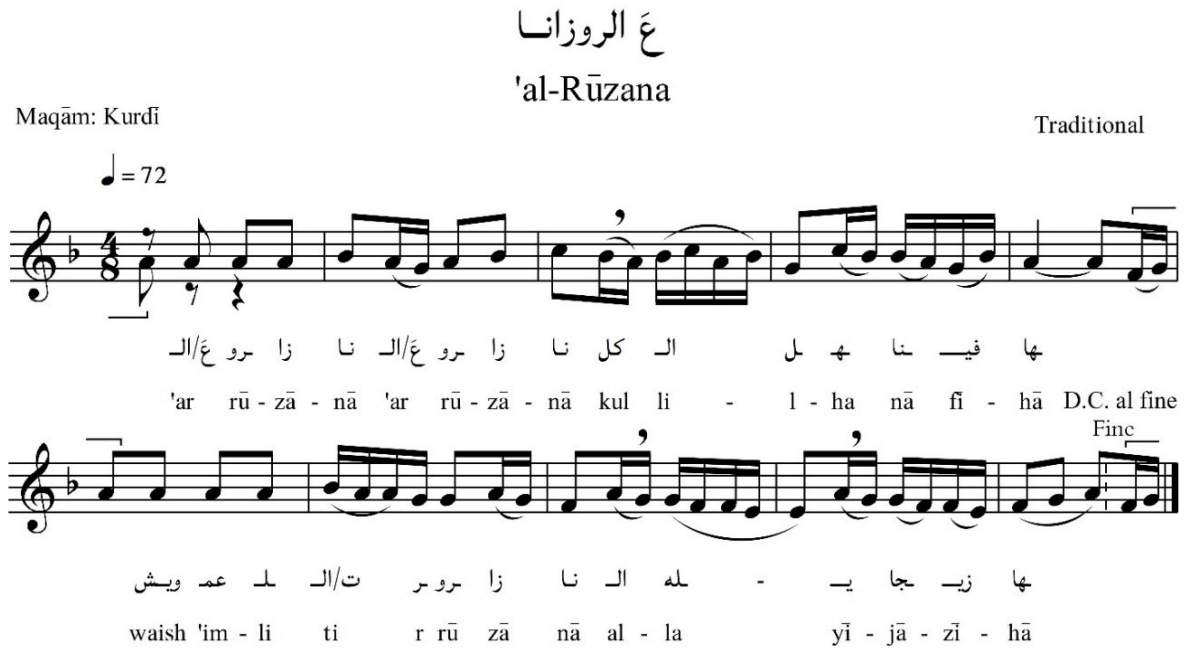


Figure 8. "'Al-Rūzānā," *maqām kurdī*, 4/8 rhythm

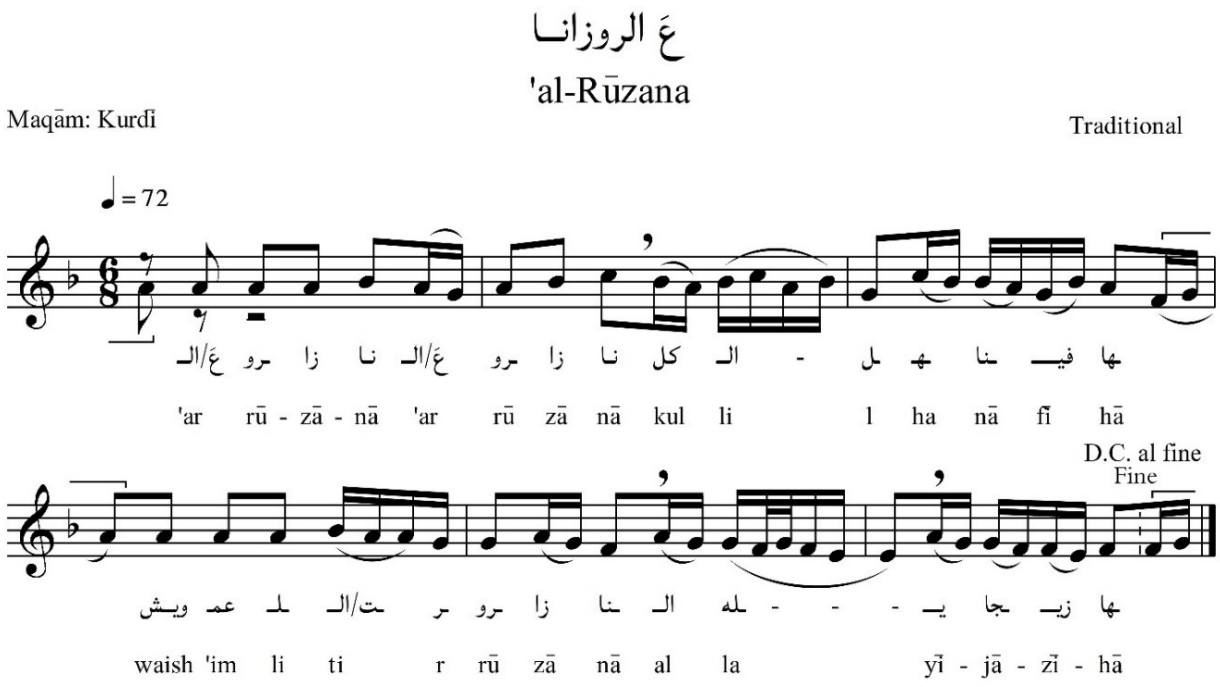


Figure 9. "'Al-Rūzānā," *maqām kurdī*, 6/8 rhythm

There is a large body of empirical evidence indicating that musical practices existed in Palestine in different regional settings, including coastal, mountain, inland, and desert. However, the same practices can also be classified according to other criteria such as urban, rural, Bedouin, secular, seasonal, celebratory, or religious. Cohen and Katz (2006) review and describe seven of the most important song types, including *shurūqī*, *ʿatābā*, *mījānā*, and *muʿuanna*. They discuss each type separately and describe the context, poetic and musical aspects, and other distinguishing characteristics. While their work is impressive and useful, their notion of *genre* implies certain barriers or conventions concerning musical form, performance, and style. The constant adjustment of all related dynamics in each performance, which they observed, hinders any attempt to create a theoretical model that explains a specific *genre* or compares it to another. Therefore, I classify traditional musical practices into three categories and treat all types, regardless of category, as musico-poetic frames, not genres. I do it intentionally as I am not concerned with how song types are labeled, theorized, or named in each region. Consequently,

and to define the basic ingredients of the Palestinian musical landscape during the period in question, below are more detailed explanations of the three categories. Since traditional musical practices are essentially not so distant from each other in the first place, any song types mentioned below within the framework of each category can easily cross over to another. Most of the songs follow specific poetic meters, and verses set to a precise number of poetic lines, where each line consists of two hemistiches. Also, lyrics can be different from one region or occasion to another.

1.5.1 Short Songs with a Pulse

Such songs consist of short melodies that tend to be repetitive and do not go beyond the range of four to six notes. They adhere to a pulse or meter, but not strictly, and typically occur in rural settings and are mostly not inclusive of strict form. They can be fast, such as the *murabbaʿ, ḥidāʾ*, and *farʿāwī*, or slow such as the *tarwīda* example shown below in Figure 10:

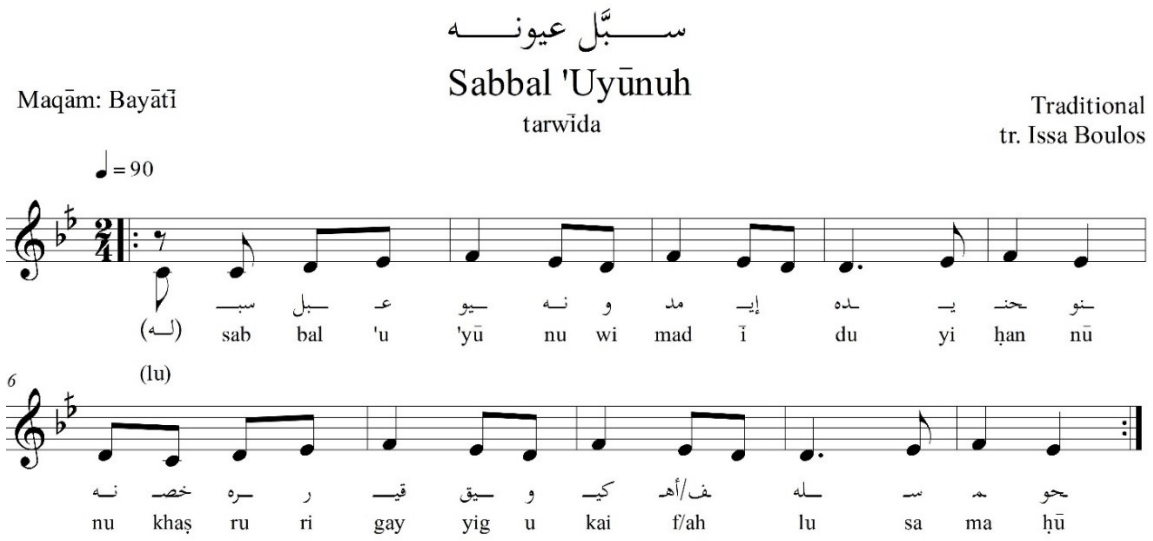
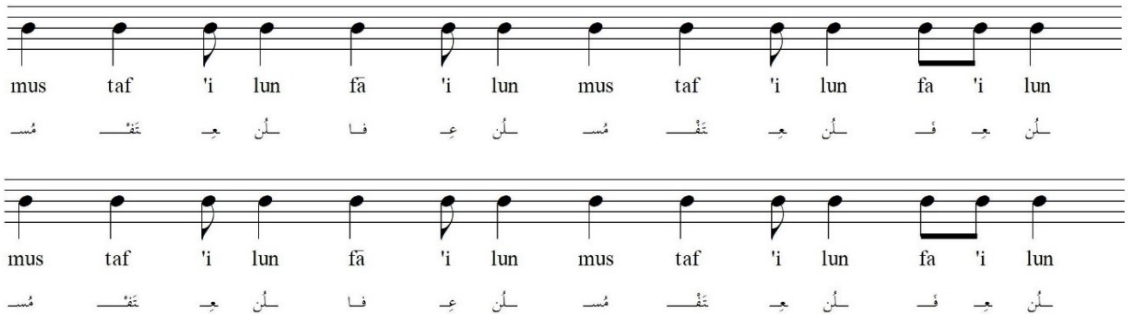


Figure 10. "Sabbal ʿUyūnu," (*tarāwīd* tune)

In this example, the lyrics are in Near Eastern colloquial Arabic, set according to a poetic meter called *baḥr al-basīṭ*:

mustafʿilun	fāʿilun	mustafʿilun	faʿilun	mustafʿilun	fāʿilun	mustafʿilun	faʿilun
- - u -	- u -	- - u -	u u -	- - u -	- u -	- - u -	u u -
فَعِلُنْ	فاعِلُنْ	فاعِلُنْ	مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ	فَعِلُنْ	مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ	فاعِلُنْ	مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ
-ں ں	- - ں -	- ں -	- - ں -	-ں ں	- - ں -	- ں -	- - ں -



The following is one line or verse of colloquial poetry from the song, which consists of two equal hemistiches which match the exact configuration of baḥr al-basīṭ:

sabbal ʿuyūnu wi mad dīdū yiḥannūnuh khaṣru rigayyig u kaif_ahlu samaḥūlu

سَبَّل عُيونُه ومَد إيدُه يحَنّونُه خَصْرُه رَقَيّقْ وكيف أهلُه سَمَحولُه

Other variations of this *tarwīda* exist, such as Ḥenna l-il-ʿArīs (track 21 in Cohen and Katz 2006, 395). When appearing in urban contexts, such short melodies may be subjected to further additions and expansions and become more suited to urban consumption.

1.5.2 Strophic, Binary, or Ternary Song with a Pulse

These songs consist of slightly longer melodies with a somewhat broader melodic range. Phrases tend to be more consistent every time they are sung and may follow a stricter beat or rhythmic cycle. The melodies in this category tend to be receptive to being developed into strophic, binary, or ternary song forms, especially in urban settings. An example of this is the melody shown below in Figure 11 and Figure 12, where I transposed the melody to D and added the proper key signature along with the quartertones:

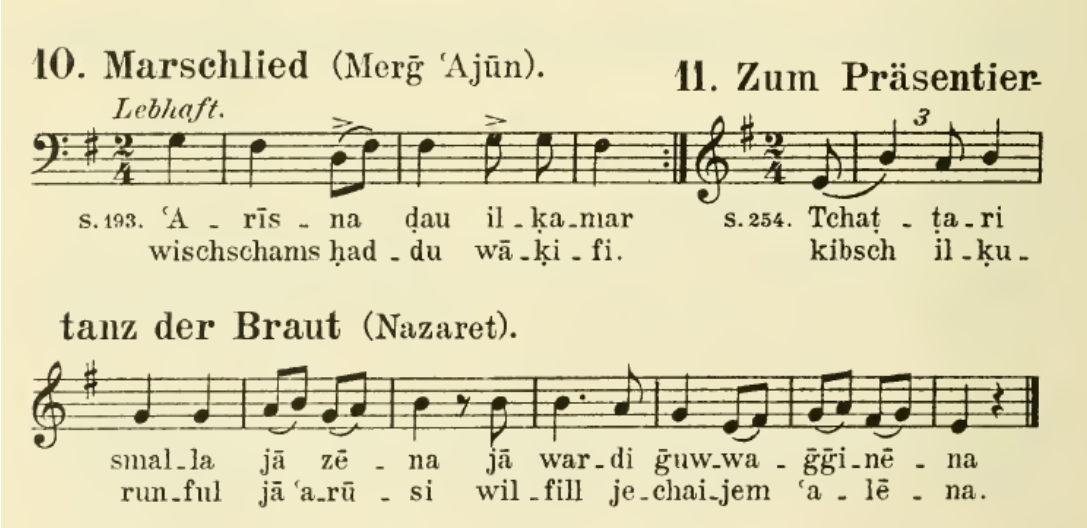


Figure 11. “Itshaṭṭarī” (“Tchaṭṭari”) (Dalman 1901)

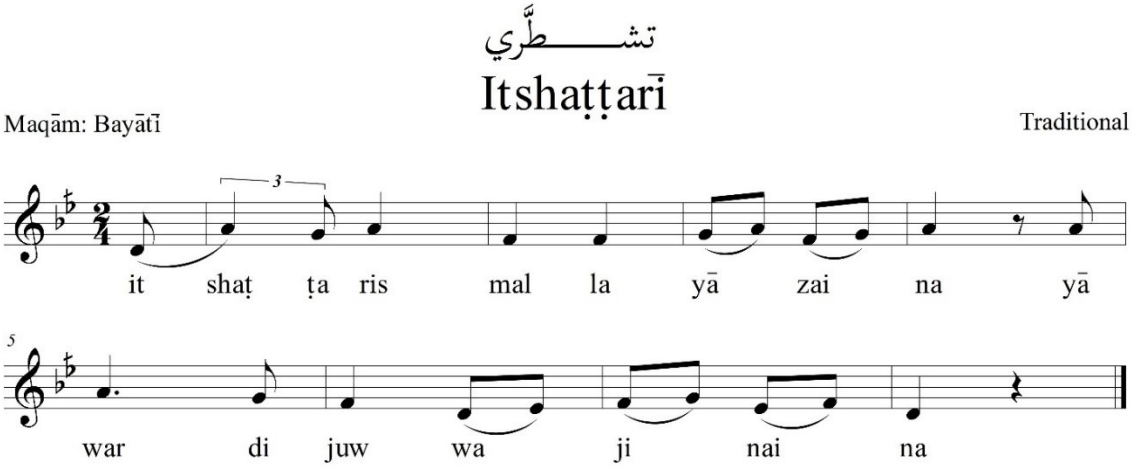


Figure 12. “Itshaṭṭarī,” transposition and quartertone markings by the author

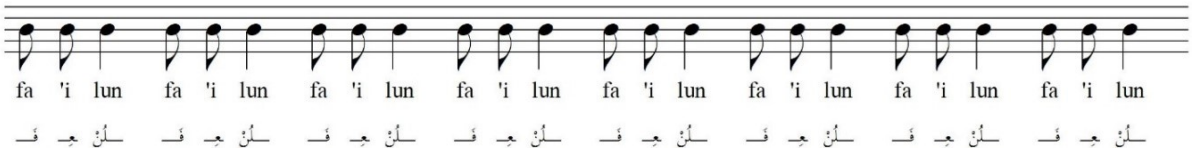
The text is in Near Eastern colloquial Arabic but is set according to a different poetic meter called *al-mutadārak*. Like *baḥr al-basīṭ* from the previous example, each verse consists of two poetic lines, with two equal hemistiches:

faʿilun	faʿilun	faʿilun	faʿilun		faʿilun	faʿilun	faʿilun	faʿilun
u u -	u u -	u u -	u u -		u u -	u u -	u u -	u u -

فَعِلُنْ فَعِلُنْ فَعِلُنْ فَعِلُنْ فَعِلُنْ فَعِلُنْ فَعِلُنْ فَعِلُنْ

ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ ـ

Baḥr al-mutadārak as beat phrases:



"Itshṭṭarī" lyrics, and transliteration:

إتْشَطّري إسم الله يا زينة يا وردِة جُوَّا الجنينة
كَبش القُرُنْفُل يا عَروسِة والفُل يبيّن عَلينا
itshaṭṭarī_ism al-Lah yā zaina yā wardi juwwa_l-jinaina
Kabsh_il-urunful yā ʿarūsi w_il-ful yibayyin ʿalainā

Dalman transcribed two versions of this song, one in Ṣafad through a woman from Nazareth by the name of Elisabet Bender (Eliṣabāt Bandar), Figures 13 and 14, and another in southern Lebanon, as shown below in Figure 13:

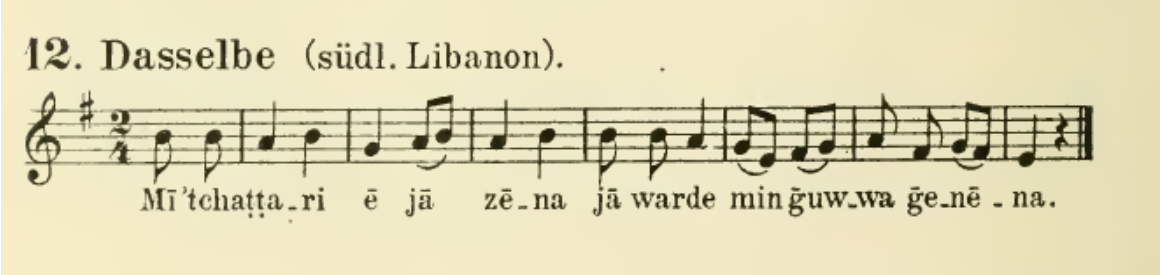


Figure 13. "A Song from Southern Lebanon," (Dalman 1901)

Dalman describes this encounter and points to some practices associated with it:

> Dance and dance songs are performed here because dancing is a must at weddings. It also appears on festive events such as in circumcision, baptism, and evening gatherings. My Bedouin friends in Aleppo have winter dances every night in their cave, to ward off the cold. […]. The bride puts on her wedding robes in her parents' house. When she arrives at the groom's house, she carries out a kind of dance with candles in both hands. Her dance moves are slow, and in all directions, she resembled the stars. The bride is described as *titjalla*, or parading. The women meanwhile sing *jalwaih* songs accompanied by the pot drum [probably darbukka]. Then a cantor sings, and the choir repeats after [him]. Incidentally, the whole thing is more of an urban custom that has only occasionally found its way into the villages. (Dalman 1901, 254)

This tune is a wedding song used when the crowd parades the bride into the groom's house in a ritual called *tijlayai*. It is a well-known song/ritual and performed to this day, not only in Palestine but also in the broader Arabic-speaking region. The song often appears with the same lyrics, but subtle differences in dialect occur from one area to another. The variations are apparent in Dalman's transcriptions, as well as the transcription, which I provide in Figure 14 below. Take, for example, the words *wardi* and *ʿarūsi* in Dalman's transcription. People in Nazareth and northern Palestine pronounce these two words as written above. However, they are pronounced *wardai* and *ʿarūsai* in Ramallah, a town approximately 140 kilometers south, and *warda* and *ʿarūsa* further south in Gaza. Fundamentally, each community alters the lyrics and pronunciation of certain words as they see fit. Currently, the most common adaptation in Arab mainstream wedding ceremonies is the Egyptian version, Figure 14.[10] While the lyrics remained almost the same, the first word of the song changed from *itshaṭṭarī* to *itmakhtarī*. Also, the pronunciation of the "ja" in *jinaina* changed to "ga" and into *ginaina*.

[10] For further exploration, see "Itmakhtarī" by Munīra al-Mahdiyya in 1923 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kZyd6z3rK6U. Note that instead of the first word being *itshaṭṭarī* it was changed to *itmakhtarī*.

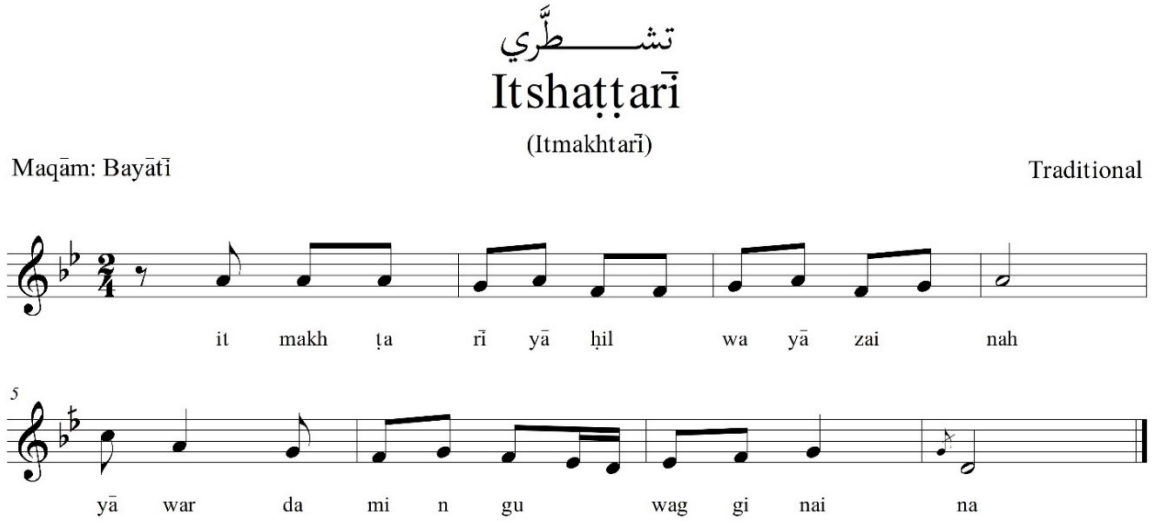


Figure 14. “Itshaṭṭarī” (here “Itmakhtarī”) (1923)

Several known songs fit this category, including *al-muthamman*, and *a-l-yādī.* See Dalman’s no. 23 (Figure 15), and “Yā Bashrab” (“Hayhāt Yā Ibn il-ʿAm”) track 28, see Cohen and Katz (2006, 408).

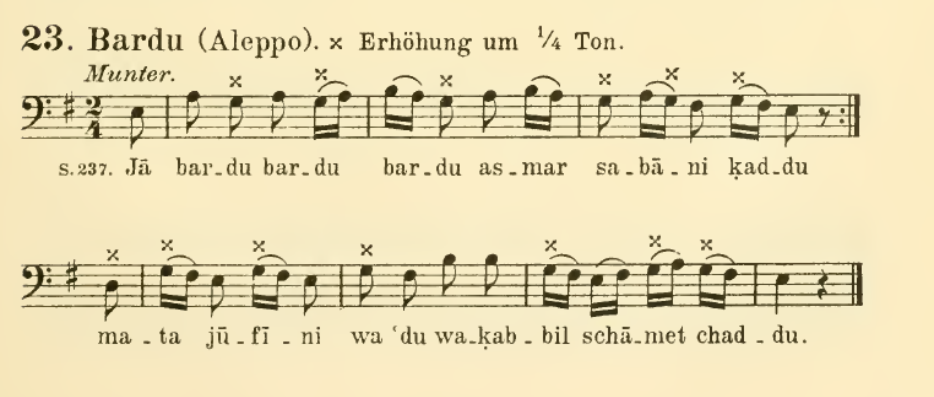


Figure 15. “Bardu” from Aleppo (Dalman 1901)

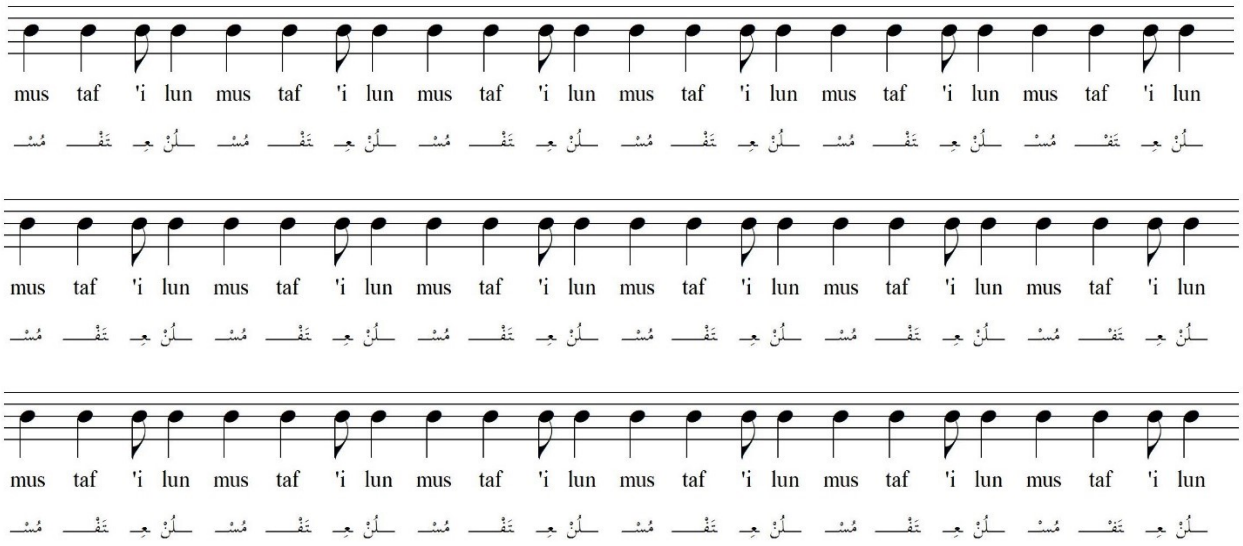
1.5.3 Long Songs with Pulse, Rhythmic Cycle, or Free

This category includes various song types such as *mījānā*, *qarrādī, shurūqī, ʿatābā, mawwāl,* and *muʿanna.* These songs consist of extended flexible melodic contours that have

general melodic guidelines but are either rhythmically free or alternate between open and metered sections. They also incorporate more melisma in contrast to the syllabic orientation of the shorter songs. “Mījānā” is a popular tune that embodies this category, illustrated below in Figure 17. It uses *baḥr al-rajaz*.

Baḥr al-rajaz, and *baḥr al-rajaz* as beat phrases:

mustafʿilun	mustafʿilun	mustafʿilun	mustafʿilun	mustafʿilun	mustafʿilun
- -u-	- -u-	- -u-	- -u-	- -u-	- -u-
مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ	مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ	مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ	مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ	مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ	مُسْتَفْعِلُنْ
- ں --	- ں --	- ں --	- ں --	- ں --	- ں --



“Mījānā,” lyrics, and transliteration:

Opening

يا ميجانا ويا ميجانا ويا ميجانا	أهلا وسهلاً شرَّفونا حبابنا
ahlan was sahlan sharraffūnā_hbābinā	yā mījāna w yā mījānā w yā mījānā

Verse

بانْ حُزنـي اللـي انكَتَمْ والدّمـع بانْ	مِـن يومْ عَـن عيني حبيب القلب بانْ
بَذْكُر حبيبـي اللـي انثَنَـى عَنّي بْثَنَا	وْكلّما ينثَنَّى مــع النّسمِـه غُصُـن بانْ
min yūm ʿan ʿainī ḥab_b il-qalib bān	bān ḥuznil_l-inkatam widdamiʿ bān
w kul mā yinthana maʿinnismaih ghusun bān	bazkur ḥabibillinthana ʿannī bthanā

Return (note that in this example the singer used a different second hemistich as return)

يا ميجنا ويا ميجنا ويا ميجنا زهر البنفسج يا ربيع بلادنا
yā mījanā w yā mījanā w yā mījanā zahr il-banafsaj yā rabīʿi_blādinā

Describing songs in this fashion puts to rest certain ambiguities that surround many of the early descriptions and transcriptions by researchers, especially concerning intonation, musical form, mode, form, context, occasion, regional variations, and *maqām* practices. Also, such categorizations distinguish between musical practices in rural and Bedouin areas versus urban ones. An example of this is Dalman's Aleppo transcriptions, which seem more elaborate, cosmopolitan (some were Turkish), and which incorporate several musical devices that are available and practiced only in an urban setting.

Mījānā

Maqām: Bayātī

Traditional

♩ = 120

ad libitum 1st hemistich (solo singer)

yā mī ja na/w yā mī ja nā/w yā mī ja nā

♩ = 130

2nd hemistich

zah r/il ba naf saj yā ra bī 'i/b lā di nā

♩ = 104 -120

2nd hemistich (group)

zah r/il ba na f sa j yā ra

1. 2.

bī 'i b lā di nā

ad libitum

ba 'id nī/b ha wa/'u yū nik ba 'id nī

u mah ma/d da hir 'an ḥub bik ba 'ad nī

i dhā kān lī fī gha rā mik ba 'id nī

yal la nif riḥ bil ma ḥab ba/q lū bi nā

Figure 16. “Mījānā”

Chapter 2

2.1 The Enquiries of Thomson and Dalman

There is a limited number of publications on music in Palestine. From the second half of the nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, several books and articles were published which vary greatly in terms of the details they provide. The most important are William Thompson's *The Land and the Book* (vol. II, 1860), Gustaf Dalman's *Palästinischer Diwan* (1901), and Henry H. Jessup's *Fifty Years in Syria* (1910). Thompson and Jessup were American missionaries, and Dalman was a German Lutheran theologian. Despite their limitations, the books shed light on music-making in the region.

Thompson provides an account of his experience listening to Palestinian rural, Bedouin, and some urban music in the mid-nineteenth century. He did not transcribe any of the melodies but provided impressive illustrations of some musical instruments which he encountered. He also points to the existence of an urban music scene. For example, upon arrival in Jerusalem, Thompson remarked to his guide about wanting to listen to instrumental music. He wanted an "escape" from the vocal repertoire that he had heard on his trip. As he put it,

> [the guide] immediately offered to take me to a coffee shop where I should hear a grand concert of instrumental musicians. Thinking it would be a pleasant remembrance to carry away from the Holy City, I went, and was not disappointed. Seated on a raised platform at one end of the room were half a dozen performers, discoursing strange music from curious instruments, […]. They had a violin, two or three kinds of flutes [nay], and a tambourine. One man sat by himself, and played a large harp lying upon his lap. That is called a kanūn [qānūn]; and an expert performer, with a voice not too sharp, often makes very respectable music with it. There were also players on the guitar [oud], and one of them had a very large instrument of this kind, over whose chords his nimble fingers swept, at times, like magic. The Greeks, and especially the Albanians, managed the 'ood [ʿūd] with the greatest skill. (Thompson 1860, 577)

Thompson's illustrations of the musical instruments that he describes were made by his son William Hanna (Murre-van 2007). The classic set of musical instruments that he describes in

Jerusalem makes up the *takht* chamber ensemble, which is the basis of Near Eastern art music. Based on his description, the music played was likely classical Ottoman repertoire, which may have included a *samāʿī*, *basta*, or *bashraf* as well as other varieties including Arab, Armenian, and Greek traditions. His encounters with instrumental music in Jerusalem and Damascus point to a reasonably sophisticated scene of urban music-making in nineteenth-century Syria. Thompson also observed musicians and music in rural contexts and described wind and string instruments such as the *rabāba*, *shabbāba*, *yarghūl*, *mijwiz*, *tabla* (*darbukka*), *daf*, *ʿūd*, and *qānūn*; some are shown in Figures 17, 18, and 19.

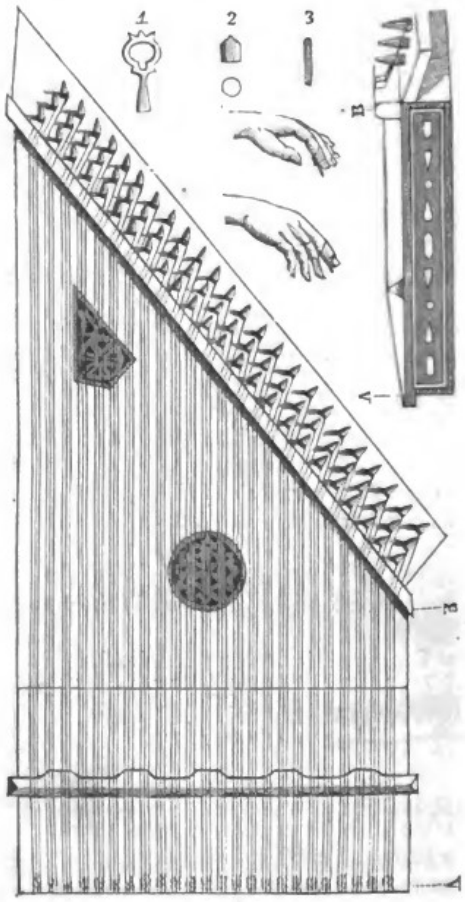


Figure 17. *Qānūn* (Thompson 1860)

KÂNÛN, AND MODE OF PLAYING IT.

Figure 18. *Qānūn* player (Thompson 1860)

KAMANJEH, AND PERFORMER ON IT.

MODE OF PLAYING THE 'OOD.

Figure 19. *Jūza* (*rabāba*, or kemenche), and *'ūd* (Thompson 1860)

It is not surprising to note the dominant nonurban orientation of most musical practices in almost all regions of Greater Syria, which Thompson describes. One of his most important implications, which can be derived from his observations, is that he points to such practices as traditional presentations that are being carried out in most social gatherings and throughout the seasons. His description of the Jerusalem encounter, however, points to the performance of what appears to be art music.

As for Dalman, Willson notes that he "looked mainly for peasant and Bedouin song as opposed to the schooled song of urban regions" (Willson 2013b, 17), although he did include some transcriptions of urban music from Aleppo. She argues that one of the primary motivations for this approach was to "identify parallels between biblical narratives and ways of life in rural Palestine of the day" (32)—the same approach as Thompson's. During his trip, Dalman transcribed songs from ʿAjlūn (Jordan), Nazareth and the Galilee (Palestine), Marj ʿUyūn and Southern Lebanon (Lebanon), and Aleppo; mostly in the northern part of Palestine. He identified at least eighteen categories of songs, including *qaṣīda*, *mawwāl*, *tarwīda*, *ʿatābā*, *ḥidāʾ*, and *zajal*, but described them briefly in terms of form and context (Willson 2013b, 18). He mentions the ranges of a flute (likely the *shabbāba*), a double flute (likely the *mijwiz*), *qānūn*, *ʿūd*, violin, and *rabāba*, named in Figure 20. To this day, such musical instruments are found throughout the region, suggesting their past importance, regular use, and function.

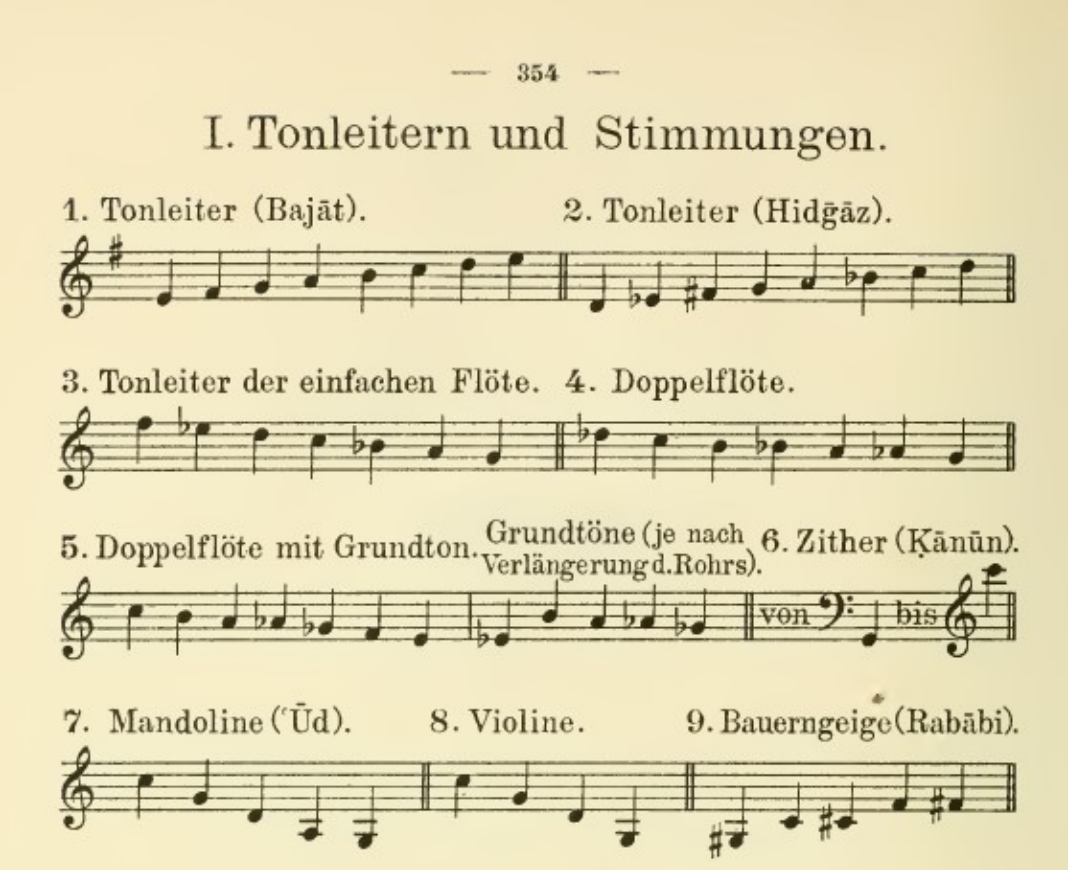


Figure 20. Key, Palästinischer Diwan (Dalman 1901)

His thirty-two transcriptions of melodies fall on several *maqāmāt*, including *huzām*, *bayātī*, and *ḥijāz* (only in Aleppo). The transcriptions, however, are minimal. They do not include the basic characteristics of *maqām*, such as pointing to their location of quartertones in the scale, rhythms, or ornamentation techniques. Also, some transcriptions were misinterpreted, as in the case of ululations, which are intended as howls and cathartic or joyous yells, not melodies.

The repertoire that Dalman focused on is transmitted orally and typically learned by observation. Urban musical practices, on the other hand, tend to be learned not only orally and by observation, but also with intent and precision. His encounters with learned (or precise) musical traditions, which were practices standard in urban centers, were limited to those that he

documented in Aleppo, Ṣafad, and Nazareth. The urban transcriptions seem to be associated more with the standard musical practices of Ottoman urban centers such as Cairo, Istanbul, Baghdad, and Damascus. Greeks, Armenians, Dom, Jews, as well as Arabs, may have delivered such performances. In rural contexts, however, such traditions are typically carried by members of the family, tribe, village, or town who were mainly Arabs or Arabic speaking. Therefore, concerning Dalman's transcriptions, given that they do not show references to quartertones, I have chosen to proceed with great caution, especially when attempting to make musical conclusions from his accounts.

Dalman's transcriptions, nonetheless, are useful in terms of showing melodic contours. They point to the pronunciation of words, functionality, and subject matters. Most of his transcriptions display, as mentioned above, melodic vocal motifs, not song forms. They, however, reveal through the lyrics some astounding similarities to some of the songs or themes that survive to this day. See, for example, song 11 "Zum Präsentier tanz der Braut" (dance of the bride), shown in Figure 11. The melody of this song is still very much alive to this day and recorded numerous times. Another example is the song "ʿal-Zaynu" (example 24 ["Zenu"] in Dalman 1901, 360), which Willson (2013b) also notes in her article.

Besides, Dalman's transcriptions were all metered, including ones that were free of rhythmic cycles such as the open section in the *mījānā*, as shown in examples 14.a, and 14.b (357). Such discrepancies appear elsewhere in Dalman's work. For example, in his transcription of a rhythmically free song type called *ʿatābā* shown (Figure 21), he organizes the melody into a 6/8 meter.

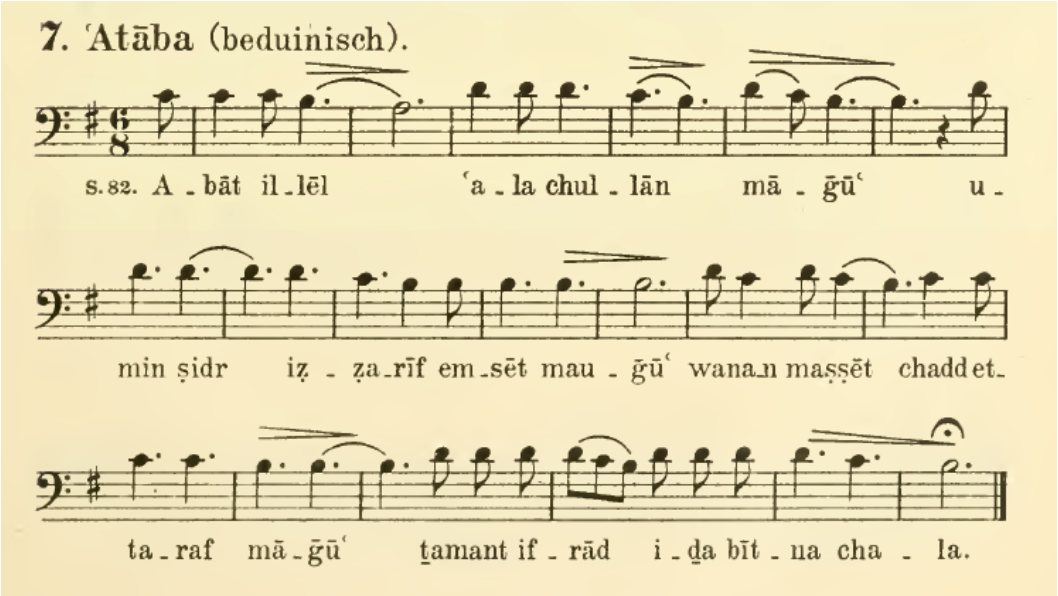


Figure 21. "ʿAtābā," *Palästinischer Diwan* (Dalman 1901)

From the 32 transcriptions by Dalman, I identified many that were mistakenly transcribed according to rhythmic cycles. The following transcriptions are of song types that are free of rhythmic cycles, yet adhere to beat as I described earlier: 1, 6, 7, 8, 14.a, 14.b, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, and 27. One potential explanation for this misunderstanding is attributed to the way melodies are performed in terms of diction, pronunciation, timing, and pauses. Such elements, in this context, relate to the poetic characteristics of these songs rather than musical ones.

2.2 Palestinian Musical Traditions During the Early Twentieth Century

The Storyteller of Jerusalem: The Life and Times of Wāṣif Jawhariyyeh, 1904–1948, is the edited memoir of Wāṣif Jawhariyyeh (1897–1972), a Greek Orthodox Christian amateur ʿūd player, singer, poet, collector, composer, and chronicler who lived in the old city of Jerusalem. His memoir, published in 2014, consists of detailed anecdotes and stories about life in the city spanning over four decades. Music is positioned at the center of Wāṣif Jawhariyyeh's life and diaries, and his account serves as a vital record of Palestinian urban musical life before 1948. His testimony points to the sweeping influence of the Egyptian recording industry and mass media

outlets in the early decades of the twentieth century. Furthermore, his musicality was shaped by contemporary Egyptian music and immense appreciation of *ṭarab*, a trend of Egyptian secular music-making that expanded the realm of Qur'anic chanting into various vocal song types (Racy 2004). His recordings offer further evidence of his fascination with Egyptian music and to his appreciation of Ottoman instrumental music, especially the *bashraf*. Jawhariyyeh's diaries, however, are more significant to this research as a testimony to the transformations that were taking place in music during the 1930s, especially after the Congress of Arab Music of 1932.

Despite having strong bonds with the feudal landlords and notables, Jawhariyyeh reiterates his appreciation of peasant songs and their shifting roles under the influence of rapid regional changes. He also points out the types of music in urban and rural settings and how he positioned himself as a reformer. He references street music, concert music, puppet show music, ṭarab music, and party music. One of the most valuable encounters that Jawhariyyeh mentions is a discussion between him and Robert Lachmann about the modernization of Arab music. Jawhariyyeh used to accompany Lachmann in many of his lectures to demonstrate Lachmann's points and theorizations. This encounter took place sometime during the mid-1930s, when Robert Lachmann was lecturing about music in Palestine.

A second book that points to musical transformations during the same period is *The Oriental Music Broadcasts, 1936–1937: A Musical Ethnography of Mandatory Palestine* by Lachmann, published in 2013. Lachmann was a Jewish comparative musicologist from Berlin who created a series of twelve radio programs entitled "Oriental Music," addressed to European listeners in Palestine. The broadcasts were part of the English language portion of PBS and took place between November 18, 1936 and April 28, 1937 (Davis 2010). Lachmann focused on both sacred and secular musical traditions of what he called "oriental" communities living in

Jerusalem and the adjacent areas. He included Bedouin, Palestinian Arab, Yemenite, Kurdish, Iraqi Jews, as well as Copts and Samaritans (ibid.). His lectures include recordings of more than thirty musical examples that were performed live in the studio by local musicians and singers (ibid.).

There is a third book written by Rolla Foley called *Song of the Arab: The Religious Ceremonies, Shrines and Folk Music of the Holy Land Christian Arab* (1953). Foley was an American Quaker who taught at the Friends' Schools in Ramallah from 1928 to 1946. He included transcriptions of almost forty Palestinian Christian religious melodies, but unfortunately ignored the fact that the prayers were in Arabic, and that the songs were in *maqām* or related modes. He instead replaced the original words with English ones and Anglicized the melodies. He eliminated microtonal qualities from all the songs, in extreme contrast to the attempts of his predecessors Jessup, Ford, Smith, Dalman, and Lachmann. Researchers during that period were aware and accustomed to basic musicological research and tools (see Jessup, Ford, Smith, Mashāqa, Dalman, and Lachmann). However, Foley fell short at multiple levels. Several scholars reviewed Foley's work and identified its shortcomings, including one review by Raphael Patai in 1954. Patai, who was at Princeton at the time, conveyed his doubts about various aspects of the book, including historical facts but, more importantly, with regards to the music. The following is an excerpt of Patai's review:

> Of greater interest for the folklorist are the brief and unfortunately, all too sketchy descriptions of the religious ceremonies performed on Christian holidays. The most valuable parts of the book are undoubtedly the several dozens of Christian Arab folk songs, most of them religious in character, which are printed in the book. Two shortcomings, however, must be noted in connection with these songs. The English translation only is given, without the Arabic original, which makes it impossible to check the accuracy of the translation. Secondly, the melodies are transcribed into the usual European notation system in which no traces remain of the quartertones and other microtones of the original oriental melody. The fact that the melodies are printed in a musical scale different from the Oriental tonal material is not even hinted in the book. On

> p. 72, Alimwail is stated to be "an Arabian nonsense word." In fact, however, this word with which the song opens is a statement of the musical mode to which the song belongs. *Mweil*, or in literary Arabic mawāl [mawwāl], is one of the most popular musical modes [rather a generic term describing free sung lyrics, usually colloquial] in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Iraq, as well as elsewhere in the Middle East, and has several well-defined varieties. (1954, 70)

Foley published another small collection entitled *Arabic Folk Songs: For 1945*: *Palestine Transjordan* through the Near East Music Teachers Association. This publication, circa 1945, was in Arabic, yet the musical transcriptions were still highly inaccurate. Despite the apparent help in handling Arabic lyrics and poems, this publication also excluded all *maqām* characteristics. Willson (2013) describes Foley's activities in Palestine with regard to the dissemination of Western music and dedicates a sizable portion to his engagement in music education. Her examination of the period points to how such missionaries strongly believed that engagement in music elevates the human spirit and positively impacts people. Such attitudes, however, impacted the musical decisions that Palestinian Christians made. Given that traditional Palestinian musical practices are embedded within the core cultural practices and values of Palestinians, advocating for Western music may potentially void the core value of local traditions.

2.3 Epic Poems

For centuries, the inhabitants of Palestine have used music, dance, and poetry as part of their daily routines. Such practices reflect the belief systems, religions, and customs of these communities (Racy 1983; Thompson 1860; Dalman 1901), as well as their trajectories and the environments to which they adapted throughout history. It is common in the Arab Near East for the history of each tribe, town, and village to be tied to various known narratives which are transmitted orally from one generation to another (see Zarour 1953; Kanaana 2011; ʿArnita

1997; Marshūd 2004). Such narratives distinguish each community from its neighbors and often point to shared, opposing, and intertwined historical trajectories, which include rivalries, alliances, conflicts, power relations, and even battles. In some cases, such narratives suggest different pasts, cultures, and customs, as well as musical practices that may or may not share the same traits and roots (al-Ḥāyik 1936). Examples of this can be seen in the various dialects and languages which existed in the context of music in this region, in both religious and secular frameworks. Those include Assyrian, Armenian, Greek, Turkish, Ottoman, Hebrew, Kurdish, Domari, and Arabic (Racy 1983; Peterson 2003). Arabic-speaking communities that inhabited the region's coasts, mountains, plains, and deserts constituted most of the population for several centuries (Bachi 1977; DellaPergola 2003), hence the label "Arab" which is used generically to describe the various communities inhabiting that area. However, examining the trajectories of communities in Palestine, therefore, may offer different narratives, perceptions, and perspectives concerning the nature and level of their interactions with each other, their relationships with other urban centers within Palestine, as well as their view of the future of the Ottoman Empire and their place in it. As various writings show, some of these resemblances and differences were in place well before that (Racy 1983, 2004; Maalouf 2003).

In this section, I examine how different musical practices display similarities, interact, differ, and reflect different historical trajectories. The example that I find elucidates the predicament which occurs in local musical traditions comes from epic poems. In the next page or two, I explore epic poems in two different contexts, rural and Bedouin, and examine each performance separately.

Performances of epic poems by poet-singers show how performers and their communities interpret histories and individual narratives. Typically, such narratives are maintained by a

specific category of Bedouin poet-singers, called *rabāba* poets (sing. *shāʿir rabāba*), who perform epic poems. They accompany themselves on the *rabāba,* a bowed instrument.[11] The primary function of epic poems is to tell stories that have a specific moral, entrain, disseminate news, and reiterate cultural values. *Rabāba* poets travel from one tribe to another, and along the way, they modify their poems to accommodate the hosting tribe. A typical performance of an epic poem would include spoken-word narration, playing, and singing. They are typically rhythmic-cycle free, but both the spoken-word and singing sections adhere to some persistent beat or pulse. In the case of spoken-word narration, the storyline follows short, and mostly symmetric syllabic phrasing. The singing part adheres to the beat of poetic meters. This hybrid storytelling of spoken word and song poetry tradition is specific to communities that are either Bedouin or have Bedouin roots. According to Luṭfī Marshūd, it is popular in villages where Bedouin heritage is still visibly linked to older settling Bedouin tribes (Marshūd 2004). Poet-singers memorize hundreds of poems as well as write their own to retell ancient and more recent histories. Most poems are elaborate and comprise of dozens or hundreds of verses, and a typical performance would last from ten to seventy-five minutes. While many extended sung poems or stories recap shared stories of the past, some are specific to certain tribes, distant and near. All the poems, meanwhile, appear in Arabic and mostly Arab contexts.

Performances of epic poems differ from one poet-singer to another in terms of how performers organize their presentations as well as musically. Differences appear from one region to another, even in the same Bedouin context. Some of the stories get expanded and skewed, and various other dramatic components are added to them and often exaggerated. The level of such

[11] Some Bedouin poets do not use the *rabāba* at all.

modifications depends on the person telling it and the taste and expectations of the community hosting the performer. In some cases, the stories achieve a mythological status. In a Bedouin context, *rabāba* poets either perform poems that they learned previously, turn a factual tale into an epic poem, or make up their own. Either way, each performance of an epic poem includes narration, singing, and playing.

Epic poems also appear in rural village settings among rural poet-singers, or *ḥaddaya*. They occur, however, without the instrumental accompaniment of the *rabāba*. In terms of the difference in functionality when comparing the two contexts, epic poems play the same role that I mentioned previously. The musical outcome, however, differs according to the taste, expectations, and lifeways of Bedouins, in the case of *rabāba* poets, and of peasants, in the case of rural poet-singers. Therefore, I examine how a performance of the same epic poem differs in rural and Bedouin contexts, and explore not only the facts, names of characters, dates, protagonists, and the details in each story but also the music itself. The example that I selected for comparison is the epic poem of "Nūf." I must note that the intention here is not to analyze the melodic contour of each performance, rather demonstrate how variations and similarities occur from one region and community to another. Moreover, I intend to show how song types intertwine, diverge, and reflect certain connections according to the context in which they appear (see table 2 for a summary of such similarities and differences).

The story of "Nūf" revolves around the life and fate of Muḥammad Milḥim, an Arab Shaikh and Prince of al-Ḥasna tribe (al-Ḥāyik 1936). Al-Ḥasna tribe used various sites to set camp, and one of them was near the city of Homs in Syria (ibid.). Milḥim was married to an Arab woman by the name Nūf (Marshūd 2004). The story takes place around Ḥoms, Syria, the

tribe's main habitation in the area known as the Syrian Desert.[12] Milḥim was an opponent of Ottoman rule and was hung by the Ottomans in Damascus in early 1917, allegedly for joining ash-Sharīf Ḥusain Bin ʿAlī in his revolution against the Ottomans (al-Ḥāyik 1936; Khāzim 2017; Ḥasan 2015). The story, as narrated by the two poets that I am using for comparison, offers various twists on the historical facts. The two poets highlight the events that led to Milḥim's arrest, which involves betrayals, courage, loyalty, pride, rivalries, and vengeance. They also briefly highlight Nūf's position after Milḥim's execution as she reveals the truth about his killing to their son ʿIqāb. Both performances emphasize the moment just before Milḥim faced his death as he requested the presence of Nūf and his horse *al-azarq,* that is, "the Blue One" (Ḥasan 2015). According to the poet-singers referenced below, Milḥim asked for someone to transcribe his poem as he recited it before his execution. Various versions of Milḥim's poem seem to have survived, as well as the story. Nūf's later reactions seem to have traveled from one tribe or village to the next and from one generation to another by poet-singers. Both poets claim that they learned their version of "Nūf" from other older poets; they are both prominent performers.

[12] The Syrian Desert, is a region of desert, semi-desert and steppe covering 500,000 square kilometers of the Middle East, including parts of south-eastern Syria, northeastern Jordan, northern Saudi Arabia, and western Iraq.

Table 2. “Nūf,” a comparison between Dhīb and Abū Lail performances

	Muḥārib Dhīb	Yūsif Abū Lail
Location	Near Homs, Syria.	Near Homs, Syria.
Narration’s Instrumental Accompaniemnet	Yes, *rabāba*	No
Narration *maqām*	*bayātī*	N/A
Song *maqām*	*ṣabā*	*huzām*
Narration Dialect	The Poet’s Dialect (Village)	The Poet’s Dialect (Village)
Song Dialect	Bedouin Dialect	The Poet’s Dialect (Village)
Plot	Muḥammad Milḥim revolts against his father-in law.	Nūf’s father breaks a promise to marry Nūf to Milḥim. Milḥim kidnaps Nūf and marries her.
Antagonist	Nūf’s father, a ruler, who is a servant of the colonials, and an oppressor of the poor.	Nūf’s father, a collaborator of the French who betrays Milḥim and hands him over to the French for execution.
Protagonist	Nūf and Muḥammad Milḥim	Muḥammad Milḥim joins the revolution against France.
Year	Not mentioned	1925
Poetic Meter	*basīṭ*	*basīṭ*
Length of Narration	N1 4m 20s; N2 1m	N1 10m; N2 45s
Length of Song	S1 11m. 33s; S2 4m 30s	S1 5m 15s; S2 4m
Nūf’s response	Yes	Yes
Form	N1 S1 N2 S2	N1 S1 N2 S2

The first performance is by Muhārib Dhīb (1914–1995), a *rabāba* poet from Jabaʿ (shown in Figure 54 map in the Appendix), a small village at the western outskirts of the desert of Judea. The second is by Yūsif Abū Lail (1936–2019), a poet-singer or *ḥaddaya* from Kufur Qariʿ, a small town 22 miles southeast of Haifa, about 120km north of Jabaʿ. Dhīb’s performance is consistent with the song type as it appears in Bedouin contexts. However, he is not a Bedouin. According to Marshūd, Dhīb adopted the Bedouin persona earlier in his career (Marshūd 2004).

Abū Lail's performance, on the other hand, appears in rural contexts, both in terms of the musical renditions as well as the dialect.

2.3.1 "Nūf" by Muḥārib Dhīb

Dhīb's 25-minute performance of "Nūf," (recording 1), was produced by Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭarīfī, a local record shop owner, who Dhīb mentioned at the beginning of the recording (Dhīb 2015). It is not clear when and where the recording took place, but Marshūd has mentioned that Dhīb released over twenty-five albums on cassettes throughout his career. Dhīb's performance is separated into the narration and singing parts. The narration in this recording occurs in Dhīb's local colloquial dialect, which is peasant, not Bedouin.

During the narration portions, the *rabāba* plays short melodic fillings resembling *maqām bayātī* after one or two narration sentences, as illustrated in Figures 22 and 23. During the singing part, the *rabāba* continues to play melodic fillings while partially accompanying the singing (Figures 24 and 25). This narration section lasts for approximately four minutes and a half. The *rabāba* then plays a longer instrumental *taqāsīm*, limited to a pentachord in *maqām bayātī*. It was here when the *rabāba* changed the tonic to a scale degree that is approximately a quartertone higher than the tonic of the first section, most likely for dramatic effect. Yet, the new section is still in a mode related to *bayātī* called *maqām ṣabā*, which dominated the rest of the performance. The sung part is carried in Bedouin dialect, the same as Milḥim's, and lasts for almost twelve minutes. Narration returns to tell the story of Milḥim's widow Nūf revealing to their son ʿIqāb specific details about Milḥim's death which she did not share before, including the role of her father in plotting for Milḥim's execution. This section lasts for about a single minute, and then it is followed by a four-minute and 30-second singing portion of a poem, which

is attributed to Nūf herself. The *rabāba* plays the same role as before, including the usage of *bayātī* and *ṣabā*.

2.3.2 "Nūf" by Yūsif Abū Lail

There are many versions of "Nūf" by Abū Lail and many more by his two sons Ṣāliḥ and Ḥamīd. The performance I selected is the earliest I found and lasts for about 20 minutes (recording 2). It was recorded at a live performance in Gaza in 1988 and produced on a cassette by Laser Cassette Ltd, a local company in Jenin (Abū Lail 2016). Some of the other performances tend to be shorter, down to approximately eight minutes long. His interpretation, like Dhīb's, is separated into parts: narration and singing. However, in this case, no instruments are accompanying him. The *maqām* that Abū Lail used is *huzām* (see "List of Maqāmāt"), which is a distant mode from *bayātī*. The performance resembles *shurūqī*, a song type where the melodic contour is broader and more elaborate, as illustrated in Figure 26. Both the narration and sung poetry were in rural dialect, the mother tongue of Abū Lail, not Bedouin.

Both poets used verses from presumably Milḥim's original poem, which I found on the official blog of al-Ḥasna tribe (Mudhakkarāt 2009). They added different vocabulary, expressions, and additional verses along the way. Some details of the original story were also modified. For example, in Dhīb's version, it was Nūf's father, who betrayed Milḥim and executed him for revolting against him. In Abū Lail's version, Nūf's father deceived Milḥim and arranged for his arrest and execution by the French.

Given that the year of Milḥim's killing was confirmed by Yūsuf Khāzim to be 1917, he likely was executed by the Ottomans, not the French. In her book *Rijāl wa Qabāʾil*, Līnā Ḥasan mentions a revolutionary figure who fought against the French by the name Ṭrād Milḥim. Ṭrād's story has various parallels to that of Milḥim's from the angle of being revolutionary as well as

sharing the same last name. It is possible that the story of the two Milḥims, who were possibly unrelated, got tangled in Abū Lail's version of "Nūf," hence his mention of the later execution date and the involvement of the French. Various other details were added and, or, modified in what appears to be dramatizations. Moreover, both Dhīb and Abū Lail added a poem by Milḥim's widow Nūf. In the two versions of the poem, Nūf reveals the truth to her son ʿIqāb, who was seven years of age when his father died but a young man by then. She relates to him his father's wish for vengeance.

Milḥim, Dhīb and Abū Lail used similar configurations of the poetic meter *baḥr al-basīṭ*. However, the poetic meter was not followed strictly in either poem, including the original. Some verses missed or had extra beats. Such imperfections point to spontaneous and intuitive poetic formation rather than an informed one (see Ṣbaiṭ 1986).

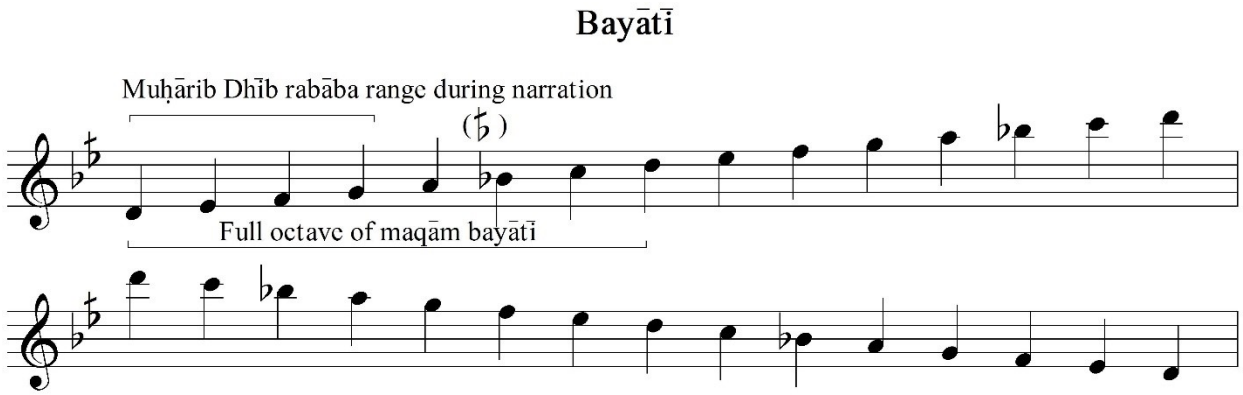


Figure 22. *Rabāba* range, Dhīb's narration section

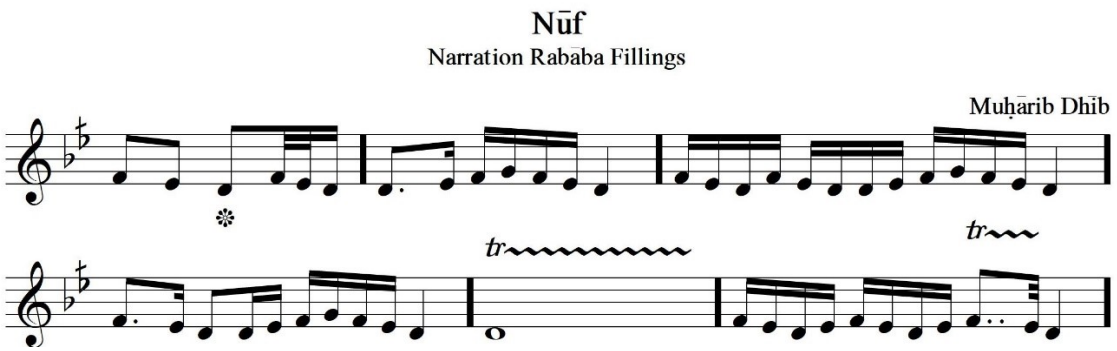


Figure 23. *Rabāba* fillings, Dhīb's narration section

∗ The tonic of *maqām bayātī* in this transcription is D, but it falls on A in the recording.

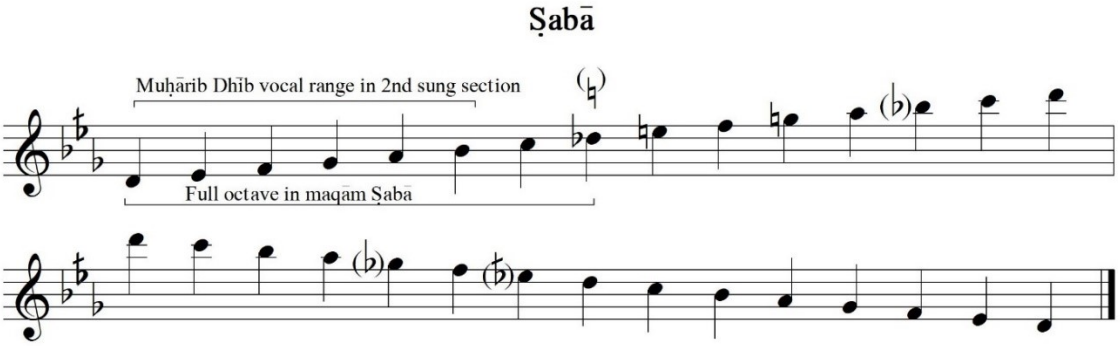


Figure 24. Dhīb's vocal range during the singing section

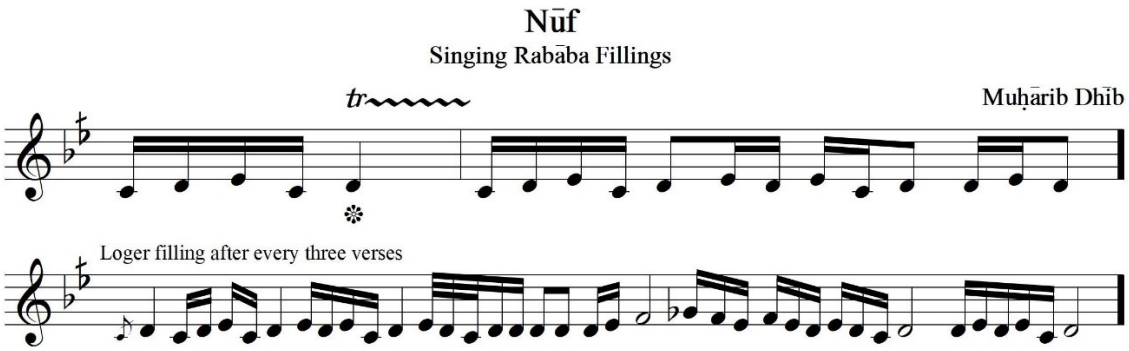


Figure 25. *Rabāba* fillings in Dhīb's singing section

∗ The tonic of *maqām ṣabā* is D, but it is on B half-flat in the recording.

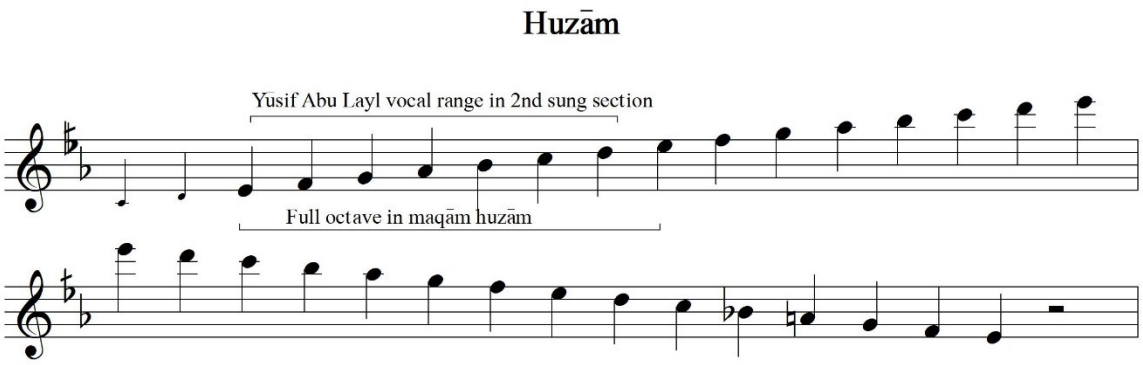


Figure 26. Yūsif Abū Lail's vocal range during the singing section, transcribed by the author

To add a more distant interpretation of "Nūf," I examined a performance by Ḥāmid Bin Sālim al-Nāṣirī from Janaḥ, a village near al-Ṣarāmī Valley in Oman, 3000 km southeast from Kafar Qaraʿ.[13] This performance, although informal and cut short, was also in *bayātī*, as illustrated in Figure 27:[14]

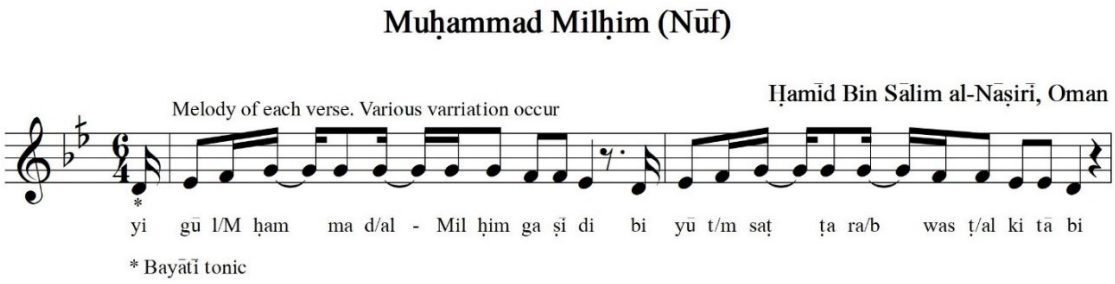


Figure 27. "Nūf," main melody in 6/8 according to Ḥāmid al-Nāṣirī, Oman.

Despite the quality of the recording and the anonymity of the performer, it is quite astonishing to find the story of Muḥammad Milḥim narrated 3,264 km away from Ḥoms, Syria.

[13] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S0tt4bREXFw. The recording is in *maqām bayātī*.

[14] The transcription is in *bayātī* on D. The original song in this section of the recording is based on *bayātī* on G.

Also, unlike the interpretations of both Dhīb and Abū Lail that were free of rhythmic cycles, this interpretation seems to follow a strict rhythmic cycle of six beats. The transcription above is in 6/4, which I elected to use for clarity purposes only. It would be more appropriately transcribed as 6/8.

Dalman's transcriptions show more elaborate music-making in terms of range, form, and melodic contours, the further north he went, likely due to the proximity to Ottoman urban centers, especially Aleppo and Istanbul. The Oman example is consistent with Dalman's accounts. Such subtle observations of shared and distinct musical traditions predate Ottoman rule and hint to an extended period of uninterrupted lifeways, adaptation, and, or acculturation (Racy 1983). Ali Jijad Racy wrote extensively about such issues:

> [d]uring this four-centuries span, the center of power in the Sunni Muslim world shifted to the Ottomancourt in Turkey, […] Musically, the Ottoman period was characterized by gradual assimilation and exchange. Arab music interacted with Turkish music, which had already absorbed musical elements from Central Asia, Anatolia, Persian and medieval Islamic Syria, and Iraq. This interaction was most obvious in larger cities particularly Aleppo, Damascus, Baghdad, and Cairo. In the rural communities—for example, among the Syrian Bedouins and North African Berbers—musical traditions apparently maintained a fair degree of continuity and stability. (Racy 1983, 28–9)

Racy argues that some of the shared characteristics stem from sharing the old musical legacies and from the presence of common elements in the various Arab musical traditions. His research and analysis show how rural and Bedouin practices seem to associate with Arab musical traditions, not so much with nineteenth-century Ottoman urban ones. Historically, many Arab tribes settled in Palestine before the Islamic conquest in the seventh century, and many established villages and rivalries between them continued well into the twentieth century (Patai 1958). Urban practices in Syria, on the other hand, evolved mainly because of an extended period of interaction and exchange with Ottoman and Western music (ibid.). Meanwhile, Arab rural and Bedouin musical practices remained relatively intact and different.

2.4 Schools and The British Mandate

The events and developments of the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries brought Zionism, substantial wealth to notable Palestinian families (Horner 1993), the end of Ottoman rule, local nationalisms, and the British Mandate. The British army captured Jerusalem on December 30, 1917, but the mandate was assigned to Britain in April 1920 through the League of Nations (Likhovski 2006). The administration began in Palestine in July 1920, and the mandate was formally in force between September 29, 1923 and May 15, 1948 (ibid.). Such changes, including demographic rearrangements and immigration, forged dramatic changes in the cultural and environmental landscapes of Palestine. Seth Frantzman and Ruth Kark show that

> In the last decades of Ottoman rule much of the newly settled rural low country of Palestine, including the coastal plain and Jordan valley, was strongly influenced by Bedouin tribes, who were living in various states of mobile pastoralism. […] The Bedouin themselves generally had oral histories of their tribal origins stretching back hundreds or thousands of years and including grand migrations throughout the region. (Frantzman and Kark 2011, 1)

As Palestine's new colonial rulers from 1917 to 1948, the British introduced sectarianism as a vital shaping principle of the potential new state, an approach that permanently transformed Palestine's political landscape (Robson 2011). Robson describes how the British decided to "promote communally organized legal and political structures on the model of imperial policy in India and elsewhere" (2). From this moment forward, Muslim versus Jew sectarian politics took hold of Palestine.

Meanwhile, the colonial educational system became a project for identity formation, but mostly served the Jewish side (Likhovski 2006). The British used primary, secondary, and higher education to transform Palestinian Arabs, especially in urban areas, into willing collaborators. According to Assaf Likhovski, the British viewed education in Palestine as one of the essential mechanisms of Anglicizing locals, who would eventually become "partly local and partly

English and who could, therefore, mediate between the inhabitants of Palestine and their British rulers" (212).

Following the riots of 1929 and the continued Arab rejection of the Jewish settlement project in Palestine, pro-Western education among many Zionists started to become the ideal option for the Jewish community (Likhovski 2006).[15] At that point, Jewish schools were increasingly gaining more autonomy and becoming more nationalist (Peel 1937). To this point, in 1932 Khalil Totah wrote that

> The Arabs of Palestine are quite emphatic in their criticism of the [Palestine] Department of Education. They contend that it is "foreign" and therefore hostile to their political aspirations. They argue that the general policy of the Government education is to bring up a generation which is to be docile and subservient to imperialism and its chief attendant evil, Zionism. More than once have the Arabs of Palestine demanded the control of this most pivotal department, but without success. (Totah 1932, 162)

In his testimony before the Peel Commission in 1937, Totah criticized British policies concerning allocations of funds and lack of support to Arab schools. He also tried to make a case for Christian mission schools and argued that

> [T]he [British] Government, in view of its inadequate facilities for education, has reasons to be grateful to these Christian schools for sharing with it the responsibility of educating the country. There are about 23,000 pupils in Government schools and about 15,000 in Christian schools. (164)[16]

While Palestinians were becoming increasingly frustrated with the colonial education system, the government continued to give them limited access to education and enforced a Eurocentric history curriculum (Brownson 2014). Nevertheless, both colonial and Christian mission schools often served as breeding grounds for nationalist activities, a situation that the

[15] The events of 1929 were a series of demonstrations and riots between Muslims and Jews over access to the Western Wall in Jerusalem.

[16] For further statistics and figures see Brownson (2014).

British were not content with (see Peel 1937). The colonial administration repeatedly attempted to stifle nationalism in all schools, a sentiment that reached its height from 1936-39 during the Arab Revolt in Palestine (ibid.). Likhovski argues that just as no single Jewish identity existed at that time, there was not one for Arabs either (Likhovski 2006). He claims that Palestinian Arabs did not view themselves as belonging to one nation before beginning to attend colonial and missionary schools and discover their national "affinity" (106). Although the argument by Likhovski downplays earlier historical roots of Palestinian identity, it does highlight the role played by the Christian mission schools—a role in affirming nationalist tendencies among Palestinian Arabs, especially Christians, even if the schools' real intentions were not in agreement with it.

Totah acknowledged that both Muslims and Christians criticized missionary schools, for all sorts of reasons. He noted that "[Muslims] accuse them of "missionizing," which is perhaps a milder form of proselyting and the latter [Christians] complain that the postwar tuition fees are too heavy" (Totah 1932, 164). He also claimed that despite their service, mission schools were detrimental to Arab solidarity:

> Like the Government schools, they are controlled by foreigners and are said to be lacking in zeal for Arab nationalism. Some are even accused of being political propagandists for their own governments. It is pointed out, e.g., that French schools emphasize French history and geography more than they do Arab; that American schools exalt American customs more than they foster Arab culture and native manners; that Italian schools serve Italian rather than Arab interests; and the German education is conducive to loyalty to Germany instead of lover for Palestine. These mission schools use a foreign language as themedium of instruction; the headmasters are usually foreigners, and the atmosphere is likely to be foreign. The general effect is bound to lead to confusion and variety instead of national unity. (164–5)

Based on his Peel testimony, Totah's use of the term "Palestinians" at that point meant Palestinian Arabs exclusively. An indication that the two different bodies, Arab and Jewish, became increasingly at odds with each other, and disparities occurred not only in terms of

national discourses but also in education, culture, and each community's perception of the British. By then, Palestinian Arabs, both Christian and Muslim, have become the "other." Their presence on that piece of land has forced them to create a unified voice and embrace solidarity among their communities.

The Mandate government continued to actively seek to "immunize" the Arab population against developing nationalist sentiment that seemed to threaten their concept of order and stability (al-Haj 1995, 48). They hoped to transmit what to them were "universal values" (Miller 1985, 97), which according to their policy, excluded the teaching of contemporary history in Arab schools as one of the measures (Tibawi 1956). By 1937, when Khalil Totah testified before the Peel Commission, the situation on the ground was well beyond containing nationalist sentiment, let alone the disparity between the Jewish position versus the Arab one. In his own words before the Peel Commission, he argued that: "It would seem that Arab education is either designed to reconcile Arab people to this policy [the establishment of the Jewish National Home] or to make the education so colorless as to make it harmless and not endanger the carrying out of this policy of Government" (Peel 1937, 340). The British conveyed to Totah that it was difficult for them to stimulate Arab patriotism in their schools, which can turn against them (Peel 1937). The Committee asked Totah if it is an Arab Government that he wanted, and his answer was "yes" (340).

2.5 Palestinian Music Making During the 1920s to mid-1930s

During this period, recordings of Egyptian music were becoming a powerful force and started to impact music-making in the whole region (Racy 1976, 2004; Jawhariyyeh 2014). This influence took shape in terms of melodic contours, modulations, variety of *maqāmāt*, modes, form, embellishments, instrumentation, and performance practice, as well as in lyrics and

functionality of the music itself. Palestine had already experienced political and social transformations due to the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century events, especially those related to Jewish settlement in Palestine. The tensions between the local Arab population and the Jewish settlers prompted several Palestinian riots, strikes, and armed confrontations.

Before radio broadcasting and cinema, songs were popularized through recordings and live performances. However, by the mid-1930s, local performers started to count on broadcast exposure to circulate their songs. Gradually, the commercial success and popularity of such performers started to rely heavily on such platforms. During this period, the recordings of Palestinians singers and composers such as Rajab al-Akḥal, Thurayya Qaddūra (Baidaphon), Nimir Nāṣir (also known as Nimir Nāṣir al-Yāfāwī [from Yāfā]), Ilyās ʿAwaḍ, and Nūḥ Ibrāhīm (Sodwa) began to appear. [17] Through email correspondence in October 2019, Bashar Shammout pointed to a Baidaphon catalog from 1926 that lists at least eight or nine records each for Rajab al-Akḥal, Thurayya Qaddūra, and Nimir Nāṣir, which makes up a collection of almost 30 shellacs for Palestinian singers before 1926 (personal communication, 2019). According to Racy, Baidaphon opened a small record shop on Martyrs Square in downtown Beirut in 1907 (Racy 1976). The company started to record local talent, and by 1926 the company had its musical specialists in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Iraq. The job of such agents was to record the best adwār and light songs in the region (Racy 1976). In an advertisement that appeared in *Falasṭīn* newspaper ("Palestine" newspaper) in 1926, Baidaphon had an announcement through its agent in Palestine, Abū Ṣalāḥ al-ʿAkkāwī. The following is an excerpt translated from the advertisement, illustrated in Figure 30:

[17] *Société Orientale De Disques*, *Sodwa*' Alep (Syrie).

Take note, soon arriving at our stores in Palestine, the newest disc records of famous Palestinian singers, namely Mr. Rajab al-Akḥal, Mr. Nimir Nāṣir, and Ms. Thurayya Qaddūra. So, to all of you ṭarab lovers, stop by and listen to new records of the most popular singers in the world which we receive every two weeks. (*Falasṭīn* newspaper, June 11, 1926, 4)


انتظروا قريبا

تصل لمحلاتنا في فلسطين الاسطوانات الجديدة لاشهر المطربين الفلسطينيين ونعني بهم السيد رجب الاكحل والسيد نمر ناصر والسيدة ثريا قدوره فما على عشاق الطرب الا زيارة محلاتنا وسماع الاسطوانات الجديدة لاشهر المطربين في العالم التي ترد في كل اسبوعين مرة ، ومشاهدة فونغرافاتنا الجميلة ببوري وبدون بوري و (موبيليا) وساعات (الياطر) واللوكسات وادواتها والبطاريات والابر وغيرها من البضائع التي تباع بأسعار رخيصة ولا يمكن لاحد المضاربة عليها ومن يشرف يجد من حسن المعاملة وجودة الاصناف وهوادة الاسعار ما يسره .

شركة بيضافون الوطنية

لصاحبيها بطرس وجبران بيضا

وكيلها العام لفلسطين ابو صلاح العكاوي يافا شارع العجمي

القدس : التلفون : ٢١٣ حيفا :

باب السلسلة : موسى الجاعوني الملقب بالباشوش السوق القديم : التلفون : ٧٤٢

Figure 28. Announcement of New Recordings, *Falasṭīn* newspaper (1926)

In general, there is not enough information about Palestinian Arab artists, singers, composers, players, teachers, and so on before 1948, including the ones mentioned above. Those who come from Yāfā and the surrounding suburbs are particularly difficult to trace. In 1948, the population of the city of Yāfā was at 76,920. But due to the events of 1948, only 3,651 remained in the city (Dabbāgh 1991). This reality makes it nearly impossible to reconstruct narratives and track individuals. Therefore, I examine the scene based on what is available and try to draw a clearer picture of the music scene. In the following page, I will explore Rajab al-Akḥal, Ilyās ʿAwaḍ, Thurayya Qaddūra, Nūḥ Ibrāhīm, and Nimir Nāṣir.

2.5.1 Rajab al-Akḥal (1894-1960)

Al-Akḥal was born in the old city of Yāfā (Jaffa), Palestine, in the Qumbarjī Neighborhood (Qalyūbī 2006).[18] He was locally known for being a talented singer who was highly respected and enjoyed a lofty social status (ibid.). He was among the first to record extensively during the 1920s and 1930s (Shammout 2018). Al-Akḥal was known for singing Egyptian repertoire and was always in demand (Qalyūbī 2006). He, however, made his living as a woodworker who specialized in producing custom furniture, and stone engraver, and was known for having high standards and meticulous attention to detail (ibid.). Al-Akḥal had two younger brothers. One of them, ʿĀrif, specialized in repairing precision machinery, including weapons (Abū al-Yazīd 2008). That is how he became known to the resistance movement, resulting in multiple arrests by the British. The third brother also repaired precision instruments like his brother ʿĀrif and played various musical instruments, including the *ʿūd*. In his book, *Digital Preservation of the Auditory and Visual Heritage of Palestine* (2018), the author Bashar Shammout references two 1923–1928 recordings of al-Akḥal. He found them in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv (Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin). Rajab al-Akḥal is Bashar's granduncle. Through Bashar's mother, Tamām al-Akḥal, Shammout confirms that the family left Yāfā in 1948 to Lebanon. In an email exchange with him on October 1, 2019, he indicated that between the years 1923 and 1928, a German recording engineer by the name Jürg Dargatz recorded Arab musicians in the region; his signature appears on the records of al-Akḥal. Dargatz was a German technician employed by Lindström, the factory that pressed the shellacs for Baidaphon in Berlin. He spent five years (1923-1928) working for Baidaphon on behalf of Lindström in the Middle East. The two recordings which Shammout references by al-Akḥal are

[18] Birth and death data by al-Akḥal family (Shammout 2018).

“Janaytu Min Khaddihā,” on shellac-plate Baidaphon B084580/B084581 (presumably 1923); and “Salabū al-Ghuṣūn” on shellac-plate Baidaphon B084582/B084583 (presumably 1923).

The first song, “Janaytu Min Khaddihā,” is a contemporary love poem in standard Arabic written by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Rāfiʿī (1859-1932). The poet, who was nicknamed the “Bulbul of Syria,” was born in Tripoli, and occupied various high official positions in the Ottoman government, including Qāʾim Maqām (also Qaimaqam) of the Nazareth vicinity in Palestine. In 1914, by the beginning of World War I, al-Rāfiʿī was forced by the new Ottoman government to retire from public service and eventually turned against them (Braish 2017). He started delivering speeches and enthusiastic poems, and writing articles denouncing the oppression of the Turks and criticizing their supporters. According to Khālid Braish, al-Rāfiʿī exposed the Turks’ oppression of Arabs and took pride in Arab history and its glories, calling on the sons of Arabism to fight and rise from their “sleep and slumber” (ibid., para. 13). The poem al-Akḥal selected is not one of those nationalist poems that al-Rāfiʿī wrote; however, choosing a poem by al-Rāfiʿī’s is by itself significant. It is indicative of al-Akḥal’s awareness of regional literary works, especially those with a current connection to Palestine.

The original poem with its nineteen verses tells a tale about a meeting between two lovers. The poem starts by describing how he missed her face and how her cheeks looked like blooming roses and how her lips seem to taste like wine. He then mentions how he trembled while greeting her and how his faced was blushing. He then describes how he could not help himself and touched her breasts. It was then when she got distraught and reminded him that their love must remain decent. He asked God for the strength to control his impulses and remain true to his religion. In the rest of the poem, al-Rāfiʿī describes her beauty and his love for her. Al-Akḥal sang only six verses. The first verse remained intact; the second and third were slightly

modified, the fourth remained intact, while two entirely new verses were added as illustrated below and shown in recording 3. Al-Akḥal's song seems to tell a different story about a man who was seemingly seduced by who appears to be his mistress. In the second verse, al-Rāfiʿī referred initially to an unannounced visit of a lover from his past. However, the modifications of the text established the distinction between the two women as well as the plot, as shown below.

The original second verse:

غداة زارت بلا وعدٍ ولا أملٍ يوماً لقد كان عيد الدهرِ ميمونا

Translation: **One day, she visited me** without promises or **hope,** and **indeed** a happy day of rejoicing.

The modified second verse:

غدت تُزار بلا وعد ولا **أنفٍ** **يوماً به كان** عيد الدهرِ ميمونا

Translation: She is being **visited** without promises or **complaints** on a joyful and happy day.

*Words in bold indicate modification from the original text.

The third verse remained mostly the same except for the first word in the second hemistich, wajd (deep love), which was replaced by ḥub (love). The two terms, wajd, and ḥub, are used interchangeably in standard Arabic describing the stage of love. However, in this context, the change is intended to mean lust and to establish a different plot. The fourth verse remained the same:

"Janaytu Min Khaddihā," poetry and transliteration:

1 جنيتُ من خدها ورداً ونسريناً ومن مراشِفها شهداً وزرجونا

janaytu min khaddiha wardan wa nisrīnā wa min marāshifihā shahdan wa zurjunā

2 **غدت تُزار** بلا وعد ولا **أنفٍ** يوماً **به** كان عيد الدهرِ ميمونا

ghadat tuzāru bilā waʿdin wa lā anafin yawman bihi kān ʿīd_ad-dahri maymūnā

3 صافحتها فرأت يمنايَ راجفةً **والحبُّ** أظهر في وجهي تلاوينا

ṣāfaḥtuha faraʾat yumnaya raj(g)ifatan wa_l-ḥubbu aẓhara fī waj(g)hī talawinā

4 ورُمْتُ رمانتيها فانثَنَتْ غضباً وقطّبَتْ حاجباً كالنونِ مقرونا

wa rumtu rummanatayha fanthanat ghaḍaban waqaṭṭabat ḥaj(g)iban ka_n-nūni maqrūna

5 (New) سلَّت عليَّ سهامَ اللحظِ منتهضة تريدُ قتلي لها أمسيتُ مرهونا

sallat ʿalayya sihāma al-laḥẓi muntahiḍa turīdu qatlī lahā amsaytu marhūna

6 (New) قاينتُ عَظمتها فخسرت طلعتها كَمِسكُ نرجسُها بالطين معجونا

qāyantu ʿaẓmatiha fakhasirtu ṭalʿatihā kamiski narj(g)isuhā bi_ṭ-ṭīni maʿjūnā

* Words in bold indicate modification from the original text. Letters in parenthesis indicate the Egyptian pronunciation, from "ja" to "ga."

"Janaytu Min Khaddihā," translation:

I collect roses and wildflowers from her cheeks.
She gets visits that entail no promises, or complaints
I shook her hand while trembling
I grabbed her breasts, but she got upset
She looked down upon me like pointy arrows
I held her arm and lost her trust

And from her lips, I collect honey and wine
on a joyful day where fate was awaiting
and lust turned my face into colors
and her eyebrows looked tangled with anger
she wanted to kill me, and I was trapped
like a pleasant aroma, immersed in mud

The poem is in *baḥr al-wāfir*:

فعول	مفاعلتن	مفاعلتن	فعول	مفاعلتن	مفاعلتن
mufāʿalatun	mufāʿalatun	faʿūlun	mufāʿalatun	mufāʿalatun	faʿūlun

It is not clear who wrote the two additional verses and altered the second verse, and subsequently transformed the whole plot. Although it is conceivable that the poet himself was involved, given that he was alive at the time, it is an unlikely scenario because the meter in the two added verses is loose when compared to the precise metric construction of the original poem. Also, the poet himself was educated at Azhar University, a religious institution in Cairo, Egypt, and his religious upbringing is evident in his poetry (see his poem al-Ḥijāb as an example). It is, therefore, likely that al-Akḥal or one of the writers surrounded him or the label modified the poem and made it sexually explicit. It is therefore probable that in some direct ways, the song reflected the mistress and prostitution phenomenon, which were widespread at the time (see Bernstein 2012 and Jawhariyyeh 2014).

The song is a *qaṣīda muʾaqqaʿa* or pulsed poem. Songs of this type often open with a short instrumental introductory piece called *dūlāb*. The *dūlāb* which occurred in this song is one which appeared in earlier recordings and on different *maqāmāt* according to need (Alsalhi, 2019). Based on the recordings that I examined from the period, it has appeared in *rāst*, *bayātī*, *sigā* (*sikā*), and *ḥijāz*, as shown below in Figures 29 and 30.[19] According to Ahmad Alsalhi, this *dūlāb* has been used extensively as a vocal and/or instrumental introduction to pulsed *qaṣīda* songs since the early 1900s, and it is called "Dūlāb al-ʿAwādhil" (Alsalhi 2019). The following are the lyrics of this *dūlāb* in its vocal form:

"Dūlāb al-ʿAwādhil" lyrics, transliteration, and translation:

آه يا أنا ويش للعواذل عندنا، قوم مضيع العُذّال وواصلني أنا

ah yā nā waish lil ʿawādhil ʿandinā, ūm miḍayyaʿ_il-ʿudhdhāl u waṣilnī anā

Oh my, what are the blamers doing here; get rid of them and love me

The *dūlāb* consists of the same rhythmic and melodic contours, but rather applied to different scales. I provide the transcription of two versions of the piece that I found in earlier recording, one in *bayātī* (which appears in al-Akḥal's), and another in *ḥijāz*:

[19] For examples of this piece in different *maqāmāt*, see Yusif al-Manyalāwī, "Fatakāt Laḥẓika," Gramophone 012364/5 (presumably 1908-09) where it appeared in ḥijāz; Abū al-'Ilā Muḥammad, "Afdīhi in Ḥafiẓa al-Hawa," Odeon (year unkonwn); Um Kulthūm, "Arāka 'Aṣiyya al-Dam'," Odeon FA224612 (presumably 1926) where it appeared in bayātī; 'Abd al-Ḥay Ḥilmī, "Arāka 'Aṣiyya al-Dam'," Odoen, ½ 45287, 1906 where it appeared in bayātī.

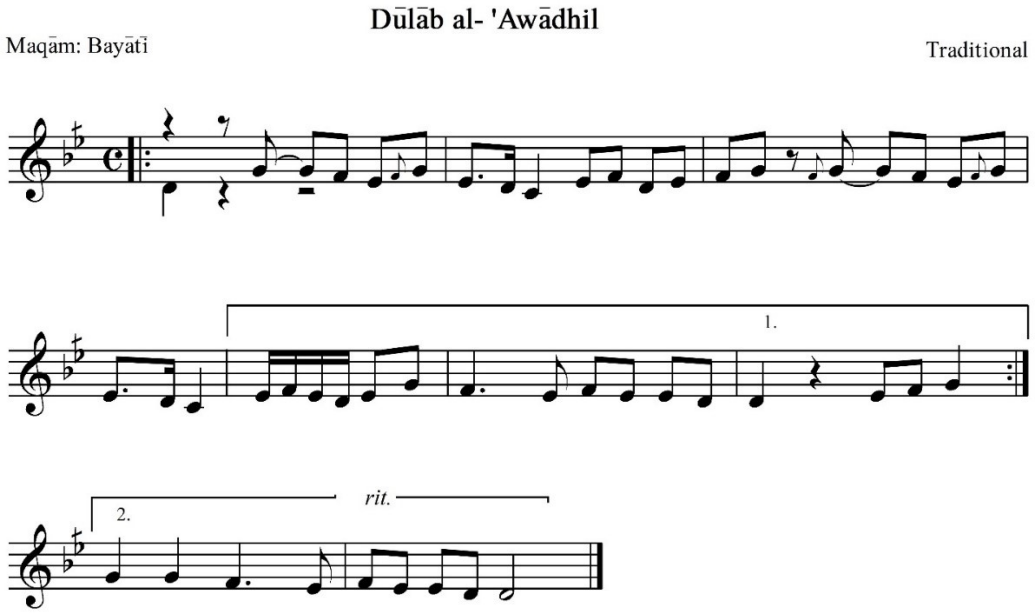


Figure 29. “Dūlāb al-ʿAwādhil,” *maqām bayātī*

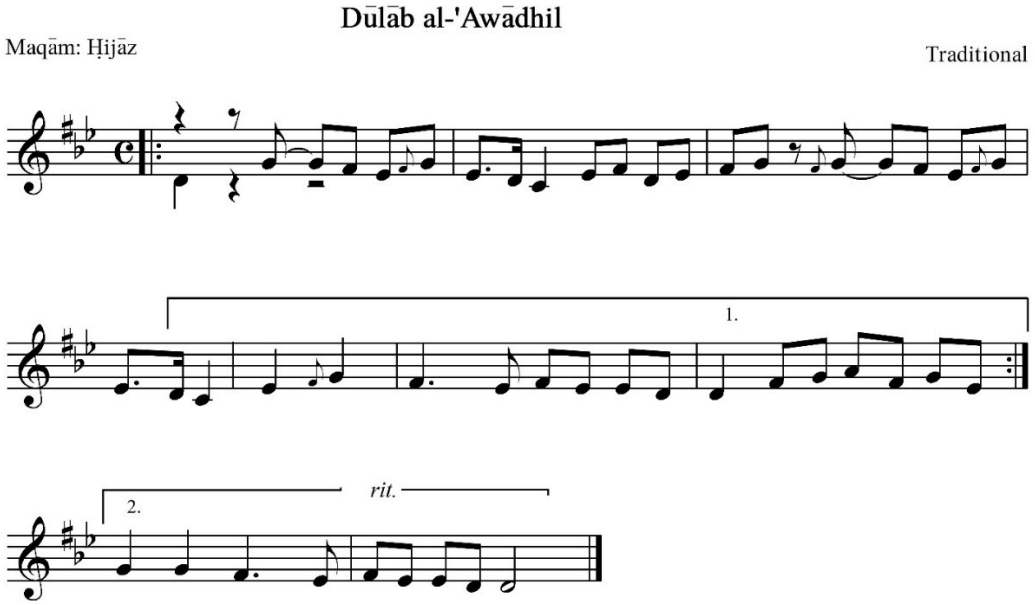


Figure 30. “Dūlāb al-ʿAwādhil,” *maqām ḥijāz*

As the transcriptions show, only the key-signature changes to reflect the modality of the new scale, but mostly it is the same motif transposed to a different *maqām* scale. Al-Akḥal, in this case, did not use the vocal version of “Dūlāb al-ʿAwādhil,” but rather only the instrumental,

and started singing the poem shortly after the qānūn established a consistent pulse. The pulsed *qaṣīda* song type is a hybrid between predetermined melodic hooks and short composed phrases. It employs various characteristics that pertain to a specific *maqām*, including modulations and improvisations. The percentage of each of these melodic components within a single song varies from one singer to another and from one period to another.

Since the relationship between poetry and music is still primarily dominated by poetry, the construction of melodies aligns with each separate hemistich. Essentially, each hemistich gets a musical phrase that has a clear beginning and end. Instruments, meanwhile, either lead to signing such melodic phrases by playing a sustained drone or a consistent on-the-beat tonic that is plucked repeatedly. At the end of each hemistich, the instruments would do the same thing, see 0:31 to 0:39; 0:44 to 0:51, and so on, as illustrated in Recording 3, side A. Records show that composers and singers used this method in this and other song types since the early 1900s. The singer leads the instrumentalists, who carefully follow the vocal line. On the one hand, they pave the way to the beginning of each hemistich as well as recall the tonic, or any other modal center, at the end of each phrase. Occasionally, the ensemble repeats a melody that has precise rhythmic characteristics, such as from 1:20 to 1:28, and 1:36 to 1:45. The ensemble then emphasizes the tonic.

In this performance, modulations, and emphasis on musical notes other than the tonic were not always well coordinated. The lack of attention by instrumentalists to intricate details, in this case, points to the untidiness of the group. For example, al-Akḥal emphasizes *ʿajam* by 1:55, but by 2:24, the *qānūn* did not seem sure if al-Akḥal was planning to hover over it or move on, but given the singer's pause he, the *qānūn*, stayed on it. Al-Akḥal's repeat of the same hemistich at 2:49 ended more clearly on the third scale degree, and the whole ensemble by then was on the

same page holding the note. During this period, ensembles often did not adequately prepare well enough to record songs due to production constraints and budgets. Based on the advertisements by record companies, productions were made in a matter of a few days and were always on a fast track.

Singers tend to be considerate of such dynamics and try to make their renditions as clear as possible to enable the accompanying ensemble to follow seamlessly. One aspect that al-Akḥal kept in mind was returning to a downbeat at the end of every hemistich, despite his over-the-bar-line delay technique called *tarḥīl*. Meanwhile, the beginning of each hemistich often fell on the offbeat, right after the instruments established a steady, continuous beat. In short, the melody of hemistiches started on an offbeat and concluded on the downbeat. However, any slight change to such practices requires coordination and rehearsals, which, in that period, was leverage that not all singers or ensembles had.

Although the poetry in this song is in standard Arabic, al-Akḥal pronounced the letter "ja" as "ga," according to Egyptian non-standard Arabic. The "ga" appeared six times in the song, and they were all pronounced following the Egyptian dialect; see the underlined words in the transliteration above. However, al-Akḥal maintained the pronunciation of other letters according to standard Arabic, which is a practice that resembles the early recordings of ʿAbd al-Ḥay Ḥilmī, Yūsif al-Manyalāwī, and other Egyptian singers and composers.[20] Egyptian singers in early recordings pronounced certain letters according to standard Arabic, except for the "ja." One of the reasons for this practice is that most singers were trained in religious schools, *kuttāb*,

[20] For further exploration, see Yūsif al-Manyalāwī "'Ajibtu li Sa'yi al-Dahr," Gramaphone 012707, 1907; and the same song by 'Abd al-Ḥay Ḥilmī on Odeon 45323 (year unknown). When comparing the pronunciation of "Arāka 'Aṣiyya al-Dam'" by 'Abd al-Ḥay Ḥilmī's "'Ajibtu li Sa'yi al-Dahr," on Odeon 45278 from 1906 with the same song by Um Kulthūm on Odeon FA224612 in 1926, Um Kulthūm's version applies all pronunciation particularities of Egyptian colloquial dialect, see Muṣṭafa (2013).

where Arabic was primarily taught through the Qurʾan, which is all in standard Arabic. However, in later recordings, pronunciations of colloquial Egyptian started to dominate. In an email correspondence with Muṣṭafa Saʿīd, Director of the Foundation for Arab Music Archiving and Research (AMAR), I asked him about the reasons for this shift. He explained that it is the "direct impact of the local and pan-nationalist movements in the region" (personal communication, 2019). Table 3 shows the main differences in pronouncing individual letters in standard Arabic, Egyptian, and Syrian colloquial dialects.

Table 3. Colloquial pronunciations compared to standard Arabic

Egyptian Arabic	Standard Arabic	Syrian Arabic
ga	ja	ja
Zaa or ḍa	ẓa	ẓa
Sa or ta	tha	tha
Za or da	dha	dha
a	qa	a or qa or ka

The most important characteristic of Egyptian songs set to vernacular or standard Arabic is the pronunciation of "ja" as "ga." Singers may easily pass as Egyptian nationals if they only pronounce the "ja" as "ga" in the context of songs that are in standard Arabic. However, singing in colloquial Egyptian requires pronouncing all the characteristics of Egyptian dialect, as illustrated in Figure 33. Al-Akḥal appears to be aware of the importance of Egypt as a market, as well as its musical traditions, protocols, forms, and performance practice. Besides, the recordings may have taken place in Egypt, which may have necessitated some of such practices to appear in songs.

Al-Akḥal's second song from the 1920s is "Salabū al-Ghuṣūn" (recording 4). According to *Silk al-Durar fī Aʿyān al-Qarn al-Thānī ʿAshar*, *vol. III* by Muḥammad al-Murādī, the poem was written by Abū Bakr al-Shībāni (1334-1395) (al- Murādī, 1883). Al-Shībāni was born in

Mosul, moved to Damascus as a young man and settled and died in Jerusalem (Ẓāẓā 1990). The song is in *maqām ḥijāz* and also uses "Dūlāb_il-ʿAwādhil," but in *ḥijāz*, and only its instrumental version. The poetry has 23 verses and is set to *baḥr al-kāmil*:

متفاعل	متفاعلن	متفاعلن	متفاعل	متفاعلن	متفاعلن
mutafãʿilun	mutafãʿilun	mutafãʿilu	mutafãʿilun	mutafãʿilun	mutafãʿilu

Al-Akḥal sings five verses only, slightly modified without changing the plot. In the text below, words in bold indicate modification from the original text. Letters in parenthesis indicate the Egyptian pronunciation, from "ja" to "ga."

"Salabū al-Ghuṣūn," poetry and transliteration:

وَتَقاسموا وَردَ الرياضِ خُدودا	سَلَبوا الغُصونَ معاطِفاً وقُدوداً
salabū _l-ghuṣūna maʿāṭifan wa qudūdā	wa taqāsamū ward_ar-riyāḍi khudūdā
لمتيمٍ او يحفظون عهودا	**وتعاهدوا** أن لا يراعوا ذمةً
wa **taʿāhadū** an lā yurāʿū dhimmatan	limutayyamin aw yaḥfaẓūna ʿuhūda
تحتَ الزُمُرُّدِ **والشقيقِ** عُقودا	نَظموا الثَنايا في المباسمِ لؤلؤاً
naẓamū al-thanāyā fi_l-mabāsimi luʾluʾan	taḥta_az-zumurrudi was _**sh-shaqīqi** ʿuqūdā
واستبدلوا حُقُقَ اللُجينِ نهودا	بَدَلوا الخصورَ من الخَناصرِ رِقَةً
badalū al-khuṣūra min_al-khanāṣiri riqqatan	wa_stabdalū ḥuquq_al-luj(g)ayni nuhūdā
فغدوا على هامِ السَّماك قُعودا	نَظروا إلى الجوزاءِ دونَ مَحَلِّهِمْ
naẓarū ila_j-jawzaʾi dūna maḥallihim	**faghadū** ʿala hām_is-sammāki quʿūdā

In the original verse, **taʿahadū** appears as taqāsamū (split among them) تقاسموا; **al-shaqīq** appears as ʿaqīq (agate) عقيق; the word *shaqīq* refers to *ranunculus asiaticus*, a wildflower popular in Palestine, and **faghadū** appears as faʿalaw (rising high): فَعَلو.

"Salabū al-Ghuṣun," translation*:*

They stripped bark from branches	*and shared garden roses as cheeks*
They took an oath to be unmerciful	*and to give no promises to the memorized*
Their teeth are perfect pearl as they smile	*under emerald and buttercup necklaces*
They exchanged their wastes with pinky fingers	*and their silver bowls with breasts*

They looked at the skies *and went off riding the planets*

A significant difference between this song and the previous one is that al-Akḥal's pronunciation leans towards standard Arabic than Egyptian, especially in how *ja* is pronounced.

Tamām al-Akḥal, Rajab's niece, shared with Nādir Jalāl, a Palestinian researcher and director of NAWA, a recording from 1930. The recording is of one of his songs that he recorded for Baidaphon, "Alā Yā Salma" (recording 5). The poetry is in standard Arabic, and the song is rhythm-free and improvised. In the *qaṣīda mursala* song type, the singer and accompanying instrumentalists explore the various melodic areas of *maqām* and highlight their skills and artistry, just like the pulsed *qaṣīda*.

This song is almost seven minutes long. The violin opens the song through *taqāsīm* (improvisation) in *maqām nahawand* on C. The introductory improvisation lasts for 30 seconds. The *qānūn* meanwhile plays a drone on the tonic through tremolo picking. A 15-second improvisation on *qānūn* follows the violin, which meanwhile sustains a drone on the tonic. Al-Akḥal starts singing after the *qānūn* resolves and lets the last note resonate, while the violin is still maintaining the drone.[21] He opens the song and delivers the first line of poetry on *nahawand*. Another improvisation then follows him by *qānūn* that lasts for 18 seconds. Al-Akḥal starts singing again and repeats the first line of poetry. However, he highlights the fifth scale-degree, G, in the repeat. The violin is still droning on C while the *qānūn* is tailing the vocal line, cautiously. Since the song is improvised, instrumentalists do not precisely know what the singer is going to sing or which areas of the *maqām* they are going to emphasize. Therefore,

[21] Resolving back to the tonic adequately is a common practice in this context. It is intended to redirect the attention of the audience back to the singer, give the vocalist a few seconds to grasp air and focus, and establish a strong drone to enable the singer to open the vocal line in an affirmative fashion.

accompanying instrumentalists typically listen to the vocal line first, and then repeat what they hear on the spot a split second later. Various terms have been used to describe this practice. The one I find useful is "tailing," as in to observe and follow the singer carefully and discretely. The instrumentalists must be attentive and of superb ability to capture the singer's renditions on the spot and repeat them seamlessly and intimately. In al-Akhal's performance, the *qānūn* tailed the singer, showing superb diligence while reinforcing the gradual evolution of the melodic contour during improvisations. Typically, the instrumentalist who plays this role is the leader of the ensemble. The other instruments, meanwhile, either tail the singer or provide drones.

Al-Akḥal settled on a new *maqām* scale, *bayātī* with G, as its tonic, by 1:31. He did so by altering the Ab into an A half-flat, which is *maqām bayātī*'s, in G, second note. At this point, the violin begins droning on G. Then immediately at 1:39, al-Akḥal manipulates the A♭ pitch and slides back to Ab. By this, he highlights the character of yet another closely related *maqām* called *kurdī*, which is still centered on G. Al-Akḥal brings back the Ab to its original state in preparation to modulating back to *nahawand* and closing the phrase, which took him from 1:22 to 1:49 to achieve. The vocal line continues to play on *bayātī* on G, *kurdī* on G, and *ʿajam* on Eb. With every new verse, the improvisations become more extensive in range and more ornate and energetic. The song continues to evolve with the same modulation outline, except for a *nāy* improvisation following the fifth verse. The violin takes the last concluding improvisation back to *nahawand* and closes the song. Throughout the performance, the accompanying ensemble was attentive to the *maqām* that al-Akḥal modulated to, mainly to *bayātī* and *kurdī*, both on G, as well as an occasional *ʿajam* on Eb.

As for poetry, there are seven verses in the song, some repeated twice. Unfortunately, I was not able to find any record of this poem, so its writer is unknown. Since the metric scheme is

sporadic and does not follow one single *baḥr* and moves between various metric motives, likely, one or more poets who were affiliated with the record label wrote it on the spot (see Racy 1976). To unify the general feel of the poem, the writer(s) sustained the rhyme.

"Alā Yā Salma," poetry, and transliteration:

ألا يا سلمى لو دامَ هذا البُعدُ أقصاكِ
mā bāta qalbī bij(g)rḥin fi_ l-hawā sāqī
ما بات قلبي بِجَرح في الهوى ساقي
جفني وجَفنِك في شجوي في فِعْلِهِما
tawafaqā bayna j(g)arḥ_il-haw_ash-shākī
توافقا بين جرح الوفا الشاكي
سفينة الصَبرِ في بحرِ الدُموع غاصَتْ
faqāla j(g)afnī bism_il-Lah mabghākī
فقال جفنيَ باسم الله مَبغاكي
بَلَغْتُ رُشدي وما أدركْتُ مِنكِ مُنى
wa biḥīratī fī bulūghī qabla idrākī
وبحيرتي في بلوغي قَبل إدراكي
يا روضة الحُسنِ جَفني فيك منهمك
yusqīki min fayḍihi wa_l-ʿaynu tarʿākī
يُسقيكِ من فيضِه والعينُ ترعاكي
عَزيزٌ حُبُّكِ في قلبي لَهُ سَكنٌ
mādhā yaḍurrukī law abqayti mathwākī
ماذا يَضُرُّك لو أبقَيْتِ مثواكي
من ذا يغيثُكِ في البدرِ الوَهَنْ
wa hallilī biṭalʿaṭ_il-badri rijʿun min muḥayyākī
وهللي بِطَلعةِ البَدرِ رِجعٌ من مُحيَّاكي
ʿazīzun ḥubbuki fī qalbī lahu sakanun
mn dha yughīthuki fī_l-badri_l-wahan

* Verses in bold were not clear in the recording; therefore, the Arabic text itself and the translations are approximate. Letters in parenthesis indicate the Egyptian pronunciation from "ja" to "ga."

"Alā Yā Salma," translation:

Oh, Salma if this distant love persists
Our eyes immersed in emotion
The ship of patience is sinking in tears my
Oh, garden of beauty I cannot keep my eyes
Dear to me, you are, living deep in my heart.
I will come to the rescue during bad times
the state of love still wounds my heart
harmonious in pain, loyalty, and grievance
eyelids wondered what in God you want from me
off of you they gratify your thirst and guard you
What harm does it bring you if you stayed put?
rejoice by your appearance like a full moon

In this song, al-Akḥal's pronunciation leans more firmly towards standard Arabic than Egyptian and thus expresses the cosmopolitan nature of this genre. Al-Akḥal's choice to record the prestigious *qaṣīda* song types reflects his mastery and confidence. His highly skilled singing technique, modulations, vocal range, and embellishments point to an accomplished performer

and a musician with top-class skills and outstanding attention to ensemble work. His usage of sexually charged poetry in "Janaytu Min Khaddihā" most likely appealed more to Palestinian urbanites at the time. Such connotations were not as explicit in the Egyptian pulsed and free *qaṣīda* songs; they were rather popular in the Egyptian *ṭaqtūqa*.

2.5.2 Ilyās ʿAwaḍ

Ilyās ʿAwaḍ's residence in Yāfā was a haven for musicians and composers such as Amīn Ḥasanain Sālim and Zakariyya Aḥmad (Manṣūr 2017; Būbis 2005).[22] According to PBS programs from the Palestine Post, ʿAwaḍ became a regular fixture at PBS when it opened in 1936, but disappeared from the station by early 1939 for unknown reasons.[23] On PBS, he appeared with Jamīl ʿUwais's takht performing up to 25-minute program. The type of repertoire that he would perform is varied. An example of the assortment of songs can be seen in *The Palestine Post* (August 12, 1938, 10). The announcement is part of the PBS program which was published daily in the newspaper:

> 6:00 PM to 6:20 PM
> Elias ʿAwad [Ilyās ʿAwaḍ] with the P.B.S. studio takht:
> *Taqāsīm* onʿūd
> Introduction
> *Taqāsim* on qānūn
> *Layālī*
> *Mawwāl*
> *Taqṭūqa* "al-Gafa Aḍnānī"

ʿAwaḍ taught both his sons, Yūsif (1931-2017) and Mishail (1922-2007), how to play musical instruments as well as singing (Manṣūr 2017). Their vocal and instrumental training

[22] Marwān Manṣūr was a lifelong friend of Yūsif and obtained his collection of recordings before he died. He maintains a blog through Facebook where he posts materials from his archive as well as testimonies.

[23] See for example *The Palestine Post*, Monday, March 30, 1936, p. 4.

included singing and playing muwashshaḥāt, as well as Egyptian classics by Yūsif al-Manyalāwī, ʿAbd al-Ḥay Ḥilmī, Salāma Ḥijāzi, and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahāb. At age 16, Mishail played violin with an Egyptian ensemble called the Aḥmad Ṣabra Band during its visit to Jerusalem (al-Sharīf 2011). He started working as a violinist at PBS in 1936, and for some time, played the violin at NEBS, then returned to PBS until 1948 (ibid.). According to Yūsif ʿAwaḍ, the ʿAwaḍ family ended up in Syria after 1948 (Manṣūr, 2017). Upon their arrival, both Mishail and Yūsif joined the government's radio station, one as a violinist, and the second as a singer and ʿūd player. They both became highly accomplished.

Luckily, I obtained a recording from NAWA by Ilyas ʿAwaḍ of a "Mawwāl" (recording 6). The *mawwāl* song type was particularly popular during the first half of the twentieth century and was recorded and performed by most singers. It also showcases the virtuosity and individuality of the performer, which is likely the reason for its popularity. While it follows the structure of the free *qaṣīda*, the main difference is that the lyrics are in colloquial Arabic, and in this recording, the style resembles the Baghdādī Mawwāl song type from Iraq. It also seems to have occupied a sizable portion of PBS programming. Just like the free *qaṣīda*, this song type also calls for superb vocal technique, capable accompanists, as well as tightly metered lyrics. ʿAwaḍ's recording starts with a *dūlāb* in *maqām ḥijāz*, but unfortunately the recording skips dramatically during this section. The qānūn tails ʿAwaḍ during his vocal renditions. The violin and ʿūd provide short improvised phrases between verses, and the other instruments provide drones throughout the recording and exchange roles. The lyrics lean to the local Palestinian dialect of Yāfā.

ʿAwaḍ was an expert in various song types including muwashshaḥ and trained many prominent musicians including Muḥammad Ghāzī. I obtained from NAWA a photograph of Ilyās

ʿAwaḍ with his student Muḥammad Ghāzi in Yāfā in 1936. Ghāzī became a highly accomplished singer, and composer and his career flourished well after 1948. On the back of the photograph, Figure 31, Ghāzī wrote:

> The city of Yāfā 1936, with the composer master Ilyās ʿAwaḍ. He was the first to teach me how to sing muwashshaḥāt and the first to compose original songs for me, which I presented in the Palestinian radio in 1937.

Figure 31. Ilyās ʿAwaḍ with Muḥammad Ghāzī (NAWA 1936)

2.5.3 Thurayyā Qaddura

In his memoir, Jawhariyyeh mentions several accomplished female musicians and singers in Palestine, especially in Jerusalem. Those include Asma al-Qarʿa, Amīna al-Amawiyya, Thurayyā Qaddūra, Khayzaran ʿAbdu (also played qānūn), and Frusu Zahrān (also played ʿūd and appeared in PBS as Rajāʾ al-Falasṭīniyya [Palestinian Rajāʾ]) (Jawhariyyeh 2014). However, most of them left little trace except for various recordings by Thurayyā Qaddūra, mostly released by Baidaphon. Given the style of the songs, they were likely recorded within the same period as

those of al-Akḥal. The first song I explore is a pulsed qaṣīda called "Mawlāya Kam Ḥamal al-Nasīm" (recording 7). The poetry is by ʿĀʾishah Taymūr (1840-1902). Taymūr was a female poet and writer and considered to be at the forefront of the feminist movement in Egypt (Ziyādaih [1951] 2011). May Ziyādaih (1886-1941), a Lebanese-Palestinian poet, essayist, and translator, wrote a book about Taymūr and described her as a pioneering critic and reformer. Ziadaih is known as a prolific writer and a vital figure of the Arab Renaissance movements in the early twentieth-century Arab literary scene. She is also known for being an early feminist and a pioneer of feminism in the Near East.

The original poem is seven verses, but in this recording Qadūra sang only three. I must note that during this period, some songs were recorded on both sides of the disc. Therefore, this song may have resumed on the other side of the disc, but we currently have no record of it:

"Mawlāya Kam Ḥamal al-Nasīm," poetry, and transliteration:

مَولايَ كَم حَملَ النَسيمُ سَلامي	فَعَلامَ تَعنيفي وَطولَ مَلامي
mawlāya kam ḥamal_an-nasīmu salāmī	faʿalāma taʿnīfī wa ṭūla malāmī
وَلَكَم بَعَثتُ مَع **الهواء رسائلي**	فمَنَعتَ حَتّى الطيفَ في الأَحلامِ
wa manaʿta ḥatta_ṭ-ṭayfa fī al-aḥlāmi	walakam baʿathtu maʿ_a**l-hawāʾi rasāʾilī**
وَلَطالَما ضَحِكَتْ بُروقُ رَسائِلي	لَمَّا بَكَت بِصَريرِها أَقلامي
lammā bakat biṣarīrihā aqlāmī	walaṭalamā ḍahikat burūqu rasaʾilī

* Words in bold indicate modification from the original text. The original text is *al-barīdi rasāʾilan* (letters by mail).

"Mawlāya Kam Ḥamal al-Nasīm," translation:

Oh master, how often the wind carried my messages to you, so why you keep scolding and blaming me?
I have also sent letters by mail, but you even barred images in my dreams
So often my letters would break in laughter while my pens weep from rubbing against paper

The poem is in *baḥr al-kāmil*:

متفاعلن	متفاعلن	متفاعلن	متفاعلن	متفاعلن	متفاعلن
mutafāʿilum	mutafāʿilum	mutafāʿilum	mutafāʿilum	mutafāʿilum	mutafāʿilum

At the opening of the recording, the announcer identifies Baidaphon as the label and then introduced the singer as Thurayya Qaddūra and mentioned her nickname Karawān Falasṭīn, "the Curlew of Palestine." The song starts with *dūlāb* in *maqām bayātī*. Qaddūra, however, split the song almost in half between two *maqāmāt*, *bayātī* and *ʿajam*, and ends the song on the latter.

In 2006, Amira Mitchell released an album of early music and included Qaddūra as one of the pioneers of music-making in Egypt. The album is entitled *Women of Egypt, 1924–1931: Pioneers of Stardom and Fame*, released in London by Topic Records. The song in the collection is "Kam Baʿathnā maʿ al-Nasīm Salaman," poem by Ibrahīm Ḥusnī Mirzā, on Baidaphon B 085859/60.[24] Based on my calculations, depending on Baidaphon's numbering system, the recording likely took place in 1927 or 1928. The song was first composed for Um Kulthūm by Aḥmad Ṣabrī al-Nigrīdī and recorded on Odeon, 55571, presumably in 1926. An earlier recording of the same poem was by Abū al-ʿIla Muḥammad, also on Baidaphon 82169/70, presumably in 1922. His recording of the poem is likely the earliest and set on *maqām rast.* When al-Nigrīdī set it for Um Kulthūm in 1926, he used *maqām ḥijāz* and modulated extensively to various other scales. However, it was a common practice at the time to honor a previous version by significant singers and composers, such as Abū al-ʿIlā. Therefore, Um Kulthūm opened the vocal line in *maqām rāst*, but a few bars later, the song took a different route. Qaddūra's recording of "Kam Baʿathnā maʿ al-Nasīm Salamā" is half of Um Kulthūm's in length. She sang only the first five verses of the poem; Um Kulthūm sang ten.

Qaddūra also covered an older song by Yūsif al-Manyalāwī called "Fatakātu Laḥẓiki" (recording 8). The song is a pulsed *qaṣīda* and set to *maqām ḥijāz*. The original poem is 43

[24] For the recording, see *Women of Egypt, 1924-1931: Pioneers of Stardom and Fame* (2006), released in London by Topic Records.

verses and was written by Ibn Hāniʾ al-Andalusī (936-973). Al-Manyalāwi selected five verses only (1, 2, 3, 5, 7), and recorded it with Gramaphone 012364, presumably in 1908. He opened the *qaṣīda* with the vocal version of "Dūlāb al-ʿAwādhil," but Qaddūra's recording began with a different *dūlāb* in *ḥijāz*, and the ensemble played "al-Awādhil" as a filling between verses. She also added a verse to al-Manyalāwī's selection (1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 7). The modification of the poetic verses was al-Manyalāwī's. Qaddūra kept them as is, for the most part, as illustrated below. (Words in bold indicate modification from the original text. Words in parenthesis are from the original poem. Letter in parenthesis indicate Egyptian pronunciation from "ja" to "ga.")

"Fatakātu Laḥẓiki," poetry, and transliteration:

	وكؤوسُ خمرٍ أم مَراشفُ فيكِ	فتكاتُ (طرفكٍ) لَحظِكِ أم سيوفُ أبيكِ
1	fatakātu laḥẓiki am suyūfu abīki	Wakuʾūsu khamrin am marāshifu fīki
	أجِلادُ مُرْهَفَةٍ وفَتَكُ محاجِرٍ	(ما) **لا** أنتِ راحمةٌ ولا أهلوكِ
2	Aj(g)ilādu murhafatin wafataku maḥājirin	lā anti rāḥamatun walā ahlūki
	يا بنتَ (ذا السيفِ) **ذي البُردِ** الطويلِ نِجادُهُ	أكذا (يَجوزُ) **يجورُ** الحكمُ في ناديكِ
3	yā binta dhī al-burdi (dhī_s-sayf) ṭ-ṭawīli nij(g)āduhu	akadhā yaj(g)ūru (yajūzu)_l-ḥukmu fī nādīki
	عيناكِ أم مَغناكِ موعِدُنا وفي	وادي الكَرى ألقاكِ أم (أو) واديك
5	ʿaynāki am maghnāki mawʿidunā wa_fī	Wādī_l-karā alqāki am(aw) wadīki
	(حسبوا) **ودعوا** التكحّلَ في جفونك **حيلة** (حليْة)	(تاللهِ) **واللهِ** ما بأكفّهِم كحلوك
8	wallahi (ta-l-Lahi) mā biʾakiffihim kaḥalūki	wadaʿū (ḥasabū) al-takkaḥula fī j(g)ufūnaki ḥīlatan (ḥilyatan)
	ودعوكِ نشوى ما سَقوْكِ مُدامةً	لـمَّا تمايَلَ عِطْفُكِ اتّهموك
7	lammā tamāyala ʿiṭfuki_ttahamūki	wadaʿūki nashwā mā saqawki mudāmatan

"Fatakatu Laḥẓiki," translation:

Either your lethal eyes or your father's swords
Am I getting whipped and stoned by your beauty?
Oh, girl, your sheath is under your long dress
I long to your eyes and singing
They claim that you use eyeliners in deception
And when you become ecstasy, without any wine,

Either some wine or your lips
You and your family do not seem so merciful!
are you allowed to abuse your mates?
We shall meet at your or the Kara valley
but I swear they have applied it themselves
you begin flirting, and they resent you

Poetic meter of "Fatakātu Laḥẓiki," baḥr al-kāmil:

متفاعل	متفاعلن	متفاعلن	متفاعل	متفاعلن	متفاعلن
mutafāʿilun	mutafāʿilun	mutafāʿil	mutafāʿilun	mutafāʿilun	mutafāʿil

Qaddūra recorded several other songs as duets with Egyptian singer and composer Sayyid Shaṭṭā (1897-1985).[25] Very little information is available about her in terms of her later career or where she ended up. She seems to have operated mainly in Egypt and probably settled there, like many of her contemporaries.

2.5.4 Nūḥ Ibrāhīm (1913-1938)

Ibrāhīm was born in Haifa for a Palestinian father and a mother from Crete, presumably Greek (al-Sārīsī 2013). Nūḥ's mother, Zaida (possibly not her real name), was a captive who was brought to Haifa during Ottoman times. Shaikh ʿAbd al-Salām Abū al-Hīja from ʿAin Ḥuḍ, a village near Haifa, gave her shelter. The Shaikh arranged for her marriage to one of his relatives by the name Ḥusain Abū al-Hīja (Ḥijāb 2006). She had one son, Muṣṭafa, and the father died shortly after. She then married Nūḥ's father (name unknown, possibly Ibrāhīm), a Palestinian who worked for Haifa's municipality. They had two children, Nūḥ and a girl named Badīʿa (Ḥijāb 2006). His father was killed in action while fighting the British, possibly in 1917, so his mother sent him to a Christian nun convent in Haifa at age four (ibid.), probably the Latin Parish of St. Joseph associated with the Stella Maris Monastery. Some sources point to 1911 being his birth year. However, given that his father was killed in action while fighting the British when Nūḥ himself was four years of age confirms that his year of birth is 1913, not 1911.

[25] For further listening, see Sayyid Shaṭṭa and Thurayya Qaddūra, Ya Ḥabibtī Raqbī Rabbik, Baidaphon 85799; and Sayyid Shaṭṭa and Thurayya Qaddūra, Yallī Gharamak, Baidaphon 85800.

He later attended an Islamic school for males in the Burj neighborhood (ibid.). The school belonged to al-Jamʿiyya al-Islāmiyya (Islamic Society), a religious organization that was established in Haifa in 1919 (al-Ḥūt 1981). The principle of the school was Kāmil al-Qaṣṣāb (1853-1954), and among the teachers was ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Qassām (1882-1935). Both al-Qaṣṣāb and al-Qassām were Syrian Islamic preachers and leaders in the local struggles against British and French Mandatory rules (Abū ʿAmr 2002). They were also militant opponents of Zionism in the 1920s and 1930s (Abū ʿAmr 2002; Gelvin 1999). Al-Qassām was educated at al-Azhar University in Egypt and was killed in 1935 near the village of Shaikh Zaid, near the city of Jenin. The battle took place ten days after he and several of his comrades went underground and left Haifa after being tied to the killing of Moshe Rosenfeld, a Palestine Police constable (Milton-Edwards 1999; Laurens 2002).[26]

Ibrāhīm finished sixth grade at the Islamic school and was sent to Jerusalem on a scholarship to study printing and bookbinding at Dār al-Aytām al-Islāmiyya (Muslim House of Orphans) (Al-Sārīsī 2013). Khālid ʿAwaḍ points to Nūḥ leaving school after fourth of fifth grade. According to Nimr Ḥijāb, Ibrāhīm worked in a publishing house in Iraq in 1934 (Ḥijāb 2006). A person from Baḥrain by the name Rāshid al-Jalāhma approached him and asked him to join a publishing house in Baḥrain that was preparing to issue a newspaper. He moved to Baḥrain and worked as an expert machinist, trainer, and foreman until the situation in Palestine became worrisome; he decided to go back in 1936 (ibid.). Ibrāhīm performed in Palestine on March 27, 1936 a few weeks before the initial start of the Arab Revolt, which lasted from 1936 to 1939. Ibrāhīm appeared consistently in the PBS programming, typically, with the station's ensemble or

[26] For more about al-Qassām, see Sanagan (2013).

takht, as shown below in Figure 32. By 1937, the British realized that Ibrāhīm was inciteful and actively criticizing them, so they did not allow him to broadcast on PBS any longer, and he was eventually arrested in February of 1937 and detained for five months (ʿAwaḍ 2001; Ibrāhīm 1938). In 1938, he published a sixty-page book in Damascus entitled Majmūʿat Qaṣaʾid Filasṭīn al-Mujāhida (Poetry Collection of Struggling Palestine).[27] According to Akram Zuʿaytir who knew Ibrāhīm personally, the decision to ban Ibrāhīm's book was issued on February 22, 1938 (Zuʿaytir 1992). Zuʿaytir's accounts point to Ibrāhīm as joining the revolution after he visited Egypt in the summer of 1938. Ibrāhīm was killed in an ambush by the British soldiers from the West Kent Regiment (the Difāʿ newspaper, 1938). This information appeared on the first page of the Difāʿ newspaper in the October 27, 1938 issue. The newspaper published the column as a translation of a letter that was sent by George Ward Price to the Daily Mail newspaper, as its special correspondent in Haifa. Price described the encounter as a short battle that took place in Tamra, a village in the Lower Galilee (Price 1938).

[27] There seems to be another earlier edition of this book that Khālid ʿAwaḍ referenced in his book about Nūḥ Ibrāhīm, but I have not been able to obtain a copy of it.

Palestine Broadcasting Service

449.1 Metres — 668 Kcs. 20 Kw.
E—English; A — Arabic; H — Hebrew; R — Recording.

5.30 p.m.— Time Signal. Announcements. English Children's Hour.

6.00 p.m. — Gospel Readings by Copts, Syrians and Abyssinians. 6.15 — Popular Songs by Nuh Ibrahim with the Studio Takht. 6.35 — News Talk (A). 6.45 — Schubert's Chamber Music (II) The Hauser Quartet — Jerusalem. (Hauser - Schocken - Jacoby - Yellin).

7.20 p.m. — A Variety of Songs by the National Orthodox School Choir, Directed by Amin Sidawi. 7.45 — " 'Abd er Rahman en Nasir" A Talk by Nada 'Abd el Hadi (A).

8.00 p.m. — Hebrew Lesson by Dr. I. Epstein. 8.10 — Oriental Hebrew Music by Ezra Aharon and his Group. 8.35 — "The Rabbi of Ladi" A Talk by Avraham Chen (H). 8.55 — News in English, Arabic and Hebrew.

9.00 p.m. — Time Signal. 9.20 — Lor Dakkash with the Studio Takht. 9.45 — Tzigane Music (R).

10.10 p.m. Arabic Music and Songs (R). 10.30 — Close Down.

Figure 32. PBS Program (1937)

In his book, Ibrāhīm pays respect to his schoolteacher al-Qassām but does not refer to himself as one of his comrades. From his tribute, it was clear that Ibrāhīm seems to have been touched by al-Qassām's teachings, lectures, and martyrdom. However, since al-Qassām became a martyr and symbol of self-sacrifice after he died in 1935 (Milton-Edwards 1999), Ibrāhīm likely called himself *tilmīdh al-Qassām* (disciple of al-Qassām) sometime after the fact. At the

beginning of the recording of the King Ghāzī I of Iraq song discussed below, the announcer refers to Ibrāhīm by using the term *tilmīdh al-Qassām* in his introduction to the song.[28] The recording likely took place sometime after the death of al-Qassām, which indicates that Ibrahim was unlikely one of ʿIz al-Dīn al-Qassām's followers and one that he trusted or leaned on, as various Palestinian sources claim. Moreover, Zuʿaytir noted that Ibrāhīm joined the revolution at least two and a half years after al-Qassām's death. During this period, Ibrāhīm used to appear on PBS and regularly perform until his arrest and detention in early 1937.

In his book, Ibrahīm identifies himself as Palestinian, which he indicated in the subtitle. He included anecdotes, testimonies, short non-fiction stories, news, political stands, poems and songs, and short biographies of Arab revolutionaries (contemporary and historical), all written in standard Arabic, except for his songs, which were written in colloquial Arabic. He injected nationalist, religious, and moral views in everything he wrote. The theme that dominated his writings is the notion of Arab and Palestinian identity and character, which he effectively used as a tool for mobilization, provocation, and resistance while incorporating religious elements to impact his audiences further. In September 1937, the British dismissed Amīn al-Husaini, the leader of the Supreme Muslim Council, and issued a warrant for his arrest. Ibrāhīm lamented al-Ḥusainī's departure through prose, quotations from the Qurʾan as well as through shaʿbī poetry. He built on the religious and national sentiments associated with al-Ḥusainī as the highest-ranking religious and national figure in Palestine at the time.

In his performances, Ibrahīm targeted primarily rural and uneducated audiences (McDonald 2013; ʿAwaḍ 2001). His appearances point to a shift into the 'performance' domain,

[28] In Arabic, the word *tilmīdh* also means "student."

where elements of promotion and production properties such as staged events are incorporated, as well as active engagement in producing his recordings for commercial consumption. The following is an announcement of one of the activities that Ibrāhīm put out in March 1936, shown below in Figure 33:

Figure 33. Nūḥ Ibrahim concert (1936)

Ustādh Nūḥ Ibrahim
Friday, March 27, 1936
Martyrs Café Theater
Café owner Ṣalāḥ Naʿīm Kanʿān in the village of Balad al-Shaikh
The concert begins at 7:30 PM.

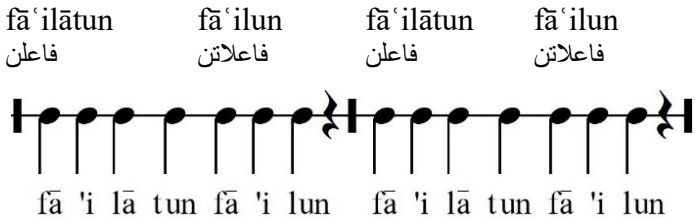
Ibrāhīm also catered to the audiences of nearby Arab countries and their leaders. In his book, he referenced his visits to Iraq, Baḥrain, Yemen, Transjordan, Najd, Hijaz, Syria, and Egypt, and noted how Arab audiences welcomed and memorized his songs. While Ibrāhīm pursued the concept of performance as a method to approach diverse audiences, his appearances functioned differently from rural musical practices. He moved from town to town and appeared in settings other than the traditional standard ones (ʿAwaḍ 2001). He did not equate himself with the other poet-singers, or *zajjalīn*; instead, he distinguished himself as one who is offering something different (ibid.). In terms of the subjects of his songs, they were also different and inspired by and, or, based upon day-to-day issues. As stated by Akram Zuʿaytir, Nimr Ḥijāb, 'Umar al-Sārīsī, and Khālid ʿAwaḍ, Ibrāhīm's performances included elements of news, poems, national songs, social *zajal* while making a case for Palestine in an "entertaining" fashion, while challenging the status quo. He also called for unity between Arab Muslims and Christians, which seemed to have been a concern at the time.[29]

Structurally, most of Ibrāhīm's lyrics loosely follow folkloric meters, particularly the *murabbaʿ* (quatrain) *baḥr* (meter). Rhythmically, the *murabbaʿ* is often considered one of the *raml* meter's variations. It is also a popular responsorial song type or *zajal* medium which is used primarily to disseminate news, narratives, histories, stories, and to engage the public through participation. Typically, the *zajjāl* or poet-singer sings the two full lines, four hemistiches total, and then the audience repeats the phrase "yā ḥalālī yā mālī." It is often performed at weddings and celebrations and may involve dancing and last for hours. In the case of *muḥāwara* (dialogue), Ibrāhīm's second most favorite method to organize his songs, it is essentially the full

[29] For more about Christian Muslim relations in Palestine see Robson (2012) and Haiduc-Dale (2015).

murabbaʿ baḥr with a fifth added hemistich, resembling the "yā ḥalālī yā māli," but without singing the phrase. In the verses of *murabbaʿ*, the first three consecutive hemistiches are set to one rhyme, while the fourth hemistich always follows the same as the rhyme of "yā ḥalālī yā mālī." I must note that in all his songs, Nūḥ never used the phrase "yā ḥalālī yā mālī."

The *murabbaʿ baḥr*, and *murabbaʿ* as beat phrases:



As I examined Ibrāhīm's lyrics further, it became apparent that his writing was not so artful nor sophisticated. At the technical level, writing in strict meter was not one of his strongest pursuits either. Similarly, such issues were also apparent in his music. However, and despite the unsophisticated nature of Ibrahīm's poetry and songs, the recordings shed light on the music scene at the time. They also offer a glimpse of how Ibrāhīm navigated the scene musically and geopolitically.

2.5.5 Nūḥ Ibrāhīm's Recordings

There are four surviving recordings of Ibrāhīm, and they are all light in nature. Two of the recordings pointed to an era before Ibrāhīm's involvement in the resistance movement and were about social awkwardness and apolitical topics. The first is a social satire song about how "Satan" plays in people's minds, and the second is another social satire song about a man who has two wives. The third is a song in the glorification of King Ghāzī I of Iraq, which is the only one included in his book. The fourth song glorifies the Crown Prince Fayṣal, son of King Ghāzī

I.[30] At the beginning of each song, the announcer, likely from the label that recorded the songs, announces Ibrāhīm as either a Palestinian ustādh, afandī, shāʿir shaʿbī, and in one recording as al-Qassām's disciple, or student.

Ibrāhīm set the two satire songs to *maqām bayātī* and *murabbaʿ*. The melody of the two songs is mostly identical, but only the lyrics change, as illustrated in Figure 34 below. In both songs, the melody slightly changes from one verse to another, depending on the metric tightness of the poetic structure. As shown in the transcription, the songs start with a four-bar instrumental introduction that consists of one two-bar-melodic-phrase, repeated; see Recording 9 and 10. Then comes an opening line where the singer, Nūḥ himself, delivers the first hemistich in a one-bar simple melodic phrase, and a group of singers respond to him and complete the hemistich with a concluding one-bar melodic sentence. He then repeats the same scenario with the second hemistich. The two hemistiches would, after that, function as the refrain (R) between verses, four bars in total. The B section verse starts immediately after R, and it is double its size. The B sections cover two full lines of poetry, four hemistiches in total. After the first verse, the refrain is back, leading to the instrumental section and then to the second verse. This formula continues until the end of the songs leading to slight retardation:

A R B R A B R A B R A

A (Instrumental), R (solo and group vocal), B (verse, solo vocal)

[30] This song is a kind contribution from the private archive of Dr. Ahmad Alsalhi, ethnomusicologist, and Head of Music Department at Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmad Cultural Centre in Kuwait.

Allah Yikhzi and
Mshaḥḥar Ya Jū al-Tintain

Maqām: Bayātī (G)
Rhythm: Malfūf

Nūḥ Ibrāhīm

Instrumental

5 Vocal solo Vocal (group) Vocal solo Vocal (group)

10 Vocal solo
Verse 1

15 Vocal solo Vocal (group)

20 Vocal solo Vocal (group) Instrumental

25 Verses Instrumental

30 Fine

Figure 34. “Allah Yikhzī” and “Mshaḥḥar Yā Jūz al-Tintain,” Nūḥ Ibrāhīm (1930s)

In these two songs, Ibrāhīm utilized the same procedure of the murabbaʿ song type as it appears in traditional contexts. The use of call and response in these recordings was also strategic in that it promoted a sense of populism and participation among audiences. The fast tempo is

intended to keep the audience interested, while the lyrics hold the listeners in anticipation to hear the rest of the story. The following example from his song is "Allah Yikhzī" (second verse):

"Alla Yikhzī," lyrics, and transliteration:

Refrain:	Allah yikhzī **hashshīṭān** Allah yifḍaḥ **hashshīṭān**	الله يخزي هالشيطان الله يفضح هالشيطان
Verse:	marra māshi ʿam**akazdir** wanā lābis u **mitghandir**	مرة ماشي عم أكزدر وانا لابس ومتغندر
	u jībī malyānim **ṭanṭir** u ābiḍ maʿāshīw ***farḥān***	وجيبي مليان منطنطر وقابض معاشي وفرحان

* The rhyme in the transliteration version is illustrated in bold, and the last hemistich of the line goes back to the rhyme of R is shown in bold italics.

The third surviving recording by Ibrāhīm is a song about King Ghāzī I of Iraq (recording 11). Its melody in section A resembles a traditional Iraqi basta called "Ṭālʿa Min Bait Abūhā," although there are subtle differences between the two tunes, as I demonstrate in Figure 35. The song is in *maqām jihārkah*, which was and still one of the most popular *maqāmāt* practiced in Iraq. I based my comparison on a recording by Muḥammad al-ʿĀshiq (1905–1984), a master of the Iraqi Maqām genre. The lyrics of this song are also included in Iṣṭifān's 1923 book, which is evidence that the song was known in Palestine at the time. However, Ibrāhīm set his song to *maqām ʿajam*; the two scales that are close to each other at first glance. The main difference between them is that the leading tone in *jihārkah* is lowered by almost two commas, while the leading tone in *ʿajam* resembles the major scale in Western music. The second difference is that in *jihārkah*, the fourth scale degree is dominant, while in *ʿajam*, it is the fifth. In Ibrāhīm's version, the G is much more prominent when compared to the original *basta*. The transcription below is for the A section of Ibrāhīm's song compared to the melody of the Iraqi *basta*:[31]

[31] The intention is not to delve in comparisons of *maqāmāt*, so I will leave this endeavor for future research.

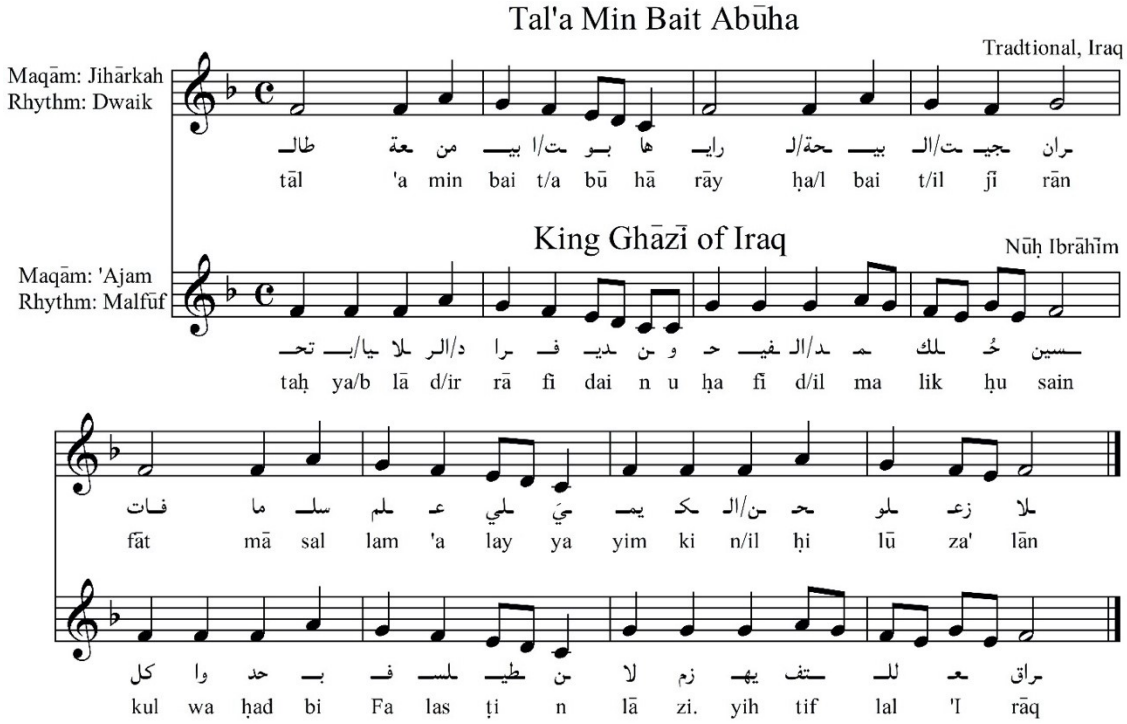


Figure 35. "Ṭālʿa Min Bait Abūhā," traditional, Iraq, (top); and "King Ghāzī," Nūḥ Ibrāhīm (bottom)

The *murabbaʿ baḥr* that Ibrāhīm uses extensively throughout his colloquial poetry and lyric matches the poetic meter of this Iraqi basta. Even the variations on the meter that Ibrāhīm utilizes in his writings appear in the same Iraqi basta. Shākir Tamīmī demonstrates that both the meter and its variations are common among *shaʿbī* poets in Southern and Western Iraq, the Middle Euphrates, and Baghdad (Tamīmī 2016). Tamīmī also lists the *murabbaʿ baḥr* as one of *baḥr al-raml's* variations, which is one of the most common poetic meters in the Arab world and frequently used by poets in all contexts (ibid.).

The fourth recording is a song dedicated to King Ghazi's son Crown Prince Fayṣal (recording 12). It is set to *maqām māhūr*, another common *maqām* in Iraq. The lyrics follow a variation of *baḥr al-raml*:

فاعلن	فاعلاتن	فاعلاتن	فاعلن	فاعلاتن	فاعلاتن
fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilun	fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilun

"Fayṣal," lyrics, and transliteration:

Refrain, first half	ابن صاحب الجلالة غازي المليك		فيصل يا ولي العهد الله يحميك
	للعرب في المستقبل		انت محط الأمل
Verse	وانت طيف ال حبَّتك كل القلوب		فيصلنا يا ولي العهد المحبوب
	ويعزنا بيك	الله يحميك	ابن المليك
Refrain, second half	للعرب في المستقبل		وتكون محط الأمل

Refrain, first half	Fayṣal yā waliy_il-ʿahd Allah yiḥmīk		ibin ṣaḥb_il-jalāla Ghāzī_il-malīk
	inta maḥaṭ_ṭil-amal		lil ʿArab fī_l-mustaqbal
Verse	Fayṣalnā yā waliy_il-ʿahd_il-maḥbūb		winta ṭīf_il-ḥabbatak kul_il-qulūb
	ibn al-malīk	Allah yiḥmīk	wiyʿiznā bīk
Refrain, second half	witkūn maḥaṭ_ṭil-amal		lil ʿArab fī_l-mustaqbal

"Fayṣal," poetic meter scheme:

Refrain

فاعلن	فاعلاتن	فاعلاتن	فاعلن	فاعلاتن	فاعلاتن
	فاعلن	فاعلاتن	فاعلن	فاعلاتن	
fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilun	fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilun
	fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilun	fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilun	

Verse

فاعلن	فاعلاتن	فاعلاتن	فاعلن	فاعلاتن	فاعلاتن
فاعلاتن		فاعلاتن			فاعلاتن
	فاعلن	فاعلاتن	فاعلن	فاعلاتن	
fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilun	fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilun
fā ʿilātun		fā ʿilātun			fā ʿilātun
	fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilun	fā ʿilātun	fā ʿilun	

Ibrāhīm's use of *maqām māhūr* seems to follow *maqām* practices in Iraq. *Māhūr* has peculiar qualities that fluctuate between two common *maqāmāt*, *rāst*, and *ʿajam*. In *maqām rāst*, when starting from C, the E and B are both half-flat (see "List of Maqāmāt"). While in *ʿajam*, also on C, both E and B are natural, close to a C major scale. *Māhūr*, however, is a combination of the two where the E is half-flat, and the B is natural. The song consists of two main sections. The A section is in *maqām māhūr*, while the B section modulates to *maqām ḥijāz*. At the end of section B, the melody returns to *ʿajam* on the upper register, then returns to *māhūr*, as illustrated in Figure 55 in the Appendix.

Using different lyrics for a pre-composed melody is a common practice among poet-singers, and the method does not require one to be a trained musician. However, such recordings demonstrate that Ibrāhīm managed to utilize various tools, poetic and musical, and understood the region well, not only politically but also musically. He customized songs according to the taste of fans, aristocracy, politicians, revolutionaries, and ordinary people. His ability to navigate *maqām* practices, especially those which are not practiced in traditional Palestinian settings, points to serious engagement in music-making, let alone navigating issues of intonation and *maqām* practice in regions other than his own while presenting such songs to monarchies. It is not clear whether he played a musical instrument or received any formal training. Still, it seems that he understood specific artistic details about songwriting as well as *maqām*, most likely through interaction with other musicians, as well as observation.

The population of Ibrāhīm's hometown of Haifa was almost a hundred thousand people by the mid-1930s (Dabbāgh 1991). The Egyptian State Broadcasting Service, as well as Egyptian recordings, were accessible to Palestinians during this period (see Jawhariyyeh 2014 and Lachmann 2013), especially in a place like Haifa. This exposure may explain Ibrāhīm's tendency

to interpret *jihārkah* as *ʿajam* in the King Ghāzī song, pointing to a similar treatment in early Egyptian recordings.

Ibrāhīm also collaborated with other artists. Hijāb points to a collaboration with Salamaih al-Aghwānī (1909–1982), a Syrian shaʿbī poet and singer who also sang political and social satire songs (al-Imām 2018; Hijāb 2006). The song Hijāb points to is about Palestine, but unfortunately no recordings are available currently (I include only four hemistiches):

"Falasṭīn" (Palestine), lyrics and translation:

Rhyme		
īn	Oh Palestine, she has seen the sweet good days	فلسطين شو شافت ايام حلوين
na	But today she is unfortunate, tired and sad	أما اليوم مسكينة شو تعبانة وحزينة
īn	May God help and support	ربي تساعد ربي تعين
īn	Our oppressed Palestine	هالمظلومة فلسطين

I found a recording of another song by al-Aghwānī that Ibrāhīm wrote, called "al-Bait Baitnā." The lyrics were noted in Hijāb's book on page 234, but with no mention of al-Aghwānī. Hijāb transcribed the lyrics through interviews, but his transcription is not consistent with the recording and missing several verses. I include the refrain and the first verse below as they appear in the recording.

"Al-Bait Baitnā," lyrics, and translation:

Rhyme			
nā	*Refrain*	This home is ours as well as the land	البيت بيتنا والأرض لابونا
nā	*Verse 1*	How dare they rip us off	وبأي عين جايين ينهبونا
ān		We used to live safely and comfortably	كنا عايشين بعز وأمان
ān		We did not know worry or sadness	ما بنعرف هم... ما بنعرف أحزان
ān		Where did they come from	ومنين إجونا بأخر زمان
ān		They attacked us like ghouls	هجموا علينا مثل الغيلان
nā		They soon will eat us alive	وبعد شوي رح يبلعونا

The recording is by Sodwa, but the quality of the performance based on the ensemble work seems compromised. According to Sodwa's advertisement shown in Figure 36, it also used to release a new disc every week, which explains the modest outcome and the fast-track orientation of such productions.[32]

Another song that Ibrāhīm wrote and sang but was instead set to music by Filmūn Wahbī is "Dabbirha Yā Mistir Dill" ("Figure It Out Mister Dill") (Mwāsī 2019). The song refers to Sir John Greer Dill, who, according to the September 29, 1936 issue of the London Gazette, was sent to Palestine during the Arab Revolt in Palestine, where he was appointed General Officer Commanding (GOC) of the British forces on September 8, 1936. He held the post until 1937.

[32] This image was obtained by one of Aleppo's residents Mr. ʿAlā' al-Sayyid, who has been building up a digital archive of his city since the war in Syria began. The project was entitled the Aleppo National Archives and uses a Facebook page as a public showcase. The date of the image has not been verified.

Figure 36. Sodwa Records

2.5.6 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Barghūtī

In 1936, a poet-singer by the name of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Barghūtī approached PBS upon its inception and asked to broadcast a *dalʿūnā* song on the air (see Figure 56 in the Appendix). He wrote the lyrics about three men who got executed on June 17, 1930, namely Muḥammad Jamjūm, Fuʾād Ḥijāzī, and ʿAṭā al-Zīr. The song became a symbol of confrontation and spread quickly (Barghūtī 2017) and started to be identified as "Min Sijin ʿAkkā" ("From the Prison of ʿAkkā").[33] Both Yiḥya al-Labābīdī and Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān refused to broadcast it. The Arab Section at the time was headed by Ṭūqān, while al-Lababīdī, a Lebanese musician, directed the music section.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Barghūtī was born in 1910 in Dīr Ghassāna, a village 25 km northwest of Ramallah. Blind from infancy, he became an orphan as a child and was sent to a special school to study the Qurʾan (al-Barghūtī 2017). In 1956, he settled in Kūbar, a village 10 km north of Ramallah, upon his appointment as the *imām* of its local mosque (ibid.). By then, al-Barghūtī was known for his poetry and *zajal* poems.

In 1977, the song was released by Firqit Aghānī al-ʿAshiqīn, a Palestinian group from Syria and mistakenly attributed to Nūḥ Ibrāhīm. Certain verses were selected, modified, and packaged in a song format by Ḥusain Nāzik, the leader of the group. Nāzik slowed down the melody to a haunting tempo in contrast to its original dalʿūnā celebratory and fast tempo

[33] A notorious prison which the British utilized to implement executions.

renditions.[34] In 2017, Widād al-Barghūtī interviewed ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and wrote an article about the song. He offered her the complete set of the lyrics as he originally set them; his sons transcribed all 28 verses (al-Barghūti 2017). He told al-Barghūtī that the first letter of each verse corresponded to one of the Arabic alphabets in consecutive order.[35] In her analysis, she argued that Ibrāhīm never wrote in *dalʿūnā baḥr*, rather used mostly the *murabbaʿ*. She also argued that this poem did not appear in any of Nūḥ Ibrāhīm's poetry collections, whether the ones he published himself or those collected after his death. I, too, did not find any reference to it in any of Ibrāhīm's publications or the studies about him and attest that Ibrāhīm did not write in *dalʿūna* meter, and instead used *murabbaʿ* extensively.

2.5.7 Nimir Nāṣir

As for Nimir Nāṣir, who was mentioned in the *Falasṭīn* newspaper advertisement in 1926, he appeared in PBS as early as April of 1936, but seems to have disappeared from its programming after that, possibly after he recorded songs about and in support of the Arab Revolt in Palestine.[36] The recording that I obtained from Bashar Shammout is of three songs, a total of 21 minutes. It offers a reasonable account of what Nāṣir was singing at the time, and the transcriptions are provided in the Appendix as Figures 57, 58, and 59. Although the quality of the recording is heavily compromised, the melodies are perceptible. Also, the lyrics are challenging to detect, but the poetic meter appears to be precise.

[34] On its release, my father heard the song and recalled different lyrics. In his mind, the original fast tempo version came to his mind, not the new one with the slow pace.

[35] Al-Barghūtī was kind enough and provided me with a copy of the full transcription for further analysis, I did not however need to include a copy of it in this study.

[36] For the full program see the Palestine Post issues of April 3, 1936 and April 15, 1936.

The first song in the recording is about Nablus, a Palestinian city known for being at the frontier of the struggle against the British during that period. The poetry seems to follow the *murabbaʿ baḥr*, just like Ibrāhīm's, and the form and phrasing seem to be also in line with Ibrāhīm's songs. In the second song, he appears to describe specific attacks by Zionist gangs, and in the third song, he talks about the six-month strike of 1936.

2.6 Connections and Early Agency

Various types of songs, including peasant, Bedouin, and urban, reflected regional and local nationalist sentiments and the political conditions during the 1920s and 1930s. Palestinians were navigating several forces at the same time, such as British policies, Arab nationalist theories, Jewish colonization, and an accompanying persistent thrust towards modernity. The songs emerging from Palestine during that period were varied and pointed to the broader context of music-making. Based on the examples that I discussed or referenced so far, these song types include:

1. free or nonmetered *qaṣīda,*
2. pulsed *qaṣīda,*
3. *mawwāl* and *layālī*,
4. light urban song and *ṭaqṭūqa,*
5. Bedouin,
6. Peasant,
7. *dawr*, and
8. *muwashshaḥ*.

In terms of the subjects that such song types touched upon, they were social, love, national, political, and religious. Some were set to colloquial local Arabic dialects, including Bedouin, peasant and urban, and some were set in standard Arabic.

The songs of Thurayya Qaddūra and Rajab al-Akḥal established a direct extension to the art music of Egypt and took part in the emerging music industry of the Arab Renaissance. Based on Racy's findings, most of the recording companies during this period worked with specific ensembles and studios, including Baidaphon. Therefore, it is likely that al-Akḥal and Qaddūra's recordings took place in Egypt, especially with the song types they pursued being predominantly influenced by Egyptian song types.

The use of standard Arabic pronunciation in al-Akḥal's songs, especially his 1930 song, point to more in-depth historical references that Palestinians deemed relevant to their national consciousness. Al-Akḥal's reference to *Salma* as the female antagonist in his song recalls one of the most iconic female figures in Arabic poetry that goes back centuries and as far as the pre-Islamic era. *Salma* was mentioned by numerous poets including Zuhayr bin Abī Sulma (520-609), Hammām bin Ghālib, nicknamed al-Farazdaq (641-732), and Ḥabīb bin Aws al-Ṭāʾī, known as Abū Tammām (803-845). Al-Akḥal's *Salma* became an extension of all the other *Salma* figures.

Al-Akḥal and Qaddūra emphasized their distinctive local identity through their selection of poetry. Al-Akḥal highlighted the Palestinian connection through selecting poems by al-Rafiʿī, and al-Shībānī, while the poem that Qaddūra selected by ʿĀʾisha Taymūr represents the voice of one of its most important icons of the feminist movement in the Near East.

Despite the lack of music schools in Palestine, as both Jawhariyyeh (2014) and Willson (2013a) note, the *maqām* milieu, as well as the musical ecology in Palestine at the time, seem to

have offered al-Akḥal and Qaddūra with enough substructure to become high achievers and yet maintain a connection to Palestine. Qaddūra and al-Akḥal also worked with master instrumentalists and were both considered among the best in their field.

Although the songs of Nūḥ Ibrāhīm and Nimir Nāṣir were simplistic, straightforward, and somewhat naive, they strongly point to a populist political movement and an emerging local identity that presented itself as an integral part of a larger Arab one. Despite sounding urban, Ibrāhīm's songs and performances spread to villages while utilizing literary and musical devices and components from both peasant and urban traditions. Ibrāhīm also embodies the connections that Palestinians shared with neighboring regions such as Syria, Iraq, and Egypt, through the joint nationalist fight against Zionism, as well as the song types that he used. Such connections were reciprocal and evident in peasant songs as well, which can be seen in "Min Sijin ʿAkkā" by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Barghūtī. His song shows how peasant song types went beyond their traditional role. While al-Barghūtī's poem follows dalʿūnā in terms of poetic meter and performance, it emulates Bedouin epic poems in terms of its length, plot, and unity, and utilized literary devices, such as setting the poem to the order of the Arabic alphabet. This endeavor requires a solid literary skill set. When PBS refused to broadcast ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Barghūtī's song in 1936, their refusal was indicative of the nature of PBS as an institution, one with predetermined goals that were encoded by the British. The ramifications of disobeying the British or challenging them, however, were known to be harsh ones, and Ibrāhīm experienced it firsthand, before and after his arrest.

Between Ibrāhīm, Nāṣir, ʿAwaḍ, Qaddūra, al-Akḥal, and al-Barghūti, their songs were indicative of domestic music-making where local and regional ingredients and components, as well as literary devices, were being fused and incorporated. The songs demonstrate that such

artists were part of the Arab Renaissance revival movement, which revolved around various values, including the restoration of standard Arabic, its dissemination, and bridging the present with the past through references to literary symbols and shared concerns.

2.7 Palestine Broadcasting Station (PBS)

The British statistics of 1931 show that the rural population of Palestine was 648,530: 571,637 Muslims, 22,148 Christians, and 46,143 Jews. The British considered rural Arab Palestinians as a backward and disadvantaged population with high potential to revolt (Stanton 2013). In their view, rural Arabs were trapped in timeless traditional patterns (ibid.). After the 1929 riots, the British began paying extra attention to the desperate position of Arab peasants, which the British considered a cause for the riots (Simpson 1930). John H. Simpson articulated this conclusion in his report concerning the economic situation of peasants:

> Evidence from every possible source tends to support the conclusion that the Arab fellah [peasant] cultivator is in a desperate position. He has no capital for his farm. He is, on the contrary, heavily in debt. His rent is rising, he has to pay very heavy taxes, and the rate of interest on his loans is incredibly high. On the other hand, he is intelligent and hard-working, and pitifully anxious to improve his standard of cultivation and his standard of life. And very little has been done for him in the past. (Simpson 1930, 65)

While the resistance movement continued among Palestinian peasants, the British managed to suppress it in cities. Therefore, they initiated programs that were aimed at helping the Arab rural population to evolve economically. One of the proposals was to establish a broadcasting unit to advance such plans (Stanton 2013). The Mandate government viewed radio broadcasting as a vehicle for modernization and wanted to take advantage of it to display a positive image of the Mandate and their efforts in Palestine (ibid.). Programming for the Arab rural population was put forth as a discrete category, with no overlap with programming that

aimed at urban folk (ibid.). The station would essentially become instrumental in promoting modernization among all Palestinian Arabs, including Bedouins and peasants.

Meanwhile, the Arab Renaissance movement continued to take shape during the first half of the twentieth century, and the dissemination of its ideals started to take effect on the hand of motivated intellectuals and organizations throughout the region, including Palestine (Sheehi 2004). During the 1920s and 1930s, signs of the Renaissance are found in various mediums in the area, especially in literature, music, and politics. Established in 1934, the Egyptian State Radio Service (Radio Cairo) started to shape communities across the region. Western musical influences were already getting increased dissemination, as shown in the report of the Education Committee of the Cairo Conference of Arab Music in 1932 (Thomas 2007). Meanwhile, missionary schools continued to teach and engage Palestinians in Western music. Such developments can be seen through the activities and broadcasting programs of PBS.

In 1936, PBS was established to "educate and elevate" listeners as citizens rather than entertain them as consumers (Stanton 2013). It was also intended to be used as a tool to maintain political and economic stability in Palestine and combat the impact of Italy's and Germany's broadcasting in Arabic, which were hostile to the British (Boyd 2003; Stanton 2013). In terms of geographic reach, PBS was the most reliable station after Radio Ankara in Turkey (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). Its coverage was broad and included Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Lebanon, Najd and Hijaz (Saudi Arabia today), and Transjordan (the *Muntada*, November 15, 1946, no. 41, 9). Despite its reach, a large portion of rural Palestinians did not listen to the radio, primarily due to the lack of electricity supply (Stanton 2014). In 1946, the population of Palestine was approximately 1.9 million, including about 600,000 to 700,000 Jews. About 80% of Jews were active listeners to PBS, versus only 10% of Arabs (Stanton 2014).

Whatever went on air had to get approved by the British well beforehand. The British, however, encouraged patriotic songs that intended to glorify the homeland and express the people's love of it. However, the notion of using the station as a platform to protest or fight was banned. Therefore, national anthems were not allowed, except for an occasional broadcast of Britain's (Stanton 2014). In his statement during the open ceremony of the PBS, the British High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope said that

> The broadcasting service in Palestine will not be concerned with politics. Broadcasting will be directed for the advantage of all classes of all communities. Its main objective will be the spread of knowledge and of culture nor, I can assure you, will the claims of religion be neglected. (Palestine Post, March 31, 1936, 8).

Then the Commissioner got more specific and gave examples:

> We shall try to stimulate new interests and make all forms of knowledge more widespread. I will give you two examples in both of which I have a deep interest. There are thousands of farmers in this country who are striving to improve their methods of agriculture. I hope we shall find ways and means to help these farmers and assist them to increase the yield of the soil, improve the quality of their produce, and explain the advantages of various forms of cooperation. There are thousands of people in Palestine who have a natural love of music, but who experience difficulty in finding the means, whereby they may enjoy the many pleasures that music gives. The Broadcasting Service will endeavor to fill this need, and stimulate musical life in Palestine, so that we may see both Oriental and Western music grow in strength, side by side, each true to its own tradition. (8)

It was clear from the Commissioner's statement that the British imagined the future of this area based on the narrative of East and West as two separate forces that are ought not to engage in a conversation with one another. They wanted the East and West to flourish separately from each other (Stanton 2013). Therefore, they created three separate divisions in PBS: Arab, Jewish, and English. At the level of programming, the three sections were given some liberty without deviating from the general apolitical nature of the station.

In a letter dated December 7, 1935, PBS director R. A. Rendall reported, seemingly to one of his superiors (the name is not clear), that PBS had secured the Young Men's Christian

Association (YMCA) Choir in Jerusalem as well as another choir in Bethlehem to perform on-air (BBC Archive 1935). This communication took place before the hiring of a subdirector and music director for the Arab Section, which points to the specific set of criteria that the British wanted to implement regardless of the potential input from local experts.

2.7.1 PBS Publications

The Government Press Bureau Office (Government Printing Office), in cooperation with Palestine Broadcast Authority, published several journals between 1940 and 1947. The Office was a Mandatory government agency. Among its main functions were publishing government notifications, franchising and licenses for newspapers and journalists, and issuing closure orders to newspapers. The first journal it published for PBS was *Huna al-Quds* magazine from 1940 to 1942, the *Muntada* magazine from 1943 to 1947, and finally the *Qāfila* magazine from April to November of 1947 (Yehoshua 1983). The first two were issued on a biweekly basis, and the *Qāfila* started as a monthly journal and then became weekly. They were primarily cultural magazines, printed in high-quality color. They featured articles on various topics such as school curriculum, farming, literature, health, art, education, fashion, culture, as well as later covering the events of World War II and highlighting British victories. They included newspaper articles and more extended essays translated from English, as well as weekly publications by local Arab intellectuals and from other Arab countries on a variety of apolitical topics. They also focused on promoting the modernization of Palestine by emphasizing the benefits of modern technology. The journals featured both seasonal and permanent sections including:

1. a women's section;
2. review of general nationwide and Arab activities, such as conferences;
3. an exclusive short story section;

4. a sports section; and
5. a section where broadcast programs of Radio Cairo, PBS, and NEBS where listed.

PBS used these publications to communicate with audiences and highlight certain portions of their programming.

2.7.2 Khalil al-Sakakini

At first, the British asked George Antonius (1892-1942), a civil servant in the British Mandate of Palestine, to approach Khalil al-Sakakini on their behalf.[37] Al-Sakakini (1878-1953), was asked if he would be willing to occupy the position of subdirector of the Arab Section. In his memoir, which was published in 2006, al-Sakakini suggested for this post to be held by a Muslim Arab, not by a Christian like himself. Antonius agreed, but both expressed frustration in finding a suitable Muslim for the job. Antonius, nonetheless, delivered the message to the British.

Al-Sakakini, a Greek (*rūm*) Orthodox Christian, was born in Jerusalem in 1878 and was active as an editor, poet, essayist, writer, teacher, reformer of the educational system, civil servant, and inspector of education (Beska 2015). He first attended a Greek Orthodox school, and then the CMS Anglican school, and then the Gobat Boys' School. He led an uprising against the Greek Orthodox patriarchate in 1908, and eventually detached himself from this church. In

[37] His 1938 book *The Arab Awakening* talks about the origins of Arab nationalism and the significance of the Great Arab Revolt of 1916, as well as the question of Palestine.

his memoir, he mentions that he even considered converting to Protestantism (al-Sakakini 2006).[38]

A day later, on November 27, 1935, al-Sakakini had a long meeting with the British director of the station and the British Postmaster at George Antonius's house in Jerusalem and reiterated his suggestion to hire a Muslim Arab for the position. In his memoir, al-Sakakini did not mention the British officials by name. However, based on historical records, R. Anthony Rendall, former BBC West Regional Program Director, was named PBS Director in September 1935 (Stanton 2012), and R. A. Furness was the head of the Government Press Bureau Office at the time (Great Britain, and League of Nations 1934).

In a letter to Bandalī al-Jūzī (1871-1943), al-Sakakini wrote that he distinguishes between colonialism and occupation and argued that the notion of viewing the British as an occupation would eventually end. He argued that conflict was no longer between races but between doctrines such as nationalism and internationalism; capitalism and socialism; democracy and dictatorship; and war and peace. He concluded that such doctrines do not occupy a specific racial space: instead, communities elect their position based on ideology, not on race (al-Sakakini 2006).

Noah Haiduc-Dale claims that religious unity and equality in Palestine were a by-product of securing greater influence with the new British ruler, not a result of some ideological secularism (Haiduc-Dale 2015). It is therefore likely that al-Sakakini understood the dynamics of the period and was able to see through the lenses of religion, political power, nationalism, local patriotism, and affiliations of family and clan.

[38] see al-Sakakini (2006) vol. 2, pp. 49–50. Entry for January 1, 1914.

Al-Sakakini was approached once more on January 4, and an interview for the job was set up for January 11, 1936. He showed up on-time and noticed that there were two other candidates present at the time, ʿĀdil Jabir (1885-1953) from Yāfā, and Rafīq al-Tamīmī (1889-1957) from Nablus, both from elite and landholding family backgrounds. When al-Sakakini realized that the two were also getting interviewed, and although being keen on taking the position, he got offended and met with the committee only to withdraw his application.

According to ʿAjāj Nuwayhiḍ, Ṭūqān was hired at PBS in February of 1936. In a job-posting advertisement in the *Difāʿ* newspaper (January 1, 1936, 5), the Government Press Bureau Office indicated in the announcement that Yiḥya al-Labābīdī was already hired as subdirector of Arab music at PBS. Al-Sakakīnī, nevertheless, agreed to deliver two lectures on PBS and scheduled the dates of his appearances. He eventually handed over his lecture notes ahead of time to PBS, and further arrangements concerning the lectures were finalized two weeks before the opening day of the station.

On January 22, 1936, Aḥmad Amīn gave a lecture at the YMCA (al-Sakakini 2006).[39] Amīn was a graduate of the Azhar University in Egypt. He worked as a judge until 1926, and then taught Arabic literature at Cairo University, and was eventually appointed Dean of the Faculty of Arts, until 1946 (Amīn 1978). Al-Sakakini attended the lecture and mentioned the tensions surrounding it. The talk was entitled "Islam as a Component of Civilization." Al-Sakakini indicated that a group of people was trying their best to force people to boycott the meeting because it was taking place at the YMCA. They claimed that the YMCA was the main nest of Evangelization and mission as well as the epicenter of colonialism (al-Sakakini 2006).

[39] Ahmad Amin (1886-1854) was an Egyptian historian and writer.

Despite such objections, al-Sakakini recalled that the lecture was well-attended by both Muslims and Christians.

Two days after, Amīn delivered a similar talk in Nablus, which al-Sakakini also attended (ibid.). Al-Sakakini described the place as full of people and noted that when Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān took the stage to introduce Amīn, he started by saying *bism Allah al-raḥmān al-raḥim* (In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate). In his introduction, Ṭūqān listed Amīn's virtues and genuine care for Islam and Muslims, and after a lengthy introduction, Amīn started his lecture. In his own words, al-Sakakini described Amīn's lecture and noted that

> The subject was like what he talked about at the YMCA, which is about Arabs before and after Islam, that they were not anything before Islam and became everything after Islam. But he rushed through his talk before even entirely making his point. It is likely because many members of the audience fell asleep, and that is not surprising given that the subject matter was beyond their level. The invitation was supposed to be sent only to the elite and enlightened class from Nablus. […] Despite his maturity, awareness, and scholarship, he was not able to be impartial with regards to being Muslim; it seems complicated for people to separate themselves from their biases. It is, therefore, unattainable for Muslim, Christian, Western, and Eastern researchers to be truthful if they are incapable of being impartial. (al-Sakakini 2006, 203–4)

In February of 1936, the Government Press Bureau Office published a newspaper announcement in various local Arab newspapers calling upon contributors to PBS. The add is preceded with a note from the editor indirectly indicating that the newspaper is publishing the text as it received it. Below is the full translation of the announcement (Figure 37):

> Government Press Bureau Office Advertisement:
> Statement from the Palestine Broadcasting Service
> We received from the Press Bureau:
> The director of the program in the Palestine Broadcasting Station is urging all those who wish to participate as lecturers in the Arab section to present their proposals as soon as possible. The following are the four sections of the lectures:
>
> 1. General scientific subjects (history, sociology, Palestine geography, and so on)
>
> 2. Scientific lectures (Agriculture, manufacturing, health, economics, and housekeeping)

3. Literature (history of literature-review of book and authors, short stories, poetry, and so on)

4. Children talks (talks, stories, music, crafts training)

The time designated for lectures in the subjects mentioned above is 10 minutes total. The number of words per talk must be no more than 900-1000 words. Those interested in participating must send copies of their lectures to the director of PBS on Maʾman al-Lah Street in Jerusalem.

ـان من مصلحة الاذاعة الفلسطينية

تلقينا من قلم المطبوعات : يرجو مدير البرنامج فى محطة الاذاعة الفلسطينية
من جميع الذين يرغبون في الاشتراك كمحاضرين في الاذاعة العربية ان يقدموا
مقترحاتهم بأسرع فرصة ممكنة . فيما يلي الاقسام الاربعة للمحاضرات:

١ — المواضيع العلمية العامة (التاريخ وعلم الاجتماع وجغرافية فلسطين الخ)

٢ — المحاضرات العلمية (الزراعة والصناعة والصحة والاقتصاد والتدبير المنزلي)

٣ — الاداب (تاريخ الادب ـ مراجعات في الكتب والمؤلفين ، قصص
صغيرة منتجات شعرية الخ . .)

٤ — أحاديث الاطفال (احاديث روايات موسيقى، التدريب على العمل اليدوي

ان الوقت المخصص للمحاضرات في المواضيع المدونه اعلاه هو عشر دقائق
على ان لا تتجاوز عدد كلمات كل خطاب ٩٠٠ — ١٠٠٠ كلمة . على الذين
يودون الاشتراك في المحاضرات ان يرسلوا نسخا منها الى مدير برنامج مصلحة
الاذاعة الفلسطينية — شارع مأمن الله القدس

Figure 37. Announcement, the *Difāʿ* newspaper (1936)

In an earlier note dated March 28, 1936, while al-Sakakini was preparing a lecture for PBS about literacy, he mentioned that PBS was the one who decided which topics contributors can or cannot talk about on-air and that it expected them to comply (al-Sakakini 2006). Although al-Sakakini felt that people might have wanted to hear about other topics from him mainly, he believed that the majority wanted to listen to music, songs, news, and light talks. The serious

topics like the ones he was interested in were not of interest to them. When the radio started broadcasting on March 30, 1936, in a letter to his son Sarī who was in the United States at the time, al-Sakakini described the experience:

> Yesterday was the opening of the radio in Palestine, and I presume you did not hear it due to the time difference between us. It is your good fortune that you did not, the music was vulgar, and singing was inadequate; but it is okay, everything in its beginnings is insufficient. But what made people mad is what has repeated, over and over again, which is calling Palestine as the Land of Israel. (al-Sakakini 2006, 230)

Al-Sakakini called the director of the Arab section on the radio and informed him that after hearing the term the Land of Israel, he decided to boycott the station, and asked for his name to be crossed out from programming (ibid.). Al-Sakakini expressed no regrets regarding his boycott.

Most Palestinian intellectuals, including Antonius and al-Sakakini, received their education in Ottoman professional schools, Christian mission schools, the American University in Beirut, Europe, or in the United States. Therefore, it is not surprising that they believed in modernization and the development of Western institutions (Silsby 1986). Susan Silsby argues that, "in Antonius' case, affinity with the West and loyalty to Great Britain were particularly encouraged because he was a member of a Syrian Christian minority whish had historically assisted in the European economic, cultural, and political penetration in the Middle East" (Silsby 1986, 81). In a letter to his son Sarī on January 7, 1936, al-Sakakini writes:

> Last night was lovely and exquisite. We placed the Christmas tree in our living room and put all presents under it. We lit the candles, and then Dumya started to play the piano, and Hala [his daughters] started to sing Christmas carols in German. Playing music and singing was so beautiful. We then exchanged gifts […] and put on some colorful crown hats and had drinks and a decent meal and were singing and laughing all night. (2006, 195-6)

In a letter to his son Sarī, al-Sakakini responds to an earlier letter that he received from Sarī, which included his college grades. It shows the various academic subjects that he was

taking, which included music and piano lessons as well as singing. In earlier correspondence, al-Sakānī reveals that his son sent a letter to one of his friends saying that he has become a full American and that he is likely not to be able to go back to Palestine and feel that it is home (206).

Palestinian intellectuals, such as Khalil al-Sakakini, George Antonius, Khalil Totah, Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān, Khalil Baydas, Iṣṭifān Iṣṭifān, and many others were given limited tools to prepare for statehood. Also, their intellectualism and roles went through the narrow channels and protocols of the West and often adhered to colonial discourses and cultural elitism. Such complexities subsequently influenced the outcome of their contributions, often in favor of the West.

2.7.3 Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān

Despite Palestinians being suspicious of British initiatives (Stanton 2014), prominent Palestinians agreed to join PBS, including Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān (1905-1941), who served as its first Arab Section subdirector in March 1936 handling artistic and literary topics (ʿAbdulla 2002; al-Jūzī 2010). As the first subdirector of the Arab Section, Ṭūqān was among other nationalist figures, including ʿĀdil Jabir and Fawzi al-Nashāshībī, who contributed to PBS's credibility. Furthermore, most contributors came primarily from notable families, including al-Dajānī, al-Nashāshībī, Tūqān, al-Ḥusainī, al-Khālidī, al-ʿAlamī, ʿAbd al-Hadī, and so on. PBS expressed the views and aspirations of the notable minority, and the task of rallying ordinary Palestinians around it proved to be complicated and challenging (see Stanton 2014).

Nuwayhiḍ mentioned that the mayor of Nablus Sulaymān Ṭūqān nominated a relative of his by the name Ibrahīm Ṭuqān for the position. Ibrāhīm was a well-known poet in the Arab region at the time (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). Sulaymān Ṭūqān requested from his friend Rāghib al-

Nashāshībī to endorse Ibrāhīm. Al-Nashāshībī agreed and suggested to send a letter of recommendation from Prince ʿAbdullah of Transjordan to the British High Commissioner regarding the matter. Abdulla's letter was delivered to the Commissioner shortly after, and it was then that Khalil al-Sakakini was no longer the main candidate to occupy the position (ibid.).

Before joining PBS, Ṭūqān published in various newspapers and addressed multiple topics and wrote several memorable poems, including "al-Thulāthāʾ al-Ḥamrāʾ" ("Red Tuesday") and "Mawṭinī" ("My Homeland"), which became one of the iconic anthems of the twentieth century in Palestine and the Near East. The poem "Mawṭinī" was set to music presumably in 1924 by Muḥammad Flaifil, a Lebanese composer, shown in recording 13 (Ḥannūn and ʿAwwād 2012).

"Mawṭinī," poem, and transliteration:

mawṭinī al-jalālu wa al-jamālu wa_s-sanāʾu wa al-bahāʾu fī rubāk	مَوطِنِي الجلالُ والجمالُ والسَّنَاءُ والبهَاءُ في رُبَاكْ
wa_l-ḥayātu wa_n-najātu wa_l-hanāʾu wa_r-rajāʾu fī hawāk	والحياةُ والنجاةُ والهناءُ والرجاء في هواكْ
hal arāk	هلْ أراكْ
sāliman munaʿaman wa ghāniman mukarraman	سالِماً مُنعَّماً و غانما مكرما؟
hal arāk fī ʿulāk	هلْ أراكْ في عُلاكْ
tablughu_s-simāk	تبلُغُ السِّمَاكْ؟
mawṭinī	مَوطِنِي
mawṭinī a_sh-shabābu lan yakilla hammuhu an tastaqilla aw yabīd	مَوطِنِي الشبابُ لنْ يكِلَّ هَمُّهُ أنْ تستَقِلَّ أو يَبيدْ
nastaqī min_ar-radā walan nakūna lilʿidā kalʿabīd la nurīd	نَستقي منَ الرَّدَى ولنْ نكونَ للعِدَى كالعَبيدْ لا نُريدْ
dhullanā_l-muʾabbadā wa ʿayshanā_l-munakkadā la nurīd bal nuʿīd	ذُلّنَا المُؤَبَّدا وعَيشَنَا المُنَكَّدا لا نُريدْ بلْ نُعيدْ
majdanā_t-talīd	مَجدَنا التّليدْ
mawtinī	مَوطِنِي
mawtinī	مَوطِنِي
mawṭinī al-ḥusāmu wa_l-yarāʿu lā_l-kalāmu wa_n-nizāʿu ramzunā	مَوطِنِي الحُسَامُ واليَرَاعُ لا الكلامُ والنزاعُ رَمْزُنا
majdunā wa ʿahdunā wa wājibun min_al-wafā yahuzzunā ʿizzunā	مَجدُنا وعهدُنا وواجبٌ إلى الوَفاء يهُزُّنا عِزُّنا
ghāyatun tusharrifu wa rāyatun turafrifu	غايةٌ تُشَرّفُ وراية ترَفرفُ
yā hanāk fī ʿulāk	يا هَنَاكْ في عُلاكْ

qāhiran ʿidāk
mawṭinī

قاهِراً عِداكْ
مَوطِنِي

"Mawṭinī," translation:

My homeland, your hills are full of glory, beauty, and sublimity.
In your breeze lies life, deliverance, pleasure, and hope.
Will I ever see you safe, prosperous, affluent, and honored?
Will I see you up high, reaching the stars?
My homeland.
The youth are unyielding and will not tire until you become independent, or they perish.
We shall not become slaves to our enemy; we rather die.
We resent eternal humiliation and living miserably, and instead, we intend to revive our storied glory.
My homeland.
We live by the sword and the pen, not by empty talk and internal strife, driven by glory, covenant, and the duty of being sincere.
We take pride in our noble cause, like a fluttering flag.
My homeland is joyful in its eminence and victorious over its enemies.
My homeland.

In 1939, right after World War II began, the British expressed interest in creating a new position in the station to handle issues of political and intellectual nature (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). They approached ʿAjāj Nuwayhiḍ, who put forth his conditions to working with PBS. According to Stanton, PBS was consistently subjected to more stringent news censorship than Palestinian newspapers (Stanton 2014), so the British did not agree to Nuwayhiḍ's conditions and their negotiations fell apart. It was not until September 1940, when Japan entered the war against the allies, that the British approached him again, agreeing to all his conditions.

Since Nuwayhiḍ's tenure took place in wartime, PBS's programming fell within the regional political and geopolitical conditions of the whole Arab region. It was promoting a vision that was consistent with those of the British and their allies, a position that Nuwayhiḍ was aware

of (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). Nuwayhiḍ's new position did not have a title yet, and he was given the liberty to choose any title he wished; he chose Observer of Arab Broadcast and News. Meanwhile, Ṭūqān's position was still strictly revolving around the artistic and literary topics (ibid.), but the two men did not get along. Essentially, Ṭūqān resigned from his position in October 1940 (al-Jūzī 2010), and Nuwayhiḍ took over Ṭūqān's responsibilities. In her biography *Riḥla Jabaliyya Riḥla Ṣaʿba*, Ibrāhīm's sister Fadwa Ṭūqān, also a poet, claims that her brother was targeted by the Zionist establishment, which considered him a threat. She also accused his Arab superiors of conspiring against him and plotting for his dismissal, referring to Nuwayhiḍ (Ṭūqān 1985). According to Muḥammad Ḥasan ʿAbdullah, Fadwa also claims that the ongoing strife between al-Nashāshībī and al-Ḥusainī families contributed to Ṭūqān losing his job, presumably for supporting al-Ḥusainī over al-Nashāshībī (ʿAbdullah 2002). From 1936-1940, while at PBS, there is no record of any publications by Ṭūqān beyond his engagement with PBS. He resumed publishing in newspapers after his forced departure from PBS and died seven months later in May 1941 at age 36.

2.7.4 ʿAjāj Nuwayhiḍ and ʿAzmī al-Nashāshībī

Nuwayhiḍ, a lawyer by training, claims that his tenure as Observer of the Arab Section from 1940 to 1944 illustrates the role which PBS played in advocating for a modern Palestinian national discourse, one that is driven by his ideals (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). He claims that he maneuvered within the British framework and used the PBS to build and strengthen Arab nationalism through its programming, with relative independence (ibid.). Under him, the broadcasts continued to convey to listeners an image of Palestinian Arab culture as progressive and urbane (Stanton 2014). PBS programs show the station's continuous focus on local music and poetry, oratorical talents of Arab Palestinians, they also show an expansion in Islamic

programming. The emphasis on Islam became one of Nuwayhiḍ's objectives and as an essential pillar of Arab programming in PBS. In his memoir *Sittūna ʿĀman Maʿ al-Qāfila al-ʿArbiyya* Nuwayhiḍ claims that his focus on Islamic programming was an attempt to strengthen the spirits of Arabism (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). He believed that "Islam was a significant force in the region's identity and must be used for mobilization and promotion of Arab and Islamic ideals" (Nuwayhiḍ 1993, 255). As an example of how religion was used as mobilization, Nuwayhiḍ mentioned in his memoir that as early as 1929, mosque speeches regularly called for resistance and defense of Islamic sites, which was effective and demonstrated the political power that religion can play at times of crises (Nuwayhiḍ 1993).

Nuwayhiḍ published a religious article in Huna al-Quds on September 29, 1941, as part of exclusive broadcasting in the occasion of the Islamic New Year, a celebration. The publication included the program of the event scheduled for Tuesday, January 28, 1941:

> Islamic New Year Celebration, Tuesday, January 28, 1941 event:
> Music of the Arab Army [Known officially in English as the Arab Legion, which was financed by Britain and commanded by British officers.[40]]
> Prophet Muhammad and the Free Men, Muḥmmad ʿAbd al-Salām al-Barghūti
> Yathrib Anthem as the people of Yathrib receive the Prophet, The Radio Choir
> Prophet Muhammad and the Human Race, Muhammad Barzaq
> Brotherhood, music by Salvador ʿArnita
> Prophet Muhammad and Women, Ms. Qudsiyya Khurshid
> Equality, music by Salvador ʿArnita
> Prophet Muhammad and Christians, Nicūlā al-Khūri, reverend
> Arabism, music by Salvador ʿArnita
> Prophet Muhammad Migrating, ʿAjaj Nuwaihiḍ
> Yathrib Anthem

Nuwayhiḍ implemented a mandatory program to educate all musicians of PBS and teach them music theory and how to read, write, and interpret sheet music. Subsequently, all musicians

[40] For further reading see Shlaim (2009).

at the station learned how to read sheet music and use notation to understand and write music at the hands of Yūsif al-Batrūnī. Nuwayhiḍ insisted that there were no exceptions, which subsequently led to firing Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm, one of the most prominent buzuq players and composers of the time, for his refusal to go through the program.

By 1944, the British started to show signs that they were no longer interested in keeping the status quo of PBS and wanted to have better control over broadcasting (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). Nuwayhiḍ resigned after various incidents where the British seemingly renewed their harsh censorship on the PBS (ibid.). Nuwayhiḍ argues that they also expressed their unwillingness to provide support for a Palestinian national discourse. After his resignation in 1944, the British were determined to adjust their policies in favor of the positions of their allies, so they appointed ʿAzmī al-Nashāshībī as Observer of the Arab Section in 1944.

ʿAzmī al-Nashāshībī was born in Jerusalem to a long-established wealthy and notable landowning family.[41] He received his early education at the Sultaniyyeh College in Istanbul, graduating in 1917, and then attended the American University in Beirut and graduated with degrees in philosophy and literature in 1919. He later earned a diploma in journalism and political science from the University of London in 1930.

Educated and pragmatic, al-Nashāshībī became a central figure in PBS until the events of 1948. Unlike Nuwayhiḍ and Ṭūqān, al-Nashāshībī wrote extensively in PBS's. In an article about the importance of radio in the *Muntada* issue of June 6, 1945 (no. 3, 26), he highlighted the critical role that the radio played during the war and praised its future impact in the world. He argued that nations would be measured according to the quality of their radio programming and

[41] Al-Nashāshībī family possessed large areas of land around Jerusalem, Gaza, Yāfā, and in Transjordan (Stein 1984).

that radios would become the center of culture, promoting good taste, a strong work ethic, and quality outcomes. He argued that, through thoughtful programming, the impact of broadcasting would be social, intellectual, artistic, and political. Al-Nashāshībī then highlighted how the Arab Section in PBS thrives to offer a variety of programs to educate and entertain the public. The theme that he believed the station needed to focus upon was to emphasize Palestinian Arab national culture. In a list that he provided in his article, he briefly highlighted the general areas where such new offerings and expansions were going to take place in programming:

1. new music that brings Eastern and Western music closer;
2. storytelling;
3. anthems for teenagers;
4. women's programs;
5. emphasis on Arab history;
6. expansion of children programs;
7. "From and To Listeners," a program where medical, legal, social, moral advice is offered to whoever asks for it;
8. talks on various subjects and topics including medical, agricultural, housekeeping, sports, music, literature;
9. special occasion programs of the Qurʾan;
10. orchestral music;
11. Arab ensembles which included the Eastern clarinet; and
12. weekly performances for the mandolin ensemble, guitar ensemble, santoor, and various other instruments and formations.

At the end of his article, he used a catchy slogan that the Arab Section in PBS would go by: “We have a job to do, a message to deliver, a goal to achieve” (26).

It was not a secret to al-Nashāshībi that Palestine needed reliable infrastructure for it to prepare for a potential independent state. For example, he mentioned the need for a music conservatory in various occasions in the *Muntada*, as well as being cited as demanding one in official correspondence with the British (BBC Archive 1946).

In general, like most notable Palestinian families, the al-Nashāshībī family chose an overly conciliatory approach toward the British. Well before the establishments of PBS, many members of the family were appointed to various governmental positions by the British authorities. In fact, ʿAzmī had an extensive career with the government of the British mandate that started in the early 1930s. Throughout his career, he seems to have aligned himself with the British, as well as the Hashemites of Transjordan. His writings always praised the Hashemites, one of the closest allies to the British in the region. After 1948, he occupied various governmental positions in the Jordanian government. He resigned in 1955 in protest over Jordan considering joining the Baghdad Pact, and he died in 1995.

2.7.5 PBS Programs

The National Library of Israel provides open online access to publications encompassing 106 titles, 171,239 pages, 26,480 issues of Arabic newspapers and journals in Palestine from 1908 to 1948, including PBS. The Library also provided online access to the Palestine Post (currently Jerusalem Post), which listed PBS programs for the three sections, Arab, English, and Jewish in English.

PBS programs show various trends that point to how the two sections, the Jewish and Arab, navigated usage of their time on air. Aside from news, the English Section consisted of

mainly music and occasional talks, while the Arab and Jewish sections were more active and offered more variety. I examined hundreds of the programs from March 30, 1936 to March 31, 1937, and found various leads that point to the quality and nature of programming in the Arab Section in its early development. Some of the findings show cosmetic changes, at least during this early stage of the section's evolution, and some display thoughtful efforts. An example of cosmetic changes is how the Arab Section described its ensembles. At first, it used the term *takht* to describe its traditional or studio band but then started to add terms that were used by the Hebrew and English sections that describe Western formations such as quartet, duet, trio, and so on. European musical traditions were of both British and Jewish interest, and as Willson described, "grew out of the successful acculturation of Jewish musicians into the European work of classical music during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (Willson 2013, 166). However, at that time the use of this new terminology in the Arab section was numerical and had no other musical significance.

During the first year, instrumental music started to appear in the Arab section, but songs remained dominant. Various singers appeared regularly on weekly and, or, biweekly basis including Rizq al-Yāfāwī, Yaʿqūb Ziadaih, Fāṭima ʿAkkāwī, Mary ʿAkkāwī, al-Khammāsh, ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Dawūdī (al-Dajānī), Nūḥ Ibrāhīm, Nimir Nāṣir, Ilyās ʿAwaḍ, and Iskandar al-Fallās. The vast majority of vocal repertoire was light and consisted of mostly satirical and humorous songs. Some singers covered contemporary Egyptian vocal repertoire including al-Khammāsh, Kāzim al-Sibāsī, Amāl Ḥusain (Egyptian), and Yiḥya al-Saʿūdī, as well as Ilyās ʿAwaḍ who covered *layālī*, *mawwāl*, and *muwashshaḥ*. Several singers in PBS Arab Section programming were presented based on where they were from, or according to their city of origin.

For example, al-Yāfāwī refers to Yāfā, the town Rizq is from, and ʿAkkāwī refers to ʿAkkā, Mary's and Fāṭima's hometown.

Other singers were identified according to their status, such as ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Dawūdī, who is from a prominent Jerusalem family by the name Dajānī. The family uses the last name Dawūdī interchangeably, referring to a decree issued by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent by which they were entrusted as guardians of the Prophet Dawūd (David) religious site in Jerusalem, a highly prestigious duty (al-Dajānī 2015).

Satirical songs by al-Labābīdī appeared almost daily as well as songs by ʿUmar al-Zaʿnī, and Tawfīq al-Barjāwī (al-Sāḥilī 2017). The prominent Syrian musician Jamīl ʿUwais (1890-1948), directed the PBS *takht*. ʿUwais was an accomplished composer, arranger, violinist, bandleader, who comes from a Christian family known for its involvement in music. He arranged the songs of Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's and led the *takht* accompanying him from the mid-1920s until 1937 (al-Sharīf 2011). Among the most popular instrumentalists in the Arab section were Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm, a brilliant *buzuq* player and composer from Syria; Artin Santurji, an Armenian *santūr* player from Jerusalem; and Tawfīq Jawhariyyeh, a master nāy player from Jerusalem (Wāṣif Jawhariyya's brother).

In the English and Hebrew sections, organ and piano live broadcasts were permanent fixtures since the opening of PBS. A few months later in July 1936, the Arab Section introduced Yūsif al-Batrūni, Salvador ʿArnita, and Augustine Lama, who started to appear regularly on PBS playing instrumental pieces on piano and organ.[42] By mid-1936, several children choirs started to

[42] Augustine Lama (1902-1988) a church organist and composer who lived in Jerusalem and worked at the St. Saviors' Church in Jerusalem. Silvadūr 'Arnīṭa, William Nicodeme, and Jamīl al-'Āṣ were among his students (Rishmāwī 2006). Nicodeme had won a PBS prize for his piano playing, at the age of eight (Zoughbi 2007).

appear frequently on PBS, especially the Terra Santa College Choir directed by al-Batrūnī. By August 1936, al-Batrūnī was broadcasting his compositions and arrangements with the Terra Sancta Choir, which according to PBS programs, such broadcasts included school songs, Eastern melodies, and marches (see *Palestine Post* August 2, 1936 and October 4, 1936). Towards the end of 1936, other choirs started to emerge in Jerusalem, including al-Ashbāl Choir (boy scouts choir) led by Fawzī al-Nashāshībī, al-Rawḍa School Children Choir led by Ḥusain Ḥusnī, the Franciscan Boy Choir led by Lama, the National Orthodox School Choir led by Amīn Ṣidāwī (nāy player), and several others.

Arabic lectures and talks included fiction and nonfiction stories, poetry recitations, book reviews, talks to farmers, moral teachings, and historical tales. Landholding notable families dominated this particular portion of the programming, such as Ḥasan Ṣidqī al-Dajani, Fawzī Nashāshībī, Qadrī Ṭūqān, Sālim al-Huṣainī, Khalīl al-Khālidī, ʿUmar Ṣāliḥ al-Barghūtī, Ḥasan al-Karmī, ʿAnbara Salīm al-Khalidī, Jamīl Labīb Khūrī, Matiel Mughannam, Rāsim al-Khalilidī, Nada ʿAbd al-Hādī, Fakhriyya Ḥijāwī, ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, ʿĀdil Jābir, Maḥmūd Ṭāhir al-Dajānī, ʿAlī al-Dajānī, and Khalīl Baydas.

By February of 1937, the Arab section had its theater group, which first adapted and produced *The Death of Caesar* by Voltaire. The play was translated by Tanyus ʿAbdu and performed live by Jamīl al-Jūzī and his theater group on Sunday, February 7, 1937 (see *Palestine Post* Sunday, February 7, 1937). Naṣrī al-Jūzī (1908-1996), who founded a theater group at PBS, wrote a book about PBS and told the stories of the musicians and composers who worked there. Although not all the chronologies and dates were completely accurate, the book *Tārīkh al-Idhāʿa al-Falasṭīniyya Hunā al-Quds 1936-1948* (History of the Palestinian Radio Hunā al-Quds from 1936-1948), mentions details which the author witnessed firsthand. It also offers a unique

insider's look on the Arab section of PBS. For example, it shows how al-Lababīdi's song "Yā Ritnī Ṭair ta Ṭīr Ḥawālaik" became popular through Farīd al-Aṭrash in 1937, as well as describing the fifty-member Western music orchestra that was deployed at the radio and conducted by al-Batrūnī. He also mentions dozens of names of artists who worked for the station and occasionally revealing details about their lives.

2.8 Near East Broadcasting Station (NEBS)

Britain's Arabic-language NEBS, or *Idhāʿit al-Sharq al-Adna,* started its broadcast in 1941 (al-Rūmi 1992). NEBS studios were most likely built by the British military and the Allied intelligence community during World War II. The initiative was part of a Palestine-based Allied Forces/anti-Axis powers regional information effort, not restricted to the radio (Boyd 2003). Douglas Boyd claims uncertainty regarding the starting year and attributes the reasons to British government records that are still not available to the public. He notes that J. C. Hurewitz claimed that the station started broadcasting from Yāfā in 1942 (Hurewitz 1968). However, based on al-Rūmī's memoir, he was asked to compose and perform a piece during a special event celebrating the first anniversary of NEBS in 1942, which places the beginning of broadcasting in 1941.

During that period, the British continued to influence both broadcasting and print information to attract Arabs to join British and British-backed military forces (ibid.). Their primary goal was identical to PBS's, which was to utilize the media to maintain political and economic stability in Palestine and the region. By the early 1940s, the two radio stations were attracting, hiring, and commissioning dozens of musicians from neighboring countries, including Flimūn Wahbī, Tawfīq al-Bāshā, Raḥbāni Brothers, and ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Nuwaira. The two stations evolved exponentially and became major hubs for elaborate music-making. Many of the musicians and composers associated with the two stations started to develop regional styles of

music. Some of the new trends which became popular included Bedouin songs and contemporary shorter songs. The integration of various Western methods, such as orchestration and arrangements, can also be seen.

Since PBS and NEBS used to broadcast live, unfortunately, there is a handful of recordings that may lead to an accurate assessment of the evolution of music-making in the context of both PBS and NEBS. In this section, however, I examine some of the available ones. The available recordings were captured primarily by Lachmann, Rex Keating, as well as unknown sources. Lachmann recorded PBS musicians in 1937, and some of these recordings are available in the book *The Oriental Music Broadcasts, 1936-1937: A Musical Ethnography of Mandatory Palestine,* edited by Ruth Davis and published in 2013. As for Keating's recordings, there are not accessible, but some appeared on BBC Arabic programs, which I managed to capture. Moreover, PBS programs became a primary source for finding more information about music, lyricists, composers, and singers, including references to some recorded local material. Such information became useful in drawing a better picture of the music scene. It offered ways to better assess the types of music the two stations broadcast.

2.9 PBS and NEBS Broadcasting in the 1930s and 1940s

It is not clear when the song "Ḥilū Yā Burtuʾān" ("Sweet Oranges") was performed or recorded but, according to Nādir Jalāl, the song was recorded at PBS in 1944 (Jalāl 2018). An unknown male singer sings the one-minute-and-forty-five-seconds-long song. As shown in Recording 14, the accompanying ensemble persists of traditional instruments, likely the studio's *takht* (*ʿūd*, *qānūn*, *nāy*, violins, and percussion) as well as a chorus of male and female singers. The song is in the Yāfā dialect, which was known for its orange industry.

"Ḥilū Yā Burtuʾān," lyrics and transliteration:

ḥilū ya burduʾān ṭayyib yā burduʾān	حلو يا بردُآن طيّب يا بردُآن
ṭaʿmak lazīz tirwīl ʿaṭshān	طعمك لزيز تروي العطشان
suʾak maʿjuʾ milyūn ṣanduʾ wiʿ ruʾiʿruʾ	سوءك معجوء مليون صندوء وعروء عروء
yāmās ʾīnāk bidmūʿil ʿain	ياما سئيناك بدموع العين
witʿibnā ʿalaik fuʾis santain	وتعبنا عليك فوء السنتين
ubinnatīja yikhzīilʿain	وبالنتيجة يخزي العين
bayyaḍtil wij umal laitissūʾ	بيَّضت الوج وملّيت السوء

* Words in bold indicate Yāfā pronunciation

"Ḥilū Yā Burtuʾān," translation and form:

Translation:

Sweet, and delicious oranges, your taste is delightful and fulfills the thirsty.
The market is busy with a million boxes and twigs. We have watered you with tears.
We have worked hard for over two years. Finally, it paid off! You filled the market and made us proud.

Form:

A (inst.), A (vocal solo), A (vocal, group), short music (first two bars from B sections), B (vocal, solo) x 2,C (vocal, solo) x2, vocal return recalling the second phrase from A, A (vocal, group), A (vocal solo), A (vocal, group) accelerando.

The song is light, and the composition consists of two sections, arranged with short instrumental fillings. The whole range of the song is a seventh, from F4 to Eb5. It falls on *maqām* scale *ḥijāz* and resembles the ensemble work performance practices that would occur in a typical Egyptian takht from the same period, as shown in Figure 60 in the Appendix. The only difference is that the song was distinctly in the local dialect.

In the BBC Arabic program Sundūq al-Nagham (Music Box), Nāhid Najjār introduced a children's song from that period. At the end of the recording, she referred to it as a NEBS song from 1941 (see recording 15). The song is one minute and forty-five seconds in length, where children are singing as a group and accompanied by piano and a strings section. Although there is no information about the singers, lyricist, composer, or the players, the recording points to the

Western musical activities that were taken place at that time. The song is in the Yāfā or Jerusalem dialect, as shown in Recording 15. The lyrics are light and talk about children asking a lady neighbor to love them and be nice to them. The father gifted the lady a bird, while they gifted her gum and a balloon. Towards the end, the children even propose to buy her Gramophone radio so she can put in the middle of her house for everyone to hear. The approximate transcription shown in Figure 38 below is of the first two bars:

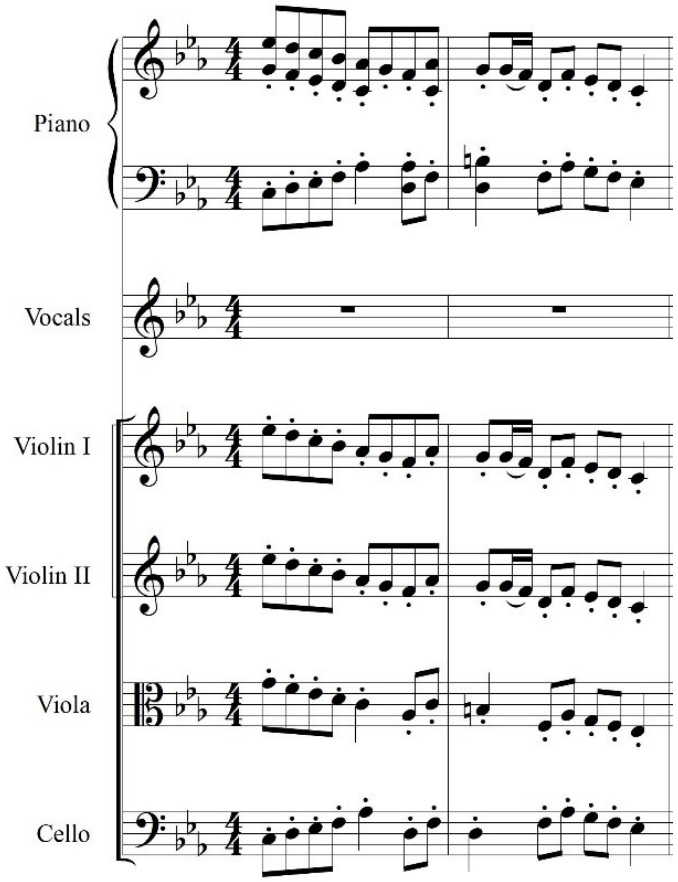


Figure 38. Children's song from NEBS (excerpt) (BBC Arabic 1941)

The strings and piano accompany the singers softly to highlight the vocal line. The accompaniment plays complete harmonies from beginning to end, with voice-leading that adheres to Western standards. The cluster or chorale effect is likely due to the composition being

conceived first on piano and later expanded to the strings, which likely resembles what al-Batrūnī was doing at the time.

Tables 4 and 5 are samples of the extent of music programming at both the PBS and NEBS in the late 1940s when the two stations were at their peak. The information below is from the Qāfila in the issue of April 4, 1947 (no. 1, 20-22). I elected to examine the week of April 6, 1947, because programming was still in full force in both stations. Coincidently, it is also four years after Lebanon's independence, one year after the French evacuated Syria, eighteen months after the end of World War II, and almost eight months before the British announced the date of their departure from Palestine. Also, while still in turmoil, Palestine during this period was at the center of changes in the region, and radio programming reflected the nation-state-building mode and the various trends and discourses that were already in motion.

Table 4. PBS program, April 6–12, 1947

Average Minutes of Music Broadcasting Per Week	Palestinian Musicians by Minute (Recorded 10m, Live 230m)	Egyptian Musicians by Minute (Recorded 165, Live 20)	Syrian Musicians by Minute (Recorded)	Iraqi, Turkish, Unknown by Minute (Recorded)
680	260	165	35	75
Percentage of music programming	38%	24%	5%	11%
5 hours total broadcasting per day; 6.5 hours on Friday				

Table 5. NEBS program, April 6–12, 1947

Average Minutes of Music Broadcasting Per Week	Palestinian Musicians by Minute (Live)	Egyptian Musicians by Minute (Recorded and Live*)	Syrian Musicians by Minute	Lebanese Musicians by Minute	Unknown Musicians by minute
1905	25	550	120	133	120

Percentage of music programming	1.3%	29%	6.5%	6.9%	6.2

8.5 hours total broadcasting per day; 10 hours on Sunday and Friday
* 145 minutes of pre-recorded music from Egypt, about 7.6%.
* The remaining segments of music programming were labeled as: songs, light songs, instrumental, instrumental contemporary, instrumental Western, and instrumental dance Western. No other designations were included.

Both PBS and NEBS programs included song titles that pointed to the type of songs each station used to broadcast. Examining the song titles in NEBS programs, though still limited in comparison to PBS's descriptions, shows that NEBS relied heavily on broadcasting pre-recorded songs that were mass-produced and commercially available. Songs from movies were particularly popular, and the station allocated 145 minutes for them during that examined week, 7.6% of the overall music program. Most of these songs are still available to this day. This percentage exceeds what was allocated to Syrian or Lebanese songs and considerably surpasses the 1.3%, which was allocated for Palestinian songs.

Such data shows the dominant Egyptian influence during that period, which was also evident in the works of various non-Egyptian composers on NEBS's roster, including the songs of al-Rūmī. Such influences can also be seen through the increasing local usage of the urban Egyptian dialect and the utilization of similar melodic contours, rhythms, ensemble work, form, modulations, and subject matters. Even the songs that were carried in Palestinian dialects, the melodic contour, *maqāmāt*, intonations, vocal ornamentation, diction, vocal technique, and embellishments were impacted by Egyptian music, which can be seen in "Ḥilū Yā Burtuʾān," but not in the children's song.

The 1947 programs also show that PBS differentiated between three main categories of broadcasts: 1) recordings, referring to commercially available songs; 2) featured recordings,

referring to productions by PBS or other stations; and 3) live broadcasts. As for the NEBS, its programs were not entirely clear as to which of their broadcasts were recorded and which were live. The 7.6% figure that was noted above is based on what NEBS mentioned in its programs as prerecorded material but left many song titles without any hints.

The two tables shed light on how the two stations differed in terms of which types of music they promoted. In the context of PBS, Palestinian music-making was evolving across all song types, such as peasant, Bedouin, *muwashshaḥ*, Western, and urban contemporary. At NEBS, however, programing was focused primarily on Egyptian music, and a tiny percentage of Palestinian musicians and local styles of music were promoted or showcased. The PBS radio program shows connections to the notion of revival through the promotion of song types that were becoming more indicative of what future Palestinian music was ought to become. Those include muwashshaḥ, taqāsīm, peasant, shaʿbī, Western, children's, contemporary, and other light vocal types. It also seems that PBS followed specific categorizations of musical styles; thus, it was more explicit in terms of showing what was being broadcast and belonging to which category. By then, various terms describing local traditional music were already in use, such as *turāth* (heritage), *mūsīqa taqlīdiyya* (traditional music), *folklūr* (folklore), and so on.

Productions in PBS brought forth various changes to music-making. Different styles of music started to emerge and offered an alternative to the dominant Egyptian music popular at the time. Even works by non-Palestinian composers used to tailor to the emerging Palestinian dialect in their songs, which is indicative of the influence of Palestinian broadcasting during that period. Evidence of this can be seen in the hundreds of songs recorded during the 1950s, and most are available to this day. Syrian composer/singer Rafīq Shukrī (1923-1965) composed and sang several songs during his tenure at NEBS, which lasted for six months in 1944 (al-Sharīf 2011).

He was also invited to PBS (then under Jordan) in Ramallah in 1953 and recorded several hit songs (244). I examined several of the recordings, such as "Ah ʿal Ahwaih al-Murra," "Ghībī Yā Shams Ghībī," and "Yā Dārnā." It seems that Shukrī pursued a dialect that is a hybrid between Palestinian and Syrian, especially in "Yā Dārna." The song laments the loss of Palestine in 1948, and the lyrics name all the major lost cities.

Further examination of dozens of other songs during that period, not only in Jordan but also in Lebanon and Syria, point to multiple attempts by prominent or rising singers and composers to write songs using a Palestinian dialect, including the Raḥbānī Brothers. The attempts were not intended necessarily to lament the loss of Palestine and honor its memory by singing in its local dialects. Rather, it seems more of a stylistic trend that composers and singers, as well as lyricists, were accustomed to and practiced as a popular type of local Near Eastern music-making. As stated in the 1943 survey conducted by the American University of Beirut (AUB), PBS was the second-most popular in the region after Egypt's, and this remained to be the case until the end of the Palestine Mandate (Stanton 2016). One of the most complex and striking workings of Christian mission and colonial policies in this period is that the notion of modernizing local music based on European models was, for the most part, undisputed. Parallel to the transformations that started during the late Ottoman period that embraced modern and Western ideals as keys to knowledge and advancement (Khalidi 2010).

2.10 Dialect as Medium for Palestinian Nationalism

With the widespread popularity of Radio Cairo and Egyptian recordings, Egyptian songs were becoming very popular and occupying a sizable portion in radio programming at PBS and later at NEBS, as attested to in the programs of *Hunā al-Quds*, the *Muntada*; and the *Qāfila* (1940-1947). The 1930s and 1940s witnessed an increasing interest in setting music to Egyptian

Arabic dialect by local composers. Composers such as al-Khammāsh, Wajīh Badrakhān, Yaʿqūb Ziyāda, and al-Bandak often collaborated with Egyptian singers who were brought to PBS as guests and set the music to lyrics in Egyptian Arabic (ibid.).

Palestinian lyricist and composer Qāsim ʿAbd al-Hādi mentioned that he wrote in Egyptian dialect (Fuskurijian 1992). He worked closely with Tawfīq al-Bāshā (between 1953-1955), Wajīh Badrkhān, Ṣābir al-Ṣafiḥ in "Yallī il-Nās Tihwāk," and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm in "ʿĀyish Waḥīd fī Dunyāya." ʿAbd al-Hādi worked as a contractor with PBS in the 1940s and most prominently during the post-1948 era. Many iconic singers of the period sang his lyrics, including Muḥammad Ghāzī, Jamīl al-ʿĀṣ, Najāḥ Salām, Shafīq Abū Shahba, and Hiyām Yūnis (ibid.). During the same interview, ʿAbd al-Hādi mentioned that he wrote the lyrics and set the music to a song that he gave to a Jerusalemite singer by the name ʿIṣmat Nusaiba; the title of the song is "Ishūfak Imtā w Fain," a tango in Egyptian dialect (ibid.). Nusaiba sang regularly at PBS at the time. Another contribution of his is a twenty-minute collaboration entitled "Ghinaʾiyyat Aḥlām al-Sūdān" (Aspirations of Sudan, a Musical) between al-Hādi and Wajih Bardrkhan was broadcast on PBS on Saturday, June 28, 1947 (the *Qāfila* [ʿAbd al-Hādi], 1947, no. 12, 22). Among the Palestinians singers who were also known for singing Egyptian repertoire on PBS were al-Saʿūdi and al-Khammāsh (*Hunā al-Quds,* the *Muntada*, and the *Qāfila* [1940-1947]).

To understand the dynamics of this phenomenon, I must note that the population of Egypt in 1948 was over 19 million people (Kiser 1944; Population Census of Egypt 1942) while the Arab population in Palestine was almost one million and three hundred thousand people (UNSCOP 1947). Therefore, many reasons may explain the causes of this temptation and attraction to Egypt's music, such as the following:

1. the wide-scale and far-reaching commercial recording industry in Egypt, which was lucrative, and stable;
2. the appearance of the musical film in Egypt in 1932, which opened the door for more jobs, opportunities, and increased demand for various other disciplines to flourish;
3. the establishment of public radio stations in the region which provided opportunities for artists to become famous and in demand not only in their local region but in the entire Arab world;[43]
4. the impact of modernization by the British coincided with Westernization in music, which created a demand for an experienced workforce to implement and transition communities to modern music-making (see Nuwayhiḍ, 1993; al-Nashāshībī in the *Muntada*, June 6, 1945, no. 3, 26);
5. Egyptian musicians were experienced and at the frontier of such transformations and favored among employers;
6. Egyptian music had been transforming since the early nineteenth century through increasing use of Western theory, notation, Western instruments, as well as forms (Boulos 2014) and had become a powerful symbol for change;[44]
7. since the social status of Egyptian artists was considerably higher than Palestinian artists (Jawhariyyeh 2005), Palestinian artists were aspiring to succeed in Egypt because the returns were not only financial but social as well;

[43] Racy wrote extensively about this era and argues that it was during this period when listeners were no longer defined by geographic area, instead, a broad Arab audience started to emerge (Racy 1983).

[44] During the 1930s, the impact of Western music on Egyptian music was considerable and noted in the reports issued by the Congress of Arab Music held in Cairo in 1932 (Racy 1983).

8. The high percentage of Palestinians who lived in rural parts of Palestine (76% in 1922, and 67% by 1931) were mostly poor (Stanton 2013).

Such conditions translate to the purchasing power being in the hands of urbanites in the newly emerging centers of the Arab world. In Egypt, there were hundreds of venues for every tier of musicians, opportunities to perform in private gatherings, and many record labels that would throw anything on disc and make records available in a matter of days (Racy 1983).

Ultimately, various factors influenced non-Egyptian composers and singers to compose and sing in Egyptian style and dialect and potentially even "pass" as Egyptian, as we observed in the cases of Qaddūra and al-Akḥal. There is a long list of non-Egyptian composers and singers (Syrian, Lebanese, and Palestinian) who pursued the Egyptian style and became iconic and popular during that period. Those include Mary Jubrān, Jamīl ʿUwais, Sāmī al-Shawwā, al-Rūmi, al-Bandak, Nūr al-Huda, Najāḥ Salām, Badīʿa Muṣābnī, Lūr Dakkāsh, Farīd Ghuṣun, Farīd al-Aṭrash, Zakiyya Ḥamdān, Ṣabāḥ, Suʿād Muḥammad, and many others. Records show that musicians started to leave Syria (Greater Syria) in the early 1800s. Those include Aḥmad al-Qabbānī (1833-1903), singer/composer/musical theater; Shākir al-Ḥalabī, singer and teacher of *muwashshaḥāt;* ʿUmar al-Jarrāḥ (1853-1921), ʿūd and qānūn; Ḥasan al-Sāʿātī (1858-1933), *qānūn*; and many others (al-Sharīf 2011). The commercial success of non-Egyptian singers or composers depended on how successful they were in mastering Egyptian compositional styles and dialects. Singers and composers alike were actively seeking further exposure and approval through and by Egyptian portals.

The Arab Section of PBS was aware of the magnitude of Egypt's active industries. In their minds, one of the most significant roles that they wanted to play was to help in building a diverse Arab nation. Therefore, the station promoted and encouraged local and regional

musicians to continue to sing in their dialects as well as in standard Arabic. This discourse was adopted by the three leaders of the Arab Section in PBS from 1936 to 1948.

There are references to lyrics and poetry in the publications of PBS. Occasionally, certain PBS publications included full texts of songs, which I found useful in determining which dialects they used. However, one of the most valuable pointers to the dialects of songs remains as the song titles. Song titles in broadcast programs were not adjusted to standard Arabic. Instead, they were written as pronounced in the original dialect of the song. They point to a substantial percentage of broadcasts carried in local Palestinian dialects, a trend that grew steadily since 1936. The programs show that such songs were also offered occasional primetime slots during a given day.

Palestinian musicians were navigating a complex music-making environment that was dominated by the massive force of the Egyptian music and movie industries. However, PBS offered a haven for musical compositions and songs to be heard without having to conform to the dominating forces of Egyptian mainstream music rather gradually sought to coexist with it. To different extents, PBS and NEBS offered an optional alternative to Egyptian domination, which subsequently lead to various local types of music to emerge. Singers such as Fahid Najjār, al-Ṣafiḥ, Sanāʾ, Bulbul al-Arz, ʿĀmir Khaddāj, Iliyyā ʿAbd al-Nūr, Idmūn Farhūd, Sihām Rifqī, Mīlād Faraḥ, and composers including Filmūn Wahbī, Sāmī al-Ṣaydāwī, Iliyya Bayḍa, al-Bandak, and Jamīl al-ʿĀṣ all appeared in PBS and NEBS programs singing or composing short songs in local dialects. Based on available records, some of them never even sang in Egyptian dialect.

2.10.1 Palestinian Dialect, a New Alternative

Palestinian dialects were still making their way through the scene, including Bedouin, peasant, and hybrid configurations. Many of such dialects occurred in light songs such as those of Fahid Najjār, Jamīl al-ʿĀṣ, ʿĀmir Khaddāj, Nūḥ Ibrāhīm, and Nimir Nāṣir before them. The dialects seem to also point to the type of songs performed from a musical perspective. For example, peasant songs would appear in the vernacular of peasants in which certain words and letters are pronounced differently, such as replacing the *ga* in Bedouin with *ka* in peasant. The songs, however, also signify the barriers between the various socioeconomic classes. The following basic examples show how local song titles reflected the type of songs and pointed at their context:

1. a song in Bedouin dialect is performed typically on *rabābā,* and the melody is mostly repetitive and limited (see my discussion of Nūf in section 2.3);
2. a song in peasant dialect is performed with or without instruments (typically shabbāba), not including rabāba, and pronouncing certain individual letters differently, such as replacing the *ga* with *ka* (see the "mījānā" example in section 1.5) and using peasant vocabulary;
3. a song where the pronunciation of *qa, ga, or ka* becomes an *a*, which is common in both peasant and urban dialects alike but common in Jerusalem and coastal areas in Palestine, especially Yāfā, Lid, al-Ramlaih, Haifa, and ʿAkkā;[45]
4. a song that uses standard Arabic to point to a more educated class.

Many of the available lyrics point to how composers and singers emulated local Palestinian dialects, thus reflecting one or more layers of Palestinian society. An example of this

[45] In urban contexts there is more variety in song types and expanded use of musical instruments.

would be the lyrics of a song included in the *Muntada,* December 13, 1946 (no. 45, 15). The lyrics appear in a box occupying a quarter of the page. Khadir al-ʿĪtānī wrote the lyrics, and the composition is by Ṣābir al-Ṣafiḥ, a Lebanese singer/composer.[46] Underneath the verses in the add, it reads: "A delightful song broadcasting from the Palestinian [not Palestine] Broadcasting Station. We publish it upon the request of our listeners." The song is in a light Bedouin dialect, and organized in four parts, two lines each; each consists of two equal hemistiches. There are eight lines total, as shown in Figure 39:

« عاشق يا بوى »

كلمات الشاعر المحبوب : خضر العيتاني

تلحين وغناء : صابر الصفح

عاشق يا بوي ودموع العين هلت سكايب على الخدين
واللي بحبه جماله زين عاشق يا بوي عاشق

***

قلبه صخر ماحن والروح لقربه تحن
واجراس قلبي تحن عاشق يا بوي عاشق

***

قلبي ملان جراح من يوم ما ولفي راح
ربعي علي ناح عاشق يا بوي عاشق

***

كيف العمل ما لي صبر من فرقته داب العمر
اكتب على باب القبر عاشق يا بوي عاشق

***

اغنية رقيقة تذاع من دار الاذاعة الفلسطينية
ننشرها بناء على طلب حضرات القرا الكرام

[46] All pointers lead to al-ʿItānī family in Lebanon. I did not find any information about this lyricist.

Figure 39. Lyrics of "ʿĀshiq Yā Būy" (1946)

"ʿĀshiq yā Būy," transliteration:

ʿāshig yā **būy** widmū ʿil ʿain	hallat **sakāyib** ʿal khaddain
willī baḥibbu jamalu **zain**	*ʿāshig* ya **būy** *ʿāshig*
galbu ṣakhir mā ḥan	wirrūḥ la *gurbu* tḥin
wijrās *galbī* tḥin	*ʿāshiq* ya būy *ʿāshig*
galbī malān jrāh	min yūm ma **wilfī** rāḥ
rabʿī ʿallayyī nāḥ	*ʿāshig* ya būy *ʿāshig*
kaif ilʿamal mā lī ṣabir	min *furigtu* dāb il-ʿumur
aktub (or **ashtub**) ʿa bābil *gabir*	*ʿāshig* ya būy *ʿāshig*

*Words in bold point to Bedouin dialect. Words in italics have the "qa" changed to "ga" to accommodate Bedouin pronunciation

The lyrics include vocabulary that only occurs in a Bedouin dialect, such as *būy* (father), *sakāyib* (pouring), *zain* (beautiful), and *wilfī* (my beloved [or, my friend]). The *qa*, in this case, is Bedouin and pronounced *ga,* as in the *ga* in "gamble." No alphabet in Arabic produces the *ga* sound, and it does not exist in standard Arabic, only in particular colloquial dialects.

Since PBS's inception, the British encouraged such programming, which eventually lead to such songs gaining more popularity. At that point, Bedouin musical practices reflected local demographics and were distant from Egyptian music. However, such practices were increasingly getting picked up by many urban singers and composers, many of whom even adopted a Bedouin persona to accommodate the public demand for such songs, such as Sihām Rifqī. Rifqī was born in Syria on August third in 1922 (al-Sharīf 2011). She became an iconic figure during the 1940s throughout the Arab World and primarily through PBS, where she appeared regularly. She appeared in the *Qāfila* issue of September 5, 1947 (no. 23, 21), singing "Yām il-ʿAbāya," a song that is still popular to this day. According to Ṣamīm al-Sharīf, the song was composed by a Syrian composer by the name ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Shaikh, who worked closely with her in

Palestine, where they formed an immensely popular duet (al-Sharīf 2011). Furthermore, PBS and NEBS programs show that both al-Bandak and al-Rūmī collaborated with her.

Another example of how local Palestinian dialects were popularized appears in the *Muntada* issue of February 14, 1947 (no. 2, 17). A weekly recap of what is new at the station used to appear in the column *Hunā al-Quds* entitled "Bāqit al-Usbūʿ fī al-Athīr" (Weekly Broadcast Boquete). The column describes the arrival of a new artist with a new song that was getting broadcast at PBS for the first time. The song is entitled "Ḥawwil yā Ghannām," another iconic song that is still popular to this day. The announcement stated that on November 9, 1946, a seventeen-year-old singer from Marj ʿUyūn, Lebanon by the name of Idmūn Farhūd took the stand and sang this new song for the first time at PBS. The announcement mentioned that listeners were all impressed with Idmūn's performance, sweet voice, and interpretation. The announcement included the opening two lines of the song:

"Hawwil Yā Ghannām," lyrics and transliteration:

حوّل يا غنّام حوّل بات الليلة **هين**
ḥawwil yā ghannām ḥawwil bāt_il-laila **hain**
نول لي يا غنّام بالله شايف حُبّي **وين**
ullī yā ghannām ballah shāyif ḥubbī **wain**

*Words in bold indicate the pronunciation of the coastal dialect of Palestine, especially near Yāfā

The dialect in this song strikingly corresponds to that of the coastal region of Palestine, particularly Yāfā. The word *hain* (here) is almost a trademark of the Palestinian coastal dialect. The song was covered in later years by many singers and recorded dozens of times since then. One of the most popular versions is one by Lebanese singer Najāḥ Salām (1931–) who recorded

it in 1948 or 1949 (Ṭaha 2007).[47] In an interview with Salām in 2016, she recalls that the song was written and composed by Iliyā al-Mitnī, a barber who used to live in the same Beirut neighborhood of al-Basṭa where her family lived. Al-Mitnī approached her father, Muḥyī al-Dīn Salām, a renowned composer and *ʿūd* master, and wanted him to listen to a song that he composed and solicit his opinion. Al-Mitnī was not musically educated and did not know *maqāmāt,* and this was his only song (ibid.). The father liked the song, and Salām recorded it on an album with another song, "Yā Jārḥa Galbī," in the late 1940s but used Bedouin dialect (Ṭāha 2007; Fatḥī 2015). The song was launched on the Lebanese Radio and became an instant hit.

It is not clear how the song made it first to PBS through Idmūn Farhūd at least two years before. The *Muntada* issue of February 14, 1947 (no. 2, 17) clearly states that the song was delivered for the first time on PBS on November 9, 1946 and that people heard it and sent their notes of compliment about the performance to PBS. Salām claims that she was the one who made "Ḥawwil yā Ghannām" so popular. However, despite the popularity of her recording, the reach of the Lebanese Radio was minimal at that time (al-Rūmī 1992) in comparison to the coverage of PBS, which was much broader (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). The story continues through ʿĀmir Khaddāj, a Lebanese singer, who was one of PBS's longstanding singers on the payroll at that time (al-Jūzī 2010). Khaddāj must have been there when the song first appeared on PBS because when he immigrated to the US in late 1947, he recorded it on Alamphon (A2073), a Brooklyn label that operated between 1940 and the mid-1950s (Breaux 2019), in the Yāfā dialect. Khaddaj's interpretation offers a closeup at how dialects were navigated at that time if we are to assume that the version that he recorded is how the song was performed at PBS, which

[47] Both dates were mentioned by Salām in two separate interviews.

is likely. His light treatment of the lyric and his pronunciation of vowels was distant from Bedouin and other peasant contexts. The word *ullī* ("tell me"; in bold in the transliteration), which can be pronounced *gullī* in Bedouin, *ullī* in coastal (peasant and urban), *kullī* mountain-peasant or *qullī* in certain parts of northern Palestine or standard Arabic. Each will appear in a different context except for *ullī,* which would only appear in urban/peasant dialects of the Palestinian coastal areas and Jerusalem as well as the immediately adjacent cosmopolitan areas surrounding the urban centers in the two regions.

The lyrics were aligned to accommodate PBS's productions and long-standing efforts to promote different local dialects and types of music. On November 1, 1944 (no. 8, 19), the *Muntada* published "A Call for Poets." The post was centered in the middle of page nineteen and occupied almost a quarter of it. Signed by the Arab Section, the announcement was over 200 words long, with an introduction about the purpose of this call, which is victory day, referring to the nearing victory of the allied forces against Nazi Germany. The call states that PBS encourages *zajal*, colloquial, and *muwashshaḥ* lyrics. For the importance of this announcement, I am providing the complete translation:

> At the time when the war seems to have entered its last stage towards the conclusion, and darkness will finally make a path for the rising sun on our happy Mashriq. At the time when our hearts long to hopeful peace, we shall and a promising tomorrow, and at this time as we get ready as *umma* (nation; referring to all Arabs), and peoples receive this long-awaited day in the history of humanity. After many years of war, misery, and slavery, and at this specific time, we believe that we must contribute to this day, which is getting closer every day. Therefore, we are putting out a call to all our poets in Palestine and Transjordan and all sister countries to write a poem on the subject of (victory day). The poem can be in classical Arabic, *zajal*, colloquial, or *muwashshaḥ*. It must be well constructed, commanding, poetically complete, and suitable for musical composition. Any poetic meter (*baḥr*) is acceptable. Poems must be sent to the Arab Section at the Palestine Broadcasting Station, which will select three poems for musical composition in song form. The first-place winner receives a prize of five pounds, the second gets three pounds, and the third gets two pounds. As the Arabic Section extends its warm invitation to all writers and poets, we hope that a large number of them would respond to this call

> and contribute to the preparations of the happy victory day, which we hope that its dawn is near, God willing. (the *Muntada*, November 1944, no. 8, 19)

In 1946, NEBS announced several competitions and expanded previous PBS calls exponentially. the *Muntada* issue of September 27, 1946 (no. 34, 19), published an announcement that occupied a full page. There were three competitions, *zajal*, poetry, and translation to Arabic from English and French. The *zajal* competition specified the topics which the *zajjāl* should focus on, and they were: radio, countryside, nuclear bomb, or the feminist movement. The competition conditions also specified which types of *zajal* it accepted: Egyptian, Syrian, and Lebanese or "what is like the latter" (the *Muntada*, September 27, 1946, no. 34, 19). The announcement stated that another separate competition would be forthcoming for Iraqi *zajal*. As for the conditions for the poetry competition, each entry must adhere to one of four topics: orphans, a female source of inspiration, the renaissance of al-Mashriq, or angry nature.

2.11 Who is Listening, and to What?

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, Palestinian musicians used different musical devices and skills to compose and/or sing in different styles. By the late 1940s, they advised various types of music, of which some became popular throughout the region, such as Bedouin and satirical, as well as more sophisticated types tailored to a more appreciative audience, such as the *qaṣīda*. However, the separation between song types also reflected the polarized political and social landscapes. Collaboration between musicians was defined by style, which often reflected the community the song intended to serve. For example, *shaʿbī* musicians such as al-ʿĀṣ would collaborate with other *shaʿbī* musicians. Because al-Khammāsh viewed himself as a more sophisticated musician who composed for a more sophisticated audience, he would work with other musicians like him, but not with al-ʿĀṣ. Therefore, the difference

between al-ʿĀṣ and al-Khammāsh in the public sphere would signify not only the distinction in the musicality of both artists but also the contrast in their social and cultural designations and statuses.

In all its publications, PBS did not include a writeup about any of the *shaʿbī* or peasant musicians. Instead, it always highlighted educated and trendy musicians, especially those who advocated for modernization. This was a common theme in broadcasting throughout the British colonies, where the goal was to create modern citizens through music. PBS programs offer an additional reasonable account of this aspect of PBS from the perspective of programming. They point to how song types became separated from each other, not only musically, but also culturally. Such dynamics were also visible to people. A specific song would subsequently mean something different to each listener, depending on their background. Just like al-Sakakini made a judgment about the compromised quality of music-making on PBS when it first started, the same broadcast may have left a different impression on someone else. Thus, a song deemed superb by peasants could be measured by urbanites as primitive. At the same time, a song considered trendy by notable families may alienate ordinary people who may even take offense by it (Bājis 1947).

To the Arab Section of PBS, programming and Arabism appeared to be confined to Greater Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. The PBS notion of nationalism seems to have aligned itself with the traditional leadership and the noble classes, as well as the interests of the British. For example, PBS publicly supported and remained loyal to the emerging monarchies in Jordan, Iraq, and Egypt, which is a direct reflection of British alliances in the region. This role, however, enabled PBS to embrace commonalities among the peoples of this region, while also celebrating their uniqueness. While this role seemed to offer only exposure to the various constituencies that

PBS served, musically it went beyond exposure. Rather, musicians from the wider region collaborated regularly and played with each other and with PBS guests. Presumably, the context of such collaborations is that musicians remained mindful of styles other than their own, so as to keep the sound of each song type unique and distinct.

Although music-making within the walls of PBS evolved exponentially during the 1940s, types of music were increasingly getting separated from each other, apparently not only in terms of types and Western versus Eastern categories, but also in terms of class, religion, and culture. A closer look at PBS programs shows such disparities and divisions appearing between the following categories. Although collaborations seem to have taken place within each category, I found a few references of cross collaborations between the different categories, mainly through singers:

1. Western styles and formations;
2. Egyptian;
3. Original and local art styles**;**
4. shaʿbī, Bedouin, mawwāl, and peasant styles; and
5. Islamic.

2.11.1 Western Styles and Formations

Many Palestinian composers of this category composed for and led Western ensembles. Most of the ensembles consisted of fretted instruments or instruments that had fixed intonations. Examples include the mandolin ensemble, guitar ensemble, brass and woodwinds ensembles, chamber (violins, woodwind, brass, keyboard), choirs, and orchestra. Some of the compositions appeared in the programs incorporating Western and traditional instruments in duets, trios, quartets, and larger formations, such as some instrumental pieces for organ and *nāy* that appeared

in the *Qāfila*, September 5, 1947 (no. 23, 20). Musicians who fit into this category include ʿArnita (organ, piano), al-Batrūnī (piano), Lama (organ), and ʿĪsa Jaʿnīnaih (piano, organ, harpsichord). They used light, moderately complex, and sophisticated textures, and compositional devices to compose instrumental and vocal pieces. The example from ʿŪdaih Rishmāwī below (figure 40) is used to demonstrate this point. Such composers focused on instrumental music, children's songs, as shown in Figure 41, and songs in standard Arabic poetry, mainly educational, about love, or patriotic. Most of the individuals who belong to this category were Arab Christians who were educated in Christian mission schools or abroad.

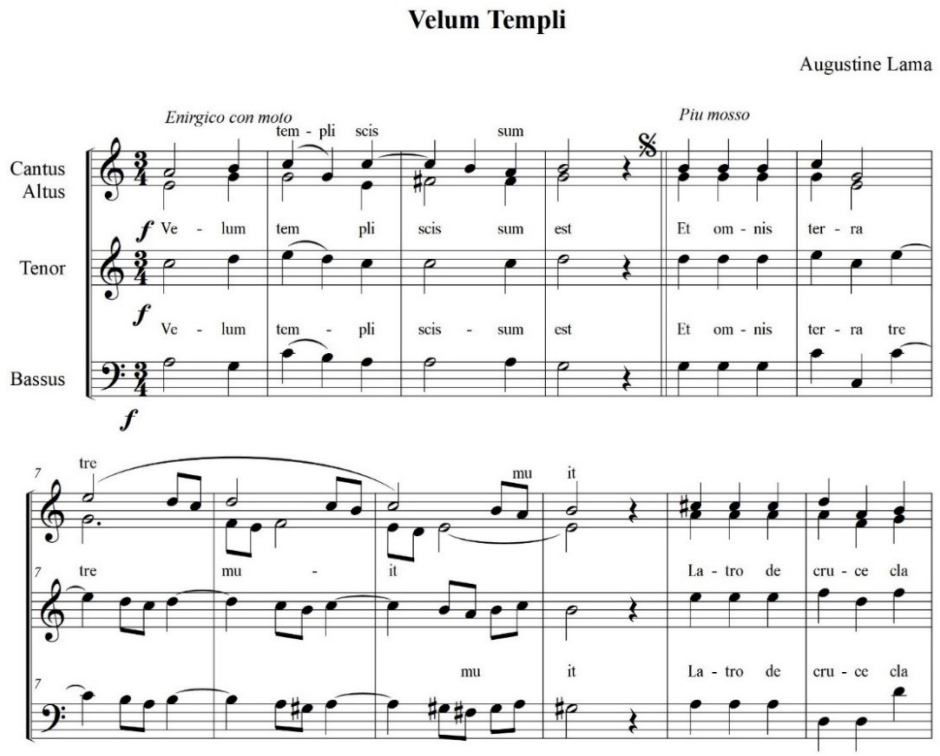


Figure 40. "Velum Temple" (excerpt), Augustine Lama

Figure 41. Arab Section Children Programs, PBS (1944)

Figure 42. Arab Section Orchestra, PBS (1946)

Figure 43. ʿAzmi al-Nashāshībī, pre-concert speech, YMCA (1947)

In the *Muntada* on December 13, 1946 (no. 45, 16), an announcement described an upcoming performance by the orchestra. The production was two hours and 30 minutes long. The add mentions that there would be over fifty players in the orchestra in addition to a group of male and female singers, as partially illustrated in Figures 42 and 43. The orchestra performed regularly in weekly shows, including in Rawḍat al-Alḥān (Garden of Melodies), Hamasāt al-Gitār (Guitar Whispers), and Anāshīd al-Aṭfāl (Children Songs). The orchestra was conducted by al-Batrūni, who also provided arrangements for all its songs and wrote original music for the three shows (the *Muntada,* January 3, 1946, no. 48, 9). Al-Batrūni and ʿArniṭa were particularly active in the Western live music scene and appeared regularly at the YMCA in West Jerusalem, where the PBS used to broadcast and produce many of its shows.

2.11.2 Egyptian Styles

Several Palestinian composers were featured in the *Muntada* and praised as being masters in the Egyptian style, with testimonies from the Egyptian press as well as multiple Egyptian prominent singers and composers. Some of the most prominent Palestinian composers in this category include al-Bandak, al-Rūmī, al-Saʿūdī, Jalīl ʿAzzūz, Ghāzī, al-Khammāsh, and Jalīl Rukab.[48] They composed songs in this style in Egyptian dialect, local, standard Arabic, and possibly some hybrid dialects (Fuskurijian 1992). They followed the light, moderately complex, and sophisticated categories such as *ṭaqṭūqa*, *dawr*, *qaṣīda*, *ughniya*, as well as popular instrumental forms. There is a magnitude of recordings by some of these composers in this category after 1948 that speak to their musicality; some were recorded towards the late 1940s or early 1950s. A recording from 1948 entitled "Yā Mkaḥḥal Rimshak" by al-Rūmī (Baida Records BB100654), and another by al-Bandak from the early 1950s called "al-Raqs al-ʿAṣrī," (Baida Records 1728B), both offer a glimpse into the nature of their engagement in the Egyptian style. Al-Rūmi's song is strictly in Egyptian dialect while al-Bandak's is in the local dialect. The recordings point to the limited usage of musical arrangement devices or harmony. Al-Bandak's piece/song includes a short *mawwāl* in the *baghdādī* style (starting at 1:47). Added to it is a vocally metered section in Palestinian colloquial. The total length of the piece/song is three minutes.[49] It is also worth noting that al-Bandak, al-Rūmi, ʿAzzūz and Rukab were Christians who belonged to Eastern Churches and were trained on traditional instruments.

[48] See 'Azzūz, Jalīl. "Tango Faqidt al-Amāni." July 4, 1947 (no. 14, 22) in the *Qāfila.*

[49] The last metered section was picked up by al-Raḥbānī Brothers and used in the musical "Bayyā' al-Khawātim" in 1964 in a song entitled "Yā Ḥilwit al-Dār" (starting at 1:25). The verses in al-Raḥbanī version include puns on the word dār, just like the verse used by al-Bandak over a decade earlier; see "al-Raqs al-'Aṣrī," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=StALlKTmL2g.

The pattern that I found interesting is that most of the Eastern Arab Christian musicians were trained on traditional instruments, in contrast to those who were trained by Christian missionaries on Western instruments. Moreover, collaborations between musicians took place strictly within the Eastern portion of the music section. The general separation between East versus West appears to have also been the case within the PBS Arab Section's music programming, another display of British policies.

2.11.3 Original and Local Art Styles

Palestinian singers and composers started to distance themselves from Egyptian styles as early as the 1920s and took large steps towards establishing a musical scene that embraced local sensibilities. The surviving recordings of Nimir Nāṣir, Rajab al-Akḥal, Nūḥ Ibrāhīm, Thurayya Qaddūra, and Ilyās ʿAwaḍ attest to this. Besides, the informal and formal musical interactions with ʿUmar al-Baṭsh and ʿAlī al-Darwīsh contributed to popularizing the *muwashshaḥ* of Aleppo among Palestinians (Jawhariyyeh 2014; al-Sharīf 2011). Many of the newer generations of composers gradually shifted their focus from Egyptian styles to developing original qualities. or embracing regional song types such as the *muwashshaḥ* and *qaṣīda*. The *muwashshaḥ* is considered an art form and is well-respected. It is musically and rhythmically complex and depends on standard Arabic love poetry, old and new. As for *qaṣīda*, Palestinian composers combined various aspects of the Egyptian pulsed *qaṣīda* with *muwashshaḥ* and expanded its form. The most prominent composers in these two categories are al-Khammāsh, and al-Rūmī, while al-Bandak was known for *qaṣīda*.[50] They composed moderately complex to more

[50] See chapter 3.4.3, recording 29, for Rawḥī al-Khammāsh's "Insānī yā Ḥub Kifāya," mentioned in the *Qāfila*, May 30, 1947 (no. 9, 20). See also "Hadhā al-Ḥanīn," a samāʿī by Ḥalim al-Rūmi that he wrote in a local bakery in Yāfā in 1946; see figure 61 in the Appendix.

sophisticated songs. The rhythms, melodic contour, form, and modulations that they introduced blended various regional styles, including Egyptian, Ottoman, Syrian, Iraqi, and Palestinian. I explore their works in Chapter 3.

2.11.4 Shaʿbī, Bedouin, and Peasant Styles

Composers in this category focused on local dialects in colloquial Arabic, mainly Near Eastern, with an increased focus on Palestinian. They used mainly light forms and incorporated more complex renditions into the *mawwāl*, expanded short melodies, and often added sections to traditional melodies. They used traditional instruments such as mijwiz, shabbāba, and rabābā and eventually incorporated *ʿūd*, violin, *qānūn*, and *nāy*. Those include al-ʿĀṣ, Yaʿqūb Ziādaih, and Rāmiz al-Zāgha. Non-Palestinian composers also contributed heavily to such types including Filmūn Wahbī, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Sayyid, and al-Ṣafiḥ. PBS programs also show the consistent presence of Iraqi music programming, an approach that PBS sustained as a reflection of its broadcast coverage and advocacy for diversity.

2.11.5 Islamic Programming

Many Palestinian composers wrote *anāshīd islāmiyya* (Islamic religious songs). Readings from the Qurʾan would broadcast daily from 7:25 AM (or 7:35 AM) to 7:45 AM, and from 7:30 PM to 7:55 PM. On Fridays, the Islamic program expands exponentially, as shown in the example below from the Qāfila on April 4, 1947 (no. 1, 20–22):

> 7:25 AM–7:45 AM: Qurʾan;
> 11 AM–12:15 PM: often broadcast from al-Aqṣa mosque;
> 12:15 PM–12:30 PM: PBS singers join one of the PBS shaykhs on duty (Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Dīn Kabbāra, Manṣūr al-Shāmī al-Damanhūrī, and others) to sing religious songs[51]

[51] Kabbāra (1921-1999) was born in Ṭarablus (Tripoli), and educated in Egypt; see the *Muntada* August 16, 1946, 11. Al-Damanhūrī (1906-1959) was born in Egypt; see https://www.albawabhnews.com/1386735.

7:10 PM–7:25 PM: Islamic religious songs
7:30 PM–7:55 PM: Qurʾan

By the late 1940s, religious talks and lectures covering various Islamic religious topics were also featured daily on PBS.

Before 1948, Palestinian singers sang in every dialect, a feature that characterizes them to this day. This skill was not true the other way around. The Egyptian singers who appeared in PBS and NEBS sang only Egyptian songs. This trend plays into the Palestinian nationalist vision, which served a wider constituent than being focused solely on local Palestinian local nationalism. While acknowledging the unique traits of each of the represented national styles, Palestinians were at the frontier of being inclusive. At the level of composition, Palestinian composers reflected this vision as well. All composers were confident in Egyptian styles and composed in various other song types achieving multiple levels of success while increasingly focusing on developing their own. Although the term "Palestinian" in the context of songs or music did not appear in NEBS's programming, a few years after Lebanon's independence, the term "Lebanese" started to surface as "Lebanese" *baladī* songs (country songs). Such designations seem like a deviation from how PBS mostly approached locality in music and favored the "Arab" label over more specific and local ones. The exception was Iraqi songs that were distinctly labeled as such in PBS programming.

2.12 Religious, Nationalist and Social Cantons

Arab Palestinians were not as unified or coherent as communities and leadership, even when individual leaders hoped so. Although Islamism and nationalism were often used interchangeably to describe Palestinian identity, tensions would surface between the two streams.

On November 21, 1935, al-Sakakini broke the news to his son about an Islamic armed organization and expressed his view of their methods:

> You shall read in *Falasṭīn* newspaper dated today about this terrorist organization which appeared in the country, which you may have already heard about since radio broadcasts covered it all over the world. The people here heard the news and did not know whether to believe or deny it. An organization headed by a Shaikh [referring to al-Qassām] wearing a turban and its members are also righteous Shaikhs who carry arms against the government. (al-Sakakini 2006, 174)

Inconsistencies and contrasting outlooks between nationalists and Islamists confined Arab Christians to a different set of cultural and political values. Christian notable families, as well as Christian intellectuals of the middle class, seem to have been compelled to accept the notion of Islam as one of the main components required for the formation of national identity. Not because they believed in it, but because they had no other choice but to help Muslims and agree to Islam as one of the most important components needed for building such an identity. While the two communities, Jewish and Muslim, navigated the notion of identity through religion, Arab Christians did not pursue the development of a third national identity based on Christianity. Robson argues that editors of the Christian-run journals and newspapers in Palestine who represented the intellectual elite Christian voice wove "their Christian identifications into this discourse of nationalism and anti-imperialism, in the process revealing a great deal about the often self-conscious development of a political significance for Christianity and how communal and political identities began to intertwine in new ways under the influence of colonial policy" (Robson 2011, 13).

The local Jewish community in Palestine struggled with this notion as well, and gradually shifted towards a narrative that stems from religion. Therefore, bringing all three religions under one nationalist umbrella, as Khalil Totah suggested, had become by the late 1940s a scenario that was intolerable if not impossible.

Another example of how some Christian Palestinians viewed certain events is once more apparent in al-Sakakini's reflection on the Arab Revolt in Palestine. On April 21, 1936, he wrote:

> It fits Palestine more to be called the country of revolts, one revolt ends, and another begins. May God keep revolutions away from us and heaven forbid, war is a lesser evil by a thousand times when compared to revolts. Soldiers fight wars, but everyone, young and old, fight revolts, and all become its soldiers. In war, only bullets are used, and it is easier to die with bullets. Revolts, on the other hand, do not only use bullets, but they also use daggers, bats, stones, glass, even shoes. Wars do not kill the wounded, but revolutions are horrific, bodies get ripped apart, crushed, beaten, burned, suffocated, and milled. Wars have rules, but revolts do not adhere to law and order. (Israel State Archives [ISA], al-Sakakini [1936] 2006, 238)

The British continuously emphasized the need to have strong alliances in the region, which primarily focused around the newly established monarchies and their allies. The three directors of the Arab Section in PBS did not distance itself from this arrangement. Nuwayhiḍ's focus on Islamic programming was, in his own words, an attempt to unify Arabs under one national terrain of ideals. Despite being a secular nationalist, al-Nashāshībī doubled the time allocated for Islamic programming, which is also indicative of how notable families navigated the notion of religion as a major component in Arab nationalist ideology. He articulated this new direction in an article that he wrote in the *Muntada*, January 3, 1947 (no. 48, 8).

While the role of the editors of the Arab newspapers was to protest the Zionist project and British colonial injustices, they played a part in developing a nationalist movement along economic, political, class, and familial lines (Robson 2011). In contrast to newspapers, PBS did not operate as a platform for protesting Zionism or British colonial injustices. Instead, it served as a governmental organization designed to endorse apolitical nationalism for Palestinians and siphon cultural activities into an impartial and neutral platform.

At the level of programming, Islamic religious talks, lectures, Islamic prayers, and love songs became a daily fixture and were expanded substantially in PBS. However, broadcasting

Christian-themed shows were restricted to live coverage from specific churches on some Sundays or during the holiday season; there is typically no mention of the Druze or the Jews. Of the nineteen weeks of PBS programming that are available in the *Qāfila* in 1947, the average coverage of the Sunday mass seems to take place once a month, each lasting for twenty minutes, as shown below:

1. The *Qāfila* April 4, 1947 (no. 1, 20), from Saint Paul Anglican Church, Jerusalem.
2. The *Qāfila* June 20, 1947 (no. 12, 20), from St. Yaʿqūb Orthodox Church, Jerusalem.
3. The *Qāfila* July 4, 1947 (no. 14, 20) from the St. Andrew Arab Anglican (Episcopal) Church, Ramallah.
4. The *Qāfila* August 8, 1947 (no. 19, 20) from Sayyidat al-Bishāra for al-Rūm al-Kathūlīk (Melkite) Church, Jerusalem.
5. The *Qāfila* August 22, 1947 (no. 21, 20) from the Aḥbāsh *(Ethiopian)* Church, Jerusalem.
6. The *Qāfila* September 5, 1947 (no. 23, 20) from St. Murqus Syriac Church, Jerusalem.

The variety of Christian representation rhymes with the sectarian nature of the colonial discourse, which highlighted the differences and divisions between Christian denominations, as well as the domination of Islamic-themed sentiment as a subtext for national identity. Moreover, at 1:45 PM almost every other Sunday, the *Qāfila* listed a fifteen-minute performance on organ, piano, or harpsichord by either of the following musicians: ʿArnita (organ, piano), al-Batrūnī (piano), Lama (organ), and Jaʿnīnaih (piano, organ, harpsichord). This segment in the program ties Palestinian Christians to Western instruments, which further separated them from the rest of the population.

The Palestinian national discourse mostly failed to understand the Jewish question; and the predicament of the local Christian and Druze communities. During the first half of the twentieth century, there were limited attempts by various intellectuals and writers to address the Jewish project as well as the rights of religious minorities. Among them were Būlus Shiḥadaih of *Mirʾāt al-Sharq* newspaper, Khalil Totah, Khalil al-Sakakini, George Antonius, and ʿĪsa al-Bandak; all Christian. However, Palestinian Christians were being judged based on their position from the events that surrounded them and were gradually getting defined by such positions politically. They were also becoming more pragmatic, increasingly fragmented, and identified by their denominations, as well as progressively distrustful of the Islamist/nationalist narrative. In 1939, while in exile, ʿĪsa al-Bandak, a prominent politician and former mayor of Bethlehem and owner of the *Shaʿb* newspaper, sent a memo to the government of the British Mandate and the Arab Delegations attending the London Conference of 1939. He sent the letter on behalf of Christian Palestinians. He said: "my humble memorandum expresses the opinion of Christians Arab Palestinians, who refuse to be considered a minority. We demand recognition as an integral part of the Arab family. […] When Christian Arabs are considered a minority, they become prey to suspicion of being disloyal to their homeland" (Zuʿaytir 1984, 582–3).

The categorization of Christian Palestinians as a minority, in his opinion, resulted in two dire consequences: 1) describing them as having bad intentions, and 2) forcing them to either convert to Islam to remain a living part of the whole or to immigrate because they are perceived as disruptive forces in the Arab nation (ibid.). Al-Bandak also noted the tensions between Palestinian Christian denominations and expressed concern that they were competing, while each was claiming to have the sole right over Christian sacred sites.

While this was the general view of Palestinian Christians who were engaged in the political process and acquainted with the risks of such categorizations, Christian musicians responded by creating an independent space for themselves and latched their activities primarily to Christian mission and private organizations. Meanwhile, in their songs, they primarily used and embraced standard Arabic to signify loyalty to Arabism and to emphasize a broader perspective to the notion of a nation that is inclusive of all. They also embraced secularism and modernity as vehicles for development and progress, approaches that mission organizations advocated almost a hundred years before.

2.13 The End

Immediately after the events of 1948, the pressing issue among the traditional Palestinian leadership was the dilemma of who was entitled to represent Palestinians. King ʿAbdullah quickly acted on his ambition to annex the most significant remaining Arab piece of Palestine and was also claiming representation of the Palestinians (Khalidi 2015). Nuwayhiḍ was instrumental in orchestrating a conference in Jericho in December 1948, inviting pro-Hashemite notables from across the West Bank to make a plea to King ʿAbdullah for the unification of the region with Transjordan (ibid.). At this moment, the power in the hands of the notable Palestinian families was translated into a national political discourse, one that was dictated by King ʿAbdullah and in harmony with his version of nationalism as well as the wishes of the British. The British did not only secure their alliances but also hindered all attempts for Palestinian identity to form fully. Between Nuwayhiḍ's and Nashashibi's roles, their notion of an apolitical Palestinian identity was tested after 1948. In fact, during the battles of Lid and Ramlaih in 1948, ʿAzmī al-Nashāshībī took the microphone and described in affection and pain the scene of that day when the inhabitants of Lid and Ramlaih lost their homes and were condemning and

damning King ʿAbdullah publicly (Hawārī 1950). Al-Nashāshībī's response was the first time that PBS practiced agency in the public sphere. It was then, on May 15, 1948, when King ʿAbdullah reacted furiously to al-Nashāshībī's live reporting by ordering that he be cashiered as Brigadier and be relieved from his duties as Observer of the Arab Section in PBS (ibid). In the following years after 1948, many members of the al-Nashāshībī family took high governmental posts in Transjordan. To King ʿAbdullah, the unification of the West Bank and Transjordan was his long sought-after goal and one of his most significant achievements (ʿAbdullah 1950).

From that moment forward, Palestinian political and identity discourses were scattered with each layer of Palestinian society and within single communities. The policies of the three states that controlled the territory of the former Mandate for Palestine, Israel, Jordan, and Egypt, did not allow any political activity by Palestinians (Khalidi 2015). Israel kept a tight grip on the approximately 150,000 remaining Palestinians in Israel. It maintained a military government, imposed restrictions on movement, and banned political activity until 1966 (Khalidi 2015). Meanwhile, Jordan viewed any autonomous Palestinian body as insubordinate and as a threat to the unity of the kingdom. Ordinary Palestinians mistrusted Jordan's government, which ruthlessly combated any political activity and made the country an inhospitable place for independent Palestinian political action (Hawārī 1955). As for Egypt, which was in control of Gaza at the end of the war, it allowed only limited political activity and none that could jeopardize Egypt's armistice agreement with Israel (Khalidi 2015). During the subsequent decades, a new generation of Palestinian political activists was born, one that was forced to operate farther afield due to strict controls on their activities by these three states.

Palestinians did not have much choice as to where they would seek refuge. A minority of well-off Palestinian families, however, settled in Lebanon willingly, some of whom used to

travel regularly between the urban centers of Greater Syria before 1948. Palestinians, mostly, were not granted citizenship in Lebanon. Instead, most were deprived of certain fundamental rights and were kept confined to refugee camps (al-Ḥūt 2004). During the 1950s and 1960s, Lebanon discretely granted citizenship to about 50,000 Christian Palestinian refugees to offset the rapid growth of the Muslim population (Haddad 2004).

Chapter 3

3.1 The 1950s

As a direct result of the events of 1948, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fled their homes and became part of a large refugee population in primarily neighboring countries. These countries, including Israel, signed regional and international agreements to secure their borders and halt further hostilities or escalations.[52] In this new reality, Palestinians were no longer able to function coherently as collective political and social units, even when such units before 1948 were already uneven. They were geographically displaced, with the components of their collective identity pulled to pieces. Also, Palestine lost its place as a cultural mediator, a bridge, and a pioneer of cultural exchange. For intellectuals, poets, artists, and musicians who were at the center of a Palestinian national discourse, their sense of loss was particularly dramatic. These pioneers, including musicians, faced the difficulty of retaining the level of connection they had with their homeland, and they were forever limited in their ability to transfer their skills to the next generation of Palestinians in Palestine.

With such losses, the promising musical scene that once existed before 1948 lost most of its infrastructure, not only in the context of PBS and NEBS but also in terms of traditional musical practices among ordinary Palestinians. Some PBS musicians stayed behind and moved to Ramallah, while some NEBS musicians moved with the station to Cyprus (al-Jūzī 2010). Musicians were at that point geographically separated from each other in Israel, Gaza, West Bank, Transjordan, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. Some of them started to explore music-related work options leading several to join the radio ensembles in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq,

[52] See the 1949 Armistice Agreements.

which were all governmental establishments. Others pursued different opportunities, including teaching. Nuwayhiḍ notes that Arab radio stations accepted Palestinian artists because of their talents, musical knowledge, and literacy (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). They collaborated with other artists in different environments and styles and were versatile and highly skilled (ibid.); unlike most Palestinians who ended up in refugee camps and were unable to assimilate, unskilled, with no means to maintain a livelihood.

After 1948, Arabs and media portals expressed sympathy towards Palestinians. During the same period, some Palestinian musicians composed songs that reflected the traumatic experiences that they have witnessed. Those include al-Bandak, al-Rūmī, al-Khammāsh, and al-ʿĀṣ. The radio stations of Cairo, Damascus, and Lebanon broadcast such songs regularly and even commissioned new ones (Nuwayhiḍ 1993; al-Ḥaj 2017; ʿAbbās 1999). The songs, however, were still carefully crafted in terms of their text and continued to offer a generic display of patriotism and nationalist sentiments, just like the songs produced by PBS and NEBS. Being adaptable and pragmatic, Palestinian musicians navigated urban music scenes as an attempt to affirm their bridging nationalistic vision and reiterate their ability and willingness to embrace the various types of music within the region. However, while they navigated these scenes well, they adhered to the dynamics of their new environments. An example of this is the famous patriotic poem entitled "Irādat al-Shaʿb" by renowned Tunisian poet Abū al-Qāsim al-Shābbī (1909-1934). The poem is in standard Arabic and fifty-three verses long. Al-Rūmī selected and composed fifteen verses in 1951 as a reflection of the events of 1948, illustrated in recording 16 in al-Rūmī's voice (al-Ḥaj 2017). The first three consecutive verses of the poem, which al-Rūmī included in his composition, set the theme for the whole poem:

"Irādat al-Shaʿb," the three verses of the refrain:

إذا الشَّعبُ يوْمَاً أرَادَ الحَياة فلا بُدَّ أن يستجيب القَدرْ

ولا بُدَّ لِلَّيلِ أنْ ينْجَلِي وَلا بُدَّ للقَيْدِ أَنْ ينْكَسِر
وَمَنْ لمْ يُعَانِقْهُ شَوْقُ الْحَيَاةِ تبَخَّرَ في جَوِّهَا وَانْدَثَر

"Irādat al-Shaʿb," the three verses of the refrain, translation:

If people yearn to live the odds shall be in their favor
It is then when darkness vanishes, and chains break
Those who do not long to live shall fade and dwindle

Al-Shābbī wanted to inspire people to be hopeful, not to despair or be discouraged by the dreadful tasks ahead of them. The poem is not inciteful and does not directly reference violent resistance. Instead, it speaks of pride, achievement, triumph, resistance, commitment, self-belief, respect, and the fulfillment of noble goals. Al-Rūmī's selection of which verses to compose was careful and seemed mindful of hinting resistance, a position that many Arab countries feared will impact their local political stability. He, therefore, picked verses that are uplifting and emphasize hope, pride, and commitment, messages that do not necessarily provoke resistance or violence. Musically, the song is in *maqām rāst*, and al-Rūmī kept faithful to the Palestinians *qaṣīda* style. The pronunciation of certain alphabets such as the *ja tha dha* appears in standard Arabic, not Egyptian.

By the mid-1950s, patriotic repertoire started to take political shape, depending on where the songs were produced. An example of this is also a song by al-Rūmi entitled "Arḍ Falasṭīn" (The Land of Palestine), which he also composed as a reflection of the events of 1948, but over a decade later.[53] The poem is in standard Arabic and written by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Karmī, known as Abu Salma, a prominent Palestinian poet born in Tulkarm, a northern Palestinian town (al-Karmī 1978). The poem was first published in Beirut in 1959 in a poetry collection entitled *Ughniyāt*

[53] The exact date of the recording has not been confirmed.

Min Bilādi (Songs from My Homeland). The poem itself is thirty-four verses long, but al-Rūmī set to music only twelve (al-Karmī 1959). As illustrated in recording 17, the melody is in *maqām ḥijāz* with much more dramatic renditions in comparison to the uplifting character of "Irādat al-Shaʿb," his earlier composition.

Interestingly, al-Rūmī's singing maintained a level of nasal quality, a much older Egyptian vocal style whose foundations lie in Qurʾanic chanting and Islamic religious songs (Racy 1982; Danielson 1997). The technique was still enduring during the 1950s among many mainstream singers in Egypt but had been fading out since the 1940s.[54] In contrast to "Irādat al-Shaʿb," al-Rūmī chooses to pronounce certain alphabets of standard Arabic following the Egyptian dialect, especially the *ja,* which he sang as *ga*. The chorus consisted of Egyptians, who were struggling with pronouncing which alphabets according to which dialect. Occasionally, they sang the same word in two different ways simultaneously, and then differently during repeats. Al-Rūmī took his patriotic expression farther from its generic state to making political statements, as the translation below shows.

"Arḍ Falasṭīn," the poem as used in the song:

زَحَفْتُ ألثُمُ أرضي وَهْيَ باكِيةٌ والقَلْبُ باكٍ وراحَتْ تنتَشي القُبَلُ
وَعُدتُ أنْشَقُ مِنْ عِطرِ التُرابِ هَوَىً في ظِلِّه التقَت الأجدادُ والرُسُلُ
أهلي عَلَى الدَهرِ تُدْميني جِراحُهمُ في ظِلِّهِم (حُبِّهم) يتَساوَى العُذْرُ والعَذَلُ
خِيامُهُم في مَهَبَّ الريحِ مُعْوِلةٌ ودورُهُمْ مِنْ وَراءِ الدَمْعِ تبتَهِلُ
تَقاذَفَتهُمْ دُروبُ العُمْرِ دامِيةً وأنْكَرَتْهُمْ رُبوعُ الأهْلِ والمِلَلُ
في كُلِ أرضٍ شَظاياهُمْ مُشَرَّدَةٌ وتحْتَ كُلِ سَماءٍ مَعْشَرٌ ذُلُلُ
أطوفُ أحملُ أنَّى سِرْتُ نَكْبَتهُمْ كأنني طَيفُ ثأرٍ والحِمَى طَلَلُ
هذي فلسطينُ!.. هل أشْجَتْكَ ترْبتهَا تَبكي الأحبَّاءَ .. مَنْ غابوا ومَنْ رَحلوا
تبكي المروءاتِ مُرخاةً غدائرُها وما انتخَتْ للجهادِ البيضُ والأسَلُ
تبكي العَذارى وأذيالاً مُطَهَّرةً لَمْ يَحمِ تلكَ الذُيولَ .. الفارِسُ البَطَلُ
يا فِتيةَ الوطنِ المسلوبِ!.. هَلْ أمَلٌ عَلى جِباهِكُم السَمراءِ يكْتَلِلُ
إن الطريقَ الى العلياءِ مُظلِمَةٌ ولن نَضِلَّ وفي أيديكم الشُعَل

[54] For more about this see Racy (1982).

"Arḍ Falasṭīn," the poem translation as used in the song:

I cringed to the homeland as it was weeping,
my heart as well. It enfolded my kisses.
Imagined breathing the smell of soil and sensed the shadow of a breeze
where our ancestors and profits met.
I am forever bleeding over the wounds of my people.
In their love, excuses and ignorance become equal.
Their tents barely stand in the wind.
Their lost homes concealed by their tears and reach out.
My people were thrown by the bloody predicament of time and space
and denied by clans and religions.
Shredded into homelessness on foreign lands
and under the skies, they face harsh companionships.
I travel around carrying their catastrophe like a shadow of revenge,
with rage more like mist.
It is Palestine! Did its soil bring joy to you?
It now cries for its lovers, the departed, and the absentees.
It pities the braids of your clumsy courage
and the swords and arrows that stayed put.
It pities those with clean rears, looking for excuses.
You did not come or protect us, you heroic knights!
O, the youth of our people,
is hope upon your hard faces?
The path to greatness is dark,
but we shall not be lost if you carry the torches.

The poem itself went much further than al-Rūmī's selection. The climax of the poem is when al-Karmī directly addressed the rigor of the situation and says:

"Arḍ Falasṭīn," verses not included in al-Rūmī's song:

قال ألملوكُ غداً نَحْمي دياركُمُ ليتَ الأذِلاَّء ما قالوا وما فعلوا
وعَلَّلُونا بِساحِ المجْدِ ننْزِلها إذا بهم، ساعَةُ الجُلى، هم العلَلُ
قالوا: الكرامةُ! .. قلنا: أينَ صاحبُها؟! قالوا: الرُجولةُ.. قلنا: أيهُمْ رَجُلُ
باعو "فلسطين" فلتهنأ ضمائرُهم أما تراها على الدولار تَشْتَعِلُ
وكيفَ تُنقَّذُ أرض العُربِ **"جامعةٌ"** يَسودُها مَبدأ التفريقِ والَجدَلُ
أُنظُر إليها وقَدْ شالَتْ نَجائبها كأنَّها موكبٌ للعار ينتَقِلُ

"Arḍ Falasṭīn," translation of the verses not included in al-Rūmī's song:

The Kings said that they would protect the homeland,

but I wish that the bastards did not say or do anything.
They claimed they would fight the battle of glory but came the moment of truth;
they proved to be the problem.
They said: Dignity! We said: Whose?! They said: Manhood.
We said: Who among you is man enough?
They sold "Palestine" to satisfy their conscious;
cannot you see how your dollars operate?
How would the homeland be saved by a "League,"
dominated by the principals of division and divergence?
Just look at you as you represent your offspring countries
like a traveling parade of shame.

In the fifth verse, in bold, al-Karmī places the word Jamiʿat in quotation marks and then refers to its dysfunctionality and shameful stands, referring to Jamiʿat al-Duwal al-ʿArabiyya, or the Arab League. This song was released when Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir was in office. Although it is not clear where exactly al-Rūmī recorded it, the production points to Egypt. This song shows al-Rūmī having some political agency and control over his art, despite his accommodating attitude to the Egyptian dialect. Out of the hundreds of songs that he composed throughout his career, not in any other song did al-Rūmī express his political thoughts this clearly. However, he treated the poem with caution and did not go all the way with the rest of the poem, where al-Karmī expressed with clarity his political position from monarchies and harshly criticized Arab regimes. Faced with decisions about dialect, style of composition, place of production, politics, pronunciation of the text, al-Rūmī's most intense challenges were just around the corner in Lebanon, his country of origin.

His first song that I used as an example, "Irādat al-Shaʿb," points to the generic patriotic productions that the British and their Arab allies did not object to in principle. The second song, however, demonstrates the rise of political activism and establishes a strong position from both local and regional leaderships concerning the events of 1948 and its ramifications. The first song points to a specific musical approach that embraced standard Arabic the way it is pronounced in

Palestine while incorporating a more modern singing style that utilizes the diaphragm instead of the old nasal method. The second song seems to have more political agency but leaned towards the Egyptian dialect and vocal style. As for having relative control of one's political opinion, it is likely due to the atmosphere in Egypt which placed Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir at the forefront of pan-Arabism, the struggle for Palestine, as well as the efforts to undermine Arab monarchies, which the song coincidently advocated.

Moreover, al-Rūmī's two songs, although a decade or so apart, seem to contrast each other concerning Palestine. The first song was indeed more in tune with what al-Rūmī was working on at NEBS, along with others, which is to establish local styles centered around al-Mashriq, in this case, the Palestinian *qaṣīda*. The second song takes a step back from regional forms. It moves deeper into Egyptian territory, embracing not only Egyptian compositional techniques, which both songs utilize but also the Egyptian dialect. Such examples point to how agency and national discourses created a significant navigation challenge to Palestinian musicians.

From the available recordings, it is evident that Palestinian composers and singers faced serious questions, including how they expressed themselves musically and nationally, which form of song or dialect they used, and about which topics they might or might not have sung. To examine how Palestinian musicians navigated the various music scenes, other than the ones they lost, and how they contributed, borrowed, impacted, and navigated those scenes, I examine the works of al-Bandak, al-Rūmī, al-Khammāsh, and the contributions of Ṣabrī al-Sharīf. For Riyad al-Bandak, I take a closer look at a good number of his works after 1948 that were kept at Radio Lebanon. NAWA obtained a copy of these recordings, which totaled twenty-six, including twenty-two songs, and four instrumental pieces. For al-Rūmī, I explore his career at Radio

Lebanon and his contributions, influence, and impact on the Lebanese music scene as well as some of his works. I also examine al-Khamāsh's career in Iraq. I briefly discuss their lives before 1948 as well as reference some of their earlier works when available, and then focus on their careers after 1948. First, I examine the role of Ṣabrī al-Sharīf.

3.2 Ṣabrī al-Sharīf

Ṣabrī al-Sharīf (1922-1999) was born in Yāfā to a well-off family (Sabri 2012). His father was a renowned textile merchant who established business ties with England. Al-Sharīf grew up listening to recordings of Um Kulthūm and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahāb as well as the broadcasts of Radio Cairo, which was extremely popular and dominating at the time. He attended the Collége des Fréres in Yāfā, a French international school that is part of the La Sallian network of educational institutions.[55] According to his son Munjid, al-Sharīf took private piano lessons with a piano teacher in Yāfā since he was a child (personal communication, 2020). After graduating from high school, he headed to London to study musical theater.

Al-Sharīf recalls that one day he and his family were listening to the radio and heard a buzuq playing a piece of music. When the piece finished, an announcement followed, declaring that the piece was brought to audiences by NEBS; the whole family was astonished. Al-Sharīf was enthused by this new station and eventually sent them a letter expressing interest in applying for a job there (Sabri 2012). The station replied to him, agreed to hire him, and subsequently, he became its music director. According al-Sharīf's son, the main objective of NEBS at the time was to recruit, encourage, and grow talent in the areas of music, theater, and other fields. The station also invited renowned musicians including Um Kulthūm, and ʿAbd al-Wahāb as guest

[55] Opened in 1882; see http://www.collegedesfreresjaffa.org/AboutUs.php retrieved 10/22/2019.

artists. As head of music at NEBS, al-Sharīf used to travel to Egypt to buy recordings or the rights for specific productions and to invite artists to produce their works in Yāfā (ibid.).

Little is known about that period in al-Sharīf's life at NEBS, but his name appears in the program of NEBS as a host of an occasional song-variety program, which was mentioned in the *Qāfila* on August 15, 1947 (no. 20, 18-19). In April 2014, Nādir Jalāl interviewed Ilyas Saḥāb on video. Jalāl was collecting information about al-Sharīf as part of NAWA's regional effort to gather narratives about Palestinian musicians who left or fled Palestine after or before 1948. When asked about al-Sharīf, Saḥāb recalls that al-Sharīf started implementing his vision of modernizing Arab music at NEBS since the mid-1940s (Jalāl 2014). Al-Sharīf's aim was also to revolutionize local music by utilizing the various compositional tools that were available to composers through European musical traditions (Sabri 2012; Burkhalter 2014; Jalāl 2014). He even hired two Egyptian composers to implement this vision, ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Nuwaira (1916-1985), and Midḥat ʿĀṣim (c. 1909-1989) (Jalāl, 2014). During the same period, he also began his efforts to collect local peasant songs. To achieve this, he commissioned a Lebanese poet by the name of Asʿad Saʿīd (1922-2010) to carry out the fieldwork and collect songs from Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq, intending to use this material as the foundation for modernizing the music of the region (Abū Fakhr 2015). In his book, *al-Zajal fī Aṣluh wa Faṣluh* (The Origin and Variations of Zajal), Saʿīd attests that, based on his extensive research and collection efforts, the traditions of Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine are all shared. He argues that the differences between them do not go beyond the differences that one would find from one village to another within the same country (Saʿīd 2009).

The vision was clear in al-Sharif's mind. He wanted to create music that is based on indigenous musical material and incorporate various musical compositional devices, including

harmony, new forms, and orchestral textures. According to Saḥāb, al-Sharīf's attempts at NEBS were successful (Jalāl 2014). The closest example I found of what al-Sharīf was possibly working on is a NEBS recording that I obtained from the British Library belonging to the Rex Keating Collection. The note attached to the record says that it is a recording of a waltz performed by an unidentified small orchestra, presumably that of NEBS. At that time, NEBS had approximately seventy staff members based in Cyprus, and many news correspondents throughout the Arab world (Boyd 2003). The recording took place on September 14, 1949 and is four minutes long (see recording 18).

It is apparent that the skills of the members of the orchestra were not at the same level, and the overall sound of the orchestra was modest. Their intonations, harmonies, and time sensibilities are not tight, as would be the case in professional orchestras. The composition itself resembles Johann Strauss II's waltzes, but it is not clear who wrote the music. Any of the two composers, Nuwaira or ʿĀsim, fit the profile. Nuwaira and ʿĀṣim were already active during that period in Egypt's booming music scene, and some of the recordings of their works are still available, especially those that were part of films.[56] ʿĀṣim was a pianist and composer trained in both Arab and European music and supported innovation in Arab music, especially through the means of European music (Castelo-Branco 1993). According to Muḥammad Fatḥī, both were members of the Western-educated Egyptian intellectual elite whose primary goals "were to educate, inform, and entertain the audience" (Fatḥī 1984, 93). In addition to incorporating European musical elements into Arab music, they believed that exposing audiences to different styles of music would improve their taste (Castelo-Branco 1993). They composed primarily for

[56] For additional listening, see Nuwaira's opening score for the film "al-Māḍī al-Majhūl" (1946), and the song "Sallam 'Alay" as an example of local music with certain harmonized phrases; see the music for the film "Rajul Lā Yanām" (1948) by ʿĀṣim.

the new generation of Egyptian singers and wrote the music scores for dozens of Egyptian movies. An example of Nuwaira's compositions that seems to represent this approach is a song that he composed for Nādya Fahmī. The title of the song is "Fākir Yā Ward al-Ginaina" (O Garden Flowers, Do You Remember?), lyrics by ʿAlī Sulaymān, recorded on October 13, 1954, as shown in recording 19.[57] The song is set to a slow Latin lounge rhythm, rumba. It resembles songs that were commercially available on LPs for artists such as Xavier Cugat, Rosa Carmina, María Antonieta Pons, and many others. The persistent Latin percussion section with castanets gives the song a Spanish flair. The song is essentially a lushly orchestrated sentimental ballad. Nuwaira also wrote several songs for a female trio called al-Thulāthī al-Mariḥ (The Humorous Trio).

Al-Sharif had reasons to invest in Nuwaira and ʿĀṣim as early as the mid-1940s. During that period, the musical influences that affected composers, regardless of where musicians worked or lived, were similar. On the one hand, the geographic and artistic reach of both NEBS and PBS was prominent in the whole area, especially among artists, intellectuals, and urbanites. For example, during the same period in Lebanon, the Raḥbānī Brothers composed songs that were influenced by the same genres, that is short, dance, romantic, humorous, and light. Examples of this include the following three songs: "Ḥabbadhā Yā Ghurūb" (1951), recording 20; "Anti Yā Mai Zahra" (1952), recording 21; and "ʿUnfuwān" (1952), recording 22.[58]

However, in 1947 and due to heightened tensions and fighting in the coastal region and near Yāfā, NEBS moved to Jerusalem. Two months before the events of May 1948, the British

[57] In the recording, the voice of Ibrahim Ḥafnī, host of the radio program "Fī Yūm, Fī Shahr, Fī Sana" (Once Upon a Day, Month, Year) introduces the song on October 13, 2017, episode 46. The program was broadcast through Idhāʿit al-Aghānī (Songs Radio), a governmental station that opened in 2000 in Egypt.

[58] For further listening, see "Bukra Byījī Nīsān," and "Yā Im al-ʿAyn al-Kaḥla" by Raḥbānī Brothers.

moved it to Cyprus and al-Sharīf, and many others relocated with it. Since al-Sharif's vision was interrupted due to the events of 1948, while still at NEBS in Cyprus he started looking for opportunities to implement his idea of creating new music elsewhere. He shifted his prime focus to the musical traditions of Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine, or what he described as al-Mashriq (Burkhalter 2014). After 1948, while still in Cyprus, the station considered relocating to a new site in the Arab world to attract talent and connect its productions to the Arab world. Between 1949 and 1953, Ṣabrī al-Sharif and Ghānim al-Dajānī used to visit Beirut periodically often to obtain recordings and to commission productions. Meanwhile, Kamil Qustandi used to frequently travel to Egypt since he was the one responsible for the drama section in the radio, and Subḥī Abū Lughud would visit Iraq seeking reality shows. As for ʿAbd al-Majīd Abū Laban who was responsible for the entertainment section at the radio, he focused on Beirut. Eventually, NEBS decided to open an office in Beirut, and another in Cairo. Aḥmad Jarrār established the Beirut office and Sayyid Budair the Cairo's.

In 1950, Muḥammad al-Ghusain, who was the head of NEBS at the time specifically requested al-Sharīf to visit Lebanon and scout for musicians (Shūmān 2018; Sabri 2012). He encouraged al-Sharīf to pursue the Raḥbānī Brothers, ʿĀṣī and Manṣūr, and assess their willingness to merge local repertoire from al-Mashriq with European music (Burkhalter 2014; Sabri 2012). According to Manṣūr Raḥbānī, the two songs that brought the attention of al-Ghuṣain and al-Sharīf were Zawraq al-Ḥubu Lanā and Bard Bard. Al-Ghusain described the songs as short and catchy, just like the ones al-Sharīf was implementing at NEBS and promoting heavily. Al-Sharīf traveled to Beirut and met with the Raḥbānī Brothers, and according to Kāmil Qusṭandī, upon his return to Cyprus from Beirut, al-Sharīf mentioned hearing a promising young female singer by the name Nihād Ḥaddād. He seemed able at this point to relate to the general

approach of creating a national style that is distant from that of Egypt and implemented by local composers.[59]

Al-Sharīf abandoned the Egyptian musicians that he depended on before 1948. The reasoning behind this shift appeared in his lecture at al-Nadwa al-Lubnaniyya (Lebanese Lecture Series) in 1957, which was a renowned series of lectures intended to discuss pressing issues. In this lecture, he expressed how troubled he was with both the domination of certain musical cultures, referring to Egypt, and the notion of having governments taking over radio stations and turning them into governmental tools, referring likely to Jordan, which took over PBS (al-Sharīf 1957).

Impressed with the Raḥbānī Brothers, al-Sharīf was ready to build around them what he envisioned as the future of Arab music (Zughaib 1993). Therefore, he and Ghānim al-Dajānī, now program supervisors at NEBS started to work with the Raḥbānī Brothers and various other promising Lebanese composers (ibid.). The Beirut office, through Aḥmad Jarrār, would ensure the implementation of the productions agreed upon, and the same process would apply with small administrative variations to the Cairo productions (Bakīr 1998). Once the productions were ready to go, the reels then head to Cyprus for broadcasting (ibid.).

Al-Sharīf was strategic about who to focus upon in terms of collaboration and support. He did not pursue al-Rūmī, al-Bandak, al-Khammāsh, al-Saʿūdī, or Ghāzī. He instead settled for the Raḥbānī Brothers not only because of their ability to compose but also because they were both poets who proved that they could transition to writing colloquial lyrics for songs while adding literary, philosophical, and intellectual dynamics.

[59] Nihād Ḥaddād who was previously discovered by Ḥalīm al-Rūmī, would go by her stage name of Fayrūz.

Hoping to take full advantage of the influx of musicians coming from PBS and NEBS and settling in Beirut, al-Sharīf's started to relentlessly advocate to transfer the central production unit of the station with its big-budget from Cyprus to Beirut; he finally succeeded in 1952 (Zughaib 1993). Between 1953-1956, al-Sharīf put at the disposal of the Raḥbānī Brothers, Tawfīq al-Bāshā, Zakī Nāṣīf, ʿAbd al-Ghanī Shaʿbān, and Tawfīq Sukkar an orchestra of over forty musicians. It included many foreign musicians who were carefully selected by al-Sharīf (Jalāl 2014; Burkhalter 2014). Most of the musicians were working in Lebanon's casinos at the time (Zughaib 1993). The Raḥbānī brothers recorded their songs and broadcast them through NEBS (ibid.). The orchestra comprised of strings, brass, accordion, woodwinds, piano, guitar, and percussion.

After the station established its production studios in Beirut, al-Sharīf continued his quest to discover and nurture new talent. He invested in the renaissance of local traditional culture within the vision of modernizing it based on European models and away from the aesthetics and performance practices of *takht* or improvisations. In resemblance to the "Russian Five," al-Sharīf founded and sponsored ʿUṣbat al-Khamsa, or the League of Five. It was an informal group of composers who shared the same vision about making music in al-Mashriq (al-Rūmī 1992). The focus of the group was to: 1) use colloquial dialect rather than Egyptian in their songs; 2) focus on conciseness and brevity; and 3) employ functional instrumentation, which consisted of flute, piano, violin, double bass, occasional accordion, strings, and *riq* and *darbukka* as percussion instruments. They also utilized the buzuq more so than the ʿūd and used a modified version of the *nāy* that was developed by Joseph Ayyūb (Ballūṭ 2015).

According to al-Rūmī, the birth of this group was announced in the *Ṣafāʾ* newspaper in mid-April 1954 (al-Rūmī 1992). It consisted of three composers and arrangers: ʿĀṣī Raḥbānī, his

brother Manṣūr, Zakī Nāṣīf, pianist and arranger Boghos Gelalian, and artistic director and manager Ṣabrī al-Sharīf (ibid.). Some sources name Manṣūr and ʿĀṣī Raḥbānī, Zakī Nāṣīf, Tawfīq al-Bāshā, and Tawfīq Sukkar as members of the League, as well as Abdel Ghani Shaʿbān, replacing Zakī Nāṣīf at some point (Manṣūr 2006). Their objective was to resurrect, modernize, and develop local traditional musical heritage in a fashion that enabled it to reach the world through publishing and distribution of recorded works. The announcement created an atmosphere of excitement and anticipation in the field at the time. According to Karīm Muruwwa, Ṣabrī al-Sharīf was the person behind the League and was considered its engine (Muruwwa 2015). The Lebanese director, composer, and lyricist Romeo Laḥḥūd recalls that era and remembers Ṣabrī al-Sharīf being at the

> […] core of a big renaissance in music in Lebanon. He bought together a very diverse group of artists, musicians, and composers and gave them the possibility to discuss and produce their work. It was in his radio studio in Cyprus where Fairuz [Fayrūz] and many others were discovered. This radio station was more important than any Lebanese station, as it covered almost the whole Middle East. (cited in Burkhalter 2014, 154-5)

Manṣūr Raḥbānī recalls that al-Sharīf used to put together an orchestra of over thirty experienced musicians, mostly foreigners, and ask the Raḥbānī Brothers to compose and arrange music with the orchestra in mind (Zughaib 1993). When the Raḥbānī Brothers finished the song and record it, the notion of whether the recording would move to the next production phase was typically up to al-Sharīf to decide (ibid.). If al-Sharīf did not like the recording, he would say that it is okay to toss it and aim for another that is better (Sabri 2012). Manṣūr Raḥbānī described al-Sharīf in this regard as someone who believed in the possibility of achieving something better and more beautiful (Zughaib 1993). According to Nicūlā Abū Samāḥa, al-Sharīf's sound engineer, al-Sharīf was the only one who was knowledgeable about how musical instruments worked with each other in the context of orchestration, acoustics, and arrangements. He was also

the only one who knew how such components would work together in the context of vocal music (Sabri 2012). When he heard something wrong, al-Sharīf would first point to it, and then instruct composers and orchestrators to go back and fix their work. He would correctly point to the areas that had issues with their arrangements (ibid.). Manṣūr Raḥbānī refers to a tape that is still in his procession where al-Sharīf kept interrupting the recording of a song that involved the whole orchestra. He remembers that al-Sharīf captured a clean recording of it after thirteen trials.

In 1955 Fayrūz and ʿĀṣī got married and, together with al-Sharīf and ʿĀṣī's brother Manṣūr, reaffirmed the bond and legal partnership between them and became a central force that drove Lebanon's music scene. Upon the 1956 war against Egypt, NEBS was overtaken by BBC, which took a stand against Egypt (Zughaib 1993). Its employees were given a choice to either stay or leave, and most chose to leave, including al-Sharīf. Due to the exceptional circumstances, Badīʿ Būlus, a wealthy Palestinian businessman and an aristocrat, asked al-Sharīf and Kāmil Qusṭandī to put together a production company and to operate the same way as NEBS (Zughaib 1993; Bakīr 1998). Al-Sharīf wanted to continue this approach to music-making, so he agreed. Subsequently, the Lebanese Recording Company (LRC) was born. The company signed contracts with all the artists that NEBS had dealt with before 1956 (Bakīr 2014).

In 1957, local Lebanese newspapers grew critical of Bʿalbak International Festival due to its lack of focus on local talent. That year, the first lady of Lebanon, Mrs. Zelfa Chamoun, had decided to add the Lebanese Nights into the Festival. The Festival Committee decided to dedicate two shows to showcase Lebanese traditional arts, and selected Ṣabrī al-Sharīf to direct the shows (Zughaib 1993). Al-Sharīf became superintendent of Bʿalbak's Lebanese Nights, a charge that constituted a historical moment in the modern history of the Lebanese song.

3.2.1 The Manifesto

Since the mid-1940s, al-Sharīf has been commissioning composers and singers and discovering major talents through NEBS as attested to by Manṣūr Raḥbāni, Ilyās Sahāb, and many others. His position was central to the creation of song styles that synthesized various elements and techniques, including local ones. His approach was observed by many intellectuals, including Mishail Asmar, founder of al-Nadwa al-Lubnāniyya. On May 13, 1957, and after several persistent invitations from Asmar, al-Sharīf agreed to deliver a lecture. He chose the title "The Confusions of Arabic Music and its Hopes." In this lecture, al-Shaīf articulated his vision and philosophy and played back songs that demonstrated what he had in mind. The lecture came at a time when al-Sharīf was under pressure to make a case for the Lebanese Nights as superintendent of Bʿalbak. He had to confront the accusations and fears of the elite classes that any traditional presentation would lack the stature, elegance, and artistic quality of Western music, and therefore unworthy of the prestigious podium of Bʿalbak.

Asmar took the stage of this medium-size room, which was full of enthusiasts and colleagues, and introduced al-Sharīf to the audience (Chamseddine 2018). He first posed the question, "What is missing from our music?" and then answered, "Care and guidance" (ibid., par. 3). Asmar then noted that al-Sharīf cared for Arab music relentlessly and silently and with absolute dedication during his tenure at NEBS, and currently through a new record label. He wished him success in all his endeavors to supply the music scene with musicians and players who know how to read music and educated in its sciences (al-Sharīf 1957). Al-Sharif was meanwhile in front of a radio microphone sitting on a small table with some loose papers (Chamseddine 2018). Well-dressed and looking profoundly serious, he started by giving some historical background on Arab music (ibid.).

Al-Sharīf started by highlighting his main argument. He argued that, since its early days, Arab music did not have the means to separate itself from language, and therefore sustained its monophonic status to this day (al-Sharīf 1957). From there, he expressed his appreciation of the *muwashshaḥ* and *qaṣīda* song types. He highlighted that they encourage group singing and offer a balance to the dominant role of single vocalists. They also incorporate literary components and devices that are necessary for the evolution of songs. Referring to earlier attempts to modernize Arab music, including the recommendations of the 1932 Cairo conference, al-Sharīf examined the gap between theoretical, historical, and artistic conceptualizations on the one hand and the musical realities by practitioners on the ground on the other. In his opinion, there were two significant problems: 1) public perceptions of music as a constant partner of alcohol or short-lived pleasures, and 2) a shortage of artists who can make emotional sense of their surroundings.

To the first problem, al-Sharīf described such pleasures as negative and connected them to the notion of *ṭarab*. He argued that getting stuck on the idea of *ṭarab* prevented Arabs from understanding the true nature of music nor its true purpose. Referring to the popular song types of the day, he argued that such songs were seasonal products that fulfill their purpose quickly and do not leave a lasting impression because there was little effort and thought invested in creating them. He discussed the issues of creativity and mediocrity and differentiated between musical improvisation and composition. He argued that musicians who improvise instead of composing tend to produce consumable music. In his opinion, making music requires knowledge, whereas negligence of the systematic aspects of music-making is just a reflection of this state of negative pleasures (al-Sharīf 1957).

To the second problem, al-Sharīf expressed serious concerns regarding the dominant-at-this-time naïve manifestations that overrepresent love as the main issue that societies face. He

argued that "if this says anything about the current discourse, it says a great deal about our sexual oppression, and deprivation" (al-Sharīf 1957, 436). Furthermore, he described the current musical displays being reflective of how burdened, deprived, gloomy, and unhappy Arab people feel. He described songs as often depressing, discouraging, and full of sorrow, and described other songs as being imposed on people by their governments as if they are laws. In his words, al-Sharīf said that he wanted "music to add a positive component to our lives. To take us from the music of nights to the music of daylight, from desires and deprivation to honest expression of intellectual and spiritual properties" (439).

Furthermore, al-Sharīf harshly criticized Arab music scenes and the popular styles that they inject into the area at the time. The lecture was a guideline of what they, him, and few other composers, including Raḥbānī Brothers, had done so far concerning the modernization and rejuvenation of Arab music. He argued in favor of shorter melodies that were spontaneous and honest. He believed that honesty and spontaneity are the foundation of progress and constitute the most reliable and robust link to the past, upon which music-making must be built. He also believed that al-Mashriq's new song should emerge from the humanistic cultural values rooted in traditional literature. It must, meanwhile, be enhanced through adding literary devices and intellectual and spiritual dimensions. At the end of his lecture, he stated that the right path has started in Lebanon, only because of a handful of talented composers who are educated, dedicated, courageous, honest, revolutionary, and insightful (al-Sharīf 1957).

In the summer of 1957, the Bʿalbak Festival launched the Lebanese Nights show. The Raḥbānī Brothers, Zakī Nāṣīf and Tawfīq al-Bāshā handled the music, and Fayrūz and Naṣrī Shams al-Dīn were featured as the principal singers. The dance component, which occupied a sizable portion of the show, was handled by Marwān and Wadīʿa Jarrār, husband and wife, who

did the choreography and trained the dancers, both Palestinians. Al-Sharif directed "Ayyām al-Ḥaṣād," a traditional display of a wedding in a village, which was the first musical of the Raḥbānī Brothers, specially produced for the festival (Zibawī 2017).

The premier at the historic Bʿalbak featured Fayrūz at the opening standing on the base of one of the columns of the temple of Jupiter while projecting blue directional spotlights from bottom to top and from different angles; she appeared as if she was floating in the sky (ibid.). She then sang "Libnan Yā Akhḍar Yā Ḥilu" ("Oh Lebanon, the Green and Beautiful"). Al-Sharīf intended to impress the audience and create a memorable display to make a strong statement about this new beginning, a demonstration that sought to turn the past and present into a moment of significance to shape the future, just as he described in his lecture earlier. The musical was performed twice on August 31 and September 1, 1957, with over 5,000 people in the audience every time (Zughaib 1993). Upon this success, the Brothers established al-Firqa al-Shaʿbiyya (Popular Arts Band), and al-Sharīf became its director (ibid.).

President Camille Chamoun invited the organizers to his summer palace in Bait al-Dīn and granted them the Lebanese Golden Medal of Merit. Among them were Ṣabrī al-Sharīf, Tawfīq al-Bāshā, Fayrūz, Badīʿa Jarrār, and Marwān Jarrār; as shown in Figure 44 (Zibawī 2017). The translation of the text is as follows:

> The president of the republic granted the organizers of Bʿalbak Festivals the Golden Medal of Merit. A special event was hosted in Bayt al-Dīn Palace during which the medals were distributed. In the photo appears his excellency the president with the honored artists, to his right Mrs. Jarrār [Wadiʿa], Ṣabrī al- Sharīf, Tawfīq al-Bāshā, and Muḥyi al-Dīn Salām. To his left is Fayrūz, senator Khalīl al-Habrī, Marwān Jarrār, and Muḥammad Shāmil.

Figure 44. Lebanese Golden Medal of Merit Awards (1957)

As director and producer working closely with Raḥbānī Brothers, al-Sharīf was the machine that the Brothers depended upon most of their careers. Their music and engagement in music-making evolved and progressed quickly and surely through and with al-Sharīf, as attested to by all those who witnessed this era, including the Raḥbānī Brothers themselves.

In the following decades, Ṣabrī al-Sharīf provided the means to Lebanese music-making and paved the road for the renaissance an emergence of the Lebanese song. He offered a vision as to how to inject literary and artistic value into the Lebanese local music scene. Al-Sharīf's focus on the core values of the culture as exhibited through traditional colloquial poetry, offered the lyricist and poets of the time a solid starting point. Before al-Sharif's engagement in the scene, standard Arabic was the primary method for writing sophisticated songs. As an extension of the ideals of the Arab Renaissance, the revival of conventional Arabic poetry was in motion and considered to be a much more eloquent method of expression. Those who consumed this

type of poetry were considered sophisticated and enlightened. However, al-Sharīf recognized that the domination of standard Arabic could also be problematic because it may infer a religious text, specifically the Qurʾan (al-Sharīf 1957).

Before partnering with al-Sharīf, the Raḥbānī Brothers experimented with colloquial lyrics by adding vernacular vocabulary and imagery. The incorporated vocabulary came from various dialects, depending on which term would better serve the purpose. Therefore, some of their early hybrid songs would sound Lebanese/Palestinian/Syrian/Egyptian all at the same time. Despite their ability to write lyrics that resemble peasant music and sound authentic (Zughaib 1993), they seem to have consciously tried not to include direct peasant vocabulary in their new lyrics. Furthermore, most of their early songs were in standard Arabic, not colloquial. The turning point in their careers was Bʿalbak. It was then when they arranged peasant tunes and wrote lyrics in the peasant style but injected some dramatic and philosophical renditions known to be part of standard Arabic poetry into their lyrics. This concept was one of al-Sharīf's leading intellectual and spiritual contributions.

The practice of writing lyrics in local dialects in song form emerged with Badīʿ Khayrī in Egypt, Nūḥ Ibrāhīm in Palestine, ʿUmar al-Zaʿnī in Lebanon, and Salāmaih al-Aghwānī in Syria, among others. Songs revolved mainly around love, social, political, and satirical topics. Such songs were typically light, such as *ṭaqṭūqa* (or *ihzūja*), or *shaʿbī* songs. However, the Arab Renaissance, in musical terms, was dominated by either Egyptian or standard Arabic lyrics and poems, including Andalusian poetry used in *muwashshaḥ* songs, which often incorporated some colloquial vocabulary. Motivated to express themselves in their dialects, poets, and lyricists of al-Mashriq wrote poetry in standard Arabic. They chose one or more colloquial dialects to write lyrics, including peasant and Bedouin. As they wrote lyrics, they utilized both standard and

colloquial poetic meters. However, their songs revolved around the same topics but were packaged or staged differently. Ṣabrī al-Sharīf's vision was an attempt to revitalize this literature and stimulate it with ideals that extended its reach to expressing more sophisticated characteristics of urban life as well as the emerging middle class. The new song that al-Sharīf envisioned would involve a variety of topics that would eventually contribute to the imagined future and form the basis on which al-Mashriq's legacy could be founded. In a process that can be seen as decolonization, al-Sharif attempted to go beyond the separation strategies of the British, which defined traditional music and treated it as an artifact. He rebelled against much older stigmas and institutionalized positions and attitudes that religions, specifically Islam, invoked towards music-making and song. Therefore, when it came down to actual practical solutions to the notion of progress in music after 1948, it appears that the geopolitical forces when comparing Jordan to Lebanon were at play and the visions of several men, including Ṭūqān, Nuwayhiḍ, al-Nashāshībī, and al-Sharīf were about to be tested.

3.3 Riyad al-Bandak

Al-Bandak was born in 1924 in Bethlehem, Palestine, to a prominent Greek Orthodox Christian family known for its political activism (al-Jūzī 2010; Haiduc-Dale 2015).[60] He attended elementary school at a governmental school called al-Madrasa al-Amīriyya.[61] From an early age, al-Bandak expressed interest in music and started playing *ʿūd* at age eight. The elementary school principal at the time was Faḍīl Nimir, who was also a violinist and a music lover from Ramallah (Shūmalī 2010). Nimir established a choir at the school in 1937, and to encourage

[60] He is the son of 'Īsa al-Bandak (see Chapter 2).

[61] Currently a high school from tenth to twelfth grade. Its name changed to Bethlehem High School for Males; for more information see http://blbss.blogspot.com

students to join; he selected then eleven-year-old al-Bandak to sing to students every morning (ibid.). Al-Bandak sang songs by Egyptian masters such as Sayyid Darwīsh, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahāb, and Abū al-ʿIlā Muḥammad and became popular at school and in town and started to sing in parties and weddings (al-Jūzī 2010). Bethlehem, at the time, was a village of around seven thousand people (Haiduc-Dale 2015). His father was not content with the path his son has chosen, so he sent him to a boarding school called al-Nahḍa near al-Baqʿa region, Jordan (Shūmalī 2010). However, when his father was arrested by the British and sent into exile to Cyprus in 1938, young al-Bandak left al-Nahḍa boarding school and transferred to the Terra Sancta College in Bethlehem, a Catholic school (ibid.).[62] It was at Terra Sancta where he found a nurturing musical environment under al-Batrūnī and learned how to read music (ibid.). At age twelve, he joined PBS and was named as one of its singers.[63]

By 1943, al-Bandak was already composing songs for PBS singers, including ʿĀmir Khaddāj and his wife Sanāʾ, Mary ʿAkkāwī, Fahid Najjār, Kāẓim al-Sibāsī, Ghāzī, and others (al-Jūzī 2010). He joined NEBS from 1944 to 1946, and during this period, he taught music at various private schools in Yāfā (the *Dhakhīra* magazine, 1946). Al-Bandak rejoined PBS in 1946 and remained there until the events of 1948, and then left for Syria (al-Jūzī 2010; al-Shūmalī 2010). At age twenty-two, al-Bandak got featured as a composer/singer at Radio Damascus and in a special concert at the station; he sang a new song entitled "Ah Min ʿAynayk." The song left a lasting impression on Mary Jubrān, who was one of the best singers in Syria at the time. Jubrān

[62] For more information see https://www.custodia.org/en/custody-and-its-history

[63] In an interview via Facebook messenger, Majdi al-Shūmalī mentioned that he obtained this information from Riyāḍ al-Bandak directly. He also collected some information about him from an article in the *Jīl* magazine, which was published in Syria by Riyāḍ's brother, Māzin. Al-Shūmalī also interviewed Riyāḍ's sister Suʻād (al-Shūmalī [Interview], 2017).

approached him immediately after the event and asked to cover the song, and al-Bandak agreed. Within days, Jubrān sang it live on the radio, and the song became an instant hit. Subsequently, they were both invited to Radio Lebanon to record it, and it was then when the station offered al-Bandak to become the head of the music section, a position that he held until 1950 (al-Shūmalī 2010).[64] During this period, he reorganized the structure of the Arab music section at the station (al-Jūzī 2010).

He returned to Radio Damascus in 1950 while under the direction of Aḥmad ʿAssah (al-Jūzī 2010) and was appointed as supervisor of the music section and established the station's first music ensemble (al-Shūmalī 2010). He was responsible for all music ensembles, as well as overseeing all recordings at the station. During this period, he composed for Karawān, Mary Jubrān, Zakiyya Ḥamdān, Nūr al-Huda, Suʿād Muḥammad and Fāyza Aḥmad (ibid.). Content with his new role as composer, not singer, he retired from singing and dedicated all his time to composing and arranging, as well as focusing on the establishment of music ensembles at the station (al-Shūmalī 2010).

After the Free Officers Movement in Egypt in 1952, the new government established in 1953 a new radio station and called it Ṣawt al-ʿArab (Voice of Arabs). Al-Bandak was asked to become one of the founders of its music section (al-Shūmalī 2010). At Ṣawṭ al-ʿArab, al-Bandak composed many patriotic songs that became extremely popular throughout the region to the level the promoted Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, the future President of Egypt, to ask to meet with him (ibid.). The songs he wrote fell in the context of pan-Arab ideology, for which he was an advocate. An example of this is "Abṭāl al-Ghad," which was written by Muḥammad Riḍa al-Shabībī (1889-

[64] The only recording available of this song is a recent one by Mayada Bseliss at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KTvV7jwDPn8.

1965), an Iraqi politician and national symbol of the struggle for Iraq's independence. Al-Bandak wrote the song in 1953 in Egypt, and it was heard on Ṣawt al-ʿArab by Kārim Maḥmūd, a renowned Egyptian singer.

Al-Bandak's tenure at Ṣawṭ al-ʿArab Radio feeds into his direct association with the pan-Arab nationalist movement led by Egypt, a position that would summon various conflicts in his career to emerge. An example of this is the Baghdad Pact, which was formed by Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United Kingdom in 1955. As a military alliance, the Pact was fought fiercely by Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Abū Dayya [Awwal] 2010). King Ḥusain of Jordan, meanwhile, found himself in a situation facing internal turmoil if he chooses to join the Pact as well as increasing pressure to enter it; but essentially decided to be neutral (ibid.). However, Ḥusain implemented various measures to prevent any backlashes in the street, including heightened security and censorship, which included banning all Jordanians from listening to Ṣawṭ al-ʿArab Radio (ʿAwwād 2009; Buṭrus 2019). All those who challenged this ban subjected themselves to imprisonment (al-Shūmalī 2010). Because of the evolving hostilities between Egypt and Jordan, al-Bandak's songs did not reach Jordanian audiences, including all Palestinians in the West Bank, a sacrifice that he repeatedly lamented (ibid.). Both Jordan and Lebanon had positions that were not favored by ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, and therefore, their relationships with Egypt were becoming increasingly more intense (ʿAṭiyya 2015; Abū Dayya [Awwal] 2010). Although his father, ʿĪsa al-Bandak, occupied a high governmental position in the Jordanian government during the same period, between 1957 and 1961, al-Bandak restricted his activities around Syria and Egypt.

When the United Arab Republic (UAR) was founded in 1958 as a political union between Syria and Egypt, the union reflected a sense of Arab nationalism and solidarity and was driven mainly by a desire to overcome dividing borders, which was viewed by many as an artificial

creation of European colonial powers. However, the union eventually collapsed in 1961, when Syria, following a military coup, withdrew its membership. After the dissolution of the UAR in 1961, al-Bandak moved to Beirut until 1967.

According to al-Rūmī, al-Bandak became a contracted composer at Radio Lebanon in 1962 (al-Rūmī, 1992). It was during this period when he composed and recorded several songs for the station. The songs were short and lightly arranged, in line with the common modernizing trends in Lebanon at the time. A group of female and male singers sang all 22 songs, and no solo vocalists were featured. Up to this point, al-Bandak favored extended forms in terms of length and approached modernization of Arab music based on the aesthetics of *maqām* rather than Western devices. The following table shows the general categories of such songs and the dialects used:

Table 6. Riyāḍ al-Bandak songs at Radio Lebanon (1962)

Subject or Theme	No. of Songs	Dialect
Countryside, and Nature Nostalgia	15	3 Standard Arabic
Patriotic	3	Standard Arabic
Religious	2	Standard Arabic
Children Religious Holiday	2	Lebanese
Total time	62 minutes	2.8 minutes average duration per songs

Of the fifteen songs themed after the countryside, nature, and nostalgia, eight songs featured the buzuq as the main instrument, as shown in "Ghizlān al-Wādī" (recording 23), and "Ṣabāḥ al-Khair" (recording 24). A feature that was strongly presented in PBS and NEBS before 1948 and was a significant fixture in the post-PBS era at the Jerusalem Radio through al-ʿĀṣ.

The strategic objective of such productions, however, was not only manifested through the duration of the pieces but in the themes of the songs. Such ideals were previously laid out by Ṣabrī al-Sharīf in his manifesto. Including the notion of the imagined place, which is a deliberate

attempt to separate local music from Egyptian styles in terms of function, cultural value, performance, harmony, and general approach to music-making (Stone 2010; al-Sharīf 1957). The establishment of a Lebanese national style was adopted by Radio Lebanon primarily through the initiatives and restructuring efforts that al-Rūmī, who was commissioned to design and lead the implementation in 1950, after al-Bandak's departure.

Although al-Rūmi, al-Bandak, and al-Sharīf worked at the NEBS in the music section, al-Sharīf collaborated with ʿUṣbat al-Khamsa, not with any of the other Palestinian composers. It is likely that while al-Sharīf shifted his interest towards utilizing local music, he also wanted to distance himself from the composers who were associated with the Arab Renaissance school of composition, especially that of Egypt, to which many continued to be faithful. He also wanted to collaborate with composers who would reflect this approach through the lyrics, which the Raḥbanī Brothers fulfilled but not al-Rūmī or al-Bandak.

After 1967, al-Bandak composed several songs for Ṣawt Falasṭīn Radio Station. In this repertoire, he shifted to making clear political statements. An example of this is the anthem song "Ngātil Wiḥnā Wagifīn" (We Fight While Standing; recording 25). The lyrics are by Muḥammad Ḥasīb al-Qāḍī (1935-2010), who was born in Yāfā and fled with his family to Gaza in 1948 (al-Qāḍī).[65] The song is about two minutes long and set to *maqām huzām* over a fast 10/8 *samāʿī thaqīl* rhythm, which is commonly used in *muwashshaḥ* and is unusual for the anthem genre. A male chorus singing with a forceful demeanor carried the vocal line. The lyrics are in a local Palestinian dialect from Gaza. Based on the date that was attached to the recording by Arab the

[65] More information about his is found at his official website https://haseebalkadi.net/about/

Organization for Education, Culture, and Science (ALECSO), it was recorded in 1968, and thus al-Bandak did not compose in the Palestinian dialect for almost two decades.

"Ngatil Wiḥnā Wagifīn," lyrics:

نقاتل وِحْنا واقفين تنْحَقِّق النَصر المُبين
ولا نِعيشَ خاضعين ولا نِعودَ لاجئين
حِنَا بحِبال خْيامنا شنَقْنا جوعنا وذُلّنا
بِكفينا هالعشرين سَنة وحِنَّا بقيود مْكَبَّلين
بارودتي ذْراعي اليَمين ورْصاصي حَبَّاتِ العُيون
وأبويا قال لي يوم ما ماتْ إتعلموا مِن الزَتون
وقاتلوا وانتو واقفين ولا تِعيشوا خاضعين
ولا تِعودوا لاجئين تنْحَقّق النصر المُبين

"Ngātil Wiḥnā Wagifīn," translation

We fight while standing
Better than living as subordinates
Using the ropes of our tends
Twenty years are enough
My rifle is in my right arm
My father told me just before he passed:
fight while standing,
Do not go back to being refugees,
until victory
and refugees
We hung hunger and humiliation
being handcuffed in chains
and bullets are my mates
"Learn from olive trees, and
and do not submit.
and pursue victory."

Throughout his career, al-Bandak favored *maqām*-driven compositions that were in line with the practices of the Arab Renaissance, which revolved around the musical arts of Egypt and Syria in terms of melodic contours, modulations, and form. Like many Palestinian composers of his generation, he could compose in pure Egyptian or Syrian styles in both vocal and instrumental contexts as well as combining the two. His ability to navigate the two schools earned him high visibility in both countries. An example of his mastery of the Egyptian approach to composition is "Yā Lail," a song that he composed for Mary Jubrān in 1954, illustrated in recording 26. The song is set in colloquial Egyptian and fits comfortably in the "classic" Egyptian song types of the time. The eighteen-minute-long song is in *maqām* Rāḥit al-Arwāḥ

and modulates to *maqām bayātī* in the B section and explores the upper range of *bayātī* in the C section and introduces *rāst*, all connected with instrumental parts and fillings. The song moves to *maqām kurdī* in the D section and then returns to the original *maqām* of Raḥit al-Arwāḥ.

The song covers a wide melodic range. Its melodic contour, ensemble work, intonation, ornamentation, embellishments, and use of passing and neighboring tones follow through on the traditions of the contemporary classical composers of Egypt such as Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahāb, Muḥammad al-Qaṣabji, Zakariyya Aḥmad, and Riyāḍ al-Sunbāṭī. Jubrān's singing style also matches the style of Egyptian female masters of the day, such as Um Kulthūm, Fatiḥiyya Aḥmad, Asmahān, and Layla Murād.

Many patriotic songs about Palestine that al-Bandak composed for singers after 1948 were in standard Arabic or local dialects. For example, the song Um al-Shahīd (Martyr's Mother) was produced after 1967 and was sung by Muṣṭafa Fuad, an Egyptian singer, who pronounced standard Arabic based on standard pronunciation, not Egyptian. The song calls upon various aspects of Syrian musical arts, which pertain to the use of rhythm, instrumentation, as well as the application of fewer embellishments and ornamentations when pertains to the vocal line, as shown in recording 27.[66] The "Ṭalaʿat Layla Maʿ al-Fajr" qaṣīda song that he composed for Lūr Dakkāsh demonstrates how al-Bandak took his composition closer to the Aleppo *muwashshaḥ* in terms of the usage of rhythm as well as the vocal style (see recording 28).

Al-Bandak was a prolific composer with over two thousand compositions (al-Jūzī 2010). Most of his songs revolve around love, and despite his many patriotic songs, he mostly sustained

[66] This file was obtained through the Project of Reviving Palestinian Written and Audiovisual Heritage as part of the Palestine National Archives. The project is sponsored by Palestinian National Committee for Education, Culture and Science; and supported by the Arab Organization for Education, Culture and Science (ALECSO). Executive manager Huṣain Nāzik.

an apolitical attitude during and after his tenure at PBS, NEBS, and for the rest of his career. He was able to compose in multiple styles and mastered the Palestinian *qaṣīda* song type, as well as patriotic songs. He sustained a consistent level of engagement in composing Palestinian *qaṣīda* songs, a trend that flourished during his years at PBS, NEBS, and continued with him for the rest of his life. There are hundreds of references to his performances on PBS and NEBS. The range of music that he composed includes vocal, instrumental, film, and musicals. Al-Bandak wrote the score for the 1946 Palestinian film "Umniyatī." Ṣalāh al-Dīn Badirkhān directed the film, which was noted in the *Muntada* on August 16, 1946 (no. 28, 18) and in Maḥmūd Qāsim's *Mawsūʿit al-Aflām al-ʿArabiyya 1927-2006* (Arab Movies Encyclopedia 1927-2006).

3.4 Ḥalīm al-Rūmī

In his memoir, Ḥalīm al-Rūmī states that his family is originally from Ṣūr (Tyre), Lebanon. Palestinian and Lebanese sources point to ʿAwaḍ al-Rūmī, Ḥalīm's father, moving to Haifa sometime during or after World War I and opened an art studio. Ḥalīm attended the Episcopate School of Melkite Catholics in Haifa under principal Father Joachim Qirdāḥī. The school was reputable for its high level of education and a model for the rest of the schools in town. It was, however, considered a destination for low-income families (Turkī 2019). Meanwhile, the College des Freres in Haifa, which is one of the Lasallian educational institutions, was considered the destination for wealthy families (ibid.). The two schools would fight over a magnitude of reasons, including over tensions between the poor and the wealthy (ibid.). Al-Rūmī started singing at school by joining the choir. Qirdāḥī was not keen on young al-Rūmī singing Um Kulthūm songs to fellow students during recess. However, the school's Assistant Principal, Father Jibrāʾīl Mṣūbiʿ encouraged al-Rūmī to sing and got him engaged in various school activities that involved music (Ḥassūn 2007).

A town of over 20,000 people at the time, Haifa was vibrant, overgrowing, and offering many opportunities (Manṣūr 2015). With a network of trains that covered the most important urban destinations in the region, Haifa was becoming a hub for business and culture. The Damascus-Haifa train line opened in 1905, a 161-kilometer track when Haifa was only a town of 7,000 residents (ibid.). Trains served both passengers and merchants and made multiple stops along the way. The lines included modern passenger coaches, sleeping and dining cars, luxury cars, and day and night entertainment cars.

In 1930, the Haifa Music Club, which was established by Salīm al-Ḥilu, and al-Rūmī started to take *ʿūd* with a teacher by the name Yūsif (al-Ḥaj 2017).[67] Al-Rūmī was not satisfied with the pace of his studies and considered finding another instructor. He stumbled upon a musician by the name Fawzī Salīm, an upholster. Al-Rūmī became fond of his new teacher, who taught him what he knew about music without reservations. Al-Rūmī said, "Today, and after 30 years, I must say that the biggest gratitude goes to my teacher Fawzī Salīm, whose kindness I shall never forget to the day I die" (16).

Al-Rūmī wanted to take his interest in music a step further in Egypt but did not have the financial resources to pursue it. In a visit to Haifa in 1934, Qadrī Ṭūqān (1910-1971), who was a science teacher in al-Najāḥ College in Nablus, heard al-Rūmī's singing and invited him over to sing in a private gathering in Nablus.[68] The get-together took place at the house of ʿAbd al-Rāziq Ṭūqān, who was mayor of Nablus at the time. After the encounter, a close friend of al-Rūmi's by the name of Muṭlaq Abd al-Khāliq, a poet, suggested to al-Rūmi that he try to sing to Prince

[67] Only the teacher's first name is mentioned.

[68] Qadrī Ṭūqān appeared regularly in PBS programming. He became Jordan's Foreign Minister in 1964.

ʿAbdullah of Transjordan at the time.[69] Al-Rūmī pursued his friend's suggestion, and upon his meeting with Qadrī Ṭūqān, he asked him to write a letter of recommendation, and Ṭūqān agreed (al-Ḥaj 2017). Al-Rūmī took the note and traveled to Amman, and upon arrival, he gave it to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ṭūqān, Qadrī's uncle, who was mayor of Amman. The very next day, al-Rūmī was received at Raghadān Palace by the Prince's entourage. After dinner, al-Rūmī accompanied himself on the ʿūd and sang one of his compositions, with poetry by his poet friend Muṭlaq ʿAbd al-Khāliq (ibid).

Al-Rūmī got well paid for his performance, and immediately tried to utilize the opportunity by heading to Egypt, but he was not able to obtain a visa (ibid.). It was in 1937 that al-Rūmī was finally able to receive a visa to Egypt upon recommendation from Muḥammad al-Qasmāwī, the Egyptian Deputy Minister of Education at the time who he met in Sūq al-Gharb (West Market), Lebanon while vacationing in the summer (ibid.).

In November 1937, al-Rūmī headed to Cairo, Egypt, and enrolled at the Royal Institute of Arab Music, known as King Fuad I Institute of Arab Music.[70] In 1938, he appeared on Radio Cairo and sang one of his compositions "Yā Ḥabīb al-Rūḥ," poetry by his late friend Muṭlaq ʿAbd al-Khākiq (Ḥassūn 2007). Within a short period, he became well known both as a singer and composer (Ḥaj 2017). Al-Rūmī graduated with a diploma in music in a record two years (al-Jūzī 2010). During this period, he joined the group Samar al-Lail with Zakariyya Aḥmad, Muḥammad Ṣādiq as its singer, al-Sunbāṭī, Yaʿqūb Ṭatyus, and Muḥammad al-Baḥr (ibid.).

[69] Abd al-Khāliq was born in Nazareth in 1910. He received his education in Nazareth and Jerusalem and then worked in Haifa for local newspapers. He became an activist and advocated for the right of Palestinian political prisoners in British jails; died in a car accident in 1937 ('Abd al-Khāliq 1938).

[70] Currently the High Institute of Arab Music.

In 1941, al-Rūmī headed back to Haifa to help his family, which was struggling financially (Ḥassūn 2007). At first, al-Rūmī approached PBS and asked for a job as a composer and singer. The PBS director at the time asked al-Rūmī to audition by composing a poem. According to Jan Ḥassūn (2007), when al-Rūmī delivered the song the director did not like it. He requested that al-Rūmī either re-compose it or concede and accept a position at PBS as a member of the chorus. Al-Rūmī was offended and declined the offer. He told the director that he would regret this unjust decision and described him as an outsider to music-making (12.). He was likely referring to Nuwayhiḍ. However, al-Labābīdī, the director of the music section at NEBS at the time, invited al-Rūmī to join the new station. He offered him to be the principal singer, composer, and ʿūd player and subsequently joined NEBS on November 17, 1941 (ibid.).

In 1945, al-Rūmī explored acting in two Egyptian films where he played minor roles. However, his success was minimal, so he headed back to Haifa and got promoted to assistant director of the music section and then, within a few years, to director of the music section. Based on his many contributions to NEBS in terms of its structure and organization as well as its artistic course, he was eventually promoted to music consultant, a position that he held until he moved to Cyprus after the events of 1948 (Ḥassūn 2007).

Al-Rūmī did not last long in Cyprus and instead headed to Egypt, where he contributed a few songs to two films, "Amar Arbaʿtaʿsh," and "Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbi." While in Egypt, in 1949, he married Mary Luṭfī, who he met early on in Haifa (al-Ḥaj 2017). In January 1950, al-Rūmī was heading back to Cyprus to resume his duties as a music consultant for NEBS and made a quick stop in Lebanon to spend what remained of his honeymoon. During his visit, he visited Radio Lebanon. He was received by Fāʾiz Makārim, former General Director of the News Ministry, who was accompanied by his assistant Ḥāfiẓ Taqy al-Dīn. They had a conversation

about the station and the developments that were taking shape. During this conversation, Makārim asked al-Rūmī to work for Radio Lebanon and re-establish and organize the music section to the same methods that al-Rūmī implemented at NEBS's music section (al-Rūmī 1992). Al-Rūmī refused given his permanent contract with NEBS, which required him to return to his post immediately. Makārim insisted and pressured him to accept, but al-Rūmī reiterated his refusal.

Makārim issued an informal decree to force al-Rūmī to accept the offer. He threatened to inform the Lebanese Directorate of National Security about al-Rūmī's refusal to serve his country of origin at times of need. The Directorate would then issue an ordinance that would, by law, ban al-Rūmī from traveling out of Lebanon. The ordinance would be valid until the needed duty of a patriotic nature was concluded and fulfilled (al-Rūmī 1992). Al-Rūmī took his threat seriously and feared to lose everything he so hard worked for, so he reluctantly accepted (ibid.). The initial contract lasted for three months, during which he took a leave of absence from NEBS.

In his memoir, al-Rūmī describes in detail the condition of Radio Lebanon, its music section, and the state of music-making in Lebanon at that time. He started to offer contracts to musicians and composers, including those from PBS and NEBS. Not long after he took charge of restructuring the music section at Radio Lebanon, he managed to put together a big ensemble (ibid.). In May of the same year, upon the expiration of his contract with Radio Lebanon, he was given a choice to extend it or head back to Cyprus to resume his duties at NEBS. Al-Rūmī was enjoying his lifestyle in Beirut, where he would meet with friends and was by then well established as Lebanon's most prominent singer. He was at the center of music-making and got attention from audiences, so he accepted the offer and stayed.

Al-Rūmī recalls that at the time, he wanted to settle, start a family, and have some stability in his life, and this would not have been possible in Cyprus. He thought about this position as allowing him to achieve what he always dreamed of as well as secure his profession as a composer, singer, and producer. In 1953, after several renewals of his contract, al-Rūmī was offered a permanent position as Head of the Music Section at Radio Lebanon. By then, he acknowledged that he had achieved everything that he wanted, including becoming the singer who everyone admired, a respected composer, and an avid producer, as well as having established a family.

As Head of the Music Section, al-Rūmī believed that local music must free itself from the constraints of reliance on other types of music, including Egyptian. He believed that it must occupy a prominent and independent international spot and evolve on its own. In 1950, he started writing a column in the *Radio Lebanon Weekly* magazine to review the radio programming and songs. He seemed to have realized early on that for music to progress in Lebanon, an effective mechanism to comment on the scene must be in place. Therefore, he reached an agreement with Badīʿ Sarbiyyaih, the editor of the magazine, to sign the column as al-Nāqid al-Majhūl (the anonymous critic) (al-Rūmī 1992). Al-Rūmī encouraged Lebanese artists to find their voice, especially those who, in his own words, rebelled and revolted against imported music. He argued that the overwhelming control of imported music over music-making in Lebanon undermines the possibilities that can emerge from Lebanon's soil. One of those that he praised as early pioneers of local style is al-Lababīdī, the one who first offered him a position in 1941 at NEBS.

The detailed accounts that al-Rūmī included in his memoir also include information about the technical nature of the whole operation as well as listing the names of musicians and

administrators and their positions and salaries. He also described the state of the Lebanese song at the time as follows:

> Up until 1950, Lebanese music was generally still a submissive art, not a regional art with a character that is distinctly free and independent. Egyptian dialect was the main component in most of the repertoire and dominated its personality and style. Except for a handful of songs set to a hesitating Lebanese dialect, or in bold Bedouin dialect, which was yet another current trend. (al-Rūmī 1992, 16)

Al-Rūmī's engagement in music-making took multiple forms. He discovered and trained new singers, including Fayrūz, and composed for many singers in a wide variety of styles, including the *qaṣīda* song, a song type that he brought with him from Palestine. Moreover, he appeared in various formal settings such as forums and conferences, where he addressed issues of intonation and use of harmony, instrumentation, form, and *maqām* (al-Rūmī 1992). He presented his vision through his compositions and management style of the music section at the station.

According to his memoir, al-Rūmī composed over 560 pieces, both instrumental and vocal, and encompassing various genres. Many of his songs continue to live on to this day. Most of his works, except for a few published in Egypt, he recorded for Radio Lebanon. However, the remaining songs he either recorded at NEBS and their whereabouts are unknown to this day or were live broadcasts that never got recorded.

Al-Rūmī had dozens of hit songs, including "Qabiltu min Ghair Miʿād," which he composed for Mary Jubrān in 1950. Another is the song "Yarnū Biṭarfin" (recording 29), one of three *muwashshaḥāt* that he wrote in 1971, when he won the *muwashshaḥ* composition competition in Tunisia (Hassūn 2007). His song "Irādat al-Shaʿb" (1951; recording 16), is one of his most known as well (discussed earlier in the chapter).

Al-Rūmī prestigious win of the *muwashshaḥ* composition competition in Tunisia was a source of great pride to him, one that he repeatedly mentioned in various places in his memoir. The event was highly respected throughout the Arab world, and governments used to provide champions with comprehensive media coverage and official recognitions and medals. Although Palestinian composers and singers were the ones to champion the *muwashshaḥ* tradition in Lebanon as attested to by Manṣūr Raḥbānī and several others, they also brought the *qaṣīda* song. This Arab Renaissance genre evolved in a different direction from its Egyptian parallel at PBS and NEBS through mainly Palestinian composers. Over a fifth of al-Rūmī's vocal compositions are *qaṣīda* songs, exceeding the number of *qaṣīda* songs composed by al-Sunbātī, Muḥammad al-Qaṣabji, and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahāb combined.[71]

3.4.1 The Claims Over al-Rūmī

As to where and when al-Rūmī was born, this piece of information was not mentioned in his published memoir. The evidence that Palestinian and Lebanese sources present in this regard is questionable, conflicting, inconclusive, and exhibits various gaps, inconsistencies, as well as nationalistic biases from both sides. Al-Ḥaj points to al-Rūmī's family as arriving in Palestine in 1922, while Ḥassūn points to 1923. Al-Rūmī himself does not clarify this issue, but rather mentions 1917 and 1919 as his birth years in two separate interviews (al-Ḥaj 2017). However, both Palestinian and Lebanese sources seem to agree that al-Rūmī was born towards the end of the second decade of the twentieth century. Palestinian sources point to al-Rūmī being born in Nazareth, while Lebanese sources indicate that he was born in Ṣūr (Tyre). In his 2017 book

[71] Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahāb composed around 70 songs in standard Arabic. Almost 30 were patriotic. Riyāḍ al-Sunbāṭī composer about two dozen songs in standard Arabic, including a handful of patriotic songs. Muḥammad al-Qasabjī composed around ten songs in standard Arabic.

about al-Rūmī, the author Badīʿ al-Ḥāj included images of an official document that stated al-Rūmī's place and year of birth. The document is a handwritten reproduction of earlier records and was stamped formally in 2016. The birthdate of al-Rūmī's on it refers to 1915, not 1917 or 1919. Nevertheless, al-Ḥaj argues that al-Rūmī's birth year is 1919.

Some Palestinian sources point to an older brother of al-Rūmi's who was born in 1915 but died while still a young child. While the story cannot be verified, it is a viable possibility given that it was common during that period to use official records of a deceased sibling as well as his/her name for a newly born. This practice was common to avoid the hassle of obtaining official records, a task that often called for long-distance travel to the closest governmental facility that issued such documents.[72]

To add a different perspective to this strife, I feel it is necessary to note that the physical distance from Ṣūr to Haifa is 56 kilometers. Until the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the region that is now Palestine (and Israel), Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan was divided into Ottoman administrative units. Each was called *vilayet,* meaning province or state (Arsalān 2011). Both Haifa and Ṣūr were part of the Beirut *vilayet* since 1888 (ibid.). Despite such divisions, the people who lived in the region for centuries continued to sustain familial lineage (Manṣūr 2015). Haifa and Ṣūr have had a tight connection for centuries, not only as two essential business hubs, but also through kinship, marriages, customs, and culture (ibid.). Therefore, I see no value of approaching al-Rūmī's citizenship as the basis for labeling his musical contributions in nationalistic terms. Instead, I argue that since al-Rūmī's education and career were conceived and took off while residing in Haifa, I approach his work in Palestine as the first station in his

[72] Records and testimonies in my own family attest to this practice.

career and based on that context. I approach his works after 1948 in a similar fashion. Meanwhile, I examine the sensitivities surrounding the issue of local nationalisms in al-Rūmī's life while residing in Lebanon because they seem to relate to how geopolitical tensions were shaped.

I also argue that if al-Rūmī's birth year is somewhere in the vicinity of 1919, that still makes him at the peak of his adulthood and career when he fled Palestine in 1948. Therefore, for his published memoir to start only from the moment he laid foot into Radio Lebanon in 1950 is questionable. His career in Palestine before 1948 was covered in newspapers, magazines as well as in PBS and NEBS publications. Hundreds of entries and articles mention his name and include titles of his song as well as his photos. He was referred to as NEBS's most prominent singer and composer, and he was acknowledged locally and in Egypt well before he joined NEBS.[73] Also, a considerable portion of programming at NEBS was allocated to him regularly where he would primarily sing his compositions, and possibly some popular covers. He would appear three to four times per week and perform from fifteen to thirty minutes each time, occasionally longer. Al-Rūmī was extremely popular to the level that he was nicknamed Kawkab al-Idhāʿa (the planet [star] of NEBS). Yet, the fact that the published memoir of al-Rūmī made no mention of any of this is doubtful. Besides, in his memoir, the word Palestine was mentioned only once in a statistical context. Even when he briefly mentioned the events of 1967—when Israel defeated the Arab armies and occupied the West Bank—the term Palestine was not mentioned.

To this issue, I examined Jan Ḥassūn's book about al-Rūmī, which he also published through al-Kaslik. The author adds a footnote on page fourteen, referring to details about al-

[73] See *Falasṭīn* newspaper February 8, 1942 (2), and the *Muntada* May 31, 1946.

Rūmī's family in Haifa. He labeled the information as from al-Rūmī's memoir, and in parentheses he added the word "unpublished." Al-Ḥaj also refers to receiving written and typed material from al-Rūmī family for his book, courtesy of al-Kaslik University. The details that al-Ḥaj included about the early years of al-Rūmī's life offer a strong hint that al-Rūmī has indeed written about his life in Palestine. I reached this conclusion based on the type of details that al-Ḥaj included about al-Rūmī, the schools he attended, the people he met, the places he had been, and other bibliographic information as well as anecdotes and clear chronological order of events. While all indicators point to an unknown period in al-Rūmī's life, al-Ḥaj dedicated five pages of his book to cover al-Rūmī's life before 1948, including mostly bibliographic information.

In his memoir, al-Rūmī leaves sporadic hints or shares certain emotions about certain things that prompted me to investigate further. For example, upon settling in Lebanon, al-Rūmī expressed that he paid a high price for making such choices, referring to his position at Radio Lebanon and settling permanently in Lebanon (al-Rūmī 1992). It is not entirely clear why al-Rūmī felt that way. Moreover, it is not clear why al-Rūmi signed his column as the Anonymous Critic instead of his real name, given his status and high profile. He also insisted that the details surrounding his identity remain secret. Some pointers in his memoir may offer a glimpse as to what he possibly meant. For example, while describing the state of Radio Lebanon at the structural and production levels, al-Rūmī sheds light on favoritism in hiring practices and political appointments and drew a detailed picture of some of his struggles at the station. It is, therefore, likely that al-Rūmī just wanted to stay out of trouble. An example of what kind of trouble he feared is an incident that took place in 1958. Upon the conclusion of the violent events and skirmishes of 1958 in Lebanon, on November 4, al-Rūmī was heading back to his office for the first time since July of the same year. When he arrived at the station, an armed individual

attempted to shoot him. This incident could have cost al-Rūmī his life if it were not for colleagues of his who protected him and prevented the shooting from taking place. Al-Rūmī complained about the encounter, and the man who attempted to kill him approached al-Rūmī and apologized. He claimed that it was all a "misunderstanding" (82).

Despite his official title as Head of Music Section at Radio Lebanon, he was forcefully removed from the position, while keeping the title on paper, and becoming the Acting Head of Recordings in 1962 (al-Rūmī 1992). Al-Rūmī was repeatedly denied from reclaiming his position. Throughout his memoir, he made references to the correspondences and interactions related to his complaint about this continuous denial and was convinced that some officials were working discretely against him. One unusual detail that stood out in his memoir is his repeated references to what he called *al-rajul al-thālith,* or The Third Man. Such references occurred at times of dire frustration, which he often encountered while on the job. Some relate to matters of recognition, respect, acknowledgment, entitlement, and some to obstacles and conspiracies against him. He continuously claimed that such attempts intended to prevent his career advancement and to keep him away from any decision-making capacity. The phrase *al-rajul al-thālith* is mentioned on pages 122, 120, 125, 126, 131, and 133. As I went through his memoir several times over, I could not help but hypothesize that al-Rūmī was indirectly referring to al-Maktab al-Thāni, or Second Office [bureau], the unofficial name of the Lebanese Military Intelligence Service. It seems that al-Rūmī's references, both direct and indirect, were not merely his impressions or feelings regarding his life and career. Instead, they were potentially statements about how political considerations were primarily the reason for the difficulties that he experienced.

After winning the *muwashshaḥ* competition in Tunisia in 1971, he returned to Beirut, anticipating a warm welcome and official acknowledgments. Unfortunately, none took place, and he was quite disappointed and felt that it was deliberate (al-Rūmī 1992). According to Jalāl, Saḥāb recalled that al-Rūmī called him on the phone and sounded furious and wanted to meet with him urgently. Saḥāb was a journalist at the *Muḥarrir* newspaper at the time, a local leftist daily newspaper known for its sympathy towards Palestinians. Al-Rūmī trusted Saḥāb for being candid, understanding, and honest. He felt that he understood the dynamics of what he was going through (Jalāl 2014), because Saḥāb himself was born in Palestine and left it at age ten in 1948 (al-Muqaddim 2014). During that period of the beginning of the 1970s, tensions and clashes between the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and right-wing Lebanese factions were visible. To the extent that Saḥāb himself did not sign his name as editor of the Palestinian *Shʾūn Falasṭīniyya* (*Palestinian Affairs* magazine), a job that he took on after his brief tenure at the *Muḥarrir* (ibid.). Al-Rūmī met with Saḥāb, and at some point during this meeting, with bitter frustration, al-Rūmī said that they [the state] did not want to celebrate his achievement because he is Palestinian (Jalāl 2014).

On page 152, al-Rūmī recalls ambiguously that in mid-1978, he was still in survival mode and rigorously combating strong currents that were pulling him down very harshly. It was when his opponents managed, once more, to work the system for their favor, and subsequently, his hope of landing higher positions was permanently over. On the back-cover page of his memoir, a non-signed three short paragraphs synopsis reads:

> In this book, the late *mūsiqar* [maestro] Ḥalīm al-Rūmī tells the story of his thirty-year service at the Lebanese Radio, which he spent between the bitterness of official career and creative artistic and musical works. The experience of *ustādh* [master] al-Rumi in this field is a rich one, during which he accompanied the development of music-making in Lebanon and the Arab World and did a decent job disclosing its caches and secrets. This memoir by al-Rūmī came as a statement of account where he exhibits his

> achievements and frustrations with soreness and unprecedented honesty, an approach that we rarely encounter from a talented artist who is tender and sensitive. (1992, back cover)

It seems that, as a Lebanese returnee, the notion of Palestinians and Palestine was bringing tensions into his life and career. According to Jalāl, if it were not for the events of 1948, al-Rūmī would have never left Palestine (Jalāl 2014).

The memoir was published nine years after his death in 1983, and nine months after all the Lebanese militias agreed to recognize the official end of the civil war in Lebanon. Therefore, I could not help but think that the timing of the publication, as well as Palestine's omission from its story, raised some serious questions about its composition and inclusiveness. Reading through his memoir felt at times superficial and disconnected, and often pointed me to other peculiar aspects that were potentially at play, including some heavy editing.

Although al-Rūmī was considered Lebanese at the time of hire, the notion of Lebanese and Palestinian as two independent national identities at that time was not rigidly viewed as such. Al-Ḥaj claims that al-Rūmī's family lost its Lebanese citizenship at some point after immigrating to Palestine. The documents that he used to confirm al-Rūmī's birthplace show that his application to obtain Lebanese citizenship was approved in 1952 (al-Ḥaj 2017). In a televised interview with Bayān Nuwayhiḍ-al-Ḥūt, she recalls that the whole notion of canton national identities—that is, Palestinian, Lebanese, Syrian, and so on—was not on anyone's mind during most of the first half of the twentieth century. Her father arrived in Jerusalem in 1920 as a Muslim Ottoman citizen, initially as a station before getting to Iraq. He, however, ended up pursuing a law degree in Jerusalem, settled, and practiced law, and occupied various other positions until the events of 1948. He obtained Palestinian citizenship when Palestine became officially under the British Mandate. He then got Jordanian citizenship after 1948 when he settled in Jordan. His daughter confirms that when her father permanently went back to Lebanon,

his birthplace, he was denied Lebanese citizenship despite his continuous attempts and died a Jordanian citizen (Abū Raqtī 2012). Al-Ḥūt claims that he was not the only one. During that period, many former Lebanese subjects, even those with birth certificates, were not granted Lebanese citizenship upon their return to Lebanon. Especially those who were politically active in the Arab World (ibid.). They were viewed suspiciously depending on their level and type of engagement outside their homeland.

Historically, Lebanon's political climate and religious sects have contributed to making it unstable, fragile, and at times explosive. Adding Palestinian refugees and Lebanese returnees to the equation altered its political landscape. Eventually, the presence of Palestinians became a destabilizing variable. Al-Rūmī probably realized early on that with matters that pertain to cultural policy, local nationalism, and identity, his input was perceived differently, coming from someone who is regarded by many as Palestinian, or not fully Lebanese.

It was not until nation-states started to get defined in terms of their politics, alliances, and makeup that canton identities began to become commonplace over collective Arab ones. It was then when geopolitical tensions began to manifest themselves on the ground. During that period, the presence of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon was considered an emergency and temporary. The main concern in handling such an influx of refugees was to control the refugees' physical movement and monitor their political involvement, not to address their economic and social conditions. It was not until 1959 when the Legislative Decree no. 42 was issued, and the administration of all matters relating to Palestinian refugees in Lebanon was assigned to the Ministry of Interior. The Presidential Decree number 927 that was issued the same year defined the extent of the tasks involved and the nature of this administration as strictly a security matter. Subsequently, implementation was designated to the military security agency, al-Maktab al-

Thani (al-Ḥūt 2004, 37), the one at which al-Rūmī was presumably hinting. For high profile individuals such as al-Rūmī, who became a Lebanese citizen by the mid-1950s, to associate with other nationalities, identities, organizations, ideologies, or countries could be easily be interpreted as a threat to national security.

3.5 Rawḥī al-Khammāsh

Ḥabīb Ẓāhir ʿAbbās and Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Ḥāmīd ʿŪdaih (also Hishām ʿŪdaih) each wrote a book about al-Khammāsh, published in 1999 and 2015, respectively. ʿAbbās was one of al-Khammāsh's students, and ʿŪdaih was his friend and biographer. The two books offer different perspectives on his life. ʿAbbās's approach focused on various aspects of his musical life, while ʿŪdaih offered a perspective about his surroundings and encounters.

Al-Khammāsh was born on July 1, 1923, in Nablus, a city in the northern West Bank, approximately forty-nine kilometers north of Jerusalem. From a very young age, he showed interest in music, so his father bought him a little *ʿūd* and arranged for him to start taking lessons with a relative of his by the name Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Khammāsh, who studied ʿūd in Turkey (ʿŪdaih 2015). Within a year, he was able to perform intricate instrumental pieces such as "Bashraf Rast" by ʿĀṣim Baik, and "Bashraf Rast" by Yaʿqūb Ṭaṭyus and "ʿSamāʿī Bayātī Qadīm" by Sāmī al-Shawwā. At the age of nine, he had his first stage appearance on ʿūd in 1932 at the Arab Gallery in Jerusalem. The prominent violinist Sāmī al-Shawwā was present and encouraged him to pursue formal training in music (ibid.). It was by then apparent that he was a prodigy.

During that period, his father arranged for him to meet with various PBS visiting artists such as Sāmī al-Shawwā, as well as Um Kulthūm and Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahāb, all were well accomplished at the time (ʿŪdaih 2015). In 1933, Um Kulthūm got invited to perform in Yāfā at

the Abū Shākūsh Café Theater. In an informal gathering after the concert in the presence of Um Kulthūm, al-Khammāsh sang "Sakat wi al-Damʿ Tkallim," a song that was written by prominent Egyptian poet and lyricist Aḥmad Rāmī in Egyptian dialect and composed by Muḥammad al-Qasabjī for Um Kulthūm. Um Kulthūm was impressed by al-Khammāsh's performance and accuracy and kissed him on his forehead and had him sit on her lap (ibid.). By that time, his vocal abilities seem to have already developed. He was accompanying himself on the *ʿūd* while singing the most difficult songs of the period (ʿŪdaih 2015).

News spread fast about al-Khammāsh, and newspapers described him as a phenomenon. Subsequently, he got invited by ʿAbdallah bin al-Ḥusain, the Prince of Transjordan, to perform in his court (ibid.). After his performance, al-Khammāsh got invited by the Prince's nephew, King Ghāzī of Iraq. Al-Khammāsh traveled to Iraq and spent six months roaming the country as a guest of the Iraqi government and performing mainly at schools. In 1936, at age thirteen, he started working at PBS as a singer and an *ʿūd* player, and shortly after, in 1937, he enrolled at the Royal Institute of Arab Music, known as King Fuʾād I Institute of Arab Music, when he was 14.[74] He graduated in 1939 and returned to PBS in Jerusalem to his previous post but with much more at hand (ibid.).

Records show that al-Khammāsh was active at PBS as an *ʿūd* player, singer, composer, and bandleader with weekly appearances on air. He presented a wide variety of vocal and instrumental repertoire and in various formations, including solos, duets, trios, quartets. He also heavily engaged in composing *qaṣīda* songs. Records also show that al-Khammāsh collaborated with singers, choirs, lyricists, poets, and visiting artists. There are hundreds of entries in PBS

[74] Ḥalīm al-Rūmī joined at the same time, and they both were in the same cohort.

programs that include titles of his songs as well as the names of the lyricists and poets and singers who worked with him. There are also several short articles about him in PBS publications.

Based on the recordings and transcriptions that survived, al-Khammāsh seems to have found his voice early on, despite his early influences and exposure to Egyptian music. This characteristic was apparent to those who heard his music and subsequently attested to his originality, as shown in the *Muntada* issue of October 4, 1946 (no. 35, 15; Figure 45). The caption reads:

> Mr. Rawḥī al-Khammāsh. People knew him since he was little. Artistically nurtured since the day he was born, he now composes, plays, and sings in his style and method that is now known to all. Once you listen to his music, you shall recognize any of his pieces after that, the same as the great masters who established their schools and never imitated others. He realized how important music was for him, so he studied at the Egyptian Institute. An artist in his methods, and a man of character. The big heading here is that every generation has its ways in everything, and Rawḥī al-Khammāsh is a role model in how he behaves, and in how he lives, and in how he makes art. (15)

Figure 45. Rawḥī al-Khammāsh (1946)

While his works indeed were fixated on *maqām*, his attempts to contribute to its modernization were significant. Not only that he synthesized specific trendy characteristics that marked the period such as the short instrumental and vocal melodies that Muḥammad al-Qaṣabjī was known for, but also in terms of opening up to various other genres and cross-referencing them in a single piece or song. Examples of his innovations include the usage of *samāʿī* or *bashraf* as preludes, and injecting *mawwāl* and *muwashshaḥ* rhythms in *qaṣīda* songs, as well as writing in a vocal style where the lyrics and poetry are composed right on the beat with as little as possible of *tarḥīl*, or hovering over the beat or improvisation. An example of this would is the song "Insānī Yā Ḥub Kifāya," aired on PBS on Friday, June 6, 1947; al-Khammāsh likely carried Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahāb's lyrics in Egyptian dialect (the *Qāfila*, May 30, 1947, no. 9, 20). The

available recording, however, is by Narjis Shawqī, an Egyptian singer who worked the Iraqi music scene and sang in the Iraqi dialect. This song is in her native Egyptian tongue, and according to sources, she recorded this song in Iraq, presumably in the late 1940s (al-Maʿāḍīdī 2013). The duration of this recording and the time allocated for it in the PBS program are almost identical, which means that it possibly was performed the same way. In this case, the song begins with an instrumental prelude, *samāʿī*, the Ottoman instrumental musical form, on *maqām huzām*, as demonstrated in recording 30. This *samāʿī* is a stand-alone piece composed by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahāb in 1933 (ʿAfīfī 2015). The ensemble played the first two sections of it, A and B, as well as the refrain R between them: AA RR B RR (retardation at the end).[75] This section took two minutes and 20 seconds total, followed by *taqāsīm* on *ʿūd* by al-Khammāsh for thirty seconds; then an instrumental opening melody in *huzām* for one minute and thirty seconds including the repeat, likely composed by al-Khammāsh for this song. The total instrumental position up to this point is four minutes and twenty-five seconds. His evolved organization was lengthy and included different *maqāmāt*, rhythms, ranges, and melodic hooks, while always returning to the main melodic theme from the A vocal section after every vocal verse as illustrated in table 7 below. The instrumental sections in the song are lengthy. At the opening, the ensemble played an instrumental melody twice, lasting over double the duration of the A vocal section (40 seconds long). No repeats occur in subsequent occurrences of the instrumental melody. Instead, it was played once lasting for forty-five seconds to keep the balance with the following vocal sections. As shown in the table below, the D2 section is where the vocalist freely improvised over an ostinato figure:

[75] The full *samāʿī* is AA RR B RR C RR D RR.

Table 7. Form, *maqām*, and rhythms, "Insānī Yā Ḥub Kifāya" (1947)

	I x 2	A	I	B	I	Ib	C	Ib	C	I	Ic	D	D2	A
Maqām	hu	hu	hu	hu ba hu	hu	ʿaj	ʿaj	ʿaj	ʿaj, ḥij hu mawwāl	hu	ṣa	ṣa	ṣa hu	hu
Rhythm	r1	r2	r1	r2	r1	r3	r3	r3	r3	r1	r1	r1	r1 r2 r3	r2

Legend: I = instrumental; A, B, C, D = vocal sections; r = rhythm; hu = *huzām*; ʿaj = *ʿajam*; ba = *bayātī*; ṣa = Ṣaba; ḥij = *ḥijāz*

Al-Khammāsh's conception of form seems versatile and inclusive of various configurations, a feature that he sustained in all his subsequent works. Based on the recordings of the time, the inclusion of an instrumental piece such as *samāʿī* or *bashraf* was not standard in this particular song type. Such instrumental pieces were typically performed in full or partially as preludes to *dawr* or *muwashshaḥ* and often in the context of a series of consecutive parts forming a suite or *waṣla*, but seldom as a prelude to a single relatively short song. However, it was not feasible for such long instrumental pieces to be included in the early vocal recordings given the available space on each side of the discs (see Racy 1976, 2004). Therefore, early vocal recordings seem to have included shorter musical instrumental forms such as the *dūlāb*; al-Jawhariyyeh and Racy attest to the existence of this practice. Nonetheless, al-Khammāsh's configuration points to how Palestinian composers utilized Egyptian and Ottoman compositional devices and forms and incorporated aspects of favored local practices such as the performance of muswashshaḥ in their songs. Since al-Khammāsh's first *ʿūd* teacher in Nablus studied *ʿūd* in Turkey, it explains his interest in playing Ottoman forms such as *samāʿī* and *bashraf*. Since he also studied in Egypt and became a master in its musical arts, bringing several musical arts

together in one configuration seemed natural to him. His roots, explorations, and early exposures helped him view music-making as a creative endeavor.

In July of 1948, al-Khammāsh headed to Iraq with the Iraqi military, which was stationed in Nablus after 1948. The number of Palestinians who settled in Iraq as refugees in 1948 is estimated to be around 10,000, but no real figures are available. Al-Khammāsh, however, was one of the lucky ones to obtain a permit that enabled him to distinguish himself from other refugees and avoid being drafted into the Carmel Brigades, a Palestinian unit within the Iraqi army, and he instead landed a job at the Iraq Radio. Al-Khammāsh was looking for job security, stability, and wanted to stay away from conflicts.

Upon his arrival to Baghdad, it was not long before he was acknowledged for his superb abilities to transcribe music, write, and read music, lead ensembles, and teaching skills. It was there when he met the master of *muwashshaḥāt* ʿAlī al-Darwīsh for the second time (ibid.). In his 2011 book, *al-Mūsiqa fī Sūriyya, Aʿlām wa Tārīkh* (Music in Syria: History and Icons), the author Ṣamīm al-Sharīf refers to ʿAlī al-Darwīsh's invitation by PBS in 1944 to record traditional Aleppo *muwashshaḥāt*. The invitation was also extended to a famous singer from Aleppo by the name Aḥmad al-Faqsh (al-Sharīf 2011). Both Darwīsh and Faqsh traveled to Jerusalem and worked with ʿAjāj Nuwayhiḍ, and met with al-Batrūnī, al-Saʿūdi and al-Khammāsh (ibid.). During his visit to Jerusalem, al-Darwīsh taught al-Khammāsh many muwashshaḥāt and coached him on muwashshaḥ structure, compositional devices, *maqāmāt*, and rhythms (al-Sharīf 2011; ʿŪdaih 2015). Al-Darwīsh went back to Aleppo a few months before the French mandate of Syria ended on April 17, 1946 (ibid.). Their second meeting in Baghdad was fruitful and kicked off several initiatives.

In 1948, just before al-Khammāsh's arrival to Baghdad, al-Darwīsh established the Andalusian Muwashshaḥ Ensemble for the Baghdad Radio. However, al-Darwīsh was already in his eighties, and his health was not all that well. He was looking forward to heading back to Aleppo, his hometown, and al-Khammāsh was just twenty-five years old (ʿŪdaih 2015). Al-Darwīsh recommended al-Khammāsh to coach the singers in muwashshaḥ songs and to take the lead eventually. In the summer of 1949, al-Darwīsh headed back to Aleppo and entrusted al-Khammāsh with leading the group (ibid.).

Previously, in 1936, the Iraqi Ministry of Education commissioned *ʿūd* master and composer Muḥyī al-Dīn Ḥaydar to lead the efforts set forth by the ministry to establish Iraq's first conservatory where he relied on teaching Western music theory. Born in 1892 in Istanbul, he was the son of ʿAlī Ḥaydar, an Arab, and the Emir of Mecca from 1916-1919 (Murād 1972). According to ʿAbbās (1999), when Ḥaydar settled in Turkey in 1949, al-Khammāsh started to teach *maqām* theory and focus on popularizing the *muwashshaḥ* and *qaṣīda* as well as local types of music. He advised which compositional devices and sensibilities to utilize while making new music and used the Conservatory as a platform for teaching and performing these types, old and new (ʿAbbās 1999). Essentially, al-Khammāsh started to steer music-making in Iraq towards a middle ground, rather than towards Turkey and the West.

In 1953, al-Khammāsh was appointed as faculty of Arab music theory, Arab music history, sight-reading, dictation, musicianship, and composition at the Baghdad Arts Institute (ʿAbbās 1999). During his tenure at the Institute, he taught various courses and was instrumental in updating the curriculum and creating new curricula. He immediately developed a specialized course for teaching *muwashshaḥ* and *nashīd* and initiated a training program to prepare new

faculty members for teaching the same classes. To understand music and performance practice, he believed that students must engage in performance through choirs and ensembles.

Al-Khammāsh was situated to influence and transform Iraqi music through a wider range of influences and methods. He achieved this through not only curricula and teaching, but also by being active in composing new music that integrated various influences with Iraq's musical fabric. His encounter with ʿAlī al-Darwīsh in PBS and later at Radio Baghdad was an opportunity for him to use the *muwashshaḥ* as the base for this transformation. The *muwashshaḥ* was not a popular genre in Iraq in comparison to other regions. Al-Khammāsh not only taught and composed this genre but added Egyptian and Syrian *maqām* sensibilities while intertwining with Iraqi *maqāmāt* and rhythms and taste, and he enhanced the then-Turkish instrumental methodology (Abbās 1999). He also managed to sustain a strong sense of originality, a pre-1948 distinctive trait that he carried to Iraq from Palestine. In technical terms, he achieved this by:

1. utilizing rhythmic cycles freely across genres;
2. using chromaticism to modulate to distant *maqāmāt* instead of relying on traditional tetrachord relationships;
3. using local melodic characteristics as well as short melodic phrases that mimic traditional music;
4. intertwining local Iraqi musical practices with Egyptian and Syrian ones and working across genres not only in terms of *maqām* but also through form, intonations, and performance practices (as shown in recording 31, "Mā Bālu ʿAynayka Tasʾal," poetry by Iraqi poet Nizār Jawād); and

5. sustaining the syllabic approach of composing muwashshaḥ, a compositional device that employs the use of short melisma on vowels.[76]

ʿAbbās (1999) mentions several of the ensembles that al-Khammāsh established and directed including Abnāʾ Dijlah (Sons of Tigris*),* and Firqit al-Inshād (Anthems Choir) which was under the Iraqi Radio and Television Agency. One of the most ambitious ensembles that he established in 1975 was the Institute Quintet, which was the formal group representing the Institute. Members of the group were the top professors at the Institute: Ghānim Haddād, violin; al-Khammāsh, *ʿūd*; Sālim al-Ḥusain, *qānūn*; Ḥusain Qaddūrī, cello; and Ḥusain ʿAbdallah, percussion. Their first public performance took place on January 6, 1976 in Baghdad and the group continued to be active until 1987. The quintet focused entirely on performing vocal compositions but with no vocals, only instrumentally. It also performed al-Khammāsh's instrumental compositions. This approach to performance was new, and it was probably yet another attempt to alter the public's love affair with vocal music and promote instrumental music as an alternative tool of expression. The Quintet pursued a wide range of pieces from light to elaborate, complex compositions. For the vocal parts that they covered, they were primarily already popular songs from Iraq, but the group would add improvisations and melodic hooks and fillings between sections. During that period, al-Khammāsh collaborated with the most prominent *ʿūd* maker at the time, Muḥammad Fāḍil, and advised a new seventh string for the *ʿūd*. He based his measurements on al-Fārābī's description. The seven-string *ʿūd* covered the range of three octaves, and al-Khammāsh used it to perform pieces that were composed in accommodation of its abilities such as Samāʿī Ḥjāz Kār Kurd (ʿAbbās 1999). In this piece, al-

[76] A characteristic that distinguishes the Aleppo *muwashshaḥ* from the long melisma and improvisatory nature of early Egyptian vocal music.

Khammāsh also integrated components of Iraqi music. While the last section of any *samāʿī* is set to a different compound meter, al-Khammāsh kept the tradition intact but used *jurjīnā*, a 10/16 rhythm that is most popular in Iraq.

Through his efforts, the heritage preservation movement in Iraq flourished. Iraq's government initiated several projects to preserve its musical culture, leading to various publications, transcriptions, and research. Al-Khammāsh contributed to providing a consistent pipeline of educated and skilled musicians capable of sustaining a vibrant music scene and high-quality productions. As for his views regarding the modernization of Arab music, al-Khammāsh viewed modernizing Arab music through the lenses of *maqām*, not Western music. He explored the properties of *maqām* and various compositional devices based on *maqām* methodologies and repertoire. Although his cohort al-Rūmī shared the same values and position with regards to preserving *maqām*; he believed that the inclusion of harmony was imperative to the development of Arab music.

Essentially, the Aleppo *muwashshaḥ* became a symbol of how al-Khammāsh transformed the Iraqi music scene. Moreover, his patriotic songs (*anāshīd*) became universal in Iraq's schools. His transcriptions of Iraqi repertoire, including peasant, *shaʿbī*, Arab, and the Iraqi Maqām genre, were published through various collaborations with Iraq's Ministry of Education and were incorporated in every academic setting, and performed during national celebrations (ʿAbbās 1999). Some of the songs were recorded and aired on radio and television at various times during his lifetime. Some of his religious songs, (*ibtihālāt*, sing. *ibtihāl*) continue to appear on Iraqi radio and television during religious and national holidays (ʿŪdaih 2015). Throughout his career al-Khammash composed over 100 compositions, including thirty *muwashshaḥāt*, fifteen Islamic religious songs, a dozen or so anthems, and over fifty instrumental pieces. His

patriotic songs were also generic but often fall in the realm of the Baʿth Party ideology, which advocated for a unified Arab World. The songs that we have a record of after 1948 are all in standard Arabic, and throughout his career in Iraq, there is no record of him composing in Egyptian. To this day, al-Khammāsh is considered among the most highly respected *ʿūd* masters, singers, composers, as well as educators in Iraq's modern history. His efforts and contributions and impact are appreciated and acknowledged to this day. He was not interested in competing with other musicians or composers. Instead, he depended entirely on his skillset and musicianship, which he believed were needed and would make him indispensable (ʿAbbās 1999; ʿŪdaih 2015).

At the personal level, al-Khammāsh kept a distance from the outside world and did not socialize much with individuals outside the music and art scenes. Never married, he retired in the mid-1980s but kept his engagement with the Institute, Radio and Television, and his audiences. He maintained the status of adjunct faculty and taught various courses at the Institute in addition to keeping ties with various other organizations. During the last twelve years of his life, al-Khammāsh spent more time at his 40-acre farm that he had bought earlier in the outskirts of Baghdad. Throughout his life, he sustained himself financially and supported his family in Nablus, Palestine.

Al-Khammāsh believed in Arab unity, but never committed himself to any political party. ʿŪdaih claims that al-Khammāsh always kept a distance from Palestinian factions that started to roam Iraq as early as the 1960s. An indication that by the time the PLO was gaining ground in the Arab world. It is also an indication that the PLO's version of Palestinian identity did not necessarily resonate with every Palestinian. On December 27, 1954, he obtained approval for acquiring Iraqi citizenship and attended the citizenship granting ceremony in January 1955. In

1955, the Iraqi government issued a law that prohibits giving Palestinian refugees Iraqi citizenship. He remained in Iraq until he died on September 1, 1998 (ʿŪdaih 2015).

3.6 From One Emerged Many

Several ideas about the future of music-making emerged from PBS and NEBS and were put to work and essentially gave rise to various new types of music. Such transformations can be seen in instrumentation, lyrics, dialects, form, intonations, harmony, texture, and song types. Ṭūqān, Nuwayhiḍ, al-Nashāshībī, and al-Sharīf believed that traditional material strengthens identity and patriotism and articulates the collective sentiment of most people. Therefore, the two stations contributed to transforming certain traditional song types into contemporary song types. These songs, however, still adhered to an apolitical intent.

PBS's nationalist vision under Ṭūqān, Nuwayhiḍ, and al-Nashāshībī was based on Arabic as a language, geography, and Islam (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). The PBS under them promoted *enhanced* peasant and Bedouin song types, patriotic, and religious programming. While little is known about the specifics of NEBS's vision, their broadcast programs point to certain trends favoring specific types of music as well as reflecting regional hierarchies, as shown earlier (see Chapter 2.10). Furthermore, and in contrast to PBS, NEBS put lesser emphasis on Islamic religious programming. The program of the week of April 6, 1947 in the *Qāfila* shows that NEBS allocated 6.5 hours per week for readings of the Qurʾan. That is 10.6% of its total programming, which was 61 hours per week at that time. PBS, on the other hand, allocated 7.25 hours per week to readings of the Qurʾan and religious songs, 19.8% of its programming. Their total broadcasting per week was 36.5 hours at that time.

In his 1957 lecture, al-Sharīf shed some light on the reasons behind such a wide difference. He harshly criticized the realities that Islam had created at the cultural level and

argued that before Islam, music was significant in both religious and worldly settings. He references the book *A Literary History of the Arabs* by Reynold A. Nicholson, first published in 1907. Nicholson did extensive research on this topic and based his findings on early writings, including *Kitāb al-Aghānī* by Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī (Nicholson 1953). Al-Sharīf argued that musical practices in the pre-Islamic era, despite their presence in religious contexts, used to "focus on mundane matters such as love, sex, entertainment, alcohol, gambling, hunting, listening, instant enjoyment, flirting while appreciating of witty lyrics" (al-Sharīf 1957, 426). He reiterated that Arabs sang as they prepared for war, when they were victors, and when they worked and socialized (ibid.). The arrival of Islam to the Arabian Peninsula, however, offered a new basis and guidelines for building societies, al-Sharīf argued. Therefore, the focus from worldly practices shifted towards religious ones, and the cultural impact of the prominent cultures of Yemen and Iraq subsided substantially during the first one hundred years after the arrival of Islam (ibid.). He attributes this to the fact that

> Worldly music fluctuated critically and could not evolve into musical heritage. Since Islam did not specify its position from mundane music; musicians had to fight their battles against Islamic ultraconservatives and their fierce anger. (428)

While both PBS and NEBS agreed that traditional materials were to be embraced and promoted as essential ingredients in building nations, both seem to have had contrasting visions concerning the nature of this approach. However, despite its inability to fully reflect the intellectual/emotional/social/spiritual properties of al-Mashriq, it is the best they had (al-Sharīf 1957). He believed that such material needed some honing if it is to become spiritual, humanistic, and subsequently offer a solution to the problems of Arab music. Nuwayhiḍ's vision, on the other hand, either displayed such material as is while editing the lyrics or expanding the tunes musically while still censoring the lyrics.

Al-Sharīf acknowledged that the 1932 Cairo conference was a constructive attempt to *organize* Arab music upon a *solid scientific and artistic basis*. He argued that the gap between theoretical frameworks and reality was, however, not addressed during the conference, instead just laid out and left to be sorted out on its own. Al-Sharīf also criticized the notion of *ṭarab* and described it as a "negative pleasure" (al-Sharīf 1957, 435). He argued that negative satisfaction is never lasting; instead, it remains seasonal and would instantly invalidate its purpose.

Except for the modernization attempts of Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahāb, al-Sharīf considered the Arab Renaissance repertoire as trivial, drenched in negativity, destitute, peripheral, and passive. Despite their optimism and boldness, such modernization attempts by ʿAbd al-Wahāb were incomplete and lacked knowledge and education, al-Sharīf argued.

Al-Sharīf argued that since solutions to the problems of Arab music have been in motion several decades before, the audiovisual outcomes coming out from Egypt and Syria did not reflect the humanistic and culturally evolved status or image of the Arab. In 1942, Anṭūn Saʿādih argued that such outcomes display imagined realities, mirroring the West, and reflecting the vision of the notable families and rulers (Saʿādih 1942). Those who defended this repertoire claimed that it demonstrated to ordinary people how refined Western societies behave, think, act, and interact (Castelo-Branco 1993). They believed that adopting such values would help them achieve an elevated status in society (Saʿādih 1942). Saʿādih argued that such displays of Western culture were not reflective of local culture because they were made by people who were not patient enough to learn, evolve, and reflect on their surroundings (ibid.). He argued that since such presentations demonstrated Western practices and culture, they were culturally, historically, theoretically, and technically distant from ordinary people (ibid.). Before their partnership with al-Sharīf, the early songs of the Raḥbānī brothers and Zaki Nāṣīf were in standard Arabic but

followed the style of Western genres. Such representations can be seen in "Samrāʾu Maha" (recording 32); "Bilādunā Lanā" (recording 33); and "Ahla Layālī al-Muna" (recording 34). The following are some other points that al-Sharīf strongly believed (437):

1. music must live on, not be created for quick consumption;
2. spontaneity and talent are not enough to make music culturally and historically relevant; rather, education and hard work;
3. for music to evolve and get out of its troubled past, presence and potentially future, it must face its problems;
4. artists must have agency and be able to work freely and express themselves openly;
5. music must be cared for spiritually and intellectually; and
6. the approach to making-music must change from pessimistic to optimistic, dark to light, and from negative to positive.

To achieve this, al-Sharīf wanted to apply Western musical advancements on this material as well as injecting the lyrics with the devices of literary poetry. In the last paragraph in his manifesto, al-Sharīf claimed that this was becoming a reality in Lebanon through the Raḥbānī brothers, Zakī Naṣīf, Tawfīq al-Bāshā, and few others. In his opinion, these composers presented new works that demonstrated the development of Arab music as a viable possibility.

As the Raḥbāni Brothers started to gradually move away from adopting or covering pre-composed forms, songs, and arrangements, they began to utilize their knowledge to create works that reflected their spiritual, intellectual, emotional, social, and national capacities. They achieved this not only through the lyrics and poems but through the music as well. Using indigenous resources, such as mythology, historical events, ancient history, and peasant material, the Raḥbānī Brothers started to write and compose new songs and arrange peasant songs. During

his lecture, al-Sharīf played some of the recordings that he produced through LRC, such as "Hayk Mashq al-Zaʿrūra" (Recording 35); and "ʿal-Rūzānā" (Recording 36), where the lyrics and the main melody were mostly traditional. The Brothers modified the words and added new ones, adjusted the original melodic theme, and composed a B section. The songs were arranged presumably by the Brothers, however, possibly with input from members of ʿUṣbat al-Khamsa or any of the foreign arrangers working in Lebanon at the time.

The previous examination of PBS's programs, as well as the works of various Palestinian composers, also point to rapid growth in local dialects. Al-Rūmī's reconstruction of the music section at Radio Lebanon was an extension of such trends. Thomas Burkhalter quotes Manṣūr Raḥbānī talking about some of the necessities that drove the Raḥbanī Brothers towards finding their voice:

> In Lebanon and throughout the Arab world, Egypt was dominant in music and literature. Contents in Egyptian poems, however, were always fragile and smooth like rosewater. Lebanon is the opposite, full of thorny bushes, wild nature, rocks and mountains, wind and snow. This is reflected in our music. The earth, its vegetation and dust, the mountains, and the climate five our music its spirit. We were always open towards other cultures because of the sea. So our poems became the opposite of the Egyptian ones: cliffy, dusty, stinging. In addition, our society was not so conservative. Lovers were allowed to go to the movies together. That is why we needed our own poetry and music. (Burkhalter 2014, 155)

While Manṣūr Raḥbānī was referring to Lebanon, the same indeed applied to Palestine, not only in terms of parallel analogies between Beirut and Yāfā but also in terms of the shared histories. In Lebanon, al-Rūmī and al-Sharīf implemented their visions through Radio Lebanon, a governmental institution, and LRC, representing the private sector. The institutionalization of their efforts is attributed to the following reasons:

1. NEBS's initiatives to create meaningful music based on local song types;
2. the growth of local nationalism in Lebanon;

3. the growth of pan-Arab and Syrian nationalist ideologies;
4. Western music education and genres were already accessible in Lebanon, so using Western methodology and influences may distinguish Lebanon from Egypt; and
5. the availability of talented individuals who were able to relate to Ṣabrī al-Sharīf's vision of creating a new world based on traditional culture but catering to the newly emerging middle class and urban lifestyles.

Musical analysis and examination of the poetry and lyrics in Lebanese songs during the 1950s point to various transformations. At first, using Western covers was a common practice in Lebanon among composers, especially by Raḥbānī Brothers. They set pre-composed Western songs to standard Arabic poems that they mostly wrote themselves. By the mid-1950s, the practice started to fade in favor of composing original songs, rearranging peasant melodies, as well as composing *qaṣīda*. Standard Arabic was nonetheless the main compound before and after the shift. Songs also witnessed a shift from subjects matters such as nature, love, pride, and patriotism, to more humanistic topics that addressed issues such as the human condition, nationalism, resistance, and justice. Moreover, Western covers and original songs of the early to mid 1950s were short and trendy and resembled the Western dance styles of the day. By the late 1950s, the trend faded in search of local devices that can be utilized in songs projecting more original sounds as well as colloquial poetry, and locally inspired dances.

Despite the contrast and similarities between the visions of PBS and NEBS, there is substantial evidence that points to the multifaceted contributions of Palestinian professionals to the music scenes of Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq, not only musically, but also intellectually and philosophically. Such influences include expertise in performance, mixed ensembles, children's music programming, choirs, *qaṣīda* song, instrumental music, *muwashshaḥ*, Bedouin songs,

composition, peasant songs, administration, production, and cultural awareness. Several main musical influences can be easily tracked back to Palestine in the region, including colloquial songs, the *qaṣīda* song, and instrumental music.

As illustrated in Table 8 and Figure 46 below, I examined al-Rūmī's songs in terms of which ones he composed in Egyptian dialect, local, or standard Arabic from the 1930s to the end of the 1950s. The two books about al-Rūmī list 559 titles, but about 280 of which had no year mentioned. Therefore, I only used the ones that had the year mentioned next to them. The graph in table 8 below shows how al-Rūmī shifted interest to composing more songs in local dialects during the 1950s, but, more substantially, how much more engaged he became in composing *qaṣīda* song. The data also suggests that *qaṣīda* song was the second-most favored by him, even before his arrival to Beirut in 1950.

Table 8. Ḥalīm al-Rūmī songs, 1930s to 1950s

	Egyptian Dialect	Local Dialect	Standard Arabic
The 1930s and 1940s	20	3	1677
1950s	11	11	46

[77] From NEBS programs I was able to date two additional songs: "al-Ḥusn Fī al-Shām" (1947); see the *Qāfila* September 12, 1947 no. 24, 23, Poetry by al-Makhzūmī], and "Sā'at al-Aṣīl" which appeared in *Falasṭīn* newspaper on Sunday February 8, 1942, poetry by Maḥmūd Ismā'īl.

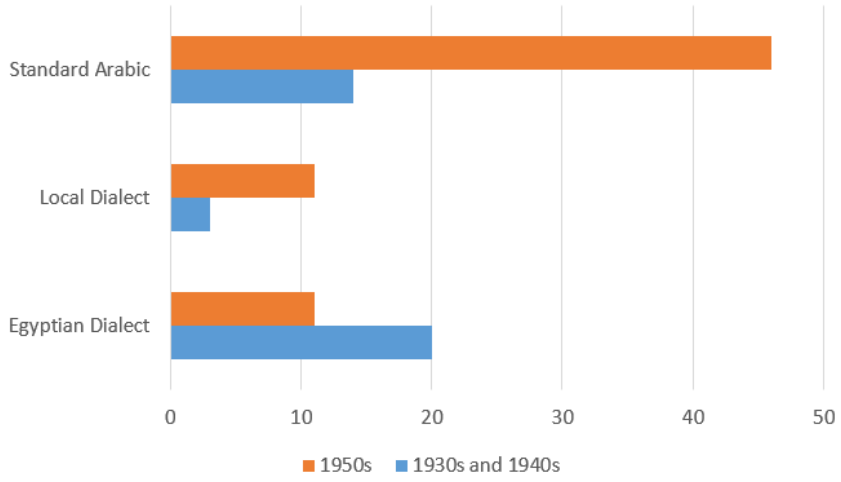


Figure 46. Ḥalīm al-Rūmī songs, 1930s to 1950s (cont.)

Similar numbers are found in table 4 (PBS), which I discussed in Chapter 2. Table 4 shows that within a week of programming, Palestinian musicians occupied 38% of the total programming allocated for music, equivalent to 260 minutes of music. Based on the titles of the songs, 130 minutes of which were all in the *qaṣīda* song type. This figure translates to 19% of total programming, and 50% of Palestinian songs. The remaining 50% consisted of peasant and *shaʿbī* songs in the local dialect. The Palestinian composers who appeared in the PBS program explored in table 4 are al-Khammāsh and al-Saʿūdī, both of whom composed qaṣīda. Three of al-Khammāsh's *qaṣīda* songs fall under the *muwashshaḥ* category. Al-Bandak, Ghāzī, and Wajīh Badirkhān also appear in PBS programs during the same period composing *qaṣīda* songs and collaborating with various renowned poets such as Kāmil al-Shinnāwī, and Maḥmūd al-ʿAqqād.

In an interview with Sāmī al-Shawwā that appeared in the *Muntada* issue of August 16, 1946 (no. 28, 17), al-Shawwā was asked about the music in Palestine, and the following is what he said:

> There is no doubt that Palestinian musicians are talented both as composers and singers more than any other country. For example, the compositions of Yiḥya al-Saʿūdī and

> Ḥalīm al-Rūmī and many others often exceeded the quality of compositions by renowned Egyptian composers. […] All Egyptian musicians know as a matter of fact that Palestinians are superb singers, and I vividly recall those who were invited to visit Egypt to sing and praised for their proper singing, precision, and mastery. (17)

Al-Rūmī, al-Bandak, al-Saʿūdī (settled in Syria), al-Khammāsh, and Ghāzī engaged and interacted with Lebanese, Syrian, and Iraqi musicians and instigated various collaborations. Some of the collaborations were new, but some were established from before. For example,

1. al-Rūmī was acknowledged for spotting talent, singing and voice training, and compositional mastery of various styles especially *qaṣīda*;
2. Ghāzī was recognized as an authority in *muwashshaḥ* and *qaṣīda* as well as educator and composer;
3. al-Saʿūdi was a master singer, and *ʿūd* master, an expert in *muwashshaḥ*, *qaṣīda*, and composer and educator;
4. al-Bandak was known for his versatility and mastery of various compositional styles especially *qaṣīda*; and
5. al-Khammāsh was known for *qaṣīda*, *muwashshaḥ*, instrumental mastery, and education.

All of them had a profound knowledge of the *maqām* system, performance practice, and extensive experience in leading ensembles and building institutions. Manṣūr Raḥbānī recalls that it was Ghāzī who trained Fayrūz in *muwashshaḥ* and then joined her as the corresponding male vocalist (Zughaib 1993).

3.6.1 Instrumental Music

In his memoir, al-Rūmī describes the state of instrumental music composition in Lebanon as nonexistent when he arrived in 1950. He noted that some composers experimented with

various forms, but most works, if not all, lacked a strong foundation in music composition (al-Rūmī 1992). In contrast to this, references to instrumental music in PBS and NEBS programs are in abundance. Instrumental music appeared in PBS programs since its establishment in 1936 and grew exponentially to encompass various solo and ensemble formations and genres. For example, Figure 47 shows a *rabāba* trio described in the caption as performing songs of nature and peasant music. Figure 48 shows al-Batrūnī conducting a chamber group, specified in the caption as "Western music orchestra." From the image, the following instrument are present: flute, oboe, clarinet I, clarinet II, violin I, violin II, viola, cello, double bass, trumpet, piano, and drum set. Images in the *Muntada* on September 27, 1946 show even a bigger orchestra of twenty people, including a more extensive string section (including two double basses), and accordion. In an announcement of a concert of instrumental music and songs that appeared in the December 13, 1946 issue of the *Muntada*, the advertisement described a fifty-member orchestra conducted by al-Batrūnī performing a major concert on December 14 from 8 PM to 10:30 PM at the YMCA in Jerusalem.

Figure 47. Rabāba trio, PBS (1944)

Figure 48. Yūsif al-Batrūnī directing a Western Ensemble, PBS (1944)

Figure 49 shows al-Batrūnī playing piano, likely playing an instrumental piece. The ensemble consisted of violin, accordion, trumpet (muted), alto saxophone, tenor saxophone, piano, and two percussionists.

Figure 49. Yūsif al-Batrūnī on piano, PBS (Between 1936 and 1946)

The titles and descriptions in PBS programs often offer direct hints as to the types of genres performed, vocal and instrumental. For example:

1. titles that incorporate the terms rumba, tango, *samāʿī,* and so in, refer to the kind or general feel of the music, such as "Rumba Liqāʾ" by al-Bandak, an instrumental piece (see the *Muntada* September 27, 1946, no. 34, 20-21);
2. titles that generically describe the instrumental repertoire being Turkish, Armenian, such as "Turkish tunes performed by Artin Tiryaqian on *santūr*" (the *Qāfila*, July 4, 1947, no. 14);

3. titles that refer to the type of ensembles or instrumentation or the leader of the group, such as mandolin ensemble, studio quartet, solo organ, *takht* quintet, solo qānūn, solo accordion, as well as solos on clarinet, *santūr*, *ʿūd*, *nāy*, piano, organ, violin, guitar, and so on; ensemble, Mansī trio, PBS septet, and so on; and
4. indirect references such as: Accompanied by the Orchestra, Accompanied by *Takht*, Jaʿnīnaih Playing *Taqāsīm* on Harpsichord, Western Tunes, The Station Orchestra, and Instrumental Eastern Music.

Between al-Rūmī, al-Bandak, al-Batrūnī, ʿArniṭa, al-Saʿūdī, al-Khammāsh, and Ghāzī, they were veteran composers of instrumental music, each specializing in either Eastern or Western styles. Their compositions appeared daily on PBS and occupied a large portion of the programming. Of the 260 minutes of total Palestinian music broadcast on PBS, 140 minutes were performances of instrumental music, mostly pieces that were composed locally (see Table 4).

Chapter 4

4.1 Negotiating Dialects

There is evidence that Arabic dialects interacted with each other in al-Mashriq. The notion of cultural dissimilarity in early nationalist literature was perceived as khuṣūṣiyya, or special character, therefore accepted. However, any glorification of such characteristics to signify local nationalism was not encouraged and often criticized and even attacked. This attitude is probably accurate for most of the century, but more so under the influence of pan-Arab nationalist ideology. Examples of this are in abundance and found in articles, books, magazines, speeches as well as testimonies.[78] In the Muntada issue of January 27, 1944 (no. 10, 16), Isṭifān wrote an article about saḥja, a popular song-form in colloquial Arabic poetry that is typically accompanied by dance. It is set according to baḥr al-basīṭ. Isṭifān noted that he observed twenty different types of colloquial poetry in Palestine, most of which are known in neighboring Arab countries. He used the term *qutr* (pl. *aqtār)*, in referring to these countries.[79] The term was used at that time to describe coherent geographic regions or areas that have specific distinct cultural characteristics or particularities, *khuṣūṣiyya*, but yet still considered to be part of a broader unit. He said: "Saḥja is known in its various forms in the Peninsula as in Jūf, Najd, Ḥijāz, Yemen, and in Iraq, Egypt, the Arab East [referring to Palestine, Jordan, and Lebanon] and Syria, and to Aleppo" (Isṭifān 1944, 16). Isṭifān included text excerpts of various examples of *saḥja* that he collected. Even though he only provided text, one can easily distinguish the different dialects he was referencing. In the following example, the underlined words in the second line show a way

[78] See *Arab Nationalism* by Bassam Tibi et al. (1991).

[79] The term *qutr* is currently used to refer to state or country.

of saying a word that is only specific to dialects of Northern Palestine, Jerusalem mountains, and coastal communities, both urban and rural. The selected verses were included in Iṣṭifān's article.

The words *mā drīnāshī* (we did not know), which appear in the verse below, is said as *mā drīnā*, *mā dirainā*, *mā drīnāsh,* or *mā drīnā* in other Palestinian dialects.

يا حاضرين كلكم ربي يهنيكم في وسط بستان طير اخضر يناغيكم
واللي يحبك يجي لك عالقدم ماشي وان ما يريدك يقول لك ما دريناشي

yā ḥāḍrīn kulkum rabbī yihannīkum fī wasṭ bustān ṭair akhḍar yināghīkum
willī yiḥibbak yījī lak ʿalqadam māshī win mā yrīdak yiqūl lak mā_drīnashī

* Underlined words indicate the terms being discussed

A few verses later, Iṣṭifān included yet another indication that shed light on where this colloquial poem was potentially coming from:

قالو "حبيبك زغير" قلت "إيش ماله؟" قالوا "يقلع ويلبس" قلت من ماله

qālū ḥabībik zghīr qult "aish mālu?" qālū "yiqlaʿ u yilbis" qult min mālu

The first underlined word *zghīr*, meaning "little," is written as pronounced with a *z*, although its first letter is *ṣ*, as pronounced in Bedouin and standard Arabic. The two underlined words, *aish mālu?* (what is the matter with him?), are also used in Northern Palestine, Jerusalem mountains, and coastal communities. The author did not write all words as they are pronounced, except in such cases. The reasons are attributed to the way researchers have attempted to document colloquial Arabic. Most of the documentation available leaves certain Arabic letters such as *q* and *k* as is, instead of writing them as pronounced. For example, the letters pronounced *a* or *ga* would still be written as *k* or *q* according to how they are written in standard Arabic, not according to pronunciation. Therefore, the three verses can be rewritten as pronounced as such:

yā ḥāḍrīn kulkum rabbī yihannīkum fī wasat bustān ṭair akhḍar yināghīkum
willī yiḥibbak yījī lak ʿal adam māshī win mā yrīdak yiʾūl lak madrināshī

ālū ḥabībik zghīr ult “aish malu?” ālū “yiʾlaʿ u yilbis” ult min mālu

*Underlined words indicate the terms being discussed.

In a different article in the *Muntada* issue of March 1944 (no. 12, 20), Iṣṭifān wrote another article about *dabka* and said: “In our area of Jerusalem countryside, *dabka* comes in five types […],” and goes on to describe each one. There are several fascinating aspects of this article: 1) Iṣṭifān stated that he is from an area outside of Jerusalem; and 2) he used Gustaf Dalman’s earlier notation of a song from Galilee; see Figures 3 and 4 in Chapter 1.

Iṣṭifān did not reference Dalman in his transcription (Figure 3), however, the transcription is identical. It even included the missing triplets marking that should have appeared in three different bars in Dalman’s transcription. Iṣṭifān also transcribed it from right to left, a common trend, and still, in Arab Anglican liturgical settings as well as in the secular and nationalistic vocal works of various Palestinian Anglicans, as shown in Figure 62 in the Appendix. He also added and underlined the word *al-bayt* (verse), under the middle staff, indicating the difference between the opening A section and the verse in the B section. The B section, which was included in the lyrics section in Dalman’s book, concludes the song by rhyming with *ām*, back to how A ended:

hām damʿ il ʿain fūq il-khad **hām**	هام دمع العين فوق الخد **هام**
ṭālat_il-ghaibaih walā_rsallī salām	طالت الغيبة ولا ارسل لي سلام
ṭālat al-ghaibaih walā_rsallī ḥadā	طالت الغيبة ولا ارسل لي حدا
khdhaidh abū_qdhailaih shibih qaṭr_in-nada	خذيد ابو قذيلة شبه قطر الندى
shūftī ana li_z-zain bitjalli_iṣ-ṣadā	شوفتي أنا للزين بتجلّي الصدا
min_hmūm al-ghaibaih_w min mīt ʿ**ām**	من هموم الغيبة ومن ميت **عام**

* Rhyme is indicated in bold. The last two verses were added by Iṣṭifān, see Figure 3.

While PBS promoted local dialects in songs from the surrounding regions, it was clear that it was indeed its intention to promote Palestinian dialects, but not from the perspective of

local nationalism, and rather as khuṣūṣiyya. At that point, however, it was not clear yet as to which one of such local dialects within the region, other than Egyptian, would be codified to serve a nationalistic purpose. After 1948, however, such efforts were rendered into various motions. For example, most Palestinian composers settled for setting standard Arabic to music, such as al-Khammāsh, al-Rūmī, al-Bandak, Ghāzī, and al-Saʿūdī, which kept their songs within the acceptable frame of both local and pan-Arab nationalistic movements. A few among them utilized colloquial dialects, especially al-Rūmī and al-Bandak.

While promoting local Palestinian dialects within PBS was indeed significant in terms of the growth of Palestinian national identity, the role that the PBS played signified a higher level of geopolitical engagement and a more sophisticated approach to Arab nationalism. This role was quite different from that of Radio Cairo, which advocated not much more than Egyptian literature and music. As the events of 1948 interrupted the growth of this type of nationalist advocacy and discourse, and the direction of Palestinian nationalism and identity, it was during the following years when songs started to denote territorial identities through their use of dialects, instrumentation, *maqām*, *iqāʿ*, form, and genre. Newly written lyrics and dialect-specific traditional materials in the then-independent countries of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq began to form the foundation for territorial nationalistic markers or emblems that would eventually distinguish these countries from each other at the national level. The development or adoption of specific dialects was related to the development and growth of territorial nationalism. This process involved the selection, codification, acceptance, and establishment of certain linguistic norms.[80] By the late 1950s, Palestinian-specific dialects such as those of Yāfā and

[80] For further reading see *The Arabic Language and National Identity* by Yāsir Suleiman.

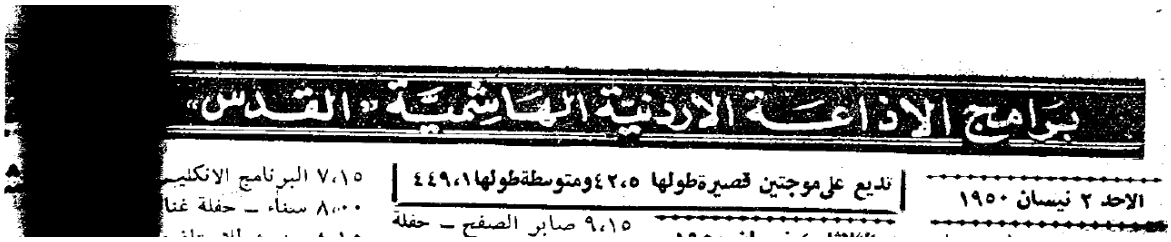
Jerusalem gradually faded out from radio broadcasts, making way to the new Lebanese colloquial songs such as those written by Raḥbānī Brothers and Zakī Nāṣīf, and to Bedouin dialect which became the one signifying Jordan as a nation.

In Jordan, Palestinian musicians based their songs on traditional song types and local dialects. The songs were restricted to recycled or repackaged traditional material and some light genres that were expanded offshoots of peasant and Bedouin tunes. Because lyrics in songs were becoming indicative of geographic regions and nations, the songs were becoming increasingly indicative of national origin. This dynamic contributed to the polarization of certain communities within a single country despite all being citizens of that country. In Lebanon, musicians built their songs on specific aspects of local music and Lebanese-specific dialects while consciously injected them with literary and Western elements, as al-Sharīf (1957) advised.

4.2 Jordan Radio

In April 1948, some PBS employees managed to transfer lightly used equipment from Jerusalem to Ramallah, as the war was at that point imminent. As of May 17, 1948, PBS became under the control of Jordan, but Nuwayhiḍ mentioned that the station was not able to resume broadcasting until 1949 (Nuwayhiḍ 1993; Radio Jordan 2017). As of September 1, 1948, the name of the station changed to the Hashemite Jordanian Radio "Jerusalem" (Radio Jordan 2017). The word Jerusalem was placed in quotation marks, as shown below in Figure 49 from 1950.[81]

[81] Thanks to Akram al-Rayyis, a researcher from Lebanon, who provided a copy of the publication. The file is part of his collection. Based on the format, the publication is presumably a magazine; however, no other information is available.


برامج الاذاعة الاردنية الهاشمية «القدس»

الاحد ٢ نيسان ١٩٥٠

تذيع على موجتين قصيرة طولها ٤٢،٥ ومتوسطة طولها ٤٤٩،١

٧،١٥ البرنامج الانكليـ

٨،٠٠ سناء – حفلة غنا

٩،١٥ صابر الصفح – حفلة

Figure 50. Hashemite Jordanian Radio “Jerusalem” (detail, 1950)

The station was renamed the Hashemite Jordanian Kingdom Radio after the formal unification of the two banks on April 24, 1950, and the word Jerusalem was removed from the title. At that point, the station was reduced to 25 musicians. Its budget shrank substantially from JD80,595 in 1947-48 to JD39,587 in 1950-51 (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). Meanwhile, its broadcast increased from five hours per day before 1948 to seven hours and twenty-two minutes in 1950 (ibid.). Compared to the available program from April 1950, at that point, the total duration of the daily broadcast was at five hours and thirty minutes. Nuwayhiḍ was probably referring to the latter part of the 1950s when the transmission got to the seven-hour mark.

The station was operating with a 50% decrease in its budget and number of employees, a 40% increase in time on the air, a 70% decrease in the budget for music and talks, and a 90% decrease in equipment (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). Its programs suffered tremendously, and it lost most of its previous offerings, including those directed to children and teenagers, as well as all live performances of Western music and choirs. The following is a sample of how the program looked during the first week of April 1950. One particularly noticeable aspect is that all days of the week are mostly identical except for Sunday, which included the broadcasting of recorded Western music from 8:30 PM to 9:00 PM and Friday, which dedicated a more substantial portion to Islamic religious programming. Among the singers who appeared on the program during this

week are al-Ṣafiḥ, al-ʿĀṣ, and Tawfīq al-Nimrī. Tables 9 and 10 show the programming for Sunday April 2, and Tuesday, April 4, 1950, respectively:

Table 9. Sunday program, Hashemite Jordanian Radio "Jerusalem" (1950)

The Morning Broadcast	The Afternoon Broadcast	The Evening Broadcast
7:00 AM - 7:10 AM Morning Talk 7:10 AM - 7:30 AM Qurʾan 7:30 AM - 7:40 AM News 7:40 AM - 8:00 AM Light Music	1:30 PM - 1:45 PM Group Light Songs 1:45 PM - 2:00 PM Noon Music 2:00 PM - 2:15 PM News 2:15 PM - 2:20 PM Local Politics Weekly 2:20 PM - 2:30 PM Recorded Music	6:00 PM - 6:15 PM News 6:15 PM - 6:30 PM Song Performance 6:30 PM - 7:00 PM Qurʾan 7:00 PM - 7:15 PM Film Songs 7:15 PM - 8:00 PM English Program 8:00 PM - 8:15 PM Recorded Songs 8:15 PM - 8:30 PM Humorous Songs 8:30 PM - 9:00 PM Western Music 9:00 PM - 9:15 PM News 9:15 PM - 9:30 PM Song Performance
60 minutes	60 minutes	210 minutes

Table 10. Tuesday program, Hashemite Jordanian Radio "Jerusalem" (1950)

The Morning Broadcast	The Afternoon Broadcast	The Evening Broadcast
7:00 AM - 7:10 AM Morning Talk 7:10 AM - 7:30 AM Qurʾan 7:30 AM - 7:40 AM News 7:40 AM - 8:00 AM Light Music BREAK	1:30 PM - 1:45 PM Group Light Songs 1:45 PM - 2:00 PM Noon Music 2:00 PM - 2:15 PM News 2:15 PM - 2:20 PM Song Performance* 2:20 PM - 2:30 PM Recorded Music BREAK * Local Politics Weekly, Wednesday, and Friday	6:00 PM - 6:15 PM News 6:15 PM - 6:30 PM Baladī Songs* 6:30 PM - 7:00 PM Qurʾan 7:00 PM - 7:15 PM Film Songs* 7:15 PM - 8:00 PM English Program 8:00 PM - 8:15 PM Recorded Songs 8:15 PM - 8:30 PM Talks 8:30 PM - 8:40 PM Song Performance 9:00 PM - 9:15 PM News 9:15 PM - 9:30 PM Song Performance END *Or Village Program **Or performance
60 minutes	60 minutes	210 minutes

The total airtime per day was five hours and thirty minutes, except on Friday which was six hours and forty minutes bringing the total number of hours per week to 38.5 hours; 2,376 minutes, divided as follows in Tables 11 and 12:

Table 11. Week of April 2, 1950 program, Hashemite Jordanian Radio "Jerusalem"

	Light Songs	Light Music	Shaʿbī	Religious*	Songs**
Minutes	140	115	75	390	255
Percentage	5.8%	4.8%	3.1%	16.75%	10.7%

* Qurʾan, and Friday broadcast.

Among the singers who appeared in the "Songs" category are Shajnāz, al-Ṣafiḥ, Fayda Kāmil, Darwīsh al-Lababīdī, Najāḥ Salām; all singers worked previously with PBS. All are Lebanese except for Fayda Kāmil, an Egyptian; no records of Darwish al-Labābīdī were found, included under this category a fifteen-minute program of *muwashshaḥāt*. Also, the program lists three difference categories *baladī* and *shaʿbī* interchangeably.

Table 12. Week of April 2, 1950 program, Hashemite Jordanian Radio "Jerusalem" (cont.)

	Recorded Songs*	Western Music	Talks**	News	English Program	Instrumental***
Minutes	200	35	260	345	315	60
Percentage	8.4%	1.4%	10.9%	14.5%	13.2%	2.5%

* Including live performances, film songs (presumably Egyptian)
** Including Women's Program, 15m; Army Program on Friday, 30m; Children's Program, 15m.
*** Including ʿūd and cello solos

The total of percentages in tables 11 and 12 is 92.05%; the remaining is 105 minutes for a program called Afternoon Music 4.4%; + fractions. The program does not indicate which songs were Egyptian. The most obvious were film songs or songs by Fāyda Kāmil; 45 minutes total, or

1.8%. This figure is probably indicative of the limited records that employees were able to salvage in April 1948 as well as the drastic cuts in the station's budget.

As I intend to compare the week of April 6, 1947 programming in PBS to the week from April 2, 1950, through the tables below (tables 13 and 14), I must note that there is a small difference in the total airtime between the two. At PBS, airtime before 1948 was five hours per day on weekdays:7AM to 7:45 AM, 45 minutes; 1:45PM to 2:45 PM, 60 minutes; 6:15PM to 9:30PM, 195 minutes; 5 hours per day; and six-and-a-half hours on Fridays: 7:00 AM to 7:45 AM, 45 minutes; 11:00 AM to 12:30 PM, 90 minutes; 1:45 PM to 2:45 PM, 60 minutes; 6:15 PM to 9:30 PM, 195 minutes; 6.5 hours.

Table 13. Week of April 6, 1947 program, PBS

	Humorous Songs*	Children/Women Program**	Shaʿbī	Religious***	PE Exercise
Minutes	50	180	95	435	70
Percentage	2.2%	7.9%	4.1%	19.8%	3%

* This category is under "light songs" at the Hashemite Jordanian Radio.
** Including children music programming accompanied by al-Batrūnī's orchestra, plays,
*** Qurʾan and religious songs by schoolchildren, and the station's group singers, as well as Friday broadcast.

Table 14. Week of April 6, 1947, PBS (cont.)

	Qaṣīda, Muwashshaḥ	Talks*	News	Plays, Stories	Instrumental**	Egyptian***
Minutes	100	190	350	170	120	180
Percentage	4.4%	8.3%	15.4%	7.5%	5.2%	7.9%

* Including sports, health, scouts, education, history, languages
** Instrumental music including Trio Mansī, Station Orchestra, *nāy* solo, Station Septet, Radio Ensemble, Sharqi Tunes Ensemble, buzuq solo, accordion solo, *santūr* solo, Radio Takht, violin solo. I added two appearances totaling 10 minutes by Jaʿnīnaih on organ and piano.
*** Most of the songs in this category were recordings.

During this week, PBS allocated one hour and five minutes to broadcasting the Easter Christian Celebration from Jerusalem, constituting 2.8% of programming, which in comparison

to daily regular Islamic programming is considered a low percentage. Moreover, the station had a twice-a-week song program where listeners request the broadcast of certain songs that they like, sixty minutes total, at 2.6% of programming. The remaining percentages are distributed among vocal and instrumental music from Turkey, Iraq, as well as other recorded music.

There are several pointers as to the differences between the directions of the two stations, while keeping in mind the drastic budget cuts of the Hashemite Jordanian Radio "Jerusalem" as well as the current unavailability of further data:

1. addition of a daily English Program;
2. expansion of light songs broadcasting;
3. drastic decline in women programming;
4. absence of physical education programs;
5. drastic decline in the variety and duration in the instrumental music section;
6. absence of plays and storytelling;
7. drastic decline in the performance of *qaṣīda* and *muwashshaḥ*;
8. a gradual change to primetime hours in the broadcast of *shaʿbī* songs. This change contrasts PBS's where such broadcasts took place at the end of the evening program. Radio programs from the 1960s suggest similar trends where *shaʿbī* songs were broadcast throughout the day, and Egyptian and other Arab Renaissance music were switched to the late-night hours;
9. absence of broadcast from Christian sites; and
10. absence of any educational and music programming for children.

4.2.1 ʿAjāj Nuwayhiḍ, Again

During this period, ʿAjāj Nuwayhiḍ was once more asked to become the radio's General Observer, and he agreed. He took office on March 17, 1950 and reported directly to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Nuwayhiḍ 1993).[82] Nuwayhiḍ wrote about the period and the various encounters he had while being part of a governmental body in Jordan. His testimony offers a closer look at the role of government in building the Jordanian nation as well as the role of the media. He talks about his experiences and reflects on various issues that relate to his career as well as the changing environments around him. For example, he recalls that on December 21, 1950, he received news from Baghdad that Princess ʿĀlia has died; she was thirty-nine. Following formal protocols to announce day(s) of mourning, Nuwayhiḍ attempted to contact the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to coordinate further but could not get hold of anyone of authority to determine such arrangements. He then tried reaching someone at the Royal Palace, but to no avail. He called the offices of the Prime Minister as well as various other ministers, but they were all occupied with escorting the King to the airport, who was heading to Baghdad to attend the Princess's funeral. After exhausting all the options, Nuwayhiḍ acted upon his discretion and delayed the start of the broadcast to 2 PM instead of 1 PM. He prepared a brief statement about the death of Princes ʿĀlia and announced that at 2 PM, a formal mourning period would begin and pointed out that further details will follow. Shortly after he delivered his statement, he received an angry phone call from the Prime Minister, Samīr al-Rifāʿī. Al-Rifāʿī harshly criticized his radio announcement and told him that "the radio station is not your [Nuwayhiḍ's]

[82] The Royal Court approved Bill No. 13, submitted by the Prime Minister's office to consider Dār al-Idhaʿa al-Falasṭiniyya (Palestinian Broadcasting Service, PBS) to be under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; as of May 1, 1949. See Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Al-Jarīda al-Rasmiyya, June 1, 1949, issue no. 984, 155.

government within a government" (Nuwayhiḍ 1993, 350). Nuwayhiḍ was surprised by the Prime Minister's reaction and statement and informed him of his wish to resign from his position; the Prime Minister accepted. Nuwayhiḍ and al-Rifāʿī met that evening and sorted out the friction. However, during the following months, Nuwayhiḍ repeatedly expressed his wish to resign. A week after this encounter, Nuwayhiḍ consulted with one of his trusted friends Sulaymān al-Nābulsī, Jordan's minister of finance at the time, concerning the Jordan Radio. Al-Nābulsī suggested to him that for operations to move smoothly, the station must invite specific key East Jordanian individuals to deliver talks on the air. News of this incident eventually made it to the King, and in the presence of Ḥikmat al-Tājī, the King said to someone: "[Nuwayhiḍ] is my friend and he is not to be touched" (352). Nuwayhiḍ recalls that he may have angered chief individuals with the way he was managing the station and was concerned.

King ʿAbdullah was fond of Nuwayhiḍ and respected his wish to resign from his current position. After various meetings with the al-Rifāʿī concerning the state of the station and his wish to resign, the Prime Minister was in the process of creating the Bureau of News, Publication, and Press and asked Nuwayhiḍ to lead it. The King approved Nuwayhiḍ's resignation in person and appointed Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Nashāshībī as interim General Observer of the Jordan Radio. Nuwayhiḍ's last day was March 11, 1951; he moved on to directing the Bureau of News, Publication, and Press. Nuwayhiḍ attributes his resignation to three reasons: 1) the administrative hierarchy and the interference of various governmental agencies in his work; 2) the dispute over the budget, fair wages, and compensation, which impacted retention; and 3) Nuwayhiḍ wanted to settle permanently in Amman, and the station was in Ramallah at the time. Nuwayhiḍ also noted the vast difference between the freedom he had under the British Mandate with the restrictions imposed on him under Jordan.

When King ʿAbdullah was assassinated in Jerusalem on July 20, 1951, Nuwayhiḍ was the Bureau's general manager at the time. One month after the King's assassination, the new Prime Minister Tawfīq Abū al-Huda dismantled the Bureau of News, Publication, and Press. Despite the permanent status of Nuwayhiḍ's appointment, he was not transferred to another position as the law necessitates. Nuwayhiḍ claims that political rivalries and tensions were primarily at play. He never occupied any position with any government, and for the remainder of the 1950s stayed in Amman and worked as a freelance writer and journalist in various publications.

In Nuwayhiḍ (1993), the editor Bayān al-Ḥūt, daughter of Nuwayhiḍ, recalled a story that her father told her about an encounter that he had with Prime Minister Tawfīq Abū al-Huda during the 1950s, after his 1951 dismissal.[83] The story revolves around the office of the Prime Minister, which used to cut paychecks to all journalists in Jordan. When Nuwayhiḍ received one of those paychecks, he sent it back to them and was offended, given that the paycheck was not for any work that he did for the government. Abū al-Huda received Nuwayhiḍ's response and asked to meet with him in person. During the meeting, Abū al-Huda explained that his office cut paychecks regularly to all journalists in the Kingdom and that he, Nuwayhiḍ, was just one of the people on the list. Nuwayhiḍ took note and insisted on his refusal to receive any paychecks. Although Nuwayhiḍ was born in Lebanon, he settled permanently in Jordan and never considered going back to Lebanon. It was not until the summer 1959 that Nuwayhiḍ and his family returned to their home in Rās al-Mitin, Lebanon, primarily for economic reasons (ibid.).

[83] Tawfīq Abū al-Huda first served as Prime minister of Transjordan from September 28, 1938 to October 15, 1944, and he served another term from December 28, 1947 to April 12, 1950. Between July 25, 1951 and May 5, 1953 and from May 4, 1954 to May 30, 1955 he served as Prime Minister of Jordan see http://senate.jo/en/content/previous-councils

4.2.2 Western Music

After 1948, most musicians who were active in Western-style music-making permanently left Palestine, including most of those who had professional ties with Christian mission schools or church organizations. Among them were Silvadūr ʿArnīṭa and his wife Yursa (Jawhariyyaih) ʿArnīṭa, Yūsif Khāshū, and ʿĪsa Jaʿnīnī. Lama (1902-1988) stayed in Jerusalem and continued to work at St. Savior Church. As for al-Batrūn, he left for Syria but came back to Palestine sometime in the mid-1950s. This shortage reflected on the Hashemite Jordanian Kingdom Radio or Jordan Radio. Western-style music performances became minimal if they existed at all. The 1950 program that I discussed earlier is the only one I found so far from that period. However, radio programs from the 1960s attest to this trend and do not show local productions of Western music styles; only recordings of Western music were included in the programming.

The drastically weakened Western-style music-making within Jordan's Radio left urban communities, Muslims and Christians, with little to no formal sponsorship related to Western-style music-making. Previously, advocates of Western music relied heavily on radio musicians and resources. For example, through PBS's platform, these musicians engaged with the community and disseminated their ideas about progress and promoted the notion that the path towards the transformation of Arab traditions takes place through the adaptation of Western models (Willson 2013, 192), a reoccurring theme in the writings of ʿAjāj Nwayhiḍ, and ʿAzmī al-Nashāshibī. However, Willson notes that during the 1950s, Western musicians contributed on a tiny scale to furthering the development of Western classical music, particularly in Ramallah (Willson 2013, 223). For example, Willson mentions Rolla Foley (mentioned in Chapter 2), a Quaker from Indiana who led a choir at the Friends School since the mid-1950s and was accompanied by Salwa Tabri, a local Palestinian pianist (ibid.).

Moreover, Western-style music activities used to take place at Birzeit College, a school that was established in 1924 by Nabīha Nasir and Ratībah Shqair in Birzeit, a town near Ramallah, initially for girls (Audeh 2010). Such activities continued to be present at individual Christian missionary schools in Jerusalem (St George School, Terra Sancta College, College des Freres), Ramallah (Friends Schools), and Bethlehem (Salesian School). Based on Willson's accounts of the period, Arab listeners and musicians were by then divided into urban and rural. The division also seems to suggest a continuation of the separation between Western and Arab styles (Fuskurijian 1992). William Fuskurijian argues that during this period, interactions between musicians from both sides of the spectrum where minimal (Fuskurijian 1992), which I was able to affirm through my examination of PBS programs. This state not only reflected the general divisions that existed during the British Mandate in PBS—that is, English, Hebrew, and Arabic—but more explicitly points to the divisions within the PBS's Arabic Section itself. Also, such divisions reflected the demographic disparities and distinctions among Palestinians, which were manifested in the little to no interaction with the musicians of the two styles generically classified as Western and Eastern. The disparity also occurred between Arab Eastern Christian musicians and Arab Western Christian musicians. However, only Arab Christian musicians in the Western category confined themselves to elite intellectual pockets in and outside Palestine. Most Eastern Arab Christian musicians, on the other hand, navigated the scene through *maqām*.

Al-Batrūnī believed that only through Western music that Arab music would progress. In an article published on November 4, 1946, in the *Dhakhīra* magazine, Mishail Ḥaddād described al-Batrūnī's career, life, achievements, influences, and background, Haddād asked al-Batrūnī about his future artistic goals. Al-Batrūnī answered: "My goal is to elevate Eastern music to its sister Western music and to *combine* them. I have marched great distances in this endeavor, and I

shall continue until the end" (emphasis added). When Haddād asked him about his opinion of Palestinian singers and musicians, he responded:

> Arab Palestinians are musically spontaneous, so they need guidance. Singers need voice training and to learn how to read music. In my opinion, I believe that it is the duty of PBS and NEBS administrations to care about music and singing on the basis of elevating the public to them, not to go down to the people's musical level and be satisfied if the public is satisfied, that is, through repeating tunes that the public loves and feels ṭarab when listening to them. (15)

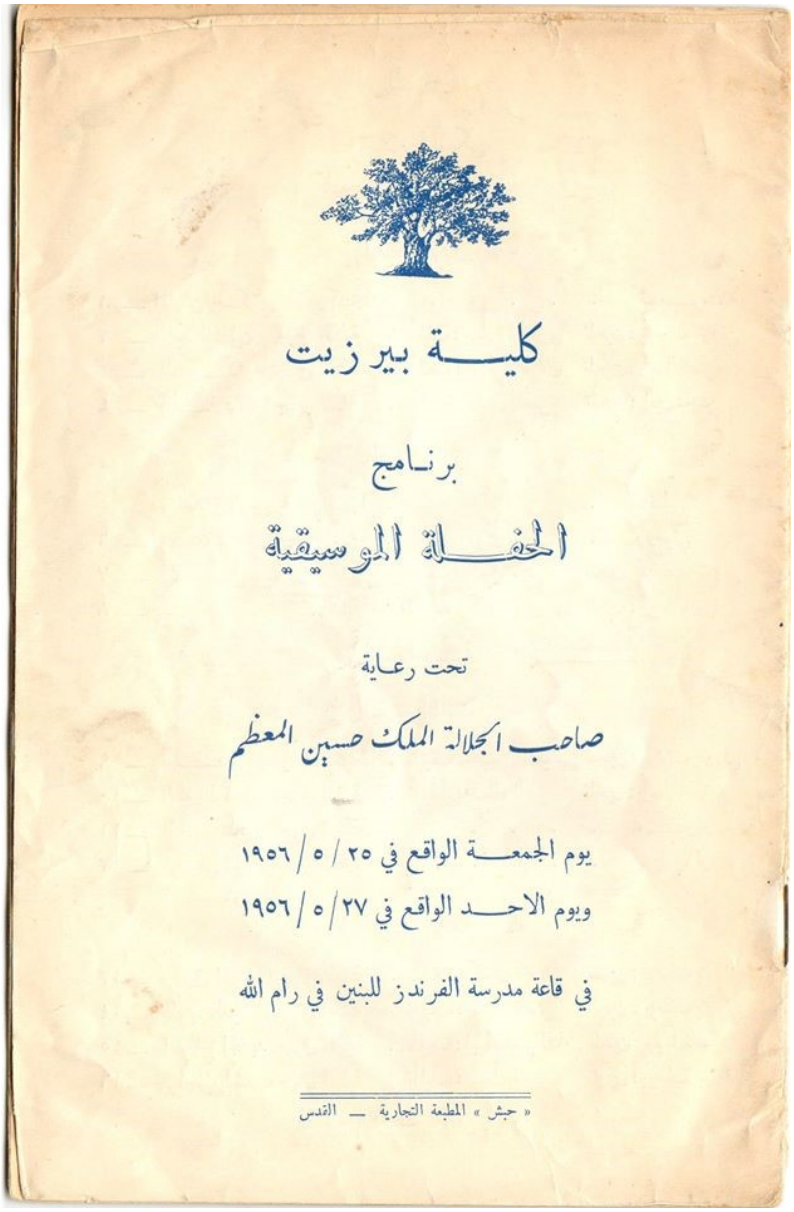
Despite this affirmation of superiority by al-Batrūnī and his nonreciprocal attitude toward learning *maqām*, his goal to combine Western and Arab music was no longer attainable after the events of 1948. There was no longer an orchestra under his command, which had been the main engine behind local Western music programming at PBS's Arabic section.

According to Ṣamīm al-Sharīf, al-Batrūnī arrived in Damascus after 1948 and was chosen to lead the music department at Damascus Radio; a position that he retained until 1950. He was selected to lead the founding committee and assigned the task of establishing the Eastern Music Institute in Damascus. Ultimately, three months later, he became the Institute's artistic and academic director. It is not clear when he returned to Palestine. According to Rima Nasir-Tarazi, a composer and pianist, he was hired by Birzeit College to lead its band and choir in 1954 (Tarazi 2007), a position that was held previously by Salvador ʿArniṭa. She recalls that al-Batrūnī worked for the Jordan Radio during that period as well.

Al-Batrūnī's position at Birzeit College gave him some access to freelance musicians who played Western instruments, which enabled him to compose, arrange, and conduct new music in performances. None of such activities, however, were at this point connected to any governmental or public platform or the Jordan Radio, and the separation between Eastern and Western musical practices continued and deepened. By then, Western music practices were back to being confined to Christian institutions and were absent from the public sphere—a present

absentee. However, Palestinian Christian Anglicans continued to be strong advocates of Western music. An example of this advocacy is a concert of Western music under Birzeit College in 1956. Tarazi was kind enough and provided the full program of the concert from her archive as well as the sheet music for some of her songs that appeared in the program. The concert sheds light on the nature and state of Western musical practices and how music-making was established in contexts other than broadcasting services and the public sphere.

The concert took place at the Friends Boys School in Ramallah on May 25 and May 27, 1956. The first page of the program has an image of an olive tree, the College's emblem, and notes that the concert was under the care of "his Majesty King Ḥusain the Great," as shown in Figure 51. Al-Batrūnī led the performance, and the main contributors were all from the Nasir family.



كليـــة بير زيت

برنـامج

الحفـــلة الموسيقية

تحت رعـاية

صاحب الجلالة الملك حسين المعظم

يوم الجمعـــة الواقع في ٢٥ / ٥ / ١٩٥٦
ويوم الاحـــد الواقع في ٢٧ / ٥ / ١٩٥٦

في قاعة مدرسة الفرندز للبنين في رام الله

« حبش » المطبعة التجارية ـــ القدس

Figure 51. Program of Birzeit College Concert (1956)

Despite being under the auspices of King Ḥusain, the concert was a display of nationalism and patriotism, as well as an affirmation by a notable Christian family as to its political and cultural stature. It took place during a period of political uncertainty and

transformations, a time when notable Palestinian families, Christian and Muslim, were playing essential roles in steering political, cultural, and social discourses in Jordan, including the Nasir family. The following is the English translation of the program (asterisk denotes instrumental piece):

Royal Anthem College followed by President's Speech:

Part 1		
1. Al-Mārsh al-ʿAskarī (Military March) *	The Orchestra	Schubert
2. Nashīd Falasṭīn (Palestine Anthem)	College Choir	Poetry: Bshāra al-Khūri; music: Yūsif al-Batrūnī
3. Al-Shahīd (The Martyr)	College Choir	Poetry: Ibrahīn Ṭūqān; music: Rima Naṣir
4. Al-Jallād (The Tormentor)	College Choir	Poetry: Kamal Nasir; music: Amīn Nasir
Part 2		
5. Fī Aswāq Fāris (In a Persian Market)*	The Orchestra	Ketelbey
6. Quondo Corpus	College Choir	Rossini
7. Al-Munāḍil (The Fighter)	College Choir	Poetry: Kamal Nasir; music: Yūsif al-Batrūnī
8. Ṣirāʿ (Struggle)	College Choir	Poetry: Kamal Nasir; music: Rima Naṣir
Intermission		
Part 3		
9. Al-Jundī (The Soldier)	College Choir	Poetry: Sulaymān al-ʿĪsā; music: Yūsif al-Batrūnī
10. Al-Ṭayr al-Rāḥil (Departing Bird)	College Choir	Poetry: Kamal Nasir; music: by Rima Naṣir
11. Al-Nāy al-Masḥūr (Magic Flute)*	The Orchestra	Mozart
12. Mūsīqa al-Layl, al-qism al-awwal (A Little Night Music, first mvt.)*	The Orchestra	Mozart
Part 4		
13. Zawraq al-Majd (Boat of Glory)	College Choir	Poetry: Kamal Nasir; music: Yūsif al-Batrūnī
14. Malʿab al-ʿIz (Field of Pride)	College Choir	Poetry: Kamal Nasir; music: Yūsif al-Batrūnī
15. Al-Ṣabāḥ al-Jadīd (New Morning)	College Choir	Poetry: Abū al-Qāsim al-Shabbī; music: Rima Naṣir
16. Jirāḥak Yā Shaʿb (Your wounds, O people)	College Choir	Poetry: Kamal Nasir; music: Yūsif al-Batrūnī

* Instrumental

The program lists the names of the solo singers and orchestra players while maintaining all honorifics. The names mentioned below reflect the original program, but not all first and last names were fully listed:

1. *Orchestra*: Ms. Rīma Nasir, piano; Dr. Amīn Majaj, violin; Mr. Dilbert Reynolds, violin; Dr. Kasbaryan, violin; Mr. Mishail ʿAwaḍ,[84] violin; Mr. Owen Gander, viola; Mr. Rob, cello; Mr. Mishail Rock, clarinet; Mr. Naṣrī al-Duwārī, trumpet.
2. *Solo Singers*: Ms. Samia Nasir, soprano; Ms. Jihād Khalīfa, soprano; Ms. Jīda Khalifa, alto.

According to Tarazi, Dr. Delbert Reynolds was headmaster of the Friends Boys School, while Mishail Rock and Naṣri Duwairī were well-known performers in Jerusalem who studied with Lama (interview, 2019). As for Owen Gander, he was the choir teacher at the Friends Schools at the time. The two singers Jihād and Jīda Khalīfa were students at the College, sisters of the renowned writer Saḥar Khalīfa. Samia is Rima's sister, who was among the staff at the College.[85] Rima does not remember Mr. Rob (or Rab) or Dr. Kasparian.

The concert did not include any traditional instruments or repertoire; it was rather dominated by Western music. Taking a closer look at the poems and their titles, we can safely presume that they all were in standard Arabic. Kamal Nasir wrote seven of the eleven songs, and only two poems in the full text were included in the program, one by Bshāra al-Khūrī and the second by Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān. The remaining four poems were written by Abū al-Qāsim al-Shābbī (1909-1934), Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān (1905-1941), Sulaymān al-ʿĪsa (1921-2013), and Bshāra al-Khūrī

[84] Mishel ʿAwaḍ is married to Rima's husband's first cousin.

[85] She is the mother of Suhail Khoury, who played a key role in various capacities during the 1980s and 1990s, and cofounded the Edward Said Conservatory.

(1885-1968). I managed to find most of the poems in libraries. They are all patriotic in a generic sense and addressed notions of unity, hope, praise, pride, education, sympathy, perseverance, and sacrifice. However, they also pointed to resistance, martyrdom, and defiance. An example of this is Kamal Nasir's poem, The Tormentor. A few years before, on March 1, 1950, a Royal Decree was issued by Jordan banning the usage of the word Palestine in all official and governmental documents (Suleiman 1995). The decree necessitates its replacement with the term West Bank. Therefore, in the program, the word was mentioned directly only once in the much older poem by Bshāra al-Khūrī.

The compositions were based on Western scales and meant to be performed on Western instruments, resembling anthems and Western patriotic song types. As I examined some of Tarazi's songs further, it became apparent that the influence of the Anglican church is profound in her songs. She attests to this through my direct interaction with her regarding her music. In her multi-volume collection of national songs, published by the Edward Said Conservatory in 2013, the compositional devices that she incorporates, though quite modest, resemble a great deal the Anglican hymns to which she was exposed. All such hymns were published in Arabic and available as early as the mid-nineteenth century, both as text and sheet music and from right to left, as shown in Figure 63 in the Appendix. The composition and notation in Tarazi's 2013 multi-volume resemble the Arabic hymn books and written from right to left.

The political atmosphere, meanwhile, continued to be intensely polarized, more so than the old Palestinian factionalism between the Ḥusainī and Nashāshībī camps that started in the 1920s. Both Jordanian and Palestinian political spheres were saturated with diverse political ideologies, and the Kingdom was meanwhile preparing for another general election in October 1956. By then, political parties could form, operate, nominate candidates, and compete for seats

in the parliament. At the political level, this was an unprecedented move by King Ḥusain which fostered a democratic atmosphere that opened new doors for free expression. The King, however, abandoned this strategy the following year in favor of a parliament that was entirely controlled by him. Ḥusain turned to his intelligence services to crack down on pan-Arab nationalists and communists, and among them was Kamal Nasir. The King dissolved the parliament in 1957.

4.3 The Rise of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Being physically fragmented and in search of various means of survival, definition, and agency, Palestinians faced serious struggles in every layer of their lives. While they all had to adjust to their new conditions in some form or shape, not every pocket of Palestinians experienced the same type of pressures or challenges, especially when comparing refugees to notables or the emerging middle class. The disparities and contrasts concerning the living conditions among Palestinians were among the factors that shaped how they positioned themselves politically. By the mid-1950s, they had to navigate through the emerging identities of the newly established nations of Israel, Lebanon, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Iraq, and Syria, as well as a strong nationalist movement led by Egypt. Although many Palestinians identified with Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's nationalist vision and the making of Palestine as central to the Arab nationalist movement, during the second half of the 1950s Palestinians were confronting several conflicting realities that rerouted both their political and cultural discoursers.

After 1948, Transjordan effectively administered the territory, and King ʿAbdullah continued to ensure the legal annexation of the remaining parts of Palestine (Morris 2008). On October 1, 1948, he organized the Amman Conference and invited Palestinian notables who opposed the mufti Amīn Ḥusainī to attend (ibid.). Many notables attended the conference and pledged allegiance to him on behalf of the people of Palestine. They also gave the green light to

moving forward with the King's plans to unite the two banks of the Jordan River. Sulaymān al-Tājī al-Fārūqī chaired the two-hour conference with Saʿd al-Dīn al-ʿAlamī as vice-chair, and ʿAjāj Nuwayhiḍ, as secretary (Ashtīyya 2011). Nuwayhiḍ led the subsequent efforts to organize another conference in Jericho in December 1948, which provided the legal foundation for the union of Palestine (the West Bank, including East Jerusalem) with Transjordan (East Bank) (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). Muḥammad ʿAlī Jaʿbari, mayor of Hebron, chaired the conference, which was attended by notables from Jerusalem, Hebron, Bethlehem, Nablus, and Ramallah (Wilson 1999). Hundreds of other delegates, including mayors, tribal chiefs, aldermen, and military governors, also joined (Robins 2019).

However, the conference did not go as planned. While the conferees prepared to recognize King ʿAbdullah as monarch, they were unwilling to give up their claim to the whole of Palestine. They, therefore, refused to endorse his policy of "permanent consolidation" (Robins 2019, 72). He, subsequently, embarked on "creeping annexation," which is a "policy of gradual political and economic transformation by which he extended his administration and influence throughout Transjordanian occupied Palestine, naming his supporters to key positions and stifling independent political voices and organizations" (Wilson 1999, 189). Although his apparatus was inherently narrow, he elected to impose his will on Palestinians rather than develop new support bases (ibid.). Many of the ruling urban notables, nonetheless, switched their allegiance to him after the Jericho Conference (Wilson 1999). Amīn al-Ḥusainī was at that point barred from areas under Jordanian control, and by 1950 the circumstances seemed more in favor of King ʿAbdullah to legalize the annexation.

On April 11, 1950, elections were held for a new Jordanian parliament, and thirteen days later, it unanimously approved a motion to unite the two banks of the Jordan River (Robins

2019). Subsequently, Palestinians on both banks of the river had begun to adjust to the idea of being ruled by King ʿAbdullah, for they, at that point, had no other viable option (Wilson 1999). Thus, the ascendency of Palestinian families opposed to the Ḥusainī family, or neutral, began to dominate the political, economic, and cultural life of the Kingdom. Those include al-Nashāshībī, Ṭuqān, al-Dajānī, Jayyūsī, al-ʿAlamī, al-Khaṭīb, and al-Maṣrī families. The Jordanian government offered Jordanian citizenship to Palestinians in the West Bank and continued to distribute high positions among families that supported the King in his endeavor (ibid.).

Jordanian and Palestinian institutions, laws, and practices were rapidly merging or consolidating (Nuwayhiḍ 1993), with careful consideration of the particularities of Palestinian identity, culture, and politics (see Wilson 1999). The King asserted his position and presented himself as guardian of Palestinian aspirations, despite the continuous opposition of Amīn al-Ḥusainī (Khalidi 2015), as well as the Palestinian street (Wilson 1999; Robins 2019). The King firmly proclaimed that issues of nationalism, culture, identity, political discourses, and geopolitical engagements must always adhere to his vision (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). Adnan Abu Odeh (2000) wrote an impressive testimony as a government official in Jordan, who worked closely with King Ḥusain for three decades. He describes the national identities that emerged during the twentieth century in Jordan as follows:

1. East Jordanians, the original inhabitants of the region east of the Jordan River;
2. Palestinians, the Arab inhabitants of Palestine during the British Mandate;
3. Jordanian-Palestinians, those who became Jordanian nationals upon the unification of the East and West banks of the Jordan River, and
4. Jordanians, who are all the inhabitants of Jordan, regardless of their origin.

5. By that time, Palestinians were living in different political camps:
6. Lebanese, where local nationalism was growing stronger;
7. Iraqi, dominated by turmoil;
8. Syrian, a center of Arab nationalist thought;
9. Egyptian, where both Arab and local nationalisms were dynamic and impactful, and
10. Jordanian, with a monarchy asserting its footing over Palestinians as well as the new territory.

While collective Palestinian identity started to grow during the past two to three decades before the annexation, this era constituted yet another beginning where such self-consciousness was about to be divided not only geographically, but also in political and cultural terms. Naturally, dispersed Palestinians reacted to their new surroundings differently, but their prospective hosts also classified them, formally and informally, into various religious, cultural, socioeconomic, and political categories. For example, those who had a financial advantage managed to hit the ground running, not only in terms of establishing new businesses but also in terms of citizenship and status. Naturally, once Palestinians settled into different regions, their identities started to adjust. The identity that they carried over to their new habitats was by then a matter of memory. Meanwhile, a new identity that is shaped by their immediate living realities was also forming.

In 1952, the Free Officers Movement overthrew Egypt's King and embarked on a task of reform. As its leader, Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's brand of Arab nationalism was broadcast via radio throughout the Arab World and appealed to displaced Palestinians, including those in Jordan. In 1956, al-Nāṣir stood up against the combined armies of Britain, France, and Israel during the Suez Crisis, which boosted his popularity enormously. From that moment forward, al-Nāṣir was

viewed as the one who would unify the Arabs and reconquer Palestine. The Suez Crisis benefited al-Nāṣir's brand of nationalism, while simultaneously undermining those Arab leaders who followed pro-Western policies. Many Arab intellectuals, followers, and members of various political parties accepted al-Nāṣir as the leading advocate of Arab interests and offered their services freely (Aburish 2013).

Relations between al-Nāṣir and King Ḥusain deteriorated in April 1957 when Ḥusain implicated al-Nāṣir in two coup attempts against him. Ḥusain also claimed that al-Nāṣir's propaganda broadcasts incited massive riots in the country and undermined domestic order. Al-Nāṣir denied any involvement and slammed King Ḥusain, Camille Chamoun of Lebanon, and Nūrī al-Saʿīd of Iraq and described them as "agents and slaves" of the West (131). Relations with King Saʿūd of Saudi Arabia also became sore when al-Nāṣir accused Saʿūd of attempting to assassinate him to stop the then-possible union between Egypt and Syria (Dawisha 2003). Saʿūd considered al-Nāṣir's increasing popularity in Saudi Arabia as a genuine threat to the royal family (ibid.), and as having the potential to spark a revolution (Dreyfuss, 2013).

The attempts to undermine al-Nāṣir placed various other Arab countries in an opposite-to-Egypt camp, including Jordan, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, a growing number of intellectuals in Iraq were becoming enamored with the ideals disseminated by al-Nāṣir's nationalist machine. The ideology also found many loyalists from within the officer classes of the Iraqi military (Zubaydī 1981). The policies of Nurī al-Saʿīd in Iraq, meanwhile, were regarded as pro-British, and opposition from within the Iraqi armed forces began to form (ibid.).

On February 1, 1958, Egypt and Syria boosted the Arab nationalist movement immeasurably with the announcement that they had united as the UAR (Barnett 1998). The move was a catalyst for a series of events that culminated in a revolution in Iraq. The UAR called for a

united Arab world, which stimulated the Arab nationalist movement within Iraq and Jordan even further. On July 14, 1958, an uprising took place in Iraq, resulting in the overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy, which had been established by King Faisal I in 1921 under the auspices of the British (ibid.). King Faisal II, Prince ʿAbd al-Ilāh, and Prime Minister Nurī al-Saʿīd were killed during the uprising. Layth Zubaydī argues that the Free Officers Movement, which overthrew the Egyptian monarchy in 1952, inspired the revolution in Iraq (Zubaydī 1981).

Geopolitical tensions and differences of ideologies and ideas were taking various shapes, including propaganda broadcasts and music, dialect codifications, and opposing political alliances. Palestinian and Jordanian activists whose politics were not in line with Jordan's vision and depending on the political affiliations were subjected to imprisonment, torture, harassment, censorship, and deportation (Ḥūrānī 1980).

The Egyptian Radio Station Ṣawt al-ʿArab instantly became a dominant force on the air during this period, especially after the July 14 Revolution in Iraq. As a propaganda tool, the station was used to articulate al-Nāṣir's ideology, foreign policy, and to influence public opinion and undermine any internal and external opposition, especially from King Ḥusain and King Saʿūd. The Egyptian media and Ṣawt al-ʿArab, utilized every possible medium to undermine Ḥusain's opposition. They used songs that spoke directly to al-Nāṣir's brand of Arab nationalist ideology, daily rhetoric, news, and political commentary.

To that moment, Ḥusain confronted al-Nāṣir's propaganda machine through written material, such as leaflets, articles, and books. However, after the July 14 Revolution, Ḥusain was more vulnerable than ever, and his vision of establishing and sustaining his nation-state was in serious jeopardy. He felt that he needed to create a platform that would help him bring Jordan's internal turmoil to rest.

4.4 Relocation

From King Ḥusain's perspective, the West Bank offered logistical support for Palestinian-themed activism, which was on the rise and constituted an increasing challenge to the young King's authority. Like his grandfather ʿAbdullah, King Ḥusain relied on notable families and loyal tribes to build his nation and secure his throne. However, the socioeconomic conditions of Palestinian refugees in the West and East banks were dire. The whole notion of the return of refugees was still fresh in the minds of many, and the concept was presented in the public sphere as an attainable goal. Meanwhile, settling all refugees and integrating them into Jordan's economic apparatus proved to be a challenge that resulted in chronically harsh living conditions, which could eventually lead to political instability. According to Jaber Suleiman (1995), three categories of Palestinians were determined based on their arrival date, and the nature and status of their Jordanian residency: 1) Palestinians who moved to Jordan before 1948. These were the most fortunate and integrated quickly; 2) Palestinian refugees who settled in refugee camps or cities. Their status depended on their economic situation before displacement; and 3) Palestinians of the West Bank who did not go through displacement in the first place.

The Ramallah station at the time reminisced on its immediate past and considered itself an extension of PBS (Fuskurijian 1992). It was still mostly representing Palestinians first while trying to be inclusive in its programming. Having the station based in Ramallah gave it a more in-depth logistical and ideological support among Palestinians. Ḥusain was determined to use the media to combat al-Nāṣir's campaign against him and keep his reign intact; he decided to re-establish the Jordan Radio and move its operations to Amman. The role that Ḥusain was determined for the media to play was to shape the historical events in Jordan, not merely portray them. Disseminated by the press, the ideals of the unity between the East and West banks were designed to reconcile traditional markers like tribe, dialect, religion, and politics in the hope that

the new identity of Jordanians would be adopted by everyone leading to political stability. Such maneuvers, nonetheless, were not possible without the help and consent of notable Palestinian and Jordanian families who played a significant role in facilitating the transition.

The move to Amman in 1959 was the final step in shifting the center of cultural and political power from Jerusalem and Ramallah to Amman. As a propaganda arm, the moving of the radio's physical location was indicative of the King's attempt to keep his instruments and tools close to his base in Amman. During that period, Hazzāʿ al-Majālī led the efforts to establish Jordan's media platform (Abū Dayya [Dawr] 2010). He appointed Waṣfī al-Tal to lead al-Tawjīh al-Maʿnawī, or the National Steering Committee, a department created to advise and implement cultural policy, and appointed Ṣalāḥ Abū Zaid to lead the Jordan Radio (ibid.). The first three units under this department were: 1) youth summer camps; 2) Firqit al-Funūn al-Shaʿbiyya (Popular Folk Arts Troupe), and 3) the radio (ibid.). Administratively, the radio was overseen by the National Steering Committee (currently the National Steering and Media Agency), an agency that monitored, advised, and implemented cultural policies and reported directly to the prime minister (ibid.). This era witnessed the growth and institutionalization of the new Jordanian identity.

As part of their work at the station, in 1959, al-ʿĀṣ, a Palestinian, and Tawfīq al-Nimrī, Jordanian, were commissioned with the task of collecting songs from the then the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (interview with Salwa al-ʿĀṣ, 2018). The main reason for this initiative was to use this material as the basis for creating a Jordanian national song. This initiative was an action that the King himself was behind and was carried by his most trusted ministers, Hazzāaʿ al-Majālī, Wasfi al-Tal, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Sharaf, Zaid al-Rifāʿī, Ṣalāḥ Abū Zaid, and ʿAdnān Abū ʿŪf (Ṭawālba 2010). Since all Palestinian institutions were annexed to Jordan, the plan was for

the station to continue to release new songs but to use them to disseminate the vision of the new nation. The lyrics of such new songs were changed and/or modified by the composers or local poets, such as Rashīd Zaid al- Kīlānī (1905-1965), a Palestinian poet from Nablus. Before 1948, Palestinian composers used to expand Bedouin and peasant melodies into *shaʿbī* songs. Lyricists and poets would straighten out the lyrics rhythmically and replace any harsh words with softer ones. They also filtered them from any sexually explicit material or any political commentary (see Iṣṭifān 1928). Some of the songs would have only an A section, and others would have an A and B sections. Al-ʿĀṣ was at the frontier of this practice before and after 1948. According to Salām Ṭawālba, immediately after the station moved to Amman, al-ʿĀṣ started collaborating with various poets and lyricists including Haydar Maḥmūd, Sulaymān al-Mashīnī, Rashīd Zaid al-Kīlānī, Nuṣūh al-Majālī, Nāyif Abū ʿUbaid, ʿAbd al-Rahīm ʿUmar, and ʿAssāf Tāhir (Ṭawālba 2010). The main task that they were all charged with by Jordan Radio was to develop a national song style (ibid.).

In 1959, the sixteen-year-old girl from ʿIjja, a small village 20 km south of Jenin, Nawāl ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ʿIjjawi, later known as Salwa, participated in a talent show which was hosted by the Jordan Radio. In an interview with Roya TV on November 27, 2015, she recalled that a top official by the name ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Rifaʿī loved her voice and asked her to join the station as a salaried singer (Salwa 2015). Salwa came from a conservative background and community. Her father was reluctant to agree at first and drove back to their hometown of ʿIjja. A few weeks later, the family received a formal letter extending a formal offer to Nawāl. After intense deliberations with the family and after getting pressured by various government officials, the father eventually conceded and agreed for his daughter to become a salaried singer at the Jordan Radio with 13JD per month as basic salary. She subsequently moved to Amman and started her

tenure at the Jordan Radio. She described how the small but efficient radio ensemble that moved to Amman from Ramallah in 1959 upon the opening of the Jordan Radio in Amman (in Um al-Ḥīrān) was becoming the core group upon which the whole music scene in Jordan was set to evolve.

Among those who moved to Amman, as she recalls, were Jamīl al-ʿĀṣ, a composer, singer, and *buzuq*-player (who later became her husband); Yūsif Raḍwān, singer; Tawfīq al-Nimrī, composer/singer/*ʿūd* player, Jalīl Rukab, violin; Yūsif Naṣra, cello; Anṭūn Ḥajjār, *nāy*; Fahid Najjār, singer; Jamīl al-Nimrī, double bass; Rāmiz al-Zāgha, *ʿūd*; Salīm al-Zāgha, percussion, Ḥannah Ghaṭṭās, singer; Ṣabrī Maḥmūd and his wife Ghāda as singers.[86] According to her, this era marked the beginning of launching what became known as Jordanian Song.

In my 2018 interview with Salwa, she mentioned that during that period, government officials were heavily and directly involved in the process of music-making as a matter of both the national interest and *tawjīh thaqāfī,* or steered cultural policy (interview with Salwa, 2018). According to her, these officials were following through on the policies that were communicated to them by the King and his top advisors such as Hazzāʿ al- Majālī and Waṣfī al-Tal. Direct involvement from those at the top of the chain of command was consistent as they visited the station regularly to ensure that their orders and instructions are being implemented accurately, Salwa recalled. Furthermore, Waṣfī al-Tal gave clear instructions to the station's program directors not to broadcast popular songs that he considered inappropriate. He even threatened to

[86] Ṣabrī Maḥmūd was also a composer, known for Palestinians revolutionary songs that he composed "Anā Ṣāmid" (1970–1971) for Ṣawt Falasṭīn (Radio Palestine); "Bidī Rashshāshī," "Ghallāba Yā Fatḥ," "Mā Bainnā Khlāf," "Yā Fidā'ī," and "Khallī Rṣāṣak Ṣāyib."

arrest them if they disobey his orders and send them to al-Jafir prison.[87] Al-Majālī and al-Tal were instrumental in making this national style a public display of Jordan's identity (ibid.).

During this period, Jordan Radio produced songs for essentially the newly nationalized cultural traits of Jordanians, bringing together both East Jordanians and Jordanian-Palestinians and promoting them as just Jordanians. The notion of being Jordanians, Salwa claimed, resonated well with both sides. She recalled that songs were also produced in the spirit of both East Jordanians and Jordanian-Palestinians, but rather in Bedouin dialect. The songs were secular, and their subject matters revolved around love, courage, pride, and the lifeways of peasants, representing Palestinians, and Bedouins, representing East Jordanians. Patriotic songs were also broadcast and presented in a fashion combining both East Jordanians and Jordanian-Palestinians under one coherent Jordanian label. The notion of Palestine appeared indirectly in the context of praising the King as the guardian of the Jordanian nation and liberator of the lost lands, a depiction that contrasts pan-Arabism and its main icon Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir as the only liberator of Palestine.

The station headed towards a different direction after its relocation to Amman in 1959. According to Qāsim ʿAbd al-Hādī, the move to Amman finished off any trace of PBS, both in terms of programming and the people who worked in it, especially with the departure of many of the musicians who headed to Lebanon and Syria instead of Amman (Fuskurijian 1992). ʿAbd al-Hādi recalls that up until 1959, the radio was, in fact, still vibrant with visiting and core musicians from all over the Arab World. They engaged in broadcasting and productions, and many recorded their works and even launched their careers through the station. Those include

[87] One of the most notorious prisons in Jordan known for holding members of leftist political parties.

Tawfīq al-Bāshā, ʿAbd al-Karīm Qazmūz, Najāḥ Salām, and many others (ibid.). Despite his engagement with PBS before and after 1948, ʿAbd al-Hādī decided to stay in Ramallah.

This new environment hindered any bridging efforts to recover the gap between the pre-1948 emerging Palestinian music scene and that of the post-1948 era. By the early 1960s, the emerging Palestinian middle class seems to have become increasingly disenfranchised with what Jordan Radio was promoting (Butrus 2019). This subjugation was also the case among the youth in urban centers, and especially among those exposed to Western music education at their prospective schools and had access to Western recordings and instruments (Ashrawi 2018).

The departure of PBS from Ramallah vacuumed all that was needed to sustain a music scene in the West Bank. To the remaining pockets of musicians in the West Bank, musical activities were by then centered around traditional musicians who were not part of PBS, not as skilled or educated, or did not wish to associate with it. Such musicians were active in some capacity either through teaching privately or by performing at weddings and private gatherings. The Palestinian musicians who were operating in Jordan in a formal capacity did not express their political thoughts, fearing retaliation, imprisonment, or other types of punishment. Most of them eventually adopted the notion of becoming Jordanians. By then, it was apparent that Palestinians in the East Bank (Jordan), Lebanon, and the West Bank were already on different identity tracks.

4.5 Redefining the Palestinian Music Project between the Performative, Pedagogic, and Alienated

During the first half of the twentieth century, Bedouins' wisdom was portrayed as equal to that of learned scholars, an approach that a man of letters such as al-ʿĀrif advocated (see al-ʿĀrif 1933).[88] Such captivation offered a platform for the "pure" status of peasants or Bedouins to be praised, especially with prominent tribal figures such as al-Ḥusain Ibn ʿAlī al-Hāshimī (Hashemite), proclaiming the Great Arab Revolt. Ibn ʿAlī's leading role in the revolt contributed directly to elevating the status of Bedouins, as well as recognizing them as potential kings, and descendants of prophets, a depiction that has appealed to various Arab monarchies ever since.

The song types associated with Bedouin culture appealed to Jordan's monarchy and East Jordanians. They took pride in this association and considered it a celebration of their traditions. The media continued to adopt initiatives to celebrate Bedouin traditions, as well as those of peasants for their association with West Jordanians (Palestinians). By the late 1950s, such songs were increasingly getting synthesized to signify the unity between Jordanians and Palestinians. However, the dominating feature that overpowered Palestinian musical ingredients is that such songs were in Bedouin dialect.

Dialect designations signified national origin or nationality, not only in Jordan, but also in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and well before in Egypt. Songs of this period were becoming a useful tool to disseminate ideas and reflect the cultural and political trends of the time. They also became the desired instrument for circulating an imagined identity to be adopted by the masses (see Zughaib 1993).

[88] The Grimm Brothers and the pair Arnim von Achim and Clemens Brentano also portrayed "peasants; as wise, pure, and untouched."

Although using traditional literature as the foundation of capturing the soul of al-Mashriq rhymes with what Ṣabrī al-Sharīf advocated, the interpretation of his vision in Lebanon was distant from Jordan's. The Lebanese scene was pedagogical in its approach and founded upon educated musicians as well as al-Sharīf's role as the main engine behind its success. Subsequently, the Lebanese composers utilized peasant/Bedouin song types but inserted intellectual, artistic, and spiritual components. They, however, also painted a different imagined identity for the Lebanese people. In Jordan, music-making reflected a performative approach, which is when the process of music-making depends on intuition, spontaneity, and starts and ends with the day-to-day chores that people do. Homi Bhabha articulates this point and argues that

> The tension between the pedagogical and the performative that I have identified in the narrative address of the nation, turns the reference to a "people"—from whatever political or cultural position it is made into a problem of knowledge that haunts the symbolic formation of modern social authority. The people are neither the beginning nor the end of the national narrative; they represent the cutting edge between the totalizing powers of the "social" as a homogeneous, consensual community, and the forces that signify the more specific address to contentious, unequal interests and identities within the population. (Bhabha 1990, 297)

4.5.1 Performative

In Jordan's performative scenario, the topics and scope of songs were subjected to governmental censorship and were much more limited when compared to traditional presentations. The folklorization process overlooked the intellectual and spiritual properties of such material and sustained the unpolished aspects of the repertoire as notions of authenticity and pureness. The lyrics revolved around the same vocabulary, imagery, metaphors, and meters. While the music mostly remained the same, with composers making subtle changes or adding new sections. In terms of artistry and production components, most of the songs were musically modest, simplistic, and mediocre. However, different types of synthesis also took place in

Jordan, but through reconciling two different cultural narratives, one Bedouin, and the other is a peasant. Take, for example, the two songs “Bain al-Dawālī” from Jordan and “Halā Lālā Layyā” from Lebanon, where each song offers a different outlook on identity, musicality, and outlook.

The lyrics of Bain al-Dawālī, shown below, appear to be a hybrid between peasant and Bedouin dialects. Expressions and images from both dialects and cultures were used. The pronunciation, however, followed the Bedouin idiom, not the peasant. Rashīd Zaid al-Kīlānī wrote the song, and al-ʿĀṣ set the lyrics to a peasant tune (Figure 52). Salwa first sang it on Jordan’s Radio in 1959 when she was thirteen years of age (Salwa 2011).

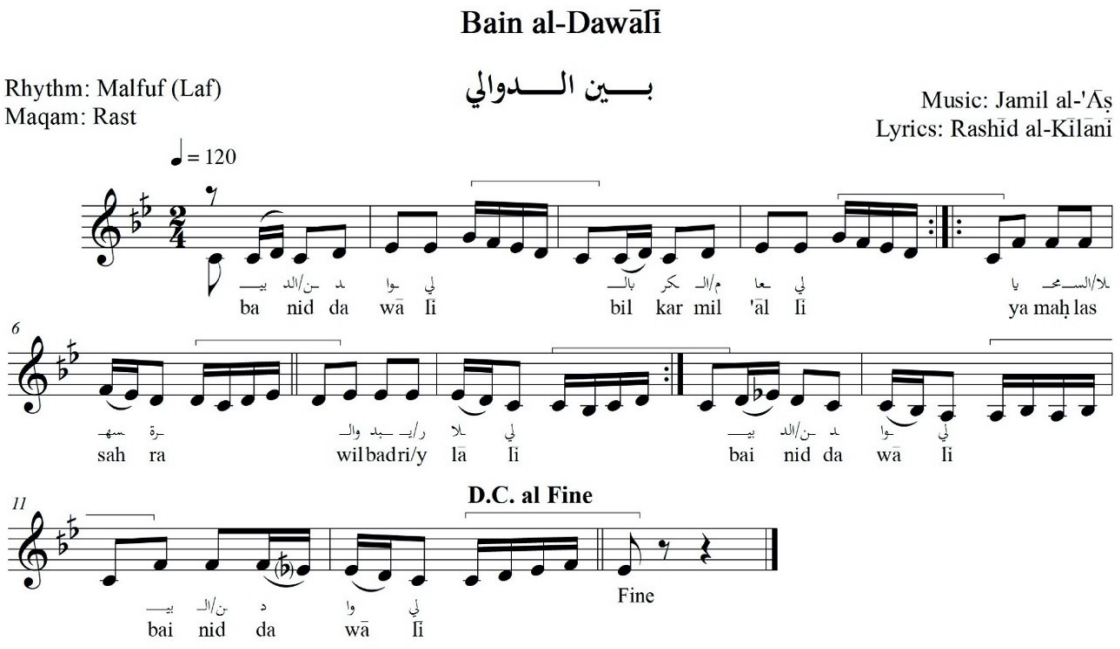


Figure 52. “Bain al-Dawālī,” Jamīl al-ʿĀṣ (1959)

“Bain al-Dawālī,” lyrics and translation:

Between grape trees and the high orchard	**1**	بين الدوالي بالكرم العالي
the evening is pleasant with the full moon sparkling.		يا محلا السهرة والبدر يلالي
Our ***saḥja*** is ***malʿab***, its ***dabka*** is pleasant	**2**	صحجتنا بتلعب محلا دبكتها
Youth are ecstatic, increasingly joyful.		شبان بتطرب زادت فرحتها
Let us join hands, stay to my side,	**3**	حط ايدي بايدك خليك بجنبي
listening to your qaṣīda brings delight to my heart.		لاسمع قصيدك وافرح قلبي

Next to the grape arbor, we sing and dance,	**4**	جنب العريشة نرقص ونغني
Life is pleasant when we are in paradise.		ومحلى العيشة واحنا بالجنة
The coffee maker (pourer), go around with the coffee pot,	**5**	صباب القهوة دور بدلتها
and we are not going to miss this pleasant evening		وهالسهرة الحلوة ما منفوتها

*Words in bold indicate Bedouin or peasant vocabulary. Phrases in bold and italics indicate expressions of unity.

"Bain al-Dawālī," transliteration:

bain_id-dawālī	b-il-karmil ʿālī	yā maḥla_s-sahra	wi_l-badri_ylālī (bain_id-dawālī)
ṣaḥjitna_btilʿab	maḥla dabkithā	shubbān_ibtiṭrab	zādat farḥithā (bain_id-dawālī)
ḥuṭ īdī bīdak	khallīk_ibjanbī	lasmaʿ gaṣīdak	wa farriḥ galbī (bain_id-dawālī)
janb_il ʿ**arīshaih**	nurguṣ wi_nghannī	maḥla ha_l-ʿīshaih	wiḥna b-il-jannaih (bain_id-dawālī)
ṣabbāb_il-gahwa	**dūr-i-bdallitha**	has sahra_l-ḥilwaih	mā binfawwithā (bain_id-dawālī)

The song became an instant hit and resonated with audiences. Its central theme revolves around gathering under a *dawālī* (grapevines) arbor, as shown in Figure 53 below. The lyrics incorporate terms and metaphors that point to East Jordanians and West Jordanians (Palestinians). This blend can be seen in the usage of specific imagery and phrases such as the *ʿarīsha* (arbor), *ṭarab*, and *dabka* dance. Such phrases refer to peasant and urban lifestyles. As for the Bedouin references, those include *ṣaḥja* dance (which according to Iṣṭifan is also called *diḥḥiyya* by some Bedouin tribes), the Bedouin coffee maker, as well as Bedouin pronunciation. The lyrics also emphasized the shared traits between the two communities, such as singing, gathering, socializing, and love of poetry, and appreciation of coffee, despite peasants following the Ottoman (Turkish) method when brewing coffee, not the Bedouin one.

The lyrics embrace simple living and pleasures. In verse 2, the song acknowledges both terms *ṣaḥja*, and *malʿab* as equal, likely to avoid having Jordanian and Palestinian terminology prevailing over each other in the context of culture as well as to symbolize the brotherly relationship between the two communities. *Ṣaḥja* and *malʿab* describe the same thing: the former

is the term commonly used in Jordan, and the latter is frequently used in the Ramallah region. The lyrics also highlight the coffee pourer as a significant fixture in Bedouin culture.

Figure 53. A residential grapevine arbor, Ramallah

A televised version of this song appeared on Jordan's state television shortly after its inception in 1968. The clip points to how such productions visualized Bedouin and peasant cultures during that period and how they fused the two. The production seems to have taken place in a studio setting. The set consists of a Bedouin tent with rug flooring, cushions, pillows, side tables, and background images. There were also household items that Bedouins use, such as a coffee grinder, coffee pot, water vessel, and straw trays. There was an out of place décor water well, as shown in the video (recording 37). Two singers, male and female, sang the song. The male singer is al-ʿĀṣ himself, and the female singer is Salwa, who was by then his wife.

In the footage, men had their peasant gown dresses (*qumbāz)* lifted, as well as their sleeves, which is what peasants do when they work in the fields. Meanwhile, the footage shows Salwa in a fancy, modern-looking dress without a headpiece. Salwa never appeared in the same frame as the men, which is indicative of the reinforcement of the patriarchal and conservative values of Bedouin culture, where restrictions apply when women interact with men. The plot is somewhat deceiving and sexist because, in both Bedouin and peasant contexts, women are traditionally in charge of agricultural activities, herding, grazing, fetching water, and raising crops. At the same time, men used to plow, guard their land, do some of the heavy-lifting, and receive visitors (Butrus 2019).

While the song is not expected to be historically accurate or depict actual events, various individuals within Jordan's TV and Radio Agency monitored every aspect of such productions. They embraced the Bedouin way of life, and consciously attempted to reconcile the disparity between Bedouins and peasants. In the process, once again, Christian Palestinians were excluded from this equation and were becoming increasingly alienated. The majority did not associate with Bedouins or peasant lifestyles; on the contrary, they were becoming increasingly urban and modernized. Moreover, amid such changes, most genres that used to appear in urban music scenes did not seem to fulfill Jordan's cultural policy. Therefore, many were left behind, including the types that al-Bandak, al-Batrūni, ʿArniṭa, al-Khammash, al-Rūmī, and al-Saʿūdī composed, let alone al-Sharīf's initiatives in Lebanon.

4.5.2 Pedagogic

In the song "Halā Lālā Layyā," the lyrics seem to be a hybrid between Bedouin and some added verses by the Raḥbānī Brothers, all pronounced according to colloquial Lebanese, not Bedouin.[89] Although specific terms and imagery speak to a Bedouin setting such as the mention of tents and usage of *walīf* (lover or close companion in Bedouin dialect), the pronunciation in the song is much lighter and not as "rough." Softening the lyrics was a maneuver that the Raḥbāni Brothers adopted, as Manṣūr Raḥbānī described in an interview published by the *Wasaṭ* newspaper in 1993. For example, the typical *ga* was pronounced *a* and other Bedouin words were adjusted accordingly. The song was performed in 1957 as part of the Bʿalbak Lebanese Nights musical "Ayyām al-Ḥaṣād" (Badla 2017). It immediately followed the spectacle where Fayrūz appeared at the opening standing on the base of one of the columns of the temple of Jupiter (ibid.; see recording 38).

"Halā Lālā Layyā," lyrics, and translation:

Welcome my dearest (welcome [lā lā] my eye oh master), love is splendid, oh sweet one, lighten up**.**	هلا لا لا ليًّا عيني يا موليًّا طاب الهوى يا حلو ع مهلك شوية
Welcome my dearest, stay in the shade of the **breezy tents,** my beloved.	هلا لا لا ليًّا عيني يا موليًّا **بفيّة خيام الهوى يا عاشق تفيّا**
I shall go to the ***walīf*'s** (beloved's) area and ask where he/she lives;[90]	**لأقصد ربوع الوليف** واسأل على داره
I shall tell him that the buttons of his shirt **sent us** his whereabouts with the wind.	وقول له هواك اللطيف **وميت** لنا زراره
From his flower garden, the light breeze gushed our way. Joyful his pleasant love, near the **swirling water streams**	طل النسيم الخفيف من صوب أزهاره يشرح هواه الظريف ع **مكاسر المي**

*Words in bold indicate terms, imagery, and phrases that occur only in Bedouin dialect.

[89] Halā means welcome, lā lā is just a play on words

[90] In Arabic literature, *he* can also refer to a female, especially in literary and sung contexts.

"Halā Lālā Layyā," transliteration:

halā lālā layyā w halā lālā layyā ʿānī yā mūlayyā
ṭāb_il-hawa yā ḥilū ʿa mahlak_ishwayya
halā lālā layyā w halā lālā layyā ʿānī yā mūlayyā
bfayyit khiyām_il-hawā yā ʿāshiʾ it-fayya
laʾṣud rubūʿ_il-walīf wisʾal ʿa la dāru
ʾ**illu** hawāk_il-laṭīf **wimyit** linā_zraru
ṭal_in-nasīm il-khafīf min sawbi azharu
yishraḥ hawāh_iz-zarīf ʿ**am kāsir_il-mayya**

The melody of the A section resembles a traditional song from Syria called "Zawālīf," while section B is likely newly composed by the Raḥbānī Brothers. The original song is in *maqām bayātī* with the main body of the melody residing over the tonic of *maqām ʿajam*, a common characteristic and interchange that occurs within *maqām bayātī,* as shown in Ṣabāh Fakhrī's recording 39.[91] Fakhrī returns to the *bayāti* home *maqām* at 00:25, 00:44, 1:04, 2:01, and 2:40, while the rest of the melody resides on the tonic of *maqām ʿajam*. However, the Raḥbānī Brothers eliminated any references or returns to *bayātī* and readjusted the melody to the tonal centers of the Western major scale. This procedure made the song suitable for tonal harmonization, which is applied in the recording, as illustrated in Recording 38.

The Raḥbānī Brothers and Ṣabrī al-Sharīf avoided generic displays of traditional communities, peasant, and Bedouin. Instead, they applied literary and compositional devices to alter the rough realities that characterize much of such communities and injected elements and components of urban and intellectual dimensions in their songs while maintaining the spiritual dynamics of the original material. As for the visual aspect of their productions, al-Sharīf

[91] See full video at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tBevbohK44M (the first 3 minutes).

readjusted the village reality by using modern furniture, choreographed dances, and designed customs. He abandoned the stereotypical imagery and connotations that point to the hard Bedouin and peasant lifestyles and instead smoothed the representation. This approach appears in all the musicals, plays, and films that al-Sharīf directed or produced. For example, in the 1964 film "Bayyāʿ al-Khawātim" (The Ring Seller), the plot takes place in a village where the set was built especially for the film. Youssef Chahine directed the film, and al-Sharif acted as its artistic director. At the opening scene, the clarinet plays a short introductory melody immediately after the orchestral accompaniment of the film titles concluded. The clarinet was playing over a drone by the strings section, while the screen depicted the center of the village, with actors moving around the stage. The strings established a fuller drone, and Fayrūz began singing in the style of intoned melodic readings of scriptures or epistles during mass in both the Western and Eastern churches.[92] In this case, however, the melody was on a major scale, in contrast to Eastern scripture narrations that typically fall on one of the Byzantine modes.

"Bayyāʿ al-Khawātim," lyrics and translation of the introduction song:

We are about to tell the story of a village.	رح نحكي قصة ضيعة
The story is not real,	لا القصة صحيحة
and the village does not exist	ولا الضيعة موجودة.
However, one night, when a bored human being	بس بليلة وهو ضجرا
scribbled on a sheet of paper,	خرطش انسان ع ورقة
The story became real,	صارت القصة
and the village came to life	وعمرت الضيعة

[92] Chanting of text or Recto *tono* (Latin for "straight" or "uniform" tone) with an occasional one- or two-step variation. Text is sung to a straightforward melody that stays on the same note most of the time, and occasionally rises or falls one or two full steps.

As shown in the translation of the introduction, the text offers the possibility of an imagined future to become a reality. While movies are expected to be fictional or nonfictional, it is not customary for films to introduce viewers to such a predicament. The Brothers' desire to stress the difference between what is imaginary and what is not is representative of their attempt to transform the pedagogical into a performative reality.

The Raḥbānī Brothers did not hide their intentions of wanting to create an imagined future. Christopher Stone shows that the Raḥbānī Brothers explicitly offered an intellectual incentive for the viewers to consider, which is to contemplate the possibility of molding their lives according to the values presented in the film (Stone 2010). As the narration points to the story getting transformed from scribbles into reality, the Brothers reiterated the pedagogic approach by accepting educated people as the leading force in changing society, not necessarily ordinary people, peasants, or Bedouins. Once again, such concepts were articulated carefully in al-Sharīf's manifesto and driven by him. The Raḥbānī Brothers seem to have evolved from a pedagogic approach based on Western models to one that revolves around local materials injected with literary, spiritual, and civil values.

In the film, most scenes included vibrant colors, tidy backgrounds, and artsy artifacts. During the first few minutes, various visuals struck me as a conscious effort of beautification of the peasant environment. Stone pointed out that the film represented the northern part of Lebanon, not the south or the Biqāʿ region, which is presumably better suited for the village that the Raḥbānī Brothers imagined. However, various effects seemed to push the boundaries, such as the painted glass windows, sofa tables with stylish vases, fancy lanterns, wallpaper, walls painted with vibrant colors, a pet store, trendy clothes, jewelry, and men and women interacting with no barriers.

With the Bedouin dialect becoming the foundation of music-making in Jordan, urban musicians and singers, including all those who moved with the station to its new home in Amman, were being asked to deliver in this style (interview with Salwa, 2018). Although they all previously mostly spoke and sang in local Palestinian dialects, they did not have much of a say in this new setting (ibid.). While the Hashemites fostered the loyalty and patronage of the great Bedouin tribes in order to remain in power, King Hussein resorted to the deployment of Bedouin aesthetics as a nationalist device to cement his position.

4.5.3 Alienated

The division between Jordan's Bedouin/peasant and Lebanon's urban music scenes continued to grow further apart. However, the roots that such divisions were built upon were founded before 1948. When the British planned for PBS in all its divisions, Arab, Jewish, and English, to be separate from each other and succeeded, the most central division may well have been between rural and urban listeners (Willson 2013). As a result of the British model, Palestinian musicians were already divided into Western and Eastern camps before 1948 in the context of PBS. At that time, the PBS Arab Section catered to existing listeners and hosted various types of music that appealed to each community, separately. Such divisions did not distinguish only Palestinian, Syrian, Egyptian, Iraqi and Turkish communities from each other, but also reorganized Palestinian peasant, urban, Bedouin and the Muslim and Christian communities into multiple subcategories. Programming and publications of the Arab section show that it recognized such assortments of Palestinian society and reflected them on air. The Arab section understood the political power of the station as a national hub for mobilization towards their potential future state. However, Britain's policies and laws kept Palestinian nationalists at bay and deepened the divide between notables and ordinary people. Such

disparities can be seen through the hiring practices of the British as well as their reliance on the local elites as loyal allies. From the hiring of Ṭūqān in 1936, Nuwayhiḍ's appointment in 1940, and al-Nashāshibī in 1944, all were indicative of the perspective from which the British envisioned the future of Palestinians. British Anglican perceptions about the Holy Land also divided Palestinians into two main categories: 1) peasants who could be preserved as remnants of the Biblical past; and 2) urbanites who could potentially grow, show progress, and declare loyalty to the West. By then, notions of modernity, social development, and progress were linked to European models, which spread throughout the Near East and impacted Arab thought and nationalism in the first half of the twentieth century, not only in Palestine. The British, therefore, hoped that urbanites would show cultural and political allegiance to the West.

Such divisions were becoming more profound as Bedouin culture and values became central to music-making in Jordan, and the gap between the music Palestinian musicians were making in the West Bank, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq widened even further. At that time, radio musicians, composers, poets, lyricists, journalists, activists, and intellectuals could not express their opinions in Jordan freely (Ḥabash 2019). The intelligence apparatus of Lebanon also monitored closely any Palestinian nationalist trends from emerging into the mainstream, conditions that Palestinians endured, and navigated under the British. These individuals gradually became instruments to primarily implement the monarchy's cultural policy and vision for the new Jordanian nation. As for Palestinian musicians in Lebanon and Syria, they experienced similar predicaments and progressively had to adjust their beliefs or practices to fit their new environments.

Music-making was getting funneled through government-controlled media outlets, a situation that al-Sharīf criticized while likely referring not only to Jordan's media apparatus but

also Egypt's. Songs were being used to disseminate an imagined future and identity for each country, and musicians and poets were at the center of such a trend. Since the al-Sharīf/Raḥbānī partnership was a private venture, they did not answer to any government. However, they were mindful of this difficulty and avoided conflict through packaging songs in modern renditions and local Lebanese dialects. Stokes argues that "[m]usic is intensely involved in the propagation of dominant classifications, and has been a tool in the hands of new states in the developing world, or rather of those classes which have the highest stake in these new social formations" (Stokes 1997, 10). While the 1950s laid the foundation for further stratification of Palestinians, different brands of music-making enticed different layers of Palestinians.

Historically, colonial powers manipulated cultures in favor of theirs and marginalized alternative expressions that defied their desired perception of the colonized subjects. Cultural superiority and advancements typically lend themselves to historical discourses that often switch roles and influences back and forth between the superiors and their subjects. For example, Muslim and Arab superiority and advancements at the peak of the Islamic civilization from the ninth to the seventeenth centuries were authoritative and dominating over other cultural discourses in Europe, the subjects. That role, however, switched in favor of Europe, which became more powerful and advanced, while Muslims and Arabs became colonial subjects. In Palestine, colonial and Christian mission ambitions often operated through the lens of superiority. To secure their superiority, they interrupted the natural alternating roles between the various centers of power and culture. They established processes to ensure that their European dominance remained within the realms of European schools of thought and thus affirming their long-lasting impact. By this, any future possibility of such roles getting switched around was greatly diminished. To achieve their goal, they had to create a strong base of local believers who

eventually formed an active community upon which Westerners could rely. For example, the Anglican mission created a small but reliable local class of urbanites who embraced European culture and political thought and were willing to defend it. This class advocated, often forcefully, for Western ideology, practices, and methodology. Various Christian families, including the Nasir family, emerged from this discourse and subsequently played a chief role in directing initiatives towards Western music and European culture. Yet, this was not to say that they wanted to scale their religious beliefs on others. Still, their attitude and firm belief that Western music would elevate Arab culture by necessity persistently reflected a colonial discourse.

Palestinian Christian communities continued to navigate their relationship with the Muslim community, the West, and Jordan's monarchy with great care. They advocated for secular nationalism and reacted cautiously to any attempt to label their actions as sectarian. During the 1950s, they did not engage in Bedouin or peasant-like ideals, including the music, and separated themselves further. This hole in Palestinian society, as Hillel Cohen argues, was reflected primarily through "a traditional social and political structure based largely on kinship, with old tensions between landowners and the landless, between religious communities, and between the rural and urban populations" (Cohen 2008, 262). Although the Zionist movement took advantage of such divisions and managed to weaken the Palestinian national movement and obstruct the Palestinian nation-building process (ibid.), the tear was already there. The ramifications of such disparities among Palestinians, as well as the remnants of the past, translated to various social, economic, and political advantages and disadvantages that became more profound and visible after the events of 1948. Such conditions determined in which layer of society each community fit and defined how these communities reacted to the events around them. An example of this is the decisions that notable Palestinian families and leaders made

concerning the future of their relationship with the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan during the Jericho Conference. The concessions they made to King ʿAbdulla including pledging allegiance to his rule demonstrated a major disregard to the needs and desires of most of the population (Ḥūranī 1980).

The educated urban classes, notable or not, consumed and promoted Western music as the path towards civility and as a display that signified progress, sophistication, and development. Christians from various Eastern and Western congregations, especially those who had direct or indirect interaction with Christian mission organizations, fall into this category and often benefited from Western interests. These pockets, however, were limited to socially tight communities where values were maintained through shared visions about culture and identity. Most of such ideas, as well as notions about the future of music-making, education, and learning, were a result of interaction with Western ideals, mostly through Christian mission as well as the Mandate.

Historically, "[m]embers of the Anglican Communion in the Middle East had generally belonged to the well-educated segment [sic] of Palestinian society, as a result of their relatively easier access to higher education opportunities, both in the Middle East as well as abroad" (Kuruvilla 2013, 42). For example, the Nasir family was engaged directly in building a college and implementing ambitious plans to expanding it into becoming a full university. This engagement is reflected in the concert where the central portions of the program were carried by members of the Nasir family, Kamal Nasir, poet, Amin Nasir, composer, Samia Nasir, soprano; and Rima Nasir, composer/pianist. Several members of the Nasir family had also worked in historical Christian missions, Christian missionary schools, and, or the Anglican church (Willson 2013), so the broader connection to Christian mission was also there. Since the inception of the

school in Birzeit in 1924, the family not only consistently advocated for Western music but collaborated only with individuals or groups who had the same outlook. Despite the availability of educated musicians who worked the Arab Renaissance scene at the time, the family seems to have been dismissive rather than inclusive of these musicians. The two groups were by the late 1950s operating in two different music scenes, and culturally and politically distant from each other.

As the British Mandate of Palestine and the Christian mission were active in altering the natural social formation of Palestinian society, they created different paths in forming such identity. In his book *Arab Nationalism: A Critical Enquiry* Bassam Tibi (1991) argues that:

> [T]he colonial intellectual somehow stands above classes and has taken upon himself a historic mission, whose aim is modernization and whose expression is nationalism. Only the Western-educated colonial elite can instigate the process of modernization, since existing social classes and structures are not national oriented and cannot by definition perform a modernizing role. The Indigenous 'aristocracy' and bourgeoisie, described as the anti-nationalist classes, form an alliance on the basis of the involvement of their interests with the colonial system, and this alliance attempts to perpetuate the traditional social structure. (46)

Ṭībī argues that once nationalism becomes a progressive force, it gets transformed in the post-colonial era into and ideology that stabilizes the domination of the elite over social elements:

> As Fanon has shown, the indigenous bourgeoisie in these countries, which has developed within the context of the colonial economy, cannot, in the context of the international constellation of forces, carry out the bourgeois revolutions which history has assigned to it. Taking India as an example in her discussions with Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg forecast that the national bourgeoisie which would come to power after decolonization would simply take over the same exploitive role as the colonialists. Fanon has again shown that the nation as a means of legitimizing the rule of the indigenous bourgeoisie is equivalent to the rebirth of tribalism under the guise of nationalism—whereby the nation is in fact reduced to the tribe. (64)

In contrast to Ṣabrī al-Sharīf's Lebanese example, Palestinian Anglicans under Jordan seem to have pursued standard Arabic as the primary catalyst for highlighting their patriotism.

The mere notion of using local culture and material did not seem to appeal, both as literature, form, poetic devices, and musical system. Therefore, an examination of the Arab nature of such Western-style compositions appears to rely heavily on the text, being Arabic, not the music itself being Arab. Through listening to the works of ʿArnīṭa, Khāshū, Duerī, Amīn Nasir, and Rima Nasir-Tarazi, they seem to use the descending augmented second interval to signify *maqām* music, which emphasizes simplistic stereotypes about *maqām* music. Stokes argues that "[t]he augmented second denoting 'the orient' in the old Turkish Delight advertisement has little to do with Turkish [*makam*] music, but it informs us in the context of our musical language of an imagined world of violence and repressed sexuality" (Stokes 1997, 4). He also argues that such deeply rooted images justify the Western use of the Orient as the basis of collective fantasy. In this case, such imagery is self-enforced and replicates Western perceptions of the East.

While it is apparent that Raḥbāni Brothers' early compositions seem to use generic musical reflections, such as the descending augmented second, the arrival of Ṣabrī al-Sharīf to Lebanon offered a roadmap to synthesizing traditions through cultural intersection and interchange. He did not divorce the traditional tools of music-making or the *maqām* system, nor did he abandon colloquial expression in favor of standard Arabic. As I observe the ramifications of his vision through the works of the Raḥbānī Brothers, it is apparent that the Brothers were increasingly more conscious of thoughtlessly resembling Western styles or Arabizing covers. Therefore, generic depictions, especially their use of the descending augmented second, did not surface in most of their works ever since. Instead, when such renditions occurred, they were bounced back to their original *maqām* habitat, the closest to which would be *maqām ḥijāz*. There are multiple indicators to this, including the declining use of choirs singing in harmony in their

later songs as well as a more cautious approach to using tonal and secondary harmonies. Also, the usage of diatonic harmony seems to have become a more suitable approach.[93]

The Raḥbanī Brothers started to utilize more drones, *maqām* vocal technique, and traditional *maqāmāt*, distinctive instrumentation, and musical textures, and they launched their use of colloquial Lebanese and traditional rhythms. During the Raḥbānī/al-Sharīf partnership, which lasted until the early 1970s, the following selection of songs displays how their ideals and processes evolved in action. The songs are five-years apart and offer a general scheme of how their works evolved musically. They also show how colloquial vocabulary and literary tools were utilized successfully and progressively:

- "Samrāʾu Maha" (1952), Recording 32, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6t5QjTQCH8Q
- "Qiṣṣat al-Ward" (1957), Recording 40, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N2YR2MCP4wQ
- "Ḥabībī ʾĀl Inṭirīnī" (1962), Recording 41, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a1fLOvqnNj8
- "Shāyif al-Baḥar" (1967), Recording 42, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PJM6KN94dIQ
- "Waynun" (1972), Recording 43, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6A8vmeJ49Eo

[93] Based on my analysis of their early works, I must note that some earlier works by Raḥbānī Brothers may have been arranged by any of the foreign professional musicians who worked in Lebanon's casino's during the 1950s.

In Palestinian Anglican circles, there is no evidence of any connections with other Palestinian musicians such as al-Rūmī, al-Khammāsh, al-Bandak, al-Sharīf, al-Saʿūdī, or the developments that they have advised and initiated prior and post 1948. Although al-Batrūnī indicated in the *Dhakhīra* magazine that he was actively trying to elevate traditional music and musicians, such endeavors, even if they existed before 1948, did not occur after 1948. This is not surprising given the pre-1948 separate status of both camps. This seemingly musical isolationism manifested itself during the 1950s, not only at the instrumentation and composition levels but also in terms of performance practices such as favoring Western vocal techniques. At first, according to al-Rūmī and Manṣūr Raḥbanī, Fayrūz herself received formal voice training when she was discovered by al-Rūmī. Her instruction was based on Western methodology (al-Rūmi 1992; Zughaib, 1993). However, al-Sharīf and the Raḥbānī Brothers collaborated heavily with specific musicians who were experts in fields that were still new to them. The most profound example of this is when Ghāzī was brought over to train Fayrūz to sing *muwashshaḥ* in the mid-1960s (Zughaib 1993). It was upon this encounter that Fayrūz's vocal performance shifted from a "Somewhere Over the Rainbow" approach to one that was hybrid, not entirely nasal, or entirely "diaphragmatic." Various other vocal characteristics in Fayrūz's vocal technique were filtered, such as a more mindful use of vibratos. She also ventured into singing *mawwāl* and other Egyptian genres.

Looking at this through the lenses of culture and identity, isolationism in music-making among Palestinian Anglicans alienated them farther from local and regional musical cultures. The Palestinian Anglican community was by then over a hundred years old and detached from the musical practices of ordinary people. Their understanding and knowledge of *maqām*, Arab Renaissance repertoire, and traditional musical arts was minimal. For example, the songs of

Tania Tamari-Nasir demonstrate her utilization of the diaphragm according to Western vocal pedagogy. She applies Western vocal techniques as well as the rules of diction and occasional vibrato in a Western context.

The vocal techniques associated with *maqām*, however, tend to be nasal. The nasal orientation is important for applying *maqām*-specific ornamentation and embellishments, as well as offering the singers better control over the *maqām*'s microtonal qualities. Moreover, in her article "The Palestinian National Song: A Personal Testimony," Tarazi describes the peasant song type known as the *dalʿūnā* as a love ballad, which is inaccurate. She also highlights the superiority of Western music over traditional genres. She makes no reference to any other Arab style except for "national songs" that ʿArnīṭa, al-Batrūnī, Amīn Nasir, and herself composed. As mentioned before, such songs utilized nationalist poetry in standard Arabic to project the virtues of being Arab. She opens her article with the following statement:

> In Palestine, the distinct events that marked its modern history were strongly reflected in its musical landscape. Folk music, a great Palestinian tradition that boasts a large number of folk poets with superb improvisational talents, has been colored by the suffering of the Palestinians and the loss of their homeland. Folk poets would improvise words to traditional tunes on the spur of the moment, depending on the occasion. "Ala Dal'ona," [sic] for example, a traditional love ballad, became a song describing the loss of homeland and the yearning for freedom. These events, coinciding with the emergence of Arab renaissance and nationalist movements and with the exposure of Arab musicians to Western classical music, gave rise to what has become known as the national song. This was initially based on the form of the anthem, which became very popular at the beginning of the twentieth century and was shared by all Arabs of the region. (Tarazi 2007, para. 2)

Despite colloquial Arabic becoming increasingly relevant in songs in Jordan and gaining literary importance in Lebanon while both scenes driven by Palestinians, Palestinian Anglicans continued using standard Arabic poetry to signify classism. This concept is fundamentally indicative of value judgments:

> The all-too-freely used terms classical, folk, and popular derive from European conceptions of how music exists in society. It is important to realize that these categories exist only in peoples' minds and may imply value judgments and hierarchical ways of thinking. The term classical refers to what is considered the highest class of music. This music is judged by standards that privilege complexity, individuality, and "sophistication," and that usually rate a long composition for a large ensemble as a "greater" achievement than a short piece for a small ensemble. (Miller and Shahriari 2018, 485)

In Audeh (2010) edited volume entitled *Birzeit University: The Story of a National Institution*, Gabi Baramki, Samia Khoury, and Tarazi kept reiterating the need for [Western] music education from the perspective of being a vehicle of civil and spiritual refinement as well as necessary for "developing well-rounded individuals" (Audeh 2010, 19). They put great emphasis on exposing Birzeit students to choirs, Western musicals, opera, and classical music. Terry E. Miller and Andrew C. Shahriari argue that exposing others to music that is distant from what they consider normative can easily lead to "miscommunication" (Miller and Shahriari 2018, 4). It may also contribute to the problem of xenocentrism, where a person's own culture gets judged against the criteria of another (Johnson 2012). Miller and Shahriari argue that

> In a process called the poietic, the creator of the music encodes meanings and emotions into the "neutral" composition or performance, which is then interpreted by anyone listening to the music, a process called the esthesic. Each individual listener's interpretation is entirely the result of cultural conditioning and life experience. When a group of people sharing similar backgrounds encounters a work or performance of music, there is the possibility that all (or most) will interpret what they hear similarly—but it is also possible that there will be as many variant interpretations as there are listeners. In short, meaning is not passed from the creator through the music to the listener. Instead, the listener applies an interpretation that is independent of the creator. However, when both the creator and listener share similar backgrounds, there is a greater likelihood that the listener's interpretation will be consistent with the creator's intended meaning. When the creator and listener are from completely different backgrounds, miscommunication is almost inevitable. (2018, 41-42)

The role that Palestinian Anglicans played was not entirely in synchronization musically and culturally with the rest of the population, an attitude retained to this day. Their position, however, is not surprising given that the British clergy attempted to make this small Anglican

community in Palestine into a miniature replica of their world. In the words of Frantzman, Glueckstadt, and Kark:

> Its [the Anglican community] members were members of the upper echelons of Arab society and resided in the best neighborhoods in the cities. From the Mogannams to the Saids, they universally adopted the dress and manners of their Church, while their church leaders in Palestine emulated the politics of the local faithful. (2011, 120)[94]

This endeavor led to creating a community that is on the same cultural page with European values but, at the same time, navigating a local political platform. Such a paradox can also be seen in Edward Said's writings. For example, in his article, "Perspectives of Polyphony in Edward Said's Writings," Rokus de Groot (2005) examines Edward Said's reflections on classical music and how he internalized its values and standards early in his life. "Said's family did not possess Arabic recordings but had a collection of discs with Western classical music" (220), such as Beethoven, Mozart, Rossini, Bach, Wagner, and Richard Strauss (Zeeman [2000] 2003). "It was this kind of music, and not Arabic music, that he was made familiar with" (de Groot 2005, 220). At age nine, Said attended an Um Kulthūm concert in the mid 1940s, and "[his] childhood judgment [was] rather like the way Western listeners, well-versed in Western classical music, used to comment upon music from the Middle East. It [resembled] very much an 'Orientalist' stereotypical prejudice about Arabic music and Oriental music in general" (ibid.). In his book *Musical Elaborations* (1992), five decades later, Said reflected on his harsh reaction:

> The point of the performance, I later realized, was not to get to the end of a carefully constructed logical structure-working through it-but to luxuriate in all sorts of byways, to linger over details and changes in the text, to digress and then digress from the digression. And because in my preponderantly Western education (both musical and academic), I seemed to be dedicated to an ethic of productivity and of overcoming

[94] The authors are referring to Mughannam Ilyas Mughannam and his wife Matiel. Mughannam attended the Friends Boys School in Ramallah and then studied law in the United States. Matiel was born in Lebanon and raised in the United States. She married Mughannam and returned with him to Jerusalem in the 1920s. The reference also applies to Edward Said's family.

> obstacles, the kind of art practiced by Umm Kalthoum [Um Kulthūm] receded in importance for me. (98)

Palestinian Anglicans, nonetheless, displayed fierce nationalism and strong advocacy for education and justice. According to Laura Robson, prominent Palestinian Christians shared an anti-imperial sensibility and interest in the reinvigoration of Arab identity and nationhood, and a commanding anti-Zionist position. She argues that:

> Rather than identifying as members of a disadvantaged minority struggling against a dominant Muslim majority, as the British mandate government and many subsequent historians would portray them, they viewed themselves as part of a new Arab intellectual elite, participating in European-style civil society but using it as a platform for politics of anti-imperialism and emerging models of Arab nationalism. (Robson 2011, 26)

While Palestinian Anglicans seem to fall in this category as well, the lack of knowledge or willingness to engage in *maqām* music is apparent, especially in contrast to other Eastern Christian denominations that maintained main components of their musical culture, which eased their involvement in the closely related *maqām* system.

Between the fractioned Palestinian leaderships, Jordan's ambitions, and the role that Christian mission, the British Mandate, and Zionists played, attempts to resume Palestinian nation-building and pursuit of identity were disrupted and got heavily damaged. Palestinians during the post-1948 era witnessed divisions at multiple levels and in several camps:

1. notable Muslim and Christian families that were tied to the unity with Jordan and benefited from it;
2. the educated younger generation in support of emerging ideologies such as pan-Arabism, and socialism;
3. refugees;
4. peasants;

5. the landless, and

6. lower-level workers.

According to testimonies from the period, each population consumed and favored different types of music (Fuskurijian 1992). Aside from where Palestinian musicians were operating in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq, Palestinian musicians under Jordan turned to their old social structures. Although Palestinian nationalism previously leaped in bringing all communities together to one national platform, Palestinians in the West Bank experienced contrasting realities that drove their identity to grow apart. Finally, Table 15 shows how Palestinian music-making manifested itself in Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq (discussed earlier), and by Anglican Christians in the West Bank. The table highlights five themes:

1. *sponsorship*, i.e., who supported their musical productions;
2. *focus*, i.e., the nature of their engagement in music-making;
3. *genres*, *styles*, and *influences*, i.e., the types of music they produced;
4. *aesthetics,* and *methodology*, i.e., how did they achieve their goal;
5. *objective*, i.e., for what purpose.

Table 15. Sponsorship; Focus; Genres, Styles and Influences; Aesthetics and Methodology; Objective

	Iraq	Lebanon	Jordan	Anglican Christians
Sponsorship				
State Sponsored	✓	N	✓	N
Focus				
Education	✓	N	N	✓
Production	✓	✓	✓	N
Genres, Styles, and Influences				
Arab Renaissance	O	U	N	N
Peasant, Bedouin, and Shaʿbī (Traditional)	O	O	✓	N
Qaṣīda	O	✓	O	N
Muwashshaḥ	✓	O	N	N
Instrumental	✓	O	N	O
Ṭarab	U	U	N	N

Maqām	✓	✓	O	N
Western	S	✓	N	✓
Egyptian Influences	U	N	O	N
Political Repertoire	N	O	N	N
Nationalist Repertoire Clichés	✓	O	✓	✓
Aesthetics and Methodology				
Performative	B	N	✓	N
Pedagogic	✓	✓	N	✓
Performative/ Pedagogic Synthesis	O	O	N	N*
Objective				
Nonfictional Imagined Future	✓	O	O	NA
Fictional Imagined Future	N	✓	✓	NA

Conclusion

Music Under the British

Recordings of Palestinian songs from the 1920s and 1930s present a nuanced and complex picture of how Palestinians responded to their surroundings. Some songs reflected the apolitical approach favored by the British while others sought to resist them by expressing public opinion. Nūḥ Ibrāhīm and Nimir Nāṣir wrote songs that belonged to the second category. Their songs reflected the local nationalist sentiment and focused on responding to current events. They wrote their lyrics in the colloquial variety of Arabic that is specific to the coastal regions of Palestine, and their music featured expanded local and regional song types. Although their songs were not musically complex in comparison to those of al-Akḥal, Qaddūra and ʿAwaḍ, both Ibrāhīm and Nāṣir composed in *maqām* and used traditional musical instruments in their performances and recordings. Because Western musical practices were at that point limited to mission contexts, the musical sensibilities of Ibrāhīm and Nāṣir remained relatively distant from Western music, which was also the case with the songs of al-Akḥal, Qaddūra and ʿAwaḍ. The songs of Ibrāhīm and Nāṣir were popular among Palestinians but did not appeal to the British.

Singing about subjects that induced violence or political action—as in the songs of Nimir Nāṣir, ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Barghūtī, and Nūḥ Ibrāhīm—reflects a strong sense of agency. However, because broadcasting became an essential platform for composers and singers to showcase their works, retaining control over songs placed musicians in a predicament in which they had to choose between having agency or becoming outcasts. Ultimately, the position of the Arab Section of PBS, and its willingness to play an apolitical and pragmatic role, affirmed its commitment to the interpretation and implementation of British policies. For example, upon Nuwayhiḍ's appointment at PBS, he prohibited various songs that he deemed "tasteless and shameful" (Nuwayhiḍ 1993, 260). As he put it:

> I had an inclination, which I hoped will grow in the Arab countries, namely, the fight against vulgar songs, including those recorded on discs. I sifted through the discs at the PBS library and banished all recordings of this kind. This cleanup was necessary to elevate the taste of Arab listeners for the better. (ibid.)

Moreover, Nuwayhiḍ insisted on having the Western-trained al-Batrūnī educate all Eastern musicians in reading and writing music. However, there is no indication that this was reciprocal, which was consistent with the notion of "educate and elevate." Due to this arrangement, Western-trained musicians were given the upper hand and were assumed to be superior to their Eastern counterparts, rather than equal. While under Ṭūqān, Nuwayhiḍ and al-Nashāshībī, there was no mention if Eastern and Western-trained musicians were working together to address the notion of musical progress. Instead, the pressure was on the Arab musicians operating in the realm of traditional music to "progress" and "educate" themselves. Essentially, under the British, PBS managed to achieve the following with its Arab Section:

1. separate folk musicians from their communities by dictating the subjects and lyrics that they sang on the radio;
2. establish the perception of rural musical practices as decaying remnants of the past;

3. stage folk performances and used them as the basis for the development of other forms;
4. enforce the apoliticization of music-making;
5. allow musicians to express patriotism but only as substitute for free political expression;
6. confine music-making to established colonial ventures and prepare the locals to play a similar role in the future;
7. keep all types of music and musicians separated from each other, and reflect this separation through the inequality in broadcast times and programming;
8. provide Western-trained Christian Palestinians with the means to disseminate Western music through PBS; and
9. establish Western music as superior to its local counterpart and emphasize the notion of "educate and elevate" through its colonial perspective of "modernization first" (Stanton 2013, 3).

Up until the establishment of PBS in 1936, Western music-making occurred in missionary settings. However, it was through PBS that such practices were scaled to the public sphere. The songs that al-Batrūnī and ʿArnīṭa wrote during this period were set in standard Arabic and focused on educational and patriotic themes. Although this practice helped Palestinian Anglicans and Catholics sustain a patriotic image in the public sphere, it distanced them musically and culturally from the rest of the population. The reason for this is that their songs followed European musical aesthetics and performance practices. Pratt ([1992] 2008) has argued that relations between the colonizers and the colonized are not based entirely on separation, but rather include interaction and co-existence. With regard to the British and

Christian mission, these interactions steered Palestinian Anglicans and Catholics to a pragmatic position characterized by conflicting elements, such as compromise, resistance, assertion, imitation, hybridity, and adaptation, as I described in the introduction (see Childs and Williams [1997] 2013). Their rural musical practices were becoming gradually irrelevant, obsolete, and artifacts from a previous life.

Broadcasting After 1948

Although peasant and Bedouin songs occupied a small but resilient space within PBS before 1948, their importance grew consistently after 1948. When Nuwayhiḍ once again directed the station while it was under control by Jordan, songs continued being apolitical, offering a generic sense of patriotism, and they were still channeled into the narrow realms of governmental censorship. By the end of the 1950s, Jordan Radio's productions shifted towards Bedouin dialect, and its broadcasts heavily promoted Bedouin heritage. This approach is evident not only in terms of the quantity of radio productions that were Bedouin-themed but also from testimonies by people who were active during that time, including Salwa (1943–), who witnessed all of the complexities of that era. When the station moved to Amman in 1959, this repertoire took the main stage not as a gesture of inclusivity of the various musical traditions that PBS previously presented, but as an instantiation of Jordanian nationalism. As governmental establishments, radio stations in Lebanon and Jordan had funding and steady means to compensate musicians for their work. Accordingly, for most musicians, the option of depending on record sales while maintaining political agency was not as reliable and lucrative when compared with stable appearances on the air, as well as exposure and potential future paid work. Essentially, the limited agency that Palestinian musicians endured under the British continued under Arab governments after 1948.

Negotiating Notions of Identity and Nation after 1948

Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Lebanon were actively building their national institutions and navigating questions of nationalism, religion, local and international alliances, and sovereignty. At first, the Palestinian presence in Jordan and Lebanon was welcomed, despite the economic and social disparities. However, during that period, tensions related to the emergence of Palestinians as a potential political and cultural force began to surface. Under these circumstances, Palestinian musicians adjusted the presentation of their identity and nationalist outlooks, as is evident in the cases of al-Rūmī, al-Bandak, al-Khammāsh, al-Sharīf, and al-ʻĀṣ.

On the other hand, music offered Palestinian refugees with the means to retain some of their values, customs, and traditions. While continuing to use traditional musical practices as a matter of culture and socialization, they also utilized musical performance as a means to voice their narratives, preserve their identity, and affirm their nationalist and political positions. Because refugee camps were made up a concentration of many villages, and were essentially big clusters of displaced Palestinians, refugee populations advised new positions towards their surroundings. In 2017, I interviewed Palestinian filmmaker and lyricist Sobhi al-Zobadi. Al-Zobaidi was born in Jerusalem in 1961 but grew up in Jalazone, a refugee camp seven kilometers north of Ramallah. He recalled the intensity of narratives, stories, images, and accents, saying that:

> In different weddings there were different songs in different accents. I memorized so many of those songs. At age ten, I knew what people from the city of Lid sing in their weddings, the songs of the people from Beit Nabala, and the songs from the village of Al-Dawaymeh, and so many more. (interview with Al-Zobaidi, 2017)

Ultimately, and despite their dire conditions, Palestinian refugees retained agency with regard to their expressions and had more control over music-making in the dominions of refugee camps.

Colonial Discourses

During the Mandate period, intellectuals and notable families alike dominated the cultural and political discourses in Palestine. With the help of the British, they positioned themselves to assume social and political authority, and took upon themselves the responsibility of speaking on behalf of the people. However, the contrasting and often conflicting views concerning the Palestinian national discourse among the various communities in Palestinian society presented serious challenges to the development of a cohesive Palestinian identity. For example, al-Sakakini feared that the 1936 revolt would lead to inhumane practices similar to those of previous revolts and warned people about the dangers of the Islamic jihadist movement of ʿIz al-Dīn al-Qassām. He also criticized PBS's music broadcasts and openly embraced Western music as a symbol of progress. The evolution of a secular nationalist thought among intellectuals and notable families coincided with consistent alienation by Zionist ideology and colonial policies. Their Christian identity was yet evident in most of their writings. Yet, despite their pragmatism, al-Sakakini and Totah approached the conflict from a humanistic perspective.

The events experienced by communities in Palestine forged opportunities that prompted musicians, Jewish and non-Jewish, to express aspects of their identity, including their political positions. Zionism and the British colonial rule may have provided additional reasons for Palestinian nationalism to grow more quickly and prompted Palestinians to prepare for potential statehood. However, this period was characterized by intense geographic, demographic, and religious separation between these communities, which was apparent in how they expressed identity in various ways, including music. The dealings between the colonizers and colonized Arabs fluctuated between co-presence, collaboration, sympathetic understanding of British motives and practices, as well as alignment. There are numerous examples of such interactions. One that stands out is that of Ibrāhīm, who, prior to joining the resistance movement, gifted

various British officials copies of his nationalist recordings in the hopes that they would change their mind with regard to their policies in Palestine. In contrast to Ibrāhīm's performative approach in his songs and actions, the 1956 Birzeit concert represented a pedagogic approach, which attempted to emphasize European musical and cultural models and highlight the Anglican community's social preeminence and worthiness to engage in building a nation. This approach is consistent with that of al-Sakakini and Totah. These two approaches, which are illustrated in the diagram below, capture the ways in which Palestinian communities differed in terms of how they expressed identity, nationalism, as well as ideology.

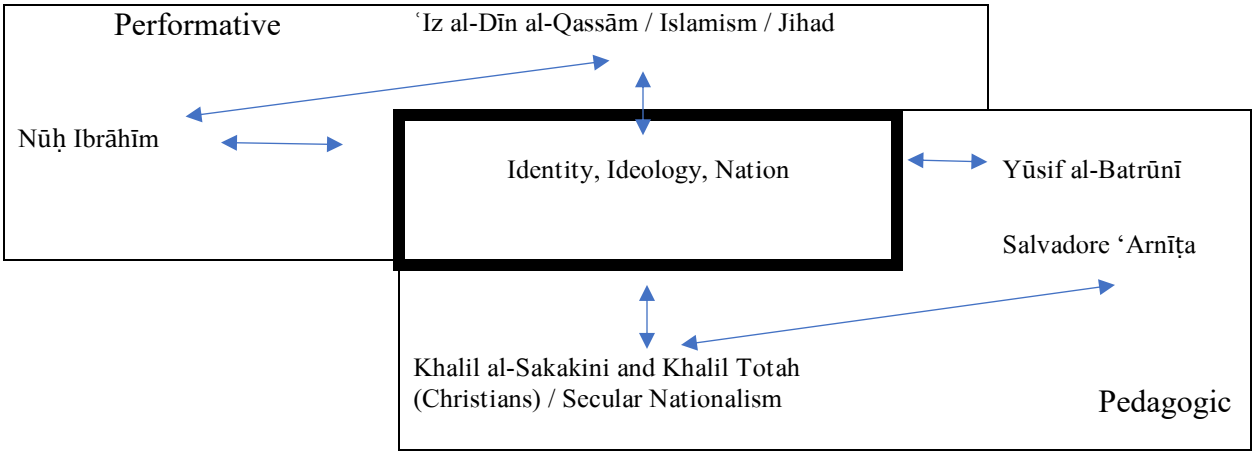


Figure 54. The notions of identity, ideology, and nation.

During the 1930s and 1940s, the divided fabric of Palestinian society was further articulated through the distinct fields of time and space that notable families created for themselves. Within these fields of space and time existed various practices that were proclaimed as worthy of becoming national discourses, such as those of Totah, al-Sakakini, al-ʿĀrif, Nuwayhiḍ, and al-Nashāshībī. Ultimately, these ideals were influenced by social stimuli that came from the Ottomans, Europe, Christian mission, and the policies of the Mandate government. The significance of the 1956 concert, therefore, lies in how Christian mission and

British policies contributed to the rearrangement of the Palestinian population in terms of Western versus Eastern musical practices, culture, politics, and religion. It also signifies the beginning of established engagements that were nurtured by local families as way of embracing and leading colonial discourses.

The turbulent directorial tenures of Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān from 1936 to 1940, ʿAjāj Nuwayhiḍ from 1940 to 1944, and ʿAzmī al-Nahsāshībī from 1944 to 1948 all demonstrate how the role of the Arab Section remained under the control of the British. The differences between the three men, however, reflected regional as well as international developments. For example, a few weeks after PBS started broadcasting under Tūqān, the Arab Revolt in Palestine erupted, presenting the leadership of the Arab Section with a political dilemma. This situation was not the only impasse that Ṭūqān was forced to navigate: his father, ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Ṭūqān, was arrested in 1936 for his involvement in the Revolt and was eventually exiled by the British to Egypt (Ṭūqān 1985). Ṭūqān, nevertheless, kept his job with the British at PBS and did not react publicly to his father's deportation. Nuwayhiḍ faced similar dilemmas, which eventually lead to his resignation in 1944. As for al-Nashāshībī, he continued to act pragmatically while dealing with the British and condoned the Hashemites as an alternative to al-Ḥusainī's leadership of the Palestinian people.

In a 1936 editorial in the Arab Palestinian newspaper Mirʾāt al-Sharq (Mirror of the East), published in Arabic in Jerusalem, the author criticized the Arab section of PBS for its inadequate programming and favoritism (November 14, 1936, 3). The article was signed by the name Jamīl, which was probably an alias. The article mentioned names, specific music genres, and offered multiple examples of how PBS malfunctioned. The author wrote in despair that it was unfortunate that the station was rounding up mediocre, forgotten singers and monologists

and giving them pride of place. He added, sarcastically, that what made matters worse was that the station opened its doors to such individuals, and was teaching and training them how to sing at the expense of millions of educated ears and tastes (Jamīl 1936). He went on to accuse the Arab section of being selective in its hiring of musicians, writers, actors, and playwrights, a trend that I discussed earlier (see Chapter 2.6).

PBS became a tool to help the British establish colonial institutions, especially on the Arab side. As a contact zone, it became the ultimate manifestation of how the British viewed and interacted with the Palestinian locals, as well as how local urbanites and notables situated themselves with regard to the British. Although music-making evolved tremendously at PBS, as shown in Chapter 2, the apolitical path that it adhered to attests to the fact that the British wanted to appease the population and neutralize its political impact. These discourses were determined by the British and disseminated to Palestinians through PBS publications and broadcasts.

The impact of the British was apparent to listeners, especially at the level of PBS's structure, organization, and political function (Stanton 2013). Stanton has discussed how various Palestinian newspapers throughout the station's history accused PBS broadcasts of disseminating the government-approved news. These criticisms extended to PBS's inability to freely report news of immediate relevance and interest to Palestinian communities (ibid.). Stanton has also argued that, unlike BBC and BBC Empire programming, the music, talks, news, and other programming broadcast from Cairo, Jerusalem, and Yāfā reflected and projected not a British identity but rather an Egyptian, Palestinian, and Arab nationalist one (Stanton 2013). However, it appears that only during the tenure of ʿAjāj Nuwayhiḍ from 1940-1944, which coincided with World War II, did the British offer limited flexibility in music and cultural programming (Nuwayhiḍ 1993); the overall direction of PBS continued to be entirely controlled by the

British.[95] Palestinian publications of the period criticized the influence of the British at the level of programming in PBS, as well as the station's obvious allegiance to Britain and notable local families (al-Sabiʿ [the Ṣarīḥ newspaper] 1950). The Arab Section in PBS, nonetheless, took advantage of the station's access to resources. It used the tools that were available to it in an attempt to shape a sense of national identity but stopped short of demanding sovereignty or engaging in political debates.

All three directors of the Arab Section were educated urbanites and understood the need for change. Although they are considered nationalists, their writings show that they had fundamental differences regarding the definition of nationalism.[96] Their different views, convictions, allegiances, pose various questions about the nature of their nationalist visions, as well as the forces that motivated them to engage in broadcasting, namely the British and the Hashemites. Essentially, their legacies are different from each other. Ṭūqān and al-Nashāshībī came from notable Palestinian families from Nablus and Jerusalem, respectively, while Nuwayhiḍ was born in Lebanon and settled in Palestine. In all cases, however, the British were in total control. For example, after meeting with the British on November 27, 1935, al-Sakakini reflected on the meeting in a letter to his son the following day, writing, "I still believe that appointing a director of the Arab Section will be based on the [British] government's opinion, and what Mr. such-and-such recommend" (al-Sakakini 2006, 178). Al-Sakakini understood, not

[95] According al-Jūzī (2010) PBS was run by mostly Palestinians and some Egyptians and Lebanese. They occupied various positions in the station, including program supervisors, musicians, administrators, announcers, engineers, producers, and writers.

[96] Al-Nashāshībī was the most vocal and prolific of the three directors. His columns appeared regularly in PBS broadcast programs, and he gave a ten-minute weekly address to listeners. He also continued to publish in local newspapers and magazines.

only as an insider but also as an intellectual, that the British designed PBS to be an institution that fulfilled a specific duty and that they were only going to hire individuals who agreed with their vision.

On February 1, 1936, a few weeks before Ṭūqān took the sub-director position, Mūsa al-ʿAlamī visited al-Sakakini and asked him to consider accepting the job. This time around, the request was coming from Sir Arthur Grenfell Wauchope, then the High Commissioner (ibid.). The appointment and dismissal of Ṭūqān, as well as the appointment and departure of Nuwayhiḍ and the appointment of al-Nashāshībī were all British decisions, conceived and implemented to accommodate and reflect British policies and vision. Each one of these individuals fulfilled the role designed for them, with an assortment of results, summed up as follows.

1. Ṭūqān helped PBS gain credibility among Palestinians who viewed the station with deep suspicion (Stanton 2013).
2. Nuwayhiḍ ensured the political pacification of the nationalist movement and alliance with the British during World War II (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). He was also directly involved in mediating the annexation of the West Bank.
3. Al-Nashāshībī had close ties with the British and the monarchy of Transjordan and helped ease the transition to the 1950 annexation. Al-Nashashībī family was known for having close relationships with the royal family of Transjordan and for being fierce opponents of Amīn al-Ḥusainī (al-Ḥūt 1981).

As Robson (2011), Willson (2013), and Haiduc-Dale (2015) describe, British administrators' plans to separate musical cultures and impose imagined new ones were an integral component of their intention to have divided populations to respond differently to their surroundings. One of the most profound results of this is that the Palestinian Christians who had

been exposed to Western music since the mid-nineteenth century were by that time determined to express themselves through Western music, while also signifying a strong national identity. For example, in a letter on January 2, 1936, al-Sakakini assured his son Sarī that, upon his return to Palestine from the United States, he would not find music concerts, dance parties, theater, literature, or cinema (al-Sakakini 2006). Despite the magnitude of evidence referring to cultural activities in Palestine during that period, al-Sakakini did not consider such events valuable. In a letter on March 30, 1936, al-Sakakini reiterated this view upon the opening of PBS, described its music broadcasts as vulgar and unworthy. In various other places in his memoir, al-Sakakini makes several references to engaging in listening to and singing Western music. He mentions specific concerts of Western music that he and his family attended at the YMCA and comments on these experiences. He appears to have engaged only with Western music, which suggests that his notion of good music was exclusively Western music. Furthermore, he reiterated that modern and Western values and culture are crucial to knowledge and advancement. This belief had roots in the transformations that began in the late Ottoman period and were in accordance with colonial and Christian mission discourses.

Palestinian music-making was successful in distinguishing itself from the Zionist project, and PBS displayed confidence in its attempts to guide the evolution of Palestinian identity and enforce an Arab nationalist sentiment that was distinct from the Jewish one. It also contributed to the polarization of Palestinians in terms of their socioeconomic, religious, and political affiliations and aspirations. While the central conflict appears to have engaged two antagonistic groups, Muslims and Jews, the role played by Christians fluctuated between fighting alongside the Muslims by advocating for and supporting the Muslim community and observing and accommodating the will of the powerful.

Given that the Zionist project served only Jews, not Muslims or Christians, the Muslim majority defined its political power based on this premise. Before 1948, many composers, including Nūḥ Ibrāhīm, wrote songs praising monarchies. Although Ibrāhīm only honored the royal family of Iraq, and not Jordan's, he refrained from attacking it. Ibrāhīm articulated his understanding of the identity of the Arab as Muslim and Christian. He did not acknowledge the Jewish connection to the land, nor the existence of an indigenous Jewish community in Palestine or the Arab-ness of Jews. He also never said the word "Jewish" when referring to the conflict, and instead used the term "Zionist." His references to the Islamic religious nature of the resistance occupied the most significant portion of his later writings, while references to Arab nationalism seemed secondary.

The Redefinition of al-Mashriq

Palestinians did not become passive objects of the larger forces that surrounded them. To the contrary, evidence from this period shows that they acted on the notion of identity and agency whenever possible and made choices that corresponded to the most critical phase of their history. The post-1948 contributions of Palestinian intellectuals, artists, and professionals reflect the visions that these individuals had for their own country before 1948. Essentially, Palestinian music-making did not stop; rather, it seems to have taken a different shape that was conceptually similar and in some cases identical to the original visions that were pursued by both the PBS and NEBS in Palestine—at the level of songs, lyrics, dialect, and performance practices, as well as at the level of the song types that found their way onto the scene throughout the 1940s. Most importantly, Palestinians brought perspective, best practices, and experience to al-Mashriq.

For Ṣabrī al-Sharīf, extending his vision 135 miles north towards Beirut was just an extension of the same idea that he had for Palestine. In some ways, his vision back at the NEBS

similarly revolved around the same concepts, people, tools, philosophies, strategies, and approaches to music-making. Al-Sharīf's attempt to modernize music, shorten songs, and utilize local musical heritage and dialects as the main components for al-Mashriq's new song was not restricted to Palestine. It was instead a vision for the whole of Mashriq, a geographic area that both the PBS and NEBS covered in their broadcast and programming. The ideals and vision of al-Sharīf that he planned for al-Mashriq materialized in Lebanon. For him, it was that simple: the notion of Palestine versus Lebanon did not seem to be on his mind. Subsequently, music-making in Lebanon took off forcefully at the hands of al-Raḥbānī Brothers, with Ṣabrī al-Sharīf as their legal partner. Manṣūr Raḥbānī recalled that period and said that at some point they realized that what Egyptian and Bedouin music offered at the time were sufficient to fully explore what they wanted to say through their songs (Zughaib 1993).

Upon moving NEBS's production unit to Beirut, al-Sharīf utilized a diverse group of musicians, composers, choreographers, actors, poets, and professionals and gave them the chance to develop, discuss, enhance, produce, and think creatively. Shortly after al-Rūmī discovered Fayrūz and introduced her to Raḥbānī Brothers, al-Sharīf began to work closely with Fayrūz and the Brothers. His relationship with them flourished, lasting for decades, and marked the characteristics and evolution of the Lebanese song, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. In Lebanon, al-Sharīf and al-Rūmī became actively involved in seeking talent and putting it to work and continued to do so throughout their careers (al-Rūmī 1992; Sabri 2012). Ultimately, they discovered hundreds of local talents. Through their work—al-Sharīf in the private sector, and al-Rūmī and al-Khammāsh in governmental settings—they materialized a vision of creating music that spoke to the particularities of al-Mashriq.

Summary

Before 1936, musical practices in Palestine relied heavily on colloquial poetry, especially in rural communities, which constituted most of the population. The transcriptions of Dalman, the Jessups, Iṣṭifān, Foley, and Ford explored some of the music and folk poetry that existed among Palestinian communities in Bedouin, peasant, and urban settings. These records, along with the writings of al-Jawhariyyeh and Lachmann, and some historical recordings, reveal many differences and similarities between these song types. Such observations can be seen through poetry, dialects, *maqām*, and form, and point not only to the musical diversity that existed at that time in Palestine but also to a demographic one. Between Ottoman influences, the activities of European and American Christian missionaries, the Arab Renaissance, and the British Mandate, Palestinian music evolved as a reflection of the social, cultural, and political evolution of Palestinians.

Records show that during the 1920s, Palestinians became an extension to the Arab Renaissance and immersed themselves in literature and music. Some of the prominent musicians who emerged during this period were Thurayya Qaddūra, Rajab al-Akḥal, and Ilyās ʿAwaḍ. Their songs demonstrate outstanding musicianship and exhibit local characteristics and sensibilities. They referenced the emblems of Arab literature such as Salma and highlighted the cultural and historical connections to regional poets. Steering gender spaces, Qaddūra sang the poems of ʿĀʾishah Taymūr, one the leading feminists of the time highlighting the importance of women in society as well as their ability to contribute to building the nation. However, evidence shows that these artists engaged only in apolitical expressions, which points to how they responded to the colonial discourses in both Egypt and Palestine, which were heavily influenced and controlled by the British.

In the mid-1930s, Nūḥ Ibrāhīm and Nimir Nāṣir wrote political songs that spoke of resistance and solidarity among Arabs as well as Muslims and Christians, not Jewish or Druze. Rural and, to a lesser extent, urban communities accepted these songs and interacted with them as attested to and witnessed by Zuʿaytir. Meanwhile, epic poems such as Nūf, and folk songs such as those of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Barghūtī, reflected how Bedouin and rural communities positioned themselves politically at odds with the Ottomans, the British, and the Zionists.

The British Mandate defined how demographic classes interacted with one another, namely peasant, urban, notable, poor, Muslim, Christian, and Jewish. Stanton shows that as early as 1928, discussions about how to set up the PBS had a religious overtone (Stanton 2014). Her examination of the period points to the activities of the Christian mission being supported by the fact that Great Britain had a state religion, which is the Church of England. In her assessment, this dynamic was considered the basis for the establishment of the PBS by the British (ibid.). Willson also illustrates that such efforts were led by dissenting British Protestants in the late eighteenth century, whose missionaries disseminated their moral and social ideals worldwide (Willson 2013).

Upon the establishment of PBS in 1936, the Arab Section classified song types and music genres and kept them separate from each other, including Bedouin, peasant, urban, Western, religious, educational, and patriotic. PBS upheld these distinctions and exposed older differences and divisions between Palestinian communities, thus mirroring the social hierarchy and promoting a vision for a nation that would sustain such attributes. Meanwhile, the Arab Section did not engage in politics or discussions of nationalist ideologies in its broadcasts or publications, a strategy that was reflected in all its programs, including music. It advocated for unity among all Arabs and presented itself as an advocate of diversity. The Arab Section in PBS

perceived itself as a bridge between Arabs and the West, and a vehicle for broader regional progress of the Arab region, particularly al-Mashriq. The type of rhetoric that it hinted at up until 1948 was patriotic and unterritorial and had a wider reach within the scope of al-Mashriq. Its conceptualization of what Arab nationalism meant did not seem to conflict with that of the British. It also aligned well with the monarchies of Transjordan, Iraq, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. Musically, PBS reflected this approach through the daily broadcasting of a variety of songs that originated from its immediate surroundings.

During this period, Palestinian music-making evolved exponentially, resulting in the expansion of various folk tunes into shaʿbī songs, the creation of the Palestinian qaṣīda song genre, new compositions of instrumental music for traditional and Western music formations, the establishment of choirs and children music programing, and active engagement in composing in the styles of the dominant Egyptian genres of the time as well as muwashshaḥāt.

Historically, Western music practices among Palestinians were already in motion since the mid nineteenth century but were limited to European and American Christian mission institutions, including schools. In such settings, Christian liturgy and hymns as well as secular songs were mostly European but were sung in standard Arabic and revolved around choirs (see Willson 2013). These practices were apolitical and focused on religious topics or were used for educational purposes, especially at mission schools. Direct contacts between Christian missionaries and local Christian populations essentially resulted in developing local talent in Western music such as Lama, al-Batrūnī, and ʿArnīṭa (Willson 2013). It was after 1936 when Arab Christian composers of Western music started to write patriotic songs, mostly through PBS and other mission or Christian organizations.

From the perspective of PBS being a contact zone, there are several profound impacts of PBS and the British Mandate on music-making in Palestine, which include:

1. the scaling of Western music practices from Anglican Christian religious settings to secular contexts;
2. the apoliticization of songs;
3. the systematic filtering and censorship of traditional lyrics that included sexual references (see Iṣṭifān 1928 and Nuwayhiḍ 1993);
4. the establishment of modernization efforts of local musical practices as a notion of progress; and
5. the emphasis on music pedagogy as a matter of cultural and political hierarchy.

After 1948, Palestinians preserved some aspects of their peasant and Bedouin musical cultures and identity in refugee camps, villages, town, and urban pockets in and outside of Palestine (see Foley 1956). In the West Bank, musicians engaged in making primarily folk and shaʿbī songs, which were favored by the government of Jordan. Western music productions, on the other hand, were not sustained by the Jordan Radio (previously PBS). Subsequently, Western music practices went back to being confined to private and Christian mission organizations. Although al-Batrūnī and ʿArnīṭa continued to compose patriotic songs, such engagements were restricted to much smaller social circles in and outside of Palestine.

Palestinian musicians found themselves at the frontier of implementing a new political and cultural vision in Jordan. As a dynamic instrument for transformation in the region, they engaged in the development of music not only in Jordan but also in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq. However, and despite being among the most educated of their peers, the continuation of an urban musical narrative like that of PBS and NEBS did not seem attainable in Palestine proper.

Since the mid-1940s, Palestinian musicians and intellectuals realized that Egyptian music was not able to transcend cultural and linguistic barriers in Palestine, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, and Lebanon. Although there are common forms of emotional communication between the inhabitants of the Near East, including Egypt, the Egyptian music industry and media were not able to condition the region into becoming musically Egyptian. By the early 1950s, it was apparent that some musicians and intellectuals such as al-Rūmī, al-Sharīf, al-Bandak, al-Khammāsh, and Ṣabrī al-Sharīf were determined to develop a vocabulary that reflected the topography, scenery, culture, dialects, and history of al-Mashriq, one that was independent of Egypt's. At that point, the nationalization of musical practices in al-Mashriq was moving at a fast rate, and musicians working the scene navigated all such trends simultaneously. Al-Sharīf and al-Rūmī in Lebanon, al-Khammāsh in Iraq, al-Bandak in Syria, and al-ʿĀṣ in Jordan all took advantage of their positions and launched a renaissance of music-making throughout al-Mashriq. Al-Sharīf's input, intuition, experience, and convictions stand out as one of the most pioneering achievements of Palestinian musicians outside of their homeland. Operating in nongovernmental realms, he helped to make the music scene in Lebanon what it is today.

Samenvatting

Vóór 1936 leunden muziekpraktijken in Palestina sterk op omgangstaal, vooral in plattelandsgemeenschappen, die het grootste deel van de bevolking vormden. In dit proefschrift heb ik historische documenten onderzocht die aantonen dat er zowel grote verschillen als overeenkomsten waren tussen Palestijnse gemeenschappen en de soorten muziek die ze maakten. In de eerste helft van de twintigste eeuw weerspiegelde de Palestijnse muziek de sociale, culturele en politieke ontwikkelingen. Palestijnen werden een verlengstuk van de Arabische Renaissance en verdiepten zich in literatuur en muziek. Veel artiesten uit deze periode demonstreerden een uitstekend muzikaal vakmanschap, waaronder Rajab al-Akḥal, Thurayya Qaddūra, Ilyās ʿAwaḍ, Nūḥ Ibrāhīm en Nimir Nāṣir.

De Britten richtten het Palestine Broadcasting Station (PBS) op in drie afzonderlijke afdelingen: Arabisch, Joods en Engels. Dit maakte oude verschillen en verdeeldheid tussen Palestijnse gemeenschappen zichtbaar, weerspiegelde de sociale hiërarchie en bevorderde de voortzetting van de verdeeldheid. Desalniettemin ontwikkelde de Palestijnse muziek zich exponentieel, wat resulteerde in de uitbreiding van verschillende volksmelodieën tot shaʿbī liederen, de creatie van het Palestijnse qaṣīda liedgenre, nieuwe instrumentale composities voor zowel traditionele als westerse muziekformaties, de oprichting van koren en kindermuziek programmering, en actieve betrokkenheid bij het componeren in de stijlen van de dominante Egyptische genres van die tijd, evenals muwashshaḥāt.

Historische documenten tonen aan dat westerse muziekpraktijken onder Palestijnen al bestonden sinds het midden van de negentiende eeuw, maar beperkt waren tot Europese en Amerikaanse christelijke zendingsinstellingen, waaronder scholen. Deze muziekpraktijken waren a-politiek en gericht op religieuze of educatieve onderwerpen, vooral op missiescholen. Het

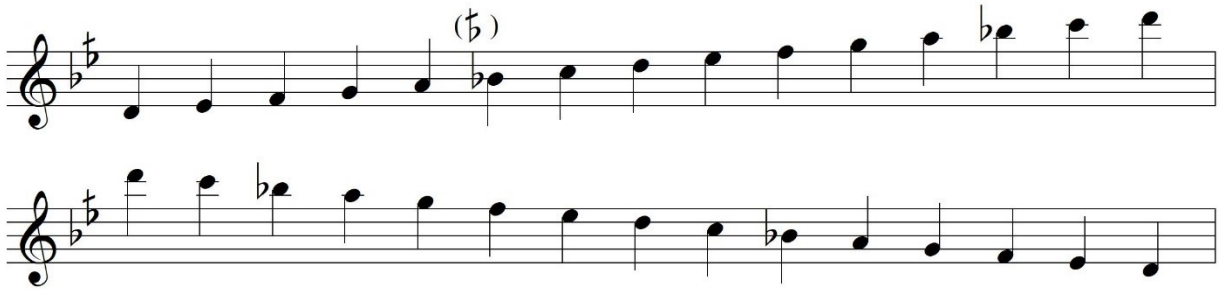
Britse Mandaat had verregaande gevolgen op het voor het maken van muziek in Palestina, waaronder

1. de toename van westerse muziekpraktijken van anglicaans-christelijke religieuze instellingen naar seculiere contexten;
2. de a-politisering van liedjes;
3. de systematische filtering en censuur van traditionele teksten met seksuele verwijzingen (zie Stephan, 1928 en Nuwayhiḍ, 1993);
4. de inspanningen om lokale muziekpraktijken te moderniseren als een voorbeeld van vooruitgang;
5. de nadruk op muziekpedagogie als een onderwerp van culturele en politieke hiërarchie.

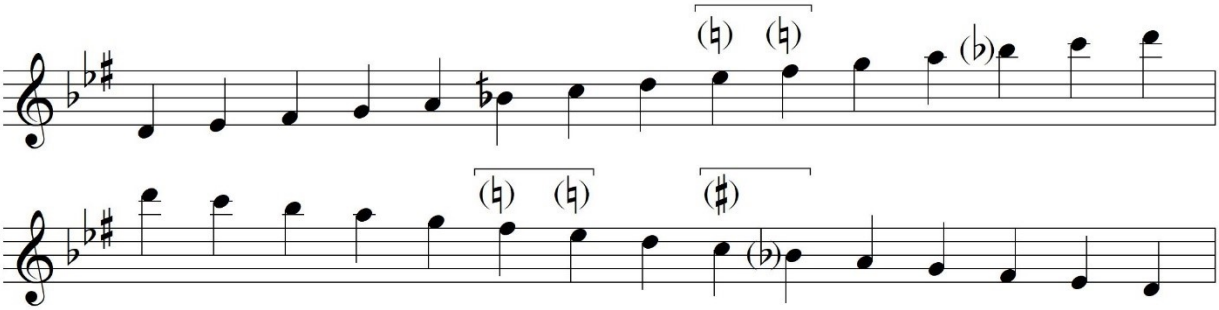
In 1948 raakte de overgrote meerderheid van de Palestijnen ontheemd, en muzikanten bevonden zich in de frontlinie door het implementeren van nieuwe politieke en culturele visies in de landen Jordanië, Libanon en Irak. Daarom leek de voortzetting van het muzikale narratief in de West Bank niet haalbaar. Aan het begin van de jaren vijftig ontwikkelden Palestijnse musici en intellectuelen een vocabulaire dat de topografie, het landschap, de cultuur, de dialecten en de geschiedenis van al-Mashriq weerspiegelde, een vocabulaire dat onafhankelijk was van dat van Egypte. Ṣabrī al-Sharīf, Ḥalīm al-Rūm, Jamīl al-ʿAṣ en Rawḥī al-Khammāsh maakten gebruik van hun status en lanceerden die muzikale vernieuwing in al-Mashriq. Hun inbreng, intuïtie, ervaring en overtuigingen hielpen om de muziekscene in Libanon, Irak en Jordanië te maken tot wat die nu zijn.

List of Maqāmāt

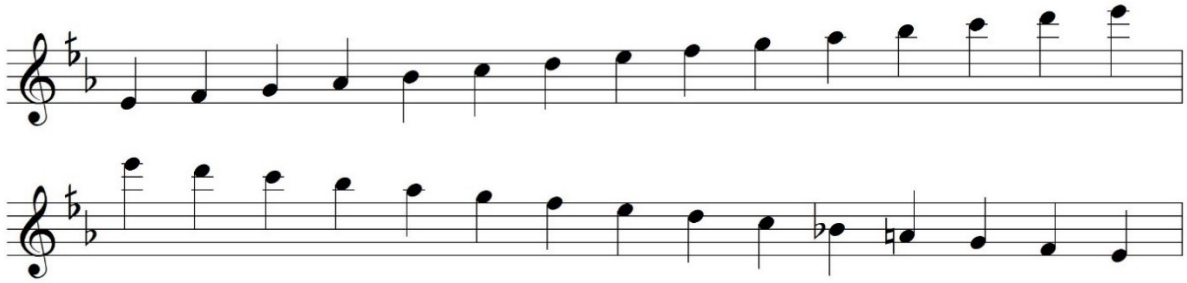
Bayātī



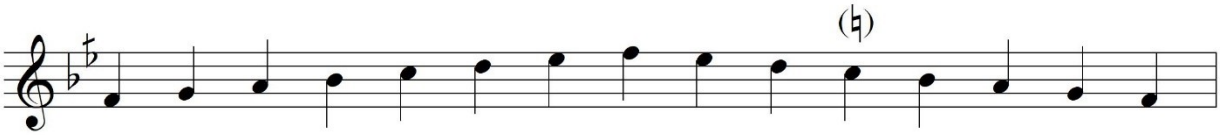
Ḥijāz



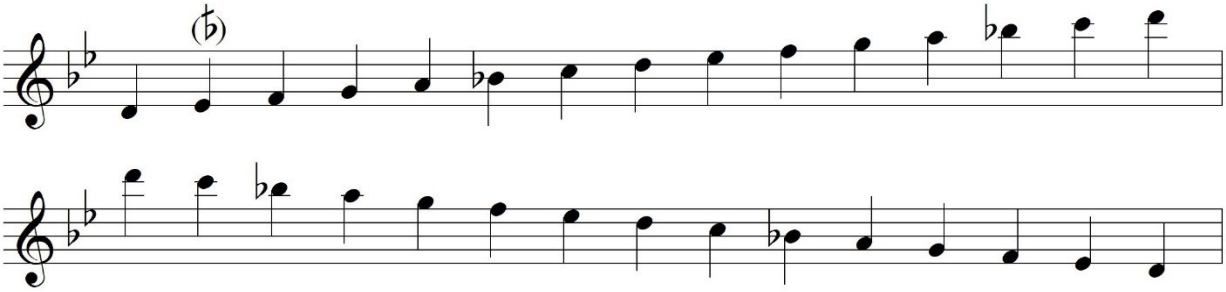
Huzām



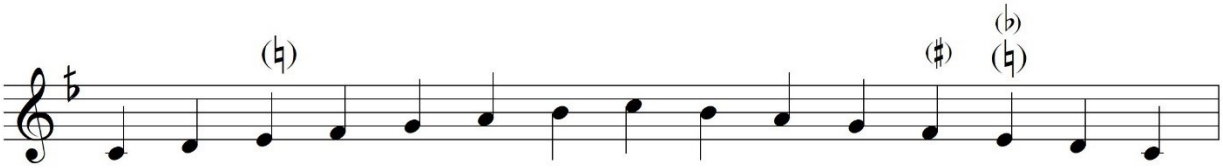
Jihārkah



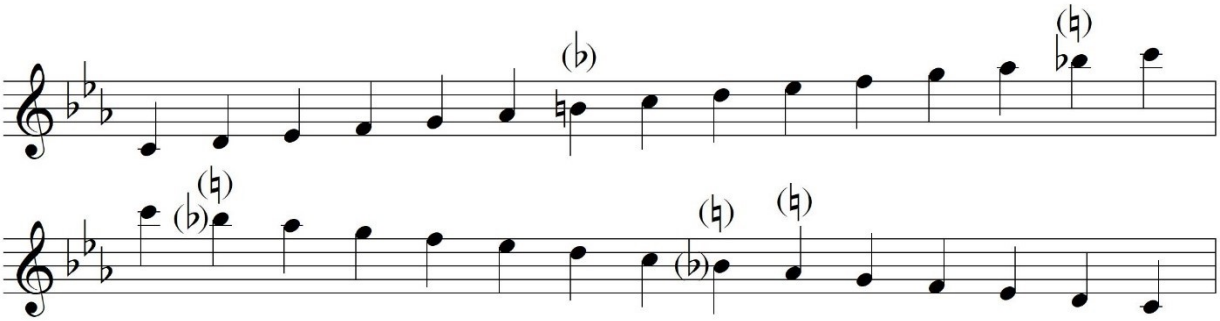
Kurdī



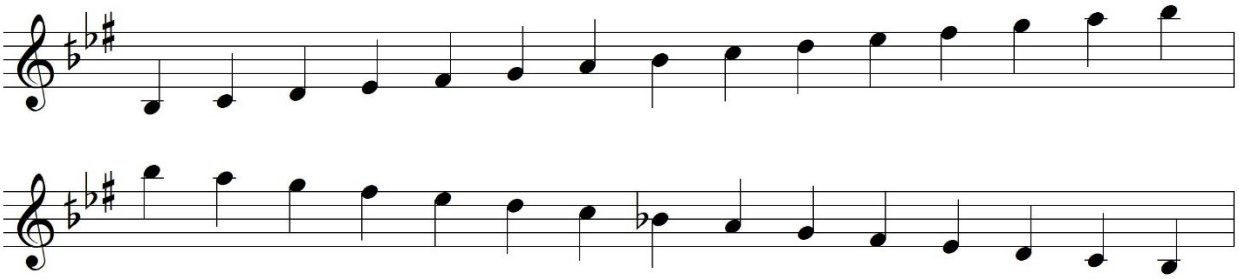
Māhūr



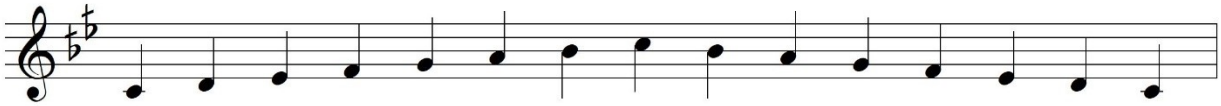
Nahawand



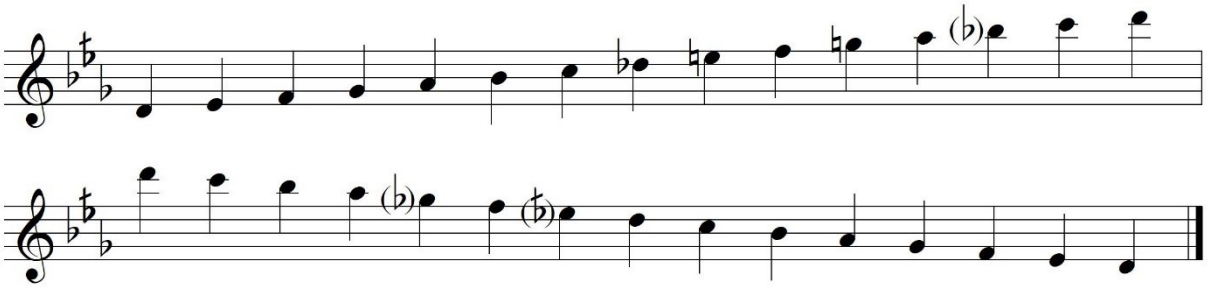
Rāhit al-Arwāḥ



Rast



Ṣabā



Appendix

Figure 55. Map

Fayṣal

Maqām: Mahūr
Rhythm: Fox

Music and lyrics bu Nūḥ Ibrāhīm

A

فيـــ صل يا و ليـ/الـ ي/الـ عهد الـ له يـ حـ
Fay ṣal yā wa liy y/il 'ahd Al lah yi ḥ

ميك إ بن صاحـ ب/الـ جـ لا لة غا
mīk i bin ṣaḥ b/il ja la la Ghā

زي/الـ مـ ليك انـ ت مـ حط الـ أ
zī/l ma lik in ta ma ḥaṭ il a

مل للـ عـ رب في/الـ مسـ تقـ بل
mal lil 'a rab f/il mus taq bal

B

فيـــ صلـ نا يا و لي ي/الـ عهـ د/الـ محـ
Fay ṣal na yā wa liy y/il 'ah d/il maḥ

بوب انـ ت طيـ ف/الـ حبـ بـ تك كل
būb in ta ṭī f/il ḥab ba tak kul

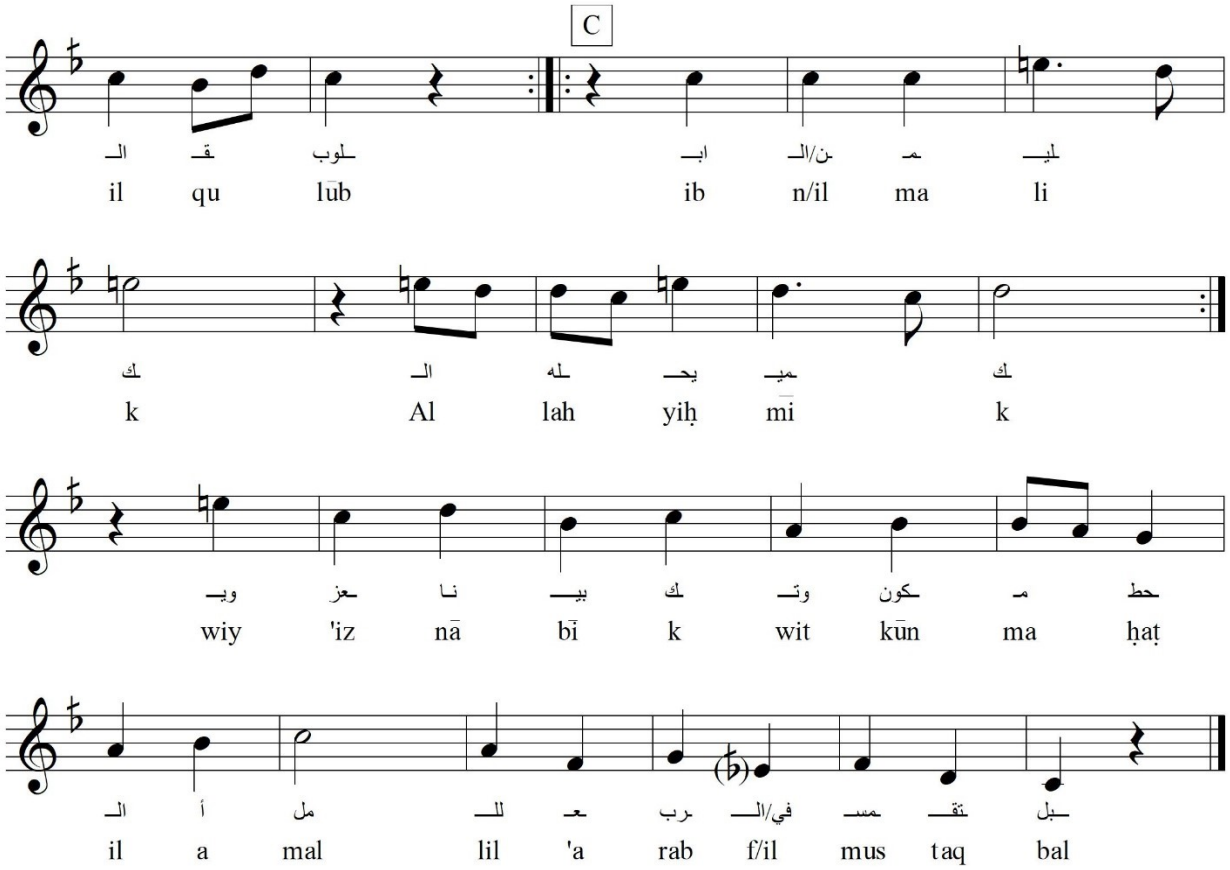


Figure 56. “Fayṣal,” music and lyrics by Nūḥ Ibrāhīm

Dal'ūnā

♩ = 90

variation 1

غيـ لي ما شـ وا/الشـ هـ الـ نا معو دلـ لى عـ نا/و معو دلـ لى عـ

'a - la dal - 'ū - naw 'a - la dal - 'ū - na l - ha - wash - shi - mā - lī ghay -

لي حا لي ـير غيـ لي ما شـ وا/الشـ هـ نا/الـ لو ـر/الـ يـ

ya - ril - lū - nal - ha - wash - shi - mā - lī ghay - yar lī ḥā - lī

D.C.

نا لو الـ مر سـ أ ـبي بيـ حـ دي بـ

bid - dī ḥa - bī - bī a - s - ma-ril - lū - nā

variation 2

غيـ لي ما شـ وا/الشـ هـ نا/الـ معو دلـ لى عـ نا/و معو دلـ لى عـ

'a - la dal - 'ū - naw 'a - la dal - 'ū - nal - ha - wash - shi - mā - lī ghay -

لي حا لي ـير غيـ لي ما شـ وا/الشـ هـ نا/الـ لو ـر/الـ يـ

ya - ril - lū - nal ha - wash - shi - mā - lī ghay - yar - lī ḥā - lī

D.C.

نا لو ـر/الـ مـ أسـ ـبي بيـ حـ دي بـ

bid-dī ḥa - bī - bī as - ma - ril - lū - nā

variation 3

لحـن المطلـع والأبيـات

غيـ لي ما شـ وا/الشـ هـ نا/الـ معو لـ د لى عـ نا/و معو دلـ لى عـ

'a - la dal - 'ū - naw 'a - la d-l - 'ū - nal - ha - wash - shi - mā - lī ghay -

لي حا لي ـير غيـ لي ما شـ وا/الشـ هـ نا/الـ لو ـر/الـ يـ

ya - ril - lū - nal ha - wash - shi - mā - lī ghay - yar lī ḥā - lī

D.C.

نا لو ـر/الـ مـ أسـ ـبي بيـ حـ دي بـ

bid - dī ḥa - bī - bī as - ma - ril - lū - nā

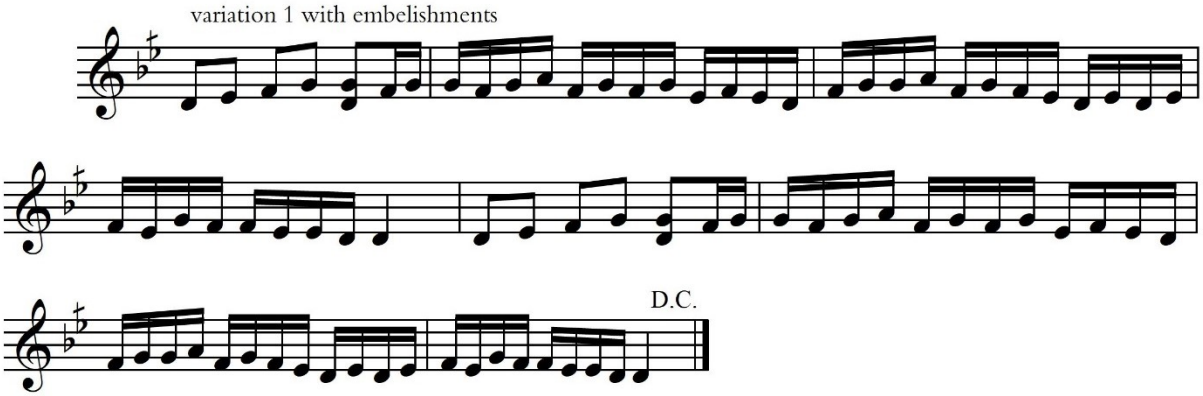


Figure 57. “Al-Dalʿūna” variations, transcribed by the author

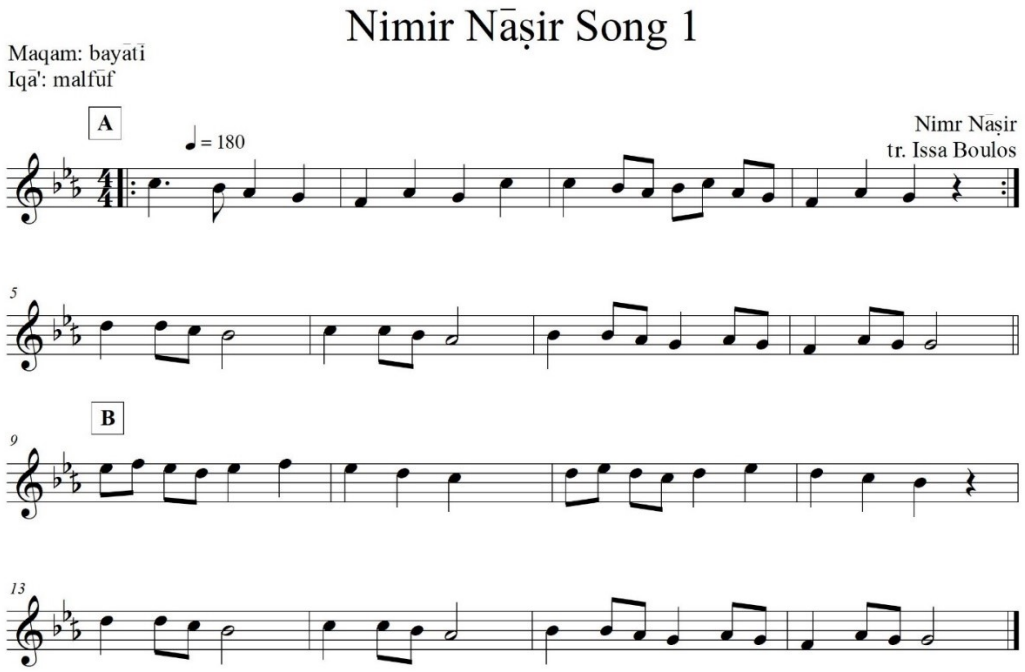


Figure 58. “Nimir Nāṣir,” Song 1

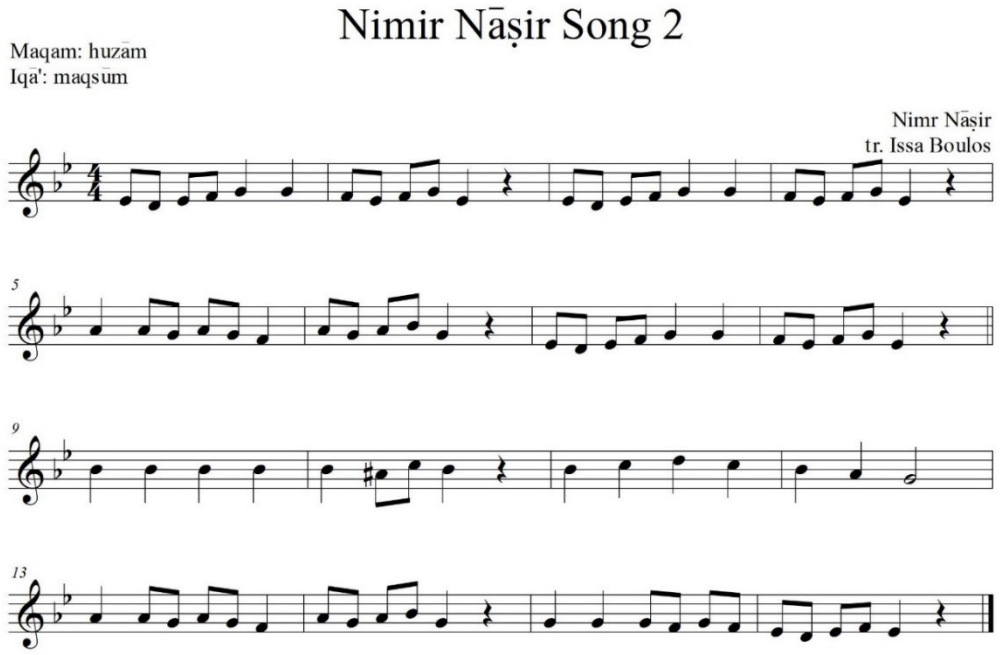


Figure 59. “Nimir Nāṣir,” Song 2

Nimir Nāṣir Song 3

Maqam: huzām
Iqāʿ: maqsūm

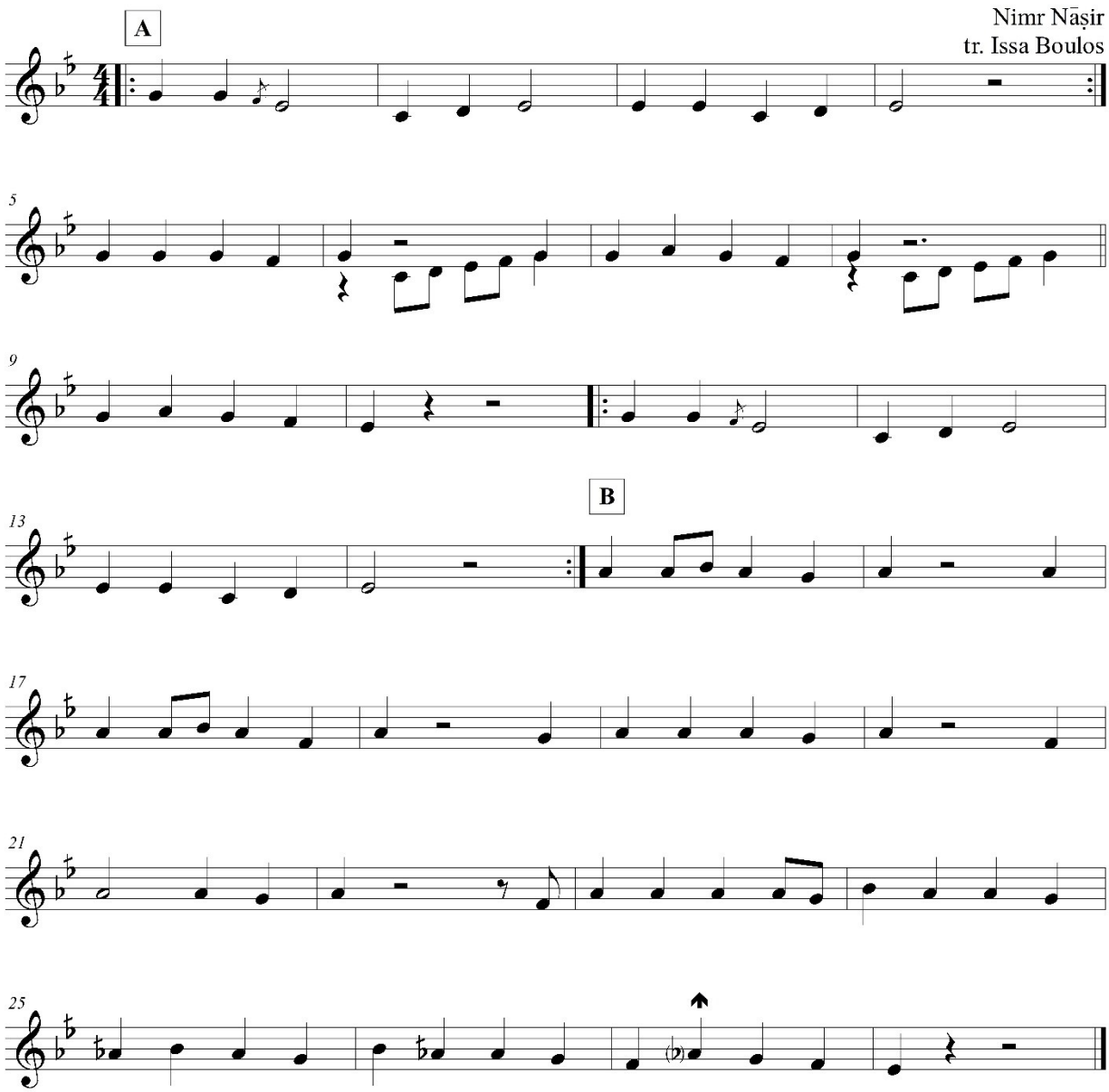


Figure 60. “Nimir Nāṣir,” Song 3

حلـــو يا بـــردآن

Ḥilū Yā Burdu'ān

Maqām: Ḥijāz
Rhythm: Wiḥdaih, Dwaik, Malfūf

Unknown, PBS

Inst.

A

ḥi lu yā bur du ān ṭay yib yā bur du ān

ḥi lū yā bur du ān ṭay yib yā bur du ān ṭa' mak la zī z tir wil 'aṭ shān

A Chorus Inst.

B

sū ak ma' jū' mil yūn ṣan dū' wi' rū i' rū' sū ak ma' jū' mil yūn ṣan

dū' wi' rū i' rū' yā mās 'ī nāk bid mū 'il 'ain wit 'ib nā 'a laik fū 'is san tainu

bin na tī ja yikh zil 'ain yā mas 'ī nāk bid mū 'il 'ain wit

'ib nā 'a laik fū 'is san tainu bin na tī ja yikh zil 'ain bay yaḍ til wij

A Chorus

A Solo *accel.*

A Chorus *rit.*

u mal lai tis sū'

Figure 61. "Ḥilū Yā Burduʾān," PBS, 1944, NAWA archive, transcribed by the author

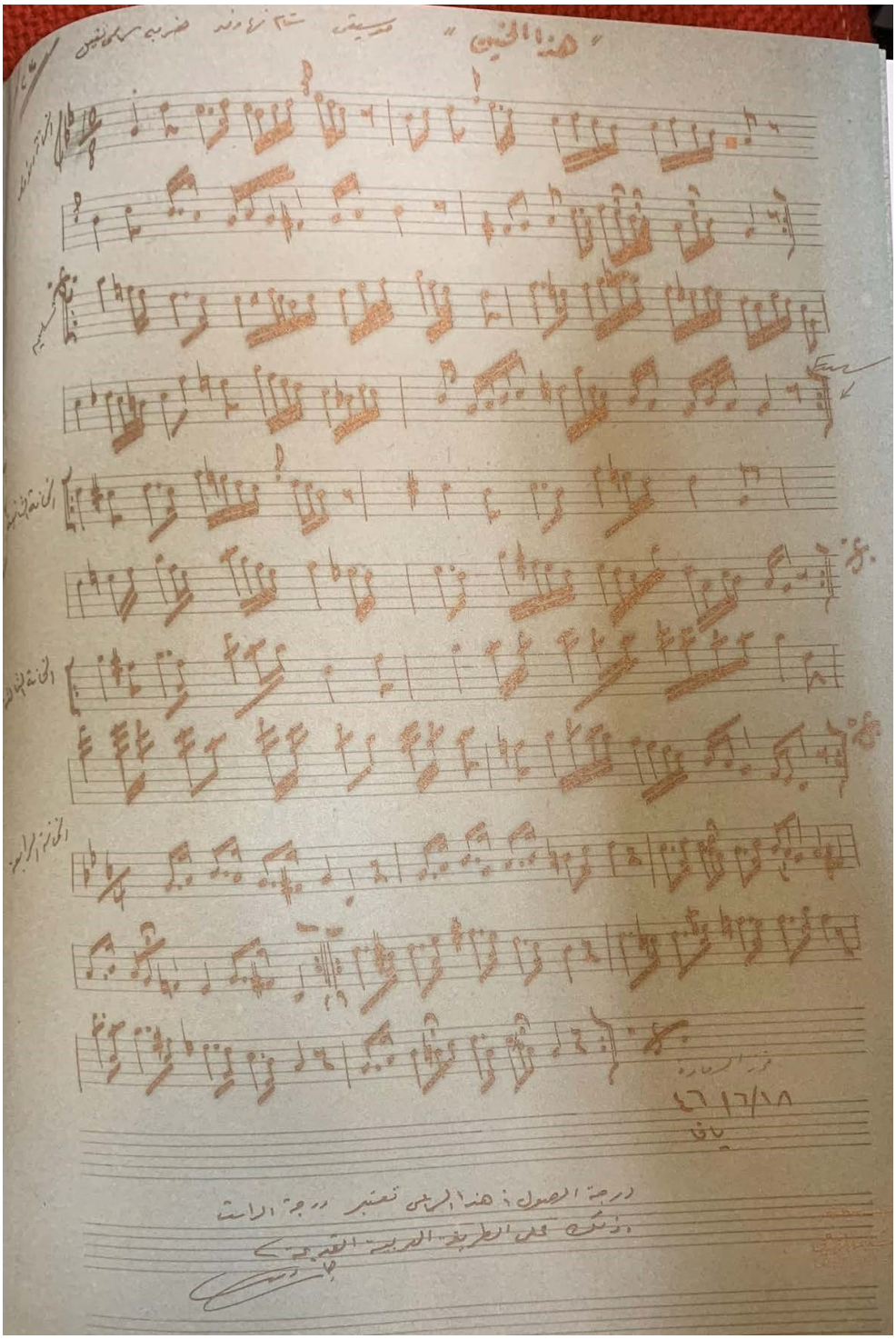


Figure 62. “Hadhā al-Ḥanīn,” a samāʿī by Ḥalīm al-Rūmī composed in Yāfā in 1946, in al-Ḥāj (2017)

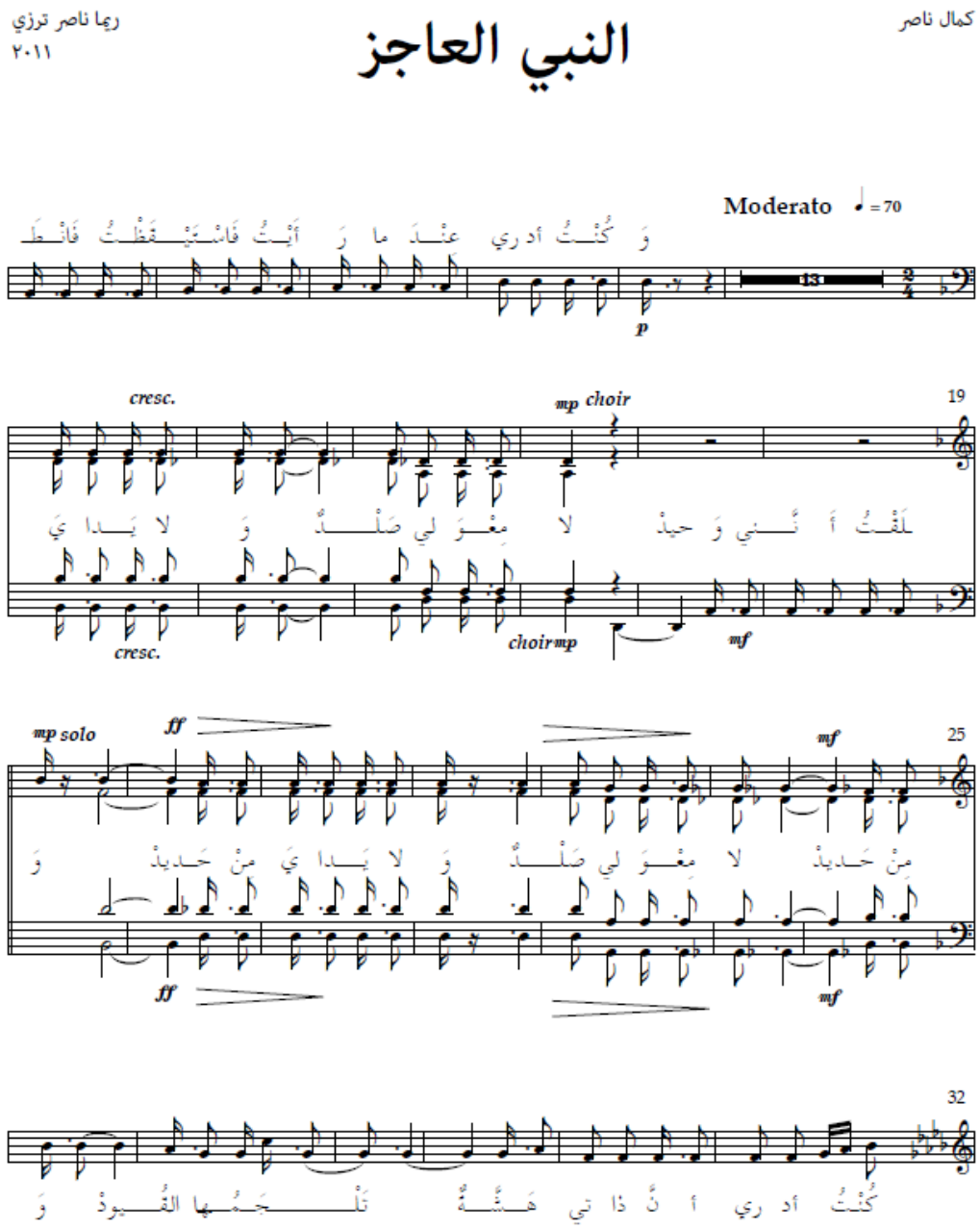
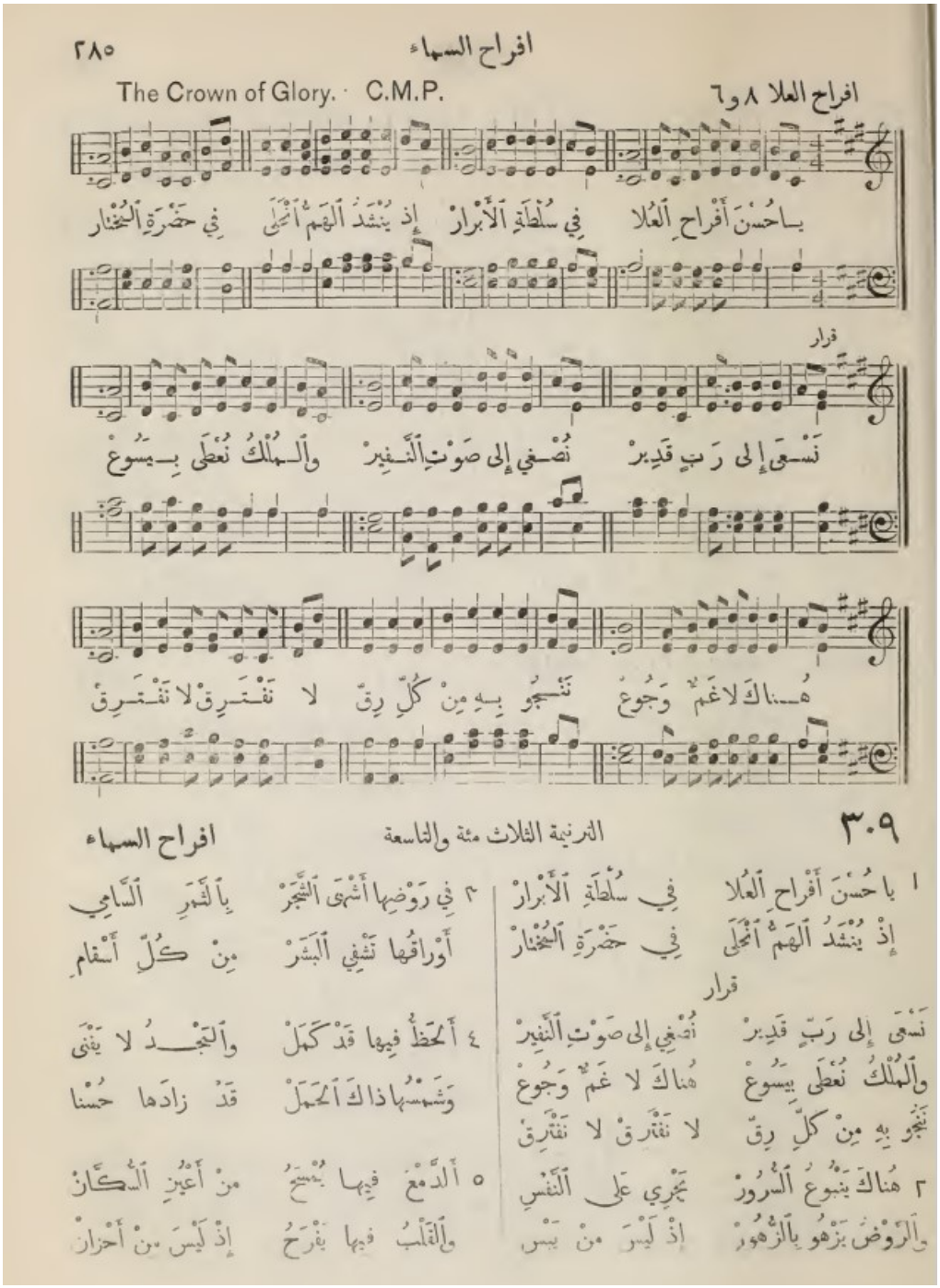


Figure 63. “Al-Nabi al-ʿĀjiz” (excerpt), poetry by Kamal Nasir, music by Rima Nasir-Tarazi, in Aghānī al-Ḥurriya wa al-Amal. vol. 5, vocal parts (2013)



٢٨٥ افراح السماء

The Crown of Glory. C.M.P. افراح العلا ٨ و٦

باحسن أفراح العلا في سلطة الأبرار إذ ينشد الهم أنجلى في حضرة المختار

قرار

نسعى إلى رب قدير نصغي إلى صوت النفير والملك نعطى بيسوع

هناك لا غم وجوع نتجو به من كل رق لا نفترق لا نفترق

٣٠٩ الترنيمة الثلاث مئة والتاسعة افراح السماء

١ يا حسن أفراح العلا في سلطة الأبرار
إذ ينشد الهم أنجلى في حضرة المختار

قرار

نسعى إلى رب قدير نصغي إلى صوت النفير
والملك نعطى بيسوع هناك لا غم وجوع
نتجو به من كل رق لا نفترق لا نفترق

٢ هناك ينبوع السرور يجري على النفس
والروض يزهو بالزهور إذ ليس من يبس

٣ في روضها أشهى الشجر بالثمر السامي
أوراقها تشفي البشر من كل أسقام

٤ ألحظ فيها قد كمل والتجد لا يفنى
وشمسها ذاك الحمل قد زادها حسنا

٥ الدمع فيها يمسح من أعين السكان
والقلب فيها يفرح إذ ليس من أحزان

Figure 64. “Afrāḥ al-Samāʾ” hymn, in Mazāmīr Wa Tasābīḥ Wa Aghānī Rūḥīya Muwaqqaʿa ʿala Alḥān Muwāfiqah by Samuel Jessup and George A. Ford (1885, 285)

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Curriculum Vitae

Issa Boulos was born in Jerusalem, Palestine in 1968, and grew up in Ramallah. He comes from a family of both musical and literary traditions. He worked in Ramallah and Jerusalem as an arranger and performer of classical Arab repertoire, folksongs, and contemporary works from an early age.

In 1998, he obtained a Bachelor's degree in Music Composition from Columbia College and a Master's degree in Music Composition from Roosevelt University in 2000. He studied with Gustavo Leone, William Russo, Robert Lombardo, Ilya Levinson, and Athanasios Zervas.

Since 1998, Boulos was a lecturer at the University of Chicago, where he directed the Middle East Music Ensemble until 2010. This period promoted him to pursue various research opportunities and examine the tapestry and complexity of *maqām* music from those who make it.

From 2010 to 2014, he acted as the Head of Music at the Qatar Music Academy, where he engaged in research and curriculum development. In 2013, the Turath Project awarded Boulos the A. J. Racy Fellowship for Ethnomusicological Music Studies. This award enabled him to conduct some fieldwork in Palestine.

Boulos has been involved in diverse fields since the early 1980s, and his academic pursuits go hand in hand with his practice as an artist. His creative competencies include artistic mastery of *maqām*, musical composition and performance, ensemble direction, and literary writing.

Throughout his career, Boulos founded various ensembles to perform his original compositions. He was commissioned by multiple orchestras, including the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and the Palestine National Orchestra. He participated in various research ventures, forums, symposia, and conferences and lectured widely in the U.S., the Middle East, and Europe.