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

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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.

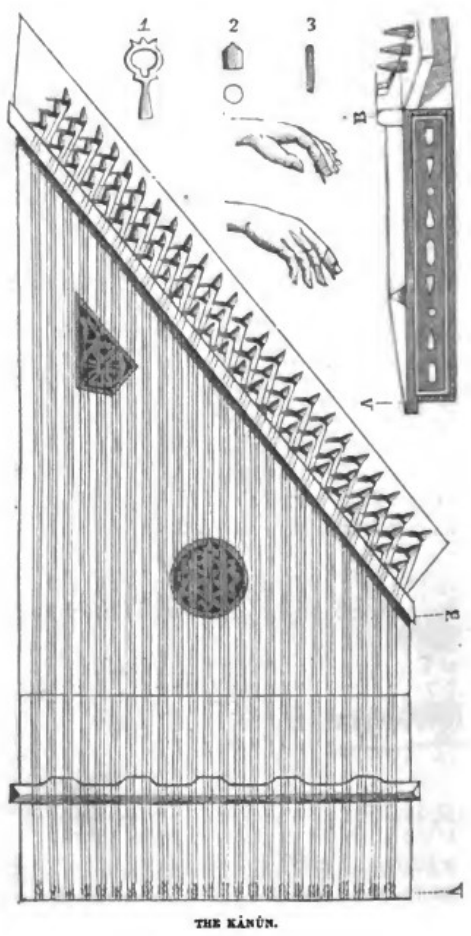


Figure 17. *Qānūn* (Thompson 1860)

Figure 18. *Qānūn* player (Thompson 1860)

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.

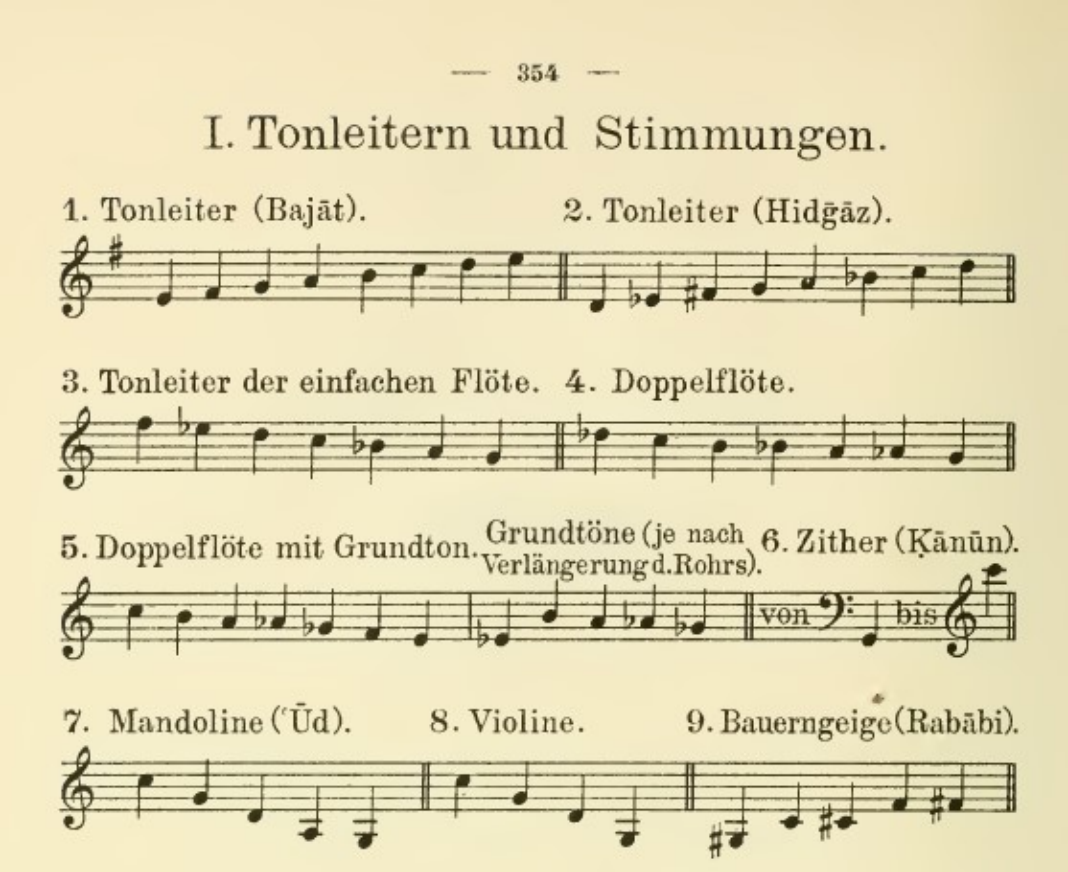


Figure 20. Key, Palästinischer Diwan (Dalman 1901)

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.

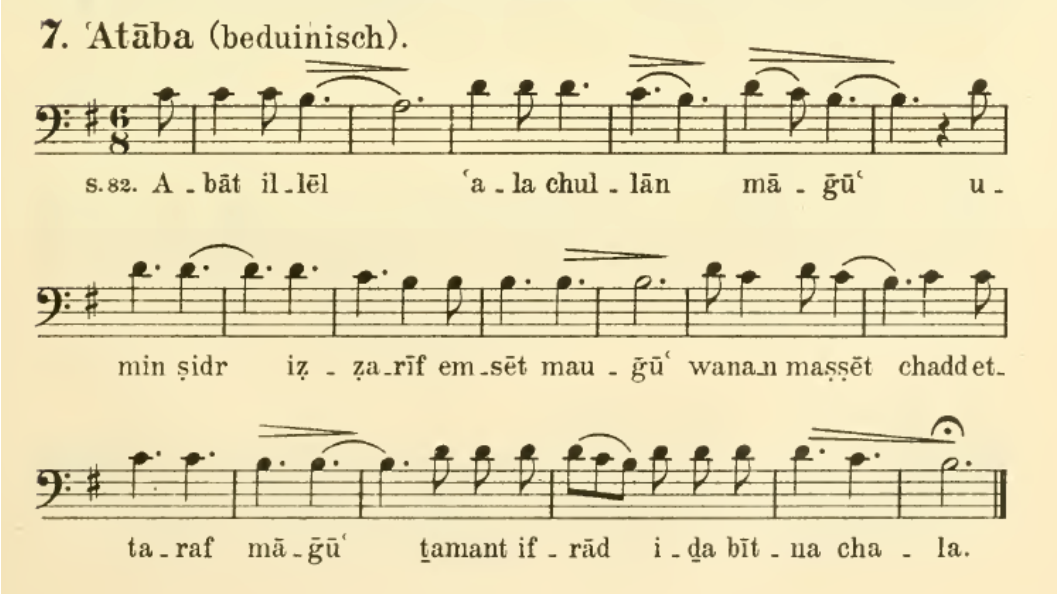


Figure 21. "ʿAtābā," *Palästinischer Diwan* (Dalman 1901)

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).

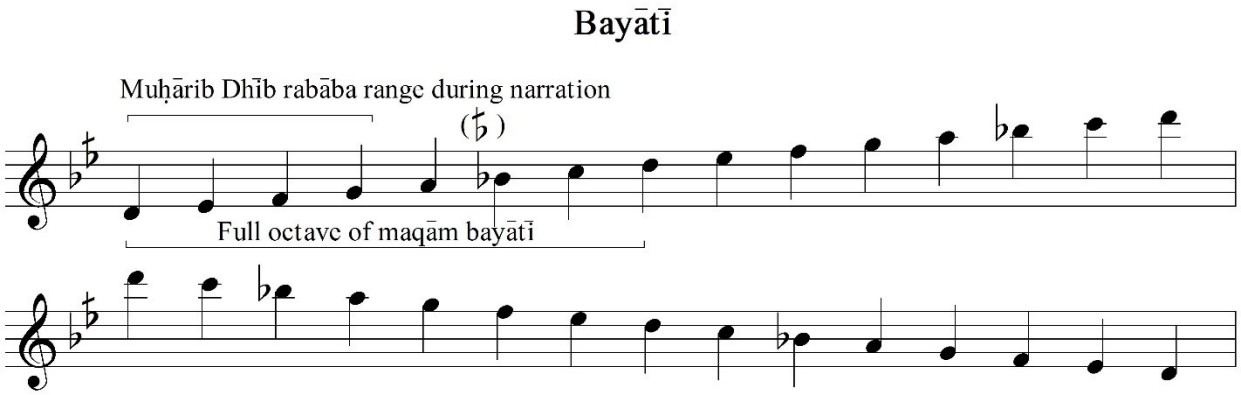


Figure 22. *Rabāba* range, Dhīb's narration section

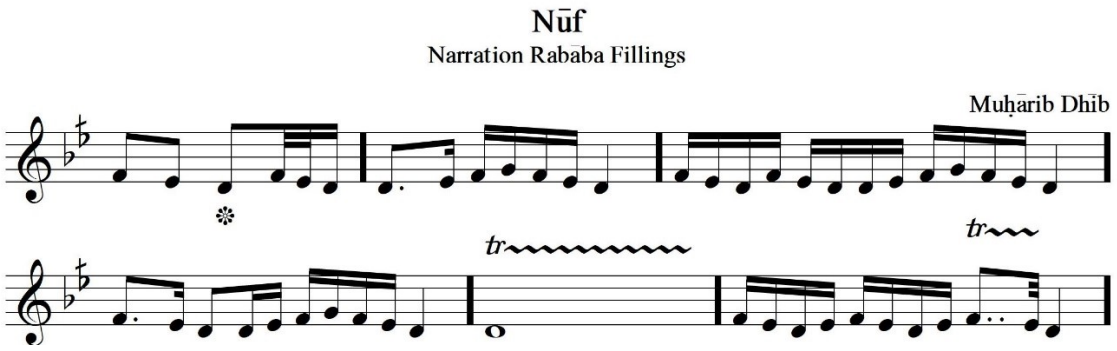


Figure 23. *Rabāba* fillings, Dhīb's narration section

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

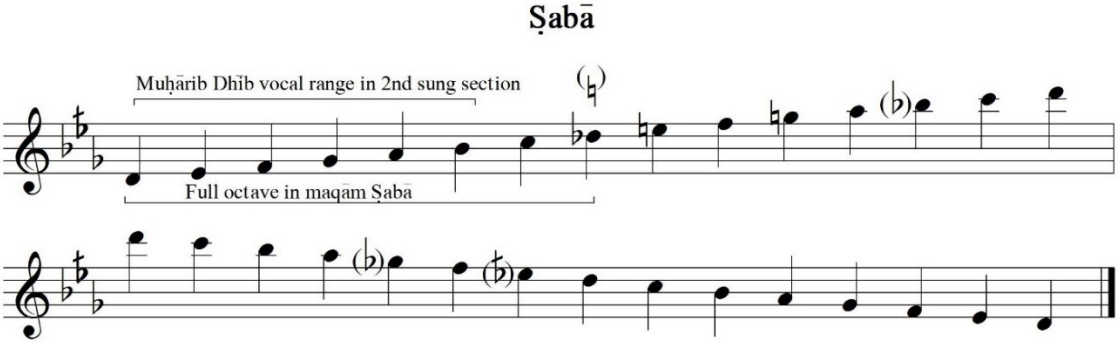


Figure 24. Dhīb's vocal range during the singing section

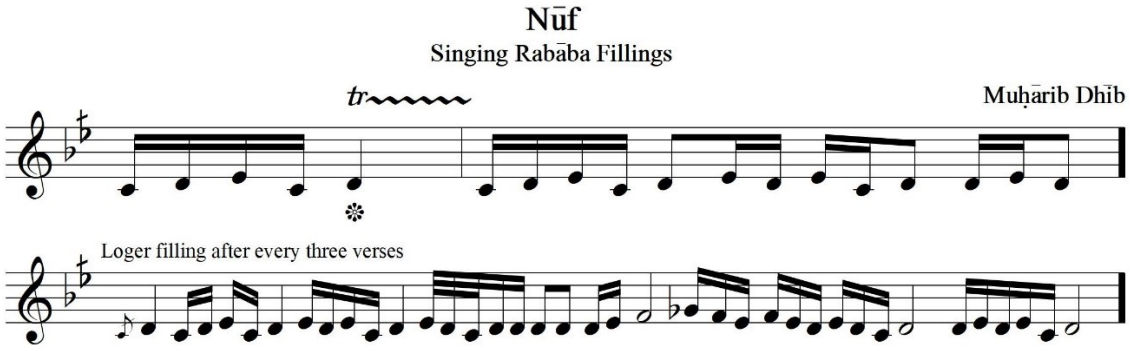


Figure 25. *Rabāba* fillings in Dhīb's singing section

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

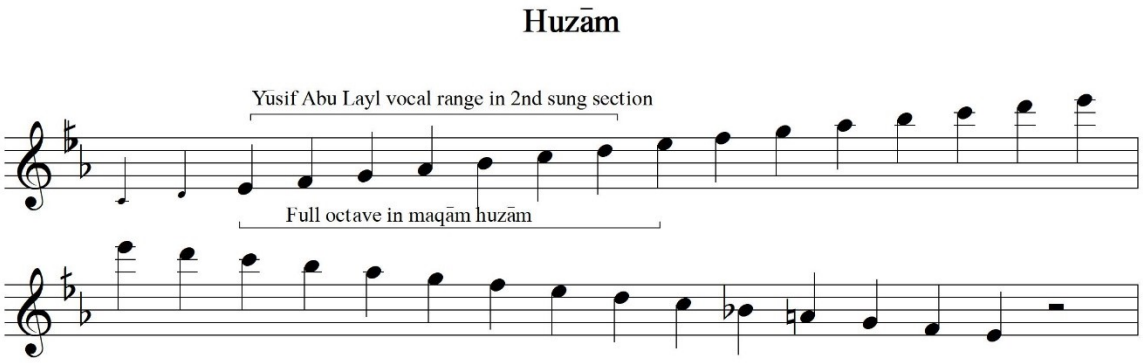


Figure 26. Yūsif Abū Lail's vocal range during the singing section, transcribed by the author

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]

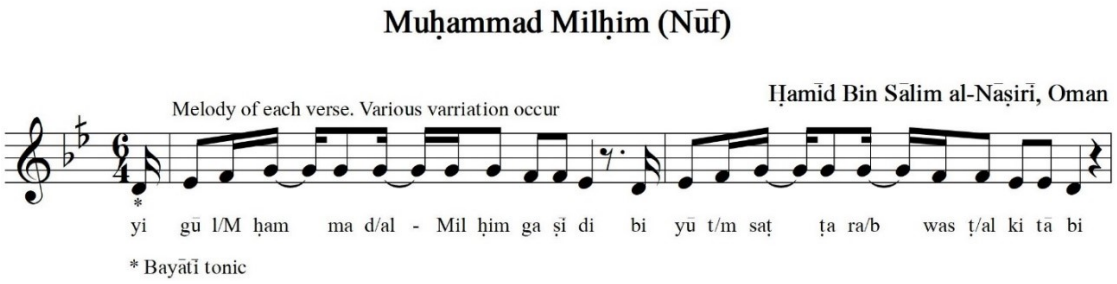


Figure 27. "Nūf," main melody in 6/8 according to Ḥāmid al-Nāṣirī, Oman.

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)

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 الغُزّال 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 Laḥzika," 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.

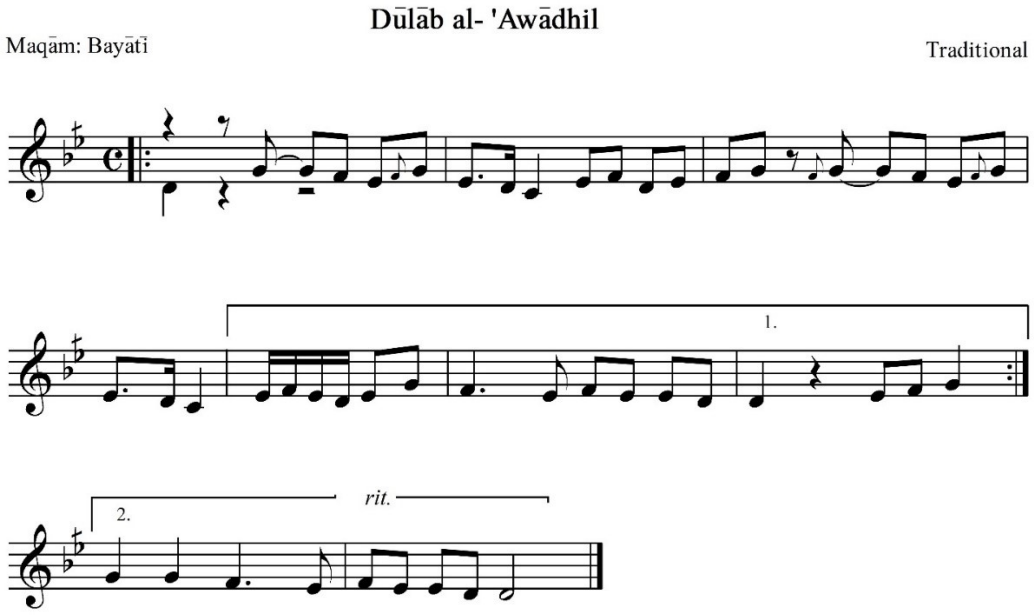


Figure 29. “Dūlāb al-ʿAwādhil,” *maqām bayātī*

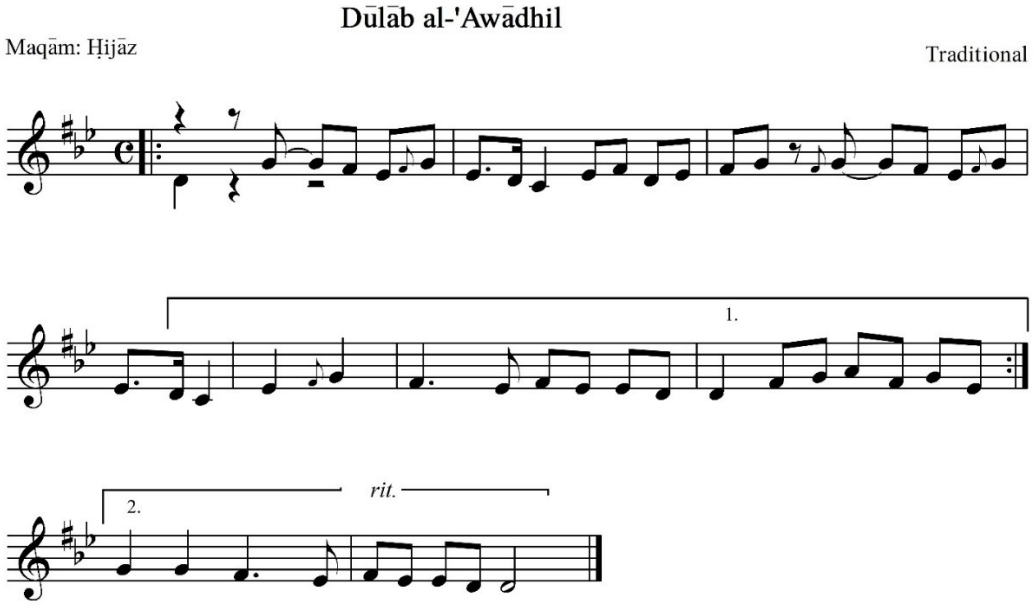


Figure 30. “Dūlāb al-ʿAwādhil,” *maqām ḥijāz*

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 ʿ*ajam* 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
mutafāʿilun	mutafāʿilun	mutafāʿilu	mutafāʿilun	mutafāʿilun	mutafāʿilu

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:

سَلَبوا الغُصونَ معاطِفاً وقُدوداً	وَتَقاسموا وَردَ الرياضِ خُدودا
salabū _l-ghuṣūna maʿāṭifan wa qudūdā	wa taqāsamū ward_ar-riyāḍi khudūdā
وتعاهدوا أن لا يراعوا ذمةً	لمتيمٍ او يحفظون عهودا
wa **taʿāhadū** an lā yurāʿū dhimmatan	limutayyamin aw yaḥfaẓūna ʿuhūda
نَظموا الثَّنايا في المباسمِ لؤلؤاً	تحتَ الزُمُرُّدِ **والشقيقِ** عُقودا
naẓamū al-thanāyā fi_l-mabāsimi luʾluʾan	taḥta_az-zumurrudi was _**sh-shaqīqi** ʿuqūdā
بَدَلوا الخصورَ من الخَناصرِ رِقَةً	واستبدلوا حُقُقَ اللُجينِ نهودا
badalū al-khuṣūra min_al-khanāṣiri riqqatan	wa_stabdalū ḥuquq_al-luj(g)ayni nuhūdā
نَظروا إلى الجوزاءِ دونَ مَحَلِّهِمْ	**فغدوا** على هامِ السَّماكِ قُعودا
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	ما بات قلبي بِجَرح في الهوى ساقي
mā bāta qalbī bij(g)rḥin fi_ l-hawā sāqī	alā yā salma law dāma hadhā al-buʿudu aqṣāki
جفني وجَفنِك في شجوي في فِعْلِهما	توافقا بين جرح الوفا الشاكي
tawafaqā bayna j(g)arḥ_il-haw_ash-shākī	J(g)afni wa j(g)afnuki fī shaj(g)wī fi fiʿlihima
سفينة الصَبرِ في بحرِ الدُموع غاصَتْ	فقال جفنيَ باسم الله مَبغاكي
faqāla j(g)afnī bism_il-Lah mabghākī	safinat al-ṣabr fī baḥr_id-dumūʿi ghāṣat
بَلَغْتُ رُشدي وما أدركْتُ مِنكِ مُنى	وبحيرتي في بلوغي قَبل إدراكي
wa biḥīratī fī bulūghī qabla idrākī	balaghtu rushdī wa mā adraktu minki muna
يا روضة الحُسنِ جَفني فيك منهمك	**يُسقيكِ من فيضِه والعينُ ترعاكي**
yusqīki min fayḍihi wa_l-ʿaynu tarʿākī	**yā rawḍat al-ḥusn j(g)afnī fīkī munhamikun**
عَزيزٌ حُبُّكِ في قلبي لَهُ سَكنٌ	**ماذا يَضُرُّك لو أبقَيْتِ مثواكي**
mādhā yaḍurrukī law abqayti mathwākī	**ʿazīzun ḥubbuki fī qalbī lahu sakanun**
من ذا يغيثُكِ في البدرِ الوَهَنْ	**وهللي بِطَلعةِ البَدرِ رِجعٌ من مُحيَّاكي**
wa hallilī biṭalʿaṭ_il-badri rijʿun min muḥayyākī	**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	*the state of love still wounds my heart*
Our eyes immersed in emotion	*harmonious in pain, loyalty, and grievance*
The ship of patience is sinking in tears my	*eyelids wondered what in God you want from me*
Oh, garden of beauty I cannot keep my eyes	*off of you they gratify your thirst and guard you*
Dear to me, you are, living deep in my heart.	*What harm does it bring you if you stayed put?*
I will come to the rescue during bad times	*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
walakam baʿathtu maʿ_a**l-hawāʾi rasāʾilī**	wa manaʿta ḥatta_ṭ-ṭayfa fī al-aḥlāmi
وَلَطالَما ضَحِكَتْ بُروقُ رَسائِلي	لَمَّا بَكَت بِصَريرِها أَقلامي
walaṭalamā ḍahikat burūqu rasāʾilī	lammā bakat biṣarīrihā aqlāmī

* 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:

	فتكاتُ (طرفكِ) لَحظِكِ أم سيوفُ أبيكِ	وكؤوسُ خمرٍ أم مَراشفُ فيكِ
1	Waku ʾūsu khamrin am marāshifu fīki	fatakātu laḥẓiki am suyūfu abīki
	أجِلادُ مُرْهَفَةٍ وفَتَكُ محاجِرٍ	(ما) **لا** أنتِ راحمةٌ ولا أهلوكِ
2	lā anti rāḥamatun walā ahlūki	Aj(g)ilādu murhafatin wafataku maḥājirin
	يا بنتَ (ذا السيفِ) **ذي البُردِ** الطويلِ نِجادُهُ	أكذا (يَجوزُ) **يجورُ** الحكمُ في ناديكِ
3	akadhā yaj(g)ūru (yajūzu)_l-ḥukmu fī nādīki	yā binta dhī al-burdi (dhī_s-sayf) ṭ-ṭawīli nij(g)āduhu
	عيناكِ أم مَغناكِ موعِدُنا وفي	وادي الكَرى ألقاكِ أم (أو) واديك
5	Wādī_l-karā alqāki am(aw) wadīki	ʿaynāki am maghnāki mawʿidunā wa_fī
	(حسبوا) **ودعوا** التكحّلَ في جفونك **حيلةً** (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 (H) 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.

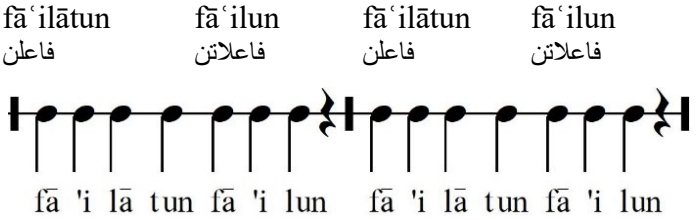
Ibrāhīm also catered to the audiences of nearby Arab countries and their leaders. In his book, he referenced his visits to Iraq, Baḥrain, Yemen, Transjordan, Najd, Hijaz, Syria, and Egypt, and noted how Arab audiences welcomed and memorized his songs. While Ibrāhīm pursued the concept of performance 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, ʻUmar 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 (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.

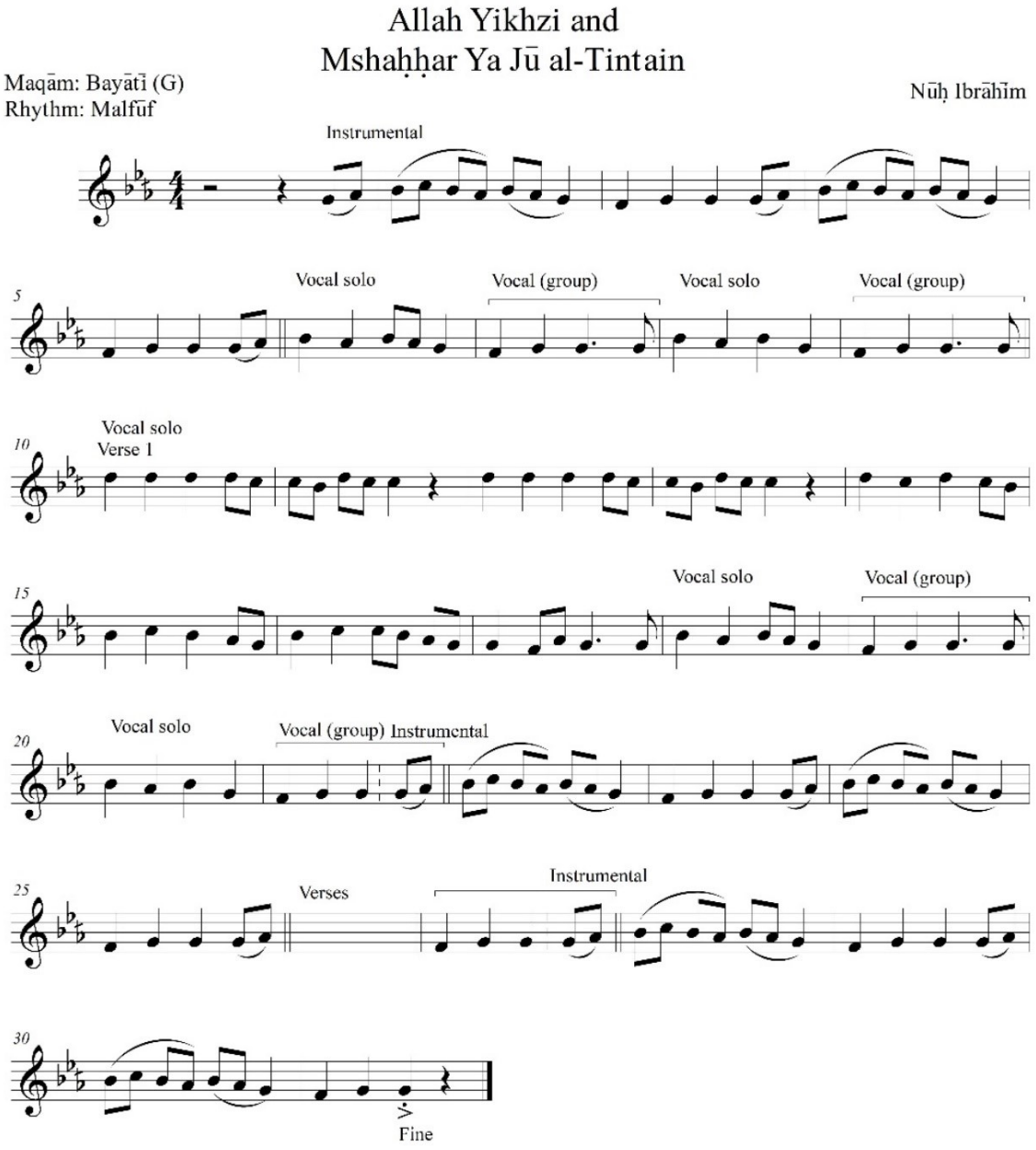


Figure 34. “Allah Yikhzī” and “Mshaḥḥar Yā Jūz al-Tintain,” Nūḥ Ibrāhīm (1930s)

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.

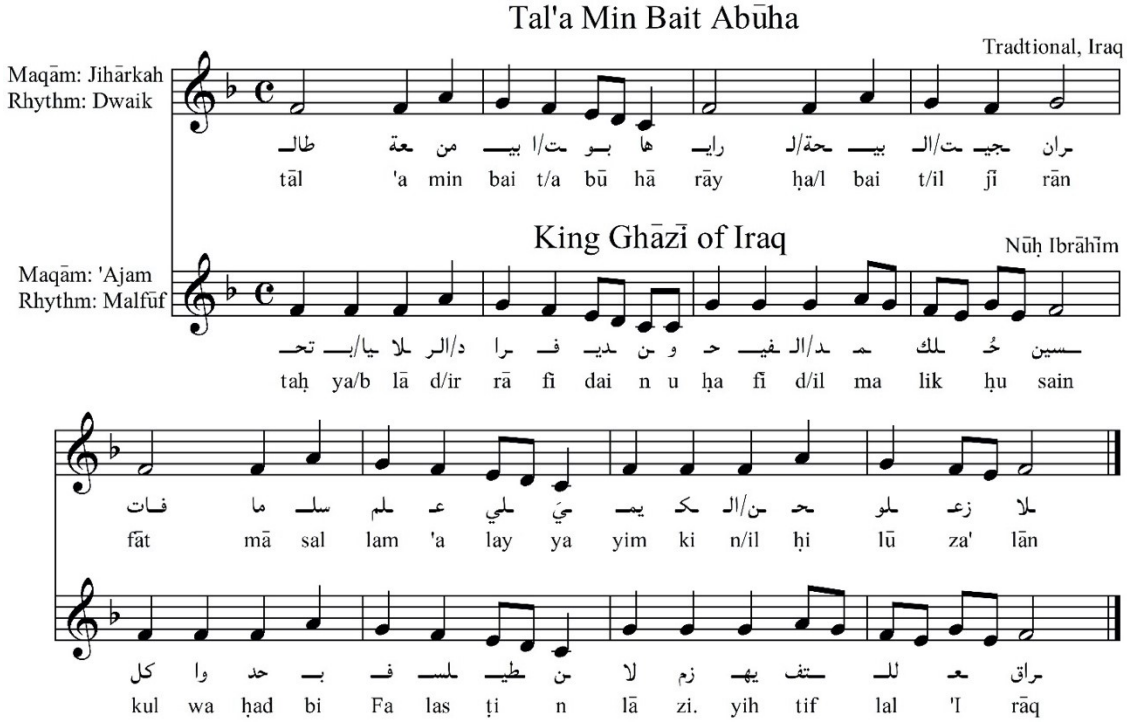


Figure 35. "Ṭālʿa Min Bait Abūhā," traditional, Iraq, (top); and "King Ghāzī," Nūḥ Ibrāhīm (bottom)

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, Isṭifān Isṭifān, 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	مَوطِني 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	مَوطِني
mawṭinī a_sh-shabābu lan yakilla hammuhu an tastaqilla aw yabīd	مَوطِني الشبابُ لنْ يكِلَّ هَمُّهُ أنْ تستَقِلَّ أو يَبيدْ
nastaqī min_ar-radā walan nakūna lilʿidā kalʿabīd	نَستقي منَ الرَّدَى ولنْ نكونَ للعِدَى كالعَبيدْ
la nurīd	لا نُريدْ
dhullanā_l-muʾabbadā wa ʿayshanā_l-munakkadā	ذُلّنَا المُؤَبَّدا وعَيشَنَا المُنَكَّدا
la nurīd bal nuʿīd	لا نُريدْ بلْ نُعيدْ
majdanā_t-talīd	مَجدَنا التّليدْ
mawtinī	مَوطِني
mawtinī	مَوطِني
mawṭinī al-ḥusāmu wa_l-yarāʿu lā_l-kalāmu wa_n-nizāʿu ramzunā	مَوطِني 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 ورايةٌ 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:

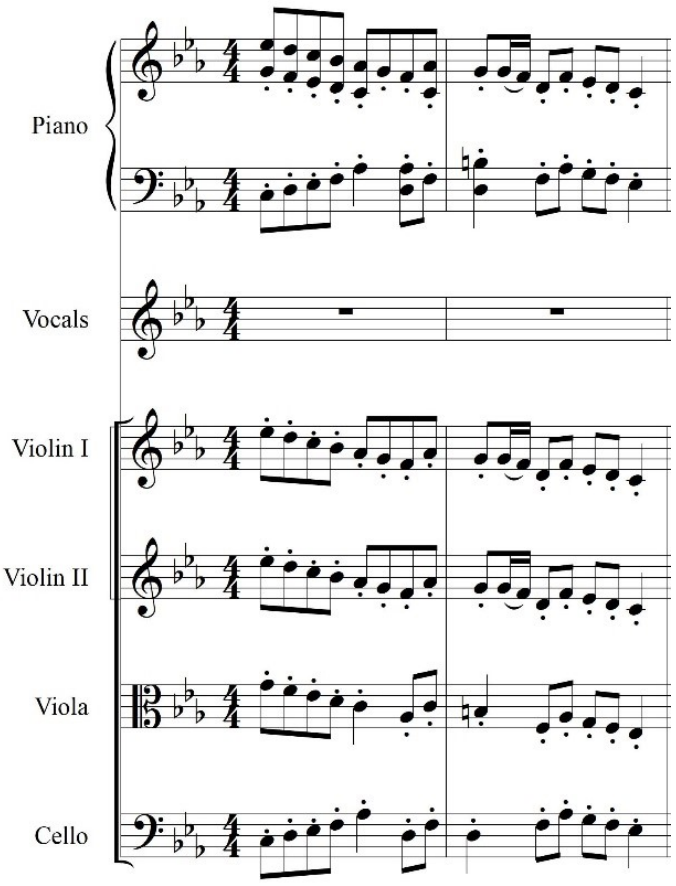


Figure 38. Children's song from NEBS (excerpt) (BBC Arabic 1941)

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

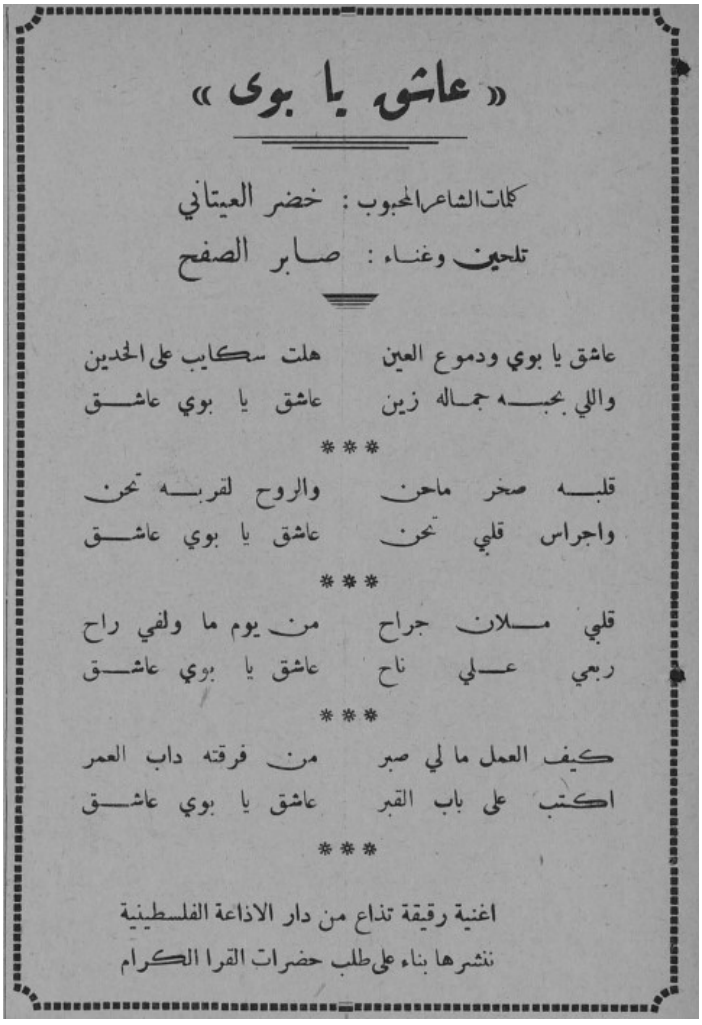
Palestinian dialects were still making their way through the scene, including Bedouin, peasant, and hybrid configurations. Many of such dialects occurred in light songs such as those of Fahid Najjār, Jamīl al-ʿĀṣ, ʿĀmir Khaddāj, Nūḥ Ibrāhīm, and Nimir Nāṣir before them. The dialects seem to also point 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:

ʿ*āshig* yā **būy** widmū ʿil ʿain	hallat **sakāyib** ʿal khaddain
willī baḥibbu jamalu **zain**	ʿ*āshig* ya **būy** ʿ*āshig*
galbu ṣakhir mā ḥan	wirrūḥ la *gurbu* ṭḥin
wijrās *galbī* ṭḥin	ʿ*āshiq* ya būy ʿ*āshig*
galbī malān jrāh	min yūm ma **wilfī** rāḥ
rabʿ**ī** ʿallayyī nāḥ	ʿ*āshig* ya būy ʿ*āshig*
kaif ilʿ**amal** mā lī ṣabir	min *furigtu* dāb il-ʿumur
aktub (or **ashtub**) ʿa bābil *gabir*	ʿ*āshig* ya būy ʿ*āshig*

*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.

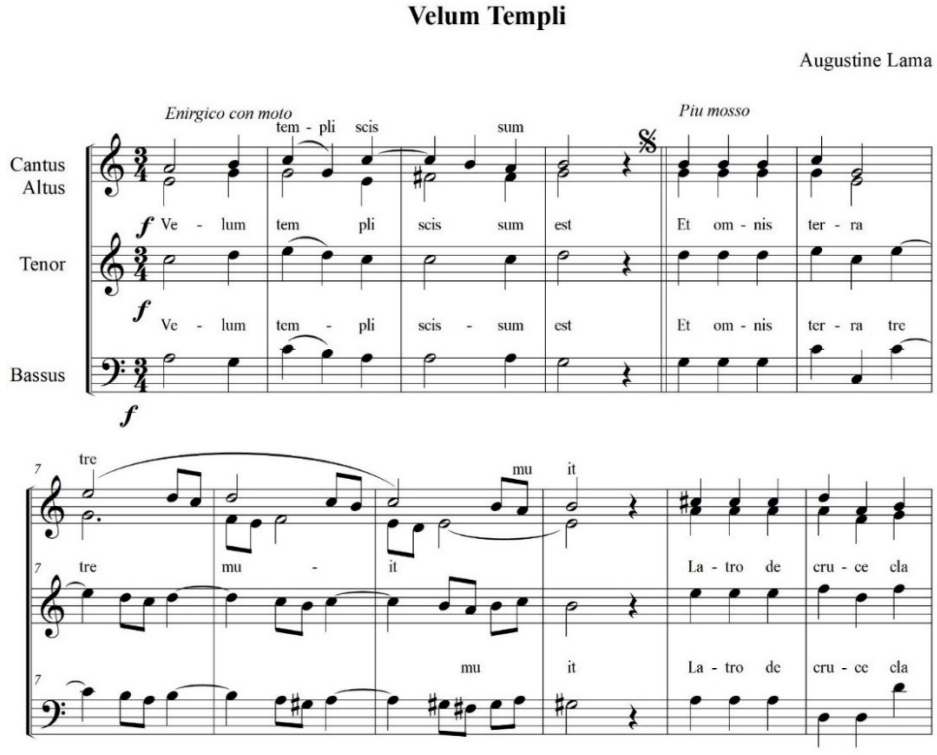


Figure 40. "Velum Temple" (excerpt), Augustine Lama

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 samā'ī 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).