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

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Chapter 4

4.1 Negotiating Dialects

There is evidence that Arabic dialects interacted with each other in al-Mashriq. The notion of cultural dissimilarity in early nationalist literature was perceived as khuṣūṣiyya, or special character, therefore accepted. However, any glorification of such characteristics to signify local nationalism was not encouraged and often criticized and even attacked. This attitude is probably accurate for most of the century, but more so under the influence of pan-Arab nationalist ideology. Examples of this are in abundance and found in articles, books, magazines, speeches as well as testimonies.[78] In the Muntada issue of January 27, 1944 (no. 10, 16), Isṭifān wrote an article about saḥja, a popular song-form in colloquial Arabic poetry that is typically accompanied by dance. It is set according to baḥr al-basīṭ. Isṭifān noted that he observed twenty different types of colloquial poetry in Palestine, most of which are known in neighboring Arab countries. He used the term *qutr* (pl. *aqtār)*, in referring to these countries.[79] The term was used at that time to describe coherent geographic regions or areas that have specific distinct cultural characteristics or particularities, *khuṣūṣiyya*, but yet still considered to be part of a broader unit. He said: "Saḥja is known in its various forms in the Peninsula as in Jūf, Najd, Ḥijāz, Yemen, and in Iraq, Egypt, the Arab East [referring to Palestine, Jordan, and Lebanon] and Syria, and to Aleppo" (Isṭifān 1944, 16). Isṭifān included text excerpts of various examples of *saḥja* that he collected. Even though he only provided text, one can easily distinguish the different dialects he was referencing. In the following example, the underlined words in the second line show a way

[78] See *Arab Nationalism* by Bassam Tibi et al. (1991).

[79] The term *qutr* is currently used to refer to state or country.

of saying a word that is only specific to dialects of Northern Palestine, Jerusalem mountains, and coastal communities, both urban and rural. The selected verses were included in Iṣṭifān's article.

The words *mā drīnāshī* (we did not know), which appear in the verse below, is said as *mā drīnā*, *mā dirainā*, *mā drīnāsh,* or *mā drīnā* in other Palestinian dialects.

يا حاضرين كلكم ربي يهنيكم في وسط بستان طير اخضر يناغيكم
واللي يحبك يجي لك عالقدم ماشي وان ما يريدك يقول لك ما دريناشي

yā ḥāḍrīn kulkum rabbī yihannīkum fī wasṭ bustān ṭair akhḍar yināghīkum
willī yiḥibbak yījī lak ʿalqadam māshī win mā yrīdak yiqūl lak mā_drīnashī

* Underlined words indicate the terms being discussed

A few verses later, Iṣṭifān included yet another indication that shed light on where this colloquial poem was potentially coming from:

قالو "حبيبك زغير" قلت "إيش ماله؟" قالوا "يقلع ويلبس" قلت من ماله

qālū ḥabībik zghīr qult "aish mālu?" qālū "yiqlaʿ u yilbis" qult min mālu

The first underlined word *zghīr*, meaning "little," is written as pronounced with a *z*, although its first letter is *ṣ*, as pronounced in Bedouin and standard Arabic. The two underlined words, *aish mālu?* (what is the matter with him?), are also used in Northern Palestine, Jerusalem mountains, and coastal communities. The author did not write all words as they are pronounced, except in such cases. The reasons are attributed to the way researchers have attempted to document colloquial Arabic. Most of the documentation available leaves certain Arabic letters such as *q* and *k* as is, instead of writing them as pronounced. For example, the letters pronounced *a* or *ga* would still be written as *k* or *q* according to how they are written in standard Arabic, not according to pronunciation. Therefore, the three verses can be rewritten as pronounced as such:

yā ḥāḍrīn kulkum rabbī yihannīkum fī wasat bustān ṭair akhḍar yināghīkum
willī yiḥibbak yījī lak ʿal adam māshī win mā yrīdak yiʾūl lak madrināshī

ālū ḥabībik zghīr ult “aish malu?” ālū “yiʾlaʿ u yilbis” ult min mālu

*Underlined words indicate the terms being discussed.

In a different article in the *Muntada* issue of March 1944 (no. 12, 20), Iṣṭifān wrote another article about *dabka* and said: “In our area of Jerusalem countryside, *dabka* comes in five types […],” and goes on to describe each one. There are several fascinating aspects of this article: 1) Iṣṭifān stated that he is from an area outside of Jerusalem; and 2) he used Gustaf Dalman’s earlier notation of a song from Galilee; see Figures 3 and 4 in Chapter 1.

Iṣṭifān did not reference Dalman in his transcription (Figure 3), however, the transcription is identical. It even included the missing triplets marking that should have appeared in three different bars in Dalman’s transcription. Iṣṭifān also transcribed it from right to left, a common trend, and still, in Arab Anglican liturgical settings as well as in the secular and nationalistic vocal works of various Palestinian Anglicans, as shown in Figure 62 in the Appendix. He also added and underlined the word *al-bayt* (verse), under the middle staff, indicating the difference between the opening A section and the verse in the B section. The B section, which was included in the lyrics section in Dalman’s book, concludes the song by rhyming with *ām*, back to how A ended:

hām damʿ il ʿain fūq il-khad **hām**	هام دمع العين فوق الخد **هام**
ṭālat_il-ghaibaih walā_rsallī salām	طالت الغيبة ولا ارسل لي سلام
ṭālat al-ghaibaih walā_rsallī ḥadā	طالت الغيبة ولا ارسل لي حدا
khdhaidh abū_qdhailaih shibih qaṭr_in-nada	خذيد ابو قذيلة شبه قطر الندى
shūftī ana li_z-zain bitjalli_iṣ-ṣadā	شوفتي أنا للزين بتجلّي الصدا
min_hmūm al-ghaibaih_w min mīt ʿ**ām**	من هموم الغيبة ومن ميت **عام**

* Rhyme is indicated in bold. The last two verses were added by Iṣṭifān, see Figure 3.

While PBS promoted local dialects in songs from the surrounding regions, it was clear that it was indeed its intention to promote Palestinian dialects, but not from the perspective of

local nationalism, and rather as khuṣūṣiyya. At that point, however, it was not clear yet as to which one of such local dialects within the region, other than Egyptian, would be codified to serve a nationalistic purpose. After 1948, however, such efforts were rendered into various motions. For example, most Palestinian composers settled for setting standard Arabic to music, such as al-Khammāsh, al-Rūmī, al-Bandak, Ghāzī, and al-Saʿūdī, which kept their songs within the acceptable frame of both local and pan-Arab nationalistic movements. A few among them utilized colloquial dialects, especially al-Rūmī and al-Bandak.

While promoting local Palestinian dialects within PBS was indeed significant in terms of the growth of Palestinian national identity, the role that the PBS played signified a higher level of geopolitical engagement and a more sophisticated approach to Arab nationalism. This role was quite different from that of Radio Cairo, which advocated not much more than Egyptian literature and music. As the events of 1948 interrupted the growth of this type of nationalist advocacy and discourse, and the direction of Palestinian nationalism and identity, it was during the following years when songs started to denote territorial identities through their use of dialects, instrumentation, *maqām*, *iqāʿ*, form, and genre. Newly written lyrics and dialect-specific traditional materials in the then-independent countries of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq began to form the foundation for territorial nationalistic markers or emblems that would eventually distinguish these countries from each other at the national level. The development or adoption of specific dialects was related to the development and growth of territorial nationalism. This process involved the selection, codification, acceptance, and establishment of certain linguistic norms.[80] By the late 1950s, Palestinian-specific dialects such as those of Yāfā and

[80] For further reading see *The Arabic Language and National Identity* by Yāsir Suleiman.

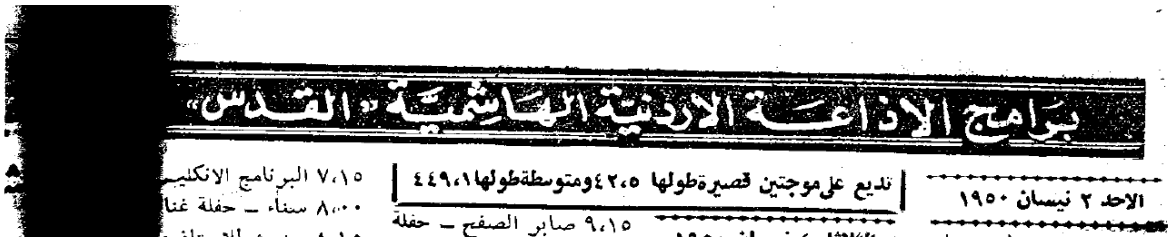
Jerusalem gradually faded out from radio broadcasts, making way to the new Lebanese colloquial songs such as those written by Raḥbānī Brothers and Zakī Nāṣīf, and to Bedouin dialect which became the one signifying Jordan as a nation.

In Jordan, Palestinian musicians based their songs on traditional song types and local dialects. The songs were restricted to recycled or repackaged traditional material and some light genres that were expanded offshoots of peasant and Bedouin tunes. Because lyrics in songs were becoming indicative of geographic regions and nations, the songs were becoming increasingly indicative of national origin. This dynamic contributed to the polarization of certain communities within a single country despite all being citizens of that country. In Lebanon, musicians built their songs on specific aspects of local music and Lebanese-specific dialects while consciously injected them with literary and Western elements, as al-Sharīf (1957) advised.

4.2 Jordan Radio

In April 1948, some PBS employees managed to transfer lightly used equipment from Jerusalem to Ramallah, as the war was at that point imminent. As of May 17, 1948, PBS became under the control of Jordan, but Nuwayhiḍ mentioned that the station was not able to resume broadcasting until 1949 (Nuwayhiḍ 1993; Radio Jordan 2017). As of September 1, 1948, the name of the station changed to the Hashemite Jordanian Radio "Jerusalem" (Radio Jordan 2017). The word Jerusalem was placed in quotation marks, as shown below in Figure 49 from 1950.[81]

[81] Thanks to Akram al-Rayyis, a researcher from Lebanon, who provided a copy of the publication. The file is part of his collection. Based on the format, the publication is presumably a magazine; however, no other information is available.


برامج الاذاعة الاردنية الهاشمية «القدس»

الاحد ٢ نيسان ١٩٥٠

تذيع على موجتين قصيرة طولها ٤٢،٥ ومتوسطة طولها ٤٤٩،١

٧،١٥ البرنامج الانكليـ

٨،٠٠ سناء – حفلة غنا

٩،١٥ صابر الصفح – حفلة

Figure 50. Hashemite Jordanian Radio “Jerusalem” (detail, 1950)

The station was renamed the Hashemite Jordanian Kingdom Radio after the formal unification of the two banks on April 24, 1950, and the word Jerusalem was removed from the title. At that point, the station was reduced to 25 musicians. Its budget shrank substantially from JD80,595 in 1947-48 to JD39,587 in 1950-51 (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). Meanwhile, its broadcast increased from five hours per day before 1948 to seven hours and twenty-two minutes in 1950 (ibid.). Compared to the available program from April 1950, at that point, the total duration of the daily broadcast was at five hours and thirty minutes. Nuwayhiḍ was probably referring to the latter part of the 1950s when the transmission got to the seven-hour mark.

The station was operating with a 50% decrease in its budget and number of employees, a 40% increase in time on the air, a 70% decrease in the budget for music and talks, and a 90% decrease in equipment (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). Its programs suffered tremendously, and it lost most of its previous offerings, including those directed to children and teenagers, as well as all live performances of Western music and choirs. The following is a sample of how the program looked during the first week of April 1950. One particularly noticeable aspect is that all days of the week are mostly identical except for Sunday, which included the broadcasting of recorded Western music from 8:30 PM to 9:00 PM and Friday, which dedicated a more substantial portion to Islamic religious programming. Among the singers who appeared on the program during this

week are al-Ṣafiḥ, al-ʿĀṣ, and Tawfīq al-Nimrī. Tables 9 and 10 show the programming for Sunday April 2, and Tuesday, April 4, 1950, respectively:

Table 9. Sunday program, Hashemite Jordanian Radio "Jerusalem" (1950)

The Morning Broadcast	The Afternoon Broadcast	The Evening Broadcast
7:00 AM - 7:10 AM Morning Talk 7:10 AM - 7:30 AM Qurʾan 7:30 AM - 7:40 AM News 7:40 AM - 8:00 AM Light Music	1:30 PM - 1:45 PM Group Light Songs 1:45 PM - 2:00 PM Noon Music 2:00 PM - 2:15 PM News 2:15 PM - 2:20 PM Local Politics Weekly 2:20 PM - 2:30 PM Recorded Music	6:00 PM - 6:15 PM News 6:15 PM - 6:30 PM Song Performance 6:30 PM - 7:00 PM Qurʾan 7:00 PM - 7:15 PM Film Songs 7:15 PM - 8:00 PM English Program 8:00 PM - 8:15 PM Recorded Songs 8:15 PM - 8:30 PM Humorous Songs 8:30 PM - 9:00 PM Western Music 9:00 PM - 9:15 PM News 9:15 PM - 9:30 PM Song Performance
60 minutes	60 minutes	210 minutes

Table 10. Tuesday program, Hashemite Jordanian Radio "Jerusalem" (1950)

The Morning Broadcast	The Afternoon Broadcast	The Evening Broadcast
7:00 AM - 7:10 AM Morning Talk 7:10 AM - 7:30 AM Qurʾan 7:30 AM - 7:40 AM News 7:40 AM - 8:00 AM Light Music BREAK	1:30 PM - 1:45 PM Group Light Songs 1:45 PM - 2:00 PM Noon Music 2:00 PM - 2:15 PM News 2:15 PM - 2:20 PM Song Performance* 2:20 PM - 2:30 PM Recorded Music BREAK * Local Politics Weekly, Wednesday, and Friday	6:00 PM - 6:15 PM News 6:15 PM - 6:30 PM Baladī Songs* 6:30 PM - 7:00 PM Qurʾan 7:00 PM - 7:15 PM Film Songs* 7:15 PM - 8:00 PM English Program 8:00 PM - 8:15 PM Recorded Songs 8:15 PM - 8:30 PM Talks 8:30 PM - 8:40 PM Song Performance 9:00 PM - 9:15 PM News 9:15 PM - 9:30 PM Song Performance END *Or Village Program **Or performance
60 minutes	60 minutes	210 minutes

The total airtime per day was five hours and thirty minutes, except on Friday which was six hours and forty minutes bringing the total number of hours per week to 38.5 hours; 2,376 minutes, divided as follows in Tables 11 and 12:

Table 11. Week of April 2, 1950 program, Hashemite Jordanian Radio "Jerusalem"

	Light Songs	Light Music	Shaʿbī	Religious*	Songs**
Minutes	140	115	75	390	255
Percentage	5.8%	4.8%	3.1%	16.75%	10.7%

* Qurʾan, and Friday broadcast.

Among the singers who appeared in the "Songs" category are Shajnāz, al-Ṣafiḥ, Fayda Kāmil, Darwīsh al-Lababīdī, Najāḥ Salām; all singers worked previously with PBS. All are Lebanese except for Fayda Kāmil, an Egyptian; no records of Darwish al-Labābīdī were found, included under this category a fifteen-minute program of *muwashshaḥāt*. Also, the program lists three difference categories *baladī* and *shaʿbī* interchangeably.

Table 12. Week of April 2, 1950 program, Hashemite Jordanian Radio "Jerusalem" (cont.)

	Recorded Songs*	Western Music	Talks**	News	English Program	Instrumental***
Minutes	200	35	260	345	315	60
Percentage	8.4%	1.4%	10.9%	14.5%	13.2%	2.5%

* Including live performances, film songs (presumably Egyptian)
** Including Women's Program, 15m; Army Program on Friday, 30m; Children's Program, 15m.
*** Including ʿūd and cello solos

The total of percentages in tables 11 and 12 is 92.05%; the remaining is 105 minutes for a program called Afternoon Music 4.4%; + fractions. The program does not indicate which songs were Egyptian. The most obvious were film songs or songs by Fāyda Kāmil; 45 minutes total, or

1.8%. This figure is probably indicative of the limited records that employees were able to salvage in April 1948 as well as the drastic cuts in the station's budget.

As I intend to compare the week of April 6, 1947 programming in PBS to the week from April 2, 1950, through the tables below (tables 13 and 14), I must note that there is a small difference in the total airtime between the two. At PBS, airtime before 1948 was five hours per day on weekdays:7AM to 7:45 AM, 45 minutes; 1:45PM to 2:45 PM, 60 minutes; 6:15PM to 9:30PM, 195 minutes; 5 hours per day; and six-and-a-half hours on Fridays: 7:00 AM to 7:45 AM, 45 minutes; 11:00 AM to 12:30 PM, 90 minutes; 1:45 PM to 2:45 PM, 60 minutes; 6:15 PM to 9:30 PM, 195 minutes; 6.5 hours.

Table 13. Week of April 6, 1947 program, PBS

	Humorous Songs*	Children/Women Program**	Shaʿbī	Religious***	PE Exercise
Minutes	50	180	95	435	70
Percentage	2.2%	7.9%	4.1%	19.8%	3%

* This category is under "light songs" at the Hashemite Jordanian Radio.
** Including children music programming accompanied by al-Batrūnī's orchestra, plays,
*** Qurʾan and religious songs by schoolchildren, and the station's group singers, as well as Friday broadcast.

Table 14. Week of April 6, 1947, PBS (cont.)

	Qaṣīda, Muwashshaḥ	Talks*	News	Plays, Stories	Instrumental**	Egyptian***
Minutes	100	190	350	170	120	180
Percentage	4.4%	8.3%	15.4%	7.5%	5.2%	7.9%

* Including sports, health, scouts, education, history, languages
** Instrumental music including Trio Mansī, Station Orchestra, *nāy* solo, Station Septet, Radio Ensemble, Sharqi Tunes Ensemble, buzuq solo, accordion solo, *santūr* solo, Radio Takht, violin solo. I added two appearances totaling 10 minutes by Jaʿnīnaih on organ and piano.
*** Most of the songs in this category were recordings.

During this week, PBS allocated one hour and five minutes to broadcasting the Easter Christian Celebration from Jerusalem, constituting 2.8% of programming, which in comparison

to daily regular Islamic programming is considered a low percentage. Moreover, the station had a twice-a-week song program where listeners request the broadcast of certain songs that they like, sixty minutes total, at 2.6% of programming. The remaining percentages are distributed among vocal and instrumental music from Turkey, Iraq, as well as other recorded music.

There are several pointers as to the differences between the directions of the two stations, while keeping in mind the drastic budget cuts of the Hashemite Jordanian Radio "Jerusalem" as well as the current unavailability of further data:

1. addition of a daily English Program;
2. expansion of light songs broadcasting;
3. drastic decline in women programming;
4. absence of physical education programs;
5. drastic decline in the variety and duration in the instrumental music section;
6. absence of plays and storytelling;
7. drastic decline in the performance of *qaṣīda* and *muwashshaḥ*;
8. a gradual change to primetime hours in the broadcast of *shaʿbī* songs. This change contrasts PBS's where such broadcasts took place at the end of the evening program. Radio programs from the 1960s suggest similar trends where *shaʿbī* songs were broadcast throughout the day, and Egyptian and other Arab Renaissance music were switched to the late-night hours;
9. absence of broadcast from Christian sites; and
10. absence of any educational and music programming for children.

4.2.1 ʿAjāj Nuwayhiḍ, Again

During this period, ʿAjāj Nuwayhiḍ was once more asked to become the radio's General Observer, and he agreed. He took office on March 17, 1950 and reported directly to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Nuwayhiḍ 1993).[82] Nuwayhiḍ wrote about the period and the various encounters he had while being part of a governmental body in Jordan. His testimony offers a closer look at the role of government in building the Jordanian nation as well as the role of the media. He talks about his experiences and reflects on various issues that relate to his career as well as the changing environments around him. For example, he recalls that on December 21, 1950, he received news from Baghdad that Princess ʿĀlia has died; she was thirty-nine. Following formal protocols to announce day(s) of mourning, Nuwayhiḍ attempted to contact the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to coordinate further but could not get hold of anyone of authority to determine such arrangements. He then tried reaching someone at the Royal Palace, but to no avail. He called the offices of the Prime Minister as well as various other ministers, but they were all occupied with escorting the King to the airport, who was heading to Baghdad to attend the Princess's funeral. After exhausting all the options, Nuwayhiḍ acted upon his discretion and delayed the start of the broadcast to 2 PM instead of 1 PM. He prepared a brief statement about the death of Princes ʿĀlia and announced that at 2 PM, a formal mourning period would begin and pointed out that further details will follow. Shortly after he delivered his statement, he received an angry phone call from the Prime Minister, Samīr al-Rifāʿī. Al-Rifāʿī harshly criticized his radio announcement and told him that "the radio station is not your [Nuwayhiḍ's]

[82] The Royal Court approved Bill No. 13, submitted by the Prime Minister's office to consider Dār al-Idhaʿa al-Falasṭiniyya (Palestinian Broadcasting Service, PBS) to be under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; as of May 1, 1949. See Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Al-Jarīda al-Rasmiyya, June 1, 1949, issue no. 984, 155.

government within a government" (Nuwayhiḍ 1993, 350). Nuwayhiḍ was surprised by the Prime Minister's reaction and statement and informed him of his wish to resign from his position; the Prime Minister accepted. Nuwayhiḍ and al-Rifāʿī met that evening and sorted out the friction. However, during the following months, Nuwayhiḍ repeatedly expressed his wish to resign. A week after this encounter, Nuwayhiḍ consulted with one of his trusted friends Sulaymān al-Nābulsī, Jordan's minister of finance at the time, concerning the Jordan Radio. Al-Nābulsī suggested to him that for operations to move smoothly, the station must invite specific key East Jordanian individuals to deliver talks on the air. News of this incident eventually made it to the King, and in the presence of Ḥikmat al-Tājī, the King said to someone: "[Nuwayhiḍ] is my friend and he is not to be touched" (352). Nuwayhiḍ recalls that he may have angered chief individuals with the way he was managing the station and was concerned.

King ʿAbdullah was fond of Nuwayhiḍ and respected his wish to resign from his current position. After various meetings with the al-Rifāʿī concerning the state of the station and his wish to resign, the Prime Minister was in the process of creating the Bureau of News, Publication, and Press and asked Nuwayhiḍ to lead it. The King approved Nuwayhiḍ's resignation in person and appointed Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Nashāshībī as interim General Observer of the Jordan Radio. Nuwayhiḍ's last day was March 11, 1951; he moved on to directing the Bureau of News, Publication, and Press. Nuwayhiḍ attributes his resignation to three reasons: 1) the administrative hierarchy and the interference of various governmental agencies in his work; 2) the dispute over the budget, fair wages, and compensation, which impacted retention; and 3) Nuwayhiḍ wanted to settle permanently in Amman, and the station was in Ramallah at the time. Nuwayhiḍ also noted the vast difference between the freedom he had under the British Mandate with the restrictions imposed on him under Jordan.

When King ʿAbdullah was assassinated in Jerusalem on July 20, 1951, Nuwayhiḍ was the Bureau's general manager at the time. One month after the King's assassination, the new Prime Minister Tawfīq Abū al-Huda dismantled the Bureau of News, Publication, and Press. Despite the permanent status of Nuwayhiḍ's appointment, he was not transferred to another position as the law necessitates. Nuwayhiḍ claims that political rivalries and tensions were primarily at play. He never occupied any position with any government, and for the remainder of the 1950s stayed in Amman and worked as a freelance writer and journalist in various publications.

In Nuwayhiḍ (1993), the editor Bayān al-Ḥūt, daughter of Nuwayhiḍ, recalled a story that her father told her about an encounter that he had with Prime Minister Tawfīq Abū al-Huda during the 1950s, after his 1951 dismissal.[83] The story revolves around the office of the Prime Minister, which used to cut paychecks to all journalists in Jordan. When Nuwayhiḍ received one of those paychecks, he sent it back to them and was offended, given that the paycheck was not for any work that he did for the government. Abū al-Huda received Nuwayhiḍ's response and asked to meet with him in person. During the meeting, Abū al-Huda explained that his office cut paychecks regularly to all journalists in the Kingdom and that he, Nuwayhiḍ, was just one of the people on the list. Nuwayhiḍ took note and insisted on his refusal to receive any paychecks. Although Nuwayhiḍ was born in Lebanon, he settled permanently in Jordan and never considered going back to Lebanon. It was not until the summer 1959 that Nuwayhiḍ and his family returned to their home in Rās al-Mitin, Lebanon, primarily for economic reasons (ibid.).

[83] Tawfīq Abū al-Huda first served as Prime minister of Transjordan from September 28, 1938 to October 15, 1944, and he served another term from December 28, 1947 to April 12, 1950. Between July 25, 1951 and May 5, 1953 and from May 4, 1954 to May 30, 1955 he served as Prime Minister of Jordan see http://senate.jo/en/content/previous-councils

4.2.2 Western Music

After 1948, most musicians who were active in Western-style music-making permanently left Palestine, including most of those who had professional ties with Christian mission schools or church organizations. Among them were Silvadūr ʿArnīṭa and his wife Yursa (Jawhariyyaih) ʿArnīṭa, Yūsif Khāshū, and ʿĪsa Jaʿnīnī. Lama (1902-1988) stayed in Jerusalem and continued to work at St. Savior Church. As for al-Batrūn, he left for Syria but came back to Palestine sometime in the mid-1950s. This shortage reflected on the Hashemite Jordanian Kingdom Radio or Jordan Radio. Western-style music performances became minimal if they existed at all. The 1950 program that I discussed earlier is the only one I found so far from that period. However, radio programs from the 1960s attest to this trend and do not show local productions of Western music styles; only recordings of Western music were included in the programming.

The drastically weakened Western-style music-making within Jordan's Radio left urban communities, Muslims and Christians, with little to no formal sponsorship related to Western-style music-making. Previously, advocates of Western music relied heavily on radio musicians and resources. For example, through PBS's platform, these musicians engaged with the community and disseminated their ideas about progress and promoted the notion that the path towards the transformation of Arab traditions takes place through the adaptation of Western models (Willson 2013, 192), a reoccurring theme in the writings of ʿAjāj Nwayhiḍ, and ʿAzmī al-Nashāshibī. However, Willson notes that during the 1950s, Western musicians contributed on a tiny scale to furthering the development of Western classical music, particularly in Ramallah (Willson 2013, 223). For example, Willson mentions Rolla Foley (mentioned in Chapter 2), a Quaker from Indiana who led a choir at the Friends School since the mid-1950s and was accompanied by Salwa Tabri, a local Palestinian pianist (ibid.).

Moreover, Western-style music activities used to take place at Birzeit College, a school that was established in 1924 by Nabīha Nasir and Ratībah Shqair in Birzeit, a town near Ramallah, initially for girls (Audeh 2010). Such activities continued to be present at individual Christian missionary schools in Jerusalem (St George School, Terra Sancta College, College des Freres), Ramallah (Friends Schools), and Bethlehem (Salesian School). Based on Willson's accounts of the period, Arab listeners and musicians were by then divided into urban and rural. The division also seems to suggest a continuation of the separation between Western and Arab styles (Fuskurijian 1992). William Fuskurijian argues that during this period, interactions between musicians from both sides of the spectrum where minimal (Fuskurijian 1992), which I was able to affirm through my examination of PBS programs. This state not only reflected the general divisions that existed during the British Mandate in PBS—that is, English, Hebrew, and Arabic—but more explicitly points to the divisions within the PBS's Arabic Section itself. Also, such divisions reflected the demographic disparities and distinctions among Palestinians, which were manifested in the little to no interaction with the musicians of the two styles generically classified as Western and Eastern. The disparity also occurred between Arab Eastern Christian musicians and Arab Western Christian musicians. However, only Arab Christian musicians in the Western category confined themselves to elite intellectual pockets in and outside Palestine. Most Eastern Arab Christian musicians, on the other hand, navigated the scene through *maqām*.

Al-Batrūnī believed that only through Western music that Arab music would progress. In an article published on November 4, 1946, in the *Dhakhīra* magazine, Mishail Ḥaddād described al-Batrūnī's career, life, achievements, influences, and background, Haddād asked al-Batrūnī about his future artistic goals. Al-Batrūnī answered: "My goal is to elevate Eastern music to its sister Western music and to *combine* them. I have marched great distances in this endeavor, and I

shall continue until the end" (emphasis added). When Haddād asked him about his opinion of Palestinian singers and musicians, he responded:

> Arab Palestinians are musically spontaneous, so they need guidance. Singers need voice training and to learn how to read music. In my opinion, I believe that it is the duty of PBS and NEBS administrations to care about music and singing on the basis of elevating the public to them, not to go down to the people's musical level and be satisfied if the public is satisfied, that is, through repeating tunes that the public loves and feels ṭarab when listening to them. (15)

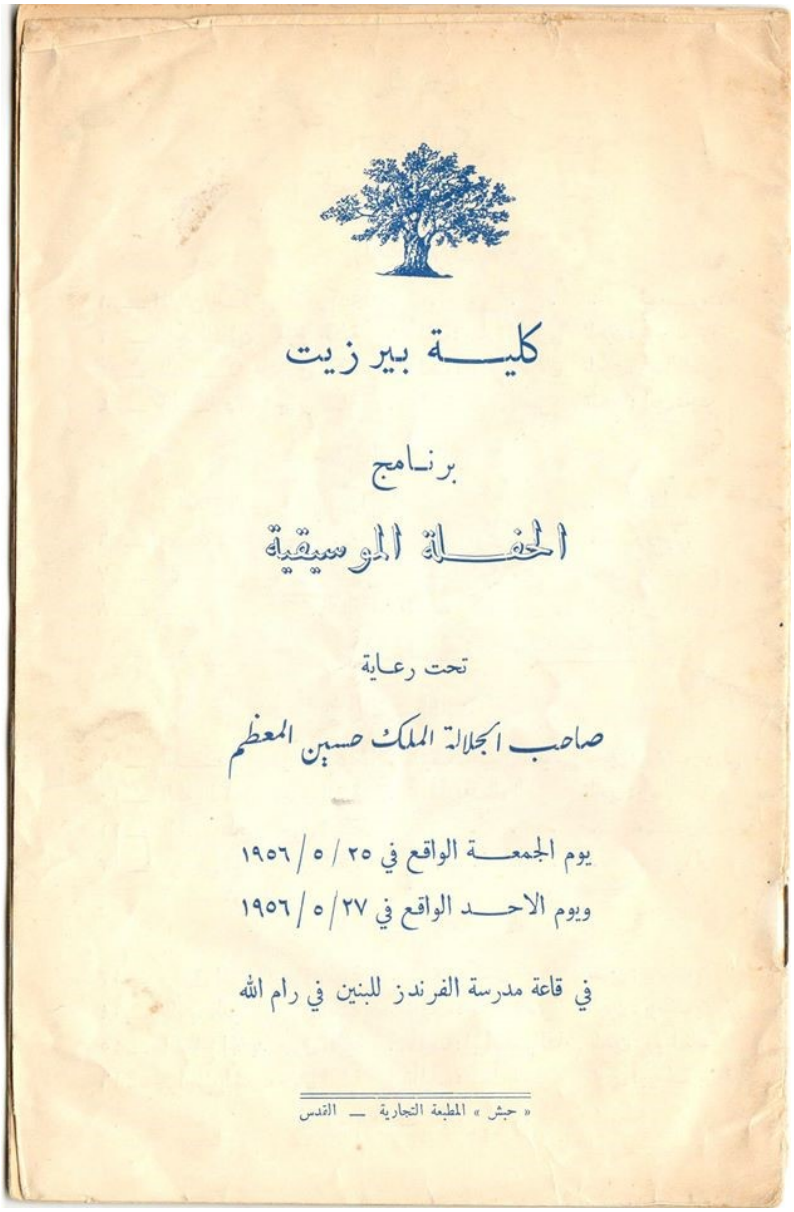
Despite this affirmation of superiority by al-Batrūnī and his nonreciprocal attitude toward learning *maqām*, his goal to combine Western and Arab music was no longer attainable after the events of 1948. There was no longer an orchestra under his command, which had been the main engine behind local Western music programming at PBS's Arabic section.

According to Ṣamīm al-Sharīf, al-Batrūnī arrived in Damascus after 1948 and was chosen to lead the music department at Damascus Radio; a position that he retained until 1950. He was selected to lead the founding committee and assigned the task of establishing the Eastern Music Institute in Damascus. Ultimately, three months later, he became the Institute's artistic and academic director. It is not clear when he returned to Palestine. According to Rima Nasir-Tarazi, a composer and pianist, he was hired by Birzeit College to lead its band and choir in 1954 (Tarazi 2007), a position that was held previously by Salvador ʿArniṭa. She recalls that al-Batrūnī worked for the Jordan Radio during that period as well.

Al-Batrūnī's position at Birzeit College gave him some access to freelance musicians who played Western instruments, which enabled him to compose, arrange, and conduct new music in performances. None of such activities, however, were at this point connected to any governmental or public platform or the Jordan Radio, and the separation between Eastern and Western musical practices continued and deepened. By then, Western music practices were back to being confined to Christian institutions and were absent from the public sphere—a present

absentee. However, Palestinian Christian Anglicans continued to be strong advocates of Western music. An example of this advocacy is a concert of Western music under Birzeit College in 1956. Tarazi was kind enough and provided the full program of the concert from her archive as well as the sheet music for some of her songs that appeared in the program. The concert sheds light on the nature and state of Western musical practices and how music-making was established in contexts other than broadcasting services and the public sphere.

The concert took place at the Friends Boys School in Ramallah on May 25 and May 27, 1956. The first page of the program has an image of an olive tree, the College's emblem, and notes that the concert was under the care of "his Majesty King Ḥusain the Great," as shown in Figure 51. Al-Batrūnī led the performance, and the main contributors were all from the Nasir family.



كليـــة بير زيت

برنـامج

الحفـــلة الموسيقية

تحت رعـاية

صاحب الجلالة الملك حسين المعظم

يوم الجمعـــة الواقع في ٢٥ / ٥ / ١٩٥٦
ويوم الاحـــد الواقع في ٢٧ / ٥ / ١٩٥٦

في قاعة مدرسة الفرندز للبنين في رام الله

« حبش » المطبعة التجارية ـــ القدس

Figure 51. Program of Birzeit College Concert (1956)

Despite being under the auspices of King Ḥusain, the concert was a display of nationalism and patriotism, as well as an affirmation by a notable Christian family as to its political and cultural stature. It took place during a period of political uncertainty and

transformations, a time when notable Palestinian families, Christian and Muslim, were playing essential roles in steering political, cultural, and social discourses in Jordan, including the Nasir family. The following is the English translation of the program (asterisk denotes instrumental piece):

Royal Anthem College followed by President's Speech:

Part 1		
1. Al-Mārsh al-ʿAskarī (Military March) *	The Orchestra	Schubert
2. Nashīd Falasṭīn (Palestine Anthem)	College Choir	Poetry: Bshāra al-Khūri; music: Yūsif al-Batrūnī
3. Al-Shahīd (The Martyr)	College Choir	Poetry: Ibrahīn Ṭūqān; music: Rima Naṣir
4. Al-Jallād (The Tormentor)	College Choir	Poetry: Kamal Nasir; music: Amīn Nasir
Part 2		
5. Fī Aswāq Fāris (In a Persian Market)*	The Orchestra	Ketelbey
6. Quondo Corpus	College Choir	Rossini
7. Al-Munāḍil (The Fighter)	College Choir	Poetry: Kamal Nasir; music: Yūsif al-Batrūnī
8. Ṣirāʿ (Struggle)	College Choir	Poetry: Kamal Nasir; music: Rima Naṣir
Intermission		
Part 3		
9. Al-Jundī (The Soldier)	College Choir	Poetry: Sulaymān al-ʿĪsā; music: Yūsif al-Batrūnī
10. Al-Ṭayr al-Rāḥil (Departing Bird)	College Choir	Poetry: Kamal Nasir; music: by Rima Naṣir
11. Al-Nāy al-Masḥūr (Magic Flute)*	The Orchestra	Mozart
12. Mūsīqa al-Layl, al-qism al-awwal (A Little Night Music, first mvt.)*	The Orchestra	Mozart
Part 4		
13. Zawraq al-Majd (Boat of Glory)	College Choir	Poetry: Kamal Nasir; music: Yūsif al-Batrūnī
14. Malʿab al-ʿIz (Field of Pride)	College Choir	Poetry: Kamal Nasir; music: Yūsif al-Batrūnī
15. Al-Ṣabāḥ al-Jadīd (New Morning)	College Choir	Poetry: Abū al-Qāsim al-Shabbī; music: Rima Naṣir
16. Jirāḥak Yā Shaʿb (Your wounds, O people)	College Choir	Poetry: Kamal Nasir; music: Yūsif al-Batrūnī

* Instrumental

The program lists the names of the solo singers and orchestra players while maintaining all honorifics. The names mentioned below reflect the original program, but not all first and last names were fully listed:

1. *Orchestra*: Ms. Rīma Nasir, piano; Dr. Amīn Majaj, violin; Mr. Dilbert Reynolds, violin; Dr. Kasbaryan, violin; Mr. Mishail ʿAwaḍ,[84] violin; Mr. Owen Gander, viola; Mr. Rob, cello; Mr. Mishail Rock, clarinet; Mr. Naṣrī al-Duwārī, trumpet.
2. *Solo Singers*: Ms. Samia Nasir, soprano; Ms. Jihād Khalīfa, soprano; Ms. Jīda Khalifa, alto.

According to Tarazi, Dr. Delbert Reynolds was headmaster of the Friends Boys School, while Mishail Rock and Naṣri Duwairī were well-known performers in Jerusalem who studied with Lama (interview, 2019). As for Owen Gander, he was the choir teacher at the Friends Schools at the time. The two singers Jihād and Jīda Khalīfa were students at the College, sisters of the renowned writer Saḥar Khalīfa. Samia is Rima's sister, who was among the staff at the College.[85] Rima does not remember Mr. Rob (or Rab) or Dr. Kasparian.

The concert did not include any traditional instruments or repertoire; it was rather dominated by Western music. Taking a closer look at the poems and their titles, we can safely presume that they all were in standard Arabic. Kamal Nasir wrote seven of the eleven songs, and only two poems in the full text were included in the program, one by Bshāra al-Khūrī and the second by Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān. The remaining four poems were written by Abū al-Qāsim al-Shābbī (1909-1934), Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān (1905-1941), Sulaymān al-ʿĪsa (1921-2013), and Bshāra al-Khūrī

[84] Mishel ʿAwaḍ is married to Rima's husband's first cousin.

[85] She is the mother of Suhail Khoury, who played a key role in various capacities during the 1980s and 1990s, and cofounded the Edward Said Conservatory.

(1885-1968). I managed to find most of the poems in libraries. They are all patriotic in a generic sense and addressed notions of unity, hope, praise, pride, education, sympathy, perseverance, and sacrifice. However, they also pointed to resistance, martyrdom, and defiance. An example of this is Kamal Nasir's poem, The Tormentor. A few years before, on March 1, 1950, a Royal Decree was issued by Jordan banning the usage of the word Palestine in all official and governmental documents (Suleiman 1995). The decree necessitates its replacement with the term West Bank. Therefore, in the program, the word was mentioned directly only once in the much older poem by Bshāra al-Khūrī.

The compositions were based on Western scales and meant to be performed on Western instruments, resembling anthems and Western patriotic song types. As I examined some of Tarazi's songs further, it became apparent that the influence of the Anglican church is profound in her songs. She attests to this through my direct interaction with her regarding her music. In her multi-volume collection of national songs, published by the Edward Said Conservatory in 2013, the compositional devices that she incorporates, though quite modest, resemble a great deal the Anglican hymns to which she was exposed. All such hymns were published in Arabic and available as early as the mid-nineteenth century, both as text and sheet music and from right to left, as shown in Figure 63 in the Appendix. The composition and notation in Tarazi's 2013 multi-volume resemble the Arabic hymn books and written from right to left.

The political atmosphere, meanwhile, continued to be intensely polarized, more so than the old Palestinian factionalism between the Ḥusainī and Nashāshībī camps that started in the 1920s. Both Jordanian and Palestinian political spheres were saturated with diverse political ideologies, and the Kingdom was meanwhile preparing for another general election in October 1956. By then, political parties could form, operate, nominate candidates, and compete for seats

in the parliament. At the political level, this was an unprecedented move by King Ḥusain which fostered a democratic atmosphere that opened new doors for free expression. The King, however, abandoned this strategy the following year in favor of a parliament that was entirely controlled by him. Ḥusain turned to his intelligence services to crack down on pan-Arab nationalists and communists, and among them was Kamal Nasir. The King dissolved the parliament in 1957.

4.3 The Rise of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Being physically fragmented and in search of various means of survival, definition, and agency, Palestinians faced serious struggles in every layer of their lives. While they all had to adjust to their new conditions in some form or shape, not every pocket of Palestinians experienced the same type of pressures or challenges, especially when comparing refugees to notables or the emerging middle class. The disparities and contrasts concerning the living conditions among Palestinians were among the factors that shaped how they positioned themselves politically. By the mid-1950s, they had to navigate through the emerging identities of the newly established nations of Israel, Lebanon, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Iraq, and Syria, as well as a strong nationalist movement led by Egypt. Although many Palestinians identified with Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's nationalist vision and the making of Palestine as central to the Arab nationalist movement, during the second half of the 1950s Palestinians were confronting several conflicting realities that rerouted both their political and cultural discoursers.

After 1948, Transjordan effectively administered the territory, and King ʿAbdullah continued to ensure the legal annexation of the remaining parts of Palestine (Morris 2008). On October 1, 1948, he organized the Amman Conference and invited Palestinian notables who opposed the mufti Amīn Ḥusainī to attend (ibid.). Many notables attended the conference and pledged allegiance to him on behalf of the people of Palestine. They also gave the green light to

moving forward with the King's plans to unite the two banks of the Jordan River. Sulaymān al-Tājī al-Fārūqī chaired the two-hour conference with Saʿd al-Dīn al-ʿAlamī as vice-chair, and ʿAjāj Nuwayhiḍ, as secretary (Ashtīyya 2011). Nuwayhiḍ led the subsequent efforts to organize another conference in Jericho in December 1948, which provided the legal foundation for the union of Palestine (the West Bank, including East Jerusalem) with Transjordan (East Bank) (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). Muḥammad ʿAlī Jaʿbari, mayor of Hebron, chaired the conference, which was attended by notables from Jerusalem, Hebron, Bethlehem, Nablus, and Ramallah (Wilson 1999). Hundreds of other delegates, including mayors, tribal chiefs, aldermen, and military governors, also joined (Robins 2019).

However, the conference did not go as planned. While the conferees prepared to recognize King ʿAbdullah as monarch, they were unwilling to give up their claim to the whole of Palestine. They, therefore, refused to endorse his policy of "permanent consolidation" (Robins 2019, 72). He, subsequently, embarked on "creeping annexation," which is a "policy of gradual political and economic transformation by which he extended his administration and influence throughout Transjordanian occupied Palestine, naming his supporters to key positions and stifling independent political voices and organizations" (Wilson 1999, 189). Although his apparatus was inherently narrow, he elected to impose his will on Palestinians rather than develop new support bases (ibid.). Many of the ruling urban notables, nonetheless, switched their allegiance to him after the Jericho Conference (Wilson 1999). Amīn al-Ḥusainī was at that point barred from areas under Jordanian control, and by 1950 the circumstances seemed more in favor of King ʿAbdullah to legalize the annexation.

On April 11, 1950, elections were held for a new Jordanian parliament, and thirteen days later, it unanimously approved a motion to unite the two banks of the Jordan River (Robins

2019). Subsequently, Palestinians on both banks of the river had begun to adjust to the idea of being ruled by King ʿAbdullah, for they, at that point, had no other viable option (Wilson 1999). Thus, the ascendency of Palestinian families opposed to the Ḥusainī family, or neutral, began to dominate the political, economic, and cultural life of the Kingdom. Those include al-Nashāshībī, Ṭuqān, al-Dajānī, Jayyūsī, al-ʿAlamī, al-Khaṭīb, and al-Maṣrī families. The Jordanian government offered Jordanian citizenship to Palestinians in the West Bank and continued to distribute high positions among families that supported the King in his endeavor (ibid.).

Jordanian and Palestinian institutions, laws, and practices were rapidly merging or consolidating (Nuwayhiḍ 1993), with careful consideration of the particularities of Palestinian identity, culture, and politics (see Wilson 1999). The King asserted his position and presented himself as guardian of Palestinian aspirations, despite the continuous opposition of Amīn al-Ḥusainī (Khalidi 2015), as well as the Palestinian street (Wilson 1999; Robins 2019). The King firmly proclaimed that issues of nationalism, culture, identity, political discourses, and geopolitical engagements must always adhere to his vision (Nuwayhiḍ 1993). Adnan Abu Odeh (2000) wrote an impressive testimony as a government official in Jordan, who worked closely with King Ḥusain for three decades. He describes the national identities that emerged during the twentieth century in Jordan as follows:

1. East Jordanians, the original inhabitants of the region east of the Jordan River;
2. Palestinians, the Arab inhabitants of Palestine during the British Mandate;
3. Jordanian-Palestinians, those who became Jordanian nationals upon the unification of the East and West banks of the Jordan River, and
4. Jordanians, who are all the inhabitants of Jordan, regardless of their origin.

5. By that time, Palestinians were living in different political camps:
6. Lebanese, where local nationalism was growing stronger;
7. Iraqi, dominated by turmoil;
8. Syrian, a center of Arab nationalist thought;
9. Egyptian, where both Arab and local nationalisms were dynamic and impactful, and
10. Jordanian, with a monarchy asserting its footing over Palestinians as well as the new territory.

While collective Palestinian identity started to grow during the past two to three decades before the annexation, this era constituted yet another beginning where such self-consciousness was about to be divided not only geographically, but also in political and cultural terms. Naturally, dispersed Palestinians reacted to their new surroundings differently, but their prospective hosts also classified them, formally and informally, into various religious, cultural, socioeconomic, and political categories. For example, those who had a financial advantage managed to hit the ground running, not only in terms of establishing new businesses but also in terms of citizenship and status. Naturally, once Palestinians settled into different regions, their identities started to adjust. The identity that they carried over to their new habitats was by then a matter of memory. Meanwhile, a new identity that is shaped by their immediate living realities was also forming.

In 1952, the Free Officers Movement overthrew Egypt's King and embarked on a task of reform. As its leader, Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's brand of Arab nationalism was broadcast via radio throughout the Arab World and appealed to displaced Palestinians, including those in Jordan. In 1956, al-Nāṣir stood up against the combined armies of Britain, France, and Israel during the Suez Crisis, which boosted his popularity enormously. From that moment forward, al-Nāṣir was

viewed as the one who would unify the Arabs and reconquer Palestine. The Suez Crisis benefited al-Nāṣir's brand of nationalism, while simultaneously undermining those Arab leaders who followed pro-Western policies. Many Arab intellectuals, followers, and members of various political parties accepted al-Nāṣir as the leading advocate of Arab interests and offered their services freely (Aburish 2013).

Relations between al-Nāṣir and King Ḥusain deteriorated in April 1957 when Ḥusain implicated al-Nāṣir in two coup attempts against him. Ḥusain also claimed that al-Nāṣir's propaganda broadcasts incited massive riots in the country and undermined domestic order. Al-Nāṣir denied any involvement and slammed King Ḥusain, Camille Chamoun of Lebanon, and Nūrī al-Saʿīd of Iraq and described them as "agents and slaves" of the West (131). Relations with King Saʿūd of Saudi Arabia also became sore when al-Nāṣir accused Saʿūd of attempting to assassinate him to stop the then-possible union between Egypt and Syria (Dawisha 2003). Saʿūd considered al-Nāṣir's increasing popularity in Saudi Arabia as a genuine threat to the royal family (ibid.), and as having the potential to spark a revolution (Dreyfuss, 2013).

The attempts to undermine al-Nāṣir placed various other Arab countries in an opposite-to-Egypt camp, including Jordan, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, a growing number of intellectuals in Iraq were becoming enamored with the ideals disseminated by al-Nāṣir's nationalist machine. The ideology also found many loyalists from within the officer classes of the Iraqi military (Zubaydī 1981). The policies of Nurī al-Saʿīd in Iraq, meanwhile, were regarded as pro-British, and opposition from within the Iraqi armed forces began to form (ibid.).

On February 1, 1958, Egypt and Syria boosted the Arab nationalist movement immeasurably with the announcement that they had united as the UAR (Barnett 1998). The move was a catalyst for a series of events that culminated in a revolution in Iraq. The UAR called for a

united Arab world, which stimulated the Arab nationalist movement within Iraq and Jordan even further. On July 14, 1958, an uprising took place in Iraq, resulting in the overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy, which had been established by King Faisal I in 1921 under the auspices of the British (ibid.). King Faisal II, Prince ʿAbd al-Ilāh, and Prime Minister Nurī al-Saʿīd were killed during the uprising. Layth Zubaydī argues that the Free Officers Movement, which overthrew the Egyptian monarchy in 1952, inspired the revolution in Iraq (Zubaydī 1981).

Geopolitical tensions and differences of ideologies and ideas were taking various shapes, including propaganda broadcasts and music, dialect codifications, and opposing political alliances. Palestinian and Jordanian activists whose politics were not in line with Jordan's vision and depending on the political affiliations were subjected to imprisonment, torture, harassment, censorship, and deportation (Ḥūrānī 1980).

The Egyptian Radio Station Ṣawt al-ʿArab instantly became a dominant force on the air during this period, especially after the July 14 Revolution in Iraq. As a propaganda tool, the station was used to articulate al-Nāṣir's ideology, foreign policy, and to influence public opinion and undermine any internal and external opposition, especially from King Ḥusain and King Saʿūd. The Egyptian media and Ṣawt al-ʿArab, utilized every possible medium to undermine Ḥusain's opposition. They used songs that spoke directly to al-Nāṣir's brand of Arab nationalist ideology, daily rhetoric, news, and political commentary.

To that moment, Ḥusain confronted al-Nāṣir's propaganda machine through written material, such as leaflets, articles, and books. However, after the July 14 Revolution, Ḥusain was more vulnerable than ever, and his vision of establishing and sustaining his nation-state was in serious jeopardy. He felt that he needed to create a platform that would help him bring Jordan's internal turmoil to rest.

4.4 Relocation

From King Ḥusain's perspective, the West Bank offered logistical support for Palestinian-themed activism, which was on the rise and constituted an increasing challenge to the young King's authority. Like his grandfather ʿAbdullah, King Ḥusain relied on notable families and loyal tribes to build his nation and secure his throne. However, the socioeconomic conditions of Palestinian refugees in the West and East banks were dire. The whole notion of the return of refugees was still fresh in the minds of many, and the concept was presented in the public sphere as an attainable goal. Meanwhile, settling all refugees and integrating them into Jordan's economic apparatus proved to be a challenge that resulted in chronically harsh living conditions, which could eventually lead to political instability. According to Jaber Suleiman (1995), three categories of Palestinians were determined based on their arrival date, and the nature and status of their Jordanian residency: 1) Palestinians who moved to Jordan before 1948. These were the most fortunate and integrated quickly; 2) Palestinian refugees who settled in refugee camps or cities. Their status depended on their economic situation before displacement; and 3) Palestinians of the West Bank who did not go through displacement in the first place.

The Ramallah station at the time reminisced on its immediate past and considered itself an extension of PBS (Fuskurijian 1992). It was still mostly representing Palestinians first while trying to be inclusive in its programming. Having the station based in Ramallah gave it a more in-depth logistical and ideological support among Palestinians. Ḥusain was determined to use the media to combat al-Nāṣir's campaign against him and keep his reign intact; he decided to re-establish the Jordan Radio and move its operations to Amman. The role that Ḥusain was determined for the media to play was to shape the historical events in Jordan, not merely portray them. Disseminated by the press, the ideals of the unity between the East and West banks were designed to reconcile traditional markers like tribe, dialect, religion, and politics in the hope that

the new identity of Jordanians would be adopted by everyone leading to political stability. Such maneuvers, nonetheless, were not possible without the help and consent of notable Palestinian and Jordanian families who played a significant role in facilitating the transition.

The move to Amman in 1959 was the final step in shifting the center of cultural and political power from Jerusalem and Ramallah to Amman. As a propaganda arm, the moving of the radio's physical location was indicative of the King's attempt to keep his instruments and tools close to his base in Amman. During that period, Hazzāʿ al-Majālī led the efforts to establish Jordan's media platform (Abū Dayya [Dawr] 2010). He appointed Waṣfī al-Tal to lead al-Tawjīh al-Maʿnawī, or the National Steering Committee, a department created to advise and implement cultural policy, and appointed Ṣalāḥ Abū Zaid to lead the Jordan Radio (ibid.). The first three units under this department were: 1) youth summer camps; 2) Firqit al-Funūn al-Shaʿbiyya (Popular Folk Arts Troupe), and 3) the radio (ibid.). Administratively, the radio was overseen by the National Steering Committee (currently the National Steering and Media Agency), an agency that monitored, advised, and implemented cultural policies and reported directly to the prime minister (ibid.). This era witnessed the growth and institutionalization of the new Jordanian identity.

As part of their work at the station, in 1959, al-ʿĀṣ, a Palestinian, and Tawfīq al-Nimrī, Jordanian, were commissioned with the task of collecting songs from the then the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (interview with Salwa al-ʿĀṣ, 2018). The main reason for this initiative was to use this material as the basis for creating a Jordanian national song. This initiative was an action that the King himself was behind and was carried by his most trusted ministers, Hazzāaʿ al-Majālī, Wasfi al-Tal, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Sharaf, Zaid al-Rifāʿī, Ṣalāḥ Abū Zaid, and ʿAdnān Abū ʿŪf (Ṭawālba 2010). Since all Palestinian institutions were annexed to Jordan, the plan was for

the station to continue to release new songs but to use them to disseminate the vision of the new nation. The lyrics of such new songs were changed and/or modified by the composers or local poets, such as Rashīd Zaid al- Kīlānī (1905-1965), a Palestinian poet from Nablus. Before 1948, Palestinian composers used to expand Bedouin and peasant melodies into *shaʿbī* songs. Lyricists and poets would straighten out the lyrics rhythmically and replace any harsh words with softer ones. They also filtered them from any sexually explicit material or any political commentary (see Iṣṭifān 1928). Some of the songs would have only an A section, and others would have an A and B sections. Al-ʿĀṣ was at the frontier of this practice before and after 1948. According to Salām Ṭawālba, immediately after the station moved to Amman, al-ʿĀṣ started collaborating with various poets and lyricists including Haydar Maḥmūd, Sulaymān al-Mashīnī, Rashīd Zaid al-Kīlānī, Nuṣūh al-Majālī, Nāyif Abū ʿUbaid, ʿAbd al-Rahīm ʿUmar, and ʿAssāf Tāhir (Ṭawālba 2010). The main task that they were all charged with by Jordan Radio was to develop a national song style (ibid.).

In 1959, the sixteen-year-old girl from ʿIjja, a small village 20 km south of Jenin, Nawāl ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ʿIjjawi, later known as Salwa, participated in a talent show which was hosted by the Jordan Radio. In an interview with Roya TV on November 27, 2015, she recalled that a top official by the name ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Rifaʿī loved her voice and asked her to join the station as a salaried singer (Salwa 2015). Salwa came from a conservative background and community. Her father was reluctant to agree at first and drove back to their hometown of ʿIjja. A few weeks later, the family received a formal letter extending a formal offer to Nawāl. After intense deliberations with the family and after getting pressured by various government officials, the father eventually conceded and agreed for his daughter to become a salaried singer at the Jordan Radio with 13JD per month as basic salary. She subsequently moved to Amman and started her

tenure at the Jordan Radio. She described how the small but efficient radio ensemble that moved to Amman from Ramallah in 1959 upon the opening of the Jordan Radio in Amman (in Um al-Ḥīrān) was becoming the core group upon which the whole music scene in Jordan was set to evolve.

Among those who moved to Amman, as she recalls, were Jamīl al-ʿĀṣ, a composer, singer, and *buzuq*-player (who later became her husband); Yūsif Raḍwān, singer; Tawfīq al-Nimrī, composer/singer/*ʿūd* player, Jalīl Rukab, violin; Yūsif Naṣra, cello; Anṭūn Ḥajjār, *nāy*; Fahid Najjār, singer; Jamīl al-Nimrī, double bass; Rāmiz al-Zāgha, *ʿūd*; Salīm al-Zāgha, percussion, Ḥannah Ghaṭṭās, singer; Ṣabrī Maḥmūd and his wife Ghāda as singers.[86] According to her, this era marked the beginning of launching what became known as Jordanian Song.

In my 2018 interview with Salwa, she mentioned that during that period, government officials were heavily and directly involved in the process of music-making as a matter of both the national interest and *tawjīh thaqāfī,* or steered cultural policy (interview with Salwa, 2018). According to her, these officials were following through on the policies that were communicated to them by the King and his top advisors such as Hazzāʿ al- Majālī and Waṣfī al-Tal. Direct involvement from those at the top of the chain of command was consistent as they visited the station regularly to ensure that their orders and instructions are being implemented accurately, Salwa recalled. Furthermore, Waṣfī al-Tal gave clear instructions to the station's program directors not to broadcast popular songs that he considered inappropriate. He even threatened to

[86] Ṣabrī Maḥmūd was also a composer, known for Palestinians revolutionary songs that he composed "Anā Ṣāmid" (1970–1971) for Ṣawt Falasṭīn (Radio Palestine); "Bidī Rashshāshī," "Ghallāba Yā Fatḥ," "Mā Bainnā Khlāf," "Yā Fidā'ī," and "Khallī Rṣāṣak Ṣāyib."

arrest them if they disobey his orders and send them to al-Jafir prison.[87] Al-Majālī and al-Tal were instrumental in making this national style a public display of Jordan's identity (ibid.).

During this period, Jordan Radio produced songs for essentially the newly nationalized cultural traits of Jordanians, bringing together both East Jordanians and Jordanian-Palestinians and promoting them as just Jordanians. The notion of being Jordanians, Salwa claimed, resonated well with both sides. She recalled that songs were also produced in the spirit of both East Jordanians and Jordanian-Palestinians, but rather in Bedouin dialect. The songs were secular, and their subject matters revolved around love, courage, pride, and the lifeways of peasants, representing Palestinians, and Bedouins, representing East Jordanians. Patriotic songs were also broadcast and presented in a fashion combining both East Jordanians and Jordanian-Palestinians under one coherent Jordanian label. The notion of Palestine appeared indirectly in the context of praising the King as the guardian of the Jordanian nation and liberator of the lost lands, a depiction that contrasts pan-Arabism and its main icon Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir as the only liberator of Palestine.

The station headed towards a different direction after its relocation to Amman in 1959. According to Qāsim ʿAbd al-Hādī, the move to Amman finished off any trace of PBS, both in terms of programming and the people who worked in it, especially with the departure of many of the musicians who headed to Lebanon and Syria instead of Amman (Fuskurijian 1992). ʿAbd al-Hādi recalls that up until 1959, the radio was, in fact, still vibrant with visiting and core musicians from all over the Arab World. They engaged in broadcasting and productions, and many recorded their works and even launched their careers through the station. Those include

[87] One of the most notorious prisons in Jordan known for holding members of leftist political parties.

Tawfīq al-Bāshā, ʿAbd al-Karīm Qazmūz, Najāḥ Salām, and many others (ibid.). Despite his engagement with PBS before and after 1948, ʿAbd al-Hādī decided to stay in Ramallah.

This new environment hindered any bridging efforts to recover the gap between the pre-1948 emerging Palestinian music scene and that of the post-1948 era. By the early 1960s, the emerging Palestinian middle class seems to have become increasingly disenfranchised with what Jordan Radio was promoting (Butrus 2019). This subjugation was also the case among the youth in urban centers, and especially among those exposed to Western music education at their prospective schools and had access to Western recordings and instruments (Ashrawi 2018).

The departure of PBS from Ramallah vacuumed all that was needed to sustain a music scene in the West Bank. To the remaining pockets of musicians in the West Bank, musical activities were by then centered around traditional musicians who were not part of PBS, not as skilled or educated, or did not wish to associate with it. Such musicians were active in some capacity either through teaching privately or by performing at weddings and private gatherings. The Palestinian musicians who were operating in Jordan in a formal capacity did not express their political thoughts, fearing retaliation, imprisonment, or other types of punishment. Most of them eventually adopted the notion of becoming Jordanians. By then, it was apparent that Palestinians in the East Bank (Jordan), Lebanon, and the West Bank were already on different identity tracks.

4.5 Redefining the Palestinian Music Project between the Performative, Pedagogic, and Alienated

During the first half of the twentieth century, Bedouins' wisdom was portrayed as equal to that of learned scholars, an approach that a man of letters such as al-ʿĀrif advocated (see al-ʿĀrif 1933).[88] Such captivation offered a platform for the "pure" status of peasants or Bedouins to be praised, especially with prominent tribal figures such as al-Ḥusain Ibn ʿAlī al-Hāshimī (Hashemite), proclaiming the Great Arab Revolt. Ibn ʿAlī's leading role in the revolt contributed directly to elevating the status of Bedouins, as well as recognizing them as potential kings, and descendants of prophets, a depiction that has appealed to various Arab monarchies ever since.

The song types associated with Bedouin culture appealed to Jordan's monarchy and East Jordanians. They took pride in this association and considered it a celebration of their traditions. The media continued to adopt initiatives to celebrate Bedouin traditions, as well as those of peasants for their association with West Jordanians (Palestinians). By the late 1950s, such songs were increasingly getting synthesized to signify the unity between Jordanians and Palestinians. However, the dominating feature that overpowered Palestinian musical ingredients is that such songs were in Bedouin dialect.

Dialect designations signified national origin or nationality, not only in Jordan, but also in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and well before in Egypt. Songs of this period were becoming a useful tool to disseminate ideas and reflect the cultural and political trends of the time. They also became the desired instrument for circulating an imagined identity to be adopted by the masses (see Zughaib 1993).

[88] The Grimm Brothers and the pair Arnim von Achim and Clemens Brentano also portrayed "peasants; as wise, pure, and untouched."

Although using traditional literature as the foundation of capturing the soul of al-Mashriq rhymes with what Ṣabrī al-Sharīf advocated, the interpretation of his vision in Lebanon was distant from Jordan's. The Lebanese scene was pedagogical in its approach and founded upon educated musicians as well as al-Sharīf's role as the main engine behind its success. Subsequently, the Lebanese composers utilized peasant/Bedouin song types but inserted intellectual, artistic, and spiritual components. They, however, also painted a different imagined identity for the Lebanese people. In Jordan, music-making reflected a performative approach, which is when the process of music-making depends on intuition, spontaneity, and starts and ends with the day-to-day chores that people do. Homi Bhabha articulates this point and argues that

> The tension between the pedagogical and the performative that I have identified in the narrative address of the nation, turns the reference to a "people"—from whatever political or cultural position it is made into a problem of knowledge that haunts the symbolic formation of modern social authority. The people are neither the beginning nor the end of the national narrative; they represent the cutting edge between the totalizing powers of the "social" as a homogeneous, consensual community, and the forces that signify the more specific address to contentious, unequal interests and identities within the population. (Bhabha 1990, 297)

4.5.1 Performative

In Jordan's performative scenario, the topics and scope of songs were subjected to governmental censorship and were much more limited when compared to traditional presentations. The folklorization process overlooked the intellectual and spiritual properties of such material and sustained the unpolished aspects of the repertoire as notions of authenticity and pureness. The lyrics revolved around the same vocabulary, imagery, metaphors, and meters. While the music mostly remained the same, with composers making subtle changes or adding new sections. In terms of artistry and production components, most of the songs were musically modest, simplistic, and mediocre. However, different types of synthesis also took place in

Jordan, but through reconciling two different cultural narratives, one Bedouin, and the other is a peasant. Take, for example, the two songs “Bain al-Dawālī” from Jordan and “Halā Lālā Layyā” from Lebanon, where each song offers a different outlook on identity, musicality, and outlook.

The lyrics of Bain al-Dawālī, shown below, appear to be a hybrid between peasant and Bedouin dialects. Expressions and images from both dialects and cultures were used. The pronunciation, however, followed the Bedouin idiom, not the peasant. Rashīd Zaid al-Kīlānī wrote the song, and al-ʿĀṣ set the lyrics to a peasant tune (Figure 52). Salwa first sang it on Jordan’s Radio in 1959 when she was thirteen years of age (Salwa 2011).

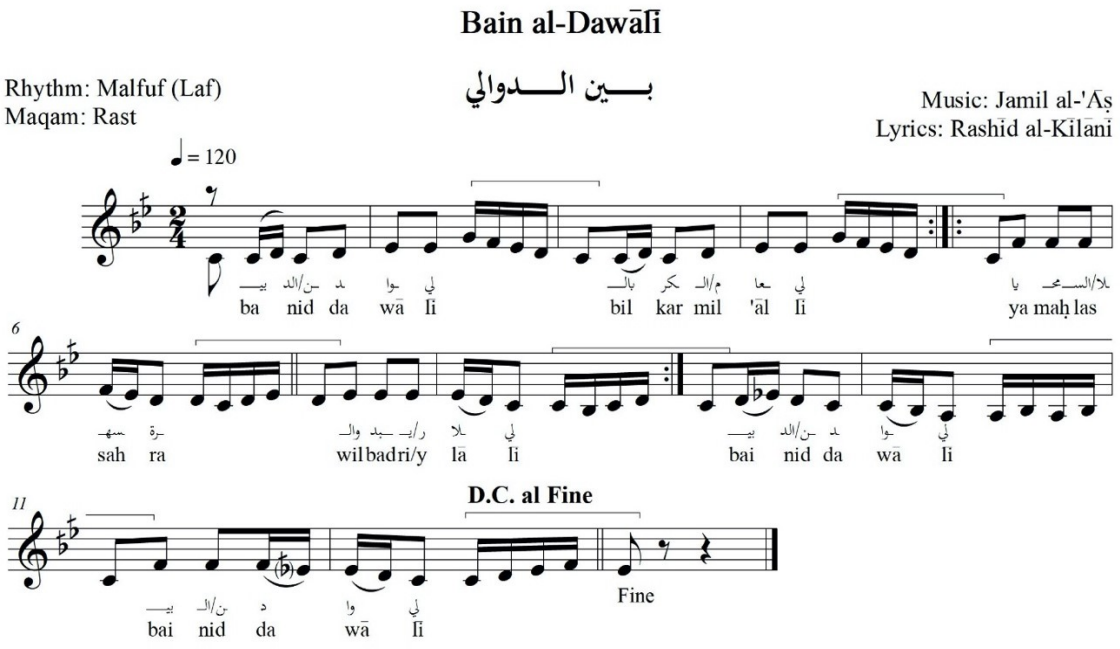


Figure 52. “Bain al-Dawālī,” Jamīl al-ʿĀṣ (1959)

“Bain al-Dawālī,” lyrics and translation:

Between grape trees and the high orchard	**1**	بين الدوالي بالكرم العالي
the evening is pleasant with the full moon sparkling.		يا محلا السهرة والبدر يلالي
Our ***saḥja*** is ***malʿab***, its ***dabka*** is pleasant	**2**	صحجتنا بتلعب محلا دبكتها
Youth are ecstatic, increasingly joyful.		شبان بتطرب زادت فرحتها
Let us join hands, stay to my side,	**3**	حط ايدي بايدك خليك بجنبي
listening to your qaṣīda brings delight to my heart.		لاسمع قصيدك وافرح قلبي

Next to the grape arbor, we sing and dance,	**4**	جنب العريشة نرقص ونغني
Life is pleasant when we are in paradise.		ومحلى العيشة واحنا بالجنة
The coffee maker (pourer), go around with the coffee pot,	**5**	صباب القهوة دور بدلتها
and we are not going to miss this pleasant evening		وهالسهرة الحلوة ما منفوتها

*Words in bold indicate Bedouin or peasant vocabulary. Phrases in bold and italics indicate expressions of unity.

"Bain al-Dawālī," transliteration:

bain_id-dawālī	b-il-karmil ʿālī	yā maḥla_s-sahra	wi_l-badri_ylālī (bain_id-dawālī)
ṣaḥjitna_btilʿab	maḥla dabkithā	shubbān_ibtiṭrab	zādat farḥithā (bain_id-dawālī)
ḥuṭ īdī bīdak	khallīk_ibjanbī	lasmaʿ gaṣīdak	wa farriḥ galbī (bain_id-dawālī)
janb_il ʿ**arīshaih**	nurguṣ wi_nghannī	maḥla ha_l-ʿīshaih	wiḥna b-il-jannaih (bain_id-dawālī)
ṣabbāb_il-gahwa	**dūr-i-bdallitha**	has sahra_l-ḥilwaih	mā binfawwithā (bain_id-dawālī)

The song became an instant hit and resonated with audiences. Its central theme revolves around gathering under a *dawālī* (grapevines) arbor, as shown in Figure 53 below. The lyrics incorporate terms and metaphors that point to East Jordanians and West Jordanians (Palestinians). This blend can be seen in the usage of specific imagery and phrases such as the *ʿarīsha* (arbor), *ṭarab*, and *dabka* dance. Such phrases refer to peasant and urban lifestyles. As for the Bedouin references, those include *ṣaḥja* dance (which according to Iṣṭifan is also called *diḥḥiyya* by some Bedouin tribes), the Bedouin coffee maker, as well as Bedouin pronunciation. The lyrics also emphasized the shared traits between the two communities, such as singing, gathering, socializing, and love of poetry, and appreciation of coffee, despite peasants following the Ottoman (Turkish) method when brewing coffee, not the Bedouin one.

The lyrics embrace simple living and pleasures. In verse 2, the song acknowledges both terms *ṣaḥja*, and *malʿab* as equal, likely to avoid having Jordanian and Palestinian terminology prevailing over each other in the context of culture as well as to symbolize the brotherly relationship between the two communities. *Ṣaḥja* and *malʿab* describe the same thing: the former

is the term commonly used in Jordan, and the latter is frequently used in the Ramallah region. The lyrics also highlight the coffee pourer as a significant fixture in Bedouin culture.

Figure 53. A residential grapevine arbor, Ramallah

A televised version of this song appeared on Jordan's state television shortly after its inception in 1968. The clip points to how such productions visualized Bedouin and peasant cultures during that period and how they fused the two. The production seems to have taken place in a studio setting. The set consists of a Bedouin tent with rug flooring, cushions, pillows, side tables, and background images. There were also household items that Bedouins use, such as a coffee grinder, coffee pot, water vessel, and straw trays. There was an out of place décor water well, as shown in the video (recording 37). Two singers, male and female, sang the song. The male singer is al-ʿĀṣ himself, and the female singer is Salwa, who was by then his wife.

In the footage, men had their peasant gown dresses (*qumbāz)* lifted, as well as their sleeves, which is what peasants do when they work in the fields. Meanwhile, the footage shows Salwa in a fancy, modern-looking dress without a headpiece. Salwa never appeared in the same frame as the men, which is indicative of the reinforcement of the patriarchal and conservative values of Bedouin culture, where restrictions apply when women interact with men. The plot is somewhat deceiving and sexist because, in both Bedouin and peasant contexts, women are traditionally in charge of agricultural activities, herding, grazing, fetching water, and raising crops. At the same time, men used to plow, guard their land, do some of the heavy-lifting, and receive visitors (Butrus 2019).

While the song is not expected to be historically accurate or depict actual events, various individuals within Jordan's TV and Radio Agency monitored every aspect of such productions. They embraced the Bedouin way of life, and consciously attempted to reconcile the disparity between Bedouins and peasants. In the process, once again, Christian Palestinians were excluded from this equation and were becoming increasingly alienated. The majority did not associate with Bedouins or peasant lifestyles; on the contrary, they were becoming increasingly urban and modernized. Moreover, amid such changes, most genres that used to appear in urban music scenes did not seem to fulfill Jordan's cultural policy. Therefore, many were left behind, including the types that al-Bandak, al-Batrūni, ʿArniṭa, al-Khammash, al-Rūmī, and al-Saʿūdī composed, let alone al-Sharīf's initiatives in Lebanon.

4.5.2 Pedagogic

In the song "Halā Lālā Layyā," the lyrics seem to be a hybrid between Bedouin and some added verses by the Raḥbānī Brothers, all pronounced according to colloquial Lebanese, not Bedouin.[89] Although specific terms and imagery speak to a Bedouin setting such as the mention of tents and usage of *walīf* (lover or close companion in Bedouin dialect), the pronunciation in the song is much lighter and not as "rough." Softening the lyrics was a maneuver that the Raḥbāni Brothers adopted, as Manṣūr Raḥbānī described in an interview published by the *Wasaṭ* newspaper in 1993. For example, the typical *ga* was pronounced *a* and other Bedouin words were adjusted accordingly. The song was performed in 1957 as part of the Bʿalbak Lebanese Nights musical "Ayyām al-Ḥaṣād" (Badla 2017). It immediately followed the spectacle where Fayrūz appeared at the opening standing on the base of one of the columns of the temple of Jupiter (ibid.; see recording 38).

"Halā Lālā Layyā," lyrics, and translation:

Welcome my dearest (welcome [lā lā] my eye oh master), love is splendid, oh sweet one, lighten up**.**	هلا لا لا ليًّا عيني يا موليًّا طاب الهوى يا حلو ع مهلك شوية
Welcome my dearest, stay in the shade of the **breezy tents,** my beloved.	هلا لا لا ليًّا عيني يا موليًّا **بفيّة خيام الهوى يا عاشق تفيّا**
I shall go to the ***walīf*'s** (beloved's) area and ask where he/she lives;[90]	**لأقصد ربوع الوليف** واسأل على داره
I shall tell him that the buttons of his shirt **sent us** his whereabouts with the wind.	وقول له هواك اللطيف **وميت** لنا زراره
From his flower garden, the light breeze gushed our way. Joyful his pleasant love, near the **swirling water streams**	طل النسيم الخفيف من صوب أزهاره يشرح هواه الظريف ع **مكاسر المي**

*Words in bold indicate terms, imagery, and phrases that occur only in Bedouin dialect.

[89] Halā means welcome, lā lā is just a play on words

[90] In Arabic literature, *he* can also refer to a female, especially in literary and sung contexts.

"Halā Lālā Layyā," transliteration:

halā lālā layyā w halā lālā layyā ʿānī yā mūlayyā
ṭāb_il-hawa yā ḥilū ʿa mahlak_ishwayya
halā lālā layyā w halā lālā layyā ʿānī yā mūlayyā
bfayyit khiyām_il-hawā yā ʿāshiʾ it-fayya
laʾṣud rubūʿ_il-walīf wisʾal ʿa la dāru
ʾ**illu** hawāk_il-laṭīf **wimyit** linā_zraru
ṭal_in-nasīm il-khafīf min sawbi azharu
yishraḥ hawāh_iz-zarīf ʿ**am kāsir_il-mayya**

The melody of the A section resembles a traditional song from Syria called "Zawālīf," while section B is likely newly composed by the Raḥbānī Brothers. The original song is in *maqām bayātī* with the main body of the melody residing over the tonic of *maqām ʿajam*, a common characteristic and interchange that occurs within *maqām bayātī,* as shown in Ṣabāh Fakhrī's recording 39.[91] Fakhrī returns to the *bayāti* home *maqām* at 00:25, 00:44, 1:04, 2:01, and 2:40, while the rest of the melody resides on the tonic of *maqām ʿajam*. However, the Raḥbānī Brothers eliminated any references or returns to *bayātī* and readjusted the melody to the tonal centers of the Western major scale. This procedure made the song suitable for tonal harmonization, which is applied in the recording, as illustrated in Recording 38.

The Raḥbānī Brothers and Ṣabrī al-Sharīf avoided generic displays of traditional communities, peasant, and Bedouin. Instead, they applied literary and compositional devices to alter the rough realities that characterize much of such communities and injected elements and components of urban and intellectual dimensions in their songs while maintaining the spiritual dynamics of the original material. As for the visual aspect of their productions, al-Sharīf

[91] See full video at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tBevbohK44M (the first 3 minutes).

readjusted the village reality by using modern furniture, choreographed dances, and designed customs. He abandoned the stereotypical imagery and connotations that point to the hard Bedouin and peasant lifestyles and instead smoothed the representation. This approach appears in all the musicals, plays, and films that al-Sharīf directed or produced. For example, in the 1964 film "Bayyāʿ al-Khawātim" (The Ring Seller), the plot takes place in a village where the set was built especially for the film. Youssef Chahine directed the film, and al-Sharif acted as its artistic director. At the opening scene, the clarinet plays a short introductory melody immediately after the orchestral accompaniment of the film titles concluded. The clarinet was playing over a drone by the strings section, while the screen depicted the center of the village, with actors moving around the stage. The strings established a fuller drone, and Fayrūz began singing in the style of intoned melodic readings of scriptures or epistles during mass in both the Western and Eastern churches.[92] In this case, however, the melody was on a major scale, in contrast to Eastern scripture narrations that typically fall on one of the Byzantine modes.

"Bayyāʿ al-Khawātim," lyrics and translation of the introduction song:

We are about to tell the story of a village.	رح نحكي قصة ضيعة
The story is not real,	لا القصة صحيحة
and the village does not exist	ولا الضيعة موجودة.
However, one night, when a bored human being	بس بليلة وهو ضجرا
scribbled on a sheet of paper,	خرطش انسان ع ورقة
The story became real,	صارت القصة
and the village came to life	وعمرت الضيعة

[92] Chanting of text or Recto *tono* (Latin for "straight" or "uniform" tone) with an occasional one- or two-step variation. Text is sung to a straightforward melody that stays on the same note most of the time, and occasionally rises or falls one or two full steps.

As shown in the translation of the introduction, the text offers the possibility of an imagined future to become a reality. While movies are expected to be fictional or nonfictional, it is not customary for films to introduce viewers to such a predicament. The Brothers' desire to stress the difference between what is imaginary and what is not is representative of their attempt to transform the pedagogical into a performative reality.

The Raḥbānī Brothers did not hide their intentions of wanting to create an imagined future. Christopher Stone shows that the Raḥbānī Brothers explicitly offered an intellectual incentive for the viewers to consider, which is to contemplate the possibility of molding their lives according to the values presented in the film (Stone 2010). As the narration points to the story getting transformed from scribbles into reality, the Brothers reiterated the pedagogic approach by accepting educated people as the leading force in changing society, not necessarily ordinary people, peasants, or Bedouins. Once again, such concepts were articulated carefully in al-Sharīf's manifesto and driven by him. The Raḥbānī Brothers seem to have evolved from a pedagogic approach based on Western models to one that revolves around local materials injected with literary, spiritual, and civil values.

In the film, most scenes included vibrant colors, tidy backgrounds, and artsy artifacts. During the first few minutes, various visuals struck me as a conscious effort of beautification of the peasant environment. Stone pointed out that the film represented the northern part of Lebanon, not the south or the Biqāʿ region, which is presumably better suited for the village that the Raḥbānī Brothers imagined. However, various effects seemed to push the boundaries, such as the painted glass windows, sofa tables with stylish vases, fancy lanterns, wallpaper, walls painted with vibrant colors, a pet store, trendy clothes, jewelry, and men and women interacting with no barriers.

With the Bedouin dialect becoming the foundation of music-making in Jordan, urban musicians and singers, including all those who moved with the station to its new home in Amman, were being asked to deliver in this style (interview with Salwa, 2018). Although they all previously mostly spoke and sang in local Palestinian dialects, they did not have much of a say in this new setting (ibid.). While the Hashemites fostered the loyalty and patronage of the great Bedouin tribes in order to remain in power, King Hussein resorted to the deployment of Bedouin aesthetics as a nationalist device to cement his position.

4.5.3 Alienated

The division between Jordan's Bedouin/peasant and Lebanon's urban music scenes continued to grow further apart. However, the roots that such divisions were built upon were founded before 1948. When the British planned for PBS in all its divisions, Arab, Jewish, and English, to be separate from each other and succeeded, the most central division may well have been between rural and urban listeners (Willson 2013). As a result of the British model, Palestinian musicians were already divided into Western and Eastern camps before 1948 in the context of PBS. At that time, the PBS Arab Section catered to existing listeners and hosted various types of music that appealed to each community, separately. Such divisions did not distinguish only Palestinian, Syrian, Egyptian, Iraqi and Turkish communities from each other, but also reorganized Palestinian peasant, urban, Bedouin and the Muslim and Christian communities into multiple subcategories. Programming and publications of the Arab section show that it recognized such assortments of Palestinian society and reflected them on air. The Arab section understood the political power of the station as a national hub for mobilization towards their potential future state. However, Britain's policies and laws kept Palestinian nationalists at bay and deepened the divide between notables and ordinary people. Such

disparities can be seen through the hiring practices of the British as well as their reliance on the local elites as loyal allies. From the hiring of Ṭūqān in 1936, Nuwayhiḍ's appointment in 1940, and al-Nashāshibī in 1944, all were indicative of the perspective from which the British envisioned the future of Palestinians. British Anglican perceptions about the Holy Land also divided Palestinians into two main categories: 1) peasants who could be preserved as remnants of the Biblical past; and 2) urbanites who could potentially grow, show progress, and declare loyalty to the West. By then, notions of modernity, social development, and progress were linked to European models, which spread throughout the Near East and impacted Arab thought and nationalism in the first half of the twentieth century, not only in Palestine. The British, therefore, hoped that urbanites would show cultural and political allegiance to the West.

Such divisions were becoming more profound as Bedouin culture and values became central to music-making in Jordan, and the gap between the music Palestinian musicians were making in the West Bank, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq widened even further. At that time, radio musicians, composers, poets, lyricists, journalists, activists, and intellectuals could not express their opinions in Jordan freely (Ḥabash 2019). The intelligence apparatus of Lebanon also monitored closely any Palestinian nationalist trends from emerging into the mainstream, conditions that Palestinians endured, and navigated under the British. These individuals gradually became instruments to primarily implement the monarchy's cultural policy and vision for the new Jordanian nation. As for Palestinian musicians in Lebanon and Syria, they experienced similar predicaments and progressively had to adjust their beliefs or practices to fit their new environments.

Music-making was getting funneled through government-controlled media outlets, a situation that al-Sharīf criticized while likely referring not only to Jordan's media apparatus but

also Egypt's. Songs were being used to disseminate an imagined future and identity for each country, and musicians and poets were at the center of such a trend. Since the al-Sharīf/Raḥbānī partnership was a private venture, they did not answer to any government. However, they were mindful of this difficulty and avoided conflict through packaging songs in modern renditions and local Lebanese dialects. Stokes argues that "[m]usic is intensely involved in the propagation of dominant classifications, and has been a tool in the hands of new states in the developing world, or rather of those classes which have the highest stake in these new social formations" (Stokes 1997, 10). While the 1950s laid the foundation for further stratification of Palestinians, different brands of music-making enticed different layers of Palestinians.

Historically, colonial powers manipulated cultures in favor of theirs and marginalized alternative expressions that defied their desired perception of the colonized subjects. Cultural superiority and advancements typically lend themselves to historical discourses that often switch roles and influences back and forth between the superiors and their subjects. For example, Muslim and Arab superiority and advancements at the peak of the Islamic civilization from the ninth to the seventeenth centuries were authoritative and dominating over other cultural discourses in Europe, the subjects. That role, however, switched in favor of Europe, which became more powerful and advanced, while Muslims and Arabs became colonial subjects. In Palestine, colonial and Christian mission ambitions often operated through the lens of superiority. To secure their superiority, they interrupted the natural alternating roles between the various centers of power and culture. They established processes to ensure that their European dominance remained within the realms of European schools of thought and thus affirming their long-lasting impact. By this, any future possibility of such roles getting switched around was greatly diminished. To achieve their goal, they had to create a strong base of local believers who

eventually formed an active community upon which Westerners could rely. For example, the Anglican mission created a small but reliable local class of urbanites who embraced European culture and political thought and were willing to defend it. This class advocated, often forcefully, for Western ideology, practices, and methodology. Various Christian families, including the Nasir family, emerged from this discourse and subsequently played a chief role in directing initiatives towards Western music and European culture. Yet, this was not to say that they wanted to scale their religious beliefs on others. Still, their attitude and firm belief that Western music would elevate Arab culture by necessity persistently reflected a colonial discourse.

Palestinian Christian communities continued to navigate their relationship with the Muslim community, the West, and Jordan's monarchy with great care. They advocated for secular nationalism and reacted cautiously to any attempt to label their actions as sectarian. During the 1950s, they did not engage in Bedouin or peasant-like ideals, including the music, and separated themselves further. This hole in Palestinian society, as Hillel Cohen argues, was reflected primarily through "a traditional social and political structure based largely on kinship, with old tensions between landowners and the landless, between religious communities, and between the rural and urban populations" (Cohen 2008, 262). Although the Zionist movement took advantage of such divisions and managed to weaken the Palestinian national movement and obstruct the Palestinian nation-building process (ibid.), the tear was already there. The ramifications of such disparities among Palestinians, as well as the remnants of the past, translated to various social, economic, and political advantages and disadvantages that became more profound and visible after the events of 1948. Such conditions determined in which layer of society each community fit and defined how these communities reacted to the events around them. An example of this is the decisions that notable Palestinian families and leaders made

concerning the future of their relationship with the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan during the Jericho Conference. The concessions they made to King ʿAbdulla including pledging allegiance to his rule demonstrated a major disregard to the needs and desires of most of the population (Ḥūranī 1980).

The educated urban classes, notable or not, consumed and promoted Western music as the path towards civility and as a display that signified progress, sophistication, and development. Christians from various Eastern and Western congregations, especially those who had direct or indirect interaction with Christian mission organizations, fall into this category and often benefited from Western interests. These pockets, however, were limited to socially tight communities where values were maintained through shared visions about culture and identity. Most of such ideas, as well as notions about the future of music-making, education, and learning, were a result of interaction with Western ideals, mostly through Christian mission as well as the Mandate.

Historically, "[m]embers of the Anglican Communion in the Middle East had generally belonged to the well-educated segment [sic] of Palestinian society, as a result of their relatively easier access to higher education opportunities, both in the Middle East as well as abroad" (Kuruvilla 2013, 42). For example, the Nasir family was engaged directly in building a college and implementing ambitious plans to expanding it into becoming a full university. This engagement is reflected in the concert where the central portions of the program were carried by members of the Nasir family, Kamal Nasir, poet, Amin Nasir, composer, Samia Nasir, soprano; and Rima Nasir, composer/pianist. Several members of the Nasir family had also worked in historical Christian missions, Christian missionary schools, and, or the Anglican church (Willson 2013), so the broader connection to Christian mission was also there. Since the inception of the

school in Birzeit in 1924, the family not only consistently advocated for Western music but collaborated only with individuals or groups who had the same outlook. Despite the availability of educated musicians who worked the Arab Renaissance scene at the time, the family seems to have been dismissive rather than inclusive of these musicians. The two groups were by the late 1950s operating in two different music scenes, and culturally and politically distant from each other.

As the British Mandate of Palestine and the Christian mission were active in altering the natural social formation of Palestinian society, they created different paths in forming such identity. In his book *Arab Nationalism: A Critical Enquiry* Bassam Tibi (1991) argues that:

> [T]he colonial intellectual somehow stands above classes and has taken upon himself a historic mission, whose aim is modernization and whose expression is nationalism. Only the Western-educated colonial elite can instigate the process of modernization, since existing social classes and structures are not national oriented and cannot by definition perform a modernizing role. The Indigenous 'aristocracy' and bourgeoisie, described as the anti-nationalist classes, form an alliance on the basis of the involvement of their interests with the colonial system, and this alliance attempts to perpetuate the traditional social structure. (46)

Ṭībī argues that once nationalism becomes a progressive force, it gets transformed in the post-colonial era into and ideology that stabilizes the domination of the elite over social elements:

> As Fanon has shown, the indigenous bourgeoisie in these countries, which has developed within the context of the colonial economy, cannot, in the context of the international constellation of forces, carry out the bourgeois revolutions which history has assigned to it. Taking India as an example in her discussions with Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg forecast that the national bourgeoisie which would come to power after decolonization would simply take over the same exploitive role as the colonialists. Fanon has again shown that the nation as a means of legitimizing the rule of the indigenous bourgeoisie is equivalent to the rebirth of tribalism under the guise of nationalism—whereby the nation is in fact reduced to the tribe. (64)

In contrast to Ṣabrī al-Sharīf's Lebanese example, Palestinian Anglicans under Jordan seem to have pursued standard Arabic as the primary catalyst for highlighting their patriotism.

The mere notion of using local culture and material did not seem to appeal, both as literature, form, poetic devices, and musical system. Therefore, an examination of the Arab nature of such Western-style compositions appears to rely heavily on the text, being Arabic, not the music itself being Arab. Through listening to the works of ʿArnīṭa, Khāshū, Duerī, Amīn Nasir, and Rima Nasir-Tarazi, they seem to use the descending augmented second interval to signify *maqām* music, which emphasizes simplistic stereotypes about *maqām* music. Stokes argues that "[t]he augmented second denoting 'the orient' in the old Turkish Delight advertisement has little to do with Turkish [*makam*] music, but it informs us in the context of our musical language of an imagined world of violence and repressed sexuality" (Stokes 1997, 4). He also argues that such deeply rooted images justify the Western use of the Orient as the basis of collective fantasy. In this case, such imagery is self-enforced and replicates Western perceptions of the East.

While it is apparent that Raḥbāni Brothers' early compositions seem to use generic musical reflections, such as the descending augmented second, the arrival of Ṣabrī al-Sharīf to Lebanon offered a roadmap to synthesizing traditions through cultural intersection and interchange. He did not divorce the traditional tools of music-making or the *maqām* system, nor did he abandon colloquial expression in favor of standard Arabic. As I observe the ramifications of his vision through the works of the Raḥbānī Brothers, it is apparent that the Brothers were increasingly more conscious of thoughtlessly resembling Western styles or Arabizing covers. Therefore, generic depictions, especially their use of the descending augmented second, did not surface in most of their works ever since. Instead, when such renditions occurred, they were bounced back to their original *maqām* habitat, the closest to which would be *maqām ḥijāz*. There are multiple indicators to this, including the declining use of choirs singing in harmony in their

later songs as well as a more cautious approach to using tonal and secondary harmonies. Also, the usage of diatonic harmony seems to have become a more suitable approach.[93]

The Raḥbanī Brothers started to utilize more drones, *maqām* vocal technique, and traditional *maqāmāt*, distinctive instrumentation, and musical textures, and they launched their use of colloquial Lebanese and traditional rhythms. During the Raḥbānī/al-Sharīf partnership, which lasted until the early 1970s, the following selection of songs displays how their ideals and processes evolved in action. The songs are five-years apart and offer a general scheme of how their works evolved musically. They also show how colloquial vocabulary and literary tools were utilized successfully and progressively:

- "Samrāʾu Maha" (1952), Recording 32, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6t5QjTQCH8Q
- "Qiṣṣat al-Ward" (1957), Recording 40, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N2YR2MCP4wQ
- "Ḥabībī ʾĀl Inṭirīnī" (1962), Recording 41, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a1fLOvqnNj8
- "Shāyif al-Baḥar" (1967), Recording 42, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PJM6KN94dIQ
- "Waynun" (1972), Recording 43, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6A8vmeJ49Eo

[93] Based on my analysis of their early works, I must note that some earlier works by Raḥbānī Brothers may have been arranged by any of the foreign professional musicians who worked in Lebanon's casino's during the 1950s.

In Palestinian Anglican circles, there is no evidence of any connections with other Palestinian musicians such as al-Rūmī, al-Khammāsh, al-Bandak, al-Sharīf, al-Saʿūdī, or the developments that they have advised and initiated prior and post 1948. Although al-Batrūnī indicated in the *Dhakhīra* magazine that he was actively trying to elevate traditional music and musicians, such endeavors, even if they existed before 1948, did not occur after 1948. This is not surprising given the pre-1948 separate status of both camps. This seemingly musical isolationism manifested itself during the 1950s, not only at the instrumentation and composition levels but also in terms of performance practices such as favoring Western vocal techniques. At first, according to al-Rūmī and Manṣūr Raḥbanī, Fayrūz herself received formal voice training when she was discovered by al-Rūmī. Her instruction was based on Western methodology (al-Rūmi 1992; Zughaib, 1993). However, al-Sharīf and the Raḥbānī Brothers collaborated heavily with specific musicians who were experts in fields that were still new to them. The most profound example of this is when Ghāzī was brought over to train Fayrūz to sing *muwashshaḥ* in the mid-1960s (Zughaib 1993). It was upon this encounter that Fayrūz's vocal performance shifted from a "Somewhere Over the Rainbow" approach to one that was hybrid, not entirely nasal, or entirely "diaphragmatic." Various other vocal characteristics in Fayrūz's vocal technique were filtered, such as a more mindful use of vibratos. She also ventured into singing *mawwāl* and other Egyptian genres.

Looking at this through the lenses of culture and identity, isolationism in music-making among Palestinian Anglicans alienated them farther from local and regional musical cultures. The Palestinian Anglican community was by then over a hundred years old and detached from the musical practices of ordinary people. Their understanding and knowledge of *maqām*, Arab Renaissance repertoire, and traditional musical arts was minimal. For example, the songs of

Tania Tamari-Nasir demonstrate her utilization of the diaphragm according to Western vocal pedagogy. She applies Western vocal techniques as well as the rules of diction and occasional vibrato in a Western context.

The vocal techniques associated with *maqām*, however, tend to be nasal. The nasal orientation is important for applying *maqām*-specific ornamentation and embellishments, as well as offering the singers better control over the *maqām*'s microtonal qualities. Moreover, in her article "The Palestinian National Song: A Personal Testimony," Tarazi describes the peasant song type known as the *dalʿūnā* as a love ballad, which is inaccurate. She also highlights the superiority of Western music over traditional genres. She makes no reference to any other Arab style except for "national songs" that ʿArnīṭa, al-Batrūnī, Amīn Nasir, and herself composed. As mentioned before, such songs utilized nationalist poetry in standard Arabic to project the virtues of being Arab. She opens her article with the following statement:

> In Palestine, the distinct events that marked its modern history were strongly reflected in its musical landscape. Folk music, a great Palestinian tradition that boasts a large number of folk poets with superb improvisational talents, has been colored by the suffering of the Palestinians and the loss of their homeland. Folk poets would improvise words to traditional tunes on the spur of the moment, depending on the occasion. "Ala Dal'ona," [sic] for example, a traditional love ballad, became a song describing the loss of homeland and the yearning for freedom. These events, coinciding with the emergence of Arab renaissance and nationalist movements and with the exposure of Arab musicians to Western classical music, gave rise to what has become known as the national song. This was initially based on the form of the anthem, which became very popular at the beginning of the twentieth century and was shared by all Arabs of the region. (Tarazi 2007, para. 2)

Despite colloquial Arabic becoming increasingly relevant in songs in Jordan and gaining literary importance in Lebanon while both scenes driven by Palestinians, Palestinian Anglicans continued using standard Arabic poetry to signify classism. This concept is fundamentally indicative of value judgments:

> The all-too-freely used terms classical, folk, and popular derive from European conceptions of how music exists in society. It is important to realize that these categories exist only in peoples' minds and may imply value judgments and hierarchical ways of thinking. The term classical refers to what is considered the highest class of music. This music is judged by standards that privilege complexity, individuality, and "sophistication," and that usually rate a long composition for a large ensemble as a "greater" achievement than a short piece for a small ensemble. (Miller and Shahriari 2018, 485)

In Audeh (2010) edited volume entitled *Birzeit University: The Story of a National Institution*, Gabi Baramki, Samia Khoury, and Tarazi kept reiterating the need for [Western] music education from the perspective of being a vehicle of civil and spiritual refinement as well as necessary for "developing well-rounded individuals" (Audeh 2010, 19). They put great emphasis on exposing Birzeit students to choirs, Western musicals, opera, and classical music. Terry E. Miller and Andrew C. Shahriari argue that exposing others to music that is distant from what they consider normative can easily lead to "miscommunication" (Miller and Shahriari 2018, 4). It may also contribute to the problem of xenocentrism, where a person's own culture gets judged against the criteria of another (Johnson 2012). Miller and Shahriari argue that

> In a process called the poietic, the creator of the music encodes meanings and emotions into the "neutral" composition or performance, which is then interpreted by anyone listening to the music, a process called the esthesic. Each individual listener's interpretation is entirely the result of cultural conditioning and life experience. When a group of people sharing similar backgrounds encounters a work or performance of music, there is the possibility that all (or most) will interpret what they hear similarly—but it is also possible that there will be as many variant interpretations as there are listeners. In short, meaning is not passed from the creator through the music to the listener. Instead, the listener applies an interpretation that is independent of the creator. However, when both the creator and listener share similar backgrounds, there is a greater likelihood that the listener's interpretation will be consistent with the creator's intended meaning. When the creator and listener are from completely different backgrounds, miscommunication is almost inevitable. (2018, 41-42)

The role that Palestinian Anglicans played was not entirely in synchronization musically and culturally with the rest of the population, an attitude retained to this day. Their position, however, is not surprising given that the British clergy attempted to make this small Anglican

community in Palestine into a miniature replica of their world. In the words of Frantzman, Glueckstadt, and Kark:

> Its [the Anglican community] members were members of the upper echelons of Arab society and resided in the best neighborhoods in the cities. From the Mogannams to the Saids, they universally adopted the dress and manners of their Church, while their church leaders in Palestine emulated the politics of the local faithful. (2011, 120)[94]

This endeavor led to creating a community that is on the same cultural page with European values but, at the same time, navigating a local political platform. Such a paradox can also be seen in Edward Said's writings. For example, in his article, "Perspectives of Polyphony in Edward Said's Writings," Rokus de Groot (2005) examines Edward Said's reflections on classical music and how he internalized its values and standards early in his life. "Said's family did not possess Arabic recordings but had a collection of discs with Western classical music" (220), such as Beethoven, Mozart, Rossini, Bach, Wagner, and Richard Strauss (Zeeman [2000] 2003). "It was this kind of music, and not Arabic music, that he was made familiar with" (de Groot 2005, 220). At age nine, Said attended an Um Kulthūm concert in the mid 1940s, and "[his] childhood judgment [was] rather like the way Western listeners, well-versed in Western classical music, used to comment upon music from the Middle East. It [resembled] very much an 'Orientalist' stereotypical prejudice about Arabic music and Oriental music in general" (ibid.). In his book *Musical Elaborations* (1992), five decades later, Said reflected on his harsh reaction:

> The point of the performance, I later realized, was not to get to the end of a carefully constructed logical structure-working through it-but to luxuriate in all sorts of byways, to linger over details and changes in the text, to digress and then digress from the digression. And because in my preponderantly Western education (both musical and academic), I seemed to be dedicated to an ethic of productivity and of overcoming

[94] The authors are referring to Mughannam Ilyas Mughannam and his wife Matiel. Mughannam attended the Friends Boys School in Ramallah and then studied law in the United States. Matiel was born in Lebanon and raised in the United States. She married Mughannam and returned with him to Jerusalem in the 1920s. The reference also applies to Edward Said's family.

> obstacles, the kind of art practiced by Umm Kalthoum [Um Kulthūm] receded in importance for me. (98)

Palestinian Anglicans, nonetheless, displayed fierce nationalism and strong advocacy for education and justice. According to Laura Robson, prominent Palestinian Christians shared an anti-imperial sensibility and interest in the reinvigoration of Arab identity and nationhood, and a commanding anti-Zionist position. She argues that:

> Rather than identifying as members of a disadvantaged minority struggling against a dominant Muslim majority, as the British mandate government and many subsequent historians would portray them, they viewed themselves as part of a new Arab intellectual elite, participating in European-style civil society but using it as a platform for politics of anti-imperialism and emerging models of Arab nationalism. (Robson 2011, 26)

While Palestinian Anglicans seem to fall in this category as well, the lack of knowledge or willingness to engage in *maqām* music is apparent, especially in contrast to other Eastern Christian denominations that maintained main components of their musical culture, which eased their involvement in the closely related *maqām* system.

Between the fractioned Palestinian leaderships, Jordan's ambitions, and the role that Christian mission, the British Mandate, and Zionists played, attempts to resume Palestinian nation-building and pursuit of identity were disrupted and got heavily damaged. Palestinians during the post-1948 era witnessed divisions at multiple levels and in several camps:

1. notable Muslim and Christian families that were tied to the unity with Jordan and benefited from it;
2. the educated younger generation in support of emerging ideologies such as pan-Arabism, and socialism;
3. refugees;
4. peasants;

5. the landless, and

6. lower-level workers.

According to testimonies from the period, each population consumed and favored different types of music (Fuskurijian 1992). Aside from where Palestinian musicians were operating in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq, Palestinian musicians under Jordan turned to their old social structures. Although Palestinian nationalism previously leaped in bringing all communities together to one national platform, Palestinians in the West Bank experienced contrasting realities that drove their identity to grow apart. Finally, Table 15 shows how Palestinian music-making manifested itself in Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq (discussed earlier), and by Anglican Christians in the West Bank. The table highlights five themes:

1. *sponsorship*, i.e., who supported their musical productions;
2. *focus*, i.e., the nature of their engagement in music-making;
3. *genres*, *styles*, and *influences*, i.e., the types of music they produced;
4. *aesthetics,* and *methodology*, i.e., how did they achieve their goal;
5. *objective*, i.e., for what purpose.

Table 15. Sponsorship; Focus; Genres, Styles and Influences; Aesthetics and Methodology; Objective

	Iraq	Lebanon	Jordan	Anglican Christians
Sponsorship				
State Sponsored	✓	N	✓	N
Focus				
Education	✓	N	N	✓
Production	✓	✓	✓	N
Genres, Styles, and Influences				
Arab Renaissance	O	U	N	N
Peasant, Bedouin, and Shaʿbī (Traditional)	O	O	✓	N
Qaṣīda	O	✓	O	N
Muwashshaḥ	✓	O	N	N
Instrumental	✓	O	N	O
Ṭarab	U	U	N	N

Maqām	✓	✓	O	N
Western	S	✓	N	✓
Egyptian Influences	U	N	O	N
Political Repertoire	N	O	N	N
Nationalist Repertoire Clichés	✓	O	✓	✓
Aesthetics and Methodology				
Performative	B	N	✓	N
Pedagogic	✓	✓	N	✓
Performative/ Pedagogic Synthesis	O	O	N	N*
Objective				
Nonfictional Imagined Future	✓	O	O	NA
Fictional Imagined Future	N	✓	✓	NA