Creating, Manifesting and Transcending Live experience with Chants:

A socio – cultural Study of the ʾanāshīd (popular Islamic Hymns)
in the surrounding of the
Palestinian Islamic Resistance Movement

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Abstract

In the academic discourse on contemporary Islamists movement, forms of popular Islamic music are hardly discussed. This is in particular striking, when looking at the Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, which explicit states the importance of the 'hyms' (arab. *sg.* nāshīd, *pl.* ʾanāshīd) . The academic Ignorance might be due to the known attitude of Islam as being not in favoured of music. However, this ambiguity of Islam is definitely shaping the discourse about and sounds of the ʾanāshīd related to the Islamic resistance movement in Palestine. Therefore, part of this study aims to trace and analyse the ambiguity of Islam towards music. After this, I situate the ʾanāshīd in the musical surrounding of the region, revealing them as a distinguished part of the popular music strongly employing local folk music material. The next and final part takes a closer look at specific, typical examples of songs, trying to decode the musical language spoken in these ʾanāshīd. Thereby, I look at and listen to these popular forms of expression not with the idea to classify them as legitimate or illegitimate forms of communication and expression. Rather, my interest is in digging them out as manifestations of lived experiences these music spaces create, express and transcend.

This article is the unrevised Master Theses I wrote for my study of modern trends in Islam in the year of 2000.

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1. Introduction

Islamists and Islamic revival are on everybody's lips. Not only in the media, but in the academic discourse as well, a lot has been written about the Islamic movement, including the Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas. A lot is debated about ideology, politics and recruitment, development, power and influence by means of various indicators. However, no one has ever taken the musical representation into consideration. This is insofar astonishing, as that in the Charter of Hamas the role of Islamic Art is elaborated and the musical genre of the ʾanāshīd is explicitly mentioned. Conscious of the general animosity towards music in the Islamic discourse, this finding is particularly striking and raised my interest. By chance, one such ʾanāshīd audio cassette, related to the Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas, fell into my hands, the extraordinary tones of which brought to bearing that the musical language employed can not be understood with common western musical codes. Recognising the widespread popularity of these ʾanāshīd and their significance, I decided to explore the subject further.

The ʾanāshīd related to the Islamic resistance movement are widely distributed. A huge amount of nāshīd tapes are circulating in informal ways, and the numbers of nāshīd groups are increasing. Unfortunately there are no concrete data available. This is not surprising, taking the nature of dissemination into consideration. Further, the Islamic discourse, which the ʾanāshīd can be seen as part of, is highly censored, and writers would rather not reveal their identity. Due to the lack of data, this paper has to be seen as exploratory work, which cannot provide crystallized insights, and which rather points to the necessity for further research.

The question I have in mind is strongly related to the songs as such. Why are these ʾanāshīd, which are related to Hamas, performed in this particular way? Which musical language is employed to address which kind of people? And what is their function, what do they mean to those who are listening to them?

I begin with a short presentation of the Islamic resistance movement and their main ideas, as well as my understanding of it as a network. Then I will trace the ambiguity of the Islamic discourse towards music, which is influencing the musical representation of an Islamic movement. After this I will investigate the musical material available from the munshidūn of this region. This is important, insofar as it provides a means of locating the

ʾanāshīd in their broader musical context. It also addresses the musical language of the ʾanāshīd and thus their listenership. In the following section, I will take a closer look to a few examples. The "inflamed hymns", the legends, and the melancholic ones all reveal different aspects of the ʾanāshīd. Initially the lyrics and moreover the tones might, from a western point of view, not reveal any aesthetic attraction, yet even its stereotypes and to unaccustomed ears jarring sounds or the constant repetition of similar motives in text as well as in the music might lead to their complete dismissal as meaningless. My aim here is to shed a rather different light on such popular songs. I do not aim to justify them, nor am I taking an apologetic tone. I just want to understand them. I believe the lyrics have to be read against the brutal reality of day to day life in Palestine; the sounds have to be heard against the frosty silence of the strangled voices in the daily encounter with a struggle for survival.

The transliteration of Arabic words generally follows the transcription system, to be found in Wehr. H. 1994: Arabic– English Dictionary, Ithaca. Translations are all done by myself.

1.1.   The network of the Islamic Resistance Movement

The defeat of the Six Day War discredited both Nasserism and the ideologies derived from western models of thought, bringing to the forefront Islamic world views. The Muslim Brotherhood, which already came into existence in Palestine during the revolt of 1936–39, gradually attracted the backing of various national groups.[1] The combination of mosques and social welfare, a working principle of the Muslim Brotherhood, led to the dissemination of their ideas within the Palestinian society and aroused widespread empathy.[2] The outbreak of the Intifada brought the Muslim Brotherhood into a defensive position, increasing the critique towards them, of not participating in the armed struggle. The need for decision was felt, which resulted in the foundation of a new organisation "Ḥamās", an acronym meaning "zeal" or "ardour", which is also the abbreviation for „ḥarakāt al-muqāwama al-islāmiyyah"

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[1] See Ahmed, H., *From Religious Salvation to Political Transformation: The Rise of Hamas in Palestinian Society* (Jerusalem, 1994). http://www.passia.org/publications/research_studies/ [24/07/00],Chpter 1, p.1
[2] In 1973 a Islamic Centre (Al-mujammaʿ al-ʾislāmī) was founded in the Gazastrip by Shaikh Yasîn and some Muslimbrothers, with a mosque, a clinice, a sportclub, a feast hall, a zakat office, as well as a centre for Womenactivities and Girls education. See Abu - Amr, Z., *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza* (Bloomington, 1994)

(The Islamic Resistance Movement).

The leadership structure of Hamas is in contrast to that of the PLO rather simple and un-bureaucratic. It consists of an advisory board, members of which are resident within and outside the occupied territories.[3] The executive body is democratically chosen.[4] The organisation embraces administrative, social, political and military elements.[5] Considering the political situation with frequent imprisonment and deportations, only the head leadership under the spiritual leader Shaikh Yasîn is known.[6] The relationship to the military wing is not clearly defined. Some scholars even suggest that the military wing actually operates largely independently from the political section.[7] Hamas is very active in the civilian sector, owning schools, hospitals and other social services.[8] The welfare activities, which play an important role in the work of the movement, are mostly done in co-operation with other Islamic institutions. Thus it becomes clear that it is not only the political organisation and its members that shape the Islamic Resistance Movement. Moreover, as is not uncommon for Islamic societies, a complex fabric of many agents influence and affect each other, defining the shape of the movement.[9] Thus the Islamic Resistance Movement can be understood as a social network.[10] The political organisation is just one part, surrounded and shaped by a much broader community involved in the resistance struggle, as inheritors of an Islamic world view. It is this broader network which I address in this paper as "Islamic resistance movement", while I use the term "Hamas" for signifying the political body of the organisation, the tansîm. Some of the members of the broader community have stronger and some weaker ties to the political organisation.

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[3] See ibid. p. 13

[4] See Halsell, G., 'Palestinian Islamist Azzam Tamimi Defines Hamas, PLO Differences and Calls for Dialogue with both', in Washington Report on Middle Eastern Affairs, December 1998, http://www.washington-report.org/backissues/1298/9812023.html [24.07.00] p.3

[5] See Rashad, A.,'The truth about Hamas', http://www.iap.org/politics/misc/truth.html [21.08.00]

[6] Ibrahim Gosheh (official speaker), Dr. Abd al-Aziz ar-Rantizi and Mahmud az-Zahhar (Gaza) and Mohammad Nazzal (Jordan). The present chairman of the political section is Khaled Mish'al

[7] See Legrain, J.-F., 'The Islamic Movement and the Intifada', in Nasser, J., Heacock, R. (ed.) *Intifada at the Crossroads* (New York, 1990), p.171

[8] See Halsell, op.cit, p.3

[9] See Loimeier, R., Reichmuth, S., 'Zur Dynamik religiös-politischer Netzwerke in muslimischen Gesellschaften', in *Die Welt des Islam*, No.36, 1996, p.154f

[10] See Knokes, D., Kuklinski, J., 'Network analysis: basic concepts', in : Thompson, G., Frances, J., Levacic, R., Mitchelle, J. (ed.) *Markets, Hierarchies and Networks. The coordination of Social Life* (London, 1991), p.173-182

However, in spite of strong disparities between some members of the political body and others of the movement in terms of political decision and actions, both still share a common *Weltanschauung* or world view. The world view is communicated, and even constructed by representation. Representation, the term which I employ with reference to Stuart Hall contains a twofold meaning: Firstly, representation implies standing for or in place of something, representing it, and secondly it implies the depiction or symbolisation of something. Ideas are represented by a system of signs, a language (*langue*) in the broader sense of the meaning. Here I would like to stress that the representation of the world view is actually the process by which it is constructed.[11]

Thus, one the one side the world view is disseminated, communicated, and thus created in the daily activities of the holders of this world view, in discussions, in the signifying practice. It gets formulated in the deeds and manifested in the words of each node – each person belonging to the network. On the other side, as these acts are communicative acts: the agents cannot freely choose to represent anything. Rather they depend upon the material which is at their disposal, which can be decoded as part of a signifying system. Thus they have to follow given rules in employing a language, which is commonly understood.

A powerful form of representation is the use of words. Here the oscillation between the agent as being the subject of uttering the statement, while at the same time being subjected to the material given, called the discourse, is convincingly illustrated by Michel Foucault.[12] The discourse can be traced in pamphlets, publication and documentation as well as in interviews, talks and speeches, which represent the world view.

The political body of the Islamic resistance movement, Hamas, is strongly involved in the creation and manifestation of the general world view of movement. The ideology and the main aims of the movement are stated in their Charter, which was officially published in August 1988. The Charter embodies 36 Articles, which are distributed over five chapters. The core ideas are expressed in the motto of the movement. This motto is derived

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[11] See Hall, S. Representation. Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices, (London, 1997)
[12] See Foucault, M. *Archäologie des Wissens* (Frankfurt, 1981)

from the Muslim Brotherhood[13]:

> "Allah is its [Hamas] goal.
> The Messenger is its leader.
> The Quran is its constitution.
> Jihad is its methodology, and
> Death for the sake of Allah is its most coveted desire."[14]

Although the motto is the same as that of the Muslim Brotherhood, the formation of the new movement led to a different orientation, in which the primary concern of liberating Palestine is clearly expressed.[15] This is visualised in the modified emblem of the Muslim Brotherhood. The Quran is replaced by the map of Palestine.[16] As such it is a national movement, yet still keen on having a different profile to the PLO. It embraces Palestinian national symbols, but endows them with Islamic meaning. This can be seen in the design of the raised flag, which Hamas called the Islamic Palestinian flag.[17] While the PLO's right of existence is situated in the cause of "national liberation", Hamas situates itself in a broader context. It is also struggling for the "Muslim person and the Islamic Culture"[18].The patriotism of Hamas also encompasses religious factors, since

> "Hamas hoists the divine flag in the homeland's sky in order to
> link earth and heaven in a powerful bond".[19]

The movement is thus situated in the Islamic as well as the national ideology, connecting both into an inter-woven fabric expressed in a distinct discourse.[20]

While language has commonly been accepted as an important means of representation and analyses, the performing arts have hardly been acknowledged in the discussion of modern Islamic movements. In the context of the Islamic Resistance Movement in Palestine, the importance of

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[13] See Barghouti, I., 'The Islamists in Jordan and in the Palestinian Territories', in Guazzone, Laura (ed.) *The Islamist Dilemma. The Political Role of Islamists Movements in the Contemporary Arab World* (Berkshire, 1995), p.133

[14] Article 8 in: 'Charter of the Islamic Resistence Movement (Hamas) of Palestine' in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol.22, No.4 (summer 1993), p.124¸ the Arabic Original is in Izz ad-Dîn, A., *Ḥarakat al-muqāwama al-islāmīya „ḥamās" fī filasṭīn* (Kairo, 1989), S.47-83

[15] See Charter of the Islamic Resistence Movement (Hamas) of Palestine, op.cit.

[16] See Litvak, M., *The Islamization of Palestinian Identity: The Case of Hamas* (Tel Aviv, 1996).p.9

[17] See ibid. p.8

[18] Article 6, 9, 12 in Charter of the Islamic Resistence Movement (Hamas) of Palestine, op.cit.

[19] Article 12, ibid.

[20] See for example Andrea Nüsse, who extractes aspects of Hamas Ideology analysing the Journal: Filastin al-Muslima in: Nuesse, A., *Muslim Palestine. The Ideology of Hamas* (Amsterdam, 1998)

the signifying systems of arts is supported by the fact that they are explicitly mentioned in the Charter of 1988. The whole Article 19 is dedicated to them, entitled "The role of Islamic Art in the battle of liberation"[21]. A clear distinction is drawn between Islamic art and other arts. The need is expressed for Islamic Art that "raises the spirit and does not emphasis one aspect of humanity over the others, but raises all aspects equally and harmoniously."[22] Only Islamic art is seen as acceptable and praiseworthy, since it communicates to the people on a basis which sees the human as "of a strange make up, a handful of clay and a breath of spirit."[23] In contrast to this "ignorant art communicates to the body and emphases the clay aspect"[24] The drawn borderline, elevating Islamic art from the rest, has to be seen in the context of the Islamic discourse. The need for justification becomes obvious when musical forms, called nashîd, are included. They are seen as "necessary for ideological education and invigorating nourishment to continue the struggle and relaxing the spirit because the struggle is long and the toil is hard."[25] That music is an important tool in mobilising and bonding is visible in the light of national movements. As Dieter Christensen says:

> "[M]usic can be a powerful cultural symbol, a social glue, and a cultural agent that affects the course of history, not only for individuals and small groups but of nations, especially in their formative phases and in their relationship to other nations"[26].

But that the Islamic resistance movement makes such a statement is striking, since theirs is a long tradition of rejecting musical practice as unlawful in Islamic practice. In spite of being deeply rooted in the Islamic discourse, being a movement which tries to spread and disseminate Islamic values, Hamas does officially express its acceptance, even appreciation and need for certain musical practices. The musical forms emerging in this context have to carry the name nashīd for being accepted as lawful. The musical forms which are selected as nashīd have to fulfill the condition of being distinct from other popular forms, which are officially rejected and condemned, in order to enter the narrow domain of being religiously accepted as a musical form. But at the same time they have to be set in the popular musical language to be

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[21] Article 19 in Charter of the Islamic Resistence Movement (Hamas) of Palestine, op.cit.
[22] ibid.
[23] ibid.
[24] ibid.
[25] ibid.
[26] Christensen, D., 'Traditional Music, Nationalism, Musicological Research' in Baumann, M. (ed.) *Music in the Dialogue of Cultures: Traditional Music and Cultural Policy* (Wilhelmshaven, 1991), p.215

understood and appreciated by the common people. Since the *nashîd* are placed in a moral universe as well as an acoustic universe, the discourse of the abidance of musical performance to the law and its distinguishing criteria, as well as the musical heritage and the sound material at its disposal are crucial in shaping its musical face.

Two aspects of the above discussion come to the forefront in connection with the Islamic resistance movement: Firstly, in spite of the Islamic rejection of music, music is such a powerful tool that a movement such as the Islamic resistance movement cannot dispense with it. Secondly, several questions concerning the music emerge. What kind of musical expressions are chosen for representation, how do these musical expressions function, and do they on the contrary tell us something about the movement? Why this particular sound in this situation? To understand the significance of the different sounds, to come to grips with the material available as sources for the creation of ʾanāshīd, I draw a division between the Islamic legacy and the musical heritage of the region. Both are crucial, both can help to extract the significance of certain sounds.

Musical expressions can be seen as embedded in two different contexts. On the one hand there is the relation to the musical heritage. It is a creation using an intelligible language in terms of the arrangement of the sounds, the rhythmical, modal and formal structures, pitch settings and instruments. This, which I refer to as the musical heritage of the region, I will discuss in the third chapter. On the other hand, the musical expression is a theme in the broader discourse of the society. Here aesthetic values get verbalised, which have their implications on the musical development. But even more the value of music itself will be discussed. These levels are interwoven, they overlap and influence each other. The latter, however, is often taken for granted, when talking about musical expression of a different culture, such as the Middle East, where the attitudes towards music are different from those of the so called West.

> "[I]n the Middle Eastern Muslim societies, music is sumultaneously (sic!) feared and loved, enjoyed, but viewed with suspicion; it is subject to a kind of ambivalence. This sort of attitude is actually widespread in the world.... But in the

> Middle East, the character of the entire musical culture seems
> to be result of this ambivalence."[27]

An important force creating this ambivalence was the rise of Islam. Being situated in the moral universe of Islam, contemporary Islamic music has to find a path through this ambiguity which will in turn have its effects on its musical expression and its perception. How is this ambiguity composed, and how did it manifest itself in this particular way?

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[27] Nettle, B., 'Music of the Middle East, in: Nettle, B., Capwell, C., Wong, I., Turino, T., Bohlman, P., *Excursions in World Music* (New Jersey, 1992), p.50

2. Contextualising the musical genre: ÞanÁshÐd in the discursive and acoustic universe

2.1. The Islamic Legacy: an ambiguous relation to music

The Islamic legacy in terms of the acoustic universe is contradictory in itself. On the one side, music is largely viewed unfavorably by religious authorities. On the other side, the highest act of worshipping, the recitation of the Qur'ân can be done in such an artistic manner, that it can be a wonderful musical experience, even if never referred to as such. How could this ambiguity develop and what are then the significant differences between this sound performance and the other condemned forms?

To understand this ambiguity, one has to trace developments back into the 7th century A.D. As a prophet, Muhammad experienced a revelation, which he was obliged to recite[28], and which came to be known as the Qurʿān[29]. To transmit the divine message the prophet would gather his companions around him and would recited the new revealed verses, which they would learn by heart and convey orally from generation to generation.[30] The Qurʿān was revealed into a culture with a strong oral tradition.[31] Even after the death of the prophet in 632 the divine message was still delivered orally. Only under the reign of the third Khalif 'Uthman (644–656), a text corpus[32] was compiled. Every reading not matching this corpus, or the rules of the Arabic grammar or untraceable to the narration of the Prophet would be rejected[33].

> "Nevertheless the human voice as a vehicle of transmitting the
> divine word could not be underestimated."[34]

The compilation of a written text constitutes a point of departure from an oral to a written culture. Sciences to read the qur'ânic text and its interpretation (tafsīr) occur. The life of the Prophet (sīra) and his companions as well as their deeds and utterances (sunna) as evidenced through the ḥadīth – narratives gained in importance. With the development into a theology,

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[28] „`iqra" see Surah 96:1-4
[29] Qur'an is the intensive form of the verb: qara`a, meaning to read or recite, and may be used to designate the entire book or a single vers or passage.
[30] See Wegner, U., 'Transmitting the Divine Revelation: Some Aspects of Textualism and Textual Variability in Qur'anic Recitation' in *The World of Music, 28 (1986)*, p.57f
[31] See Adunis, Muqaddima lil- shiʿ r al- ʿarabī, (Beirut, 1979)
[32] I talk about textcorpus, since the 'uthmanic script does not include any voval signs nor diacritical points.
[33] See El-Ashiry. M., *Some Aspects of Qur'anic Recitation* (London 1996) (unpubl. PhD-thesis), p.12
[34] Ayoub, M., *The Qur'an and its Interprets*, (New York, 1984)

powerful scholars (ʿalīm, pl.) emerged. They distilled the Islamic Law (sharʿīah) from Islamic sources (i.e. Qurʾān and Sunna). The sharʿīah should guarantee an implementation of the revelation and through the interpretation of the ʿulamaʾ the "right" Islamic practice in a day to day life. Several schools of interpretation emerged, of which four[35] constitute the orthodox stream for the Sunni Islam. As every single aspect of life, the theological validity of music, of listening to music was debated and according to the ʾuṣul al-fiqh as wājib, mustaḥabb/mandūb, makrūh or ḥarām (obligation, recommended, frowned upon or forbidden) categorised.[36] The discussion included the question of the validity of the qurʾânic recitation with melody and came to be known as the "samāʿ [37] – polemic"[38]. The debate elicited views that varied from full admittance of all musical forms and means to complete negation. Between these two extreme positions, all possible nuances might be found.[39] Al–Faruqi provides a list ordering all musically activities according to an ethical and legal hierarchy, which she made out in evidence to certain authorities in Islamic Law[40]. Although it seems her analysis seeks to prove that the emergence of Islam had no restricting impact on the musical development, but was the source of a unique musical heritage, it draws a clear picture of the controversy in which expressions of sound are placed in the Islamic world. The Orthodoxy did not raise their voice in favor of musical expressions.[41] Since the word music is closely connected with morally condemned practices, namely wine drinking and women, music itself was seen in an unfavourable light. Therefore the term is avoided to signify the reciting of the Qurʾân, even if the chanting is clearly musical. [42]Kristina Nelson summarises the discussion on samāʿ as follows:

> "There are basically two positions in the polemic: those who reject samāʿ unconditionally and those who accept it conditionally. However sharp their apparent divergences in the debate, these two positions share the basic premise that music is a powerful and affecting force. For the opponents of samāʿ, it

[35] Hanafits, Malikits, Shafiits and Hanbalits.

[36] See: Al-Faruq,L., 'Music, Musicians and Muslim Law', *Asian Music 17, (1985)* p.7

[37] engl. „audition"

[38] See Nelson, K., *The Art of reciting the Qur'an* (Austin, 1985), pp.32-52

[39] See Shiloah, A. Music in the World of Islam: A socio- cultural Study (Aldershot, 1995) pp.31-45

[40] These authorities are: the Qur'an, ḥadith, the four founders schools of Islamic Law, Abu Hamid Al-Ghazali and Ibn Taymiyyah. See Al-Faruqi, L., 'Music and Musicans in Islamic Law', in *Asian Music,* Vol.17, 1985, p.3f; list on page 8

[41] See Shiloah, op.cit. p.20

[42] It obviously uses the norms and aesthetic values of producing sounds, which are similar to other forms of music in Muslim cultures.

is a force which distracts from – if not actually interferes in – the struggle to achieve God's will.– For the proponents, most notably the Sufis, music is a neutral force which, channelled and regulated, can just as well lead to God as away from Him. It is human response and poetic text which are variously held responsible for the un-Islamic influence of music."[43]

Thus in both lines of argument, there exists the common belief in the overwhelming power of music, which exerts an irresistibly strong influence on the listener's soul. This is also visible in the Charter of the Islamic Resistance Movement. The nashīd are seen as a tool in affecting the soul. Considering the long duration of the struggle, the "souls will be fatigued"[44] and for this, the nashīd should have the effect of reviving the vigour, and "invokes in the soul the high spirits and correct deliberation"[45].

"All this [Islamic arts] is serious with no mirth included because a nation at Jihad does not know merriment"[46]

This means that the sounds of the proposed music should be set in a serious tune. This is reflected in the word nashīd used to signify the proposed songs. It has a more serious connotation and is deliberately used in contrast to the word: ʾughniya (songs, pl. ʾaghāni). ʾAghāni are sung in various even unlawful contexts, and thus have a negative connotation in the Islamic discourse. The labeling is an important tool to be distinguished from other musical forms. This difference, which is reflected in the discourse about the worlds of sound, is not necessarily reflected in the sounds themselves. It might be that the acoustic content is very similar. Still is very important for the producers and consumers of the ʾanāshīd to maintain the different signification, stating a different position concerning one's world view. Therefore the munshid would not be called a mughanni (singer) and ʾanāshīd are not ʾaghāni songs. Accepting this label is a first step "...to understand what different sounds mean to people."[47] The same song might have a distinctive meaning in the very act of labelling it as nashīd.

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[43] Nelson, op.cit. p.50
[44] See Article 19 of the Charter of the Islamic Resistence Movement (Hamas) of Palestine, op.cit. p.128; I would rather translate „mall" in this context with „tired", than with „board".
[45] ibid.
[46] ibid.
[47] See Frith, S. (ed.) *Music and Society. World, Music, Politics and Social Change,* (Manchester, 1989), p.101

After shedding some light on the Islamic discourse around music, I would like to now turn to the world of sounds itself. Which kind of signifying sounds surround the munshid out of which he creates his nashīd? Acknowledging that all contemporary popular music is in one way or the other a mix of sounds from different genres

> "then the question is, why this mix at this time? What are the musical choices available in fact?"48

2.2 The acoustic material at disposal

2.2.1. Qurânic Recitation: music without being music

Beyond the laws and regulations emerging from written sources, there existed an ongoing practice, traditions (taqlīd) transported from the prophet and his companions to the following generations by imitation, including besides the rites of praying, fasting, pilgrimage etc. the way of reciting the Qur'ân, the word of God. Qur'ānic chanting is Islamic 'music' *per se*. Thus this could obviously be a source from which a munshid is inspired. Its practice is central to the Muslim belief, being simultaneously divine and human. The correct transmission of the utterance of the word of God is essential[49], leading to specialists in reading (qāri', pl. qurrā') who have inherited the knowledge of correct recitation, expressed later through the seven canonical qirā'āt and the rules of tajwīd. In this way not only the words of the Qur'ân were preserved, but also its sounds and its manner of pronunciation.[50] But it is not enough to utter the right sounds; one must convey the meaning of the language. This is why to learn tafsīr is inherent in learning the correct recitation. Nevertheless tajwīd is the signifying science, which distinguishes the chanting of the Qur'ân from any other recitation or song. In connection with the rules of qirā'āt and the knowledge of tafsīr, tajwīd is regulating the correct production of pronunciation, timbre, duration and dynamic.

What are the features distinguishing the qur'ânic recitation from vocal music? This could be features moulding the aesthetics of the munshidūn and their performances. Also if the mujawwad style sounds like music,[51] it may not be

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[48] ibid. p.10
[49] Since the meaning of the Qur'an is as much expressed by its sounds as by its content and expression.
[50] See El-Ashiry, op.cit, Nelson, op.cit.
[51] See Nelson, op.cit. pp.101ff

called as such, since there are some obvious differences, which underline a separation of melodic recitation from other forms of vocal music.

First of all it is a distinction imposed through the privilege the qur'ânic text occupies against all other texts, which is expressed through the concept of ʿijāz (inimitability of the Qur'ân). Consequently the performance and reception of its recitation has an unquestioned status. This is further implemented through a general code of behaviour covering reciters and listeners ('adab al-tilāwah). Secondly the reciter has to be very careful not to violate the duration, prescribed by the rules of tajwīd even if the melodic progression would call for it. Thus "any music should arise out of the inspiration of the text itself."[52] Music incorporates melodic structure and pattern as well as rhythm. It is the second component which must not be imposed on to the text, but derives itself from within the text as an intrinsic part of the revelation and is therefore to be understood as a divine element. From this angle, the ambiguity towards music can be understood: it can destroy through a rhythm stemming from outside of the text and the rules of tajwīd. That would mean a distortion of the revelation, since it is not the written text in which the revelation is preserved but in its utterance according to the rules of tajwīd, qirā'āt and tafsīr. Instruments can never create a rhythm ensuing from a text. Perhaps this is why they are not favoured[53] and generally vocal music much more accepted. Music and the instruments which create it are viewed as something dangerous since they have the power to distort revelation. This is one perspective that supports the condemnation of music not in spite of, but because of the closeness of the central act of worship, the recitation of the Qur'ân, to music. The closeness gets manifested in the interrelation and interaction with other forms of music, through its suffusion of its admired sound throughout the fabric of Muslim societies.

2.2.2. *The musical heritage of the region*

The nashīd within the framework of the Islamic resistance movement in Palestine is created within the sound universe of that region. To situate it here, it is necessary to understand its significance. Although Middle Eastern

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[52] Nelson, op.cit. p.174
[53] There exists a legend, that instruments are a creation of Satan which he uses for seduction and deviation of the right path.

music cannot be seen as a homogenous entity, there are some general features, common to the diverse varieties of Middle Eastern music. One important difference to western music is that it is based on monophonic sounds. It consists of one melody or a parallel polyphony, but is not guided by functional harmony.[54] While in the West, music is conceived vertically, the perception is here more horizontal.[55] Also in terms of the rhythm it differs strongly. It can be "metric or non-metric or even somewhere in between"[56], which is not common in Western musical genres. The most important place in the Arab musical culture is obviously taken by the vocal music.[57] Historically, poetry, which has great importance in the Arab culture, is sung. Thus the prominence of vocal music is not surprising, in the light of the "Islamic ambiguity" towards instrumental music. Since the term nashīd refers to a vocal form, I will just consider vocal forms of the region in the following discussion.

The Arabic art music stands in the tradition of court music, where clear rules in term of maqām (tonality) and uṣūl (rhythmic cycles) have to be followed. [58] Since it is not important for the contemporary nashīd it does not need to be further elaborated. The folk music in contrast is an important source of the Palestinian nashīd. In this case the regional difference throughout the Middle East is obviously of great significance. Unfortunately not much research has been done yet about the existing forms *sur place*.[59] After the *Nakba[60]*, Palestinian cultural heritage was preserved among its own population, but did not transgress the borders of the country. As with the resistance poetry, the musical heritage of the falah (peasants) was completely unknown outside and thus also ignored in the otherwise commercially exploited body of Arab popular culture.[61] In Arab folk music the text and music are closely linked. It consists often of sung poetry, which has great importance in social life.[62]

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[54] See Nettle, B. 'Music of the Middle East', in Nettle, B., Capwell, C., Wong, I., Turino, T., Bohlman, P., *Excursions in World Music* (New Jersey, 1992), p.58

[55] See Farmer: Ghinâ`in: EI², p.1074

[56] Nettle, op.cit. p.61

[57] See Touma, H., 'History of the Arabian music - a study', in *The World of Music* 22 (1980), p.72

[58] For further discussion see: Touma, H., *Die Musik der Araber* (Wilhelmshaven, 1992).

[59] See as a pioneers work Barghouti, A., *Arab Folksongs from Jordan*, PhD Dissertation, (London, 1963)

[60] The arabic term fort he 1948 war, litterally: catastrophy

[61] See Broughton, S., Ellingham, M., Trillo, R. (ed.) *World Music. A rough Guide* (London, 1995), p.177

[62] See Shiloah, A., 'Arab Music. Folk music' in: The New Grove Dictionary, p.529

The most popular folk song is the ʿAtabah.[63] It is sung by farmers and workers doing their work, but also during weddings.[64] This is the folk version of a mawwāl[65] The mawwāl is an improvised, non-metric vocal genre. Usually it is improvised on a verse of varying length which belongs to a genre of folk poem also called mawwāl.[66] Such a text may contain improvised melismatic and ornamented parts or be performed in a chanted style, but always with an overall free rhythmic concept.[67] Another category of songs always beginning with the same words in every verse, is the very popular daʿaluna, which always begins with: ʿalā daʿaluna.[68] The melodies are commonly recognizable and used in very different texts. In comparison to the multitude of texts existing, the numbers of melodies is rather limited.[69] Almost every political party is using folk songs to spread their political manifesto.[70]

In the early Seventies, the cassettes conquered the market. This turned out to be a revolution, handing over musical production into the hands of the crowd and creating the popular culture of ʾughniya[71].

> „Coinciding with a period of dramatic social change, the cassettes offered a format for a new wave of popular aspirations and opened the floodgates to songs moving away from acceptable musical standards."[72]

With the distribution of recorded music (via broadcast, cassettes, records, TV and video) the Palestinians had access to the broader, ʾaghānī – culture of Umm Kalthum, Abdal Wahab, Fairuz, and other Korefaen. This relatively secular culture is widespread.

Commonly the musical world is divided into art, folk and popular music. The ʾanāshīd cannot be easily put into these categories, as we will see. But all these musical forms create a musical heritage, out of which the munshidūn create their chant. In terms of ʾanāshīd, as Islamic chants, one has to take the

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[63] See Barghouti, A., *Arab Folksongs from Jordan*, PhD Dissertation, (London, 1963), p.2
[64] See Barghouti, A.: ʿAtaba in: http://www.barghouti.com/folklore/songs [01.09.00]
[65] See Al-Faruqi, L., *An Annoted Glossary of Arabic Musical Terms* (London, 1981), p.179
[66] See ibid.
[67] See Shiloah, A. *Music in the World of Islam: Asocio-culturel Study* (Aldershot, 1995), p.129
[68] See Shiloah, A., ʿArab Music. Folk musicʿ in: The New Grove Dictionary, p.539
[69] See ibid. p.531
[70] See Barghouti, A., *Arab Folksongs from Jordan*, PhD Dissertation, (London, 1963), p.61
[71] See Danielson, V., ʿThe Arab Middle Eastʿ, in: Manuel, P. *Popular Music of the Non- Western World. An Introductionary Survey*, (Oxford, 1988), p.153
[72] See Broughton, S., Ellingham, M., Trillo, R. (ed.) *World Music. A rough Guide* (London, 1995), p.173

act of worshipping also into consideration as an inspiring source.

2.3. Situating the ʾanāshīd in the regional context

In order to situate the ʾanāshīd in the broader context of the tones of the region, I would like to dwell briefly on the development of the ʾanāshīd in Palestine, with special reference to two nāshīd groups Al-Yarmouk and Ar-Rawâbî, and their collections.

The Intifada was accompanied by a huge production of songs, which were disseminated illegally through the radio and cassettes. This songs known as the ʾughniya waṭaniya (national songs) express the continuation of the fight, the love towards the land, soil and nation. But these songs were also situated in a certain ideology, which was not shared by all of the people. Thus the urge for establishing an Islamic alternative was felt. The point of departure for the Palestinian ʾanāshīd can be situated during that time. Apparently, Palestinian Anashîd groups were already existent in Syria and Kuwait[73]. But it gained importance and wider recognition during and in the aftermath of the Intifada. They were played on mahrajanāt al-ʾanāshīd (festivals of hyms), during conferences and for election campaigns.

Three of the famous munshidūn (solo singers) are Abu Dujâna, Abu Aazin and Abu Ratib.[74] Abu Ratib has now a group called al-Huda active in Jordan[75]. In the contemporary scene, there are numerous ʾanāshīd groups. In Jordan alone there are at least nine other ʾanāshīd – bands than the ones mentioned above, called: Al-Yarmouk, al-Rawâbi, Al-Bara', An-Nnur, As-Siraj, Al-Basha'ir, Al-Mada'in, Al-Quds and Al-Bayadir[76]. But far more groups or munshidūn are existing.[77] Of *nashîd*-groups in Israel/ Palestine, I am aware of two: one called Al-I'tisam in Umm Al-Fahm town, and another called Tarsîha from the village Tarsîha[78]. There are many other ʾanāshīd bands outside Jordan and

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[73] From the I. Interview with Dr.Tamimi, Institute of Islamic Thought, London, dated the 29.07.00.

[74] See Lâta, N. 'nahu ʿunshûda ʿislâmîya râ`ida', in: *Al-Mujtama`,* Vol.1401, 2000, p.52

[75] Informations about Abu Ratib an al-Huda are written on the cover of the cassette : Abu Ratib, barâ`im al-hudâ [sound production], Aman, 1993.

[76] From the I. Interview with Dr. Tamimi (29.07.00)

[77] See for example in Al-Dûmîrî, N., 'Al-`inshūda ... baīna al-`ahammīya wa-l-`ihtimām', in *Al-Mujtama`,* Vol.1412, 2000, and in Barzuq, M. 'an-nashīd al-ʾislāmī baīna miṭraqa al-ʾihmāl wa sindān at-tajannī' in *Al-Mujtama`,* Vol.1417, 2000, pp.52-53

[78] See Abu Khalid, *firqa tasrîhâ*, [informal Videorecording], Tasrîhâ [n.t.]. This Videotape can be borrowed

Palestine, especially in Syria, the Gulf, Egypt, Yemen and the Sudan.[79] It would be difficult to list them all. Surely, not all of them can be seen as belonging to the Palestinian Islamic resistance movement. However, the Palestinians among them will share the same perspective. In Sudan f.e. there is a Palestinian ʾanāshīd band called Al-Wafa'. They have done some ʾanāshīd on Palestine and related matters.[80] The lack of data determined my focus on Al-Yarmouk and Ar-Rawâbî in particular. I chose this group, firstly because they are famous. Secondly, there is a close link between this group and the group Al-Rawabi to Hamas, as seen for example in the festival in Jordan in December 1990, or in the ʾanāshīd presented on the official web site of Hamas.

Al-Yarmouk was founded in the year 1979, under the tutelage of Abu Ahmad. In 1984 they did their work under the name: firqa al- yarmūk al-fannīya (the artistic group al-Yarmouk) under the umbrella of the club Al-Yarmouk in Amman. They participated in a several artistic activities from the Emirates, Saudi Arabia, to France and in North America, including participation in theatrical performances such as al-madīna lā taʿrif al-ḥudūd (The city doesn't know any borders).[81] They are convinced that their

> "art is a living message in service of the belief spreading
> welfare and kindling a beneficial fire in the form of a serious
> art which is accessible to the senses, with its melodies and
> words, being of noble descent.[82]

Until now they have produced ten cassettes. The eleventh one, the third in a series especially for children, has just been released.[83] Listening to their whole collection, a clear development is noticeable. Initially, the chants did not differ a lot from each other. Similar rhythms and melodies were employed, which were repeated several times.[84] Two wedding cassettes have also been produced. Here traditional and popular wedding songs are taken, with the lyrics changed.[85] Two are made for children, which obviously have

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from the Dar Al Dawa Bookshop, 97 Westbourn Grove, London W2 4UW.

[79] See Barzuq, op.cit., p.53

[80] See I. Interview with Dr. Tamimi (29.07.00)

[81] In the cover of their latest cassettes they provide some information about themselves. Al-Yarmouk, *'ashrûn 'âman* [sound recording], Aman, 1999.

[82] Written in the cover of Al-Yarmouk, *'ashrûn 'âman* [sound recording], Aman, 1999.

[83] See an advertisement in: As-Sabîl, No.346, 04.08.2000, p. 8

[84] See Al-Yarmouk, `ashbâl al-Yarmûk 1 & 2*[sound recording], Aman, 1988/1989.

[85] See Al-Yarmouk, *sâ'a farah* [sound recording], Aman,1997.

en educational aim. Children are singing, interrupted by short sessions, where two exemplary children talk about certain issues, like history or good behavior.[86] Taḥiyya al-Waṭan 1 (greetings to the homeland) was produced after the Hebron massacre. It is thus dedicated to this incident. While Taḥiyya al-Waṭan 2, which is also titled ʾabṭāl (heros) was released after the release of Shaikh Yassin in December 1997.

Two of the ten cassettes produced by Al-Yarmouk are collections of songs of joy (faraḥ). Also Ar-Rawâbî produced four such cassettes.[87] This is particularly striking, taking into consideration the Islamic discourse about music. These are songs, which are to be played for weddings. There texts express congratulations to the bride and the bridegroom (for eg. mabrūk al-ʿarīs (congratulation of the groom). The melodies and their arrangement do not differ from other wedding songs. Traditional tunes are taken and rearranged, keeping the popular sentiment within the religious.

Al-Rawabi was founded in Kuwait. After Saddam Hussain's invasion they moved to Amman, where they are now situated.[88] Some of the members of the group are also members, or have been members of Al-Yarmouk. They seem to belong to a network, benefiting from each other's independent existence. Some of their ʾanāshīd are currently available on the official Hamas homepage for downloading.[89]

The casualness with which the chants are disseminated reveal that not much importance is given to origin, and production rights. Cassettes are circulating from hand to hand; copies are made, re-mixes are done, without any labelling of the cassettes, clearly identifying the origin. Piracy and bootlegging are common forms of distribution. Traditionally, in Middle Eastern Music, the concept of individual ownership of melodies hardly exists. They can be used, changed, re-interpreted, without the notion of a plagiarism. Since ʾanāshīd groups are in the first instance not commercially oriented, the informal way of transmission is supported. The interest is in the dissemination of the chants, regardless of the mode of distribution.

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[86] See Al-Yarmouk, *atfâl filastîn 2* [sound recording], Aman, 1993.
[87] See Barzuq, op.cit., p.
[88] From the II. Interview with Dr. Tamimi (07.08.00)
[89] See 'Maktaba sawtîya', http://www.palestine–info.org/audio.html [21.08.00]

Who is the audience addressed with this kind of musical language? Where is the genre ʾanāshīd situated?

Nashīd is derived from the root (nun/ shīn/ dal), which means in the VIth stem "to recite" and might be translated as: "declamation of poetry, chanting, singing"[90]. The term does not seem to signify a specific vocal form, implying a defined structure. On the one side it refers to a measured vocal folk form standing in contrast to unmeasured tartīl.[91] On the other side, nashīd is used to signify a vocal recitative, a "nasal, free rhymed psalming".[92] The rhythmical aspect is thus not evident, but it seems there exists a close relationship of the nashīd to its lyrics, the text. Looking back to its pre- Islamic origins, the importance of the underlying lyrics gain support. As Shiloah explaines:

> "The magic of rhythm and word that epitomized classical poetry was enhanced by the chanting that underscored public recitations. This kind of recitation was given a special name: inshâd, which originally meant raising the voice- nishda – from which derived inshâd al-shi'r, a protracted poetical recitation delivered in a loud voice. This meaning obviously gave rise to nashîd, a term that at a later period designated various musical forms."[93]

Nowadays, the term signifies a popular vocal form, which does not follow a defined musical pattern. However, it clearly wants to be distinguished from the popular songs, the ʾaghānī. What could this difference be?

One aspect which could still be seen as corresponding to the original use of the term, is the importance of the lyrics, the significance of the text. Some people see the only distinguishing feature between the ʾanāshīd and the ʾaghānī in the ideas of the lyrics.[94] To view this as a feature pertaining to qurʾânic recitation, would surely be an exaggerated estimate. Rather, this is a common phenomenon for folk music. Farmer describes a nashīd form as comprising of two parts, an un-rhythmical beginning, followed by a rhythmic setting.

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[90] See Al-Faruqi, L., *An Annotated Glossary of Arabic Musical Terms* (London, 1981), p.232
[91] See Farmer, H. G.: „Ghināʾ" in: EI², p. 1072
[92] Al-Faruqi, L., *An Annotated Glossary of Arabic Musical Terms* (London, 1981), p.232
[93] Shiloah, A. *Music in the World of Islam: A socio-cultural Study* (Aldershot, 1995), p.4
[94] From the I. Interview with Dr. Tamimi (29.07.00)

This is a form often found in the contemporary ʾanāshīd: At first a solo-singer presents a free rhythmical improvised piece. Then a chorus joins in, accompanied by percussion. The first part is a mawwal. It is a folk form, set in the spoken dialect. The more precise name would in this case be ʿAtaba. The munshid starts on a relatively high pitch, slowly descending in an ornamented way. Some sentences are repeated, but with a slightly stronger ornamentation, creating a fascinating increase of tension bolstered by a passionate, declamatory singing technique. The freedom from any rhythmical or melodic constraints gives a place to the lyrics, the accessibility of which is stressed through the use of the spoken dialect. Thus it is a form which is often used in literary modes of stinging social criticism.[95] Here the stories are told about tragic events faced by Palestinians. The ensemble enters with a rhythmical, simple melody, which can easily be followed by the audience. Simple lyrics are sung to the tune of a constantly repeated melody, underlain with a given instrumental rhythm, mostly al- maqsūm. The whole song can go on for quite a long time, repeated several times at a stretch.[96]

Another common form is the folk daʿalūna. It is the song of the dabkah dance.[97]This is the most popular folk dance in Palestine.[98] On nashîd-festivals it is performed with a dabkah dancing group presenting this rhythmical line dance. The accompanying instruments used are the duff, a single- headed frame drum, often with rattles or jingles[99] and the tabla or darabuka[100]. Due to the Islamic resentments' against instruments, the duff and the tabla are generally the only instruments used in ʾanāshīd. Initially no instruments at all were employed. Gradually percussion instruments were used.[101] Now, the tendency to use other instruments, especially the electronic synthesizer, can be observed.[102] The development of the ʾanāshīd towards a more composed arrangement of the setting, also shows that the ʾanāshīd are in transition.

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[95] See Danielson, V., 'The Arab Middle East' in Manuel, P.: *Popular Music of the Non- Western World. An Introductionary Survey*, (Oxford, 1988), p.145

[96] See Al-Yarmouk, `ashbâl al-Yarmûk 2 [sound recording], Aman, 1989.

[97] See Barghouti, A. 'Dal'ona', in Barghouti, A.: Palestinian Popular Songs, on: http://www.barghouti.com/folklore/songs [01.09.00]

[98] See Al-Faruqi, L., *An Annotated Glossary of Arabic Musical Terms* (London, 1981), p.50

[99] See Sadie, S. (ed.) *The New Grove. Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, (London, 1984), p.616

[100] A globet drum with one skin, also called dumbuk.

[101] From the I. Interview with Dr. Tamimi (29.07.00)

[102] See f.e. Al-Rawabi, *lil-hubb al-ghurba* [sound recordings], Aman, 1999.

The musical expression of the ʾanāshīd has to be placed between the folk and the popular tradition. Using forms as the ʿataba, and daʿalūna means using a musical language understood by the common man. These forms are inserted with lyrics of the Islamic discourse, through which their message is disseminated. The bands Al-Yarmouk and ar-Rawabi are also mentioned in a presentation of Palestinian folklore as "Islamic Art bands, who introduced the Islamic concepts to popular songs."[103] The words "popular" and "folk" do not mark a clear distinction, since both refer to the Arabic "shaʿab" (people). Defining folk songs as the traditional tunes preserved among the people belonging to the turāth shaʿbiyah, popular music can be referred to as the music which is widely disseminated by the media and well liked by the masses.[104] Understanding popular music this way would refer widely to those songs termed in Arabic as ʾaghānī. There texts are love songs, in colloquial Arabic, while the musical setting is of the composer choice.[105] Since references are made even here to folk tunes,[106] the classification is again blurred. However, the ʾaghānī consist of mainly "secular entertainment music, whose productions and consumption are not intrinsically associated with special traditional life-cycle functions or rituals."[107] There is a star system and a close relation to the mass media, which are both aspects of general definitions of popular music. All these aspects cannot be said to hold for ʾanāshīd.

However, the ʾanāshīd do constitute a part of the popular culture. It is with the popular music of the ʾaghānī with which they try to compete. Even if they refer to the traditional tunes and do not want to be seen as popular "music," the flexibility of their arrangements and their moment of emergence reveal their genre. Born as they are in the fluid social sphere of the cities, popular arts stress novelty, syncretism. The restriction on the freedom of expression, denying every opposing opinion to be articulated in the public sphere, create the need for using different media to reach the public. The ʾanāshīd form a part of a militant opposition and suppressed form of popular culture.[108] Traditional tunes are first taken out of its customary environment, this being

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[103] Barghouti, A.: Palestinian popular songs. Sounds of Folksongs. on: http://www.barghouti.com/folklore/songs [01.09.00]
[104] See Danielson, op.cit., p.142
[105] See ibid. p.153
[106] See ibid. p.156
[107] Manuel, P. *Popular Musics of the Non-Western World*, (Oxford, 1988), p.3
[108] See Haris, I., An-nashīd al-islāmī, Filasṭīne al-Muslima (July 1990)

rural or otherwise, and then polished and finally published. At the same time music was being written with the expressed intention of creating a "folksy" flavour. These tunes are transmitted by cheap prints intended for sale at fairgrounds and in the street.

In the transformation of famous popular songs (For example the song of Umm Kalthûm: islāmī ya bilādi into islāmī ya qudsu), it becomes obvious that the target group of the ʾanāshīd is the common man.[109] Here it is the melody, and not the relatively plain lyrics, which conveys the message.[110] The melodies and rhythms are not subordinated to the rules of maqam and uṣūl, as an audience used to the art music would expect. It is not this elite one is addressing. However, and this is worth mentioning, the lyrics are not in the high Arabic language. Nor do the munshidūn n employ rules of tajwīd. In the recorded cassettes, a conscious usage of language is evident. In between the songs, short speeches in fusḥa are inserted, as well as the recitation of some ʾayāt of the Qur'ân. But this, as the principle appreciation of nasality,[111] is a common feature of the Arabic culture as a whole. In the presentation of the lyrics in the nashīd there is no application of tajwīd rules, nor mujawwad style used. If one can use popular songs, just changing the words, it is clear, that the text is subordinated to the melody. And this is the crucial point concerning tajwīd. One gives the importance to certain words, which have to be named for being distinguished from the ʾaghānī. However, the words do not have such an importance. Great emphasis is placed on pronunciation. The aesthetics inherent in the qur'ânic recitation are not applied in the nashīd.

The ʾanāshīd develop an aesthetic which is very dramatic, bordering the melodramatic. Some sounds seem to be specifically calculated in their effect, such as the echo effect for the inserted speeches. In the case of Al-Rawâbi, the simulated sounds of machine guns and the neigh of horses can be heard alongside the chants. This dramatisation is also to be observed in the drawings of pamphlets, flags, theatre backdrops of other Islamist movements. Since such "kitsch-filled" presentations are generally popular in Palestinian culture, further research is required to judge the difference between these differing aesthetics of the popular Islamist and the popular

[109] See [n.n.]`Anâshîd mahrajân al-quds 1 [sound recording], Jidda [n.t.]. The can also be heard from the official Website of Hamas on 'Maktaba sawtîya', http://www.palestine–info.org/audio.html [21.08.00]
[110] See islâmî ya qudsu, Appendix IV.
[111] See Danielson, op.cit., p.152

culture as a whole.

From a musical point of view, the ʾanāshīd are not clearly different from the ʾaghānī. They speak the same musical language, addressing the common man. To claim one's song as a nashīd, is thus less an announcement of a certain sound arrangement, and more an expression of a particular world view. It is a statement that merely lays bare one's own points of reference.

To draw a conclusion from the damnation of music by the orthodoxy that Islamistic movements will therefore not contribute to and employ musical culture would be a too rash judgement. Rather it might be the case as seen with the Palestinian Islamic Resistance Movement that music is used as means of expression, with which the movement itself can be closely scrutinised. On the one side, analysing the distribution and use of nashīd might help to understand the nature of the network of the Islamic Resistance Movement. [112] They manifest a network of resistance which is placed in the popular culture. On the other side, the distribution of the ʾanāshīd manifests symbols and figures of a popular Islamic discourse. Further, it creates an „imagined community", with which the common man can identify. It is the latter which I would like to discuss now: What does the musical performance create? I do not seek to detach the popular Islamic discourse from the lyrics. Moreover, I would like to understand its function for its audience.

3. Rewriting histories, creating boundaries, producing identities: the ʾanāshīd

3.1. Beginning with the nashīd: THAMANIYYE TNAʿASH (8/12) and other ʾANĀSHĪD ḤAMĀSIYYA (inflaming hymns)

The Palestinian uprising, the Intifada, marks the peak of the Palestinian national movement. The outbreak of this uprising is portrayed in most literature with the similar triggering event.

On the 8th December 1987, an Israeli military vehicle caused an accident with two Palestinian mini-buses, leading to the death of four Palestinians. This was seen by many Palestinians as an act of revenge for the Israeli soldier,

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[112] See Eickelman, D., Piscatori, J. *Muslim Politics* (Princeton, 1996), p.127

killed the previous day. The anger about this retaliatory act was immense and the news spread like wildfire across the Gaza Strip and the West Bank [113]. The reaction was an outbreak of riots in all main cities held under occupation since 1967. This uprising was articulated in strikes, demonstrations and various forms of day to day resistance continued for four further years. The stone-throwing children on the TV screens were shedding a new light on the Palestinians and their situation, and thus changing their existing picture in the eye of the world, but also strongly affecting their own self-perception. The uprising had such an effect that both political movements Hamas and PLO competed in claiming to be the power behind the scene, to have triggered off the Intifada. It can hardly be argued that the PLO gave the instruction for an insurrection on the 8th December as Helga Baumgarten convincingly argues.[114] And Hamas was not yet existent when the uprising started. However, an endless discussion arose on who was merely involved in it. At the end of the Eighties a nashîd emerged, called: thamniya tna'ash, which gained wide popularity. It is a clear statement pointing to Hamas as the initiating force, which strongly affected general opinion about it .[115] Members of Al-Yarmouk presented this particular piece in December 1990 at the festival held in Amman. It was celebrated with the presentation of various ʾanāshīd for the

> "remembrance of the outbreak of the glorious Intifada and the
> rise of the Islamic Resistance Movement Hamas"[116].

It immediately creates a self-asserting atmosphere. The chorus repeatedly (four times) shouts "hey, hey, hey", accompanied by a fast but simple pattern of the drums. The drums hold the beat and fast rhythm throughout the piece. With a simulated echo effect the first verse and refrain is read out:

> " 8th /12 – we kindled it with our hands
> and the whole world is looking at us
> Oh Palestine, because of you we are walking on coals
> While the victory is coming close, oh one day we will
> overcome."[117]

It is a call for the insurrection: the revolution, the stones should rise

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[113] See for example Siniora, H., 'An Analysis of the Current Revolt', in *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol.17 (1987/88), No. 3, p.4

[114] See Baumgarten, H., *Palästina: Befreiung in den Staat*, (Fankfurt, 1991), pp.294

[115] From the I. Interview with Dr. Tamimi (29.07.00)

[116] See cast and credits of: Islamic Assocoation for Palestine (ed.): Mahrajân `unshûda al- `intifâda [Video recording], Dallas 1990.

[117] See Appendix I

everywhere.[118] The appeal is raised by Hamas and by the martyrs. A long list of martyrs are named, all calling for revolution against the Jews. Under those are all the important "martyrs", partly also listed as "symbols of the movement" on the official web site.[119] All these men from Sayyid Qutb to Izz al- Din al-Qassam, to Islambûlî, (which names are changing from version to version) are appreciated as fighters, who dedicated their lives to the struggle. With the term martyr, these famous names are connected with all those who lost their lives in the struggle[120], and thus gain the same level of respect. But the highlighting of these men, strongly condemned as "Islamists" and "terrorists" in the official discourses does even more. It erects a crucial border-line between insiders and outsiders, those who belong to the movement and those who don't. Martin Stokes points out, that music is socially meaningful

> "largely because it provides means by which people recognise identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them."[121]

Naming the martyrs is such an erection of a border. Mentioning certain symbols, such as these names, or certain events, or stating the name "hamas" can clearly indicate the standpoint of the munshidūn. They reveal a sharing of the idea of the organisation Hamas.[122] These features come to surface in many of the ʾanāshīd ḥamāsiyya, evident for example in: "We want to work for Hamas 24 hours", or "Hamas called" from Al-Yarmouk. The ʾanāshīd ḥamāsiyya are the first chants to have been disseminated on a mass footing.[123] They are all set to quite an aggressive tune. Al-yaūm yaūm al-ghadab (today is the day of rage)[124] for example, was first presented in the above mentioned festival. Then it was printed on a cassette by Al-Yarmouk in 1992, which is a collection of such ʾanāshīd ḥamāsiyya.[125]

Starting with the shooting of machine guns, screaming and ambulance sirens, the chant is set in the middle of a riot. A big revolution is pictured.

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[118] ibd., line 6-10
[119] See „rumūz al-ḥaraka" on: http://palestine-info.org/hamas/index-h.html [21.08.00]
[120] All of them are named as martyrs in the generall palestinan discourse.
[121] Stokes, M. Ethnicy, identity and Music: The musical construction of place (Oxford, 1994), p.5
[122] From the II. Interview with Dr. Tamimi (07.07.00)
[123] From the I. Interview with Dr. Tamimi (29.07.00)
[124] See Appendix II
[125] See Al-Yarmouk, `aghârîd al-watan [sound recording] , Aman, 1992.

Everybody is involved today, "on the day of rage"[126]. Everybody is angry, an anger that is not caused by one self.[127] Today one is revenging, one is launching an attack with "the qur'ân in the hand"[128]. The drums are beating constantly, increasing the assaulting tone.

The music creates a completely self-contained and closed acoustic space, the illusion of a trip in time and space, into an environment where nothing reminds the listener of the everyday powerlessness. One feels strong and powerful, an agent of history, which one does not feel in the normal day to day practice.
The ʾanāshīd ḥamāsiya is a form of protest music. Heard at home and at festivals, music might not show immediate consequences. But

> "Musical enactment is at once a symbol of something outside
> and above the usual routines of ordinary life and at the same
> time a continuing threat of habitual action running in and
> through the lives of many local practitioners."[129]

Listening to yaūm al-ghadab, as to many other ʾanāshīd ḥamāsiya without knowledge of the aesthetics and of the Palestinian context, it might appear to have nothing pleasing, just aggression and incitement. But in the context of a Palestinian life, these songs might be experienced completely differently. The ʾanāshīd are beloved and appreciated, and thus they can be seen as tools for survival, the creation of such music as a survival strategy. They might have the power to soothe emotion and actions as well as the ability to incite. The specific effects of ʾanāshīd ḥamāsiya are not easily predictable.

3.2. A modern legend set onto stage: The NASHĪD AD-DAWRIYYA AL-MUḤTALLĪN (the petrols of the oppressors)

The Intifada, the uprising of the youth, made a new perception of the self possible. It raised the self-esteem of the young generation, since then idolised as strong and powerful, being able to confront the oppression. But this is just one side of the coin. The other side was the brutal reality, an

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[126] See Appendix II
[127] See Appendix II, line 2,3
[128] ibid. line 14
[129] Finnegan, R., *The hidden Musicans: Music-making in an English Town* (Cambridge, 1989), p.339

increase of violence, with which the Palestinians had to cope. The nashīd "ʾad-dawriyya al-muḥtallīn" (the patrols of the oppressors) was presented at the above mentioned festival in Jordan 1990. While this nashīd was sung, a small play was presented illustrating the story of the lyrics.[130] The lyrics start by stating that the patrols of Israeli soldiers entered a refugee camp. On stage a young school boy entered, who was stopped by two Israeli soldiers and beaten up. Seeing this man, veiled with a kafiyya[131], interfered to help the boy. The lyrics describe him as a "veiled hero, who had sacrificed his soul"[132] and who was "carrying the weapons of the revolution"[133]. The soldiers shot after him and ran away. The schoolboy rushed to him, and realised that he was dead. This is commented by the lyrics with "his blood is floating, while he is smiling"[134]. This sentence is repeated three times, increasing the speed and ending with a pause, which is filled by hefty applause. Now, four people entered the stage lifting the dead up on their shoulders and forming a procession as to bury him. In front of them they were carrying a board on which is inscribed: "shuhadāʿ, ʾayun qârid, 20/05/90" (Martyrs Ayun Qarid 20. 05. 90). Another procession enters, this time presenting a sign with the words "shuhadāʿ al-Aqsa 8/10/90" (Martyrs of Al-aqsa). The third and last procession enters upholding a board for the "martyrs of Palestine". A refrain ("his blood incites revolution, revolution; his blood is a cry for freedom, freedom"[135]) is sung each time a new procession enters. The first verse clearly refers to the massacre in Ayun Qarîd, were eight workers were killed and several more injured. At the end a hand holding a stone is raised, while the lyrics "waiting for the day to revenge their killed brothers"[136] rise to a climax. The second procession points to the massacre in Al-Aqsa, which took place in the same year killing 34 people and injuring approximately a hundred. In this verse, the killed are referred to as the "generation of the revolution", who's "souls are attached to paradise"[137]. At the end of this passage a sword is held up in the staging. At the very end a Shaikh enters the stage on a wheelchair, accompanied by the young boy holding the Qur'ân up with his hands. They are leading the procession of the whole company's final exit. The last

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[130] See Islamic Association for Palestine (ed.) *mahrajân `unshûda al-`intifâda* [Videorecording], Dallas 1990.
[131] The black and white palestinian scarf.
[132] See Appendix III, line 4
[133] ibid.
[134] ibid., line 6
[135] Ibid., line 11
[136] ibid., line 10
[137] ibid, line 12

procession is accompanied by the chanted lyrics:

> "In every village, in every [refugee] camp, in the schools [and] in the houses,
>
> there is a child resisting/ withstanding and by God, did not surrender but was martyred,
>
> but it is not dying."[138]

A climax is built up from the concrete events of the massacres Ayyun Qârrah, and al-Aqsa to all the places in Palestine, to everywhere, were people are killed in the struggle. The term tifl in this context does not necessary refer to "child". Rather it is the common word used to point to the activist of the Intifada, often named as "aṭfāl al-ḥijārah" (the children of the stones). The established climax is emphasised with the raising of a Kalashnikow on stage. The raising of a stone, a sword or a Kalashnikow symbolises the growing resistance, gaining strength from time to time, and which is all embraced and legitimised by the Qur'ân. The act of being killed is signified as victory. Being killed in the struggle for liberation is seen as being killed as a martyr, and thus the killed person "by God did not surrender"[139]. Yet, he is not killed, because he "is not dying". Here is a reference to Sura 2:154 and Sura 3: 169, where the eternal life of the martyrs is qur'ânically guaranteed. Death is seen as the final form of resistance. The victim is lifted to an agent. The killed is pictured as a fighter for the good cause against oppression. The overwhelming loss generated by the Israeli practice, which is experienced by almost everyone, is reinterpreted. It is not a loss, since they beloved are "not dying", which is the final statement of the presentation.

The music underlines the distinction between the two parts. The first part is slower and heavier than the second. It starts without any instrumental background with a chorus, consisting of 14 men and 3 boys singing the first two lines in a very cumbersome and dragging manner. The tragic atmosphere is intensified by the mourning ending of the lines (oh, oh, oh) descending in a small third and then a half tone. The repetition of the lines is accompanied by the simple rhythmical pattern of three notes maintaining the slugging character.[140] The slightly longer third and fourth line are sung in a similar

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[138] ibid., line 20, 21
[139] Ibid., line 18
[140] ¼ and two 1/8 notes (dum, tak , tak)

way. The next two lines mark the end of the first part, in which the hero is killed while smiling. In the three repetitions of the sixth line, the speed is accelerated, ending in the pause. The now following second part is much faster, accompanied with the percussion playing the rhythm: `iqaʿ maqsūm[141].

The presented story very much resembles situations occurring in reality. It might be sufficient to state here that the Israeli military practice resulted in a great deal of fear, stress, pain, and sorrow to the approximately one and a half million Palestinians under occupation. More than one thousand people were killed between 1987 and 1990, tens of thousands were injured, maimed deformed, and handicapped, and tens of thousands were arrested, detained and imprisoned.[142] The close link to reality is strengthened by the fact that this nashīd is used as a soundtrack in the documentary film: The History of the People.[143] It is thus not a fiction, but rather a modern legend. It is known, that in situations of collective stress, anxiety and fear, the telling of such legends is augmented.[144] During the Intifada, thousands of legends emerged.[145] They narrate small episodes of the confrontation with the occupying forces. The Israeli forces are always personified as one or more military personnel, mostly a soldier as is the case in the above story. The other side portrayed here as the baṭal (hero) and the ṭifl (child) represent the generation of the Intifada, which typically plays an important role in these legends.[146] Usually the episode ends with the resolution of the encounter in favor of the side by which the legend is narrated.[147] This is also the case in this story even if it is very tragic. However, in declaring the killed person as shuhīd (martyr) the death is turned into a victory. The first part simply tells the story, while the second part interprets it. Setting the death into the context of liberation struggle, and thus guaranteeing his entrance into paradise makes the experienced loss bearable and helps to come to terms with the powerlessness and arbitrariness felt in reality. The weak are empowered, a final victory warrant. It is thus functioning as a wish–fulfilling

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[141] This is the following rhythm: 4/4
[142] Exact figures can be found in the occasional reports of human rights organizations, such as All-Haqq in Ramallah or B'tselem in Jerusalem.
[143] The nashîd is played on an very dramatic episode, where a soldier is kidnapping a small boy and the mother is struggling without success to get him back. See Interpal (ed.): The History of the People (Video recording), London.
[144] Kanaana, S., 'Women in the Legends' in Sabbagh, S. (ed.) *Palestinian Women of Gaza and the West Bank* (Bloomington, 1998), p.115
[145] ibid. p.117
[146] ibid. p.121
[147] ibid.

fantasy. But

> "one does not escape the real world into legend; rather, legend represents fantasy in the real world, an important point psychologically speaking. It is 'true' fantasy, not to be confused with the 'false' or fictional fantasy of folk tale."[148]

This presentation of a legend is thus a story situated in reality, in spite of a partial fictional character. Because of its "trueness" this story can function as confirming a moral universe derived from the Qur'ân. It claims its validity in spite of the witnessed injustice. This leads to the acknowledgement of a function it fulfils for the audience. Listening to this nashīd and watching its performance without witnessing the events taking place in reality, easily leaves the impression of an exaggeration overloaded with kitsch-filled symbolism. However, in the experience of the daily oppression, it appeals to those who are suffering by affording them pride, self-esteem and might be felt as something which is re-establishing the denied dignity.

3.3. *Opening places of mourning:* Jurḥ Al Khalīl *(wounds of Hebron)*

As the ʾanāshīd ḥamāsiyya make up in important part of the ʾanāshīd, so do those set to a melancholic tune. The nashīd: jurḥ al-khalīl (wounds of Hebron) by Ar-Rawâbî, is part of a collection entitled: tahiyah al-waṭan (greetings to the homeland), published after the massacre of Hebron in 1994.[149] jurḥ al-khalīl, which can also be heard from the official Hamas web site[150], is an example *par excellence* for these mournful pieces[151]. The nashīd is heavy and endowed with sorrow and tragic affliction. It talks to the mourners, those who lost their dearest in the massacre. The beginning of its lyrical articulations is: "They passed by the wounds of Khalil, and stuck to the blood of the men"[152]

The passing by (murru), a verb also used for the passing of the time, is intensified by a constant regular beat, like a clock, in the background. Sluggish, but incessant is the ascending fourth of two beats played throughout the whole piece, emphasising the never ending pain and sorrow

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[148] Alan Dundes cit ibid. 116
[149] See Al-Rawâbî, *tahiyyah al-watan 1* [sound recording], Aman, 1995.
[150] See murrû 'alâ jurh al-khalîl on http://www.palestine–info.org./audio.html [21.08.00]
[151] It famousness can be seen that it is also used as soundtracks for films. See Barzuq, op.cit. p.55
[152] See Appendix IV

which is left, and which will not end with the passing of time. They walk, time walks, but there is no end of the mourning.

> "they passed by who you loved leaving [just] your loneliness,
> oh, with its waiting."[153]

But the singer affirms that God is great, and thus the occupation will end.[154] Actually not the killed people died, but those who caused the massacre. [155]

In spite of all the sorrows, there will be an end as a result of their fighting, "our cavalry will break the siege"[156]. However, the sadness of this nashîd is overwhelming. It opens a space for those suffering from the experience of having lost to utter their feelings. The song is including all who have to continue their lives with the constant feeling of loss. It creates a place, which one can access by listening: a place to mourn.

The sadness is the other side of the fight. Both these sides come to surface in the cassette, published after the assassination of Yahiya Ayyash, the "engineer"[157]. The cassette does not reveal the performer, but some melodies used also in other cassettes, lead to the presumption of Al-Rawabî being the artist behind it. The story of the highly adored Yahiya Ayyash is presented. His life, his deeds with a long list of his operations as a fighter, and his death is told by words and set into melodies, enriched with sound effects, such as birds chirping as well as machine-guns. Both sides, the sadness of the loss as well as the fight and its encouragement are expressed and set into tune. The musical form exactly fitting for this is the mawwāl, the free rhythm, improvised, slow piece, followed by an ensemble piece accompanied by drums. The mawwāl, sung in a vocally ornate manner, emphatically expressing sorrow and pain, stand in sharp contrast to the ensemble pieces, charged with aggression and emphasised by echo-effects and the shooting of machine guns. However, both pieces express strong feelings. Yet, in the musical performance, I would argue, these feelings are not only expressed, but even realised and lived, something not permitted in the continuation of everyday life. Does this music therefore "serve(s) as a method of conflict

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[153] ibid, line 9
[154] ibid, line 4
[155] ibid, line 6
[156] ibid, line 12. Horses and neighing (line 3) are often used to signify brave fighters.
[157] See [Al-Rawâbî] *saqr al-katâ`ib. .. Yahiya Ayyash*, Aman [n.t.]

resolution or does it inflame(s) the conflict"[158], a question raised by Marcia Herndon, cannot be easily answered. It can definitely not be answered without acknowledging the context in which those who create, perform and listen to the music are living.

4. Concluding remarks

The ʾanāshīd are part of the popular Islamic culture. The musical language as well as the lyrics can be understood by the common man. The lyrics of the ʾanāshīd disclose them as a force joining, even creating and maintaining the discoure of the Islamic resistance movements. They enhance a discourse, which could be understood as part of a "public transcript" of the subordinated.

> "The greater the disparity in power between dominant and subordinate and the more arbitrarily it is exercised, the more the public transcript of the subordinated will take on a stereotyped, ritualistic cast."[159]

In this Islamic discourse, as shown in an exemplary analysis by Dale Eickelman and James Piscatori[160], certain concepts, such as the shuhadāʿ (martyrs), jihad (struggle) or al-quds (Jerusalem) as well as certain rhetorical concepts are constitutive. Taking into consideration the real power relation, one can see a main part of the resistance in the maintenance of this discourse. The dissemination of the ʾanāshīd contributes to its manifestation as a "popular presentation of Muslim symbolic politics",[161] and insures its existence. However, the ʾanāshīd are words set into sounds, which cannot be grasped in purely analysing the words.

> "The musical event, from collective dances to the act of putting a cassette or CD into a machine, evokes and organises collective memories and present experience of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity."[162]

Thus the music of the ʾanāshīd cannot be reduced to condemning the

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[158] Herndon, M. 1991: Music and Public Policy, in Baumann, M. (ed.) *Music in the Dialogue of Cultures: Traditional Music and Cultural Policy* (Wilhelmshaven, 1991), p.61
[159] Scott, J., *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (London, 1990), p.3
[160] See Eickelman, D., Piscatori, J., op.cit.
[161] ibid. p. 129
[162] See Stokes, op.cit. p.3

dissemination as pure propaganda. It is far more. The sounds re-write history, create boundaries and produce identities and unfold spaces for mourning in a profound, yet, subtle way, as the closer look on the three chants could reveal. They create, manifest and express, yet even transcend certain live experiences which are foreclosed by accessing only the lyrics of the sounds regardless to the places they unfold. I do not aim to justifying a brutality which is expressed in these chants by pointing to these functions, nor do I am at justifying the Islamic resistance movement. However, I believe, a closer look to these chants are meaningful to understand live experiences under occupation. Yet, even more, I believe that the musical event is in ways beyond such kind of judgement.

The excitement of a popular concert is hardly explainable in rational terms. And even if one usually dislikes certain forms of music, it might be the context of the performance, which makes it so attractive to belong, that on cannot resist. Even though the performance of, or listening to ᵓanāshīd is out of the ordinary experience, it encourages people to be in touch with an essential part of themselves, their emotions and their 'community'. The munshidūn:

> "are working out a shared vision that involves both the assertion of pride, even ambition, and simultaneous disappearance of the ego."[163]

These are features so important for people living in subordinated conditions. And Palestinians spread over the world, can all use this music to locate themselves in a common "place". Listening to a ᵓanāshīd tape opens up an imagination of belonging. Belonging to a broader community, which even though it might be experienced in the present as powerless, is imagined as finally ending up as the victor. History is rewritten. Events, as for example the massacre of Hebron, or the assassination of Yahiya Ayyash are highlighted and endowed with a particular meaning, which is strongly expressed in the musical performance.

To those immersed in the struggle ᵓanāshīd serve as a powerful and meaningful symbol of identity, functioning as an avenue of expression and mediation of daily conflicts. ᵓanāshīd, however much they may sound to a naive ear as tasteless, may serve as a metaphor for the creation of a

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[163] Slobin, M. *Subcultural Sounds. Micromusic of the West* (London, 1993), p.41

distinctive world of common meanings and a shared cultural ideology. There is an immense brutality that steems from the words, symbols, colors' and sounds[164]. Damming and condemning these popular art forms, however, do not erase the brutality the people experience, who give birth so these popular art forms, who create, enact, produce and consume them. Yes, it is questionable, how much these popular art forms contribute to mitigate or transform these realities or to manifest and exacerbate them. This, however, cannot be easily answered, and surely not, without fully recognition of the live experiences of the people involved.

The "hidden transcript"[165] of the Islamic resistance movement is highly concealed. However, the ʾanāshīd can be used as a hint, not just as a reflection, but as a realization of the hidden transcript.

> "Maybe, perhaps most hidden transcripts remain just that: hidden from the public view, and never "enacted". And we are not able to tell easily under what precise circumstances the hidden transcript will storm the stage."[166]

Enveloped in the ʾanāshīd the "hidden transcript" of the Islamic resistance movement entered the stages. The ʾanāshīd will gain in importance as their audience broadens. The forms of relationship building within the network and its inner power structures will crucially shape how far these venues of popular chants and performances will serve to express, manifest and transcend live experiences in unfolding places of self–respect and dignity, or how much these art forms enact surrounding repressive structures. Yet, the musical event can't be reduced to either a form of resistance to those structures or as a form of fostering violence and oppression, even not if it supported by political institutions with a clear agenda. The cultural activity within the sound worlds constitute a place of personal and group experience which itself slips out of a dualistic portrayal. These chants not only express, but also create, manifest and most probably even transcend live experiences, even beyond re–writing (his)stories, creating boundaries and identities as it attracts more and more youth not only in the context of war and occupation, but also in the diaspora settings.[167] This demands a much more profound

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[164] Particular obvious with the sounds of mashine guns.
[165] See Scott op.cit. p.4
[166] Scott op.cit. p.16
[167] Thus, this preliminary research on the ʾannāshīd could be done, with help of the Palestinian Diaspora in London.

research, than this preliminary study could deliver. Groups emerge, festivals are set up and discussions on the right forms emerge. As the modern Islamic movements themselves pay more attention to ʾanāshīd realizing the potential inherent in musical representation, this phenomenon will gain in importance, a phenomenon which should not be overlooked in the analysis of modern trends in Islam and its live worlds.

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6. Appendix

These are the translated lyrics of the examples of the selected songs.

Appendix II:

8th 12

8th 12 we flamed it with our hands
and the whole world is looking at us
Oh Palestine, because of you we are walking on coals
While the victory is coming close, oh one day we will transgress

Hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey

Oh revolution stand up	Oh revolution stand up,
Oh stones stand up,	Oh stones stand up,
in Gaza stand up	in Nablus stand up,
in Jerusalem stand up	in Al-Aqsa stand up,
stand up, stand up, stand up,	remain on the ursupator,

Hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey

The endavour (Hamas) is calling	the endavor (Hamas) is calling
And the martyrers are calling	And the martyrers are calling
'Imâd 'Aqal and Azam	Yahiyyah Ayyash
'Aûdallah and Qasâm	Muhammad Jamjûmi
'Omar Abu Sarhân	and 'Atâ Az-Zîr
'Abd al-Hâdi, the courageous	and Islâmbûlî
revolution, revolution, revolution,	against the jews,

Hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey, hey

8th 12 we flamed it with our hands
and the whole world is looking at us
Oh Palestine, because of you we are walking on coals
While the victory is coming close, oh one day we will transgress

Appendix III

Today is the Day of Rage (*alyaum yaum alghadab*)

With soul, with blood, we sacrifice you, oh Palestine

Today is the day of rage, and the revolution is fire and burns |
And who is he who is not getting angry |
not from us ,no not from us, never, never | and not from all the Arabs |

launch an attack with the stone quarry, oh today, against the usurper
fill for me your lap, oh mother, with the bottles of fire
Salute the revolution, salute the revolution | salute the revolution !

My father was in captivity and my grand father died betrayed
They pledge for me that I shall revenge |
Salute the revolution, salute the revolution | salute the revolution !

My mother, my duty calls me, and so did the enraged the earth/soil of my homeland|
Leave my land usurper, we are the striking gun poder |
We walk on the tracks of fire, we walk on the tracks of fire

I am walking with the Qur`an in my hands and my heart is iron/steel
Oh our glorious Intifada rages against the usurper

Salute the revolution, salute the revolution | salute the revolution!

Appendix IV

The patrols of the Oppressor

The patrols of the occupiers are invading the (refugee) camps   oh,oh,oh
The children of the revolution are Ababîl (birds), who are speaking with stones   oh,oh,oh

On the gates of the camp they stopped and erected fields of explosions
                         and sow bitter poison   oh,oh,oh
A veiled hero sacrificed his soul carrying weapons of the revolution and went forward
                         oh,oh,oh

He said farewell to his mother, he said farewell to his mother,
                         embracing his soil, embracing his soil
While his blood is floating, while he is smiling   oh,oh,oh

—————

His blood ignites revolution   revolution   revolution
His blood is a scream for freedom   freedom   freedom
Oh,oh,oh,oh,

Our martyr were falling at Qârrah, while the paradise receives them
And the workers are waiting for the day to revenge there killed brothers

His blood ignites revolution   revolution   revolution
His blood is a scream for freedom   freedom   freedom
Ooh,oh,oh,oh,

No, we do not forget the massacre of Al-Aqsa and martyrs, wounds and detention camps,
The generation of the ultimate (al-Aqsa), the generation of the revolution,
                         their souls are attached to/are aspiring paradise

His blood ignites revolution   revolution   revolution
His blood is a scream for freedom   freedom   freedom
Ooh,oh,oh,oh,

In every village, in every [refugee] camp, in the schools [and] in the houses
There is a child resisting/withstanding and by God, did not surrender and was martyred,
                         but it is not dying.
His blood ignited revolution   revolution   revolution
His blood is a scream for freedom   freedom   freedom
Ooh,oh,oh,oh,

Appendix V

Be saved, oh Jerusalem (*islami ya qudsu*)

Be saved, oh, Jerusalem	we are willing to sacrifice
With my hands I shake	the whole world
Never will you be humiliated,	never
Because I am hoping with	the day of tomorrow
And with me is my heart	and my firm decision /will for the struggle
I will not bend down	I will not get tired, I will not give in
For you Jerusalem	to be in peace
And peace up on you	oh, my country
When the injustice	throws its arrows
I seek protection	in my own heart
Peace up on you	for all the times
I am a Muslim	with my thumb I built
The mosque al-Aqsa	which defeated the death
The standing of the rocks	between us is
The standing of time,	is like my standing
In my defence	and struggle for my country
I do not bend down	I will not get tired, I will not give in
For you Jerusalem	to be in peace
And peace up on you	oh, my country
When the injustice	throws its arrows
I seek protection	in my own heart
Peace up on you	for all the times