

European Cultural Diplomacy and Arab Christians  
in Palestine, 1918–1948

Karène Sanchez Summerer · Sary Zananiri  
Editors

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Diplomacy and Arab  
Christians in Palestine,  
1918–1948

Between Contention and Connection

palgrave  
macmillan

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# Sound Power: Musical Diplomacy Within the Franciscan Custody in Mandate Jerusalem

*Maria Chiara Rioli and Riccardo Castagnetti*

Music contributes to the construction of a sense of identity through the direct experience and contact of the body, time and sociability, shaping imaginative cultural narratives.<sup>1</sup> Control over all these levels was, and partly remains, crucial for the Catholic Church as an educational agency. Combining historical and musicological methodologies, this chapter explores the musical activity pursued by the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 124.

<sup>2</sup>The Franciscan presence in the region was due to the will of Francis himself, who attributed particular importance to the vast province of the Holy Land since the first general Chapter of the Franciscan order in 1217. It followed, with the reconquest of Jerusalem by the crusaders, that

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Although the research for this chapter was conducted in close collaboration, Maria Chiara Rioli is the author of pages 79–93 and 97–99 and Riccardo Castagnetti of pages 93–97. The authors are deeply grateful to Fra Narcyz Klimas and Fra Sergey Loktionov, archivists of the Franciscan Custody historical archives, for their assistance in navigating the records, to Agostino Lama's sons Youssef and Patrick for sharing various manuscript scores of their father, as well as to Marion Blocquet, Vincent Lemire, Julie Sibony, and Olivier Tourny for their support in the archival enquiry.

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providing insights into the *schola cantorum* of the Custody's headquarter in the St Saviour's convent in Jerusalem, and the role played by its orphan cantors, before moving to the analysis of some of the "political" compositions of Agostino Lama, one of the most significant Palestinian musicians of the twentieth century. In doing so, we add to the literature of the so-called "acoustic turn", which opened a variety of research paths by combining the methodology of musicology and international relations.<sup>3</sup> This was linked to three other emerging strands: international concerns in musicology, the aesthetic turn in international relations, and the cultural turn in international history.

In this growing and stimulating landscape of studies on the relations between politics, culture and music in the modern and contemporary ages,<sup>4</sup> most scholars have devoted attention to the Euro-American area, particularly during the Cold War. Although the Middle East remains quite peripheral to

the Franciscans established themselves in the Holy City (1230). In 1342, two papal bulls issued by Clement VI (*Nuper charissimae* and *Gratias agimus*) laid the groundwork for the juridical recognition of what would become the Custody of the Holy Land. In the following centuries, the Franciscans were assigned particular privileges regarding the safeguarding of the Holy Places, caring for pilgrims, and pastoral and educational work; they also took on an increasing role in relations with foreign powers. In 1746, the internal organisation of the Custody was laid down by Benedict XIV with the apostolic letter *In supremo militantis Ecclesiae*, establishing a structure that would remain in force until the revision of the statutes undertaken during the twentieth century. On the Custody of the Holy Land in the contemporary period, see Paolo Pieraccini, *Cattolici di Terra Santa (1333–2000)* (Florence: Pagnini e Martinelli, 2003); Giuseppe Buffon, *Les Franciscains en Terre Sainte (1869–1889): Religion et politique; une recherche institutionnelle* (Paris: Cerf; Editions franciscaines, 2005); Andrea Giovannelli, *La Santa Sede e la Palestina. La Custodia di Terra Santa tra la fine dell'impero ottomano e la guerra dei sei giorni* (Rome: Studium, 2000).

<sup>3</sup>See the introduction to Frédéric Ramel and Cécile Prévost-Thomas, eds., *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy: Sounds and Voices on the International Stage* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 1–16.

<sup>4</sup>In the extensive bibliography, see Edward W. Said, *Musical Elaborations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015); Fosler-Lussier, *Music Divided: Bartók's Legacy in Cold War Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Fosler-Lussier, "Music Pushed, Music Pulled: Cultural Diplomacy, Globalization, and Imperialism," *Diplomatic History* 36, no. 1 (2012): 53–64; Robert Adlington, ed., *Sound Commitments: Avant-Garde Music and the Sixties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, ed., *Music and International History in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Berghahn, 2015); Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan, eds., *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016); Deborah Pacini Hernandez, Hector Fernandez L'Hoeste, and Eric Zolov, eds., *Rockin' Las Américas: The Global Politics of Rock in Latin/o America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004). For a long-term approach, see Rebekah Ahrendt, Mark Ferraguto, and Damien Mahiet, eds., *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Andrew H. Weaver, "The Materiality of Musical Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Representation and Negotiation in Andreas Rauch's *Currus triumphalis musicus* (1648)," *Journal of Musicology* 35, no. 4 (2018): 460–497. For some theoretical reflections, see David Clarke, "Theorising the Role of Cultural Products in Cultural Diplomacy from a Cultural Studies Perspective," *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 22, no. 2 (2016): 1–17.



the discipline, some works have attempted to fill this gap.<sup>5</sup> Looking at the Israeli–Palestinian context, numerous musicological studies have focused on the links between Palestinian music, nationalism and resistance against Israel after 1948 and especially after 1967,<sup>6</sup> on Palestinian music in Israel,<sup>7</sup> and on the musical divisions between, but also the experiences of joint collaboration by, Israeli and Palestinian musicians after the collapse of the Oslo agreements in the 1990s and the outbreak of the Second Intifada.<sup>8</sup>

With the exception of the figure of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, whose cultural and musical relevance has been investigated by Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar<sup>9</sup> (although Jawhariyyeh’s scores remain unpublished), the works on Robert Lachmann’s “Oriental Music” archive,<sup>10</sup> some studies on Jewish music in

<sup>5</sup>In more general terms, not only referred to music, see Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht, “What Are We Searching for? Culture, Diplomacy, Agents and the State,” in *Searching for a Cultural Diplomacy*, eds. Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht and Mark C. Donfried (New York: Berghahn, 2010), 3.

<sup>6</sup>David A. McDonald, *My Voice Is My Weapon: Music, Nationalism, and the Poetics of Palestinian Resistance* (Durham, NC: Duke University, 2013); McDonald, “Performing Palestine: Resisting the Occupation and Reviving Jerusalem’s Social and Cultural Identity through Music and the Arts,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 25 (2015): 5–18; Moslih Kanaaneh, Stig-Magnus Thorsen, Heather Bursheh, and David A. McDonald, eds., *Palestinian Music and Song: Expression and Resistance Since 1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013); and the digital project by David McDonald on “Music, Folklore, and Nationalism Among Palestinian Refugees in Amman, Jordan (2003–2005),” <http://eviada.webhost.iu.edu/Scripts/collection.cfm?mc=7&ctID=65>. Accessed 23 July 2020.

<sup>7</sup>Dalia Cohen and Ruth Katz, *Palestinian Arab Music: A Maqam Tradition in Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Amatzia Bar-Yosef, “Traditional Rural Style Under a Process of Change: The Singing Style of the Hadday, Palestinian Folk Poet-Singers,” *Asian Music* 29, no. 2 (1998): 57–82.

<sup>8</sup>Ruth F. Davis, “Music in the Mirror of Multiple Nationalisms: Sound Archives and Ideology in Israel and Palestine,” in *The Cambridge History of World Music*, ed. Philip V. Bohlman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 498–521; Benjamin Brinner, *Playing Across a Divide: Israeli–Palestinian Musical Encounters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Daniel Barenboim and Michael Naumann, *The Sound of Utopia: From the West–Eastern Divan Orchestra to the Barenboim–Said Academy* (Leipzig: Seemann Henschel, 2018); Nasser Al-Tae, “Voices of Peace and the Legacy of Reconciliation: Popular Music, Nationalism, and the Quest for Peace in the Middle East,” *Popular Music* 21, no. 1 (2002): 41–61; Nili Belkind, “Music in Conflict: Palestine, Israel and the Politics of Aesthetic Production” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014); Issa Boulos, “The Past and the Current in the Palestinian Music Scene: A Personal Perspective,” in *Diwan: A Forum of the Arts, Arab American National Museum, Dearborn, MI, March 30–April 2, 2006* (Dearborn: Arab American National Museum, 2007), 16–33.

<sup>9</sup>Salim Tamari and Issam Nassar, eds., *The Storyteller of Jerusalem: The Life and Times of Wasif Jawhariyyeh, 1904–1948*, trans. Nada Elzeer, foreword Rachel Beckles Willson (Northampton: Olive Tree Press, 2014); Salim Tamari, “Wasif Jawhariyyeh, Popular Music, and Early Modernity in Jerusalem,” in *Palestine, Israel, and the Politics of Popular Culture*, eds. Rebecca L. Stein and Ted Swedenburg (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 27–50.

<sup>10</sup>In 1935 the German Jewish ethnomusicologist Robert Lachmann (1892–1939) moved to Palestine, where he established the so-called “Oriental music archive” at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He was the author of 12 radio programmes—“Oriental Music”—transmitted between 18 November 1936 and 28 April 1937 by the PBS. See Robert Lachmann, *The “Oriental Music” Broadcasts, 1936–1937: A Musical Ethnography of Mandatory Palestine*, ed. Ruth F. Davis (Madison: A-R Editions, 2013).

the Yishuv and post-1948,<sup>11</sup> and initial contributions on missionary musical activities,<sup>12</sup> research on musicians and music in late modern Ottoman and Mandate Palestine remains a desideratum, despite the importance of Palestine for musicians travelling within the region and between the Levant and the West.<sup>13</sup>

In this landscape, Christian religious congregations played an important role. Although often underestimated by or barely quoted in historical studies, music was part of the cultural agenda of church institutions and missionary congregations. Christian actors imported Western classical music, teaching musical notation and Western composition styles in Palestine. The Franciscan schools devoted special attention to music: three of the major Palestinian musicians of the twentieth century, Agostino Lama (1902–1988), Salvador Arnita (1914–1984)<sup>14</sup> and Yousef Khasho (1927–1996),<sup>15</sup> were taught by the friars. Lama spent his entire life in the service of the Franciscan Custody, while Arnita and Khasho used the training received by the Franciscans outside the religious sphere of St Saviour's, working for internationally reputed institutions, such as the American University

<sup>11</sup>See, in particular, Amnon Shiloah, *Jewish Musical Traditions* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992); Shiloah, ed., *The Performance of Jewish and Arab Music in Israel Today* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1997); Jehoash Hirshberg, *Music in the Jewish Community of Palestine, 1880–1948: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Olivier Tourny, *Le chant liturgique juif éthiopien: Analyse musicale d'une tradition orale* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009); Motti Regev and Edwin Seroussi, *Popular Music and National Culture in Israel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Assaf Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities and the Soundtrack of Israeli History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Golan Gur, "Israel: History, Culture, and Geography of Music," and Sarah Hankins, "Israel: Modern and Contemporary Performance Practice," in *The SAGE International Encyclopedia of Music and Culture*, ed. Janet Sturman (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2019), 1206–1209 and 1209–1212.

<sup>12</sup>Rachel B. Willson, *Orientalism and Musical Mission: Palestine and the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>13</sup>Christian Poché, "Palestinian Music," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 18, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 935–937. For a classic study, see Yusra J. Arnita, *Al-funun al-sha'biyya fi Filastin (Folk art in Palestine)* (Beirut: Palestine Research Center, 1968).

<sup>14</sup>A student of Lama and then his assistant organist at the Holy Sepulchre, Arnita studied composition also in Rome at the Conservatory of Santa Cecilia with Alfredo Casella and organ with Fernando Germani in 1934–1935. After completing his education in London at the Guildhall School of Music with Sir Landon Ronald, he returned to Palestine, where he was appointed music director of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in Jerusalem until 1948. During the war, he fled to Beirut, becoming a professor at the American University of Beirut.

<sup>15</sup>Born in Jerusalem, Khasho was orphaned at five years old and was admitted to the Franciscan orphanage, where he was taught music by Lama. He worked in Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Italy, where he studied with Alfredo Casella and Fernando Germani. In 1966, at the request of King Hussein, he joined the National Conservatory of Jordan, becoming its director. For a presentation of Arnita's and Khasho's production, see Yuval Shaked, "On Contemporary Palestinian Music," *Search: Journal for New Music and Culture* 8 (2011). <http://www.searchnewmusic.org/shaked.pdf>. Accessed 20 July 2020.

of Beirut in Arnita's case,<sup>16</sup> and the National Conservatory of Jordan in Khasho's. The Custody's *schola cantorum* won renown in the Palestinian landscape during the twentieth century.<sup>17</sup> In 1995 the Franciscans opened the Magnificat Institute, currently one of the few music schools in the Old City of Jerusalem.<sup>18</sup>

As regards sources, the history of Palestinian music is intrinsically a connected history. Documents of musical interest are often located in archival fonds not immediately recognisable as "musical archives". Therefore, not only in the Levant but perhaps particularly so, the history of a musical chapel requires surveying multiple archives and records, including land registries, architectural documentation, printing press holdings, municipal archives, radio records and private memoirs, in order to retrace its course but also to precisely contextualise the extensive itineraries of the music and its performers.

### ST SAVIOUR'S *SCHOLA CANTORUM*

The role of music within the Franciscan Custody—connected with two of its main objectives, evangelisation and education—must take central place in any comprehensive history of music in modern Palestine. These two tasks were strictly linked: music was a liturgical element and a pedagogical tool. And in this way the music sung and taught by the Custody helped to shape the liturgical and civic soundscape.

The Custody was also a space for the production—composing, playing and printing—of music. Established in the mid-nineteenth century, the Franciscan Printing Press (FPP) was among the main Jerusalem printing houses for music.<sup>19</sup> The FPP archives holds printed procession manuals ("Processionalia Terrae Sanctae") for the Holy Sepulchre dating from 1866; books with the Melkite liturgy in Gregorian notation; the musical programme in Latin of the *schola cantorum* for the 1921 Holy Week; a 1935 antiphonarium; a 1938

<sup>16</sup>The finding aid of the Archives and Special Collections Department of the American University of Beirut contain some references to Arnita's academic activity, including correspondence with members of the departments, programmes of musical events, and press clippings.

<sup>17</sup>Established in 1217 by Francis of Assisi as Province of the Holy Land, the Franciscan Custody.

<sup>18</sup>For a short account of the history of the Magnificat Institute, see Adriana Ponce, "Music-Making in the Heart of the Christian Quarter," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 10 (2000): 39–42.

<sup>19</sup>On the FPP, see Marion Blocquet, "L'Imprimerie franciscaine de Jérusalem au service de la Terre Sainte (1846–1969)" (MA diss., Ecole nationales des chartes, 2019); Leyla Dakhli, "Men at Work: The Tipografia di Terra Santa, 1847–1930," in *Ordinary Jerusalem, 1840–1940: Opening New Archives, Revisiting a Global City*, eds. Angelos Dalachanis and Vincent Lemire (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 352–365; Maria Chiara Rioli, "Introducing Jerusalem: Visiting Cards, Advertisements and Urban Identities at the Turn of the 20th Century," in *Ordinary Jerusalem, 1840–1940: Opening New Archives, Revisiting a Global City*, eds. Angelos Dalachanis and Vincent Lemire (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 29–49.

text in Armenian with songs for the scouts (printed in 700 copies); a volume of *Esercizi di solfeggio e di canto corale* by Luigi Bottazzo and Oreste Ravanello, printed in 1943; religious sheet music from the 1950s and 1960s; Christmas and Easter greeting cards with hymns and sheets; children's songbooks; a songbook printed for the Fascist Working Men's Club; flyers with the Hebrew song "The New Hatikvah"; and the composition of the Jordanian national anthem dated 1965. Some sources refer to the "Archive of St Saviour's Chapel" but this archive is not included in the inventory. The absence of a specific fond on the music played in the Holy Sepulchre reinforces the hypothesis that a separate musical archive has yet to be identified. Franciscan musical activity also included a band in Bethlehem. The most important Franciscan musical group was the *schola cantorum* of the Holy Land, composed of friars, laity and orphan cantors from St Saviour's orphanage.<sup>20</sup>

In order to retrace the history of the *schola cantorum*, the second tome of the monumental Franciscan inventory mentions two musical sources that deserve deeper attention.<sup>21</sup> The first one, entitled "Cappella musicale di San Salvatore: Annotazioni, 1923–1945", is a manuscript notebook of 187 numbered pages, written by Lama, who played a pivotal role in liturgical music in Palestine in the twentieth century. Born on 28 August 1902 in Ramleh, he spent the period from 1908 to 1916 in the Franciscan Orphanage in St Saviour's, where he also attended an elementary school run by the Franciscans and was taught music by the friars.

The archives of the Franciscan Custody contain traces of Lama's childhood. In the card index of boys admitted to the orphanage from 1896 to 1931, his entry is number 107, and includes his dates of birth, baptism, confirmation and entry to the orphanage.<sup>22</sup> Following this information, a note informs that Lama was raised at the expense of the Latin Parish of Bethlehem. The assistant pastor of this parish, Fra Atanasio Nazlian, made "special

<sup>20</sup>Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri (BOA)/BEO/244–18233, Dosya 244, Gömlek 18233, İbrahim Hakki Pasha, Mutassarif of Jerusalem, to the Grand Vizierate, 8 July 1893. According to this document, the Latin community had two music bands, whose members were composed of elementary school students. They chanted music from the elementary school to 14 years old and each band consisted of 12 children, used mainly for liturgical events but also public performances.

<sup>21</sup>Andrea Maiarelli, ed., *L'Archivio storico della Custodia di Terra Santa, 1230–1970*, 3 vols. (Milan: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2012). The authors were able to fully digitise these sources thanks to the agreement between the ERC "Open Jerusalem. Opening Jerusalem Archives: For a Connected History of 'Citadinité' in the Holy City" project, directed by Vincent Lemire, and the Custody archives.

<sup>22</sup>Archivio storico della Custodia di Terra Santa (Historical Archive of the Custody of the Holy Land, ASCTS), Terra Sancta Boy's Orphanage, Orfani, Registri degli orfani, Schedario ragazzi entrati dal 1896 al 1931, "107. Agostino Besciara Lama di ignoti parenti, nato a Ramle di Palestina il giorno 28 Agosto 1902. Battezzato lo stesso giorno. Entrato il 16 Ottobre 1908." This information is confirmed by the card no. 386 in ASCTS, *ibid.*, Orfani, Schede personali, 52.

recommendations” to support Lama’s admission to the Terra Sancta boy’s orphanage.<sup>23</sup> This description, which highlights the favour the young Lama enjoyed, stands in contrast to some other descriptions that reported that the boy in question was “caciato” (kicked out) or “rimandato a casa” (sent home) because “ladro, cattivo e incorreggibile” (thief, bad and incorrigible) or that he ran away from the orphanage. As was the case with all orphans, Lama received a health check by a doctor upon entering the institution.<sup>24</sup> His name reappears in the registries containing the results of the orphans for each school year.<sup>25</sup>

Although the orphanage was closed during the First World War, the friars kept Lama in the convent because of his talent for music, especially the organ. Along with the guarantee of food and lodging, he also had the opportunity to attend private lessons, especially in music. From 1919 to 1923, he was a teacher. On 1 January 1920, the Custos, Ferdinando Diotallevi, appointed the eighteen-year old Lama as organist of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, a position he held until his death in 1988. As early as the early 1920s, the compositions of the young Lama, executed by the *schola cantorum*, were appreciated during the liturgies at the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>26</sup> In 1923 he also became director of the *schola* and of the Antonian Charitable Society band in St Saviour’s, and was active as a music teacher and choir conductor. Many of his choir compositions are still sung at St Saviour’s and in all Palestinian parishes.

As he states in the introduction of the “Annotazioni”, dated 6 November 1928, Lama, then director of St Saviour’s *schola*, copied and continued the notes written by his predecessors from 1923 to 1927.<sup>27</sup> The second source, entitled “Cronache orfanatrofio”, but not written by Lama, covers four decades, from 1929 to 1969.<sup>28</sup> While this is not a musical chronicle, music

<sup>23</sup>ASCTS, Terra Sancta Boy’s Orphanage, Orfani, Registri degli orfani, Schedario ragazzi entrati dal 1896 al 1931: “N.B. Questo bambino fu allevato a spese della Parrocchia latina di Betlemme e per mezzo del Vice Parroco Padre Atanasio Nazlian venne ammesso a quest’Orfanatrofio. Partito il 13 Agosto 1916. Rientrato nel Luglio 1917.”

<sup>24</sup>ASCTS, *ibid.*, Orfani, Schede personali, 52: “Je, soussigné, avoir examiné le nommé Augustin avoir trouvé en bonne santé. En foie de quoi, je lui ai délivré le présent certificat. Dr Emile Auad Le 15/X/1908.”

<sup>25</sup>ASCTS, Terra Sancta Boy’s Orphanage, Scuola, Registri delle valutazioni, 95–96. In the 1915–1916 schoolyear, the marks are reported per “studio” and “condotta” for every week, accompanied by a “numero di merito”, that is, the ranking of every pupils.

<sup>26</sup>“Abbiamo ammirato la bella composizione del Panis Angelicus fatta dal giovanetto A. Lama dell’Orfanatrofio dei PP. Francescani di Gerusalemme,” “Cronaca dei Santuari,” 24 March 1921, *Terra Santa* 1, no. 4 (15 April 1921): 62.

<sup>27</sup>ASCTS, Archivio della Curia Custodiale, Miscellanea, “Cappella musicale di San Salvatore. Annotazioni 1923–1945,” 6 November 1928, 1.

<sup>28</sup>ASCTS, Archivio della Curia Custodiale, Terra Sancta Boy’s Orphanage, “Cronache orfanatrofio.”

features prominently in its pages. The directors of St Saviour's orphanage kept notes on all musical activities involving the students.

In the first document, the notes were started by Fra Augusto Facchini in 1923 and continued by Fra Pacifico Del Vecchio (director of the musical chapel from July 1925 to January 1926) and Fra Francesco Triantafyllides (director from January 1926 to July 1927). The document comprises three different notebooks: according to Lama's aforementioned introduction, he decided to collate these notes in one book so as to make it easier to consult them. Lama specified that he copied Facchini's and Del Vecchio's notes "very scrupulously", while he made a selection of Triantafyllides's pages, refusing to add "discordant and unpleasant notes" to pages referring to "Melodies and Harmonies".<sup>29</sup>

Lama describes in detail the choir's activities: the liturgies it attended, repertoire and celebrants. All directors followed the same structure regarding notation: they report the date and the festivity, the location of the liturgy, the programme sung and offer some comments on the performance. Every chronicle is accompanied by critical remarks about the pieces and the performance of the cantors. The *schola cantorum* repertoire mainly included polyphonic pieces. Gregorian chant, unexpectedly, had a secondary role, and the "Annotazioni" was usually critical of performances of it. It often contains harsh criticisms of the execution. The directors lamented the absence of some friars from choir practice, their errors,<sup>30</sup> especially in the Gregorian chant, and their distraction during the liturgy.<sup>31</sup> The sense of decadence was amplified by other elements: the poor state of the organ of the Holy Sepulchre and the difficulty in finding a favourable position for the choir.<sup>32</sup>

In the notes of the directors of the musical chapel, the spiritual dimension of these liturgies was also affected by the conflicts and clashes with the other communities allowed to officiate in the Holy Sepulchre, particularly during the Holy Week and Easter ceremonies. The everyday coexistence among the choirs appeared problematic<sup>33</sup> and, at times, very conflictual.<sup>34</sup> The "musical clash" also left an impression on the pilgrims visiting the holy places, as evident in the pilgrimage account of the 25-year-old Angelo Roncalli (later Pope

<sup>29</sup>ASCTS, Archivio della Curia Custodiale, Miscellanea, "Cappella musicale di San Salvatore. Annotazioni 1923-1945," 6 November 1928.

<sup>30</sup>"È costume tra i frati di urlare," ASCTS, *ibid.*, 25 November 1925, 69.

<sup>31</sup>ASCTS, *ibid.*, 16 April 1924, 19.

<sup>32</sup>"Il posto da me scelto per disporre i cantori non sembra essere acusticamente felice. Il suono si sperdeva e le voci virili non davano risonanza alcuna," ASCTS, *ibid.*, 16 April 1924, 19.

<sup>33</sup>"L'esecuzione fu assai disturbata dal canto degli Armeni," ASCTS, *ibid.*, 5 April 1924, 17.

<sup>34</sup>"Fu tutta musica sciupata. I copti, terminato il nostro terzo giro intorno al S. Sepolcro, vollero impedire la popolazione latina di seguire la nostra processione, si venne alle mani, producendo una confusione e un baccano indiarvolato, che durò almeno per una buona mezz'ora, e disturbò orrendamente gli animi dei cantori e l'esecuzione musicale," ASCTS, *ibid.*, 19 April 1924, 23.

John XXIII) reporting the “nuisance” in hearing the voices able “to scare the dead” of Copt cantors over the “suavity and good taste” of the Franciscans.<sup>35</sup>

Lama provides a vivid representation of that “infernal cacophony”.<sup>36</sup> In 1928, he wrote that on Holy Friday (April 6) at the Holy Sepulchre “all is squalid [and] sad”, adding that “one day the Holy Sepulchre will lose all its splendour because of the Schismatics”.<sup>37</sup> These tensions did not involve confessional relations only; they were part of the historical problems of the Latin Catholic Church, and particularly the Patriarchate Custody, especially in celebrations involving Patriarch Luigi Barlassina.

Apart from these conflicts, the notes also report on the everyday strategies and tactics of mutual coexistence. During the 1930s, the restoration of the organ of the Holy Sepulchre risked sparking new tensions: on the day the new instrument was tested, the Franciscan Procurator sent a case of beer to the Armenians and Greeks in order to curry favour and to avoid clashes.<sup>38</sup>

### CONTROLLING AND PATRONISING ORPHANS THROUGH MUSIC

In the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries there were three orphanages within the Franciscan Custody: one in Jerusalem (for boys only) and two in Cairo, one for boys (run by the Franciscan Missionary Sisters) and the other for girls. The male orphanage in Jerusalem was founded in 1879 and situated within the walls of St Saviour’s. In the 1890s orphans and the St Saviour’s parish schoolboys were taught together, but the friars soon separated them. The 11th July 1927 earthquake forced the friars to reunite the orphans and the parish schoolboys in the same building for few years.<sup>39</sup> In the 1930s it the orphanage hosted about 80 boys, mainly from Catholic families. It was directed by a Franciscan friar, in coordination with other friars and lay members of the third order for supervision. The boys were

<sup>35</sup>“Combinazione volle che in quel mattino funzionassero nella basilica, e precisamente in contro a noi, i copti. Erano due preti in tutto, con quattro o cinque monelli, ma gridavano per cento, con certe voci da spaventare i morti. La nostra funzione procedeva quietamente: i buoni padri colla loro schola cantorum eseguivano una bella messa di Haller con molto garbo e buon gusto; ma coloro non tacevano. (...) Fu una vera seccatura.” Angelo Roncalli, *Viaggio in Terra Santa. 1906. Il diario di un “giornalista” diventato Papa* (Milan: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2016).

<sup>36</sup>“Campane, campanacci, ferri, legni, grida, canti, urlii, zagarit (grido di donne); tutto questo c’era; è abbastanza da mandar in visibilo i futuristi oppure gli autori di musica da Jazz band,” ASCTS, Archivio della Curia Custodiale, Miscellanea, “Cappella musicale di San Salvatore. Annotazioni 1923–1945,” 8 April 1927, 159. On Jerusalem’s “sound war”, see Olivier Tourny, “Silence divin, chant des hommes et cacophonie d’enfer: une promenade musicale à Jérusalem,” in *Jérusalem. Histoire, promenades, anthologie et dictionnaire*, ed. Tilla Rudel (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2018), 279–302.

<sup>37</sup>ASCTS, *ibid.*, 6 April 1928, 157.

<sup>38</sup>ASCTS, *ibid.*, Cronaca (Storia dell’Organo del S. Sepolcro), 184.

<sup>39</sup>The Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land, *Franciscan Schools of the Custody of the Holy Land: Together with Other Franciscan Schools in the Near East* (Jerusalem: St. Saviour’s Convent, 1933), 13.

divided into two sections: the first for boys under 14 years old and the second for boys aged 14–18, after which they had to leave the orphanage. The education of the orphans was focused on religion and the study of languages, particularly Italian, French and English. The programmes included the basics of music and singing and, for selected students, a special music class in which the orphans were taught the art of singing at a higher level and learned to play an instrument. The most promising students were provided with instruments and books and were followed by a teacher. Some organists were trained and the orphanage provided the *schola cantorum* with sopranos and contraltos for everyday liturgical service. The young choristers and altar boys participated in the friar's daily procession to the Holy Sepulchre and sung the *Te Deum* as pilgrims were entering.

Boys over 14 years old were sent to train in workshops for tailoring, cobbling and typography at St Saviour's. Upon reaching 18, the orphans could leave the compound or stay to work in these workshops run by the friars. Alumni could spend an "honest recess" in the evening in a club in the school.<sup>40</sup> This entertainment was accompanied by a performance of St Saviour's Antonian band, which was composed of alumni.

As reported in the orphanage chronicles—initiated by the director, Fra Fulgenzio Pasini, on 28th May 1929—the institution had no precise regulations nor had it specific admission criteria for orphans.<sup>41</sup> Italian was the *lingua franca* within the school, as throughout the Custody.<sup>42</sup> The director was appointed by the Custos. The teachers were both friars and laymen. The orphanage, which closed in 2004, was based in the building that today hosts the Custody curia. Its archive, composed of documents in Arabic, English and Italian, has since been deposited in the historical archives of the Custody.

The *schola cantorum* was composed of friars and of students of the Franciscan male schools and Jerusalem's male orphanage. Around 22 boys served daily in the choir, reaching 30 for the sung masses in St Saviour's parish. Only men and boys were allowed to sing during the liturgy. The only reference in this source to female students singing is from 15 July 1927, the day of Holy Sepulchre feast during the celebrations of the Franciscan centennial, when, despite the damages sustained by the Basilica due to the earthquake four days before,<sup>43</sup> hundreds of male and female students of the

<sup>40</sup> *La Custodia francescana di Terra Santa 1217–1933* (Jerusalem: Tipografia di Terra Santa, 1933), 95.

<sup>41</sup> ASCTS, Archivio della Curia Custodiale, Terra Sancta Boy's Orphanage, "Cronache orfanatrofio," 11.

<sup>42</sup> "Tra i Sorveglianti (...) nel tempo delle ricreazioni proibito affatto il linguaggio arabo" (ASCTS, *ibid.*, 12, underlined in original).

<sup>43</sup> Raymond Cohen, *Saving the Holy Sepulchre: How Rival Christians Came Together to Rescue Their Holiest Shrine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1–12.



Catholic schools in the Holy Land sung the *Missa de Angelis* together in the basilica.<sup>44</sup>

St Saviour's *schola cantorum* was not a professional choir: singing was part of the duty or training of its members. Although the performances by the cantors were often criticised by the director, the judgements on the orphans and the alumni were much more positive and encouraging. The boys were described as "exact and sure" in their way of singing, their voices highly praised and their commitment the object of special attention. The liturgical service was demanding, requiring a daily presence at the Holy Sepulchre and frequent participation in St Saviour's celebrations. In addition to the liturgies were daily practices: "To have good executions, at least three weeks of last rehearsals are required, otherwise fiasco",<sup>45</sup> noted Fra Triantafillides in 1926. For special festivities, the choir's performances in St Saviour's were accompanied by the orchestra.<sup>46</sup>

The orphan members of the chapel were gradually separated from the others: in consideration of their commitment, the orphan cantors were allowed to leave the compound. And the schola's activities were not limited to the Holy Sepulchre and St Saviour's parish liturgies; the choir was involved in all the major celebrations of the Franciscan Custody and of its churches and sanctuaries, not only in Palestine but also in Damascus and Aleppo, which meant that some of the orphans travelled widely.

Franciscan musical activity was also disseminated via radio. In January 1936 *Filastin* reported that an agreement had been reached between the Franciscan friars and the Palestine Broadcasting Service (PBS) to broadcast the music played by the Antonian band in the Arabic section of the programme through the new transmitter in Ramallah that was scheduled to begin operation in March 1936.<sup>47</sup> The "Annotazioni" also reports that in

<sup>44</sup>"Per commemorare il Centenario Francese nel S. Sepolcro si è voluto solennizzare la festa d'oggi col Pontificale di Mgr. Patriarca. Non vi fu musica polifonica, ma allievi e allieve di quasi tutte le scuole cattoliche di Gerusalemme cantarono la Messa degli Angeli rispondendo al Coro dei Religiosi. [...] C'era[no] i due orfanotrofi di Terra Santa, le due scuole parrocchiali, gli orfanotrofi delle Suore di Carità, la scuola "Arti e mestieri" dei PP. di Ratisbonne, il noviziato dei Frères (Betlemme), la scuola delle Salesiane, il Collegio delle Suore di Sion (queste suore si curano molto del C[anto] greg[oriano]), i laboratori delle Suore Francescane Miss[ionarie] d'Egitto, e delle Suore Francescane Miss[ionarie] di Maria". ASCTS, Archivio della Curia Custodiale, Miscellanea, "Cappella musicale di San Salvatore. Annotazioni 1923–1945," 15 July 1927, 132.

<sup>45</sup>ASCTS, *ibid.*, 26 March 1926, 78, underlined in original.

<sup>46</sup>ASCTS, *ibid.*, 1 January 1926, 76: "Il primo dell'anno è stato celebrato con grande solennità dalla Schola Cantorum di San Salvatore. (...) Tutto eseguito con l'Orchestra che ha dato un risalto stupendo alla musica. Cantavano in maggioranza i giovani ex-allievi."

<sup>47</sup>*Filastin*, 19 January 1936, 10. The relationship between the Catholic Church and the PBS was not linear. In 1946 the Latin Patriarch, Luigi Barlassina, protested to the Mandate authorities over their request to use the Anglican version of the Bible in the Christian radio programmes and to submit the texts of sermons to the censor. See Israel State Archives (ISA), 361/33/2, Barlassina to the High Commissioner for Palestine, Alan Cunningham, letter no. 395, Jerusalem, 7 May 1946, and Andrea Stanton, "*This Is Jerusalem Calling*": *State Radio in Mandate Palestine* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013), 162.

1935 Radio London, in programmes transmitted in Europe and the United States, and in the following year Radio Jerusalem began to broadcast the liturgies sang by the schola, particularly during Holy Week, Easter, Pentecost and Christmas, from the Holy Sepulchre, Gethsemane and Bethlehem.<sup>48</sup>

The choir also accompanied cinematographic projections: at the end of May 1930, it sung in a hall of the Terra Santa College during the silent movie *Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ*.<sup>49</sup> Soon afterwards the Custos forbade them to participate in such events, with the exception of the screening—organised by the Italian Consulate of Jerusalem—of the movie celebrating the signing of the Lateran Treaty in 1929 between the Fascist regime and the Holy See.<sup>50</sup>

This attention paid to the orphan cantors was accompanied by a system of control by religious and lay probation officers. The cantors were not allowed to speak in Arabic during the recess.<sup>51</sup> Each year, during the Easter vacations, the cantors, divided in groups (friars, laymen and boys), organised a trip called the “scampagnata”, offered by the Custody as a reward for their services. Likewise, a ten-day paid vacation was offered to some of them, suggesting a regime of strict rules and occasional rewards.

<sup>48</sup>“Nel Natale del 1935, dietro richiesta del Governo Americano, la Schola cantò l’Adeste Fideles per essere trasmesso per mezzo della Radio di Londra in America. Nel 1936 il Governo Inglese inaugurò la Radio di Gerusalemme ed a Natale del medesimo anno si trasmise il Kyrie ed il Gloria della Messa di Mezzanotte che fu poi sempre fatto, però dal 1938 si cominciò a trasmettere tutta la Messa terminando con una strofa dell’Adeste. Il giorno di S. Stefano nel 1937 si fece un programma speciale di 15 minuti nella Chiesa di S. Caterina per essere trasmesso in Inghilterra per mezzo della Radio di Londra. Ci pagarono 20 Lire sterline. Pure nel 1937 nel giorno di Pasqua si trasmise la Messa dal S. Sepolcro, che poi non si ripeté più, perché il Governo chiuse la Basilica ai fedeli, pretestando il pericolo dell’edificio ed i restauri. Anche noi non ci tenevamo molto a questa trasmissione perché non si può sempre fare buona musica a Pasqua. Per questa ragione nel 1940 ho chiesto dalla Radio di Gerusalemme di trasmettere la Messa di Pentecoste da S. Salvatore, il ché fu accettato e finora sempre si fece con grande effetto. Pure si trasmette l’Ora Santa il Giovedì Santo da Getsemani quando non ci sono impedimenti di programma appartenenti alla Radio” (ASCTS, Archivio della Curia Custodiale, Miscellanea, “Cappella musicale di San Salvatore. Annotazioni 1923–1945,” 175). This part of the manuscript (“Cronaca brevissima di fatti avvenuti tra 1928–1942”), comprising two-and-a-half pages, was written in 1942.

<sup>49</sup>ASCTS, Archivio della Curia Custodiale, Terra Sancta Boy’s Orphanage, “Cronache orfanatrofio,” 2 June 1930, 47–49.

<sup>50</sup>ASCTS, *ibid.*, 31 December 1930, 65–66. For the philo-Fascist propaganda by the Italian Consulate of Jerusalem see Roberto Mazza’s chapter in this volume, PAGESXXX.

<sup>51</sup>ASCTS, Archivio della Curia Custodiale, Miscellanea, “Cappella musicale di San Salvatore. Annotazioni 1923–1945,” April 1928, 162. As explicitly stated by Lama: “Alcuni non vorrebbero avere dei riguardi speciali per loro [i ragazzi], perché, dicono, sono allevati e nutriti nell’Orfanotrofio; ma ciò non vale, perché nell’Orfanotrofio ci sono 60 fanciulli e non tutti cantano; allora è giusto distinguere chi fatica di più chi di meno; e poi i ragazzi cantori per tutto l’anno prestano servizio quotidianamente al S. Sepolcro e quasi quotidianamente a S. Salvatore, senza contare prove e feste ecc. Ecc. Dunque bisogna cercare tutti i mezzi per incoraggiarli.”

## A MUSICO-POLITICAL AGENDA

The orphans and their choir did not only sing liturgical music. The music performed by the Jerusalem and Bethlehem bands marked feasts and entertainment within the convents but also in public spaces. Politics entered the Custody walls: the musical activity of the orphan and alumni cantors also included singing at performances organised for political events. In 1925 during the journey to Palestine of the former British Prime Minister Herbert Henry Asquith, who was accompanied by Herbert Samuel, High Commissioner for Palestine, the Franciscan band played the British national anthem.<sup>52</sup> The orphans also sang a hymn in Arabic composed by Lama in the presence of King Abdullah of Jordan during his visit to Jerusalem on 11 April 1935.<sup>53</sup>

The increasing alignment of the Custody with the Fascist regime also influenced musical life. The chronicle mentions the song “I crociati balilla” together with other popular Italian songs performed by the schola.<sup>54</sup> The Fascist regime devoted considerable attention to Palestine, aiming to increase Italian influence in the Levant. Benito Mussolini, who promoted a revival of the cult of St Francis as an “Italian saint”,<sup>55</sup> called on the Franciscan minor order to increase the number of Italian friars sent to the Holy Land, although this pressure did not produce the results anticipated by the Prime Minister.

In this diplomatic strategy, Mussolini found an ally in Victor Emmanuel III, who intended to reinforce and legitimate his family’s claims to titles such as King of Cyprus and Jerusalem. The Italian Consul in Jerusalem proposed to Mussolini a pilgrimage by the crown prince, Umberto.<sup>56</sup> The king encouraged this idea and the pilgrimage took place during the 1928 Holy Week and Easter celebrations (1–9 April). In the celebrations organised during this journey, the choir took centre stage.<sup>57</sup> The orphans were educated to be

<sup>52</sup>“Cronaca palestinese,” *Terra Santa* 4, no. 12 (15 December 1924): 302–303.

<sup>53</sup>ASCTS, Archivio della Curia Custodiale, Terra Sancta Boy’s Orphanage, “Cronache orfanatrofio,” 11 April 1935, unnumbered page.

<sup>54</sup>ASCTS, *ibid.*, March 1931, 23: 70.

<sup>55</sup>Tommaso Caliò and Roberto Rusconi, eds., *San Francesco d’Italia: Santità e identità nazionale* (Rome: Viella, 2011).

<sup>56</sup>ASDMAEI, Affari Politici (1919–1930), Palestina, 1460, 6315, 1988/163, Pedrazzi to Mussolini, Gerusalemme, 2 September 1927, quoted by Paolo Pieraccini, “La diocesi patriarcale latina di Gerusalemme, la Santa Sede e le grandi potenze. Dalla caduta dell’impero ottomano alla seconda guerra mondiale (1917–1939)” (PhD diss., University of Florence, 2009), 276.

<sup>57</sup>The director also reports on the competition between the different religious musical bands during this pilgrimage. Commenting on the entry of the prince to Jerusalem for Palm Sunday (1 April), Lama wrote: “tutto andò bene, e sarebbe andato meglio se non fossimo stati disturbati dalla Banda dei PP. Salesiani di Betlemme, che invece a concorrere a rendere più solenne la Processione, le fece sembrare un po’ al “Nebi Musa” dei Mussulmani oppure alle Processioni degli Scismatici dove non regna che la confusione” (ASCTS, Archivio della Curia Custodiale, Miscellanea, “Cappella musicale di San Salvatore. Annotazioni 1923–1945,” 1 April 1928, 151).

loyal to the Savoy monarchy: after the death of Queen Margherita (4 January 1926), a mass was celebrated in her memory in the presence of General Consul Antonio Gattieri and the vice-consul of Haifa, Giordani: during this liturgy the choir sang Lorenzo Perosi's requiem mass for three male voices.

On 11 November 1929, the king's birthday, the consul sent a gift—some sweets (“un cartoccio di bomboni”)—to every orphan. On the same day, 12 cantors sang the Gregorian chant during a solemn mass in honour of Victor Emmanuel. The notes report that the orphans sent a “little letter” thanking the consul. In December 1930, for the celebrations of New Year's Eve, the orphans had to read a poem in Italian.<sup>58</sup>

The late 1920s and early 1930s were marked by the conflict between the Latin Patriarchate and the British authorities over the education bill in Mandate Palestine, a first draft of which was presented in 1928, then promulgated in 1933 as the Education Ordinance. Patriarch Barlassina, who was very active on the educational front,<sup>59</sup> resisted any form of control by the British government over Catholic schools, especially the patriarchal ones (which comprised 24 schools with around 800 pupils, mainly from Catholic families).<sup>60</sup>

At the end of the 1920s, the Palestinian situation was also changing. The 1929 riots and later the outbreak of the Arab revolt in 1936 profoundly affected the organisation of the Custody schools. The orphanage classes were interrupted from May to early October and from 1936 to 1938 the choir was not allowed to go to Mount Tabor to chant at liturgies.<sup>61</sup>

At the same time, Lama's growing fame in Palestine was used by the Custody in order to increase its reputation in the eyes of the Holy See and the Fascist government, which involved “Italianising” the figure of the Arab teacher. In 1935 Custos Nazzareno Jacopozzi requested the Holy See, through the Apostolic Delegate of Palestine, Gustavo Testa, to confer a decoration—the Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice cross<sup>62</sup>—on Lama as “reward and encouragement” for his activities as composer, organist and director of the *schola cantorum*.<sup>63</sup> Instead of the Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice, Mgr. Alfredo

<sup>58</sup>ASCTS, Archivio della Curia Custodiale, Terra Sancta Boy's Orphanage, “Cronache orfanatrofio,” 31 December 1930, 65–66.

<sup>59</sup>Luigi Barlassina was also the promoter of the—very short—experience of the Palestinian Patriarchal University, established in 1923, whose music classes were attended by around 100 students.

<sup>60</sup>British National Archives (BNA), CO 733/222/1, CO 733/262/1, CO 733/146/7 and FO 371/13750; Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri italiano (ASDMAEI), Archivio del Consolato italiano a Gerusalemme, 26, 143, and 54, 424.

<sup>61</sup>From 1938 to 1954 no annotations are reported.

<sup>62</sup>This award was established by Leo XIII in 1888 with the apostolic letter *Quod singulari Dei concessu* for men and women, laity and clergy, for distinguished special service to the church. *Acta Sanctae Sedis* 21 (1888): 65–67.

<sup>63</sup>“Come compositore egli ha saputo unire alla rigidità del classicismo un che di geniale, che, niente togliendo alla serietà delle forme, pervade la composizione di un caratteristico senso di unzione. Come organista e come direttore della Schola Cantorum di Terra Santa egli

Ottaviani awarded Lama the Benemerenti medal in October 1935.<sup>64</sup> Two years later, in 1937, Jacopozzi's request for another decoration for Lama, this time from the Italian government, was refused by the Italian consul, Quinto Mazzolini.<sup>65</sup>

### LAMA: FROM CECILIANISM TO THE NAKBA

In the "Annotazioni", references to Palestinian music in Arabic are very limited: the liturgical music was mainly chosen from the Gregorian repertoire. On Holy Friday in 1924, the choir was reported to have sung the *'adbka al-salam*, to the popular theme of *Vexilla regis*.<sup>66</sup> In 1928 Lama noted that "We must also remember to have a song in Arabic in honour of the Madonna that can be sung at the end of the various ceremonies, so as to contribute to making the feast more solemn by making the people sing it too".<sup>67</sup> He was also the author of devotional music and songs in Arabic.<sup>68</sup> The FPP catalogue attests to the publication of manuals of popular and spiritual Arab songs, and the abovementioned article from *Filastin* reported that the music played by the Antonian Charitable Society band and broadcast by the PBS was in Arabic.

This was a highly significant period for Arab music. In March–April 1932 the Cairo Congress of Arab Music gathered Arab, Jewish, Turkish, Persian and European musicians and musicologists.<sup>69</sup> During this event, opened by King Fu'ad, the discussions and complex exchange shaped and standardised the category of "Arab music", in a debate around "tradition" and "modernity" that influenced subsequent cultural policies in the Middle East and its

è apprezzatissimo; e con le sue esecuzioni, che potremmo dire perfette, aumenta grandemente il decoro delle sacre funzioni che si celebrano nei Santuari di Nostra Redenzione" (Archivio Apostolico Vaticano [AAV], Archivio della Delegazione apostolica in Gerusalemme e Palestina, 8, 36, 2, Jacopozzi to Testa, Jerusalem, 22 July 1935, ff. 17–18).

<sup>64</sup>AAV *ibid.* 8, 36, 2, Ottaviani to Testa, Vatican, 4 October 1835, f. 20. The Benemerenti medal was first awarded by Pius VI (1775–1799).

<sup>65</sup>ASDMAEI, Consolato italiano a Gerusalemme, 50, 370, c. Lama's curriculum, contained in a letter by Jacopozzi, dated 6 April 1937, received the handwritten remark from Mazzolini "non è il caso" (it's not opportune).

<sup>66</sup>ASCTS, Cappella musicale di San Salvatore. Annotazioni 1923–1945, 18 April 1924, 23.

<sup>67</sup>ASCTS, Cappella musicale di San Salvatore. Annotazioni 1923–1945, 1 July 1928, 169. "Bisogna ricordarsi di portare anche un canto in arabo in onore della Madonna per cantarlo in fine delle diverse funzioni, così si concorre a rendere più solenne la festa facendo cantare anche il popolo."

<sup>68</sup>See Lama's songs for St Anthony's cult in ASCTS, Archivi delle parrocchie, Ain Karem, Carteggio, "Cantos en arabe," 8.

<sup>69</sup>Jean Lambert and Pascal Cordereix, eds., *Congrès de musique arabe du Caire: The Cairo Congress of Arab Music*, orig. text by Bernard Moussali, music restoration by Luc Verrie, 18 CDs (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2015).

relations with European countries. The conference, in which some Palestinian musicians and composers participated, was a seminal event that has shaped music education, scholarship and cultural policy in Arab countries ever since.

No trace of this event is to be found in the “Annotazioni”. The repertoire listed in the “Annotazioni” provides information not only about what was chanted and played but also how the choir and organ were expected to perform and, implicitly (as the liturgical service was one of the main objectives of the music schools), how the choirboys were trained, as well as the theological and aesthetic ideals according to which the pieces were selected. The “Annotazioni” carefully records the musical programmes of the most important liturgical celebrations. Among the most recurrent musical pieces, the choir sung an *Introito* by Angelo Fabiani (1868–1938); *Kyrie* and *Gloria* from the *Messa a tre voci d'uomo* by Lorenzo Perosi (1872–1956); a four-voice graduale (*Christus factus est*) by Felice Anerio (1560–1614); *Credo* from the *Missa Papae Marcelli* by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525–1594); *Offertorio* and *Communio* by Ignaz Mitterer (1850–1924); *Sanctus*, *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei* from the *Missa O quam gloriosum* by Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548–1611). This programme is representative of the fundamental criteria on which the repertoire of the Schola was selected: the best-known musicians of the sixteenth-century Roman School alternate with contemporary composers engaged in the refoundation of liturgical music on the basis of church tradition. Almost all of the choir’s performances follow this model.

One of Lama’s main intentions in collecting and continuing the chronicles of the Schola’s liturgical performances was not only to select the most suitable pieces for each celebration but also to establish a canon of authors and musical styles. This aesthetic standard was clearly shaped on the ideals of the Cecilian movement.<sup>70</sup> This movement, developed in Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century, promoted a reform in Catholic Church music, with the aim of defining the features of liturgical music according to church teaching and to acquaint church musicians (choirmasters, choristers and organists) with the official instructions on sacred music. The movement sought to counter the influence of the operatic style on liturgical music, in an attempt to restore, with the return to plainchant and Renaissance polyphony, a supposedly decayed tradition.

The Cecilian programme was motivated not only by aesthetic purposes but also by pastoral concerns. Through the rediscovery of Gregorian chant and the

<sup>70</sup>For more on Cecilianism, see Eckhard Jaschinski, “The Renewal of Catholic Church Musica in Germany/Austria, France and Italy in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Renewal and Resistance: Catholic Church Music from the 1850s to Vatican II*, ed. Paul Collins (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 13–28; Anthony Ruff, *Sacred Music and Liturgical Reform: Treasures and Transformations* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 2007); Mauro Casadei Turroni Monti and Cesarino Ruini, eds., *Aspetti del cecilianesimo nella cultura musicale italiana dell'Ottocento* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2004); Siegfried Gmeinwieser, “Cecilian Movement,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 5, eds. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 333–334.

emphasis on musical training according to tradition, the Cecilians sought a restoration of church authority, pursuing the aims of the First Vatican Council. In their view, sacred music had to be subject to the purposes of the liturgy, through the adoption of a simpler harmonic and melodic language. This reform movement was embraced and supported by the papacy and particularly by Pope Pius X, who, in his *motu proprio Inter plurimas pastoralis officii sollicitudines*,<sup>71</sup> published significantly on St Cecilia's feast day (22 November) in 1903, endorsed the Cecilians' aims. This document on sacred music gave a strong impulse to musical training and the birth of the parochial *scholae cantorum*.

From the end of the nineteenth century, the directors of Custody's *schola cantorum* were strongly aligned with the Cecilian movement. The Franciscan Hartmann von An der Lan-Hochbrunn (1863–1914), better known as Pater Hartmann, a well-known composer of sacred music, friend of Perosi and leading exponent of Cecilianism, held the post of organist in the Church of St Saviour and in the Holy Sepulchre from 1893 to 1895. According to Hartmann, the primary purpose of sacred music had to be the promotion of religious devotion in the congregation and this would be achieved through the adoption of a simpler and more sober musical language.<sup>72</sup> His successor in the church, Fra Agostino Frapiccini, was a student of Antonio Cicognani (1857–1934), who was deeply influenced by the Regensburg school of church music, one of the main European institutions that promoted Cecilian ideals. He was also the author of the music of the “Hymn of the Holy Land”.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, the “Annotazioni” records that Fra Ilarione Nacuzi, *sorvegliante* in the orphanage for about 30 years, was one of the friars most involved in the reception of Pius X's *motu proprio*.

As his musical choices as choir director and composer testify, Lama was trained in a musical environment, that of the Franciscan Custody, that was deeply influenced by Cecilian values, and he too contributed to their promotion. Thus, if the basis of musical teaching in the Franciscan school and orphanages can be placed within the Western classical musical tradition, this was mediated by the theological and aesthetic values of the Cecilian movement. The Christian listening community of the Franciscan Custody was built according to these values. The music sung and played during the liturgies was meant to be the sound in which the local Arab Christian community and pilgrims could recognise and distinguish themselves, in an interfaith context, as part of the Catholic Church in the Holy Land.

Lama's musical output is mainly composed of vocal and instrumental (organist) music for the liturgy. Today his scores are mainly in the Franciscan

<sup>71</sup> *Acta Sanctae Sedis* 36 (1903–1904): 387–395.

<sup>72</sup> Hildegard Herrmann-Schneider, “P. Hartmann Von Der Lan-Hochbrunn OFM (1863–1914): A Tyrolean Franciscan as a Musical Cosmopolitan and Phenomenon in Music History,” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 62, no. 3 (2015): 222–237.

<sup>73</sup> Roberto Razzoli and Agostino Frapiccini, *L'inno di Terra Santa* (Jerusalem: Tipografia di Terra Santa, 1907).

Custody archive and in the private collection of the Lama family. Among them, the *Prayer* is a small piece for solo baritone with organ accompaniment. It was composed as “a humble souvenir to the honourable members of the UNSCOP” (United Nations Special Committee on Palestine). The score was printed in a leaflet format (probably in 100 copies), dated 13 June 1947—while the members of UNSCOP were arriving in Palestine, and given to the audience. The title page is in itself an explicit declaration of political intentions. It describes the author as an “Arab Palestinian” and that he is the organist of the Holy Sepulchre. At the bottom of the page, the text of the piece, given in three languages, English, French and Arabic, surrounds an image of Jerusalem in which the dome of the Holy Sepulchre is clearly visible. The text consists of two biblical verses taken from Psalm 18:6/2 Samuel 22:7 and Ecclesiasticus 36:13: “In my distress, I called upon the Lord, and cried unto my God / Be merciful, o Lord, unto Jerusalem, Thy holy city, the place of Thy rest”. The piece, in B flat minor, is in the form of a recitative and arioso. The three-bar recitative, based on the words of Psalm 18:6 and 2 Samuel 22:7, is based on the harsh sonority of the seventh diminished chord and serves as an introduction. The arioso that follows can be divided into three sections, with a concentric ABA’ structure. In the sections A and A’ the invocation “Be merciful, o Lord, unto Jerusalem” is repeated through a simple melodic idea imitated by the organ, while in the central part B the words “Thy holy city, the place of thy rest” are accompanied by dense chromatic harmonies. The dedication of this song to Jerusalem may echo the hymn “Jerusalem”, whose music was written in 1916 using “And did those feet in ancient time”, William Blake’s preface to his poem “Milton”. Composed by Sir Hubert Parry as an anthem for the suffragette movement, it became extremely popular and in some ways acted as a British claim to Palestine, with no other comparable example with such political implications in Europe.<sup>74</sup>

According to documents collected in the recently released Pius XII’s papers in the archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches and the memories of Lama’s eldest son, Tony, after the outbreak of the 1948 war, the family took refuge in St Louis’ Hospital, which was adjacent to Notre-Dame de France, near the New Gate.<sup>75</sup> After the assault by the Haganah, the family was split and Agostino was transferred to a camp. After he was released through the efforts of the French Consulate a few months later, he took refuge in St Saviour’s.

During these dramatic months, probably in November 1948, Lama composed the *Postlude*. The postlude is, by definition, an instrumental piece performed at the end of a liturgy or a celebration, after the concluding rite and during the exit of the congregation from the church. This composition is

<sup>74</sup>Philip V. Bohlman and Ruth F. Davis, “Mizrakh, Jewish Music and the Journey to the East,” in *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1780s–1940s: Portrayal of the East*, eds. Bennett Zon and Martin Clayton (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 95–125 and esp. 99–100.

<sup>75</sup>See Archive of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, Latini, Palestina e Transgiordania: affari generali, 457/48, 2, doc. 112, Jerusalem, 25 August 1948.



based on the plainchant of the *Ite, missa est IV* and can be inscribed in the nineteenth-century tradition of the organ postlude. As for many other examples of this musical genre, the beginning of Lama's postlude takes the form of a fugue: the incipit of the theme is imitated through the voices shaping the polyphonic texture of the piece. The character of this first part is flowing, harmonious, but the musical discourse is interrupted by a sharp and dramatic augmented sixth chord, which suddenly leads to a choral restatement of the theme, which is accompanied by a fanfare-like rhythm that gives to the plainchant the nature of a march echoing the ongoing war.

### REVERBERATING AROUND A CHANGING CITY

The events of 1948 had harsh impacts on the professional careers and personal trajectories of Palestinian musicians, forcing many of them to emigrate.<sup>76</sup> The consequences of the war for Palestine would not only be echoed in Lama's *Postlude*. After the 1967 war, Salvador Arnita composed the "Cantata", based on the text of Mahmoud Darwish's poem *Bitaaqat Hawiyyah* (*Identity card*).<sup>77</sup>

From 1948 to 1967, when the Old City—and therefore St Saviour's compound—was under Jordanian control, Lama expressed his loyalty to King Hussein, composing music for the monarchy, in a phase in which most Palestinian Catholics did not support the Jordanian annexation of Jerusalem and the West Bank, as demonstrated some years before by the participation of Fr Ibrahim Ayyad in the conspiracy to murder King Abdullah. However, the post-1948 history of the cultural policy of the Franciscan Custody towards Israel and Jordan, including its musical engagement, remains worthy of further study.

Looking back at the late Ottoman and Mandate period, in the St Saviour's microcosmos, music was a tool for the friars to maintain and strengthen the internal dynamics of patronage and control over the orphans, students and artisans in the workshops. At the same time, music was a powerful way to elaborate the Custody's public presence, to assist in developing its relationships with the local authorities and foreign representatives, as well as in differentiating itself from other Christian confessions, but also in inhabiting, through public performances, the sound spaces of a *citadinité* in transformation, as during the Mandate period.

Lama's itinerary, from orphan to master, highlights some elements of the history of the Franciscan educational system. His example demonstrates the growing importance of the Palestinian laity within the Custody, and, at the same, the efforts of the friars to Westernise and, more particularly, Italianise (and therefore

<sup>76</sup>Nader Jalal and Issa Boulos, "A *Musical Catastrophe*: The Direct Impact of the Nakba on Palestinian Musicians and Musical Life. Nader Jalal and Issa Boulos interviewed by Heather Bursheh," in *Palestinian Music and Song: Expression and Resistance Since 1900*, eds. Moslih Kanaaneh et al. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 37–52.

<sup>77</sup>"Identity Card: Arnita's First Cantata in Arabic," *Al-Kulliyah* (Autum 1971): 7–9.



Fig. 1 St Saviour *schola cantorum*, 1925–1934, ASCTS

use the figure of Lama in the internal disputes between the various national components of the Custody), as demonstrated by the requests for honours to the Holy See and the Fascist government, and by sending the most promising Palestinian music students to study in the Conservatory of Santa Cecilia in Italy.<sup>78</sup> In a multilingual institution like the Custody,<sup>79</sup> music was an alternative language to promote and, at the same time, to control circles, actors and rules.

In a period that saw the progressive separation of religious communities, music broke through, in some ways, the sectarianism imposed by the authorities, although it offered in parallel a means to perform the increasing political and social conflicts within the city and beyond. In Jerusalem, religious music was also “city music”, reverberating in its streets and neighbourhoods but also delivering an echo of the international politics pursued by the Franciscan Custody, thus contributing to the shaping of its complexity (Figs. 1, 2 and 3).

<sup>78</sup>Exploratory research in the archival fonds of Casella gathered in the Fondazione Cini archives in Venice revealed no correspondence with Arnita and Khasho. The temporary closure of the historical archives of the Santa Cecilia Conservatory in Rome represents an obstacle to the study of Arnita’s and Khasho’s formative years and their relationship with Casella and Germani.

<sup>79</sup>See Leyla Dakhli, “Between Local Power and Global Politics: Playing with Languages in the Franciscan Printing Press of Jerusalem”, in *Arabic and its Alternatives: Religious Minorities and their Languages in the Emerging Nation States of the Middle East (1920–1950)*, eds. Heleen Murre-van den Berg, Karène Sanchez Summerer and Tijmen Baarda (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 287–302.



**Fig. 2** Latin Patriarchal band, undated, Archive of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem/Archive of the Ecole biblique et archéologique française



**Fig. 3** Madaba Patriarchal band, 1931, Archive of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem/Archive of the Ecole biblique et archéologique française

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