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LAMENTS OF LEBANON

Recorded and Collected with Notes by Ali Jihad Racy



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SIDE 1

Band 1.	Nadb for an adult male.
Band 2.	Hida for a deceased young man.
Band 3.	Nadb for a deceased girl.
Band 4.	Tabnin (lullaby) for a deceased young girl.
Band 5.	Fragiyyat for a young woman.
Band 6.	Nadb bemoaning ill-fate.
Band 7.	Nadb for an older man.
Band 8.	Qasidah for an eminent woman.
	Nadb for a deceased boy.

SIDE 2

	Nadb for an old man.
Band 2.	Fraqiyyat for an old man.
Band 3.	Nadb medley for an old man.
Band 4.	Skaba and fraqiyyat for an old man.
	Nadb for an old man.
Band 6.	Funeral march by a village brass band.
Band 7.	A Near Eastern march.
Band 8.	Marching music.

Funeral-singing traditions of the Near East date from remote pre-Islamic antiquity. Lebanese funeral laments, collectively known as *nadb*, continue to exist as a secular practice using folk melodies and poems in colloquial Arabic. They are prevalent in the rural areas, especially in Druze and Christian villages. *Laments of Lebanon* offers a rare opportunity to hear this little explored repertoire. The selections feature funeral laments recorded in different locations in Lebanon during the years 1965, 1968, and 1970. Included here are performances by female lament-specialists and male poet-singers, as well as examples of brass-band music customarily played at Lebanese funerals.

Record Jacket Photograph: A memorial service in the town of 'Ibadiyyah for a young druze fighter who died in Southern Lebanon in 1978.

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DESCRIPTIVE NOTES ARE INSIDE POCKET

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FUNERAL LAMENTS OF LEBANON

Recording and Notes by Ali Jihad Racy



A funeral procession in the town of B'aqlin in the Shuf area. Men singing are shown in the middle of the photograph.

Funeral-singing traditions of the Near East date from remote pre-Islamic antiquity. The authoritative Islamic book, *al-Haditb*, disapproved of female dirge singers and presented strictures against wailing at funerals. In Lebanon today, funeral singing – or *nadb* – continues to thrive as a secular tradition, using folk melodies and poems in colloquial Lebanese Arabic. The practice is particularly prevalent among Christians and Druzes. The Druze religion emerged as an offshoot of Shiite Islam during the eleventh century. Today's Druzes constitute a coherent society which retains many of the traditions and ethical values of nomadic Arabia.

The Performers

Funeral poetry-singing is performed by male or female *nadb* leaders, usually with a chorus of a dozen or more, whose members team up spontaneously at the time of the performance. The *naddabab*, or female funeral-song leader, is a specialized artist, confining her work largely to funeral services, particularly to the women-only indoor performances. She is paid for her services, often by donation from the deceased's family.

The *naddab* is the male leader of songs. His role is broader and more visible, extending well beyond the funeral setting. He may perform at weddings, banquets, political rallies, and public poetry-duels. Known also as *qawwal* ("one who speaks") or *sha'ir* ("poet"), a male funeral-song leader is also envisaged as a poet in the Lebanese tradition of *zajal*, or folk poetry. Today some of these poets are celebrated radio and television artists. They may charge a fixed fee for their services at a funeral, and their presence adds considerable prestige to the occasion.

The Performance

In Lebanese villages, attendance at a funeral is a moral duty. This major social event serves many functions, offering the opportunity both to honor the deceased and console the bereaved. Further, it is a time when the congregated mourners reflect deeply on destiny and human life.

Soon after death occurs, women dressed in black hasten to the deceased's home, which is the customary location of the funeral. They assemble around the deceased and sing under the leadership of the *naddabab*. The women's desultory singing may last from a few hours to an entire morning and afternoon. During this time, the majority of women in attendance participate in singing the choral responses.

Traditionally, men arrive at the funeral some time after the women have already begun to perform. The men's singing requires a leader (*naddab*) and a number of men sufficient to sing choral responses. Groups of men from other villages approach the funeral location in a procession while performing under the leadership of a *naddab* from their own village. The men first gather in a courtyard or alley leading to the deceased's house and perform while walking slowly behind the poet-singer. Sometimes several groups can be heard simultaneously, and a village brass band may also participate.

The men's singing reaches its most impassioned level during the final procession, as the coffin is carried to the graveyard. Among the Druzes, a brief religious ritual is carried out at the graveside and with the burial the funeral is ended. In Christian funerals, the congregation first proceeds from the house to the church where a final religious ceremony takes place. During the procession from the church to the grave no singing takes place as a rule, though the band may still play. In funeral processions, Druze or Christian, very few women take part and the congregation at graveside is almost exclusively male.

In recent years, the traditional format of the male performance has seen some changes. The celebrated poet-singers who attend seldom walk in the final procession. Instead, they perform before a microphone in the house courtyard.

The Repertoire

The female song repertoire is extensive and varied. Many genres are borrowed from nonfuneral occasions and among the featured songs are those which are sung by women only. Performances by women tend to proceed in long stretches, each consisting of a medley or suite whose songs gradually become more animated, as in the excerpt on Side 2, Band 3. Songs without chorus accompaniment typically alternate in these series, and they may also be sung during gatherings of the deceased's female relatives.

The men use a smaller number of genres and borrow fewer genres from outside the funeral repertoire. The medley or suite-like format is not typical of male performance.

The Poetry

Song texts contribute further to the difference between the male and female repertoires. Women's songs derive from an aural tradition of an often-archaic social and literary character. The values expressed are largely nomadic Bedouin, as are the settings portrayed. Most of the verse units are relatively short, thus facilitating the spontaneous creation of texts over long stretches of time. Liberally interlarded with improvised passages are various stock phrases, symbols, and similies. Such devices may appear predictably in a refrain-like manner in each stanza. A whole line of pre-existing poetry may be sung, but with the name of one person replacing another.

In contrast, the men's songs demonstrate considerable freedom of subject matter. They make less use of recurring verbal formulas and often touch on aspects of modern daily life. There is a similarly wide latitude for musical elaboration, and the influence of modern urban music is heard in such areas as ornamentation, intonation, and modal practice.

Certain literary themes predominate, especially in women's song texts. The tragedy of the death is dramatized, as is the misfortune thus visited upon the community as a whole. A deceased male is usually depicted as a wise and generous tribal chief who valiantly defended his tribe. The community is portrayed in turn as a nomadic tribe left bewildered, demoralized, and defenseless. The sense of self-pity is communal, though a female singer may express her own personal sorrow or dwell on that of a specific grieving relative of the deceased.

The lamenting tone is given occasional relief through contrasting images. The deceased may be portrayed as still being alive, as a dignitary, for instance, welcoming his guests. A deceased maiden may be described as a bride preparing herself for her wedding; and the image will be enhanced with wedding songs. Musical accompaniment may also provide contrast. During the funeral of an adult male, the band may play military marches and lively folk tunes, and guns may be fired into the air. Such interludes then give way to further lamentations.

References to death are usually indirect and symbolic. One falls into a deep sleep or sets out on a long journey; a mother searches for her lost child; a sword drops from the warrior's hand; a bride is wed to a distant villager and removed from the bosom of her family. Reproaches are aimed not directly at death but at its symbols and signals. The culprits usually include the "Evil Eye," the "Treacherous Wind of Death," and *Ghurab al-Bayn*, the "Raven of Separation" or "Raven of Death." More direct confrontation with death would improperly question God's will.

Destiny is eventually accepted. Protest against death omens is often followed by an admission that death is preordained (*muqqaddar*) or written out (*maktub*). Accordingly, the texts, especially in male songs, declare that the mourners are willing but unable to redeem their leader, even with their own lives. Some women's texts speak in the voice of the deceased, who apologizes for having to leave but states that "God's judgment must be obeyed." In other texts, the deceased bids farewell but promises that he will return for visits with the living.

The deceased is seen as a link with the other world, a messenger between the living and the dead. In women's songs, the deceased is asked to convey regards to specific deceased loved ones. In some instances, a female singer prevails upon the messenger to encourage other deceased persons to return.

Song Genres

The following genres are basic to the funeralsong performance:

NADB. These songs (*nadb* proper) are sung exclusively for funerals, by men or women. Each is formed of solo verses with choral refrains. The melody is essentially metric and has a slightly descending contour (illustrated by the examples on Side 1, Bands 1 and 9, and Side 2, Band 1). The *nadb* is the funeral



genre par excellence, and it also encompasses a wide range of musically related varieties. As illustrated by the examples on Side 1, Bands 3, 6, and 7, these varieties are also referred to as *nadb* and found only in the women's repertoire.

HIDA (HIDA' in classical Arabic). These "cheering" or "war" songs are typical of weddings and similar festive events. Hida may be heard at the



funeral if the deceased is an adult male. For a young unmarried female, other types of wedding genres may be sung by the women. The *bida* genre is, like the *nadb*, metric and responsorial. Yet, as illustrated by the example on Side 1, Band 2, it does not share the *nadb*'s descending contour and tends to be less melismatic and more animated.

QA, SIDAH. This is literally a "poem," and it is performed as a solo, typically by a male. Essential to the repertoire of *zajal* poets, a *qaşidab* may appear in various social contexts. When it is sung at a funeral, it may be referred to as *qaşidat ritba*, or elegiac poem. Textually, the *qaşidab* is in essence similar to the *nadb* and *bida*. As heard on Side 1, Band 8, the rhyme scheme may establish each couplet, or two lines, as a unit. The singer usually treats each such



unit as an individual verse or melodic rendition, and each ends with an elaborate cadential motif followed by a brief pause. Considered musically and poetically

complex, the *qasidab* is highly esteemed as a song genre. The singing style is ornate and melismatic, and the singers typically base their performances on one of the *maqamat*, or melodic modes in urban music, often *Hijaz* or (as in the case of the recorded example) *Huzam*.

FRAQIYYAT (singular, FRAQIYYAH). This genre is also called *tanawih* (singular, *tanwihah*). The



first term means "songs of departure" and the second may be translated as "wailing." This genre is soloistic and considered the most important female funeralsong genre. It is sung at funerals and similar tragic events. In this genre, a woman sings, without chorus, in a more intimate setting and laments her own ill fate. Her performance may be punctuated by sobbing and crying. A brief falsetto effect typically appears at the end of each verse. As illustrated by the examples on Side 1, Band 5, and Side 2, Band 2, this genre exhibits an essentially descending contour which is also found in lament songs in other areas of the Near East and the Balkans. A sustained note usually marks the end of each verse.

Other less common female genres include skaba wa fraqiyyat, heard on Side 2, Band 4. This genre bears close resemblance to the folk genre called 'ataba wa mijana. The skaba section is basically a metric chorus part, while the fraqiyyat function essentially as melismatic solo verses.

Another less common female funeral genre consists of textually modified lullabies. This category may be sung for a deceased child (see Side 1, Band 4). Known in the Near East as *tahnin*, the lullaby is a solo song. Like the *fraqiyyat*, it displays a descending tendency and is presented in the form of couplets. A verse usually ends with a prolonged note, often upon a word ending with a "nee" sound, a phenomenon reminiscent of the lullabies, or "ninni songs," found in Eastern Europe and Asia Minor.

SIDE 1

I recorded the music appearing on this side at a private gathering in March 1968 in Beirut. The *naddab*, or male songleader (Bands 1, 2, 8, 9) is Salman al-Harfush, then a middle aged Druze from Ibl al-Saqi, a Christian-Druze village in South Lebanon. The four-man chorus, including Salman's son, comes from the same village. The *naddabab*, or female songleader on this side (Bands 3, 4, 5, 6, 7) is Fawz, Salman's wife, who performed with a fourwoman chorus which included her daughter. Salman's wife is also from Ibl al-Saqi, but her family is originally from Kfar Nabrakh, a Druze village in the Shuf Mountains in Central Lebanon. This varied background may contribute in part to the wealth and extensiveness of Mrs. al-Harfush's repertoire. As performers, both are highly regarded in their village and district.

Band 1: A nadb song for an adult male:

Ba'd kinna m'awzinak Li-sh-shadayid shaylinak.

Kint mashka d-daym fina Sab' rabid fi 'arinak.

Hayf ya ḥami ḥimana S-sayf yisqut min yaminak.



Mr. Salman al-Harfush (center) with wife and son, Beirut, 1968.

We were still in need of you We were sparing you for the hardships.

We used to voice our grievances to you Ob lion sitting in your den.

It is a shame, ob our foremost defender That the sword drops from your right arm. Band 2: A hida song for a deceased young man:

Masʻud ya farkh l-ʻiqab Ya hayf tinzal bi-t-tirab.

W ykill zindak bi-l-wagha W y'ud sayfak li-l-qirab.

Lu btinfada bi-rwahina Mnifdik ya shaykh sh-shabab.

Barudina yghatti s-sama W rsasina yshiqq s-sihab.

Band 3: Nadb for a deceased girl:

Tallat 'alayna khyul ma' firsani Titlub 'arus tkun 'ali sh-shani.

Ya mawt ma 'inna sabaya b-darna 'Inna jawahir ghalyi l-athmani.

Ya ḥayf ya riḥ l-minun l-ghadri Tiṭfi hibubik shami't d-diwani.

Band 4: Tahnin for a deceased young girl:

Nizlu banat l-'Arab zayni wara zayni Nizlu banat l-'Arab sabuki bi-l-'ayni.

Yarit banat l-'Arab şabu habayibhum W-inti slimti la-immik ya 'azzi min 'ayni.

Nizlu banat l-'Arab şirbi wara şirbi Nizlu banat l-'Arab hattuki bi-t-tirbi.

Yarit banat l-'Arab ḥattu ḥabayibhum W-inti slimti la-immik ya 'azzi min 'imri. Mas'ud, ob fledgling hawk It is a shame for you to go into the earth.

And for your arm to tire out in battle And for your sword to return to its sheath.

If you were redeemable with our souls We would redeem you, oh chief of the youth.

Our gunpowder covers the sky And our bullets tear the clouds.

Horses and knights have appeared before us To ask for the band of a bride of high regard.

Ob death, we do not have young women in our house We have highly priced jewels.

It is a pity, ob treacherous winds of death That your blowing would extinguish the candle of the assembly.

The Bedouin girls came down one beauty after another The Bedouin girls came down and cast the evil eye upon you.

I wish the Bedouin girls cast it upon their own beloved ones And you were spared for your mother, oh one dearer than my eyes.

The Bedouin girls came down one group after another The Bedouin girls came down and put you in the burial ground.

I wish the Bedouin girls put their own beloved ones And you were spared for your mother, oh one dearer than my eyes.

Band 5: Fraqiyyat for a young woman; the last verse for a deceased father:

Sabaya z-zayn shiftuly şabiyyi W 'ayn sawda w qamitha 'aliyyi. Shifnaha w sallamna 'alayha W 'ala l-wah l-manaya mittikiyyi.

Tall l-qamar min fawq l-jabal w ashraq W ma ḥann qalbi ghayr lil-labsi l-azraq. W-in kan thyab l-'arus la-ghayrha tilbaq Ruḥu ya khawata 'a shatt l-baḥr ta nighraq.

Tall l-qamar min fawq Damshaq w Darayya Min 'ind 'aşriyyat qalat dam'ti hayya. Maktub 'ala bwabkun satrayn fraqiyyat W ya hayf dalal wladkun yirbu bala bayyat. Ob beautiful girls, have you seen a young woman With black eyes and tall stature? We saw her and greeted her She was reclining upon the boards of death.

The moon appeared from behind the mountain and shone My heart had compassion for none but the girl dressed in blue. If the bridal attire was fit for anyone but her Oh her sisters, let us go to the seashore and drown.

The moon appeared from above Damascus and Darayya Since the late afternoon my tears have come down generously. On your door two lines of fraqiyyat are written What a pity for your pampered children to grow up without a father.

Band 6: Nadb lamenting ill-fate, possibly for a deceased parent:

Jina nqul wi bdina Nishrah ma jara fina.

Ghrab l-bayn mnakidna W malush qalb yirkhina.

Ghrab l-bayn mnakidna W malush qalb yi'tiqna

W ya wladat tfarraqna W hayk Allah hakam fina. We came to speak [sing poetry] and began To explain what had happened to us.

The raven of death is agonizing us And does not have the heart to leave us alone.

The raven of death is agonizing us And does not have the heart to let us be free.

Oh young ones, we have become dispersed. This was God's judgment over us. Band 7: Nadb for an older man, in this performance other deceased are also addressed:

Ghabini w mit ghabini Tsakkar bab li-mdini.

W Ah ya Bu 'Abd Allah W ghibt l-ghaybi tawili.

W ba'dak Abu 'Abd Allah W sarat martak hazini.

W ba'dak ya shaykh Bu Faris Sarat martak hazini.

W ba'dak ya Shaykh Bu Faris Sarat bintak hazini.

W ba'dak ya Abu 'Ali Sarat bintak hazini.

W Ba'dak ya Musa 'Asi Sarat martak hazini A misfortune and a hundred misfortunes The gate of the city was closed.

Oh, Abu 'Abd Allah You have made a long-lasting departure.

After you [your passing away], oh Abu 'Abd Allah Your wife became very sad.

After you, oh Shaykh Abu Faris Your wife became very sad.

After you, oh Shaykh Bu Faris Your daughter became sad.

After you, ob Abu 'Ali Your daughter became sad.

After you, ob Musa 'Asi Your wife became sad.

Band 8: *Qaşidab* whose text was composed and sung for a deceased Druze woman of distinguished social and political stature, Nazirah Junbulat. The text remains memorable although first composed around 1956:

Ahl Sh-shuf ja'u ywaddi'uki Ya bint l-manaşib w l-mluki. Lawla ma r-rada hikmu mqaddar Kanu bi-l-ghawali byiftiduki.

Kinti li-l-blad imma w abaha Tsusi imurha bhikmi w nabaha. W 'indik yiltiqu ahl l-wajaha L-kanu bi-l-qadaya yshawiruki.

Kinti thaqqiqi bʻaqlik juhudik Kinti tthabbiti bujudik wujudik. Qumi wajjibi dyufik bi-judik Khayif bi-l-bikhil ta yithimuki.

Şitik kan maḥmud sh-shamayil 'Aṭir mithl azhar l-khamayil. Biṭlub min mashayikhna l-afaḍil 'Ala miqdar faḍlik yirḥamuki.

Şifatik 'azamuha w lam lamuha 'A tawhid l-alaf w-lam, lam, w-ha. Min qtar l-baraya lamlamuha 'Ala dyar l-khlud yshayyi'uki. The people of Shuf came to bid you farewell Ob lady of honorable ancestry and royalties. Had death's judgment not been preordained They would have redeemed you with the most precious things.

To the country you were a mother and father Managing its affairs with wisdom and insight. People of eminence used to meet at your place They used to consult with you on various issues.

Through your reason you used to make your endeavors materialize Through your generosity you used to make your presence felt. Go ahead, attend to your guests through your generosity I am worried they might accuse you of being a miser.

Your good reputation was very well-acknowledged It had the fragrance of the garden flowers. I beg our honorable holy men To bless your soul in proportion to your goodness.

Your attributes were glorified and never criticized. In the unity of the alaf, lam, lam and ha [letters in Allah's name] People have gathered from different parts of the world To commemorate your departure to the place of eternity.

Band 9: *Nadb* for a deceased boy. Typical of professional poet-singers, this example features sung verses that cover two full lines (four hemistiches). Such literary sophistication indicates that the text was previously composed by a competent poet:

Sh-shams şaḥat fi ḥamalha W khisrit l-'iffi ḥamalha. W şar tabutak safini Wid-dami' faḍ w-ḥamalha.

W-şar tabutak safini Tiḥmilu dmuʻ l-ḥazini. W-immak b-damʻa s-sakhini Waddaʻat fiha amalha. The sun from Capricorn exclaimed Innocence lost its lamb. And your coffin became a ship Carried by the flood of tears.

And your coffin became a ship Carried by the sad tears. And your mother with her hot tears Bid her hope farewell in it.

SIDE 2

The material on Side 2 consists of live recordings from various funerals. The song excerpts are all sung by women. Bands 1 and 2 were from one Christian funeral that took place in the village of 'Ayn Zhalta, a mountainous village in Central Lebanon, in July 1965, and were copied from a recording originally made by the deceased's family. I recorded the excerpts on Bands 3, 4, and 5 at a Christian funeral in the same village in the summer of 1970. The last three selections feature a brass band from the Christian-Druze village of al-Mtayn in Central Lebanon. I recorded these examples at a Christian funeral in al-Khinsharah, in Central Lebanon, also in 1970.



Women performing at a funeral in the village of Ras al-Matn.

Band 1: Nadb for an old man of certain political and social eminence:

Hayf ya sid s-siyadi Tifqdak ahl libladi. W ba'dak rjal l-qabili Labsin thawb l-hdadi.

Hdad 'am tilbus rjalak Yidhkru minnak f'alak. Bi yaminak ma' shimalak Bi l-makarim ilak 'adi.

W bil makarim mitil Ja'far Bil-marajil mitl 'Antar, W yidhkruk bkil maḥḍar Kan 'alayk l-i'timadi.

Janzaruh la-s-sabi' ba'dak Wi l-marajil baṭṭaluha. W kassiru rmah ṭ-ṭawili Ba'd sidi wi-ḥriquha. What a pity, oh foremost master, That the people of the country have lost you. After you were gone, men of the tribe Are dressed in the attire of mourning.

Your men are wearing mourning attire They are remembering your deeds. With your right and left arms You have a tradition of noble deeds.

In generosity you are like Ja'far In valor you are like 'Antar. You are remembered in every gathering Everybody was counting on you.

After you were gone the lion was chained And heroic deeds were abandoned. Ob, break the long spears After my master is gone, and burn them.

Band 2: *Fraqiyyat* for a deceased old man. The text is in the form of a dialogue with the singer speaking on behalf of the deceased's family members, and the deceased himself:

Of, Sit Imm Rida tqillak: Sallim ya Bu Rida kthir kthir Kama sallam l-ward 'al-yasimin. W sallimli ya Bu Rida 'ala Na'im w qillu W la tij 'alu l-ghaybi ya habibi zaman tawil.

Of w tqaddami ya Imm Rida w tqaddami layyi W laylit ghadi ya habibti w ma y'idlik wsul layyi. W yama qaddamt w yama sannadt bi-dayyi W ya hikm Rabbi 'a-rasi w 'aynayyi.

Of w tqaddami ya ikhti w tqaddami layyi W laylit ghadi ya ikhti w ma yʻudlik wşul layyi. W yama qaddmt ya habibi w yama sannadt bi-dayyi W ya hikm Rabbi ʻa-rasi w aynayyi.

Band 3. Nadb medley for an old man:

Ya maḥsub qaḍi sh-Shuf sa'al 'annak Baddu ykhaṭbak baddu l-jawab minnak. Baddu ykhaṭbak la yaktub l-maktub W wladak hin n-katabu 'annak.

Kint l-yamin b-day'tak w shmalha Kint ra'is shawrha w a'malha. Ya 'ayn hati dmu' judi bi-l-biki 'ad-dar Yalli dashsharuha rjalha. Oh Lady Imm Rida is telling you: Oh Abu Rida convey the warmest greetings As the rose greets the jasmin. And oh Abu Rida greet Na'im and tell him Not to make his departure last too long.

Oh Imm Rida come forward, come to me Oh dear, tomorrow night you would not be able to reach me. Oh how much I have offered and supported And my God's judgment I have to honor and obey.

Oh my sister, come forward to me Oh sister, tomorrow night you would not be able to reach me. Oh how much I have offered and supported And my God's judgment I have to bonor and obey.

Oh eminent man, the judge of Shuf asked about you He needs to address you, he needs the answer from you. He needs to address you in order to write the letter Your children have been written about you.

In your village you were the right and left arm You were the chief councillor and manager of affairs. Oh, eye, bring down your tears and weep generously For the large house abandoned by its men. Harit ha-l-maḥsub bi-tlali Dawwiha daw l-hilali.

Ya l-kanayin w frishuha 'Al-yamin w 'a-sh-shimali.

Ya l-ḥirmi w frishiha Al-yamin w 'a-sh-shimali.

Band 4: Skaba and fraqiyyat for an older man:

Skaba ya dmuʻ l-ʻayn skaba Wʻal-maḥsub la triddu t-tiraba.

In ija Bu Kamal ya hirmi frishilu 'Alli l-farshat la ḥaddi l-'taba.

Ya Bu Kamal dallaluk w laysh mardit W hattuk bi l-'alali w laysh mardit W rdit l-bahdali w l-'izz mardit W rdit tnam bayn lawhayn l-khsaba.

'A-l-'Ataba bint 'ammi lyawn safra W tishbih qishrit l-laymun şafra. Ya banati w ya wladi w ya ḥirmi ana lyawm msafir bi-safra W d'uli bi-r-ruju' ya ahli w-l-aḥbaba. The large quarters of the eminent man are glowing Oh may they shine like the crescent.

Oh, sisters-in-law, in them lay down the mattresses To the right and to the left.

Ob, wife, in them lay down the mattresses To the right and to the left.

Pour out, ob tears of the eye, ob pour out. Upon the eminent one do not return the earth. Ob, wife, if Abu Kamal comes, lay down the mattresses

Pile up the mattresses to reach the threshold.

Ob, Abu Kamal, they pampered you, but why did you become ill They raised you to lofty places, but why were you not pleased? You accepted the disgrace, but the glory you did not accept You accepted to sleep between two boards of wood.

Oh 'Ataba, today my cousin is unveiled She is pale like a lemon skin. Oh, my daughters, my sons, my wife, today I am taking a journey Wish me to return, oh family and dear ones.

Band 5: *Nadb* for an older man heard toward the end of the female song performance. The text here speaks on behalf of the deceased:

Waddiʻuni waddiʻuni Ma baqaytum tiqshaʻuni.

Waddiʻuni fi mahalli Ma baqa ʻa-d-dari tilli.

Waddi'uni bi-şadr bayti Bi-khatrik hirmi l-hanuni.

Waddi-'uni ya qarayib Shaḥm l-qalb 'alayki dhayib. Bid me farewell, ob, bid me farewell You will not see me again.

Bid me farewell in my own place I will not come by this house anymore.

Bid me farewell in my house courtyard Goodbye, oh compassionate wife.

Bid me farewell, oh relatives The heart is filled with care about you.

Band 6: A funeral march for the funeral of an older man of political stature. This and the following two examples were recorded during the procession to the graveyard. The traffic policeman's whistle is heard in the background. This march was referred to by some informants by the French title, "Immortelle."

Band 7: A Near Eastern composition, possibly originating in Egypt around the turn of the twentieth century, titled "March Shakir Basha." In the middle of the performance there is a *taqasim*-like improvisatory interpolation with drone accompaniment.

Band 8: Marching music with commemorative church-bell ringing and firearm shooting.



Women at the house of the deceased in the village of Ras al-Matn.

Record Jacket Photograph: A memorial service in the town of 'Ibadiyyah for a young druze fighter who died in Southern Lebanon in 1978.

I wish to thank all those who contributed to the preparation of this ethnographic recording. Among them are: families of the deceased and performers, whose assistance was generous and indispensable; and my father Salam Racy, who offered his expert guidance in the field. My appreciation also goes to Faisal A. Izzeddin, who took and provided the front cover photograph; Badr El-Hage, who supplied the photograph on Page 1 of the notes; and Ramzi Rassi, who took and provided the rest of the photographs. Also to be thanked are those who assisted in manuscript and tape editing, including Ronald Riddle, Barbara Racy, Roger Wright, and the Sound Solution Studio in Santa Monica.

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