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 7. Nadb for an older man.
Band 8. Qasidah for an eminent woman.
Band 9. Nadb for a deceased boy.

SIDE 2
Band 1. Nadb for an old man.
Band 2. Fragiyyat for an old man.
Band 3. Nadb medley for an old man.
Band 4. Skaba and fragiyyat for an old man.
Band 5. Nadb for an old man.
Band 6. Funeral march by a village brass band.
Band 7. A Near Eastern march.

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.
Funeral-singing traditions of the Near East date from remote pre-Islamic antiquity. The authoritative Islamic book, *al-Hadith*, 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 *naddabah*, 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 func-
The men's singing requires a leader last from a few hours to an entire morning and 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 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.

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 funeral-song 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 hida 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.

**QASIDAH.** This is literally a "poem," and it is performed as a solo, typically by a male. Essential to the repertoire of zajal poets, a qasidab may appear in various social contexts. When it is sung at a funeral, it may be referred to as qasidat ritha, or elegiac poem. Textually, the qasidab is in essence similar to the nadb and hida. 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 qaṣidah 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 *tanawīh* (singular, *tanawīḥ*). 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 funeral-song 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 *tabnin*, 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-Ḥarfush, 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 four-woman 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-Ḥarfush’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-iṣyam fina  
Sab’ rabīj fi ‘arinak.  
Ḥayf yā bāmi ḫimāna  
S-sayf yiqṣūṭ min yaminak.

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, oh our foremost defender  
That the sword drops from your right arm.

Mr. Salman al-Ḥarfush (center) with wife and son, Beirut, 1968.
Band 2: A *bida* song for a deceased young man:

Mas'ud ya farkh l-`iqab
Ya ḥayf tinral bi-t-tirab.
W ykil zindak bil-waghra
W y`ud sayfak lil-l-qirab.
Lu btinfada bi-rwañina
Mnifidik ya shaykh sh-shabab.
Barudina yghaṭṣ j s-sama
W rṣaṣina yshiqq s-sḥab.

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, ob chief of the youth.
Our gunpowder covers the sky
And our bullets tear the clouds.

Band 3: *Nadb* for a deceased girl:

Tallat 'alayna khyul rma' firsani
Ti`lub 'arus tkun 'ali sh-shani.
Ya mawt rna 'inna ḥabaya b-darna
'Inna jawahir ghalyi l-athmani.
Ya ḥayf ya rib l-minun l-qirab
Tiṣfi hibuhik shami't d-diwan.

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

Band 4: *Tahnin* for a deceased young girl:

Nizlu banat l-'Arab zayni wara zayni
Nizlu banat l-'Arab ṣabu ḥabayibhum
W-inti slinti li-`azzī min `aynī.
Nizlu banat l-'Arab ṣīrī wara ṣīrī
Nizlu banat l-'Arab ḥattuq bi-t-tirbi.
Yarit banat l-'Arab ḥattu ḥabayibhum
W-inti slinti li-`azzī min `imrī.

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, ob 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, ob one dearer than my eyes.

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

Ṣābaya z-zayn shifṭūl ṣābiyyī
t W `ayn sawda w qamītha `alīyyī.
Shifnahu w sallamna `ālayha
W `alā l-ʿawj l-mansya mitrikīyyī.
Ṭall l-qamar min fawq l-jabal w ashraq
W ma ḥann qalib ghayr lil-labī l-`azraq.
W-in kan thayb l-`arās al-ghayra hīlbaq
Ruhu ya khawata `a šaṣṭ l-ḥār ta nighraq.
Ṭall l-qamar min fawq Damshaq w Darayya
Min `ind `aṣṣiyāt qalat dam`ti hayya.
Maktub `alā bwabkun saṭrayn fraqiyyayat
W ya ḥayf dalal waldkun 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 stone
My heart had compassion for none but the girl dressed in blue.
If the bridal attire was fit for anyone but her
Ob 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
Nishra`u ma jara fin a.
Ghrab l-bayn mnakidna
W malush qalib yirkhina.
Ghrab l-bayn mnakidna
W malush qalib y`tiqna
W ya wladat tfarraqna
W ḥayk Allah ḥakam fina.

We came to speak [sing poetry] and began
To explain what had happened.
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 ghibi l-ghaybi li-tawili.
W ba'dak Abu 'Abd Allah
W sarat martak ḥażini.

W ba'dak ya shaykh Bu Faris
Sarat martak ḥażini.
W ba'dak ya Shaykh Bu Faris
Sarat bintak ḥażini.
W ba'dak ya Abu 'Ali
Sarat bintak ḥażini.
W Ba'dak ya Musa 'Aši
Sarat martak ḥażini.

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], ob Abu 'Abd Allah
Your wife became very sad.

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

Ahl Sh-shuf ja'u ywaddi'uki
Ya bint l-manašib w l-muši
Lawla ma rá-rada ḥikmu ṭaqaddar
Kanu bi-l-ghawali byiftiduki.

Kinti li-l-blad imma w abaha
Tsusi imurha ḥikmi w nabaha.
W 'indik yiltiq ah l-wajaha
L-karu bi-l-qadaya yshawiruki.

Şiftik kan maḫmud sh-shamayil
'Atir mithl azhar l-khamayil.
Bijub min mashayikha l-afadāl
'Ala miqdar faṣli yirhumukī.

Şiftik 'ağamuha w laq lamahu
'A tawbīd l-alaf w-lam, lam, w-ha.
Min qtar l-baraya lamamuhu
'Ala dyr l-khulid 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.
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 qašar fi ḥamalha
W khirisit l-'iffi ḥamalha.
W šar tabutak safini
Wid-dami' faq w-ḥamalha.

W-šar tabutak safini
Tiḥmilu dmū' ḥażini.
W-immak b-dam'a s-sakhini
Wadda'at 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.
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.

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

Hayf ya sid s-siyadi
Tifqad ahl libiadai.
W ba'dak rjal l-qabili
Labsin thawb l-`iyadi.

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

W bil makarim mitil Ja'far
Bl-marajil mitl 'Antar.
W yidhrkru bi'l ma'dar
Kan 'alayk li'timadi.

Janzaruh la-s-sabil' ba'dak
Wi l-marajil bathalula.
W kassiru rma'b t-`awili
Ba'd sidi wi-`riquha.

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.
Oh, break the long spears
After my master is gone, and burn them.

**Band 2: Fragiyyat** 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 Riqa tji'llak:
Sallim ya Bu Riqa kthir kthir
Kama sallam l Ward 'al-yasimin,
W sallimli ya Bu Riqa 'ala Na'im w qillu
W la tij la'l gaybiya ya `abibi zaman `awil.

Of w tquantami ya Imm Riqa w-tquantami layyi
W laylit ghadi ya `abibti w ma y'idlik wsl layyi.
W yama qaddamt w yama sannadt bi-dayyi
W ya `hkam Rabbi `a-rasi w `aynayyi.

Of w tquantami ya ikhti w tquantami layyi
W laylit ghadi ya ikhti w ma y'udlik wsl layyi.
W yama qaddmt ya `abibi w yama sannadt bi-dayyi
W ya `hkam Rabbi `a-rasi w `aynayyi.

Ob Lady Imm Riqa is telling you:
Ob Abu Riqa convey the warmest greetings
As the rose greets the jasmin.
And ob Abu Riqa greet Na'im and tell him
Not to make his departure last too long.

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

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

**Band 3: Nadb** medley for an old man:

Ya mahsub qa'di sh-Shuf sa'al `annak
Baddu ykhataib baddu l-jawab minnak.
Baddu ykhataib la yakrub l-makrub
W wladak hin n-katabu `annak.

Kint l-yamin b-day'tak w shmalha
Kint ra's shawra w a'malha.
Ya 'ayn hati dmu' judi bi-l-biki
`ad-dar Yalli dashharuha rjalha.

Ob 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.
Band 4: *Skaba* and *fraciyyay* for an older man:

Skaba ya dmu' l-ayn skaba
W 'al-marub la triiddu t-tiraba.
In ija Bu Kamal ya hiimi frishlu
'Alli l-farshat la ḥaddi l-taba.

Ya Bu Kamal dallaluk w laysh mardit
W ḥattuk bi-l'alali w laysh mardit
W rdit l-bahdali w l-ʿizz mardit
W rdit tnam bayn l-ḥawṣyin l-khsaba.

'Al-lʿ-Ataba bint 'ammi lyawn safra
W tishbih qishrit l-laymun ṣafra.
Ya banati w ya wldi w ya ʿirmi ana lyawm msafir bi-safra
W dʿuli bi-r-ruju' ya ahli w-l-ahbab.

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:

Waddiʿuni waddiʿuni
Ma baqaytum tiqshaʿuni.
Waddiʿuni fi maḥalli
Ma baqaʿaʿd-darī tilli.
Waddiʿuni bi-padr ṣayti
Bi-khatrīk hiimi l-ḥanuni.
Waddiʿuni ya qarayib
Shaḥm l-qalb ʿalayki dhayib.

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 Shakkir 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.

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