

THE CONCISE GARLAND ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD MUSIC

Volume 1



The Concise Garland Encyclopedia of

WORLD MUSIC

VOLUME 1

The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music

Volume 1

Africa

edited by Ruth M. Stone

Volume 2

South America, Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean

edited by Dale A. Olsen and Daniel E. Sheehy

Volume 3

The United States and Canada

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Volume 4

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The Concise Garland Encyclopedia of
WORLD MUSIC

Volume 1

Africa

*South America, Mexico, Central America,
and the Caribbean*

The United States and Canada

Europe

Oceania

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First published 2008 by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

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Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

The concise Garland encyclopedia of world music / advisory board, Ellen Koskoff . . . [et al.].

p. cm.

1. World music—Encyclopedias. I. Koskoff, Ellen, 1943–
ML100.C69 2008
780.3—dc22

2008019670

ISBN10: 0-415-97293-0 (2 vol. set hbk)

ISBN10: 0-415-99403-9 (vol. 1 hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-97293-2 (2 vol. set hbk)

ISBN13: 978-0-415-99403-3 (vol. 1 hbk)

DOI: 10.4324/9780203036372

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Foreword

Beyond the Borders of World Music

PHILIP V. BOHLMAN

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The expressive force that joined music to voice in song lived in the ear of the people, on the lips and in the harp of the living singer. It sang of history, daily events, secrets, and miracles—of the very signs of humanity. It was the flower of the uniqueness of every people, its language and its land, everything it did and all its prejudices, a people's passions and all that made them distinctive: It was the measure of its music and soul.

Johann Gottfried Herder, *Volkslieder* (1779)

The *Concise Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* inherits a long and distinguished history, which springs in its foundational moment from the two-volume work of the great Enlightenment thinker Johann Gottfried Herder, *The Voices of the People in Song and Folk Songs* (1778–1779). Herder ascribed to song—he actually coined the word *Volkslied*, or “folk song,” for the phenomenon—the potential to conjoin music and language, empowering them to bear witness to all that was human, so clearly evident in the epigraph opening this foreword. Herder, who wrote philosophy, poetry, libretti for musical works, and the diverse tracts on religion appropriate for his professional life as a theologian, returned to the music of the people throughout his life, expanding at each encounter the concepts he had formulated while hearing the music of peasants during his childhood and early adulthood in what is today Lithuania and Latvia, and adding layer upon layer of musical experience from what we might call fieldwork during travels through the North Sea, Alsace, Italy, and the provinces of eastern Germany, where he settled in Weimar, home to the great intellectual and artistic giants of his day, among them Goethe and Schiller.

Herder deserves a position in the foreword to the two volumes that now draw the endeavors of the many authors and editors who have contributed to the most ambitious world-music publication of our own day not because he established a canon for world music or charted a global geography with immutable borders containing similarities and excluding differences. Rather, Herder's own two volumes and his return to them again and again revealed the persistent need to redraw the borders of world music and to realize the ways in which they recognized difference as the response of human societies, indeed, of the subaltern, those without power, who employed music to give voice to their aspirations. As Herder was preparing the final edition of his volumes, which appeared only posthumously four years after his death in 1903, he expanded the scope of what had clearly become a global landscape

for world music by confronting the question of colonial encounter, particularly the destruction of indigenous peoples in Africa and South America.

The study of world music raises the most important questions of the modern era, and it was this realization, first given voice by Herder, that underlies the endeavors gathered in the two volumes of the *Concise Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*. With renewed vigor and with a sense of commitment to hearing the “voices of the people in songs,” the legacy of Herder, the authors and editors in the concise edition have set out once again to reexamine and re-draw the borders of world music, and to ensure that they are inclusive rather than exclusive. Herder’s historical influence notwithstanding, there is a new heritage that resonates in these twenty-first-century voices, that of ethnomusicology. Just as the original ten-volume *Garland Encyclopedia* gathered the many voices of ethnomusicologists from throughout the world in unprecedented fashion, the concise edition draws them together with even greater resonance—and relevance—in a field dedicated not only to understanding globalization but encountering it head-on. The legacy of world music is born of ethical responsibility and moral imperative, which join in common purpose in the ethnomusicology that provides the context for the present two volumes.

The *Concise Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* bears witness to a comprehensive rethinking of the history and historiography of world music. That rethinking first began to take shape in the wake of World War II, when the hegemonic parsing of the world—and by extension its musics—began to collapse, together with the colonial empires that fostered it. Not insignificantly at the same historical moment, ethnomusicology as an international field emerged as a collective discipline dedicated to the study of all musics in their cultural contexts. From its formative moments—the establishment of the International Folk Music Council (today, the International Council for Traditional Music) in the late 1940s and the Society for Ethnomusicology in 1955—the field of ethnomusicology insisted on the need for disciplinary realignments that took seriously the need to examine world musics in the historical contexts of a post-colonial world. The ethnomusicologists of the post-World War II generation consciously sought ways to combine the aesthetic and the political, the musical and the cultural, indeed the two components in the underlying subject of these volumes: world music.

The emergence of modern ethnomusicology in the mid-twentieth century and its transformation to a post-disciplinary ethnomusicology in the twenty-first century, nonetheless, sustained a long history of charting the aesthetic and political territories immanent in world music. As we have already witnessed in Herder’s seminal writings, the concepts and constructs of world music were born of encounter. Encounter, inevitably, both resulted from and contributed to unequal distributions of power. It is in the contexts of these unequal distributions of power, however, that the challenge of rethinking world music really emerges.

Throughout the *Garland Encyclopedia* the critical importance of past for the present—of music histories in local and global forms—asserts itself. The history of world music, as each chapter makes clear, is one of critical moments and paradigm shifts. The reader would do well to remember the most global of these as she or he engages in the challenge of rethinking world music. With the sixteenth century comes the so-called Age of Discovery, a re-settling of many parts of the world with subsequent appropriation of resources, material and musical, for use in the West. Empires expanded in the seventeenth century, even as Europe and the world upon which it had imposed its borders descended into the chaos of the Thirty Years War. Enlightenment, with its national and religious idiolects, followed in

the eighteenth century, with dictionaries (e.g., Diderot) and world music anthologies (e.g., Herder) attempting to ascribe order to world music. Political paradigms shifted radically in the nineteenth century, with the onset of various colonialisms, which then in the twentieth century shifted, often violently, to the nationalisms that shaped modernity. We cannot think about world music, historically or ethnomusicologically, without recognizing the critical presence of music as a measure of these moments in which cultural and political power on a global scale often led to destructive ends. Rethinking world music in the twenty-first century possesses, for ethnomusicology, a profound ethical significance and moral imperative.

The borders of world music in the twenty-first century intersect with those of a post-disciplinary ethnomusicology, and accordingly they become capacious and inclusive. The post-disciplinary character of ethnomusicology was crucial to the concept and conception of the *Garland Encyclopedia*, for the authors who contribute to it bring multiple perspectives to their entries, from the fields in which they primarily work as well as those beyond primary fields. National entries, for example, not only transcend bounded notions of national styles, repertoires, and styles, but they also grow from an interactive scholarship that relies on musicians, scholars, and institutions within nations, not just universities and academies of science, but also archives, museums, and non-governmental organizations. National historiography and folklore studies, ensembles and research institutions both private and state-supported, musical subject positions contingent upon indigenous recording and broadcast media, all these are tapped to give new meaning to the musics of a nation or, for that matter, the musics of peoples without nations.

Ethnomusicology's interdisciplinarity during the past generation has been crucial to its expansion, in both academic and public sectors, and surely in the ways these several sectors interact. The chapters in the *Concise Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, too, reveal the ways in which ethnomusicology, throughout its considerable history, has always broken distinctive paths for interdisciplinarity. Anthropology, historical musicology, and folklore have together afforded the field its methodological foundations. In theory and practice, the truly fundamental question is not whether ethnomusicology belongs to one discipline or another. Whether it is really anthropology or musicology. Whether it belongs in the academy or the agencies and NGOs that act within the public sphere. Ethnomusicologists draw upon and work in all of these areas. They resolutely refuse to exclude approaches on disciplinary grounds, and they consciously realize new possibilities for collaboration and interdisciplinarity.

The post-disciplinarity of twenty-first-century ethnomusicology does not and could not abandon music. Quite the contrary, music assumes a new, even a privileged, position in the post-disciplinarity of the field. Above all, music becomes much more than a sonic product, reducible to unambiguous representation and restricted to a metaphysics determined by self-sustained musical identities. Music shifts from object to subject, from stasis to process. Whereas the object music was far too often imagined to exist apart from those who created it and gave it meaning through performance and the functions it acquired in society. By generating multiple subject positions music powerfully generates agency for those who perform and consume it, and situate it at the center of society and culture, ritual and history.

The shift from object to subject that is so crucial to a post-disciplinary ethnomusicology has transformed the ways in which we consider musical identity in its multiple dimensions, not least in the ways such identities extend to world music in these volumes. In earlier approaches to world music identity assumed concentrated forms: Folk song and folk music, for example,

belonged to one nation or another—Polish, Brazilian, Japanese, American—as if such identities expressed themselves in straightforward attributes. Language was one of these. So, too, were the cultural functions of remote villages and the restrictions of oral tradition.

Social and ideological hierarchies, too, were part of an ethnomusicology predicated on simple identities. If a nation or people had folk music, by necessity it also had art music, as well as identifiable religious musics and popular musics. Classical musics depended on some manner of literacy. Folk and popular musics in contrast were independent of literacy. Literacy or lack thereof, however, was hardly the issue, for the limited identities espoused in earlier approaches to world music simply failed to include film music or religious music, in which orality and literacy were more often than not in tension, each dependent on the other. World musics, it often followed, contained identities that were in certain ways mere versions and variants of each other.

The musical and cultural identities of world music in a post-disciplinary ethnomusicology insistently reveal themselves as hybrids, affording musicians and social groups many identities, some of them highly individual, others growing from the many choices about making music with others. Individuals and music-making communities exhibit a tendency to draw from more rather than fewer musical repertoires. It is not surprising that globalization, as it so often shapes the world musics in these volumes, has contributed profoundly to this proliferation of the identities now critical to the methods of a post-disciplinary ethnomusicology.

The publication of the *Concise Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* marks the beginning of a new age of ethnomusicology and world music in the twenty-first century. Even as it does so, it resonates with the echoes of the long legacy of encounter with music in its local and global contexts. Just as Herder and the generations that followed him struggled with the complicated questions of canon and discipline, so too do the authors and editors of these volumes struggle with the implications of identifying and claiming world music in the generations that preceded them. In the twenty-first century, there are new contexts for experiencing music close to home and on a global landscape, and technology and the seemingly infinite possibility of mediation engender new forms of encounter, making them virtually quotidian. As these new contexts resituate the borders of world music, they also challenge us to reexamine what world music really is, that is, whether we can fully perceive and engage with its new ontologies. When we encounter world music in the twenty-first century, we realize that the old borders of nations, languages, genres, and social collectivity have been supplanted by the processes of globalization, hybridity, revival, embodiment, and decolonization. Popular music and sacred music no longer lurk at the peripheries but they remix the center. Aesthetics and politics no longer occupy separate territories but cohabit the everyday world of all musical experience.

Johann Gottfried Herder, in many ways, got it right, but he did so only because he recognized the need relentlessly to push the borders of music so that they would include more and more. The legacy of the volumes to which the reader now turns is therefore not one of claiming categories and canons from the world into which Herder's successors were moving, but rather the challenge to move beyond them. This is the legacy that fills the pages of the *Concise Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*.

Chicago, April 2008

Preface

The *Concise Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* is an adaptation of the respected ten-volume *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* that has become a staple for ethnomusicologists. The new *Concise* edition was conceived with broader goals. It is directed to a more general audience and well-suited for small libraries. Furthermore, libraries housing the original ten-volume set will appreciate the *Concise* version as a supplement to the existing material. In the effort to consolidate ten volumes to two, essays were revised, summarized, added or removed, and brought up-to-date in the process.

We have adapted the content to the needs of a more general audience: articles intended primarily for a specialized audience—those on previous scholarship and research, on the archaeology of instruments, and on the discipline of ethnomusicology itself—have been excluded. Certain terms are replaced by or supplemented with more familiar ones; for example, *wind instrument* is used for *aerophone*, *stringed instrument* for *chordophone*, *self-sounding instrument* for *idiophone*, and *drum* or *percussion instrument* for *membranophone*. (Explanations as to why the Hornbostel-Sachs terms are preferable to these appear in Dale A. Olsen and Anthony Seeger's introduction to section 2, in the glossary, and elsewhere.) In-text references have been removed, except for direct quotes, attributions in musical figures, and a few other instances. The lists of references to bibliographies have been changed and supplemented with works from the literature guides appearing at the end of the original volumes. Fundamental musical terms—*tone*, *harmony*, *melody*—are added to the glossary, and many existing definitions have been expanded.

Numerous resources were consulted, in addition to the ten-volume encyclopedia set, including: *Grove Music Online*, *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, *The Harvard Dictionary of Music* edited by Don Michael Randel (Harvard, 2003), *The Encyclopedia of Popular Music* edited by Colin Larkin (Oxford, 2006), *The CIA Factbook*, and many monographs and journals. The maps have been reviewed and revised using the Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection of the University of Texas at Austin, *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, Indiana University Graphic Services and Google Map.

Organization

The *Concise Garland* adopts the geographic approach of the original set: the nine sections correspond to the regions covered in the nine volumes, though their order differs. Each section begins with an introduction, which covers the region's culture and music. The introductions to several sections lead into an additional article or articles discussing other unifying aspects of a region's music, especially its instruments, genres, or theories. The remainder (and

bulk) of a section is devoted to articles on some of the region's individual music cultures.

The articles within a section overlap only minimally; each section can be read in its entirety as an introduction to the region's music and culture. In general, the introductory articles focus on culture and history, and the individual articles focus on music. Those interested in reading an article on a specific music—i.e., Sam-Ang Sam's "Cambodia" in the Southeast Asia section—will find cultural and historical context for it in Terry Miller and Sean Williams' introductory articles: "Southeast Asian Musics: An Overview" and "Waves of Cultural Influence." Several sections have introductions to the region *and* introductions to geographic areas within the region. For example, context for Christian Poché's "Musical Life in Aleppo, Syria" in the Middle East section is found in Stephen Blum's "Hearing the Music of the Middle East" and A. J. Racy's "Overview of Music in the Mashriq." The Table of Contents serves as a guide to finding the historical and cultural background for a particular article.

Acknowledgments

More than one hundred scholars wrote, reviewed and revised articles, contributed photographs, and provided advice. Jacob W. Love, Terry E. Miller, Dale A. Olsen, and Sean Williams deserve special recognition. Alison Arnold, Stephen Blum, Virginia Danielson, Robin Elliott, Ron Emoff, Keith Howard, Adrienne L. Kaeppler, Ellen Koskoff, Gayathri Rajapur Kassebaum, Theodore Levin, Portia K. Maulsby, James Porter, A. J. Racy, N. Scott Robinson, Jonathan Shannon, Daniel Sheehy, Ruth M. Stone, and Dale Wilson also made helpful contributions. Some scholars substantially revised articles or authored new ones, particularly Michael Birenbaum Quintero, David Coplan, Veronica Doubleday, Ron Emoff, Oliver Greene, Clare Jones, Jean Kidula, Jacob W. Love, Irene Markoff, Daniel Neely, Dale A. Olsen, Gordon Thompson, Sean Williams, Dale Wilson, and Holly Wissler.

Douglas Puchowski managed the process of compiling the two *Concise* volumes, adapting them from the original ten-volume edition. Jessie Reiswig, Tony Coulter, Dacus Thompson, Daniel Webb and R. Brian Smith are acknowledged for their assistance.

Routledge Editorial and Production extend grateful thanks to all involved with this project. Following are listed the editors, contributors and reviewers whose work is reflected in the *Concise Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*.

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Audio Examples

Volume 1

CD materials can be found at <https://www.routledge.com/9780415994033>

The following examples are included on the accompanying audio compact disc packaged with this volume. Track numbers are also indicated on the pages listed below for easy reference to text discussions. Complete notes on each example may be found on pages 1387–1392.

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1. Africa

Africa astounds with its geographic expanse and its regional diversities. The richness of its cultural heritage includes an extraordinary vitality in its performing arts. This section begins with a profile of Africa and an introduction to these arts, and then presents representative studies of the musics of each region—west, north, east, central, and south. These studies give us insights into the factors that contribute to the diversity of Africa's cultural traditions; at the same time, we see elements and processes that cross regional boundaries and create distinctly African musical flavors.



Africa

Profile of Africa

The African continent first impresses by its size: the second-largest of the continents of the world, it contains more than 28 million square kilometers, spanning 8000 kilometers from north to south and 7400 kilometers from east to west. Islands dot the coasts, with Madagascar in the southeast being the largest.

Bisected by the equator and lying predominantly within the tropics, where thick rainforests grow, the continent consists of a plateau that rises from rather narrow coastal plains. Vast expanses of grassland characterize its inland areas. The Sahara Desert dominates the north, and the Kalahari Desert the south. Vast mineral resources—of iron, gold, diamonds, oil—and deep tropical forests enrich the continent.

Peoples and Languages

The population of Africa constitutes only one-tenth of the world's people, though many urban areas and countries (like Nigeria) have a high density, counterbalancing extensive tracts of sparse population. Large urban areas have sprung up in nearly every country of Africa, with high-rise office buildings and computers part of the milieu. People cluster into nearly three thousand ethnic groups, each of which shares aspects of social identity. The most widely known reference work that classifies these groups is George Peter Murdock's *Africa: Its People and Their Culture History* (1959).

About one thousand distinct indigenous languages are spoken throughout Africa. They can be classified into four major families: Niger-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan, Hamito-Semitic, and Khoisan. The Niger-Kordofanian is the largest and most widespread of these, extending from West Africa to the southern tip of Africa; its geographical distribution points to the rapid movement of people from West Africa eastward and southward beginning about 2000 B.C.E. and extending into the 1600s of the common era.

Swahili, an East African trade language (with a Bantu grammar and much Arabic vocabulary), reflects the movements of peoples within Africa and to and from Arabia. Bambara and Hausa, other trade languages (spoken across wide areas of West Africa), are but a few of the languages that show Arabic influence. In addition, the Austronesian family is represented by Malagasy, spoken on the

Orthography

ɛ or ɛ̃	= "eh" as in bet
ɔ or ɔ̃	= "aw" as in awful
ŋ or ɲ	= "ng" as in sing
ʎ or yɟ	= "ch" as in German ach
ʃ or ʂ	= "sh" as in shout
d̥	= implosive "d"
k̥	= implosive "k"
!	= click sound
ˈ	= high tone
ˌ	= low tone
ˊ	= high-low tone
˜	= nasalized sound

island of Madagascar, and the Indo-European family by Afrikaans, spoken by descendants of seventeenth-century Dutch settlers in South Africa.

Following colonial rule in many countries, English, French, and Portuguese still serve as languages of commerce and education in the former colonies. Several languages of the Indian subcontinent are spoken by members of Asian communities that have arisen in many African countries, and numerous Lebanese traders throughout Africa speak a dialect of Arabic.

From the 1500s to the 1800s, trade in slaves produced a great outward movement of perhaps 10 million people from West and Central Africa to the Americas, and from East Africa to Arabia. A token return of ex-slaves and their descendants to Liberia during the 1800s represented a further disruption, as African-American settlers displaced portions of local populations. The long-term effects of this loss of human potential, and the attendant suffering it produced, have yet to be adequately understood. The movement of peoples contributed to the formation of new languages, such as Krio of Sierra Leone and Liberian English of Liberia—hybrids of indigenous and foreign tongues.

Though indigenous systems of writing were not widespread in Africa, some peoples invented their own scripts. These peoples included some of the Tuareg and Berber groups in the Sahara and more than fifteen groups in West Africa, including the Vai and the Kpelle of Liberia.

Subsistence and Industry

A majority of Africans engage in farming. In many areas, farmers use shifting cultivation, in which they

plant a portion of land for a time and then leave it to regenerate, moving to another plot. This form of agriculture is characteristically tied to a system of communal ownership; increasingly, however, people and corporations, by acquiring exclusive ownership of large areas of arable land, are changing African land-use patterns.

International commerce has resulted in a shift from subsistence to cash crops: cocoa, coffee, palm oil, rubber, sugarcane, tea, tobacco. The wage laborers who work with these crops migrate from their home villages and settle on large farms. Grasslands throughout the continent support flocks of camels, cattle, goats, and sheep, and people there are predominantly herders, who spend much of their lives as nomads to find the best grazing for their animals.

In many areas of Africa, processing coal, copper, diamonds, gold, iron, oil, uranium, and other natural resources provides employment for notable numbers of people. Processing these materials provides wages for workers and exports for the resource-rich nations.

Transport and Trade

For trade and travel, people have long moved across African deserts and savannas, and through African forests, but the intensity and speed of their movement increased with the building of roads, railways, and airports, particularly since the 1950s in many parts of the continent.

Suddenly, perishable fruits and vegetables could be shipped from interior farms to coastal urban areas. Taxis and buses built a lively trade shuttling people and goods from local markets to urban areas and back again. Manufactured goods were more readily available from petty traders and shopkeepers alike, and foods like frozen fish augmented daily diets.

Among all that activity, cassettes of the latest popular music of local nations and the world became part of the goods available for purchase. Feature films of East Asian karate, Indian love stories, and American black heroes became available, first from itinerant film projectionists, by the 1980s from video clubs, and now on DVDs. On a weekly and sometimes daily basis, maritime shipping is now supplemented with air travel to Europe and the rest of the world.

Social and Political Formations

Several African kingdoms with large centralized governments emerged in the Middle Ages. Among these were Ghana in the West African grasslands around the Niger River (c.E. 700–1200); Mali, which

succeeded Ghana and became larger (1200–1500); and Songhai (1350–1600), which took over the territory of ancient Mali. Kanem-Bornu flourished further east in the interior (800–1800). In forested areas, Benin developed in parts of present-day Nigeria (1300–1800); Asante, in the area of contemporary Ghana (1700–1900); Kongo, along the Congo River (1400–1650); Luba-Lunda, in the Congo–Angola–Zambia grasslands (1400–1700); Zimbabwe, in southern Africa (1400–1800); and Buganda, in the area of present-day Uganda (1700–1900).

Archaeological evidence provides information about the indigenous African empires that were fueled by long-distance trade in gold, ivory, salt, and other commodities. Typical of these kingdoms were large retinues of royal musicians, who enhanced state occasions and provided musical commentary on current events. Benin bronze plaques, preserving visual images of some of these musicians, are in museums around the world.

Alongside large-scale political formations have been much smaller political units, known as stateless societies. Operating in smaller territories, inhabited by smaller numbers of people, these societies may have several levels in a hierarchy of chiefs, who in turn owe allegiance to a national government. At the lowest level in these societies, government is consensual; at the upper levels, chiefs, in consultation with elders and ordinary citizens, make decisions.

Some communities in West Africa support Poro and Sande, organizations—called secret societies by Westerners—to which adults belong, and through which they are enculturated about social mores and customs. Children of various ages leave the village and live apart in the forest, in enclosures known as Poro (for men) and Sande (for women). There, they learn dances and songs that they will perform upon emergence at the closing ceremonies. Required parts of their education, these songs and dances are displayed for community appreciation at the end of the educational period. It is during this seclusion that promising young soloists in dance and drumming may be identified and specially tutored.

Kinship, though long studied by anthropologists in Africa, has proved complex and often hard to interpret. Ancestors are listed in formal lineages, which may be recited in praise singing and often reinterpreted to fit an occasion and its exigencies. Residence may be patrilocal or matrilineal, depending on local customs, and the extended families that are ubiquitous in Africa become distanced through urban relocation and labor migration, even if formal ties continue.

Settlements may take the form of nomadic camps (moving with the season and pasture), cities, towns, or dispersed homesteads along motor roads. They may develop around mines, rubber plantations, and other worksites. Camps for workers who periodically travel home may become permanent settlements, where families also reside.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

Indigenous religious beliefs and practices exhibit many varieties, but they share some common themes. A high, supreme, and often distant, creator-god rules. Intermediate deities become the focus of worship, divination, and sacrificial offerings. Spirits live in water, trees, rocks, and other places, and these become the beings through whose mediation people maintain contact with the creator-god.

Indigenous religious practices in Africa have been influenced and overlaid by Christian, Islamic, and other practices. New religious movements, such as

aladura groups, have skillfully linked Christian religious practices with indigenous ones.

Elsewhere, Islam penetrated the forested areas and brought changes to local practices, even as it, too, underwent change. The observance of Ramadan, the month of fasting, was introduced, certain musical practices were banned, and altered indigenous practices remained as compromises.

—Adapted from an article by Ruth M. Stone

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African Music in a Constellation of Arts

African performance is a tightly wrapped bundle of arts that are sometimes difficult to separate, even for analysis. Singing, playing instruments, dancing, masquerading, and dramatizing are part of a conceptual package that many Africans think of as one and the same (figure 1). The Kpelle people of Liberia use a single word, *sang*, to describe a well-danced movement, a well-sung phrase, or especially fine drumming. For them, the expressive acts that give rise to these media are related and interlinked. The visual arts, the musical arts, the dramatic arts—all work together in the same domain and are conceptually treated as intertwined. To describe the execution of a sequence of dances, a Kpelle drummer might speak of “the dance that she spoke.”

Concepts of Music

Honest observers are hard pressed to find a single indigenous group in Africa that has a term congruent with the usual Western notion of “music.” There are terms for more specific acts like singing, playing instruments, and more broadly performing (dance, games, music); but the isolation of musical sound from other arts proves to be a Western abstraction.

The arts maintain close links to the rest of African social and political life, which they reflect upon and create in performance. Highlife songs are famous for having been employed in political campaigns in Ghana, poetry in Somalia has influenced political history [see MUSIC AND POETRY IN SOMALIA], and work in many areas is coordinated and enhanced as bush-clearers follow the accompaniment of an instrumental ensemble. The arts are not an extra or separate expression to be enjoyed apart from the social and political ebb and flow: they emerge centrally in the course of life, vital to normal conduct.

Musical specialists in the West have often used notions of “folk,” “popular,” and “art” to categorize music, but these concepts prove problematic in African settings. They often indicate more of the social formations associated with music than of musical sound. “Folk” is often equated with “traditional,” or music performed in rural areas, “popular” is commonly associated with mass audiences and urban areas, and “art” is associated with elite, upper-class, written notation. These terms imply a prejudicial tilt toward things written and reserved for a few—but in African settings, aural traditions are highly developed and thoroughly practiced forms of transmission, no less competent or effective in artistic creation.



Figure 1 An Asante *adowa* troupe performs at a royal funeral, Kumase, Ghana 2001. Musicians play *atumpan* talking drums and other instruments as people sing and dance. Photo by Joseph S. Kaminski.

A further complication is that African practices often mingle musics from apparently disparate idioms. For example, Djimo Kouyate (1946–2004), performed on the twenty-one-stringed harp-lute (*kora*) of Senegal and with Mamaya African Jazz, an eight-member ensemble, which performs a fusion of African music and worldbeat, the latter a form of international popular music. The West African superstar Baaba Maal (b. 1953; figure 2) recorded the album *Firin' in Fouta* (1994) in three phases, each reflecting a different kind of music. He began by returning to his ancestral village (Podor, northern Senegal), where he recorded instruments and songs of everyday life. In Dakar, the capital, his band, Dande Lenol, transformed these sounds into rhythm tracks. Finally, he took those tracks to England, where he added vocals, synthesizers, and Celtic instruments. The resultant album draws on local African music to inform high-tech Western dance music.

Concepts of Performance

Some generalizations can be drawn about performance in Africa, emphasizing the perspectives of the performers and their ideas about creating that performance; however, we must bear in mind that great variation exists, even about fundamental ideas.

Performers

Most people in African communities are expected to perform music and dance at a basic level; performing is considered as normal as speaking. In many areas,

social puberty is marked by singing and dancing, as young people display their accomplishments in token of their maturation. Solo performers may be trained to excel because they have shown aptitude for an instrument, or they may be selected because they come from a family whose occupation is to be musicians, as often occurs among the *griots* of West Africa.

Soloists may believe that a tutelary spirit or some form of supernatural assistance aids them in developing their skills. At musical performances, they believe spirits are sometimes present, forming an elusive audience, which certain human participants will sense. Spirits can make a singer's voice particularly fine; they make high demands, however, and fame does not come easily. For aiding a singer, a spirit may exact much, even a singer's life.

Performance as an Engine of National Policy

Ensembles perform within a local area, often traveling to neighboring towns, but some ensembles have been formed to represent contemporary nation-states. These ensembles may meld performers from various locations and teach them to adapt their performances to meet the requirements of Western stages.

Some African countries have set up national training centers where musicians and dancers work together to create ensembles. These performers are often paid by national governments. They travel around the country or tour the world, representing a blend of musics from the particular area, adapted to outsiders' expectations for performance.



Figure 2 Baaba Maal (center) performs with his group at Royal Festival Hall in London, 2006. Photo by UrbanImage.tv/Adrian Boot.



Figure 3 The Asante *nkofo* trumpet ensemble performs, Kumase, Ghana, 2001. The trumpets are made from elephant tusks, some are bound in black tape to seal cracks.
Photo by Joseph S. Kaminski.



Figure 4 A Tuareg *tende* singing group performs in Niamey, Niger, accompanied by the *tende* mortar drum (played by the woman third from left) and an *assakalabu* (played by the woman at left), which is a half-calabash upturned in a basin of water and struck with a stick beater.
Photo by Caroline Card Wendt, 1976.

Musical Instruments as Human Extensions

The people of Africa make and use a vast array of musical instruments (figures 3, 4, 5, and 6). Beyond an expected variety of drums, musicians play harps, harp-lutes, lutes, lyres, zithers, and guitars, to name but a few of the stringed instruments found across the continent.

Within African contexts, instruments are more than material objects: they frequently take on human features and qualities. Certain solo instruments may have personal names, be kept in special houses, receive special sacrificial food or other offerings, and

be regarded as quasi-human. To a musician playing them, they provide power and sometimes special aid. A close, humanlike partnership sometimes develops between musician and instrument.

Ethnomusicologists use categories such as aerophones (bullroarers, flutes, horns, oboes), chordophones (harps, lutes, zithers), membranophones (drums), and idiophones (rattles, lamellaphones, xylophones), but African peoples frequently employ other ways of grouping instruments. Among the Kpelle of Liberia, instruments are blown (*fɛɛ*) or struck (*ngale*); all wind instruments fit into the



Figure 5 The *mbira dzavadzimu* ‘mbira of the ancestral spirits’ is a lamellaphone of the Shona of Zimbabwe that is played widely in Africa and abroad. Its keys are plucked with the thumbs and forefingers. To increase the volume, it is often played inside a gourd resonator.
Photo by N. Scott Robinson, 2007.

former category, and all other instruments fit into the latter. All Kpelle stringed instruments are plucked, and so the finger, from a Kpelle conception, “strikes” the string.

Exchange among Voices

Ethnomusicologists often describe musical sounds according to scalar tones (labeled with numbers or letters of the alphabet), but peoples in Africa often conceive of these sounds as voices. People, instruments, and birds all employ voices, which, in performance, musicians imitate. Performers conceive of one voice singing a part and another voice responding, in a call-and-response dialogue.

In the idea of call and response, the conversational metaphor captures many exchanges that are the fabric of the performance. Kpelle choral singing always has a counterpart to the solo or the first part. A master drummer may create the first part, and a vocal soloist may become the counterpart to the drum; but then, when the chorus members come in as a response to the soloist, the vocalist and master drummer function as a pair, which the chorus answers. A web of balances is created, and interchanges abound at many levels. The voices that create these exchanges are frequently described in terms



Figure 6 The ethnomusicologist Jean Ngoya Kidula demonstrates the *nyatiti*, a lyre of the Luo people of Kenya. Kidula holds the instrument in a manner that was developed in the late twentieth century to better suit female musicians. Traditionally, a *nyatiti* player sits on a low stool and rests the instrument on the ground at his side.
Photo by Becky Dewald, 2007.

like *large* or *small*, implying certain aspects of pitch, timbre, and dynamics.

Some peoples stress the primacy of the transaction between paired performing parts. Two players of the *mangwilo*, a xylophone of southeast Africa, sit at the same instrument facing one another. One is called the starting one (*opachera*) and the other the responding one (*wakulela*). Similarly, among the Shona of Zimbabwe, a solo *mbira* player designates one part he or she plays as *kushaura* ‘to lead the piece, to take the solo part’ and the second as *kutsinhira* ‘to exchange parts of a song, to interweave a second interlocking part’.

Motoric Patterns in Performance

In the early twentieth century, the ethnomusicologist Erich M. von Hornbostel (1877–1935) called for the

study of patterns of human movement to aid our understanding of African rhythm. Though many scholars have found fault with his conclusions, some, taking leads from his work, have explored issues of bodily movement.

The ethnomusicologist Gerhard Kubik (b. 1934) has underscored the importance of the acoustic, kinetic, and visual elements of rhythm. Moses Serwadda and Hewitt Pantaleoni have shown how drumming and dancing link: "A drummer will indicate the dance motions sometimes as a way of explaining and teaching a [drum] pattern" (1968:52).

In multipart textures, individual parts may interweave or interlock in short, repetitive motives (ostinatos), which become layered in complex ways. Certain of these motives are invariant; others subtly transform in variation as the performance develops. A sense of multiple layering emerges as the density increases, ideally with contrasting timbres among parts.

Historical Preservation of African Music

Documentation of African performances predates the arrival of the Europeans or sound recordings. Oral traditions served to preserve in dynamic ways the aspects of performance that people wanted to remember. Myths, legends, epics, oral histories, and life histories were only a few of the genres that embodied memories of performances.

Almost a thousand years before the phonograph was invented, Arab travelers wrote about their impressions of African music. Perhaps the most famous, Mohammed ibn Abdullah ibn Battuta, vividly described court music scenes in the kingdom of Mali in the 1100s. When first the Portuguese, and then other Europeans, arrived in Africa, Arabs had long been active in exploring the continent. We should beware of assuming that the "dark continent" (as nineteenth-century Europeans unsubtly dubbed it) suddenly came to life with the arrival of the Europeans. African contacts with the outside world—especially with West, South, and Southeast Asia—were lively long before Europeans "discovered" the continent.

As Europeans began to study Africa, and in particular its music, their interpretations emphasized a music of rather monotonous stasis and inaction, discovered by ever-adventurous Europeans, who, conversely, associated themselves with music of change

and development. Such interpretations are especially curious when we note that motion and action are central to the aesthetic principles of many African groups. The most charitable assessment is that European misperceptions came from a lack of appreciation of African musical subtleties, including the language of performance.

Before the twentieth century, African music was preserved for Western posterity in verbal descriptions and musical notation. These forms of writing froze and isolated moving sounds into static forms. As wax cylinders were etched with sound (beginning in Africa in the early 1900s), they opened up new horizons while fixing sound images, though perhaps not to the same extent (or in the same way) as written musical transcription.

Western adventurers collected examples of African sounds in much the same manner as they collected samples of African flora and fauna. These examples were transported back to archives and museums to be sorted, duplicated, and catalogued. Africans, in contrast, have over the years been more concerned with continuing their live performance traditions, and have paid less attention to acquiring and preserving samples of sounds.

—Adapted from an article by Ruth M. Stone

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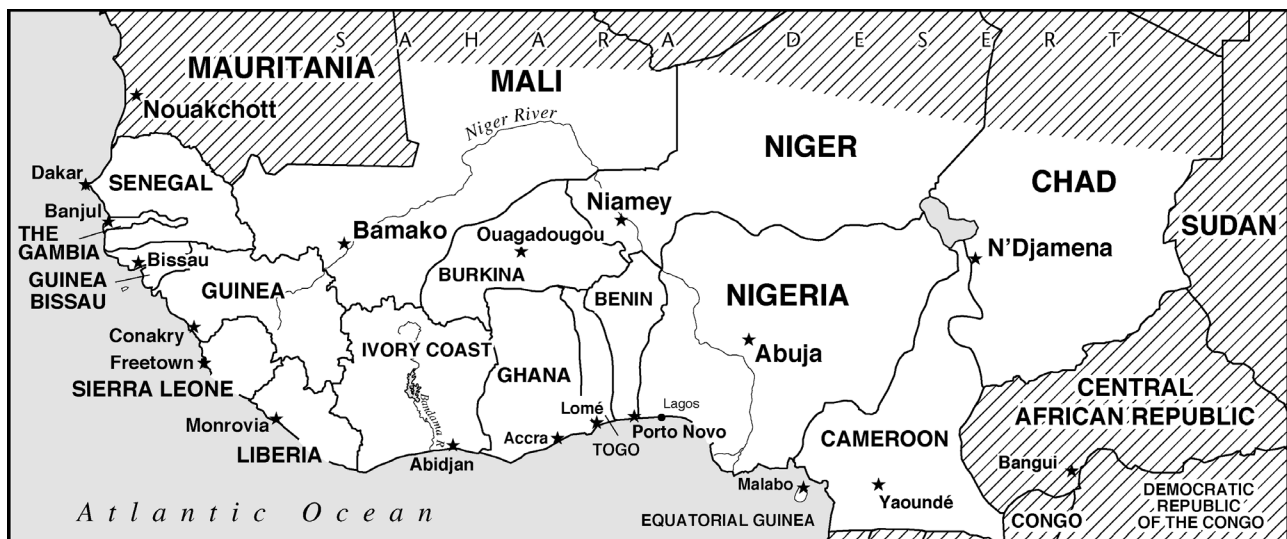
West Africa



West Africa

West Africa most clearly exhibits the polyrhythmic, multiple layered aspects of music in Africa. With a wide variety of musical instruments, performances here reflect the heritage of cultural interchange with North African traditions, especially in the savannas and deserts. It is in the west that several early kingdoms and nation-states of Africa developed.

To offer a sense of the musics in this region, we present an introductory article, an article on Yorùbá popular music, and an article on praise singing in northern Sierra Leone.



West Africa

West Africa: An Introduction

West Africa extends roughly from 5 degrees to 17 degrees north latitude, and from 17 degrees west to 15 degrees east longitude. It includes all or portions of Senegal, The Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria, Benin, Togo, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Liberia, and Sierra Leone.

The environment, which varies from forest in the south to grasslands and desert in the north, has dramatically affected local history and culture. The Sahel savanna, an area of low rainfall and short grasses, directly south of the Sahara desert and north of the Guinea savanna, has been an area of significant population movements and political developments. The invention of agriculture in Africa may have occurred among ancestors of the Manding people, who live in the western part of the savanna belt of West Africa, around the headwaters of the Niger River. Much of the Guinea savanna (an area directly north of the forest) is sparsely populated, but some of the most densely settled areas are in the forest belt, which migrant peoples settled from the north, displacing or absorbing indigenous peoples.

The languages of peoples that inhabit West Africa belong to three families: Niger-Congo, Songhai, and Chad. Differences in environment and culture divide West Africa into two geographical subregions: savanna and forest.

The Savanna

Several peoples in the savanna have played a large role in the history of West Africa, for some have established empires and nation-states. By the eleventh century, the Mande had organized a small state, Mali; by the 1300s, it had become an empire, which dominated most of West Africa—from the edge of the tropical forest in the south, to Senegal in the northwest and the Air Mountains of Niger in the northeast; in the 1400s, it went into decline; and by the late 1900s, Manding-speakers had dispersed widely. Most peoples in the savanna have felt influence from North Africa, and have to some degree adopted Islam. Many are agriculturalists, and several participate in herding cattle and trading; a few produce textiles and leatherworks.

The musical culture of societies in the savanna displays much uniformity, particularly in social organization, musicians' role and status, types of

instruments, and styles of performance. Despite the history of interaction, important differences among peoples require a subregional division into three clusters: the Western Sudanic, the Central Sudanic, and the Voltaic. The Western Sudanic cluster is represented in the article PRAISE SINGING IN NORTHERN SIERRA LEONE. The Central Sudanic cluster is represented by the Hausa; the Voltaic cluster, by the Mossi-Bariba.

The Hausa of the Central Sudanic Cluster

The peoples of this cluster include the Songhai, the Fulani (Fulbe), the Djerma, the Dendi, the Kanuri, the Jukun, the Tiv, and the Hausa. Most inhabit northern Nigeria, Niger, Mali, and Burkina Faso; some inhabit scattered locations in Benin, Togo, and Ghana. Continuing contacts have ensured much uniformity in the music of peoples of this cluster. Influence from North Africa is most apparent in ceremonial music and types of instruments. The Songhai began to dominate large parts of Sudanic Africa during the 1200s, and the Songhai Empire reached its height in the early 1500s. It extended from close to the Atlantic in the west to include most of the Hausa states of northern Nigeria in the east.

The Hausa, now a predominantly Muslim people, were probably not a homogeneous ethnic group. The word *Hausa* was once used to refer to peoples for whom Hausa was a mother tongue. Their language, Chadic in origin, is spoken widely—in markets from western to central Africa. For a while, they lived within the Songhai Empire, though they paid tribute to the king of Bornu, a Muslim state mostly in northeastern Nigeria. Since the early 1800s, the Hausa have associated themselves with the Fulani, who conquered the Hausa (a conquest called the Fulani jihad) and organized their territory into emirates. After this conquest, the Hausa adopted musical traits from the Songhai and the Fulani, but the resultant Hausa music dominates the Central Sudanic cluster with influences that extend to central and southwest Nigeria, the Guinea coast, and Voltaic peoples.

Ethnographic Context

The Hausa used to live in walled city-states ruled by an emir, a royal court, and a bureaucracy of ranked, titled officials. At present, the city walls in such places as Kano in northern Nigeria are a reminder of a

glorious past—which people partly relive every time the emir and his mounted horsemen, musketeers, musicians, retainers, and vassal chiefs and headmen ride in parade, and when, in front of the palace, the emir accepts the charge of his horsemen and other loyal followers. The emir and his royal kin hold mandated positions on a local government council, part of a federalized state government system enforced by the national army. Many minor functionaries have lost positions that depended on the largesse of a potentate authorized to collect taxes and administer a sizable budget; but such people as court musicians (instrumentalists, vocalists, panegyrists, praise shouters), whose activities were never a formal part of that budget, have managed to continue, dependent on institutionalized generosity and networks of obligations.

The Hausa social system is highly stratified, and the most important criterion for placing people in it is occupation. The hierarchical ranking of traditional political offices is part of this system, in which the emir holds the highest political and social position. No single hierarchy covers all the traditional occupations, and other considerations—ethnic membership, kinship, lineage, sex—often affect individual cases. All authorities agree that *maròòkaa*—musicians and praise singers or praise shouters—stand at the same level as *griots* and bards in their societies, in the broadly lowest rank. Royal musicians, perhaps because of their association with the highest strata in the traditional social system, rank near the top of the *maròòkii* class; and *bòorii* musicians, because of their association with widely recognized social deviants—gamblers, trancers, card players, drinkers, courtesans, transvestites—rank at the bottom. Islam is another factor in this ranking. Royal musicians are outwardly devout Muslims in a society in which a performer's faith is frequently more important as a question for social placement than his genetic background; and while *bòorii* musicians describe themselves as Muslims, their association with deviants and the *bòorii* pantheon makes their respectability difficult to defend. Other groups of professional musicians are not usually identified as non-Muslims, but their status is still in the lowest strata of Hausa society.

The Hausa do not have a single word for the Western concept of “music,” nor do they use a single word for “musician.” They speak of activities—drumming (*kidàa*), singing (*waakàa*), and blowing (*buusàa*)—and add to the list such “nonmusical” activities as begging (*ròòkoo*), praise shouting, and celebratory ululating. People commonly call the men who practice these crafts *those who beg*, placing emphasis on the social status of the craft, rather than its

aural aspect. Terms are sex-specific, so a woman who “begs” is called *maròòkiyaa* or *zaabiyaa*.

Certain royal courtiers who practice this craft are classified as *maròòkaa*, while others are described as “slaves” (*baayii*; masc. sing. *baawàa*). Royal beggar-minstrels have a status much lower than that of royal slaves, whose positions at court are hereditary, subject to the emir's confirmation; they were formerly one of the ways emirs protected their kingdoms and personal safety from the treachery of their patrilineal relatives.

The Social Organization of Musicians' Groups

Maròòkaa, praise singers, and praise shouters—all of them professional musicians—divide into five categories: (a) the musicians of such craft groups as blacksmiths, hunters, and farmers; (b) musicians in political life, who consist mainly of royal musicians and famous (recording-star) musicians; (c) musicians of recreational music, who play for many different craft groups and social classes, in contexts not restricted by ceremony or religious ritual; (d) musician-entertainers and musician-comedians; and (e) musicians for *bòorii*. Some praise shouters and panegyrists are not musicians in the English sense, but some royal slaves who play ceremonial drums are.

Musical Contexts

Professional specializations in Hausa culture involve ceremonial music, court praise songs, general praise songs, entertainment music, music associated with spirits, and vocal acclamations. State ceremonial music (*rok'on fada*), court praise (*yabon sarakai*), and rural folk music or popular music stem from nineteenth-century practices.

Ceremonial music, probably the most esteemed form of music in Hausa society, is the symbol of traditional power. Two kinds of praise songs exist: urban classical and popular. Professional musicians who serve a single patron perform urban classical traditions of the past; the music has set stylistic and textual characteristics. Freelance musicians, who may have many patrons, perform popular music of a more recent origin. It rivals court praise song because it appeals to the same audience and resembles praise song in its leading exponents' artistry. The instruments used in popular music—*kalangu* (double-membrane hourglass tension drum), *goge* (one-stringed bowed lute), *kukuma* (smaller one-stringed bowed lute), and *kuntigi* (one-stringed plucked lute)—distinguish it from court praise singing, as does musicians' freedom to praise and ridicule anyone, including rulers.

The emir controls the occasions for the performance of state ceremonial music, which occurs

mostly during *sara*, a weekly statement of authority on Fridays outside the emir's palace; Babbar Salla or K'aramar Salla, religious festivals at which the emir rides in procession to and from the mosque; *nad'in sarauta*, the installation of the emir and his officials; the emir's departure and return from a journey; visits from other emirs or important people; and weddings and births within the emir's family. The performance of court praise songs occurs at similar occasions and whenever there is a gathering.

Royal musicians divide into groups on the basis of the instruments they play, or the kinds of "music" (including praise singing and shouting, panegyricizing, eulogizing) they perform. In recognition of their position, the emir gives the heads of groups of royal *maròkii* a title and a turban. Their instruments, the songs they perform, and the praises they shout, are governed by strict rules, which emphasize that their use belongs, not to individual musicians or titleholders, but to the offices they hold. The *kàakàakii* (long metal trumpet, made from the metal of a kerosene tin, or thin brass) may be played only for a first-class or paramount chief (for example, the emir), but the *kòotsoo* (single-membrane, snared, hourglass drum, played with the hand) may in addition be played for senior titleholders.

Hausa music and dance, except for *bòorii*, have no associations with religion. Music other than the call to prayer is rarely heard in the mosque or during Islamic ritual. *Bòorii*, a pre-Islamic religion, makes much use of music, which communicates with spirits during the possession ceremony. Freelance musicians perform popular music in all contexts: at work, for entertainment at beer bars and nightclubs, for life-cycle events, or at any gathering.

Musical Instruments

The Hausa and all other peoples in the Central Sudanic cluster traditionally used no stringed instruments except plucked and bowed lutes. This avoidance suggests that stringed instruments entered the area from outside. The Hausa use a one-stringed bowed lute (*goge*), which has the resonating hole on its membrane, rather than on the resonator, and a smaller one-stringed bowed lute (*kukuma*). Bowed lutes in the Central Sudanic cluster have associations with spirit possession entertainment, praise, and politics. The Hausa use a two- or three-stringed plucked lute (*móló*) and a one-stringed plucked lute (*kuntigi*). Predecessors of the *móló*, known as *gurmi* (hemispherical calabash) and *garaya* (oval wood) among the Hausa, date back to the 1300s in the Western Sudanic cluster.

The Hausa prominently use double-membrane hourglass tension drums in various sizes (*jauje*,

kalangu, 'dan kar'bi). The Hausa reserve the *jauje* for royalty, and they associate the *kalangu* and 'dan kar'bi with butchers and recreation, though in some areas court musicians use them. Whether the single-membrane hourglass tension drum (*kotso*) has as wide a distribution as the double-membrane prototype is unknown. The Hausa associate the *kotso* with royalty, and regard it as a Fulani instrument.

Hausa wind instruments include a flute (*sarewa*), a horn (*k'aho*), and several kinds of pipes (*bututu*, *damalgo*, *farai*, *til'boro*), constructed from guinea corn, wood, and reed. The Songhai use a clarinet (*dilliara*).

Musical Style

In Hausa music, and that of the Central Sudanic cluster in general, men and women favor a tense vocal style, and melodies are usually melismatic. Songforms depend on the text and the language, and because Hausa is a tonal language, Hausa textual meaning depends on syllabic pitch. Instruments often imitate speech. Hausa vocal and instrumental music, melodically and sometimes rhythmically, depends on syllabic tones and quantities. The text is sung or vocally declaimed, or performed nonverbally by instruments. Instrumental music is predominantly for drums or strings, with rhythmic accompaniment by an idiophone. In non-professional music, the text dominates the reading and recitation of poems and incantations and the calling of praises. Songs are freer, though somewhat dependent on verbal patterns, chants, and acclamations.

In a tonal language differences of pitch distinguish words that otherwise sound alike.

The Mossi-Bariba of the Voltaic Cluster

Ethnic groups in the Voltaic cluster have not built empires comparable to those of their neighbors. As a result, the Voltaic cluster consists, not of a few homogeneous nations, but of many culturally distinct peoples—a fact reflected in the diversity of local musical traditions. These peoples are dispersed within Burkina Faso, Mali, and northern areas of Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, and Benin. Throughout the cluster, the impact of Islam and Christianity is slight, though certain peoples are increasingly adopting Islam. Most Voltaic peoples are agriculturalists, and all their languages belong to the Voltaic-Gur subfamily of the Niger-Congo family.

Mossi-Bariba

The Mossi-Bariba subcluster includes these ethnic groups: Mossi (a complex encompassing the Mam-

prussi, Dagbamba, and Nanumba), Konkomba, Gourmantché (also called Gurma), Bariba, Kusasi, Frafra, Namnam, some Gonja, and Yarse. Because of common origins, the existence of centralized political structures, and historical links with northern and southern neighbors, societies in the Mossi complex are similar to each other. During the 1400s and 1500s, when the Mossi kingdoms rose to power, the Mossi fought several times with the Songhai over control of the Niger Bend in Mali. In their campaign against peoples in the south, they met the Gourmantché and the Kusasi. By the late 1600s and early 1700s, the growing acceptance of Islam opened communication between the Mossi kingdoms and those in the Western and Central Sudanic clusters, and the isolation that characterized the earlier phases of Islam in the area began to break down.

The Bariba are distinct because of their location. In the Benin Gap (an area covering roughly present-day Benin, Togo, and southeast Ghana), the savanna breaks through the tropical forest zone and extends to the Atlantic seaboard. Navigable rivers and coastal lagoons facilitated human movement and generated contacts and connections that stimulated cultural interchange between the forest and the savanna. During the 1500s, the Bariba occupied the land of Borgu (northwest of Yorùbáland) in the present-day country of Benin, and their kingdom reached its height in the 1700s. The Mande and Songhai of the Western and Central Sudanic clusters, respectively, exercised considerable influence on them; in turn, the Bariba had a strong formative influence on northern Yorùbá groups.

Musical Instruments

Influences from peoples in the Western and Central Sudanic clusters are clear in the music of Mossi-Bariba peoples. Professional musicians belonging to a distinct social class dominate musical life. Because of their attachment to royalty or important persons, most have high status. Instruments associated with North Africa (hourglass tension drum, bowed and plucked lutes, metal trumpets) occur in most cultures. As with the Hausa, these instruments symbolize power. The Bariba associate kettledrums, long metal trumpets, and hourglass tension drums with traditional power; but the Dagbamba associate both the hourglass tension drum (*lunga*, pl. *lunsi*) and the bowed lute (*gonje*; also *gondze* and *goondze*) with royalty. There is no evidence that any Mossi people has adopted metal trumpets. The use of the harp and the xylophone reflects Mande influence.

Mossi-Bariba stringed instruments are the musical bow, bowed and plucked lutes, and various zithers and flutes. Their wind instruments include an

ocarina, a clarinet, a trumpet made from wood and animal horn, a whirled slat (bullroarer), a whirled disc, and a mirliton. Their drums are made of gourd, wood, and clay, in several shapes: square frame, cylindrical, conical, hourglass, and barrel. Their idiophones include gourd rattles, sticks, lamellaphones, and water drums. The Bariba use rock gongs and leg xylophones.

A **mirliton** is an object or membrane made to sound by the indirect action of the vibration of the instrument to which it is attached; its sound is often described as a buzz.

A **lamellaphone** is a musical instrument whose sound is the vibration of a long, thin, movable plate or plates affixed to one end.

Musical Style

The use of a high tessitura is widespread and closely related to the range of melodic instruments that accompany singing. The range of Dagbamba vocal and instrumental music appears narrower in comparison to the range of music performed by peoples of the Western and Central Sudanic clusters, where Islamic influence is heavier. Vocal quality is tense, as in other Islamic areas. Most scales are pentatonic, and slight ornamentation occurs in vocal and instrumental styles.

Musical Contexts

In the context of performing for royalty and other patrons, specialists usually emphasize praise singing. Praise songs honoring royalty reinforce the importance of history. Many include references to important moral values. As with other peoples of the Voltaic cluster, occasions for making music include lifecycle events, work, harvest celebrations, religious rites, and festivals. So much Dagbamba music and dramatic display occurs at funerals that they seem to be festive events. Unlike the Western and Central Sudanic clusters, societies within the Mossi-Bariba subcluster prominently integrate traditional African music at Islamic events. At Islamic occasions in Dagbon in northern Ghana, drummers and fiddlers commonly perform historical or genealogy songs.

The Forest

Savanna dwellers have had contact with each other through the development of empires, the movement of populations, and the influence of North Africa. As a result, their cultures are similar to each other. In contrast, the cultures of the forest and coast are diverse. The forest has provided refuge from peoples of the grasslands. Extreme ethnic fragmentation, among more than five hundred ethnic groups, has led

to extreme differentiation in political and social organization. Several originally small-scale societies evolved into complex nation-states; others remained small, but joined loosely organized confederacies. No forest societies have matched the scope or size of empires in the Western and Central Sudanic cluster.

For subsistence, the people of most forest-belt cultures participate in agriculture and hunting; those of a few rely on fishing and livestock grazing. Generally, secret societies and age-grade associations have served as important institutions. External influences apparently resulted from contacts with savanna dwellers and Europeans. Indigenous African religions are prominent; however, members of some societies have adopted Islam or Christianity.

Differences within the sociopolitical organization of societies are reflected in music. Elaborate traditions of court music and masquerades are important. Features that characterize forest-belt music include the use of percussive instruments and an emphasis on complex rhythms. Because similarities and differences exist in how features are manifested and music is socially organized, forest-belt music falls into two clusters: eastern and western, divided by the Bandama River, in Côte d'Ivoire.

The Akan of the Eastern Forest Cluster

The languages of ethnic groups in the east belong to the Kwa and Benue-Congo divisions of the Niger-Congo family. An extensive amount of musical research has been done on peoples of this area. The music of groups living in the Eastern Forest most

often serve as a model to represent the music of West Africa as a whole. Because of cultural diversity, the area subdivides into several subclusters: the Igbo, the Yorùbá, the Aja, the Gã, and the Akan.

Akan-speaking peoples (Asante, Brong, Akim, Kwahu, Akwapim, Akwamu, Wasa, Asen, Agona, Fante, Baoulé) inhabit widely dispersed areas in modern Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. The basis of their social organization is rule by matrilineal descent. Political organization, particularly among the Asante, is diffuse. The Asantehene is paramount ruler of a confederation of provincial chiefs, and the chiefs in turn exercise authority over subchiefs and headmen of villages under their jurisdiction. The king is not an absolute ruler: a council—the queen mother, the chiefs of the most important provinces, the general of the army—controls him. The symbol of national solidarity is the Golden Stool, which came into being in the time of Osei Tutu (1700–1730), the fourth known king of the Asante, and the founder of the empire. Asante religion acknowledges belief in an earth spirit and a supreme god, but lesser gods and ancestor spirits attract popular worship and propitiation.

Performances at the Asante royal court are one of the most important contexts for musicmaking (figure 1). Royal musicians permanently attach themselves to the Asantehene and other chiefs, and oral tradition attributes certain chiefs with the introduction of musical instruments, orchestras, musical types, and styles of singing. Such traditions appear in all Akan areas. The number of musicians, variety of instruments, and musical types are indicators of a king's



Figure 1 An *adzewa* group performs at a funeral at the Asante court in Kumase, Ghana, 2001. The *adzewa* player is seated at left. The woman at right plays the *donno* drum. The other women play various percussive instruments and sing.
Photo by Joseph S. Kaminski.

greatness. Chiefs with a higher status may keep drums and other instruments that lesser chiefs may not.

Territorial expansion by conquest, and contact with peoples to the north and west of the Akan area, have led to the adoption of new traditions and musical instruments. Interaction with other peoples also pushed Akan influences into other areas. Many groups in Ghana use the Asante talking drum (*atumpan*), and play it in the Akan language, interactions between Asante and the Dahomey kingdom have resulted in common musical types and instruments. Besides the use of music for royalty (*atumpan*, *kete*, *ntahera*, *kwadwom*), religion (*akom*), events of the lifecycle (no music occurs at births or marriages), and recreation, there are occupational associations and an elaborate military structure with a highly organized repertory of traditional songs and drum music.

Akan instrumental types most commonly include drums, as in ensembles of *fontomfrom*, *kete*, and *atumpan*. Rattles and bells accompany drumming, either at court, at events of the lifecycle, or during religious and recreational activities. Percussion logs accompany *asonko* recreational music, but percussion vessels occur only sporadically. Drums indigenous to the area are usually single-headed and open-ended, but as a result of interaction with neighbors, the Akan have adopted drums from the north: gourd drums (*bentere*, *pentre*) and the hour-glass tension drum (*donno*). Two wind instruments have associations with royalty: the *mman* (*aben*, singular), ivory trumpets, played in groups at the

court of paramount chiefs (figure 2); and the *odurugya*, a notched flute, made of cane husk, played at the Asantehene's court. Other wind instruments include the *atenteben* (played solo and in ensembles) and the *taletenga* (an idioglot reed pipe). There are few stringed instruments. Among them are the *seperewa* (a six-stringed harp) and the *benta* (a mouth bow). The Baoulé, who live in Côte d'Ivoire, use a wider variety of melodic instruments: the lamellaphone, xylophone (with keys laid over the trunks of two banana trees), and harps. Their use of these instruments may reflect their close contact with neighbors to the north and west.

Use of the seven-tone scale and singing in thirds is distinctive to the Akan. "Clearcut short phrases," phrases of a standard duration, and "longer fluid patterns" can occur within one composition (Nketia 1980:330). Phrasal variation is also apparent in Gã and Ewe drum ensembles.

Kpelle of the Western Forest Cluster

Of the indigenous peoples that live west of the Bandama River in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and western Côte d'Ivoire, none evolved into kingdoms or states comparable to the political structures that arose among some forest dwellers in the east. Before about 1400, peoples in this area, particularly those in Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire, felt little influence from the savanna empires of Ghana and Mali. This isolation permitted the development of small and widely scattered states, with enough contact to form



Figure 2 The *nkofe* ivory trumpet ensemble of the Asantehene performs at an ancestor veneration outside the ancestral shrine, Kumase, Ghana, 2001.

Photo by Joseph. S. Kaminski.

confederations for defense and trade; however, in the 1400s, with the disintegration of the Mali Empire, Mande traders and warriors began to move from the savanna into the kola plantations of the forest, bringing merchandise and Islam. Migrations from the north, continuing until the 1800s, resulted in the invention of an indigenous alphabet among the Vai, and in secret societies (Poro for men, Sande for women) that were vehicles for transmitting culture over time.

As a result of migrations from the savanna, the music of peoples who inhabit the Western Forest cluster shows a unity that distinguishes local music from that of the Eastern Forest, but unlike the eastern area, only a few societies in the western area have been the focus of intensive musical research. Though detailed information about all ethnic groups is lacking, enough is known for a discussion of the typical features of some societies. This cluster divides into three subclusters, based on linguistic families (Mande, West Atlantic, and Kwa subfamilies of the Niger-Congo family); only the Kwa are probably indigenous to the area.

The musical traditions of Mande speakers (Kpelle, Susu, Lokko, Koranko, Kono, Krim, Yalunka, Kondi, Gallina, Mende, Vai, Belle, Loma, Mano, Gbandi, Gio, Dan, Guere, Gouro) have had the most dramatic impact on this cluster. Being in the majority, they have heavily affected local social and political institutions.

Kpelle migrations into the area known as Liberia occurred between the 1400s and the 1800s. Most professional musicians nowadays work as subsistence farmers or laborers. Known as Kpelle singers, *ngulei-sŷge-nuu* 'the song-raising person', achieve renown for performing at festivals, funerals, and receptions: "Solo singers are often women, but male professional storytellers, and instrumentalists playing the pluriarc, the lamellaphone, and the triangular frame zither, are also singers" (Stone 1980:716).

The Kpelle use two words to classify musical instruments: *fée* 'blown' and *ygále* 'struck'. Among blown instruments are a flute (*boo*) and a side-blown horn (*túru*) made of wood, ivory, or horn. Struck instruments include idiophones, drums (membranophones), and stringed instruments (chordophones). The Kpelle use a variety of melodic and rhythmic idiophones, including lamellaphones (*gbèlee*, *kónkoma*); a xylophone (*bala*), which consists of free logs resting on banana stalks; struck logs (*kóno*, *kéleŋ*); rattles; and bells. Drums may be single-headed or double-headed, and are goblet- and hourglass-shaped. Some drums have feet. Stringed instruments include a triangular frame zither (*konŋ*), a multiple bow-lute

(*gbegbetéle*), a single-stringed bow-lute (*gbee-kee*), a musical bow (*kòn-kpàla*), and a harp (*kerân-non-konŋ*).

The organization of ensembles reflects the social structure of Kpelle culture. The largest and lowest-pitched instrument in a struck log ensemble is the 'mother' (*kóno-lee*), and the medium-sized and smallest are the 'middle' (*kóno-sama*) and the 'child' (*kóno-long*), respectively.

The Kpelle play music on many different occasions. Activities associated with puberty—initiation into Poro and Sande—include more music than other lifecycle events. The Kpelle have music associated with holidays, work, harvest, games, and masked dancing.

Kpelle melody is syllabic and percussive. Repetition is common, and in some traditions hocketing occurs. The scale usually has five tones. Ensembles include a combination of pitches with different timbres—voices, drums, rattles, and metal idiophones: "Entries are usually staggered, giving an accumulation of textures" (Stone 1980:718). Men sing in an upper vocal register, but women sing in a lower one.

A piece of music played in **hocket** has its melody distributed among several voices so that each voice performs only intermittent notes.

Percussive instruments usually accompany singing and dancing. Accompaniments "range in form from the accent of the cutlass striking the bush at regular intervals, as in agricultural labor songs, to the drumming of a professional musician" at masked dances (Monts 1982:106). One instrument usually provides the basic pulse, while another instrument supplies intricate rhythmic patterns. Most songs, particularly those associated with communal activities (social institutions, occupational groups, lifecycle events) have one- and two-part structures. Songs performed in unison have the one-part structure. Songs based on a two-part structure may have a call-and-response pattern between a solo and a chorus, or between one chorus and another. Occupational groups that have a recognized leader normally make use of the solo-chorus format, but divisions based on sex, age, or no recognizable leader employ the chorus-chorus format.

—Adapted from articles by Jacqueline Cogdell DjeDje and Fremont E. Besmer

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Yorùbá Popular Music

About 30 million Yorùbá live in southwestern Nigeria and parts of Benin and Togo. The term *Yariba* appears in written form in the early 1700s, in Hausa-Fulani clerics' accounts of the kingdom of Ọyọ, one of a series of some twenty independent polities (including Ile-Ife, Ọyọ, Ibadan, Ilorin, Egba, Egbado, Ijebu, Ilesha, Ondo, Ekiti). Expansion of the Ọyọ Empire and its successor state, Ibadan, encouraged the application of this term to a larger population. The spread of certain musical instruments and genres—including the *dùndún*, an hourglass-shaped pressure drum (“talking drum”), now among the most potent symbols of pan-Yorùbá identity, and the *bàtá*, an ensemble of conical, two-headed drums, associated with the thunder god Shango—played a role in Ọyọ's attempt to establish a cultural underpinning for imperial domination.

Inter-Yorùbá wars of the 1700s and 1800s encouraged the dispersal of musicians, especially praise singers and talking drummers. We might regard such performers as predecessors of today's popular musicians, since their survival as craft specialists depended largely upon creating broadly comprehensible and appealing styles. Some performers, linked exclusively to particular communities, kin groups, or religious organizations, were responsible for mastering secret knowledge, protected by supernatural sanctions; other, more mobile musicians, exploiting regional economic networks, had to develop a broader and shallower corpus of musical techniques and verbal texts.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, a pan-Yorùbá popular culture emerged, but perceptions of cultural differences among regional subgroups survived. Dialect and musical style continued to play a role in maintaining local identities and allegiances, providing a framework for criticism of regional and national politics. Yorùbá popular musicians have often drawn upon the traditions of their natal communities to create distinctive “sounds,” intended to give them a competitive edge in the marketplace.

In the early 1900s, in and around Lagos (port and colonial capital), syncretic cultural forms—including religious movements and traditions of theater, dance, and music—reinforced Yorùbá identity. By 1900, the population of Lagos included culturally diverse groups: a local Yorùbá community; Sierra Leonean, Brazilian, and Cuban repatriates; Yorùbá immigrants from the west African hinterland; and a

sprinkling of other migrants from Nigeria and farther afield. Interaction among these groups was a crucial factor in the development of Yorùbá popular culture during the early 1900s. Lagos was a locus for importing new musical technology and, beginning in 1928, for commercial recording by European firms. Since the late 1800s, continual flows of people, techniques, and technologies between Lagos and hinterland communities have shaped Yorùbá popular music.

General Features

Performances of most genres of Yorùbá popular music occur at elaborate parties; after rites of passage, such as naming ceremonies, weddings, and funerals; and at urban nightspots (“hotels”). Recorded music of local and foreign origin is played, often at high volume, in patrilineal compounds, taxicabs, barbershops, and kiosks. Some genres of popular music are associated with Islam, and others with syncretic Christianity; some praise the powerful, and others critique social inequalities; some have texts in Yorùbá, and others in pidgin English; some are fast, vigorous, and youthful in spirit, and others are slow and solemn, “music for the elders.”

Yorùbá popular music fuses the role of song (a medium for praise, criticism, and moralizing) and the role of rhythmic coordination in sound and physical movement (an expression of sociability and sensory pleasure). As tradition is important to Yorùbá musicians and listeners, so are the transnational forces that shape Yorùbá lives. Yorùbá popular culture—not only music, but also styles of dancing, televised comedies and dramas, tabloids, sports, gambling, slang, and fashion in clothing and hair—incorporates imported technologies and exotic styles, providing Yorùbá listeners with an experiential bridge between local and global cultures.

The organization of instruments in Yorùbá popular music generally follows the pattern of traditional drumming: an *iyá'lù* “mother drum” leads the ensemble, and one or more *omele* “supporting drums” play ostinatos, which interlock rhythmically. In *jùjú*, electric guitars are organized on this pattern. Another practice associated with deep Yorùbá tradition is the use of musical instruments to “speak.” Yorùbá is a tonal language, in which distinctions of pitch and timbre play important roles in determining

the meaning of words, and *jùjú*, *fújì*, and most other popular genres employ some variant of the *dùndún*, which articulates stereotyped contours of pitch, representing verbal formulas such as proverbs (*òwè*) and praise poetry (*oríkì*). Imported instruments—such as congas, electric guitars, and drum synthesizers—can articulate proverbs and epithets of praise, though Yorùbá musicians say such instruments are less “talkative” than the traditional pressure drums.

In most genres, the bandleader (often called a captain) is a praise singer who initiates solo vocal phrases (*dá orin* ‘creates song alone’), segments of which a chorus doubles. He sings responsorial sequences, in which his improvised solo phrases alternate with a fixed phrase, sung by the chorus. His calls are *elé*, the nominal form of the verb *lé* ‘to drive something away from or into something else’. The choral responses and the vocalists who sing them are *ègbè* (from *gbè* ‘to support, side with, or protect someone’). The social structure of popular music ensembles is closely linked to traditional ideals of social organization, which simultaneously stress the “naturalness” of hierarchy and the mutual dependency of leaders and supporters.

The practice of “spraying”—in which a satisfied praisee dances up to the bandleader or praise singer and pastes money to his forehead—provides the bulk of musicians’ profits. Cash advances, guaranteed minimums, and record royalties, except in the case of a handful of superstars, are minor sources of income. The dynamics of remuneration are linked to the musical form, which is often modular or serial. Performances of *jùjú* and *fújì* typically consist of a series of expressive strategies—proverbs and praise names, slang, melodic quotations, and satisfying dance grooves—unreeled with an eye toward pulling in the maximum amount of cash from patrons.

Songtexts

Some genres—and even segments of particular performances—are weighted more toward the text–song side of the spectrum, others more to the instrument–dance side. Colloquial aesthetic terminology suggests a developed appreciation of certain aural qualities: dense, buzzing textures, vibrant contrasts in tone color, and rhythmic energy and flow. Nevertheless, Yorùbá listeners usually concentrate most carefully on the words of a performance. One of the most damning criticisms listeners can level against a singer or drummer is that he speaks incoherently, or does not choose his words to suit the occasion.

Yorùbá songtexts are centrally concerned with competition, fate (*orí* ‘head’), and the limits of human knowledge in an uncertain universe.

Invidious comparison—between the bandleader and competing musicians (who seek to trip him up), or between the patron whose praises are sung and his or her enemies—is the rhetorical linchpin of Yorùbá popular music. Advertisements for business concerns are common in live performance and on commercial recordings. Musicians praise brands of beer and cigarettes, hotels, rugmakers, football pools, and patent medicines.

Prayers for protection—offered to Jesus, Allah, or the creator deity Elédumarè—are another common rhetorical strategy. *Ayé* ‘life, the world’ is portrayed as a transitory and precarious condition, a conception evoked by phrases like *ayé fẹ̀lẹ̀* ‘fimsy world’ and *ayé gbẹ̀gi* ‘world that chips like wood or pottery’. Songtexts continually evoke the conceptual dialectic of *ayíníké* and *ayínipadà*—the reality that can be perceived (and, if one is clever and lucky, manipulated) and the unseen, potentially menacing underside of things. Competition for access to patrons and touring overseas is fierce, and sometimes involves the use of magical medicines and curses. Yorùbá pop music stars have often carried out bitter rhetorical battles on a series of recordings.

Another major theme of the lyrics of popular songs is sensual enjoyment (*igbádùn* ‘sweetness perception’). Singers and talking drummers often switch from themes of religious piety and deep moral philosophy to flirtatious teasing, focused on references to dancers’ bodily exertions. Many musicians have adopted good-timing honorifics, such as “minister of enjoyment,” “father of good order,” “ikebe [butt] king.” The images of pleasure projected in *jùjú* and *fújì* are related to themes of praise and the search for certainty. The subject of praise singing is rhetorically encased in a warm web of social relationships: surrounded by supporters and shielded from enemies, her head “swells” with pride as she sways to “rolling” rhythms.

Yorùbá Highlife

The tradition of highlife dance bands originated in the early 1900s in Accra, capital of Gold Coast (present-day Ghana). Before the 1940s, Ghanaian bands (such as the Cape Coast Sugar Babies) had traveled to Lagos, where they left a lasting impression on local musicians. In the 1920s and 1930s, Lagos was home to the Calabar Brass Band, which recorded for Parlophone as the Lagos Mozart Orchestra. The core of the band consisted of clarinets, trumpets and cornets, baritones, trombones, tuba, and parade drums. The band played a proto-highlife style, a transitional phase between the colonial martial band and the African dance orchestra.

During the 1930s and 1940s, Lagos supported several African ballroom-dance orchestras, including the Chocolate Dandies, the Lagos City Orchestra, the Rhythm Brothers, the Deluxe Swing Rascals, and the Harlem Dynamites. These bands played for the city's African élites, a social formation comprised largely of Sierra Leonean and Brazilian repatriates, whose grandparents had returned to Lagos in the 1800s. Their repertory included foxtrots, waltzes, Latin dances, and arrangements of popular Yorùbá songs.

The 1950s are remembered as the Golden Age of Yorùbá highlife. Scores of highlife bands played at hotels in Lagos and the major Yorùbá towns. Bobby Benson's Jam Session Orchestra (founded in 1948) exerted a particularly strong influence on Yorùbá highlife. A guitarist who had worked as a dance-band musician in England, Benson (1920–1983) brought the first electric guitar to Lagos (1948), opened his own nightclub (Caban Bamboo), and employed many of the best musicians in Nigeria. His 1960 recording of “Taxi Driver, I Don't Care” (Philips P 82019), was the biggest hit of the highlife era in Nigeria. During the 1950s and 1960s, many of his apprentices—Victor Olaiya (“the evil genius of highlife”), Roy Chicago, Edy Okonta, Fela Ransome-Kuti—went on to form their own bands.

The typical highlife band included three to five winds, a string bass, a guitar, bongos, a conga, and maracas. Though the sound of British and American dance bands influenced African bands, the emphasis was on Latin American repertory, rather than on swing arrangements. Unlike *jùjú* bands, highlife bands often included non-Yorùbá members, and typically performed songs in several languages, including Yorùbá, English, and pidgin English.

By the mid-1960s, highlife was declining in Yorùbáland, partly as a result of competition from *jùjú*. Some highlife bandleaders, including Roy Chicago, incorporated the *dùndún*, and in an attempt to compete with *jùjú* began to use more deep Yorùbá verbal materials. Musicians such as Dele Ojo, who had apprenticed with Victor Olaiya, forged hybrid *jùjú*-highlife styles. Soul, popular among urban youth from around 1966, attacked highlife from another angle. The Nigerian civil war (1967–1970), which caused many of the best Igbo musicians to leave Lagos, delivered the final blow. By the 1980s, highlife bands had become rare in Yorùbáland.

Jùjú

This genre, named for the tambourine (*jùjú*), emerged in Lagos around 1932. The typical *jùjú* group in the 1930s was a trio: a leader (who sang and played banjo), a *ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀*, and *jùjú*. Some groups operated as

quartets, adding a second vocalist. The basic framework was drawn from palm-wine guitar music, played by a mobile population of African workers in Lagos: sailors, railway men, truck drivers.

The rhythms of early *jùjú* were strongly influenced by *àṣíkò*, a dance-drumming style, performed mainly by Christian boys' clubs. Many early *jùjú* bandleaders began their careers as *àṣíkò* musicians. Played on square frame drums and a carpenter's saw, *àṣíkò* drew upon the traditions of two communities of Yorùbá-speaking repatriates who had settled in Lagos during the 1800s: the Amaro were emancipados of Brazilian or Cuban descent, and the Saro were Sierra Leonean repatriates (who formed a majority of the educated black élite in Lagos). *Àṣíkò* rhythms came from the Brazilian samba (many older Nigerians use the terms *àṣíkò* and *sám-bà* interchangeably), and the associated style of dancing was influenced by the *caretta* ‘fancy dance’, a Brazilian version of the contredanse. The square *sám-bà* drum may have been introduced by the Brazilians (known for their carpentry), or from the British West Indies, perhaps via Sierra Leone. Though identifying a single source for the introduction of the frame drum is impossible, this drum was clearly associated with immigrant black Christian identity.

Early Styles

The first star of *jùjú* was Tunde King, born in 1910 into the Saro community. Though a member of the Muslim minority, he learned Christian hymns while attending primary school. He made the first recordings with the term *jùjú* on the label, recorded by Parlophone in 1936. Ayinde Bakare, a Yorùbá migrant who recorded for His Master's Voice beginning in 1937, began as an *àṣíkò* musician, and went on to become one of the most influential figures in postwar *jùjú*. Musical style was an important idiom for the expression of competitive relationships between neighborhoods. During the 1930s, each quarter in Lagos had its favorite *jùjú* band.

The melodies of early *jùjú*, modeled on *àṣíkò* and palm-wine songs and Christian hymns, were diatonic, often harmonized in parallel thirds. The vocal style used the upper range of the male full-voice tessitura, and was nasalized and moderately tense, with no vibrato. The banjo—including a six-stringed guitar-banjo and a mandolin-banjo—played a role similar to that of the fiddle in *sákàrà* music, often introducing or bridging between vocal segments, and providing heterophonic accompaniment for the vocal line. *Jùjú* banjoists used a technique of thumb and forefinger plucking introduced to Lagos by Liberian sailors.

After the mid-1940s, *jùjú* underwent a rapid transformation. The first major change was the introduction, in 1948, of the *gangan* talking drum, a change attributed to bandleader Akanbi Ege. Another change was the availability of electronic amplifiers, microphones, and pickups. Portable public-address systems had been introduced during the war and were in regular use by Yorùbá musicians by the late 1940s. The first *jùjú* musician to adopt the amplified guitar was Ayinde Bakare, who experimented with a contact microphone in 1949, switching from ukulele-banjo to “box guitar” (acoustic), because there was no place to attach the device to the body of the banjo. Electronic amplification of voices and guitar catalyzed an expansion of *jùjú* ensembles during the 1950s. In particular, it enabled musicians to incorporate more percussion instruments without upsetting the aural balance they wanted between singing and instrumental accompaniment.

In the postwar period, *jùjú* bands began to use the *agidigbo* (a box-resonated lamellaphone) and various conga drums (*àkùbà*, *ògido*), reflecting the influence of a genre called mambo music, a Yorùbá version of *konkoma* music, brought to Lagos from Ghana by Ewe and Fanti migrant workers. According to *jùjú* musicians active at the time, the *agidigbo* and *ògido* (bass conga) provided a bass counterbalance for the electric guitar and *gangan*.

The instrumentation of Bakare’s group shifted from one stringed instrument and two percussion instruments (before the war), to one stringed instrument and five percussion instruments (in 1954). By 1966, most *jùjú* bands had eight or nine musicians. Expansion and reorganization of the ensemble occurred simultaneously with a slowing of tempos. Slower tempos and expanded ensembles in turn reflected changes in aural textures. Western technology was put into the service of indigenous aesthetics: the channeling of singing and guitar through cheap and infrequently serviced tube amplifiers and speakers augmented the density and buzzing of the music.

Many bandleaders produced records with a song in standard Yorùbá dialect and mainstream *jùjú* style on the A side, and a local Yorùbá dialect and style on the B side. Most *jùjú* singing shifted from the high-tessitura, nasalized style of the 1930s and 1940s to a lower, more relaxed sound, closer to the traditional secular male vocal style and the imported model of the crooner. Tunde King’s distinctive style of singing was extended by Tunde Western Nightingale, “the bird that sings at night,” a popular Lagosian bandleader of the 1950s and 1960s.

Later Styles

The birth of later *jùjú* can be traced to the innovations of Isiah Kehinde Dairo (1930–1996), an Ijèṣa Yorùbá musician, who had a series of hit records around the time of Nigerian independence (1960). His recordings for the British company Decca were so successful that the British government in 1963 designated him a member of the Order of the British Empire. In 1967, he joined *àpàlà* star Haruna Iṣṣola (1919–1983) to found Star Records. His hits of the early 1960s, recorded on two-track tape at Decca Studios in Lagos, reveal his mastery of the three-minute recording. Most of his records from this period begin with an accordion or guitar introduction and the main lyric, sung once or twice. This leads into a middle section, in which the *dùndún* predominates, playing proverbs and slogans, which in turn a chorus repeats. The final section usually reprises the main text.

The vocal style on Dairo’s records was influenced by Christian hymnody. (Dairo was pastor of a syncretic church in Lagos.) It reflects the polyphonic singing of eastern Yorùbáland (Ileṣa, Ekiti). His lyrics—in Standard Yorùbá, Ijèṣa dialect, and various other Nigerian and Ghanaian languages—were carefully composed. By his own account, he made special efforts to research traditional poetic idioms. Many of his songs consist of philosophical advice and prayers for himself and his patrons.

Jùjú continued to develop along lines established by Bakare and Dairo. The oil boom of the 1970s led to a rapid expansion of the Nigerian economy. Many individuals earned enough money from trade and entrepreneurial activity to hire musicians for lifecycle celebrations, and the number and size of *jùjú* bands increased concomitantly. By the mid-1970s, the ideal *jùjú* ensemble had expanded beyond the ten-piece bands of Bakare and Dairo to include fifteen or more musicians. Large bands helped boost the reputation of the patrons who hired them to perform at parties, and helped sustain an idealized image of Yorùbá society as a flexible hierarchy.

Jùjú Stars

A noteworthy star of *jùjú* is King Sunny Adé. Born in Ondo, Nigeria, in 1946, he started his musical career playing a *sámbà* drum with a *jùjú* band. He formed his own ensemble, the Green Spot Band, in 1966. He modeled his style on that of Tunde Nightingale, and his vocal sound represents an extension of the high-tessitura, slightly nasalized sound established by Tunde King in the 1930s. His first big hit was “Challenge Cup” (1968), a praise song for a football team, released on a local label, African Songs. In

1970, he added electric bass guitar (displacing the *agídigbo*), and began to record with imported instruments, purchased for him by his patron, Chief Bòlatinwa Abioro. Adé quickly developed a reputation as a technically skilled musician, and his fans gave him the informal title *Àlùjànùn Onígítà* ‘The Wizard of Guitar’.

In 1972, splitting with Chief Abioro, Adé changed the name of his band to the “African Beats.” The LP *Synchro System Movement* (1976) artfully blended the vocal style he had adopted from Tunde Nightingale with aspects of Afro-Beat (see below), including minor tonalities, slower tempos, and a languorous electric bass part. This LP featured a continuous thirty-minute performance, a move away from the three-minute limit of most previous recordings, and toward the typical extended forms of live performances. By the end of the 1970s, Adé had expanded his band to include sixteen performers, including two tenor guitars, a rhythm guitar, a Hawaiian (pedal steel) guitar, a bass guitar, two talking drummers, a *ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀*, a conga (*àkùbà*), a drumset, a synthesizer, and four choral vocalists.

Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey is another star of *jùjú*. Born in the Ègbado area of western Yorùbáland in 1942, he formed his first band, the International Brothers, in 1964. His early style, strongly influenced by I. K. Dairo, incorporated elements of highlife, Congolese guitar style, soul, and country. His band expanded during the years of the oil boom. In 1964, he started with seven players; by the early 1970s, he was employing thirteen; and by the early 1980s, he was touring with eighteen. He is praised for his voice, and for the philosophical depth of his Yorùbá lyrics. Like Dairo, he is a devout Christian, and many of his songs derive from the melodies of hymns.

During the early 1980s, a few top *jùjú* bands began to tour Europe and the United States. In 1982, Sunny Adé scored an international success with the LP *Juju Music*, released on Island Records (the label Bob Marley recorded for), which rose to number 111 on the *Billboard* album chart. Adé and Obey’s only serious competitor during that period was Sir Shina Peters (b. 1958), whose 1989 album, *Ace*, incorporated rhythms from *fùjì* music and was a big hit in Nigeria.

The *jùjú* music scene in Nigeria never recovered from the economic decline and currency devaluations of the 1990s, which put many bands out of business. In recent years, Ebenezer Obey has retired from the *jùjú* music field and has turned to church music. Sunny Adé’s career as a bandleader continues, though his major international successes are behind him.

Afro-Beat

Centered on the charismatic figure Fela Anikulapo-Kuti (1938–1997, born in Abeokuta, Nigeria), Afro-Beat began in the late 1960s as a mix of dance-band highlife, jazz, and soul. Though in style and content it stands somewhat apart from the mainstream of Yorùbá popular music, it has influenced *jùjú* and *fùjì*.

Fela was the grandson of the Reverend J. J. Ransome-Kuti, a prominent educator, who played a major role in indigenizing Christian hymns. His mother was Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, a political activist and founder of the Nigerian Women’s Union. It is said that he received his musicality from his father’s family and his temperament from his mother’s. In the mid-1950s, he played with Bobby Benson’s and Victor Olaiya’s highlife orchestras. In 1958, he traveled to London to study trumpet at Trinity College of Music. While there, he joined with J. K. Braimah to form Koola Lobitos, a band that played a jazz–highlife hybrid. Fela returned to Lagos in 1963, and by 1966 had been voted the top jazz performer in a readers’ poll held by *Spear Magazine*. Though his reputation grew among musicians in Lagos, his music appealed primarily to an audience of collegians and professionals.

The popularity of soul among young people in Lagos during the late 1960s strongly influenced Fela. In particular, the success of Geraldo Pino, a Sierra Leonean imitator of James Brown, caused him to incorporate aspects of soul into his style. A 1969 trip to the United States, where he met black activists, changed his political orientation and his concept of the goals of musical performance. In 1970, on returning to Lagos, he formed a new group, Africa ’70, and began to develop Afro-Beat, a mixture of highlife and soul, with infusions of deep Yorùbá verbal materials.

In the early 1970s, Fela’s style featured Tony Allen’s drumming, Maurice Ekpo’s electric-bass playing, and Peter Animaşaun’s percussive rhythm-guitar style (influenced by Jimmy Nolen (1934–1983), longtime guitarist for James Brown). The band included three congas, percussion sticks, *ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀*, and a four-piece horn section (two trumpets, tenor sax, baritone sax). Jazz-influenced solos were provided by trumpeter Tunde Williams and the brilliant tenor saxophonist Igo Chico. Like many Lagos highlife bands of the 1950s, Fela’s early bands included Ghanaians and non-Yorùbá Nigerians. The original Africa ’70 stayed together until the mid-1970s, when Fela’s increasingly autocratic behavior led Allen and Chico to quit.

For more than twenty years, the organizational principles of Afro-Beat remained remarkably constant. The basic rhythm-section pattern divides into complementary strata: a bottom layer, made up of interlocking patterns on the electric bass and the bass drum; a middle layer, with a rhythm guitar, congas, and a snare back beat; and a top layer, with percussion sticks and *ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀* playing ostinatos. The horn section provides riffs in support of Fela's singing, and its members play extended solos.

Fela died of AIDS in 1997. He remains one of the most influential figures in the history of African popular music, remembered for his charismatic personality, political convictions, and musical innovations.

Fùjì

This genre, the most popular one in the early 1990s, grew out of *ajísààrì*, music customarily performed before dawn during Ramadan by young men associated with neighborhood mosques. *Ajísààrì* groups, made up of a lead singer, a chorus, and drummers, walk through their neighborhood, stopping at patrilineal compounds to wake the faithful for their early-morning meal (*sààrì*). *Fùjì* emerged as a genre and marketing label in the late 1960s, when former *ajísààrì*-singers Sikiru Ayinde Barrister (b. 1948) and Ayinla Kollington (b. 1952) were discharged from the Nigerian Army, made their first recordings, and began a periodically bitter rivalry. In the early 1970s, *fùjì* succeeded *àpàlà* as the most popular genre among Yorùbá Muslims, and has since gained a substantial Christian audience.

The instrumentation of *fùjì* bands features drums. Most important are various sizes of talking-drum: *dùndún*, *àdámọ̀*, and sometimes a smaller hourglass-shaped drum, the *kàràngó*, two or three of which may be played by a single drummer. Bands often include *sàkàrà* drums (still associated with Muslim identity), plus the conga-type drums used in *àpàlà* and *jùjú*. Commonly, they also use *ṣẹ̀kẹ̀rẹ̀*, maracas, and a set of *agogo* attached to a metal rack. In the mid-1980s, *fùjì* musicians borrowed the drumset from *jùjú*. The wealthiest bands use electronic drum pads connected to synthesizers.

Other experiments represent an attempt to forge symbolic links with deep Yorùbá traditions. In the early 1980s, Barrister introduced into his style the *bàtá* drum, associated with the Yorùbá thunder god Shango. He named the drum "Fùjì Bàtá Reggae." He dropped the *bàtá* after influential Muslim patrons complained about his using a quintessentially pagan instrument. On other recordings, he employed the *kàkàkì*, an indigenous trumpet, used for saluting the kings of northern Yorùbá towns.

Later appropriations of Western instruments—the Hawaiian (pedal steel) guitar, keyboard synthesizers, and drum machines—have largely been filtered through *jùjú*. Some *jùjú* musicians complain that *fùjì* musicians, whom they regard as musical illiterates, have no idea what to do with such instruments. In fact, imported high-tech instruments are usually used in *fùjì* recordings to play melodic sequences without harmonic accompaniment, to signal changes of rhythm or subject, and to add coloristic effects—techniques consistent with the norms of the genre.

Fùjì has to a large degree been secularized, but it is still associated with Muslims, and record companies time the release of certain *fùjì* recordings to coincide with holy days, such as Id-al-Fitr and Id-al-Kabir. Segments of Qur'ānic text are frequently deployed in performance, and many *fùjì* recordings open with a prayer in Yorùbá Arabic: "*La ilaha illa llahu; Mohamudu ya asuru lai* 'There is no god but Allah; Mohammed is his prophet'."

Fùjì music is an intensively syncretic style, incorporating aspects of Muslim recitations, Christian hymns, highlife classics, *jùjú* songs, Indian film-music themes, and American pop, within a rhythmic framework based on Yorùbá social-dance drumming. To demonstrate knowledge of Yorùbá tradition, *fùjì* musicians make use of folkloric idioms, like proverbs and praise names.

"Traditional" and "Popular" Styles

To draw a sharp boundary between "traditional" and "popular" music in Yorùbá society is impossible. The criteria most commonly invoked in attempts to formulate a cross-cultural definition of popular music—openness to change, syncretism, intertextuality, urban provenience, commodification—are characteristic even of genres that Yorùbá musicians and audiences identify as deeply traditional. The penetration of indigenous economies by international capital and the creation of local markets for recorded music have shaped Yorùbá conceptions of music as a commodity, but musical commodification did not originate with colonialism and mass reproduction: Yorùbá musicians have long conceived of performance as a form of labor, a marketable product. The notion of the market as a microcosm of life—captured in the aphorism *ayé l'ọjà* 'the world is a market'—and a competitive arena, fraught with danger and ripe with possibilities, guides the strategies of musicians, who struggle to make a living under unpredictable economic conditions.

If Yorùbá popular music is partly a product of markets, it is also, in important ways, unlike other commodities. Many Yorùbá musicians and audiences

still regard music as a potent force, with material and spiritual effects.

Though the foregoing genres of music vary in instrumentation, style, and social context, each invokes deep Yorùbá tradition while connecting listeners to the world of transnational commerce. Taken as a whole, Yorùbá popular music provides a complex commentary on the relationship between local traditions and foreign influence in an epoch of profound change.

—Adapted from an article by
Christopher A. Waterman

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Praise Singing in Northern Sierra Leone

Praise singing holds special significance for people who share the heritage of Manden, the political and economic center of the Mali Empire, formerly situated in the area of modern-day Mali and Guinea. Since the thirteenth century, individuals, families, and clans have emigrated from Manden. Several ethnic groups (Maninka, Koranko, Yalunka, Mandinka, Malinké, Bamana, Dyula) say their ancestors came from there. These groups share linguistic and cultural traits, and bear the collective name *Mande*. People from these groups have dispersed throughout West Africa—into Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, The Gambia, Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Senegal, and Sierra Leone.

Manden represents a historical and mythic past, whose heritage endures in epics, extended narratives, and praise songs. In particular, performances of the *bolo gbili* repertory can recreate, through musical and verbal allusion, the history and myths surrounding the creation of, conflicts within, and migration from, Manden. These songs (singular, *bolo gbili*; plural, *bololu gbili*) are considered the oldest in a praise singer's repertory. They are "heavier" or "weightier" than *tulon bololu* 'play songs'.

Praise singing involves instrumental performance, singing, and speech. Praise songs most often compliment and challenge an individual or individuals present at a performance. The vehicle for praise, and

advice or challenges offered in the guise of praise, take the form of a song in praise of a historical or mythical person. Praise singing offers more than mere praise: it invokes the heritage of Manden and its lineages; it publicly musters social roles and expectations related to this heritage, and to contemporary contexts.

Among the Maninka (Mandingo) and the Koranko of Sierra Leone, a verbal and musical specialist is known as a *jeli* or *yeli* (/j/ and /y/ are interchangeable; *jelilu* is the plural form), also called a bard or griot by some scholars. In a typical performance, a specialist begins by singing text from a praise song or playing a recognizable pattern on a musical instrument, such as the *bala*, the instrument most often included in praise-song performances. Praise singing may be accompanied by other instruments: the guitar (figure 1), often amplified through an altered tape deck or other apparatus; the *kora*, a twenty-one-stringed harp-lute, popular in Mali, Senegal, and The Gambia; or drums, the *jènbe* (which has a single stretched-skin drumhead, fastened with sinew or twine to a conical-bore log) and the *ban* (a small kettledrum, played with one stick). The *bala*, also known as the *balafon* or *balanji*, is played almost exclusively by *jelikèlu* 'male praise singers' (female praise singers are *jelimusolu*).



Figure 1 Sayon Kamara, a *jelibà* from Kondembaia, plays guitar, Maninka, 1987.

Photo by Laura Arntson. Courtesy of Indiana University, Archives of Traditional Music.

The *bala* has wooden keys or bars (figure 2), arranged in consecutive order of pitch, and fastened to a frame to which gourds are attached as resonators. Pieces of spider-egg casing or cigarette paper cover small holes in each gourd; they add a buzz to the sound. To add another texture, a *bala* player may tie rattles to the backs of his hands. The keys of most *balas* are tuned so the octave divides into seven pitches, approximately in equidistant tuning. The keys, which number from sixteen to twenty-one, lie in relation to one another in consecutive order of pitch, at a distance of about one and a half semi-tones. The latitude of a pitch area is greater than transcriptions in Western notation show; and variations in the tuning, whether intentional or the result of accidental chipping or splitting of the keys, occur. The sounding of pitches that deviate from absolute consonance (for example, an octave pair at a distance larger or smaller than 1200 cents) sets up a musical tension that people consider aesthetically desirable, not aberrant.

For a praise song, a *bala* player (or *jelibā*) plays, varies, and improvises on a basic pattern, the *balabolo*. While maintaining a recognizable kinesic and rhythmic contour, he may interject descending runs or sequences into it; he may vary the rhythms or selected pitches within it; and he may play a vocal song line, in more or less parallel octaves. When a performance includes several *jelilu*, most *bala* players maintain the basic pattern while a recognized master in the group improvises more. At a large gathering, such as a wedding or an initiation, all the *bala* players, *jelimusolu*, and drummers play or sing simultaneously—which, with the crowd's singing,

dancing, handclapping, and talking, creates a dense texture. Throughout the variation and improvisation, a *jeli* maintains a single rhythmic impetus or drive, which helps shape the rhythms of the text. As he calls out praisewords (*folā*), a *bala* player may suspend his playing. The texts of *folā* include proverbs or references to proverbs; a brief narration or description of the current situation; commentary, advice, or criticism; bits of text drawn from a much longer narrative, to which the praise song alludes; or a praise name for a patron or the receiver of the praise at that moment. In performance, a *jelibā* intersperses instrumental playing with *folā*, and a praise singer (of either sex) guides a performance into singing (*donkilila la*), then back to *folā*, and so on. When a female specialist is not speaking or singing, she may play rhythmic patterns on the *karinyan*, a cylindrical iron bell suspended by a string or cloth from a finger of one hand and struck with an iron beater held in the other hand. When women present know the choral response, a female specialist may lead a song; if no one is present to sing a choral response, she may do all the singing.

For each song or piece in the repertory, the verbal text and the musical patterns performed on the *bala* are equally capable of calling to mind a larger text, a shared area of knowledge, or a storyline—a text envelope that includes bits of textual and musical information, with distinctive conventions of performance. It is a fluid set of descriptive phrases, praise names, proverbs, songs, and instrumental patterns, which all feed into a storyline, or collection of deeds, actions, events, attributes, and social mores. It can be expanded, embellished, or condensed.



Figure 2 Pa Sanasi Kuyateh plays *bala* with the Maninka Bala Ensemble, Sukurala, 1987. Photo by Laura Arntson. Courtesy of Indiana University, Archives of Traditional Music.

Through verbal and musical reference or allusion, a praise singer can emphasize certain of its aspects, and augment or reshape listeners' notions of it.

The way a *jeli* praises someone is, in the midst of performing a *balabolo*, to sing or play formulaic phrases, or other phrases from the text envelope, and to call out the name or praise names of the patron or recipient of the praise. When a *jeli* praises someone with a song from the *bolo gbili* repertory, he aligns that person with a past hero or leader, or with an idealized occupation: warrior (*kèlèkè*), hunter (*simbon*), farmer (*konkoba*).

By calling to mind the achievements and salient qualities of famous hunters of the past (real or mythical), a *jeli* likens the person receiving the praise to a larger-than-life character or an ideal. He attributes various qualities to a contemporary individual, and people expect the praised person to embody those ideals, or at least to respond with a gift. While alluding to a much larger vocabulary of references, praise singing steers public attention, praise, advice, and criticism. It calls attention not only to a contemporary individual, but to a historical or mythical character, his deeds and attributes, and the expectations or assigned attributes of members of the patrilineage to which both individuals belong or are aligned.

Form

Textual Aspects

Heightened speech, a primary characteristic of praise singing, involves rhythmic and dynamic elements that are not a part of everyday speech, whose primary function is communication. The poetic or musical qualities of speech that are out of the ordinary are self-conscious and performative. In heightened speech, rhythm and accentuation serve an aesthetic value over communicative function.

Musical Aspects

When a *jeli* introduces into the rhythmic texture additional rhythmic ideas and impetuses, he creates aesthetic tension; he thus displays his mastery of the form and its prosody. By introducing an additional rhythmic impetus drawn from rhythmic ideas available to and suggested by verbal performance, he often works against instrumental rhythms. In performance, the spoken rhythms deviate from the "natural" linguistic rhythms: they introduce non-phonemic accents, altered tempos, and nonlinguistic melodic contours. The languages spoken by the Bamana (Bambara), the Dyula, and to a lesser extent

the Maninka and the Koranko, are tonal languages; in praise singing, other melodic contours may alter or obscure linguistic tonal patterns.

One technique a *jeli* uses to create a rhythmic tension is to deliver, in a fast stream (which pulls a listener away from an established pulse or rhythmic impetus), a verbal phrase such as a proverb, a praise name, or a bit of narration. A rush of words obscures expected accents and the sense of release or repose that comes with the end of a rhythmic pattern or phrase.

Another technique that creates aesthetic tension is the addition of a word or verbal rhythm at the end of a phrase—a technique that by complicating the rhythmic focus again deceives the listener's expectations of repose.

The Emergence of Form

During a praise-song performance, a *jelibà* varies or improvises on the basic *bala* pattern. When the performance moves into song, he may parallel the *donkili* (song) melody, continue with the *bala* pattern, or improvise further. By continually returning to or reinforcing important aspects of a pattern, he maintains its rhythmic impetus.

Bala patterns hold clues to the structure or musical organization of praise-song performance. They are sets of rhythmic ideas or motifs with particular kinesic contours and sometimes emergent melodies. What Western audiences recognize as a melodic contour in a *bala* pattern is more appropriately represented as a tonal-kinesic contour, since the Maninka do not perceive pitches as high or low: rather, they think of the keys (or pitches) of the *bala* in a right-left relationship. Depending on which side of a *bala* a *jeli* sits, notes elsewhere conceived as "lower" will be to the right or to the left. The contour of a *bala* pattern, then, is a contour of the hand-and-mallet movement over the keys. Furthermore, some pitches within a pattern may vary, while the kinesic contour remains the same. The contours of the lower register (represented in the lower staff in transcriptions) are tied to certain keys of the *bala* for each *bala* pattern, though particular intervals within a contour may vary. The kinesic contour is represented here at the point of the articulation, since the goal of hand-and-mallet movement is the articulation of sound.

The nature of the genre allows for extensive variation in text and form. Motivic elements such as praise names, proverbs, and truisms, and thematic or narrative elements of the text envelope, make up the text of a performance. Since a text envelope exists as a collection of ideas or an area of knowledge, rather than a sequence of details and events, elements may

be invoked outside a chronological order. The bits of text capture and contribute to qualities and perceptions of the larger text. For a reference to the text envelope to be successful, they do not have to appear in a set order; it is a thematic area, rather than a thematic form, that holds significance for appreciation and analysis.

The text of a Mansareh *bolo* praise-song performance may successfully evoke heroic qualities and myths surrounding Sunjata (see textbox), though it may not be extensive, contain narration, or have a fixed form.

Since a *jeli* improvises and addresses an individual or individuals, the form and length of the performance are shaped by context. If the praise singing moves a person, he or she will give a gift to the *jeli*. Praise singers continue to praise someone until they feel they have received an appropriate gift for the praise, or until a point in the implied but tacit negotiation has been reached, so the specifically directed praise in a performance will come to an end or shift to a more generic, undirected performance.

Function

The ability to obtain property through praise singing and patronage is only one aspect of a *jeli*'s praise. In Maninka and Koranko culture and society, the praise itself has many functions. In the *tulon bolo* and *bolo gbili* repertoires, the singing has value as entertainment, which can make people happy. Songs in the *tulon bolo* repertory "can make people forget about death and fighting"; when a *jeli* sings "adult songs, the ones adults enjoy, when they are together with their girlfriends," and sings of things they like, it will "make the young men's minds get up and move" (Harris 1987–1988:120-A). Others will enjoy hearing the *bala* and the words because it reminds them of past times and of other occasions for praise singing.

Because praise singing occurs most frequently during parties, celebrations, or other events that call for entertainment, a *jeli* carries a certain immunity from blame, and can therefore criticize and advise others, all in the guise of praise. When people mistreat their spouses, siblings, other family members, or friends, a *jeli* may offer advice about social behavior, as praise to someone else—and in so doing, he may draw a favorable or unfavorable comparison to others in a group. Through proverbs, truisms, and other references to social mores and shared stories or text envelopes, a *jeli* presents and reinforces shared ideals of behavior and personality. In praise songs, the portrayal of ideals and the references to behaviors serve to criticize and challenge others.

Another important aspect of praise singing is the receipt or acknowledgment of praise beyond simply giving something to a *jeli*. A gift may deflect or mediate the power in a specialist's words or music, but it does not do away with the fact that the *jeli* has directed praise toward an individual; and by accepting praise, a person takes on a debt. The *bolo gbili* praise songs are heavier with obligation than the *tulon bololu* because they are older and therefore contain more historical references. Praise within the *bolo gbili* repertory is dense with layers of associations and references to mythic and historical personalities and events. By virtue of membership in or affiliation with a particular patrilineage, an individual can accept praise, and can dance (figuratively and literally) to certain *bololu gbili*. Each major patrilineage has its own pattern, employed when praising those with an identical or affiliated surname. Thus, the *bolo gbili* repertory contains not only the Mansareh *bolo*, but also the Kondeh *bolo*, the Koroman *bolo*, the Kamara *bolo*, and so on. This repertory contains songs in praise of certain occupations, such as *Duwa* (for warriors), *Simba* (for hunters), and *Konkoba* (for farmers). By accepting the praise from one of the patterns (for instance, by dancing), a person takes on a mantle of attributes and expectations. In this way, he or she can gather strength and followers. Such praise may function to prepare and carry someone into battle or adversity; however, not everyone can accept the praise of certain *bololu gbili* or meet the power and obligation particular patterns carry with them.

The Song Duwa

The praise name and praise song *Duwa* praises warriors. It has accumulated layers of references to Sunjata—which may show it has been played a long time, as praise for Sunjata in his role of warrior. *Duwa* is a *bolo gbili*, specifically a *kèlèbolo* or "warrior pattern." It carries a mantle of power. It may have some relation to the most powerful of the men's secret associations in the area of West Africa under the influence of Manden. In performance, it becomes an agent, because people credit it with the ability to prepare a warrior for battle and supply him with strength, power, and followers. It carries a strong association with death, since it praises those who are such fierce warriors that the vultures (*duwa* or *duba*) will never go hungry in their path, and because the collected references to deadly conflicts are many.

Different warriors have different strengths: some are bigger and stronger than others; some have prepared for battle, while others have not. A warrior

SUNJATA

Sunjata, also known as Keita Manden Sumaworo Maramagan Jata, is known as the grandfather of the Mansareh clan. Oral traditions credit him with founding the Mali Empire, and credit the Mansareh clan, through patronage (since the Mansareh belong to a lineage of landowners and leaders, not musicians) with the development of the *jeli*'s art, and with *bala* playing in particular.

The Sunjata text envelope includes accounts and references to Sunjata's background (including mythic origins), plus the battles that led to the formation of the Mali Empire. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Mansareh clan unified several kingdoms of the Upper Niger, but clans continued to compete for power. The unified clans of Manden eventually rose against Sumanguru, a Susu ruler, who had consolidated an area west of Manden; under Sunjata's leadership, they defeated Sumanguru about the year 1235. Because of its ties to the origins of the Mali Empire and praise singing, many consider the Mansareh *bolo* the oldest *bala* pattern and the first praise song. When it is performed, the *bala* part is likely to contain a version of the recognizable melody from "*Nyin min nyama, nyama*" (figures 3 and 4). In translation, the text of figure 3 is

That which is Nyama,
All things are hidden under Nyama,
Nyama is not hidden under anything.

♩ = ca. 168 mm

Nyi min nya - ma, nya - ma, Fen bèè ye dòn - do nya - ma le kò - ro,
Nya - ma tè dòn - do fen bèè kò - ro.

Figure 3 Excerpt from "*Nyin min nyama, nyama*," a famous song, which appears in many performances of the Sunjata epic.

♩ = ca. 90 mm

Nyi min nya - ma, nya - ma, Fen bèè ye dòn - do nya - ma le kò - ro,
Nya - ma tè dòn - do fen bèè kò - ro.

Figure 4 Excerpt from the Mansareh *bolo*, with a version of the melody of "*Nyin min nyama, nyama*" included in the *bala* improvisation.

From a performance by Pa Sanasi Kuyateh (Harris 1987–1988:112–B).

who has prepared properly for battle is one who has caused his “heart to come forth,” making his flesh impenetrable to bullets or arrows. Such a warrior is said to have bitten the *jala* tree in his anger at having been fired upon; the bite caused the bark and flesh of the tree to become bitter. The text of *Duwa* alludes to the differences between warriors, and to the tie between fierce warriors and the *jala*. A coward (*kèbajito*) can never accept the praise, or take on the weight of obligations and attributes a performance of *Duwa* carries, because he could not live up to cultural expectations about a true warrior.

Content

The *bolo gbili* repertory captures the past in characterizations of, or references to, historical characters. These songs allude to and, in a sense, reshape the personal attributes, deeds, exploits, and circumstances surrounding the origins and lives of heroes, leaders, and warriors of Manden. Individuals have inspired fear and admiration over the centuries because their individuality and unique leadership, or other real or attributed qualities, have set them apart. A *jeli*’s portrayal of cultural heroes or of other significant characters makes them larger than life. In addition, mythical elements, drawn from indigenous and Islamic beliefs, attach to them. Mythical and historical time collapses into a hero’s own time. The hero is not just a human being, but a larger-than-life representation of cultural beliefs and ideals. This character, his deeds, and the circumstances surrounding his existence, become a motto for his lineage and the lineages aligned with him.

A *jeli*’s repertory reflects the impact of certain cultural characters and occupations. A Gambian (Mandinka) *jeli*’s repertory, for example, can differ

from that of a Sierra Leonean *jeli*. (*Jali* is the pronunciation for *jeli* in Gambia.) Sunjata holds central importance in the world made by Manden because of his role in the founding of the Mali Empire, his promotion of artistic specialization (notably his patronage of *jelihu*), and the origins of clans or lineage names traced to the text envelope surrounding him. The Maninka of Sierra Leone place such personages as Kondeh Buraima, Fakoli, Jirikaranani, and Almamy Samori in roles that are important to their heritage.

—Adapted from an article by Laura Arntson

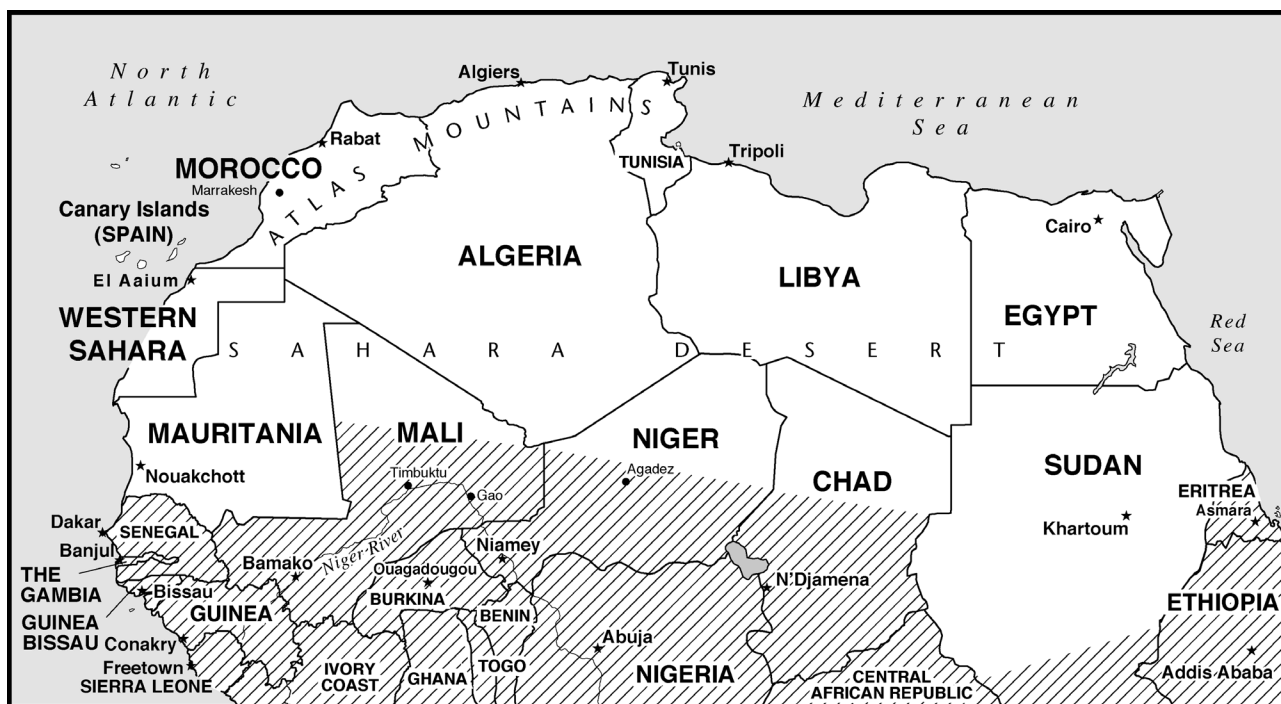
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North Africa

The music of North Africa—played by Arabs, Berbers, and black Africans—combines elements from the Middle East with those from sub-Saharan cultures. Blends of northern and southern musical practice are common throughout this region. To give readers a sense of North African music, we present an introductory article and one on the music of the Tuareg.



North Africa

North Africa: An Introduction

North Africa extends eastward from the Atlantic coast to encompass the Mediterranean nations of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya, known as the Maghrib, to the western desert of Egypt. The region reaches southward into the Sahara to include Mauritania and northern sections of Mali, Niger, Chad, and the Sudan. The Atlas Mountains, which extend from Morocco to Tunisia, divide a narrow stretch of fertile and densely populated agricultural land along the Mediterranean coast from the sparsely populated, arid expanses of the Sahara. Major elements unifying the peoples of this region are the religion of Islam and the Arabic language—the official language of each country except Mali and Niger. All the countries were formerly subject to one or another of the European powers, which in varying degrees influenced their present economies, educational systems, and development. Because political boundaries are often inconsistent with ethnic distributions, some peoples (such as the Tuareg) divide into several different nationalities.

The People

The population consists principally of Caucasoid Arabs and Berbers, and of black Africans, known in the Maghrib as Gnawa. The Arabs are descendants of Muslim invaders from the Arabian Peninsula and of native Berber inhabitants long assimilated into their society and culture. The Berbers, whose ancestors may be the earliest inhabitants of Mediterranean North Africa, comprise numerous groups who speak related dialects of a Hamito-Semitic language and exhibit similar cultural traits. The largest Berber populations live in Morocco and Algeria. The black Africans are descendants of indigenous Saharans and immigrants from the broad intermediate zone at the southern edge of the Sahara, known as the Sahel or the Sudan. Though black Africans are a minority in the Maghrib, they form a noticeable portion of the population of Mauritania and the Saharan areas of the other countries. The musical traditions of the Arabs, Berbers, and black Africans, though not untouched by acculturation, stem from different cultural heritages, which merit separate consideration. Of relevance, also, are patterns of nomadic, village, and urban ways of living that often cut across ethnic and areal categories. As the Arab

musical traditions of the Maghrib are the focus of NORTH AFRICA of the Middle East section in volume 2, the focus here is on the musical traditions of the Berbers and black Africans.

Culture History

Berber tribes dwelled on the coast until Phoenician traders arrived, about 1200 B.C.E. Together, the Phoenicians and Berbers built Carthage and a civilization that spread across western North Africa and the Mediterranean, from Sicily to Spain. In 202 B.C.E., a Roman army took Carthage. By C.E. 40, Rome controlled an area from the Atlantic coast to present-day eastern Libya. About six hundred years of Roman rule ended with the invasion of Vandals from Scandinavia, soon followed by Christian Byzantines. In 688, at the time of the first Muslim Arab invasion, North Africa was widely, though superficially, Christian. Within a century, the Arabs were masters of all Mediterranean North Africa and Spain, and though their empire eventually receded, most of the lands and peoples they subjugated were irreversibly changed, in language, religion, and culture. Subsequent European conquests hardly affected Arabic cultural patterns.

The character that distinguishes North Africa from the Arabic-speaking Muslim Near East arises in large measure from its Berber subculture. Urban Berbers were receptive to the culture of their conquerors, but rural and nomadic Berbers were much less so. Withdrawing into mountain villages or retreating deep into the desert, they remained resistant and hostile to foreign intrusion. As a result, Berber language, culture, and tribal patterns have persisted in the Moroccan Atlas, in the Algerian high plateaus, in desert towns in Mauritania and Libya, and in oasis communities and nomadic encampments across the Sahara. In remote areas, Islam and the accompanying Arab traditions penetrated slowly, forming a veneer of Muslim culture over local customs and beliefs. In the Ahaggar area of the Sahara in southern Algeria, long an impenetrable mountain stronghold of warrior Berber Tuareg tribes, Muslim religion and culture had little effect until after the mid-1800s.

Gradually, the Arab culture of the Maghrib filtered southward to give the Sahara an Islamic

character. Over centuries, the trans-Saharan trade routes, mainly under control of the Berber Tuareg, carried Mediterranean arts and technology southward. The northern Berbers introduced methods of irrigation, fertilization, and animal husbandry that enabled Sahelian cultivators to grow crops farther north into the arid zone. In varying degrees, many Sahelian cultivators were incorporated into Tuareg society and culture, and elements of sub-Saharan music became part of Tuareg traditions.

In cultivation centers throughout the Sahara, rhythms, vocal styles, and dances of sub-Saharan origin predominate. In the Maghrib, black Muslim brotherhoods perform Sahelian-style music for exorcisms, curing rituals, and Muslim celebrations and festivals. Blends of northern and southern musical practices are clear too in the Mauritanian bardic tradition, which combines modal structures akin to Arab music with rhythmic patterns related to those of West Africa; musicians refer to the varying styles as “white and black ways.” Since the 1960s, recurring drought, increasing population, and political strife have prompted migrations in many directions: herders drive their animals farther in search of water and pasture, and pastoralists and cultivators abandon rural areas for employment in towns and cities. The musical result of these migrations is the rapid evolution of new genres from older and borrowed sources. For source material and inspiration, composers of urban music have turned increasingly to rural repertoires and foreign music. Radio broadcasts and cassette recordings convey a wide range of musical styles to the remotest areas.

The musics of the region do not form ready categories. As modern composers and arrangers adapt old traditions to new situations, the distinctions among classical, folk, and popular genres often become blurred. Broadcast media have spread repertoires once specific to particular villages or areas. Conversely, urban styles and instrumentation, with their special appeal to youth, increasingly influence the performance of traditional musics in rural communities. Distinctions between religious and secular genres are equally unclear, for the texts of many songs sung for secular purposes have religious content or sentiment, and some religious music collectively performed exhibits folk-genre traits. Some genres performed exclusively by traditional specialists at folklife celebrations straddle the categories of folk and professional, and of religious and secular. Musical styles, subject-matter, and performance practices continually interplay with the social contexts and histories that underlie and inform the musical cultures.

Music and Islam

The Muslim call to prayer (*adhan*), intoned five times daily, is a familiar sound in local towns and cities. Its style varies according to local tradition and the personal style of the muezzin (*mu'adhdhin* ‘caller’). Calls range from stylized recitation on one or two tones to highly melismatic renditions, based on specific melodic formulas (*maqamat*) of the Middle Eastern Arab tradition. Familiar too are the sounds of children intoning memorized verses from the Koran at neighborhood mosques and religious schools. Children receive rewards for precise and artful recitation, which may follow, depending on local custom, any of several established methods of Qur'anic chanting. Calls to prayer and scriptural recitations are performed in Arabic, the language of the Qur'an. Whether simply spoken or elaborately sung, they emphasize clarity of pronunciation and strict adherence to the grammatical rules of Arabic. Devout Muslims deny that these chants are music.

Music occupies an ambiguous position in Muslim life. Since the beginning of Islam, Muslim authorities have disputed whether music should be permitted in worship. Because music, especially instrumental music, was associated with pagan practices and sensual entertainments, early authorities declared the act of listening to music “unworthy” of a Muslim. The debate continues. To avoid secular associations, references to music are usually avoided in connection with calls to prayer, Qur'anic recitations, and other forms of religious expression. Some communities discourage making music of any kind, religious or secular; a few forbid music altogether, as do members of the Mozabite sect of Algeria. Nevertheless, the sung praise of Allah and the Prophet Muhammad is standard practice in most of the region.

The annual departure and return of pilgrims to Mecca (*hajj*), a journey every Muslim tries to make at least once, are occasions for singing religious songs. Muhammad's birthday (Mawlid) is celebrated with hymns of praise and epic songs depicting events in his life. The best known of these is *el-burda* ‘the Prophet's mantle’. Religious music is mainly vocal, but instruments are used in certain contexts, as in the ceremonial Thursday evening proclamations of the holy day in Morocco, with trumpet (*nfir*) or oboe (*ghaita*) accompaniment. In the holy month of Ramadan, during which the faithful fast in the daylight hours, families sing religious songs as they gather for the evening and predawn meals. Ramadan songs may occur in street processions. Pairs of oboes or trumpets, in ensemble with drums, such as the double-headed cylindrical types (*gangan*; sing.

ganga) played in Niger, herald the beginning and end of Ramadan.

Pre-Islamic beliefs and unorthodox practices of Sufi mystics have mingled with canonic precepts to produce a unique form of Islam, in which the veneration of saints (*marabutin*; sing, *marabut*) is a feature. The concept of saints as mediators between divinity and humanity and as sources of good health and fortune, became a feature of Islamic worship in western North Africa after about the year 1200. Religious brotherhoods (sing, *zawiya*) arose around legendary holy figures, often revered as patron saints or village founders. The activities of the brotherhoods center on small mosques, which enclose the saints' tombs. Some of these structures contain facilities for lodging and teaching. Each year, thousands of worshipers make pilgrimages to the tombs of locally revered saints.

Hymns are regularly sung at the tombs. In Tunisia, canticles of praise are performed to the accompaniment of *mizwid* (bagpipe) and *bendir* (single-headed frame drum). In the Atlas Mountains of Morocco, Friday, the holy day, is celebrated weekly at the tomb with a procession of oboes and drums. The musicians, by virtue of their close identification with the saint, are believed to possess some of the holy man's spiritual power (*baraka*), enabling them to aid the sick and offer protection to the community.

Featured in the rituals of the religious brotherhoods are songs and recitations of Sufi origin, known collectively as *zikr* (or *dhikr*), meaning "in recollection" of Allah. Though *zikr* are usually sung in Arabic, vernaculars are occasionally used, as by the Berber Tuareg. Some practices include the repetition of raspy, guttural utterances on the syllable *he*. As these increase in intensity, they may lead participants into states of trance.

On Muhammad's birthday or other occasions deemed appropriate, *zikr* may be part of a larger ceremony known as *hadra*, a term meaning 'in the presence of', with allusion to the supernatural. Though the *hadra* takes many forms, it typically includes special songs and rhythms, rigorous dancing, and altered states of consciousness. In trance, a participant may become possessed or may express emotional fervor with acts demonstrating extraordinary strength or oblivion to pain. In other instances, participants seek exorcism of unwanted spirits believed to be the cause of illness or misfortune. In Libya, where the *hadra* is a curing ceremony, a ritual specialist performs exorcisms to an accompaniment of songs and drums—a procedure that, if the illness is severe, may be repeated for seven days or more. In Morocco, professional musicians play music for the *hadra* on the *ghaita* (oboe) and the

tbel (kettledrum). In Algeria, use of melodic instruments is rare. In the *hadra*, Islamic concepts of spirits (*jinn*), as described in the Qur'ān, merge with pre-Islamic beliefs and practices.

The Gnawa brotherhoods specialize in the manipulation of spirits, and are much in demand for exorcisms, curing rites, circumcision ceremonies, and purification rituals after funerals. Their ceremonies appear to consist mainly of a blend of Islamic and pre-Islamic black African beliefs and practices. Prominent is their use of the *qarqabu* (or *qarqaba*), an instrument, likely of Sudanic origin, that is played in Hausa communities in much of North Africa. It consists of two pairs of iron castanets joined by a connecting bar; the player uses two of these instruments, one in each hand. The Gnawa also play a *gumbri*, a three-stringed plucked lute, known by different names to black musicians throughout North and West Africa. The possession and curing ceremonies of the Gnawa, in particular, resemble those of Sudanic practice, though cultural elements from other sources may be present. At annual celebrations of the Tunisian Gnawa in honor of their patron saint, Sidi Marzuk, the ritual texts are sung in a language (*Ajmi*) apparently neither of Arabic nor Berber derivation and unknown to the present participants.

The Tuareg of Niger conduct curing ceremonies (*tende n-guma*), in which men's raspy, guttural sounds, uttered on the syllable *he*, mingle with women's songs and the rhythms of a mortar drum (*tende*) and handclapping. The men's vocal sounds are similar to those heard in *zikr* performances, to which they may be related. Sudanese Sufi orders practice an African form of *zikr*, in which repetitions of certain syllables, including the breathy *he*, appear to have replaced most of the original texts. The Tuareg deny, however, that the curing ceremonies are religious. Secular songs are sung, though always in duple meter and in slower than normal tempo to accommodate the swaying movements of entranced patients—a behavioral feature also of Sudanese *zikr*. Though local Muslim leaders denounce the rituals as pagan and contrary to the teachings of Islam, the Tuareg view them as psychotherapeutic, and exhibit no conflict between their concepts of a spirit-filled world and their Islamic faith. If these rituals once had religious associations, they are unknown.

Music in Folklife

Religious festivals, national holidays, and lifecycle celebrations are major occasions for making folk music. The Muslim holidays, local saints' festivals, and political or national holidays are the most

important annual events; weddings and circumcisions are the most celebrated lifecycle moments.

Annual Events

Muslim festivals follow a lunar calendar, containing about 354 days. Because the annual cycle is shorter than that of the 365-day year, the religious holidays rotate through the seasons, arriving about eleven days earlier each year. The religious observances normally contain no music, but the accompanying festivities are occasions for music and dance. On 'Aid el-Fitr (Id al-Fitr), the festival marking the end of Ramadan, the townspeople of Agadez, Niger, gather in the courtyard of the Sultan's palace to hear the ceremonial oboes and kettledrums played by the court musicians. When this ceremony is over, the musicians, mounted on horseback, lead the Sultan's parade through the streets, playing the oboes and large cylindrical drums suspended from their shoulders. On the tenth day of the twelfth month occurs the feast of 'Aid el-Adha (also known as 'Aid-el-Kbir and Tafaski), which commemorates Abraham's sacrifice of a sheep in place of his son. This holiday provides an occasion for Algerian Tuareg women to gather around a mortar drum to sing from a repertory of festival songs. The community crowds around them, emitting shouts and

hemiola Two notes of equal value in the time occupied by three metrical pulses, or three notes of equal value in the time occupied by two metrical pulses.

For the feast of 'Aid el-Adha, the women drum in duple meter with alternating duple and ternary subdivisions. The men occasionally clap in ternary meter—three claps spanning two measures of the women's duple meter—thereby producing, at times, two or more layers of hemiolic rhythm.

shrill cries of approval while clapping rhythms in synchrony or in hemiolic contrast with those of the drum. On Mawlid (the twelfth day of the third month), townspeople in Libya have musical gatherings and fireworks after the religious observances.

Saints' festivals (*moussem* or *ziara*, sing.) are often linked to dates in the Muslim lunar calendar. The tomb of Mouley Abdallah is located in the desert, near the village of Abalessa in southern Algeria; an annual pilgrimage is made to it fifteen days after 'Aid el-Fitr. In the Moroccan

Rif, the Aith Waryaghar make an annual pilgrimage to the tomb of Sidi Bu Khiyar on the day before 'Aid-el Adha. Such events, which often draw thousands of people, typically last two days. In hope of obtaining personal good health and fortune through exposure to the spiritual power of the saint

and the precincts of his tomb, people say prayers and perform rituals. Social reunions, feasting, and music follow the ritual observances.

Many saints' festivals follow a seasonal schedule, occurring regularly during the summer months. Some of them have an economic role. The *moussem* of Imilchil in central Morocco, held annually at the autumnal equinox, attracts thousands of pilgrims to the tomb of Sidi Mohamed el-Merheni. After devotions, the participants turn to bartering goods and animals, performing music, dancing, and carrying on courtships. Tazz'unt, a Berber festival in the Moroccan High Atlas, occurs on 31 July, in accordance with the Julian calendar (12 August by the Gregorian). Though the functions of this festival resemble those of a *moussem*, the event is limited to the inhabitants of neighboring villages who share bonds of lineage. The rituals performed are for the collective well-being of the community, rather than for individuals.

Political or patriotic celebrations follow a solar calendar. Each country in the region commemorates its independence and important historical moments with annual holidays featuring military parades and the singing of patriotic songs. Public presentations of local music and dance that highlight the nation's ethnic heritage often have a part.

Lifecycle Celebrations

Weddings normally occur during favorable periods in agricultural or pastoral cycles, which govern the people's lives. In the Moroccan Atlas, Berber weddings usually occur during the festival season in late summer, after the first harvest. The pastoral Tuareg of Niger customarily hold weddings after summer rains, when they assemble their camels on the plains near In-Gall (west of Agadez)—an event known in French as the *cure salée*.

The sequence of rituals constituting a traditional Muslim wedding gives rise to several kinds of music, some of it performed or led by professionals. Special wedding songs are sung by women to the bride and by men to the groom, seeking blessings on the union and instructing each in the duties of marriage. Ritual verses are sung during the ceremonial application of henna to the bride's and groom's hands and feet. Professional praise singers extol the virtues of the couple and comment on the guests' generosity. Musicians with tambourines, oboes or flutes, and drums—the sizes and shapes varying with local custom—lead the bride and groom in processions. Separate musical entertainments are provided for male and female guests. A professional bard may sing traditional poetry to the men on religious, heroic, or romantic themes, while female specialists lead the

women in lively songs and dances to their accompaniment of handheld drums or tambourines.

Circumcision is regarded as a young boy's first step toward manhood. As a rite of passage, it is a sacred and festive occasion. Though the preferred age is four or five or younger, the event is often postponed because of the cost of the ceremony and its attendant feast. To minimize expenses, several families with boys of an appropriate age may collaborate in a collective ceremony, or a family may choose to perform the rituals as part of an annual festival. In Algerian tradition, the event consists of several stages: a ceremonial haircut (*tahfifa*), attended by men only; a ritual application of henna and the bestowal of gifts, attended by women only; a ceremonial feast for relatives and guests; and finally, the surgical operation. During the henna ritual, the women sing the child's praises, and exhort the nervous mother to be joyous and proud. Their songs and activities are interspersed with shrill ululations of approval. The henna ceremony concludes with singing, which may last for hours, of songs dedicated to Muhammad. Moroccan village custom contains similar elements, but in a different order. The surgery, which precedes the feast, is announced with intermittent volleys of gunfire. During the operation, men recite prayers and women sing special ritual songs, similar to those sung for marriage, but with other texts. Ceremonies for circumcision may include the services of Gnawa musicians, who perform special ritual songs and dances of mystical or magical significance.

Musical Specialists

The professional singer-poets, ritual specialists, praise singers, and instrumentalists who perform at

festivals and family celebrations are commonly members of hereditary musician clans or artisanal castes who specialize in particular traditions. Gifted singer-poets were formerly attached to the courts of tribal chiefs or other persons of power and wealth. Their heroic ballads and songs of praise enhanced their patrons' status and imbued the surrounding community with a sense of shared history and identity. Though the patronage system has almost disappeared, the traditions and functions of praise and epic singing are perpetuated by musicians who perform at weddings, religious festivals, and private parties.

In Mauritania, professional, hereditary poet-musicians (*griots*) sing panegyric poetry to the accompaniment of an elongated four-stringed lute (*tidinit*), played by men, and a harp-lute (*ardin*), played by women. In addition, a large, hand-struck kettledrum (*tbel*), played by women, is occasionally used. The tradition is sometimes termed *classical*, as it demands not only instrumental virtuosity and a command of classical Arabic and Moorish poetry, but also mastery of an elaborate and complex body of theory. In Mali, Niger, and southern Algeria, Tuareg *griots* of the artisanal caste practice a related tradition. Known to the Tuareg as *aggutan* (figure 1), they typically entertain at weddings, celebrations for births, and small, private parties. Their repertory similarly consists of heroic legends and praise poetry, sung to the accompaniment of a *tahardent*, a three-stringed lute similar to the Mauritanian *tidinit*. Their tradition embraces a system of rhythms and modes, serving as the material for improvisation, and a set of rules (though less explicit than the Mauritanian) that govern composition and performance. In the late 1960s, the *tahardent* tradition of the Malian Tuareg



Figure 1 Hattaye ag Muhammed Ahmed, an *aggu*, plays a *tahardent* in Agadez, Niger, 1978. Typically musicians use the right hand to pluck the instrument and the left hand to finger it.

Photo by Caroline Card Wendt.

began to spread to urban centers throughout the Sahara as musicians driven by drought migrated to new locations.

During the festival months of late summer, the professional musicians (*imdyazn*) of the eastern parts of Morocco travel in small bands through the villages of the High Atlas. A typical ensemble consists of a singer-poet and several accompanists, whose instruments include a double clarinet (*zammar*) or a flute (*talawat*), one or two frame drums (sing., *daf*), and an alto fiddle (*lkmnza*), similar to a European viola. The *rways*, itinerant musicians of southern Morocco, wander throughout the country performing an acculturated music derived from Arab-Andalusian, European, Arab-popular, and West African styles; they often perform at Djemma el Fna, the grand square in the heart of Marrakesh, which for centuries has been a center for traditional musical entertainments.

For sedentary performers, music is often a part-time activity, supplemented by some other line of work, and payment for services is frequently in gifts, rather than in money. In this category are the women who as ritual specialists perform at weddings, births, and circumcisions; some of them are professional mourners and singers of funeral laments. In Morocco, female entertainers (*haddarat*) accompany their songs with *bendir* (a single-headed frame drum), *tbel* (a kettledrum), and the clay cylindrical drum *tāriya*. In Algeria, urban female professionals (*msam'at*) accompany their songs and dances with *derbuka*, a single-headed goblet-shaped drum, and *tar*, a handheld frame drum with attached cymbals. Tuareg singers, traditionally members of artisanal clans, employ small, double-headed, handheld drums (*gangatan*; sing, *ganga*) or a kettledrum (in Algeria, *tegennewt*, in Niger, *tazawai*).

Poetry and Song

Vocal music, except when used for dancing, functions primarily as a vehicle for poetry, a highly developed and esteemed art in North Africa. The singer-poet, usually male, draws material from a traditional repertory, setting it to one of several musical meters that correspond with the rhythm of the text. Frequent topics are love (always in allusive or idealized form) and recent or historical events. Topics pertaining to valor in battle, actual or allegorical, form an important part of *tesâwit*, a solo repertory sung by pastoral Tuareg men. The texts are interspersed with praises and evocations of Allah, or exclamations such as "O my soul!" or "O my mother!" [see TUAREG MUSIC]. Both men and women sing; those much in demand can set to a familiar melody a spontaneously com-

posed, rhyming text concerning persons and events of immediate local interest. These songs can serve a journalistic function. Songs for ritual purposes vary little in melody or text from one performance to the next. In this category are the Berber *urar* (also *ural*) verses, sung usually by women at weddings and at circumcision ceremonies.

Songs for dancing belong to a separate category. Instruments, infrequently used with other vocal genres, hold an important role in dance music. They typically include the *bendir* drum, the *tabl*, and the *ghaita*. The texts, of secondary importance, usually consist of formulaic verses, often with ostinato or vocable responses.

The characteristics of songs vary by territory, ethnic group, genre, and occasion. Melodies range from little-ornamented, repetitive forms, to complex and highly melismatic structures. Much of the local character derives from the rhythms, which adhere closely to the meters of local poetry. The repertoires of village and nomadic Berbers are possibly the least acculturated of local traditions. Pentatonicism of various types is common, and melodic use of an augmented fourth above the tonic is often prominent. Microtonicism in melodic structure and ornamentation occurs in Berber song, but is more characteristic of Arab styles. The songs of the Gnawa, like those of black cultivators in the Sahara, make occasional use of thirds and fourths, intervals rarely heard in Arab or Berber music. The vocal styles and repertoires characteristic of sedentary and nomadic groups often cut across ethnic and areal divisions. Agricultural and other types of worksongs are prominent among sedentarists, but songs for caravans and ballads about warriors are characteristic of nomads. Within the same group, the vocal styles of men often differ from those of women.

Instrumental Music

Instrumental music, played primarily for listening, is uncommon in the folklife of towns and villages. Instruments serve mainly for dances and ceremonial purposes, such as wedding processions and the proclamation of a holy day or the onset of Ramadan. Instrumental improvisations serve as interludes between verses sung by professional bards, but they rarely occur apart from vocal contexts. It is principally in the traditions of pastoral groups that purely instrumental music has a prominent place.

Music for solo flute is common among herdsmen and others in lonely occupations. An end-blown flute, held in oblique position, with fingerholes arranged in two sets, is played by Arab shepherds in the Maghrib and Mauritania, and by Tuareg herders in Algeria

and Niger. The Arab *gasba* (or *qasaba*), made of a hollow reed, has five or more fingerholes; the four-hole *zaowzaya* of Mauritania is made from an acacia root or bark; the four-hole Tuareg *tazammart* is made from a reed or a metal tube. *Tazammart* players in the Algerian Sahara sometimes accompany their melodies with a vocal drone produced in the throat while blowing into and fingering the instrument; the drone functions as a pedal point to the melody. Flute music, though traditionally played for solitary pleasure or the entertainment of a few companions, is now heard by a wider audience through recordings and radio broadcasts of accomplished performers.

Local traditions often bear the imprint of a celebrated performer, whose personal style is much emulated. In the late twentieth century, such influence intensified, resulting in a trend toward stylistic homogeneity, constrained only by the strength of local traditions. The rise of recordings has reduced the number of persons engaged in live performance.

Dance

The most widely known Berber dances of Morocco are the *ahidus* (also *haidous*) of the middle and eastern High Atlas, and the *ahwash* of the western High Atlas. Dancers stand shoulder to shoulder in a circle or in two incurved, facing lines; musicians, who both accompany and direct the dances, stand in the center. Musicians for the *ahidus* include a singer-poet (*ammessad*), one or more assisting singers, and drummers with instruments of diverse sizes and pitches. The rhythms, which include solo improvisa-

tions, are frequently in quintuple meter. The songs (*izlan*, sing., *izli*) contain short verses with choral responses, sung to melodies composed of small intervals within a narrow range. The structure of the *ahwash* is more complex. The drumming begins slowly, in duple or quadruple meter, but is transformed at midpoint into a rapid, asymmetric rhythm. The songs, sung to pentatonic melodies, consist of two-line verses, exchanged between the men and women. The *ahwash*, involving an entire village, is a highlight of festivals. Care is lavished on a performance, for its quality is said to determine the success or failure of the festival. Another Moroccan Berber dance is the *tamghra*, specific to weddings. To a men's accompaniment of *bendir*, it is performed for or by the bride and her attendants. The rhythms are similar to those of *ahidus*, but include no solo improvisations.

Movements emulating the gestures of battle are a part of many local dances. Popular among North African Arabs is the gun dance (*baroud*, also *berzana*). In its Algerian form, male dancers armed with loaded muskets arrange themselves in a circle or facing lines. The dancers turn shoulder against shoulder, taking small steps in response to the melody of the *ghaita* and rhythms of the *qallal* or *dendun*. Alternating vocal soloists chant invocations of Muhammad in the form of brief couplets with choral responses. On cue, the participants point their muskets to the earth and fire in synchrony, bringing the dance to a smoky, noisy climax. Other battle dances are performed with swords and sticks: in Tunisia, pairs of men perform the saber dance



Figure 2 Preparation for a Tuareg *ilugan* at a festival in the Ahaggar region of Algeria, 1972. Photo by Caroline Card Wendt.

(*zagara*); in the Algerian Sahara, men perform a similar stick dance (*lawi*). In southeastern Algeria, the costumed inhabitants of an entire town, representing two separate lineages, engage annually in a choreographed battle spectacle (*sebiba*): the musicians and dance leaders are women, who sing and play small drums struck with curved beaters.

Dance in North Africa is not limited to human beings. The Arab fantasy (*fantaziya*) of the Maghrib is a choreographed spectacle involving horses and men. To an accompaniment of drums, mounted riders armed with swords maneuver and race their horses. The maneuvers culminate in elaborate displays of horsemanship and swordplay. The *fantaziya* symbolically reenacts battles waged by the warriors who established Islam in North Africa. A similar spectacle is the Berber Tuareg *ilugan* (*ilujan*), sometimes called a “camel fantasy” (figure 2). To the accompaniment of women’s *tende* singing and drumming, the camels, under their riders’ direction, perform a series of stylized movements. The rhythms of the women’s songs, usually in duple meter with ternary subdivisions, are said to imitate the gait of the camels. The warrior elements, infused with Tuareg concepts of gallantry, often lead to flirtatious exchanges between the men and the women.

Popular Music

In the late 1960s, *tahardent* music of the Malian Tuareg began to move eastward with the migration of drought refugees into Niger. Among the migrants were artisanal specialists (*aggutan*) whose former patrons could no longer support them. Finding little success in singing Tuareg legends of Mali to mixed urban audiences in Niger, they turned their talents to more marketable material. Most successful was the setting of new strophic texts with romantic and risqué themes to *takumba*, an existing rhythmic-modal formula of Malian origin. Many *aggutan* augmented their opportunities by learning to sing in local languages. The instrumental interludes between strophes—a traditional practice—provided displays

of virtuosity that attracted urban audiences. Astute performers emphasized stylistic elements common to several related traditions, making their music more accessible to audiences of diverse ethnic backgrounds. Itinerant musicians carried the music across Niger into southern Algeria. Though verses of heroism and praise continue to be sung for those who request them, *takumba* and its stylistic successors are the mainstay of modern Tuareg professionals.

—Adapted from an article by Caroline Card Wendt

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Tuareg Music

For more than a thousand years, Saharan travelers have reported encounters with the Tuareg people. From the pens of Arab and European explorers come tales of tall, veiled, camel-riding warriors, who once commanded the trade routes from the Mediterranean to sub-Saharan Africa. Most of the reports dwell on the warriors' appearance and ferocity, but observers who looked more closely noted distinctive cultural traits, such as matrilineal kinship and high status among unveiled women, rarities in the Muslim world. As Saharan travel became easier, observers from many backgrounds—missionaries, militaries, colonial administrators, traders, scholars, tourists—ventured among the Tuareg and reported their findings. The result is a large, varied, and often contradictory, body of literature.

The name *Tuareg*, a term outsiders conferred on the people, suggests a sociopolitical unity that has probably never existed. The people constitute eight large units or confederations, each composed of peoples and tribal groups with varying degrees of autonomy. These groups and their locations are: Kel Ahaggar (Ahaggar mountains and surrounding area in southern Algeria, southward to the plains of Tamesna in northern Niger); Kel Ajjer (Tassili n-Ajjer area of southeastern Algeria, eastward into southwestern Libya); Kel Aïr (Aïr mountains of northern Niger, and plains to the west and south); Kel Geres (southern Niger, south of Aïr); Kel Adrar (Adrar n-Foras mountains of Mali, southwest of Ahaggar); Iwllimmedan Kel Dennek, "eastern Iwllimmedan" (plains between Tawa and In-Gal in western Niger); Iwllimmedan Kel Ataram, "western Iwllimmedan" (along the Niger River, southwestern Niger); and Kel Tademaket (along the bend of the Niger River, between Timbuktu and Gao, Mali). The word *Kel* denotes sovereign status.

Tuareg musical traditions and other cultural traits vary by locale. The dialects of the Berber language spoken by the Tuareg—*tamabaq* (north), *tamajag* (south), *tamashaq* (west)—are so different as to be mutually unintelligible to many speakers.

Countering the cultural diversity is the cohesion generated by a set of ancient ideals and values flowing from the nomadic traditions that form the society's cultural core. The heroic images reach outward from their source, endowing on all within their sphere a shared identity and the legacy of a glorious past. The perseverance of the Tuareg as a people has

been due less, perhaps, to the prowess of its warriors than to the ability of the dominant groups to impose their culture on others. Thus, Tuareg identity endures, only slightly diminished by the cessation of warfare and raiding, economic hardship, and loss of sovereignty. Ancient values, expressed in modified forms, continue to give Tuareg culture its character.

Musical Culture

Music occupies a prominent position in Tuareg social, political, and ceremonial life. It plays an important role in celebrations of birth, adulthood, and marriage, and in religious festivals, customs of courtship, and curing rituals. It is the focus of many informal social gatherings. Tuareg music and poetry are well-developed arts. The Tuareg highly esteem the verbal arts, of which they consider music an extension, and they recognize and respect outstanding composers and performers. They look down on professionalism, in the sense of a livelihood earned from musical performance, which is limited to specialized members within the artisanal caste; they do, however, recognize musical ability wherever it emerges, and they admire skillful musicians of all social ranks.

Most Tuareg music is vocal; but much includes instruments, primarily a one-stringed fiddle (*anzad*), a mortar drum (*tende*), and a three-stringed plucked lute (*tahardent*). Though few in kind and number, these instruments have greater cultural significance than their quantity might suggest, for each has an association with specific poetic genres and styles of performance, and each serves as the focal point of particular social events.

The *Anzad*

The one-stringed fiddle (*imzad* in northern dialect, *anzad* in southern, *anzhad* in western), played only by women, is basic to the traditional culture (figure 1). Its use has declined markedly since about 1900, but it continues to enjoy a symbolic place in the culture. The Tuareg have long believed it a mighty force for good, a power capable of giving strength to men and of inspiring them to heroic deeds. Its playing formerly encouraged men in battle and ensured their safe return; today, women play it, though much less



Figure 1 Bouchet, a Tuareg noblewoman, plays an *anzas*, Tamanrasset, Algeria, 1972.
Photo by Caroline Card Wendt.

often, for the benefit of men working or studying in distant places. For all Tuareg listeners, its music evokes images of love and beauty.

Much of its power was in reality the power of the women who played it. Tuareg society required repeated recognition of heroic acts and constant revalidation of the behavioral ideals that motivated them; the women's melodies and accompanying songs of praise were a potent force toward that end. In 1864, warriors in combat strove always to act courageously, lest their women deprive them of music: the prospect of silent fiddles on their return renewed their courage in the face of defeat (Duv  rier 1864:450).

To play the *anzas* well requires years of practice. The Tuareg say a woman cannot acquire the necessary skill under the age of about thirty. Formerly, a mature woman of talent and imagination could command respect, and if she combined these endowments with noble lineage, she would enjoy high status. Tuareg women of all social levels have been known to play the instrument, but it was mainly those of the camel-herding warrior aristocracy with slaves to attend them who had the leisure to learn to

play the instrument well. In the early 1900s, during the economic decline that followed defeat by the French and the abolition of slavery, most women of noble lineage lost this advantage over their lower-born sisters; and consequently, the number of highly accomplished fiddlers diminished. The end of warfare as a noble occupation probably reduced some of the incentive to play, for the Tuareg look upon most types of modern work as degrading and little worthy of celebration in music and poetry.

In addition to its significance in the ethos of warfare, the *anzas* symbolizes youthfulness and romantic love. Musical evenings with it usually continue to function as occasions for unattached young people's courting. A courtship gathering (*ahal*) features love songs, poetical recitations, jokes, and games of wit. Presiding over the event is an *anzas* player, whose renown may attract visitors from far away. So closely associated is the *anzas* with the *ahal* that "the name of one brings to mind the other." Attendance at an *ahal* carries no shame, but discretion requires that young people not mention the word *ahal* in the presence of their elders. For similar reasons, they must speak the word *anzas* discreetly (Foucauld 1951–1952:1270–71).

According to context and viewpoint, the *anzas* has diverse meanings. It symbolizes intellectual and spiritual purity and traditional behavioral ideals. It connotes gallantry, love, sensuousness, and youth. It evokes images of a distant, pre-Islamic past. The traditions surrounding it reflect the status of Tuareg women, unusual in the Muslim world, yet within this diversity there is no contradiction: the *anzas* is a multifaceted symbol of Tuareg culture and identity.

Techniques of Construction and Playing

The *anzas* is a one-stringed bowed fiddle. The name, glossable as 'hair', refers to the substance of the string. The body of the instrument is a hollow gourd 25 to 40 centimeters in diameter, cut to form a bowl. Tightly stretched leather, usually goatskin, covers the opening; leather lacings usually attach it to the gourd. A slender stick, inserted under the leather top at opposite edges, extends 30 to 36 centimeters beyond the body on one side, and serves as a neck. One or two large soundholes, the number varying with local tradition, are cut into the leather near the perimeter of the gourd. The string, formed of about forty strands of horsehair, is attached at each end of the inserted stick. Short twigs, crossed and bound with leather, positioned beneath the string near the center of the skin surface, form a bridge. As the string tightens, the neck arches forward. The bow

consists of a slender stick, held in an arc by the tension of the attached hair. To improve contact, people rub resin on bow hair and string. Players tune the instrument by moving a leather strip that binds the string to the neck near the tip, thereby adjusting the length of the vibrating portion of the string. Players vary in choosing a tuning pitch, but from one performance to another, the tuning pitch of an individual player is usually consistent.

The player sits, holding the fiddle in her lap, with the neck in her left hand. Rarely during the performance of a single piece does she change the position of her hand, though she may do so to prepare for another piece, using her thumb as a stop to effect a new tuning without changing the tension of the string. She fingers the string with a light touch. (Women do not try to press the string to the neck, which does not function as a fingerboard.) By extension of the little finger, the performer can readily gain access to the secondary harmonic, which sounds an octave above the open string. A few performers employ additional harmonics: by exerting light pressure at nodal points on the string, they produce brilliant tones, and can increase the pitch range beyond an octave. The result is a rich musical texture, a kaleidoscope of tone colors.

To exploit the instrument's imitative possibilities, a skillful fiddler may vary the speed and length of the bow strokes. Slow strokes combined with rapidly fingered notes can suggest a melismatic singing-style, and short strokes paired with single notes can produce a syllabic effect. Short, light strokes coupled with harmonics may simulate the tones of a flute; rapid use of the bow in tremolo style may depict animals in flight; halting, interrupted strokes may portray a limping straggler. Storytellers use these techniques, which can support a singer's text or vocal style.

Anzad n-Asak: Music for Fiddle and Voice

A large portion of the *anzad* repertory involves the voice. When accompanying a vocalist, the fiddler reinforces the vocal line with a heterophonic rendering of the melody. Each performer conveys a personal style, emphasizing different aspects of the melody or rhythm, and each makes little effort to synchronize the lines. Interludes between the strophes of the texts provide opportunities for instrumental display and for improvisation on thematic material. If accompanying herself, a woman may play a single drone, reserving for the instrumental interludes a display of her musicianship. Men are the preferred vocalists, and if male singers are available at a gathering, women seldom sing. Women may once

have sung more in mixed company, for there are many references in the older literature to women's songs of praise and encouragement for warriors.

The texts constitute a genre known as *tesîwit*, the highest achievement in Tuareg poetic arts. The principal subjects are love and heroism. In diction rich in imagery, the poems extol the virtues of courage in battle and gallantry in love, ever confirming the ideals of the warrior aristocracy. People may sing *tesîwit* alone, or to the accompaniment of the *anzad*; but they never sing it with any other instrument. The *anzad*, in turn, is rarely heard with other poetic genres. A *tesîwit* may take any of several meters traditional to an area; composers then set it to a new or existing melody that corresponds with the meter. New texts and melodies are constantly being created, subject to the constraints of the poetic meters. Old texts are kept in the repertory as long as they are of interest, the names of the composers usually remaining with them.

The male vocal style in singing *tesîwit* is typically high-pitched, tense, and much ornamented with mordents, shakes, and other graces, unlike the usual male singing of other genres. The nomadic Tuareg admire high-pitched male singing, produced with high tension of the throat muscles, and singers often strain to attain the ideal. A range extending to an octave above middle C is common. When women sing *tesîwit*, they do so at a more relaxed midrange, exhibiting none of the piercing quality that characterizes male singers' style.

The Tende

The word *tende* (*tindi*, in northern dialect) refers to a mortar drum, the music performed to its accompaniment, and the social event that features it. Though the Tuareg hold *anzad* music in higher esteem, *tende* is the music they more often perform. It is central to Tuareg camel festivals and curing ceremonies, and is a part of certain dance traditions. In addition to drumming, men and women take part—by singing, dancing, clapping, and shouting. Unlike the *anzad*, the mortar drum does not require years to learn acceptable skills, and the person who plays it, unless unusually gifted, receives little special attention. A *tende* singer occasionally gains recognition (figure 2), but most performers are nonspecialists. *Tende* is a music of ordinary people; its appeal is immediate and communal. Residents of urban areas increasingly employ its forms, but it remains a music of the bush, a symbol of earthy values.