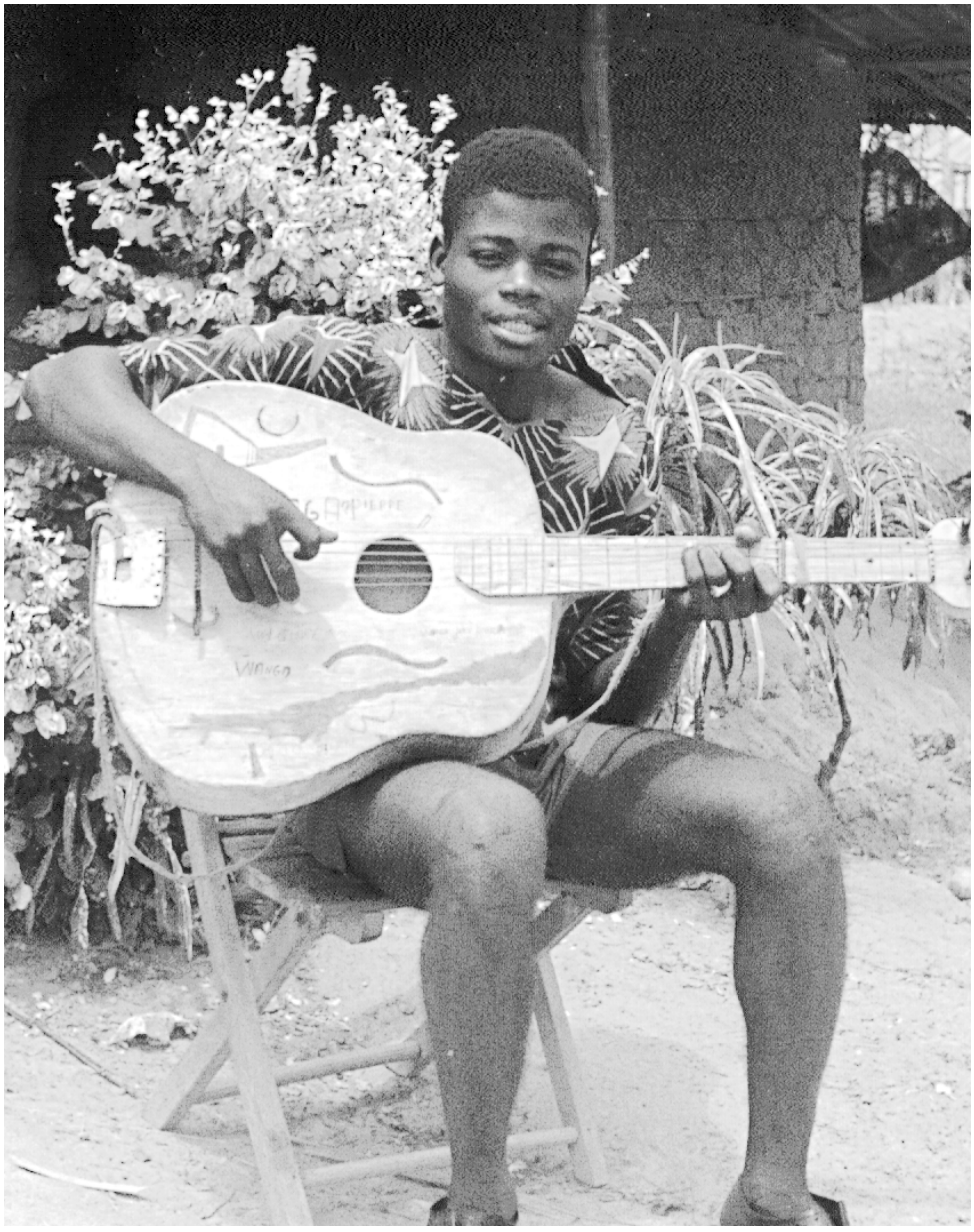
African Guitar

Solo Fingerstyle Guitar Music from Uganda, Congo/Zaïre, Central African Republic, Malawi, Namibia and Zambia



Audio-visual field recordings 1966-1993
by Gerhard Kubik

INTRODUCTION

African guitar music, although commercially available on 78 r.p.m. records since the 1920s (particularly in West Africa), was long neglected by Western ethnomusicologists, who often categorized it as "Europeanized," or "hybrid." Since many field researchers limited themselves to those forms of African music they called "traditional," most of our early documentation of African guitar styles is found on commercial records, not on the tapes of field studies by academics. One great exception was Hugh Tracey (1903-1977), who, virtually from the beginning of his recording career, paid attention to the innovative musical styles of Africa. We owe to Tracey comprehensive audio records of Katanga guitar or Copperbelt guitar music of the 1950s (see some of his LPs, for example Guitars 1 and 2, Kaleidophone Label, KMA 6 and 7, Washington D.C.1972), as well as music of eastern and southeastern Africa. Some outstanding composers and performers of guitar music whose names are now famous in scholarly circles were discovered by Hugh Tracey, including Mwenda Jean Bosco from Lubumbashi, Zaïre, in 1951.

The first scientific accounts of 20th century developments in African music include J. H. Kwabena Nketia's article, "Modern Trends In Ghana Music" (Nketia 1957) and several early articles by David Rycroft (1956, 1958, 1959 etc.), who published his first scientific study of an African guitar style, his lucid analysis of Mwenda Jean Bosco's music, in 1961 and 1962. The first survey of the new traditions in Africa appeared in 1965 as a special supplement, which I wrote for the German magazine *Afrika Heute* (Kubik 1965; ctd. 1966).

Today, with detailed studies of 20th century innovations in African music available from authors such as Wolfgang Bender, David Coplan, Veit Erlmann, Kazadi wa Mukuna, John Low, Moya A. Malamusi, Peter Manuel, and Chris Waterman, to mention only a few, it is difficult to understand why this music was almost systematically neglected and excluded from study some thirty-five years ago. The result has been a gap in our knowledge about the early styles in particular. As the contemporaneous exponents of guitar music of the 1950s die, we are losing the prospect of doing the kind of research scholars of early forms of jazz undertook in America during the 1940s. (Cf., however, the experiences of field workers such as John Low in 1982 and Moya A. Malamusi in 1994.) Sometimes all we have of a personality central to mid-20th

century African music are a few hundred frames of film and fragments of sound recordings.

In this video presentation I have tried to stitch together historical cinematographic accounts of seven African fingerstyle guitarists. Almost all of the shots[1] come from my personal fieldwork with these guitarists, and they cover the period roughly from 1966 to 1993. I have used a variety of formats, reflecting the technology available to me during the different stages of my work in cultural anthropology. Some of the material is on 16mm, 8mm, and super-8 sync-sound film, and the most recent is on S-VHS video; each format has inherent advantages and limitations. I believe all of this material is invaluable for the history of African guitar music. Indeed, several of the guitarists filmed have already passed away (Mwenda Jean Bosco, Pierre Gwa and Daniel Kachamba), while others, who continue to play (Moya Aliya Malamusi and Mose Yotamu) have developed and slightly changed their styles over the years, expanding their repertoires. For these contemporary guitarists it is thrilling to see now how they performed some fifteen years ago.

It was Stefan Grossman who suggested that I put this material together. It offers an intimate, off-stage look at African solo guitar performances and for the first time presents to a wider audience some important guitarists who are largely unknown outside of Africa.

Often, I was literally the only outside eyewitness to this music as it was actually happening. I've lived through its background and its meanings; I've shared the hopes and frequently the intimate thoughts of some of these musicians, many of whom I've stayed or travelled with for long periods. This intimate experience has sharpened my sense of responsibility to make a historical record of what I've witnessed.

It was clear that adequate technical support was essential for a faithful presentation of these documents. Here I am grateful to Wolfgang Bachschwell and his film and video studio in Vienna, Austria for their patience in the often complex process of editing the master video tape. While Wolfgang gave material shape to some of my ideas, the ultimate decisions and responsibilities remained mine. This work was often very difficult because of the random nature of some of the footage. Moreover, while we had abundant visual material for some guitarists we had barely a skeleton for others.

Fieldwork is an undertaking that follows its own inherent laws. Very often it boils down to the fact that you shoot what

you can get, because inevitably events run away in time and in space; your musician friend may be inspired at just the moment when you as a cameraman are not yet ready; alternatively, when you are ready, he is tired. Therefore, I always worked with simple and mobile equipment. Still, you're never in control of events. The unexpected can occur at any time, such as the airplane that flew over just as Mwenda Jean Bosco was finishing his song, "*Bibi Mupenzi*," forcing me to fade out, or people rushing to the scene, addressing the performer and interrupting him with trivial matters.

Of course, the unexpected can become part of the plot. Reacting quickly, I took advantage of the fact that Mose Yotamu in the 1993 shots was attacked by mosquitos in the middle of one of his guitar songs. Laughing heartily, we are heard exchanging a few remarks in Lucazi, the language in which we communicate, and Mose is seen jumping up and running away. I simply continued filming. It was a lively, unexpected event, and the mosquito theme actually comes up again at the end of Mose's sequence.

To purposely miss such opportunities, or to avoid them in the belief that they are irrelevant to the objective of the documentation, in our case guitar music, would amount to self-deception. Cinematography is a glimpse of life, captured for the short stretch of time in which the camera's shutter opens the window to reality. Part of this reality is the actual situation in which the filming takes place.

With this in mind I would never want to suppress any of the ancillary circumstances affecting the process of film making. To do so would only result in a kind of cinematographic product that none of us, neither musicians nor cameraman, would have wanted: a rigid and ultimately inspiration-killing studio product. Circumstances have affected the audio-visual documentation in our fieldwork in many other ways. For example, in the shots of Erasmus Ndara in Namibia (1991), Moya Aliya Malamusi can be seen audio-recording this guitarist, while I shoot the video independently. This sequence gives the viewer a direct glance at how we work in the field. Something is transmitted here not only about the cultural environment of the guitarist in his compound but also about the unique circumstances of each filming session and the interaction between the researchers and their subject.

Editing is a dangerous undertaking because of its subjectivity. In the worst case, if someone is not familiar with the cultures documented (often the case for TV crews going to

Africa), the results may mirror only the film-makers'cultural bias. I therefore advocate and practice in my own fieldwork the technique of editing-in-camera (cf. Baily 1988, 1989), i.e. creating the final sequences on the spot, while still inside the culture. This reduces the likelihood that damage will be done by others who alter the footage in the laboratory. Some of my super-8mm shots in the 1980s look as if they were edited in the conventional sense, i.e. on the cutting table, although they are not. In the field, filming with one camera in both 16mm and 8mm required interruptions for the purpose of changing angles. The editing-in-camera technique served the purpose of joining the separate shots logically and preserving the cycles of the music. Here, I oriented myself along rhythmic markers in the music, such as a time-line pattern.

I perfected this technique with 8mm sync-sound filming because of the instant sound-kick of such cameras. Unfortunately, it is not possible to do this with today's S-VHS equipment, which I have used since 1991, because recording with these DAT cameras starts with a delay after pressing the start/stop button. To a certain extent however, these new restraints are compensated by the comfortable length of the video tapes, which eliminates the need for the cameraman to run every few minutes to the dim light of a village toilet to change film!

Since the present video is a compilation of diverse field materials under the umbrella of one theme, African finger-style guitar, some editing was necessary. However, like Alan Lomax (1973), I have always regretted the tendency among "professionals" at the cutting table to let themselves go, allowing filmic and other aesthetic considerations to alter the footage's original chronology. To counteract such tendencies I have laid down some rules for myself that I believe better preserve the musicians' own intra-cultural perspectives.

1. HISTORICAL FIDELITY: The concept of historical fidelity is, of course, elastic, but one way to preserve historical fidelity is to leave the original footage intact as much as possible. Additional footage, for example from still photography, can enhance historical fidelity if used judiciously. In the present video I have sometimes tried to visually interpret what we see and hear in order to penetrate the deeper meaning of the music. One principle, however, that has helped avoid distorting interpretations was to strictly maintain the real-time period of each sequence. For example, in the Daniel Kachamba sequence of 1983, I found it useful first to introduce the place where he lived when he was not on tour in

Europe, Ndirande township near Blantyre (Malawi). To do it I used still photography and dubbed in a recording from one of his guitar pieces made the same week. We could even join two sound recordings, since he also played the very same piece again in front of some children while he was sitting outside his house.

Whenever I try to expand on existing footage, I prefer to take materials, such as photographs, which were shot contemporaneously with the filming. For example, in the Pierre Gwa sequence (Central African Republic), all the additional shots, the river, the landscape, the houses, their inside decoration and the musician with his guitar, were shot in May, 1966, the date of the filming, and not at any other time. Even their order within the Pierre Gwa section follows an inherent logic: first we stand at the left bank of the Sangha river looking around, then we move into the Linjombo village to meet Pierre Gwa with his music. Finally we leave Linjombo in a boat (with the river bank and the village receding in the distance) headed north to the port of Salo through the dense forest. To anyone born there, or anyone who knows the area, this order makes sense and the movement in space can actually be reconstructed on a map.

2. COMPREHENSIVE PRESENTATION: As the years pass, researchers tend to get attached to their materials. One becomes conscious that these shots can never be repeated. Colleagues will understand, therefore, if I cry for every single frame that is lost or not used. The basic idea in making the present video was to use all of the footage we have of the seven guitarists shown: rather than eliminate anything, we filled some of the gaps with additional material related to the musicians' environment. For example, in the Daniel Kachamba sequence, I have included additional footage in which he is seen surrounded by young boys who had made mobile music puppets that play banjos and drums. Kachamba was interested in the children's activities and he is seen interviewing one of the doll makers.

I was usually able to remain faithful to this idea. But there were instances when I couldn't use all of the original footage. Three shots of Pierre Gwa's guitar playing (1966) could not be included, for example, because they were so short that his whole sequence would have seemed a rush through seven tiny bits of songs. I therefore decided that four songs of some length would represent his music. In the Faustino Okello footage of 1967 there was a problem of a different sort. Lacking

an Acooli expert in deaf-and-dumb language who could have read his lips, I was unable to post-synchronize two shots in which Faustino sings but in which only his face is seen, without the guitar or bottle. Without reference points, I tried unsuccessfully to synchronize every line of text with his lips. Eventually it dawned on me that perhaps I had taken these shots after my colleague, Maurice Djenda, who was recording Faustino simultaneously, had already stopped his tape recorder. I could not risk incorporating these two shots into the video.

3. PERSONALITY PROFILES OF THE COMPOSER-GUITARISTS: Perhaps the greatest challenge in compiling this video was to transmit to the viewer something of the inner world of each artist. Section by section, we get a glimpse of seven African guitarists, but neither "African" nor "guitarist" are labels that could ever sufficiently define their personalities. We have seven individuals before us whose own experiences cannot be duplicated. Each of these men is a universe in and of himself, with his intimate creative thoughts, and symbolizing it all, his artistic product.

How to transmit something of that to the viewer? Since I know most of these musicians well, I realized that the problem was simply to find a way to convey my own understanding of them to others through the use of audio-visual techniques. Clearly these musicians should not be isolated by the camera and presented just in the act of performing on the guitar. The footage and hundreds of slides and photographs taken during the same time periods revealed clues to how their wider environment and particular situations helped shape their behavior.

Of course, the guitar performances themselves are the central concern of those who want to study the techniques of playing, and luckily, in this video we have many close-ups. But for anyone also interested in knowing and understanding something about the authors of this music, there are ancillary shots that reveal a reaction, a spontaneous idea. For instance, Mose Yotamu suddenly reminded of his own seclusion period as a boy as he sings a *mukanda* initiation song while climbing a tree, or the interaction of the angry relative with Erasmus Ndara in Namibia as he tells the musician about his concerns.

From the moment our cinematography was liberated from the constraints of silent filming (both 16mm and 8mm), with the sound recorded separately by a second person using a

NAGRA standing behind the cameraman, I noticed a sudden change of attitude in many musicians during filming. From the 1970s on, guitarists whom I filmed tended to display new aspects of their expressive culture: verbal discourse, a bit of theater, oral literature, etc. This underscores how musicians critically assess the camera team's technical capabilities in documenting their art. From the moment super-8mm sync-sound cameras became available (see Mose Yotamu's short 1979 sequence) everyone seemed to act differently in front of the camera!

Being aware that picture and sound were no longer recorded separately, musicians suddenly did more then just play their music – sitting or standing still – as if they were being recorded on tape for a three-minute 78 r.p.m. record; they now began to talk spontaneously and they began to act. At the end of Moya Aliya Malamusi's 1980 song, "*Chechure*" (Master Frog), he suddenly talks, saying that he would now walk away, which he did, and beginning a long theater-like monologue by sitting down with a sigh. Likewise, Mose Yotamu combines his performance of several guitar songs with a lot of acting: balancing on the rail line, dancing in a tree, playing the guitar behind his head, and offering witty verbal explanations in the Lucazi language. All this is improvised; it is the spontaneous expression of ideas by the musicians, spurred by the ability of my camera, freed from the constraints of sticking close to a separate sound recorder, to react instantaneously to changing conditions.

I have also tried to use the editing process to expand this dimension of ancillary shots. With cut-ins (stills) and their sequential arrangement I have tried to bring to light aspects of a personality or other details not directly revealed by the movie shots, such as contrasts between social roles in the musicians's self-perception and the realities of life in villages or townships. In other instances the cut-ins are linked to the song texts. For example, in Pierre Gwa's song *Ndiango*, in which he warns about both brother-sister incest and marriage of a young man with an elderly woman, I have contrasted the motif of an elderly woman in the chief's house sleeping on a mat (shown with home-brewed alcohol, normally elderly women's work) with the view of a young girl near Pierre Gwa.

In the Faustino Okello sequence, the song about the independence of the Belgian Congo in 1960 and Uganda's forthcoming independence (1962) is illustrated with pictures of the market in Kampala, the plantain-based economy of the

area with everyone rushing to sell their products, the packed lorry and the lonely man on a bicycle with a huge load of banana plantains. A reference to the tragedy of Patrice Lumumba's assassination and his photograph are inserted precisely when Faustino sings about him, followed by a close-up of his guitar-playing. In this way I have tried to comment upon the meanings of the music. This method also served to place the music in its culture-geographical context, as in the picture sequence of Faustino's blind school at Salama (Uganda, 1967), or the Sangha river ecology and settlements shown in the Pierre Gwa sequence (1966), or the township milieu of Ndirande in southern Malawi and its children's culture that form the background to Daniel Kachamba's music.

My use of cut-ins, however, is mostly limited to the materials that were originally filmed in standard 8mm or 16mm. These shots required considerable restoration. There are no cut-ins in the S-VHS material of the l990s or in most of the super-8 sync-sound shots of the 1980s.

I also joined long stretches of separate footage in certain ways to convey something psychological about the personalities seen in this video. Two examples illustrate this method:

(a) Moya's monologue in the forest in 1980 in which he complains about the hardships of walking in such dim and lonely places is followed by fast footage showing him thirteen years later in a shockingly different environment: on a journey through the eastern United States. I discussed this with Moya in July, 1994 and he thought it was a good idea to show these contrasts in time and space bridged by the same person over a period of his life; by the same person, and yet also, in a sense, by a different person, because everyone changes not only their physical appearance but to some extent their identities, culturally, individually, preserving a personality core that links the present with the past.

(b) Parallel silent footage to my shots of Mwenda Jean Bosco was obtained by Sabine Haller, an anthropology student.[2] The existence of this material has allowed me to expand my portrait of Mwenda and visualize some personal aspects of this great musician. Dream was an important experience in Bosco's mid-life period. As we filmed him, it was clear to me and the friends present, Donald, Moya and Sabine, that there was one dream archetype lingering in his mind under the surface of our guitar session: *mami wata* (the "white" mermaid). Sabine happened to be precisely the type

of woman who fits the archetype, and ironically, we all had even called her *Mami Wata* long before Bosco's visit. We probed Bosco, inducing him to reveal his soul! Sabine volunteered to act out a marriage with him and we knew, of course (Donald and I exchanging meaningful glances), that this scenario suited him. Bosco then received flowers from Donald, who acted the part of witness to the marriage, and Bosco himself played his role delightfully, walking with a swagger, the flowers on his jacket, and then formally with *Mami Wata* (Sabine Haller).

This sequence was shot much more by chance, I would say, than by intention. We could not anticipate that Bosco would go along with the proposal for a "movie marriage." I have inserted some of this footage between Bosco's second and third piece on the guitar, as a dream scene in slow motion, to the background of his celebrated guitar song, "*Masanga Njia*," dubbed in from a recording that was made in Berlin ten days after Bosco's visit with us.[3]

One of my aims in these portraits of seven guitarists was also to show them, whenever it was possible, at different stages of their lives and careers. I doubt whether anything like that has ever been tried before in the field of African music. In this video we meet several guitarists at very different junctures: Daniel Kachamba is seen in 1967, then in 1981 and finally in 1983; Moya Aliya Malamusi in 1967 (he is the little boy in the red shirt running with all the others behind the departing visitor's car in the Daniel Kachamba 1967 sequence), then in 1980 and in 1993; Mose Yotamu is even seen playing the same song in 1979 and 1993; and Donald Kachamba, although not included as a guitarist in this film, can be seen in the 1967 Daniel Kachamba shots as a boy and with Mwenda Jean Bosco and Sabine Haller in 1982.

Conveying to the viewer some aspects of an artist's personality which are not directly expressed in the music is of course a delicate undertaking. It cannot be accomplished in the style of a video-clip in which the "clip-master" creates runaway sequences in the most psychotic mixture he can brew, more often reflecting his own stereotypical expectations than the artist's personality. Conversely, I believe the dream sequence in our Bosco section is a visualization of what was at that time a real dream. If Bosco were still alive, I know he would greatly enjoy it.

GUITAR PLAYING STYLES AND TECHNIQUES

Acoustic guitar music of the 1950s and 1960s in Central Africa, in spite of the great variety of individual styles, is linked by certain common threads:

I. THE INSTRUMENT

(a) Normally it is a guitar purchased in a shop. Most models were made either in Europe or in South Africa. Instruments with a relatively narrow fretboard were preferred (allowing the thumb to stop the sixth string). In remote villages guitars are made locally, as in the case of the 1966 shots of Pierre Gwa in this video.

(b) Characteristic of African fingerstyle guitar music is the use of a capo to bring the basic chords up to the pitch level of the individual musician's voice. Most frequently, the capo was set before the 5th, 4th or 3rd fret. Except with guitarists who traveled overseas, the capo was normally carved from a bit of wood (see for example, Erasmus Ndara's guitar in this video), or a pencil was used and fixed to the fretboard by means of elastic.

(c) Playing positions normally follow standard practice, i.e. the guitar is positioned on the right thigh, but it can also be held in the lap as I saw repeatedly with Faustino Okello (Uganda). In the bottle-neck or slide guitar style it is placed flat on the thighs like a zither. Many guitarists walk or stand with their guitars.

II. THE TUNINGS

Although finger guitarists have used a variety of tunings in Central Africa, the following tunings for six-string guitar are particularly frequent:

(a) When the music is played in the key of G, the standard Western tuning is mostly used: E A D G B E.

(b) When it is played in "Full C," many guitarists, including Bosco, Kachamba and others sometimes tune the sixth string one step higher, to F. The F chord can then be played with the sixth string open, while the G and C chords require the thumb to stop it at the second fret. (Compare, for example Mwenda Jean Bosco's "*Twende Kwetu Nyumbani*" or Daniel Kachamba's "*Mimi Kwenda Nairobi*" in this video.)

(c) Many alternative tunings exist, such as the one called Spanish (D G D G B D) by many musicians, demonstrated by Moya Aliya Malamusi in his 1980 shots. John Low (1982a) reports alternative tunings from Mwenda Jean Bosco, Losta Abelo and other Katangan guitarists. Daniel Kachamba used nine different tunings in finger and plectrum styles.

(d) In slide guitar playing the preferred tuning, conditioned by the playing technique, is an "open" triad chord: C E G C E G (from bottom to top) or C C G C E G (with the 5th and 6th strings tuned identically) or C F G C E G.

III. THE RIGHT HAND

(a) The guitar is played using the thumb and index fingers of the right hand. Spanish or classical guitar playing techniques are not used. In some cases, musicians wear metal picks on their thumb and/or index finger (cf. Low 1982a:72; my own field notes 1962 in Mozambique and 1967 in Malawi).

(b) Sometimes the strings are sounded in the "vamping" technique (the term was coined by John Low 1982a:8). It can appear as manual vamping, as in Mwenda Jean Bosco's 1982 song, "*Ni furaha*," seen in this video, or as plectrum style (cf. the song, "*Anyamata Mukufuna Ncito*," by Mose Yotamu). Historically, both two-finger picking styles and vamping have been used in other chordophones of Central and East Africa (e.g. the *bangwe* board zither, see Malamusi 1990:225-226)

(c) Plectrum playing is relatively rare in solo acoustic guitar styles, or at least it was during the 1950s. The technique can be seen in one of Erasmus Ndara's songs of 1991, and in some of Mose Yotamu's songs. It is a tradition that has proliferated with the influence of electric-guitar playing on the acoustic-guitar traditions from the 1970s.

IV. THE LEFT HAND

(a) The left hand performs chord positions and runs. Generally, it produces structured motional patterns and visual configurations that are carefully choreographed. An instructive example can be observed in this video in the close-up of Faustino Okello's "*Matide Aboyo*." In some passages the left fingers lift off on-beat, "landing" on an off-beat. An important trait is the use of the left thumb to stop the 6th string, particularly at fret 1 or 2.

Two special techniques are used by some guitarists for creating sounds with left fingers alone: (1) The "pull-off," during which a string is fretted, then struck with the right-hand index finger, followed by pulling off a left-hand finger from the string while plucking it as it goes. (See Low 1982a:23, 58, 115 for a full discussion). (2) The "hammer-on," a technique in which the right-hand index finger sounds a string, followed by a quick "fretting" of a left-hand finger. In our present video both techniques can be studied, particularly in Daniel Kachamba's lumba guitar music.

(b) In some areas of Africa, notably in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi slide guitar playing was very popular during the 1950s and 60s, with Ndiche Mwarare in Malawi (field notes Kubik 1967) and William Phiri with his dancing puppets in Zambia (cf. *Times of Zambia*, Jan. 20, 1978), two prominent exponents who were active until recently. In this technique a bottle is held in the left hand as a slider, stopping the strings (in "open" triad tunings) at various positions, and also "gliding" along individual strings. This technique is shown by Moya Aliya Malamusi.

V. THE MUSIC AND ITS ACCOMPANIMENT

(a) Although there are many individual styles, guitar music in Central, East and South-Central Africa, from where the material in this video comes, is predominantly cyclic, based on recurrent tonal-harmonic segments of diverse lengths. In accordance with the song, cycles of 8, 12, 16, 24, 32, 36 or 48 elementary pulses (the smallest units of orientation) are formed. Strophic forms and occasionally very original compound cycles, as in Bosco's "*Masanga*," also occur.

(b) In the two-finger playing technique there are organized motional patterns in each agent that can be isolated in the left and the right hand to the extent that a performer appreciates these patterns separately. There are also distinctive playing areas allocated to each finger: the right-hand thumb usually to the three bass strings, the index finger to the treble strings. But crossing of the playing areas is normal, especially in variations. In spite of the crossing, the movement patterns are strictly preserved. The actions of the left- and right-hand fingers are coordinated in minute detail, forming together complex cross-rhythms.

(c) Many guitarists enjoy creating puzzle effects, or so-called inherent auditory patterns. These are pitch-lines that emerge from the depth of the total image of the guitar sounds, without having been played as such by the musician (Kubik 1989a). To the guitarist, the autonomy of these lines may even give the impression that "someone else" plays or "speaks," even a spirit. Observe in this video, for example, how a certain sound pattern attains prominence in Moya Aliya "*Malamusi's Chechure*" of 1980, emerging from the fourth string after several repetitions of the basic cycle. All the musician has to do is to reinforce it a little by accentuation to bring it to the listener's and primarily to his own attention. Puzzle effects are also prominent in Daniel Kachamba's guitar music.

(d) In Central Africa and its areas of influence (e.g. northern Uganda) finger guitar playing is often accompanied by rhythm patterns struck on a bottle or some other object. These one-note patterns have been called (by J.H. Kwabena Nketia) the time-line. They are asymmetric in structure and form a complex reference line for the guitarist.

THE PERFORMERS AND THEIR SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Guitars in Central Africa and elsewhere are played by males. Apart from extremely rare cases of females who could play fingerstyle or plectrum guitar (my wife, the late Lidiya Malamusi, was one of them, though with my encouragement), the guitar traditions of this cultural region are strictly male. Women do, of course, play a variety of instruments in Africa, including drums (for example, in female initiation ceremonies), log xylophones (particularly in northern Mozambique, southwestern Tanzania and among the Yao of Malawi), but not guitars. A psychological barrier is maintained by the association of guitar music in Central and southeastern Africa with men's beer gardens and clubs. I remember how Donald Kachamba, the young brother of Daniel Kachamba, reacted when he first visited Europe in 1972. At that time he was seventeen. We went for dinner to the house of a colleague who had two nieces. Comfortably seated on a couch, the nieces suddenly took out their guitars and began to play a classical duet with smiles on their faces. Donald gazed at them, startled. Later he asked me, obviously disturbed, about the real meaning of what they did. He was convinced that those girls were *mahure* (prostitutes) in disguise.

As far as we can reconstruct, the acoustic guitar styles of Central Africa sprang up and gained momentum shortly after World War II, first only in a few areas that can be pinpointed on a map. These were places of colonial economic activity, mining centers, urban areas, trading posts, etc. People from various parts of the region came to these centers in search of work. The multi-ethnic background of these urban and semi-urban melting pots promoted the use of vehicular or trade languages. It was in such places that, besides other commodities, guitars became available in shops, and it was here that the need arose for entertainment in the workers' milieu using a *lingua franca* such as Lingala (in western Zaïre) or Kiswahili in its Kingwana version (in Katanga), or Icibemba (on the Zambian side of the Copperbelt).

Kazadi wa Mukuna, who has made a major contribution to the study of the history of 20th century musical developments in Zaïre, has stressed the socio-economic aspects which played a role in the rise of the new music (Kazadi 1979-80, 1992). On the Zaïrean side of the Copper Belt, the *Union Minière du Haut Katanga*, known today as GECAMINES *(La Générale des Carrières et des Mines*) was the major catalyst. Founded in 1906, its first productive year was in 1913. Gradually, it attracted large numbers of migrant workers to the mines in the towns of Kolwezi, Lubumbashi, Likasi and elsewhere. In the environment of these economically exploitative centers and in combination with a breakdown of ethnic barriers, something like a new "contact culture" emerged with a township life-style to its exponents. By the end of World War II there was an economic upswing combined with a quantum leap in communication techniques. Broadcasting and the gramophone promoted the speedy spread of any new musical developments that had appeal to the broad masses. This created a favorable climate for the rise of a new kind of music that was inter-ethnically communicable, responded to the tastes of the rising working-class, and was considered fashionable and status-enhancing. With the post-war economic boom, factory-made instruments, such as accordions and guitars, became generally available. They were mostly imported to Katanga from the south, via what was then Northern Rhodesia.

Hugh Tracey was the first researcher who paid attention to the rising guitar traditions in the Belgian Congo. His recordings on the Kolwezi Copper Mine (Katanga) in 1957 of Patrice Ilunga and Victor Misomba (cf. Mama Josefine and Mamwana Kufiki Munda, AMA - TR 25, L3A-9 and L3B-7), or of Stephen Tsotsi Kisumali on the Nkana Mine (Northern Rhodesia, cf- BaNakatekwe, AMA -TR-52, L2V-12) are among the surviving gems of Copperbelt guitar music of the 1950s. Tracey even managed to get a glimpse of some other centers of the emerging guitar music, such as Stanleyville (Kisangani), where he recorded a somewhat different style in Lingala by Pascal Lifungula (cf. DECCA LF 1170 Guitars of Africa). During the same period the finger guitar styles of eminent guitarists singing in Lingala in the western Belgian Congo, with names such as Wendo, Polo Kamba, Leon Bukasa were increasingly covered by Kinshasa- (Leopoldville) based local record companies, particularly the Firm Jeronimidis publishing the NGOMA label.

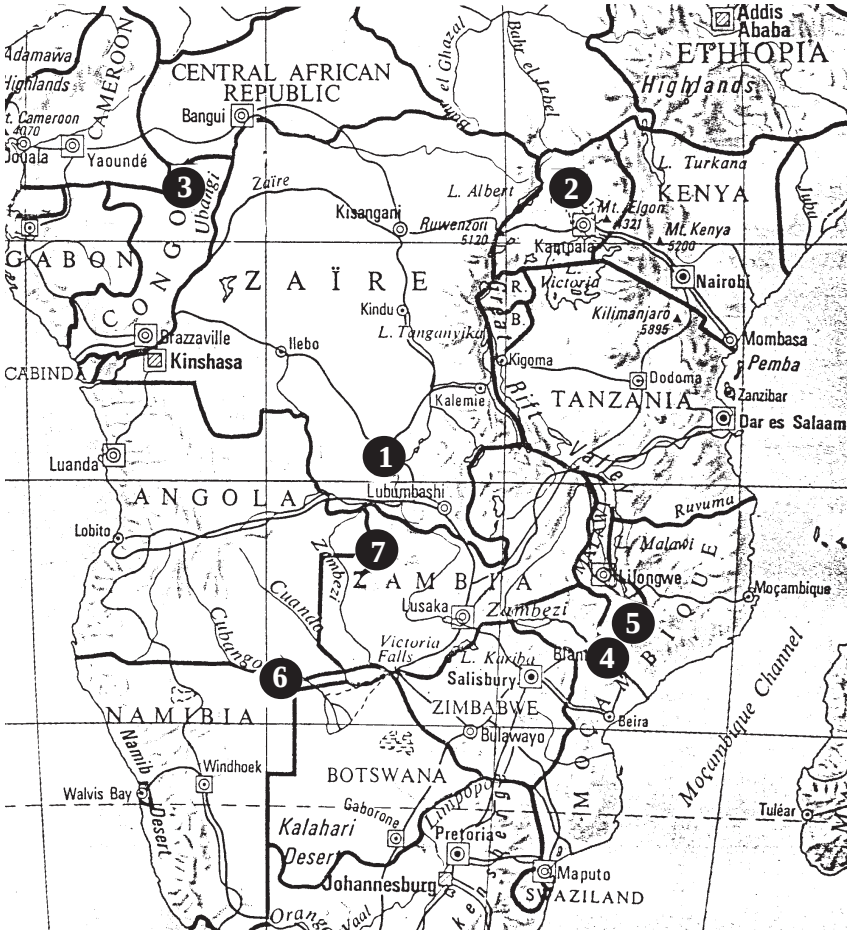
Besides the twin cities of Kinshasa and Brazzaville (Peoples' Republic of the Congo), the port of Matadi (in today's Zaïre) and Pointe Noire (in Congo) as the terminal of a newly constructed railway were early centers of the emerging guitar music whose history in these coastal towns goes back to the 1920s. Inspired by a variety of sources, including the frequent observation of guitar playing Kru sailors, whose ships cast anchor at these Atlantic ports, some young men took up the guitar.

The guitar seen in the title of this video is a model that was available in the 1950s and 1960s (possibly even earlier) in west-central African coastal cities. I bought it in the town of Bata (Guinea Ecuatorial) in August, 1964. The manufacturer's label glued on the inside of the guitar's body reads: "*Fabrica de Guitarras, Bordones y Cuerdas TELESFORO JULVE, Valencia (Espana), Convento S. Francisco, 4, Telefone 217854; Bordones Finos, Fabricacion Especial de la Casa*." This type of guitar was made of very light wood and has a superb sound.

The recording played as background music to the main title is a 1967 composition by Daniel Kachamba from Singano village/Chileka, Malawi. (Orig. rec. 123A/2, title: *Mama Elisa*, Daniel Kachamba: six-string solo guitar; Donald Kachamba: tin rattle). It belongs to the same body of solo guitar compositions recorded in September, 1967 from which comes "*Dolosina Lumba*" seen performed in the Kachamba sequence of this video.

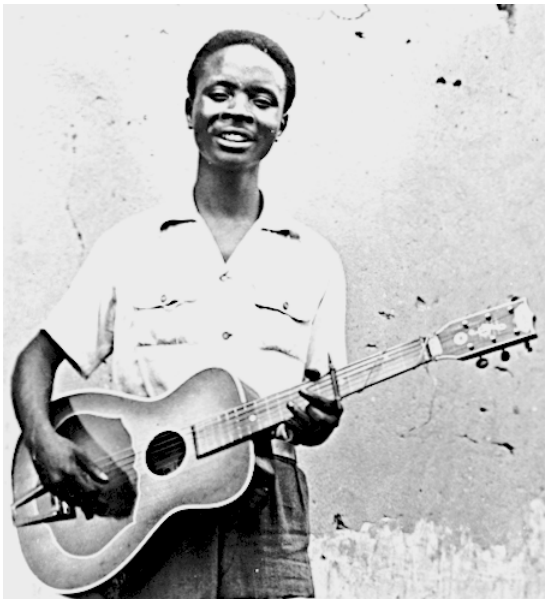
ORIGINS OF THE GUITARISTS IN THIS VIDEO

1. Mwenda Jean Bosco (alias: Mwenda wa Bayeke), Zaïre.
2. Faustino Okello, Uganda.
3. Pierre Gwa, C.A.R.
4. Daniel Kachamba, Malawi.
5. Moya Aliya Malamusi, Malawi.
6. Erasmus Ndara, Namibia.
7. Mose Yotamu, Zambia.



MWENDA JEAN BOSCO (ZAÏRE)

Places and dates of filming: (a) Leopoldsberg, (b) Vienna Woods, (c) Schönbrunn Castle, Vienna, June 20, 1982. Language: Kiswahili.



Perhaps it has deeper significance that we filmed the most renowned Katanga guitar music composer of the 1950s, Mwenda Jean Bosco (alias: Mwenda wa Bayeke) against the background of historical monuments in the Hapsburg Imperial City, with the 18th century Schönbrunn Castle as the stage for one of his songs. This setting was his own choice. Mwenda Jean Bosco's personality, his almost aristocratic ways, his style of writing letters in a flawless "ministerial" French, all this could make a believer in time travel wonder whether he were not perhaps a visitor from a more splendid century then the 20th or even the reincarnation of a famous 16th century composer, reluctant to identify himself. David Rycroft once compared Bosco's "*Masanga Njia*" to the music of William Byrd (1543-1623) and he wrote this observation: "His B flat/C sequence in "*Masanga*" comes close to the dual, F/G tonality of William Byrd's "The Woods o Wild" and strangely, Byrd's piece "The Bells" (bars 7-8 and 15-16) bears a distinct affinity to the *Masanga* theme." (Rycroft 1961:85)

In the context of a European concert tour in 1982, Mwenda Jean Bosco came to Vienna for a few days to perform as a solo guitarist, and spent a memorable period with us, i.e. Sabine Haller (anthropology student at the University of Vienna), Donald Kachamba (musician-composer from Malawi), Moya Aliya Malamusi and myself. That visit was, in fact, the result of hard work and a year-long correspondence. With the active participation of several institutions in Germany, notably Wolfgang Bender's initiative at Iwalewa House, Bayreuth, and Artur Simon's cooperation at the Ethno-musi-

cological Department of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, it became possible to arrange a European concert tour for him.

Mwenda Jean Bosco, who had been one of the most influential guitarists in Central and East Africa in the 1950s and early 1960s had dropped into virtual oblivion by the mid-1960s, when record companies in Kinshasa, Brazzaville and Nairobi, the main mass-media centers, had changed their strategies and begun to publish exclusively electrically amplified guitar dance-band music. It took several years for us to locate Bosco, who used to live alternately in Sakanya, more precisely the Zaïre/Zambia border town of Mokambo, where he constructed a hotel, and in Lubumbashi. The search began in March, 1973 with inquiries in Lubumbashi when Donald Kachamba and I were on a lecture tour sponsored by the Goethe Institute. At that time, however, we were unable to trace Bosco, although we tried hard. At least we learned that he was alive and staying in Sakanya.

A year later, upon my instigation, a colleague working at the Institut für Afrikanistik of the University of Vienna, Walter Schicho, took time between his teaching commitments at Lubumbashi University to search for Bosco. He found him, and on February 3rd and 5th, 1974 recorded nine of his songs (Arch. nos. B 18874 - 18883, Phonogrammarchiv Vienna). David Rycroft, the senior devotee of Bosco's guitar songs was able to hear these recordings some years later and to comment upon them (see: African Music, 6 (2), 1982, Notes and News, pp. 133-134). These were the first recordings Bosco made since the 1960s.

At the beginning of 1978 I was in contact with Bosco. In a formal letter to me dated January 26th, 1978, he indicated that he would be interested in coming to Europe for concerts. He pointed out that he had played at the 1969 Newport Folk Festival in the United States.

In 1979, the young Kenyan-born guitarist John Low, after discussing his project with me on several occasions in Nairobi, decided to risk a trip to Katanga by hitch-hiking, in spite of the political turbulence. He was very well received by Mwenda Jean Bosco and his family, staying and studying with him from August 26th to September 25th, 1979. Out of this work came a beautiful book: *Shaba Diary* (Low 1982a). About the same time in Nairobi, William Umbima, another long-time devotee of Bosco's music, and I planned to invite Bosco and the other great Katangan guitarist, Losta Abelo,

to Nairobi. Unfortunately, we were unable to find anyone to finance the project.

It was only in 1982 that the concerted efforts to bring Bosco back to the wider world began to bear fruit. Until John Low's visit to Bosco in August 1979, nobody had really known any details about his playing technique, although the sound of his music had been transcribed from 78 r.p.m. records by David Rycroft in his two articles in 1961 and 1962. From the study of Bosco's only available photograph of the early period by Hugh Tracey in Jadotville/Likasi 1951 and by extrapolation from my knowledge of a number of guitarists within Bosco's central and east African zone of influence, I proposed in an article published in 1973 (reprinted in Artur Simon Ed., 1983: 316) that Bosco's playing technique was probably in line with that of other guitarists whom I knew, and that he played with two right-hand fingers, thumb and index, and did not use the "classical" fingering technique of his imitators in the West. In the 1951 photograph this is suggested by the fact that the index finger is seen slightly bent as if about to strike, while the second and third fingers are firmly planted on the soundboard of the guitar.

At that time some of my colleagues cast doubt on these ideas. But eventually John Low obtained the indisputable evidence from Bosco himself. His studies in Lubumbashi and Bosco's 1982 visit to us have also answered several other queries concerning his music, e.g. the use of alternative tunings and the inner reference beat in some of his songs.

In May 1982 Bosco arrived in Brussels and after successful concerts in Belgium and Germany (at the Deutsche Welle, Koln; at Iwalewa House, Bayreuth, etc.), and Graz (Austria) he arrived in Vienna on June 17th. When Donald, Moya and I met him at the South Railway Station, it was our first meeting with him. We were startled by his appearance. He looked so young. He was about 55 years old at that time, but he looked younger. On June 18th we had a musical meeting with him in our apartment. Bosco explained several of his compositions to Donald, notably "*Tambala Moja*" (G.B. 1586 T.) and "*Bombalaka*" (G.B. 1588 T.). He also explained the Zimbabwean song of the 1950s, "*Vula Matambo*" (cf.Kubik/Malamusi1989). This was valuable evidence for contacts which Bosco and his contemporaries in Katanga must have had during the early 1950s with the more "southern" guitar scene. We also discovered that Bosco could dance *sinjonjo,* and when we played one such song with our own

band for him, he danced delightfully in our apartment. This corroborates what John Low has suggested, analyzing the motional structure and chord sequences of Bosco's "*Mama Na Mmwana*" (GB 1752, 1952) and "*Anakuita Ku Mesa*" (C.O. 138, 1956) that South African and Rhodesian (Zimbabwean) jive must have had an impact on some aspects of the Katanga fingerstyle guitar music of the 1950s. We also played for Bosco our own 1975 composition, "*Lubumbashi Lumba*," (now on the CD Concert Kwela , Le Chant du Monde , lDX 274972 CM 212), He was electrified and exclaimed: *"C'est la pure Rumba!"*

Within minutes of our encounter it was clear that Bosco used the index finger and thumb of his right hand, as I had predicted and observed with all the other central, east and south-east African fingerstyle guitarists whom I had met before. He also confirmed his use of different tunings for different songs. He mostly used the standard tuning when playing in the key of G. While in C he often raised the sixth string a semitone to F in order to be able to stop it with the thumb on the second fret for the C and G chords, leaving it open for the F chord. The idea is that the guitar bass should be a full and sustained sound.

The section about Mwenda Jean Bosco in this video owes its existence to a cooperative effort between Bosco, the filming team (Donald, Moya and myself) and the student, Ms. Sabine Haller. She not only volunteered to drive all of us in her car to the various places suggested for filming and pho-

tography; her mere presence provided the ideal atmosphere for our guest.

To say it in a simple way, Mwenda wa Bayeke had fallen in love with Sabine during his short stay in Vienna. It was a platonic, almost melancholic love. Bosco was shy like an adolescent and at the same time very concerned about her presence or absence. Had Sabine not joined us, Bosco might have shown no interest in being filmed.

During our joint excursion and sightseeing in Vienna, Bosco demonstrated an exquisite taste. First Sabine drove us to the Danube river, where Bosco suggested that I photograph him in various poses with his guitar on a gangplank with large white swans in the background. (Photo 3) Next, Sabine drove us up to the Leopoldsberg, a mountain with historical sites and inscriptions and a steep slope facing the Danube river. Filming conditions were extremely unfavorable on top of the mountain with regard to the sound because of the very stiff wind. But we had no choices. Bosco liked the place and we did not want to risk losing his pleasure and interest.

These are the songs performed in the film:

(1) "*Twende kwetu nyumbani*" (Let us go home to our house): This is a song I had not known previously. It demonstrates what John Low has called the "alternating bass" fingerstyle (Low 1982a:19). In addition, this visual documentation gives us a unique chance to see Bosco's subtle pantomime, especially his eye-game. Here on top of the mountain he acted as if it were a stage performance, with all the communicative aspects included. We were the audience. In this song and the next, his sixth string is tuned up to F.

(2) "*Ni furaha*" (I rejoice): In a sudden bout of inspiration he changed to manual vamping and began to play an improvised song about his arrival in Vienna and how he rejoiced at being here. This song has a strophic form. Ten days later he played it again on stage in a concert at the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, and he explained to his audience that he had composed it on this trip. The Vienna version (recorded only in this film) and the Berlin version have an identical framework of chords and basic text lines, but are considerably different in detail, which shows that Bosco was still working on this song. It is even possible that this song was spontaneously created on the very occasion we filmed him. (Any existing recordings made prior to June 20th would have to be scrutinized with regard to this question). Unfortunately,

this song is interrupted because of the end of my film reel! Joined here is the "dream scene" (see below).

(3) "*Bombalaka*" (Staying alone): This is the third piece we filmed on Leopoldsberg. I suggested to Bosco that he should play it because in the early 1960s there was some uncertainty among scholars about where the "on-beat" was in "*Bombalaka*" (cf. Rycroft 1961:95-98, and an alternative transcription suggested by Andrew Tracey in Rycroft 1962:96-97). Our filmed documentation demonstrates unequivocally where Bosco senses the beat: in the bass notes of this rumba-like guitar pattern. While playing, he dances gently, almost gliding into the steps. Occasionally, slight head movements also reveal the beat.

Some musicians with Western classical training tend to invert the auditory structure, feeling the beat in some off-beat treble notes. Bosco's vocal theme actually starts on a chain of off-beat notes and there are also off-beat accents in the guitar part. This can be disorientating to listeners unfamiliar with this music, although the disorientation effect in "*Bombalaka*" is really mild as compared for example, to some South African *mbaqanga* music.

"*Bombalaka*" also demonstrates Bosco's use of "cross-finger" technique. John Low (1982a:59) was startled when he discovered this at Bosco's home in 1979. He had just struggled himself with a cross-finger pattern in one of Losta Abelo's pieces and then asked Bosco for advice when the latter picked up his guitar and revealed to him how the main pattern of "*Bombalaka*" was in fact a cross-finger pattern. "*Bombalaka*" is played in the standard tuning.

From Leopoldsberg we drove through the Vienna Woods,

had lunch and began to look for another spot that would suit Bosco. Sabine Haller had filmed me filming Bosco (unpublished here) and inadvertently captured some funny off-stage gags which the two young men, Donald and Moya were enacting bebind Bosco's back while the latter was absorbed in his music. Now she wanted to finish her footage. It was then proposed by the humorous Donald Kachamba that there should be a "marriage" between Bosco and Sabine. I immediately went along with this idea hoping that it would give him another boost and that he would play some more songs to be filmed.

The scene then begins with the presentation of flowers to Bosco for his marriage ceremony, followed by a ceremonial walk with Sabine to "church," or wherever they imagined they were walking to, and finally by the "bride's" dance with the "official witness" (Donald) who was acting out a sort of Mephisto figure in his red jacket. At that point, Bosco apparently did not want to expose himself further, and gradually begins to walk in the direction of the car.

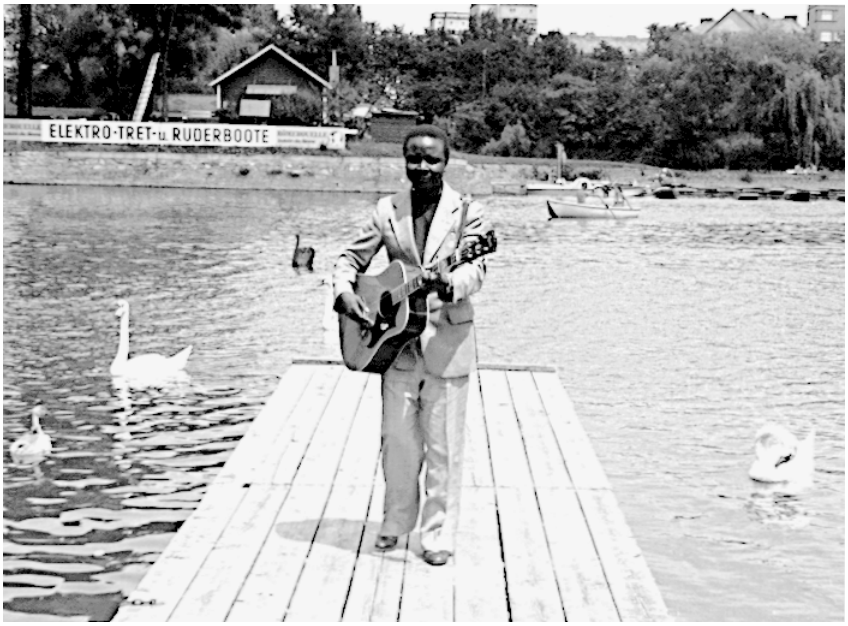
Not much of Sabine's footage could be used, but we have used the highlights of this little improvised theater; and since her footage is silent we have woven into it a recording of "*Masanga njia*" from the performance he gave in Berlin ten days later.

(4) "*Bibi Mupenz*i" (Woman of love): This is the last piece in the film. After the "marriage ceremony," we took Bosco to Schönbrunn Castle. This was precisely the atmosphere he enjoyed. It was now getting warm and he took off his jacket. Bosco then stood in front of the remains of a stone sculpture near the "Gloriette" and played the last song. "*Bibi Mupenzi*" first came out on a sound record in 1955 (Gallotone C.O. 30) and was very popular in Kenya and Uganda during the late 1950s/early 1960s. Since Bosco was now standing rather than walking (as on the Leopoldsberg) I had the opportunity to film him closer up. Unfortunately, his performance was interrupted somewhere in the middle by an approaching jet plane. Apparently, the pilot had decided to fly low over the Castle so that tourists could look at it. Realizing that Bosco's gentle music was about to be drowned, I faded out.

What do we know about Bosco's early life and his ascendancy over many of his contemporaries as an artist? Very little. John Low, who is the person with the most intimate knowledge of Bosco, confirms that he was usually evasive when such questions were posed.

Mwenda Jean Bosco, whose private name is Mwenda wa Bayeke, is a personality different from any other Central African guitarist whose curriculum vitae we know. Although born during the colonial era in 1930 in Lubumbashi, Shaba Province (Katanga), Zaïre, Western-educated and employed by the Belgian administration during the early 1950s as a clerk in Jadotville (today Likasi), Bosco seemed to have no noticeable colonial carryover. During his visit to Vienna he even spoke with lofty words about the efficiency and correctness of the Belgian administration and his role of responsibility in it. He was self-assured, convinced of his superior abilities and expertise in many areas of life. He was quite wealthy, controlling a small empire of enterprises in the music and night-club businesses of his home-area.

On the day when he was first met by the musicologist Hugh Tracey in Jadotville in 1951 he had already declared : "*Je suis le meilleur guitariste de Jadotville*." (I have this from information I obtained from Tracey's wife, Peggy, interview 1962 at Saronde Farm, South Africa.) He was then barely 22 years old. How he had developed his extraordinary guitar music, unique even within the various expressions of the Katanga guitar style of the 1950s, will perhaps always remain a mystery. But it seems that the young Bosco, son of religious parents, whose father used to play organ (or harmonium) in church, was able to avoid some of the degrading colonial experiences of his working-class Luba-,



Lunda- and Swahili-speaking fellow musicians in Katanga. He enjoyed the social security of a family that was relatively well-off.

He started playing guitar at the age of about sixteen, and within a few years he developed his highly individual style, virtually never changing it during his forty-year career (1952 to 1992). His music was discovered, one could say, by chance. When Hugh Tracey recorded extensively on the Copper Belt in Zambia and Zaire in 1951-52 he also visited the city of Likasi, then called Jadotville. Walking through the streets he found a young man standing at a street corner and singing to his own guitar accompaniment, with no audience, just for himself. His instrument was a standard steel-string "Spanish" guitar of the type marketed far and wide through the trading stores of those days.

Hugh Tracey, fascinated with Bosco's music, recorded him until late in the night in the hotel where he and his wife stayed. Bosco's voice was getting hoarse from a bit too much beer. The first eight titles of Bosco's music were then published on the Gallotone label in South Africa, paving the way for his international career.

In 1952 his composition, "*Masanga*," won the first prize under the Osborn Awards for the "best African music of the year." It was chosen from approximately 600 recordings considered for the prize. "*Masanga*" is a song of praise, and the subject is Bosco himself, the young man "with a neck as beautiful as a bush-knife" (*mwenye shingo ya upanga*). It also refers to his royal ancestry, the *Bayeke* clan. Thus, just in his early twenties, Bosco was able to catapult himself to mass-media stardom, and his fame quickly spread to all the Kiswahili-speaking areas of East and Central Africa, and beyond – to Europe, notably England, and the United States.

Like those of any great composer/musician, Mwenda Jean Bosco's sources are multilateral. On one hand there is the local environment in which he grew up, the kind of "common currency" of guitar patterns and techniques, in the words of John Low (1982a:108), which had been used in Katanga during the late 1940s. Katanga's population includes mostly the Luba and Lunda cluster of peoples with their sub-divisions, Swahili-speakers (Swahili was introduced here in the l9th century by Arab traders from the Indian Ocean Coast), and, across the border in Zambia, speakers of Icibemba. The traditions of these peoples have had a dominant effect on the structures of the guitar music that emerged (e.g. har-

monic cycles, time-line patterns, concepts about movement and sound, text preferences, etc.). On the other hand, there was contact with the kind of music that began to be transmitted by the mass-media in the Belgian Congo, European and Latin-American dance music of the period, and Bosco's childhood experience with his father's church-music activities.

Comparing Bosco's life with the lives of other African guitarists, I have the feeling, however, that the fact of his father having been an organist probably had only minimal importance for the adolescent Bosco. In the colonial world of the 1950s, youngsters in Central Africa were striving to express a culture that would be different from their parents' culture, in search of something of their own. A son imitating his father's music, or in any way associated with it, would have been mocked by his peers. For comparison, John Low (1982a:90) observed Bosco's eldest son in 1979, who had started to play banjo. He played in a style similar to that of other boys his age, such as Low had seen in Likasi, with no hint of his father's music. Therefore, I believe that the social and general stylistic roots of Bosco's guitar music are to be found in what regularly sounded in the Katangan semi-urban milieu of beer gardens and men's social gatherings. That Bosco's own music became extremely sophisticated, and even esoteric, is his personal achievement, reflecting his combination of creativity and self-control, his assimilation of Western-style education, and his common-sense approach to business, which allowed him to lead a bourgeois lifestyle in relative security, with plenty of leisure for study.

In the middle of discussing the possibility of inviting Mwenda wa Bayeke once again to Europe, we heard that he had died in a car accident in 1991. Nothing worse, nothing more shocking could have happened for his many admirers around the world.

FAUSTINO OKELLO (UGANDA)

Place and date of filming: Salama, Agricultural Training Centre, Uganda Foundation for the Blind, Uganda, November 1967. Language: Acooli.

Mwenda Jean Bosco's music and that of other Katanga guitarists had an enormous impact not only on contemporary developments in Central Africa, but also in East Africa. Between the years 1952 and 1962 Bosco recorded no fewer than 156 titles for the Gallotone company. In 1959 he spent six months in Nairobi. Among other activities, he promoted "*Aspro*," the "true medicine." As I remember from my first years of research in East Africa, Bosco's jingle, "*Aspro ni dawa ya kweli*," was heard almost daily in radio broadcasts of Nairobi and Kampala. His records were on sale everywhere in East Africa and had a tremendous effect on local musicians, notably John Mwale in Kenya, but also on many other lesser known guitarists of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika (see also: Low 1982b).

The Katangan guitarists' success in East Africa was due to two main factors: first, this music was irresistible for young boys and girls organizing their dance parties at school, even in remote villages; it was considered "modern" and had become the symbol of a new identity these adolescents wanted

to assume. Second, the words could be understood, since they were in Kiswahili. Bosco himself remembered his East-African experience vividly. Soon after his visit, his style was taken up by numerous young guitarists, and his songs were not only imitated from the records, but reinterpreted, sometimes beyond recognition. His words were often replaced by new texts synchronized with the original melody by young guitarists who preferred to sing in their own languages rather than Kiswahili; this was especially true when these languages were unrelated to Kiswahili, for example Luo (in Kenya) or Acooli (spoken in northern Uganda and in the southern Sudan), classified as Eastern Sudanic languages (Greenberg, 1966).

A kind of "successor music" to the Katanga guitar style developed in several places of East Africa, gradually showing – from about 1962 on – its own stylistic peculiarities and dynamics. Very few recorded documents exist of these creative developments in *statu nascendi*.

The Acooli-speaking blind guitarist and singer, Faustino Okello, is one of those chance discoveries which field-workers sometimes make when they operate off the main tracks. Although he was virtually unknown in December, 1962, when we first met him at Kireka (near Kampala), even then he was already one of the foremost solo-guitar song composers of Uganda. Characteristically, he had never appeared on the radio, had never made records – (the nearby Indian-owned record company at Iganga, publishing under the SUKARI label concentrated on Soga and eastern Ugandan music) – and was never heard outside his circle of friends at the blind school, where we found him.

Faustino Okello was born in northern Uganda, in a place called Pader (near Pajule) around 1943. His first language is Acooli, but he also speaks up-country Kiswahili, as it is understood in most parts of Uganda as a *lingua franca*.

Apparently, Faustino had become blind at an early age. In 1961, when he was about eighteen years old, he was sent to the handicraft school of the Uganda Foundation for the Blind at Kireka, on the Kampala/Jinja road. That is where my friend and colleague, Helmut Hillegeist, and I found him in 1962. At that time Faustino used to play guitar during leisure hours in the circle of his roommates. As our audio recordings of 1962 demonstrate, (i.e. seven songs on orig. tape A 3/1962), he sang and played fingerstyle solo guitar, displaying all the typical traits of Congo and East-African gui-

tar music, e.g. the use of the index finger and thumb of the right hand, the presence of a capo, etc. He was accompanied by two of his blind comrades, one striking time-line patterns on a bottle, the other playing a basic drum pattern, using a table or box for percussion. Normally Faustino played seated, his legs slightly opened, the guitar resting on his lap. His music was highly appreciated among his comrades in Kireka, and quite obviously, their intense audience reaction stimulated him.

At that time he sang exclusively in Acooli. His repertoire consisted of a cross-section of Katanga-style guitar patterns, sometimes with typical "Congo" chord sequences, such as [G C D C] in his song about Lumumba, but with a strong Acooli flavor, noticeable in his predilection for parallel octaves (with a powerful bass) in the guitar part of some of his songs, and the tonal and phonemic implications of the language itself.

There were also one or two songs in his repertoire that he had adopted from Mwenda Jean Bosco, quite definitely "*Bibi Mupenzi*," under the title "*Anyer Pade*r" (The girl from Pader; recordings tape A 3/item II/9 1962; tape 112/II/6, 114/II/12, 1967). He must have heard it either on the radio or on the original gramophone record, released in 1955. Picking it up, he retained the guitar part, faithful to the original, but transliterated (not translated) the words into Acooli, his mother tongue.

The other half of his repertoire consisted of his own compositions in Acooli. Here the "sweet" tonal-harmonic pitchlines of Katangan- and Nairobi-based guitar music, e.g. parallel thirds, a more Western-oriented chordal tonality, etc., are characteristically absent. (An example is "*Phing'o phe...*", published on Cassette II/item 49, in Artur Simon, Ed. 1983.)

My 1962 encounter with Faustino left a permanent impression upon me, and in the years to come he was often in my thoughts. In November, 1967 an opportunity came to see and record him again when Maurice Djenda, ethnologist from the Central African Republic, and I visited Uganda for three months. The cinematographic shots of Faustino published in this video were made on that occasion.

Upon arrival in Uganda we had made it a priority to find him. This was relatively easy with the help of our host, Ephraim Bisase, field officer at the Agricultural Training Centre of the Uganda Foundation for the Blind, located at Salama, a beautiful spot south of Mukono, near Lake Victoria.[4]

Faustino had long since completed his course at the blind school and was now employed not far from the school in the packing department of a tea-exporting company at Lugazi on the Kampala/Jinja road. When we arrived there we noticed with dismay under what conditions he now lived, in the large dormitory of a hostel, built by the factory ownership for their workers. I began to question the ultimate usefulness of all the education he had received at the blind school if the outcome was only to propel him into a life of virtual slavery and ruthless economic exploitation. Faustino lived miserably in Lugazi among fellow workers who tried to drown their despair in strong, home-brewed alcohol (*waragi*). He no longer had a guitar of his own and had to borrow one from a friend in order to try again.

We knew that it was impossible to record him in that place, and Ephraim Bisase, who had driven us to the tea company, invited him back to the blind school. When he was taken there a few days later we gave him our South-African made guitar as a present. With this guitar he is seen in the film. Although he first had to familiarize himself with the unusual span of the fret-board and the distance of the frets – especially since he was blind – he soon regained much of his old expertise.

On the first day we recorded no fewer than 15 titles, nearly all the Acooli language songs he had sung and played at Kireka in 1962. We also recorded some new ones which he had composed or adapted recently in Kiswahili with a Kenyan stylistic background in response to his work milieu at the tea factory, where most people spoke Kiswahili (besides Luganda and Lusoga), but where Acooli audiences were minimal (Orig. Tape nos. 112/II/1-7 and 113/I/1 - 8). In these recordings he was accompanied by a bottle player and a boy using a substitute "drum" for percussion. On another day we made more recordings of Faustino without any accompaniment (orig. tape no. 113/II/7-14)

I had only a regular 8mm movie camera with me in Uganda and was therefore limited to making just a few shots, while Djenda recorded full performances on tape. I filmed parts of two songs. (1) "*Matide Aboyo*" (cf. orig. tape No. 112/II/3), a song about the girl Aboyo with whom the singer had fallen in love. In the song he exclaims: "If Aboyo marries someone else and not me, I will commit suicide." (2) "*Loskel ucyakewaki Kongo*" (Independence began in the Congo; orig. tape 112/II/5) – a song about the turbulent events in the

former Belgian Congo, after independence on June 30, 1960, and the role Patrice Lumumba had played in the struggle. "Independence began in the Congo, and we in Uganda are close to getting our independence" is the message of the text. Faustino had composed this song in 1961 a few months after the events in the Congo. Uganda became independent on October 9, 1962.

For the filming session Faustino recruited a sighted boy who spoke his language knew something about accompanying this kind of music on a bottle. He chose the boy only by chance, however. In some of the songs recorded he was unstable with his bottle strokes and was even thrown off the beat as soon as Faustino put some unusual accents in his singing or played a disorientating variation on the guitar.

The two songs in the film are accompanied with the so-called 9-stroke/16-pulse time-line pattern imported from the Belgian Congo with guitar and other music to northern Uganda in the 1950s. It is a pattern that was not traditionally used in the music of Uganda and neighboring areas of East Africa.

The correct relationship of the bottle pattern with the guitar cycles should be as indicated below:

(a) "*Matide Aboyo*"

bottle: xx . x . x . x x . x . x . x.
chords: G D

(b) "*Loskel ...*"

bottle: x . x . x x . x . x . xx . x .
chords: G C D C

While in the film the combination is correct in "*Matide Aboyo,*" unfortunately in "*Loskel...*" the boy has shifted it against Faustino's guitar reference beat. Faustino was not comfortable, of course, with this combination, and towards the end of his performance (no longer filmed, but only recorded) he successfully catches up with the bottle player by inserting an extra repetition of half the cycle, just [G C| after which the relationship is correct. For me there was no way to edit out the bottle sounds in "*Loskel ...*," but this observation will be helpful to those who wish to study Faustino's song about Congo independence and the tragedy of Lumumba.

The contents of the two songs demonstrate two major sources of inspiration for the composition of texts in Faustino's music: (a) personal experiences, often traumatic,

as in the case of the girl, Aboyo, who preferred to marry a man who was not blind; (b) contemporary history in its wider social, even national importance. In his repertoire, Faustino had some songs about important political leaders in Central and East Africa, such as Patrice Lumumba; and also Tom Mboya of Kenya (composed before the latter's assassination in 1969).

The two songs of Faustino we filmed are in the Acooli language, but stylistically, it is clear where their dominant inspiration comes from. Initially, Faustino was inspired by Katanga guitar music of the 1950s. Upon this basis he soon developed an individual style, into which several traits of Acooli traditional music are integrated. The Acooli character of this music is particularly evident in the vocal parts, whose melodic-rhythmic lines and timbre sequences follow Acooli language/song patterns. It is also noticeable in his intonation, the timbre of the human voice, his use of head-voice in some places, and in the pitch intervals, i.e. his predilection for pentatonic melodies in spite of the guitar basis in many of his songs. But it is also noticeable in his approach to simultaneous sound – the octave duplications and occasional fourths and fifths. It is noteworthy that among the Acooli the guitar is merely an addition to an already rich tradition of chorodophones: particularly the *nanga* (trough zither) and *opuk* (the bow harp).

In northern Uganda, the impact of guitar music from the Belgian Congo in the 1950s was only the second wave of Congo musical influences that crossed the incisive linguistic border between the Bantu languages and "Nilotic" or Eastern Sudanic languages spoken north of Lake Kyoga, such as Acooli. Earlier in the 20th century, the *likembe* box-resonated lamellophone had swept into Uganda from the Mahagi District (Belgian Congo) into the West-Nile District (Uganda), and from there it was carried to and implanted in the south, particularly in Busoga, with Acooli migrant workers who had originally adopted that instrument from the Alur. The more recent importation of guitar music was also partly associated with migrant labor, but it did not follow any particular itinerary. Rather, it was transmitted indirectly to villages through hand-cranked gramophones and radio broadcasts. Faustino probably started to play guitar when he was sixteen or seventeen years old. In 1962 he was already an accomplished musician.

With regard to the two particular songs I filmed, the ulti-

mate origin of the guitar cycles and patterns is to be looked for in the guitar music of Katanga. There is striking similarity in the guitar part of "*Matide Aboyo*," for example, with Mwenda Jean Bosco's "*Bibi twende kwetu*" (originally on Gallotone C.O. 138, released 1956). It is, of course, difficult to say whether Faustino might have been inspired directly by the Bosco record or some Kenyan imitation. The upward run in the bass g-a-b-c-d (to the D chord) is used frequently by Faustino, but rather sparingly by Bosco in a recording of this song (June 30, 1992, in Berlin) which I know.

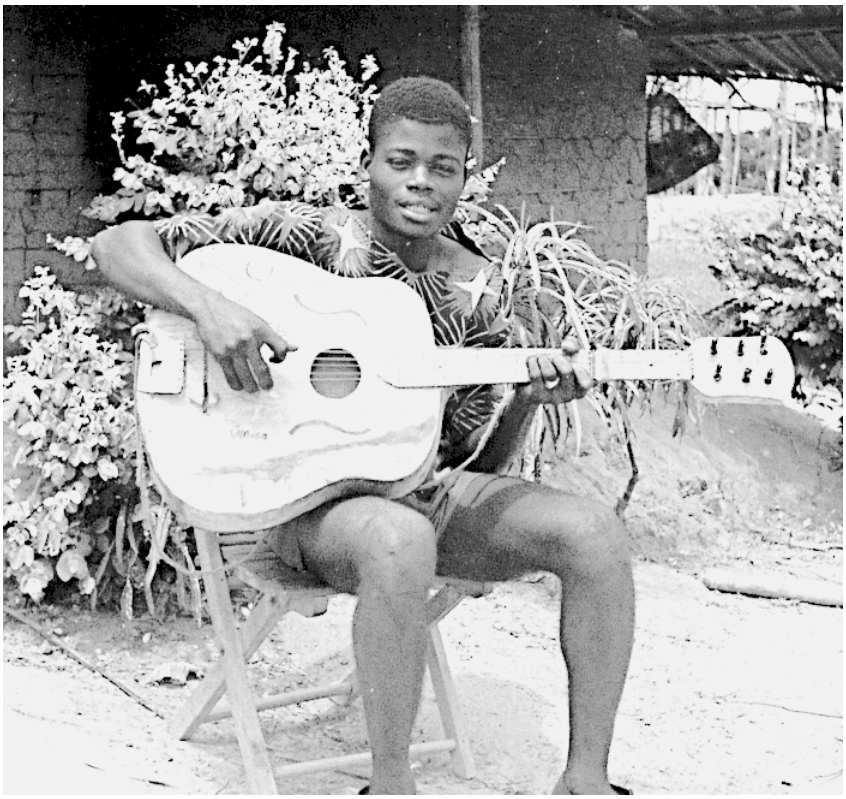
The cycle[D - C - G - C] in "*Loskel...*," with its strong off-beat accents in the high guitar notes contrasting with the beat-carrying bass, is a hallmark of semi-urban Katanga guitar music of the 1950s. In a sense, it is even a signature tune for Congo music as a whole.

I start Faustino's sequence with two stills introducing him as he opens the song "*Matide Aboyo*." In four connected shots we then see the two musicians, with analytical close-ups of the guitar and bottle parts. This is continued with coverage of the environment of Salama, the Uganda Foundation's Rural Training Centre for the Blind.

The singer then introduces "*Loskel....*" We see the *matoke* (plantains, green bananas) trading route to and from Kampala, via Kireka, where Faustino was educated. *Matoke* is the staple food of southern Uganda. The moment Faustino mentions Patrice Lumumba in his song, we see a contemporaneous picture of the Congo's national hero. This is taken from Basil Davidson: *The Story of Africa*, page 234. It is followed by a close-up of Faustino's guitar playing and fades out with a concluding portrait.

PIERRE GWA (CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC)

Place and date of filming: Linjombo, Nola District, Central African Republic, May 1966. Languages of the songs: Mpy&m˜ or Lingala.



By the mid-1950s, guitar music in Central Africa began to spread to rural areas from two main urban and industrial centers: (a) the Katanga/Copperbelt mining area (cf. Kubik 1965, Kazadi wa Mukuna 1992) and (b) the twin cities of Leopoldville (Kinshasa) and Brazzaville. Its influence soon embraced even remote villages which had just become accessible to the mass media such as the village settlements along the upper Sangha river in the south-western corner of the Central African Republic. The Sangha is a tributary of the Congo-Zaïre and an important waterway whose traffic cuts through the dense forests along the borders of three countries, Central African Republic, Cameroon and Congo.

Upper Sangha populations had been a reservoir for cheap migrant labor to Brazzaville for a long time, at least since the 1920s, when construction of the Brazzaville-Pointe Noire railway was completed. Returning workers introduced musical instruments such as the *likembe* (lamellophone) to the area of Nola, Central African Republic and further north. The river

transportation from Salo (south of Nola) via Gbayanga and Linjombo into the Congo – through areas of original tropical forest – promoted considerable economic activity and caused an influx of settlers, leading to the mixing of different peoples.

From the port of Salo to the south, plantations were established along the left river bank, usually under a French "patron." Systematic deforestation began in the 1950s. In the mid-1960s there were coffee plantations at Linjombo, near the southernmost point on the territory of the Central African Republic. There was an enterprise owned by a Portuguese who was resident there. Such economic activities attracted people from villages and settlements all along the Sangha river to build their houses near those plantations. At Linjombo, the population of the mid-1960s included the long established Pomo with their chief, and also migrants, mainly Mpy&mɔ̃, some Kaka etc. In the surrounding forests there were two pygmy clans, the Bangombe and Bambenjele (cf. Djenda 1968).

However small their income was, it permitted people to buy radios. No guitars could be purchased when Maurice Djenda, ethnologist, and I carried out an intensive cultural survey of the Sangha river populations in 1966. And yet, guitar music had become popular. For many young men it was not only a fashionable pastime to play guitar, but also a sign of social mobility. So it was for Pierre Gwa, a Kaka-descendent, 21 years old when we met him; he lived a bachelor's life in his mud house in Linjombo, not far from the river bank. Lacking access to a factory-made guitar, he had carved one by himself, expertly.

In our field notes of May 1966 we reported that Pierre Gwa was born in 1945. He told us that he had migrated here with his parents, who were seeking work on the coffee plantations of the "white patron" of Linjombo. Their original language, Kaka, is a Bantu language classified as C 13 (Guthrie 1948), i.e. a language within Zone C, Group 10 of the Bantu languages. However, since he had grown up in Linjombo among dominating Mpy&mɔ̃ -speaking groups, it was no surprise that his command of Mpy&mɔ̃ – a related language within the same zone and group – was so excellent that no one would have noticed his ethnic origins.

Pierre Gwa had constructed, himself, a six-string guitar, and he normally played it in the evenings in front of his house. His soft voice, the sweet sound of his guitar music and the texts attracted the girls in the village. As we soon noticed, it

happened on some days that his favorite girl arrived at his house shortly before sunset, which immediately ended the guitar session. Doors and windows were closed and Pierre Gwa was inside with her in his bachelor's room.

In music and in life he was not without competition, however. Pierre was one of two guitarists in Linjombo. We recorded but didn't film the second one, Jérôme Akuni, 25, who also played a guitar he had carved himself, and – like Pierre – was accompanied by two boys playing rattle and percussion bottle. That guitarist belonged to the ethnic group of the resident Pomo, whose chief had his assembly pavilion close to the river bank. Akuni rarely sang in Pomo, but in Mpy&m˜ or Lingala, which suggests that guitar music was something which was associated with the immigrant workers, rather than the indigenous population. But he emphasized that his "race" (French: *la race*) was Pomo.

In such a rural setting most things are home-made, as long as the materials are available and the technology exists. Maurice Djenda informs me that home-made guitars in the Upper Sangha area were usually made of one of the following woods, for which he was able to give the names in the local Mpy&m˜ language: (a) *lomb* (bot. not identified), (b) *kuli*, probably a kind of African teak; the name is also the name of a drum for which this type of wood is used; (c) *kombo* (in French, *le parasolier*). Djenda believes that Pierre Gwa's guitar was made of that wood, because it is easily hollowed out and is also generally used for carving out canoes, as seen in the film. (Personal communication, July 17, 1994).

The strings used by Pierre Gwa are of nylon fishline. In the close-ups of the film one can observe that there are various colored engravings on the sound-board of the guitar. One reads: *wanga*, which is the term for magic or witchcraft in several Bantu languages of west-central Africa.

Pierre Gwa employed the standard guitar tuning and fingerings for the basic chords. This suggests that the transmission of guitar music to the Upper Sangha could not have taken place only aurally (through gramophone records and radio broadcasts), but that these young men, even in such remote areas, had actually seen at one stage or another, someone play a factory-made guitar. They probably learned the tuning and the basic chords from a relative or an acquaintance who had been to the towns. Pierre did not tell us where and from whom he had learned to play guitar; or perhaps, in those early stages of our research, we had not even

bothered to ask him.

When I made the first recordings – Djenda had left the subject entirely to me (as he confirms in 1994) – Pierre Gwa played inside his house,whose walls were decorated with drawings of various decorative motifs on paper – his personal art work. He was accompanied by two ten-year-old boys, Emanuel Ngama on the tin rattle, and Emanuel Njoki on the percussion bottle.

Altogether I recorded eight songs with him, which gave us a good idea of his quite diversified repertoire. (Orig. tape no, 92, Linjombo, May 1966, ll/ll-l9). Pierre Gwa could sing in many languages, although remarkably, no song was in Kaka (his original mother tongue). We do not know the psychological significance this may have had for him. Did he want to obscure, even deny his origins, or had he forgotten his mother tongue, or was it "market forces" – none of the girls was Kaka – that led him to choose other languages?

Four of the songs I recorded were in Mpy&m˜, two were in Mpompo (another Bantu language within the same group, spoken across the border in Cameroon) and two were in Lingala, the trade language of western Zaïre and the Congo. It seems that most of Pierre Gwa's songs were his own compositions, except the two songs in Lingala which came from popular records that had been available to him, either directly or learned from radio broadcasts.

I filmed Pierre Gwa outside his house. Lacking film, in May, 1966 I was able to take only short close-ups of some of the songs. In response to my limited resources, my objective was then to concentrate on his playing technique. All in all, I made twelve shots. Some are so short, however – barely covering one or two cycles of a song – that I could not include them in this video.

Here, Pierre Gwa's guitar music is represented with four of his songs. Like many other Central African guitarists, he usually started a performance with what could be called an introductory tuning check phrase. It is played in free rhythm, first striking the two notes (bass and treble) of the tonic C, then continuing with a run: e, f, g, f, e, d, c, b, into an arpeggio of the F chord (c, a, f descending), back to C, the C chord in arpeggio and finally testing or alluding to the dominant chord. This phrase played before the start of many pieces allowed him to detect notes that were not in tune. When he discovered such a note, he would stop at that point and tune the (open) string accordingly, then check again.

The sequence on Pierre Gwa opens with a down-stream view of the Sangha river at Linjombo, against the background of his first song. We see the boats, the river bank, the assembly pavilion with the Pomo-speaking village chief and family members. Then we discover Pierre Gwa in his plaid shirt sitting in front of his house playing the guitar.

Maurice Djenda and another colleague, Kishilo w'Itunga have been kind enough to transcribe and translate (into French) the songs in Mpy&mo and Lingala, respectively.

In the first song Pierre Gwa warns about the two sides of close human relationships, such as marriage. Marriage equals love, but it also equals suffering for the man. (He refers exclusively to the male plight). "5 km from Salo" in the spoken words refers to his original home village, Nkola, a village near Nola mostly populated by the Mpy&m˜ and the so-called Sanga-Sanga. (Personal communication Djenda, July 28, 1994.)

The second song was learned from a popular record in Lingala and the words imitated phonetically. A frame-by-frame analysis of his guitar playing demonstrates the essential autonomy between his left- and right-hand motional patterns forming the cycle. The right thumb acts in a duple rhythm, 1-2, 1-2, etc., in which beat unit 1 always coincides with an impact on either the fifth or the sixth string, i.e. nearer in space to the musician's chest, while those impact points representing beat unit 2 fall on the fourth string. In his analysis of katanga styles, John Low has called such guitar movement structures the alternating bass fingerstyle (Low 1982a:19).

The right thumb of Pierre Gwa seems to dance; it performs an elastic, swinging movement. The strongly accented beat unit 2 entails directional movement of the thumb away from the musician's body. In combination with this "alternating bass" technique the right index finger strikes accents on the upper strings.

Simultaneously, the cycle of finger positions of the left hand constitutes an independent motional pattern crossing that of the right hand. Characteristically, in this piece, the return of the left-hand chord positions to the tonic, which is an F chord in this song, is anticipated metrically by one beat unit. Schematically, the movement combination between the left-hand chord cycle and right thumb strokes (disregarding here the index finger) is this:

o	. o . o	. o . o	. o . o	. o . o	} *4th string* right thumb
.	o . o .	o . o .	o . o .	o . o .	*5th or 6th string*
F	- -C G	F - G F	- -C G	F -G F	etc. left hand fingering

The themes of the third song are incest and the age barrier. Ndiango is a proper name, the name of a woman. Maurice Djenda says that both themes occur frequently in Mpy&mɔ̃ song texts, not only in those accompanied by a guitar. Brother-sister incest is feared as a real danger. Even more feared is marriage between a young man and a woman who is much older. “She abuses the man for nothing, unable to bear children,” Djenda explained (note, July 28, 1994). Ndiango could be a fictitious, or even real person addressed by the singer’s lyrics. Perhaps Pierre Gwa’s song was even inspired by a real event: an elder female relative making sexual advances towards him when he was very young. Djenda remembers Pierre as someone with an ambivalent attitude toward females. “One day he had to push his bed into another room for his protection!” he recalls.

The music of this remarkable song also deserves comment with regard to Pierre Gwa’s concept of tonality. The left-hand chord positions, which he learned from some other guitarist, do not necessarily represent the chords (in the Western sense) known under these letters. In other words, the F chord, for example, in “*Ndiango*,” a song played by Pierre Gwa in the “key of G,” i.e. with the G finger position as the tonic, is only visually an F chord. Actually it represents a D chord, i.e. the dominant chord of the sequence or even something between:

						(F)		
Guitar chords:	C - -	C - -	G - -	G - -	G - -	D - -	G - -	G - -
Bottle:	x x .	x x .	x x .	x x .	x x .	x x .	x x .	x x .

In his tonal-harmonic world the left-hand finger positions are not rigidly associated with functional sonic entities. The chord clusters arising from the fingering positions all have equal status, and each, nominal C, F and G, can become the basis of a song, particularly in his Mpy&mɔ̃ language compositions, resulting in a choice between three modes.

Although at one time he must have learned those guitar common chords from someone, he has long reinterpreted them in terms of fingering positions with ambiguous sonic content, accommodating the heptatonic tonality of the mu-

sic of the peoples of the Upper Sangha river area. Each finger position can become the tonal basis of a song, whether the major chord tonality of Kinshasa/Brazzaville band guitar music is attempted, or the modal mouth-bow-derived harmonic columns permeating the tonal concepts in many kinds of music in west-central Africa (cf. Kubik in Simon , Ed., 1983: 99).Thus, Pierre Gwa makes us aware of an aspect of acoustic fingerstyle guitar music in Central Africa that has remained virtually unnoticed by researchers working in urban areas (where guitars have factory-adjusted frets): sonic reinterpretation of the Western "common chords" in terms of ambiguous and relativistic African harmonic relationships. Home-made guitars with frets set by eye-measurement allow for dissident behavior leading musicians away from standard Western tonal-harmonic concepts.

In the 1950s several record companies were operating in Kinshasa, but most of the output came on a red-colored label called NGOMA, launched by a Greek-owned firm, Jeronimidis. One of these popular records was "*Ikwela*," by Mavula Baudeor, with two guitars and bass, sung in Lingala (Ngoma record no. 1796, 78 r.p.m.). I was already familiar with this record in July, 1960, when I visited the newly independent (ex-Belgian) Congo. Both guitarists at Linjombo, Pierre Gwa and Jérôme Akuni (cf. orig. tape no. 90) had picked it up and sung it in Lingala, although neither spoke the language. They reproduced the words faithfully in their phonetics with a certain margin of error. But a Lingala-speaker can understand what they sing, and many people still remember this song.

Pierre Gwa's music symbolizes an important stage in the history of Congo/Zaïre musical developments during the second half of the 20th century: the penetration of the countryside and the rise of dissident interpretations. Although by 1965 Zaïre music had long become electric and Lingala had become more and more the "official" language of the mass-media music (at the expense of Kingwana and other local languages), guitarists in the rural areas with home-made instruments began to drift away, composing songs in their own languages for home use. The model was still the music transmitted by the mass-media, and their influence was powerful, but so was the creative response in the villages. Most of this material has never been comprehensively documented, and very little has reached larger audiences.

Another important aspect of the musical geography of

the period from 1962 to 1966 in Central Africa was the availability of the 78 r.p.m. records of the 1950s styles of Congo/Zaïre music. People in the villages still possessed old 78s. In a sense, the older acoustic-guitar styles were now becoming rural, and now penetrated even the remotest areas.

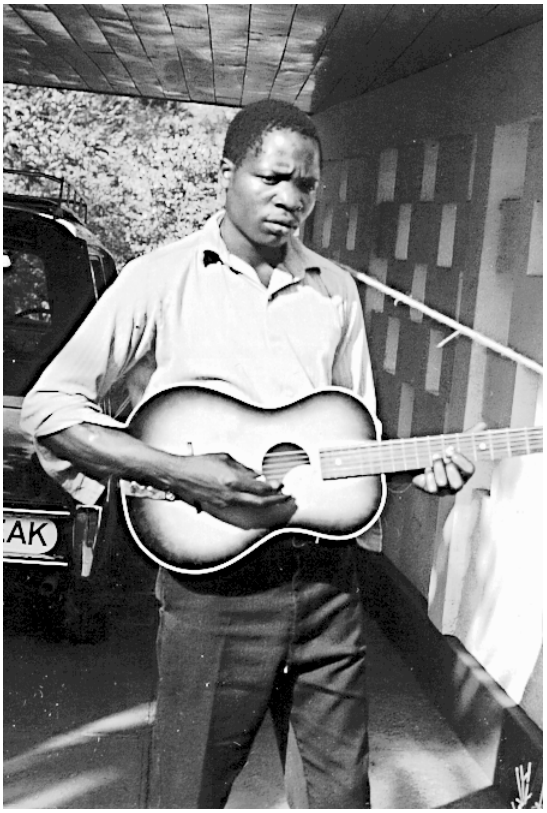
The period between 1962 and 1966 could also be called a time of consolidation for the new guitar music, both acoustic and electric. For the first time in history, the mass-media had become so effective, that within a short time after publication, any new record was known almost everywhere in Central Africa, Zaïre and the neighboring states. But to understand the effect this had on young people in the rural areas, one must know in what form these sounds came to them.The old hand-cranked gramophones did not produce anything approaching hi-fi sound, nor was there clear reception of broadcasts. Thus, the music of the Zaïrean guitarists reached their village audiences in a distorted shape, and not surprisingly, this seems to have stimulated further adaptation of the new music and its assimilation into local cultures. By the end of the 1950s, young boys all over central African villages, lacking the means to buy factory-made instruments, constructed their own guitars, and they imitated the mass-media music with an infusion of local innovation.

When Kinshasa and Brazzaville electric guitarists and bandleaders ran out of ideas during the early 1970s (when a trend began to turn away from Cuban orchestral styles and towards “authenticity” and “roots” of Zaïrean music), they began to borrow from (if not plagiarize) unknown village guitarists.

I understand that Pierre Gwa is no longer alive. Maurice Djenda informed me in July, 1994 that he had died some time ago, in an accident – either a car accident or work accident. So far, no details are available. From the late 1970s timber companies have intensified vast projects of exploitation in the area and mercilessly destroyed the tropical forest, operating from Nola. Here, the damage to the environment, the forceful dislocation of people, particularly the pygmies, and the destruction of their habitat has remained unchallenged, with the eyes of the world concentrated upon the Amazon. In addition, hardly anyone realizes the loss of human life which these harsh activities have caused, in terms of accidents. Pierre Gwa is one among several friends and family members of my colleague Maurice Djenda who lost their lives serving the welfare of others.

DANIEL KACHAMBA (MALAWI)

Places and dates of filming:
(a) At Singano village, Chileka, Blantyre District, Malawi, in Oct.1967.
(b) "Open House" with the actor Peter Uray, Orpheum Theater, Graz, Austria, Sept.1980.
(c) At Singano village with children making music puppets, and in Ndirande township/Blantyre, Malawi, August to Sept.1983.
Language: Cinyanja / Chichewa



It is difficult for a member of a musical group to be at the same time its cameraman, documenting performances of all its other members. This is precisely the kind of situation in which I often found myself during my twenty-year close association with Daniel Kachamba. We had so often played together and been on so many joint concert tours, that I simply lacked the psychological distance, and with it the courage to ask Daniel persistently: "Could I film you today as you are playing the guitar?" The answer would have been raised eyebrows, because it would have sounded like *kufunsa dala*, as it is expressed in Chichewa, "asking for the obvious" (see also: Malamusi 1990:236-237 for literary use of that phrase). One does not film what one is supposed to know. It is like penetrating a friend's bedroom saying "Could I watch you all night and see how you sleep, and especially how you will wake up tomorrow morning?"

If anything, this demonstrates the natural limits of insider field research. As a consequence, we have fair coverage of the music of the young Daniel Kachamba with his band, but very little audio-visual footage of his breathtaking solo

guitar music, especially during the last few years of his life, from about 1980 to 1987.

Daniel James Kachamba was born in Limbe, Blantyre District, Malawi, in 1947. He was born in a musical family. His father, James Kachamba, was a guitarist of the earliest period of popular township music in what was then Nyasaland, during the late 1940s, after he had returned as a World War II veteran from Burma. Daniel's mother, Etinala B. Gwede, was also musically inclined, having played the *nkangala* (mouth-bow). His life-long partner and the second pillar in his early *kwela*-style band of the 1960s was his young brother Donald Eachamba, born 1953, who himself has become a musician-composer of international renown.

The language spoken by Daniel, and the one used in most of his songs is the southern version of Cinyanja, generally spoken in the Blantyre/Chileka area where he lived, also officially called Chichewa. In reality, Cinyanja is somewhat different from Chichewa proper as spoken in the areas of Lilongwe, Kasungu, etc. Both languages are classified within Zone N, Group 30 of the Bantu languages (Guthrie, 1948). Ethnically, Daniel Kachamba, like his father, used to claim Angoni descent. The Angoni were a patrilineal group of l9th century migrants to Malawi from South Africa.

In 1954 the Kachamba family had settled at Singano village, next to Chileka airport, which is 12 km west of the twin-cities of Blantyre/Limbe. However, in 1957 they moved to Salisbury (Harare), Zimbabwe, where their father had found employment as a policeman. It was in Harare that Daniel and his young brother Donald became acquainted with the urban music of southern Africa in its various forms. In 1959 Daniel began to learn the guitar. At that stage he was associated, as a twelve-year old youngster, with various youth clubs which the Rhodesian government used to promote. A large hall for cinema, theater and other entertainment, Stodart Hall, had been built in what is now Mbare township. Daniel remembered a British-born Senior Community Service Officer, "Mr Robert," who, he claimed, showed him the first fingerings on a guitar. I happened to track down and interview this legendary person in 1989, Mr. Desmond Francis Roberts, and he confirmed that he was taking care of the youth clubs, which at one time had precisely 1,499 child members. Daniel was one of those, but Roberts denied having shown the basics of guitar playing to any of the children, not being a guitarist himself. He said that he only used to take the children to

shops and buy guitars for club use.

Exposed to the popular music of southern Africa of those days, *saba-saba*, *sinjonjo*, *vula matambo*, jive and *kwela*, Daniel began to train his young brother on the penny-whistle while they were still in Harare. In 1961 the family returned to Chileka, and he joined forces with a cousin, White Chinyama, to form their first band (cf. Malamusi 1994). When I first met Daniel Kachamba and his group on February 25, 1967 during a street concert they gave at the Blantyre bus park corner, he was already an experienced band guitarist (cf. Daniel Kachamba Memorial Cassette, Strumpf Ed., 1992). Gradually he also revealed himself as a fingerstyle solo guitarist, having played the six-string guitar.

This music drew on various sources of inspiration:

(a) As the leader of a *kwela*-style flute band since his debut in Harare, Zimbabwe, he had naturally also adopted other South African and Zimbabwean genres of the same period, notably *saba-saba* and a kind of motional pattern that became known as *vula matambo*, after the name of a famous song. (Recordings: "*Kusile madodah*," "*O nene*," etc. on orig. tape 127A/4, 8; "*Vula matambo*," orig. tape no. 5, item 5, published on the double album *Opeka Nyimbo*, MC 15, Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin).

(b) During the early stages of electric-guitar styles that were rapidly appearing at the beginning of the 1960s both in Zaïre and in East Africa (notably Kenya), Daniel Kachamba was just about to return together with his flute-playing brother to their home in Malawi. By the mid-1960s, however, East African and Zaïrean electric guitar-band records were often played by the MBC (Malawi Broadcasting Corporation) along with the South African repertoire.

According to his own account, it was a Kenyan electric guitar record, "*Julieta uko wapi*," by Isaya Mwinamo (C.M.S. African Records QB 152), that became an important source of inspiration for him. By 1967, an abstraction of "Julieta" had indeed become something like a basic Rumba model in his repertoire, especially when he played with two guitars, with himself playing the bass-line (cf. "*Malawi Lumba*" performed in a concert at the German Embassy, Limbe, in September, 1967. Orig. tape no. 123/2c).

In mid-1967 he began to diversify his repertoire. Sometimes he picked songs of Zaïrean bands wholesale from radio broadcasts, but reinterpreted them beyond recognition, such as for example, in "*Mama Elisa*" (the background solo

guitar piece in the main title of this video), or the introductory music we have used in the film *Kachamba Brothers 1967*, Part I, Kubik/ Kachamba 1993. a remote echo of *"O byasone byasone...,"* a Zaïrean hit of those days. His genius reconfigured all these materials, using just one (acoustic) guitar; and by doing so, strangely, his renditions sounded closer to the Katanga guitar style than to the Kinshasa style of O.K. Jazz and other bands famous in those days. When I once made a remark about these similarities, Daniel immediately countered: "But I don't know why, I have never been there [in Katanga]." With his adolescent background in Harare, Daniel had never had direct contact with the guitar-music scene of the Copperbelt.

Unusual in the broader African context, much of Daniel's solo guitar music of 1967 was instrumental, without any sung text. This is to be understood as a function of the essentially self-delighting nature of this music. He used to play walking up and down, without any audiences. The texts came later when he felt that people demanded them, at beer gardens where he played a gig (for money), or when recording for the MBC.

Hence, his early Rumba pieces can be understood as a very personal creative activity on the acoustic guitar, processing bits and pieces picked from various sources, but molding them together by the power of his personality, employing his wizardry of ingenious techniques. I became aware of Daniel Kachamba's increasing expertise in September, 1967, when he began to display unprecedented technical mastery, and it was at that time that I began to film, in 16mm color, some of his lumba instrumental compositions.

The international career of both brothers began in 1972, after I had obtained invitations for Daniel and Donald by the Goethe-Institutes in Nairobi and Addis Ababa. Luckily, this was followed by an invitation to participate in an international conference on jazz research in Graz, Austria. A European concert tour rose out of these commitments (cf. Kubik 1974) with performances arranged by the Africa Centre of Arthur Benseler, Freiberg a./Neckar (Germany), recordings at the headquarters of the Voice of Germany in Cologne, appearances on television, and a large concert in front of some 9,000 young people at a music festival in Viktring, Austria. On October 10, 1972 seven of his fingerstyle guitar pieces (three songs and four instrumental pieces) were filmed in 16 mm, black-and-white, at the Institute for Scientific Cinema-

tography, Göttingen, Germany (cf. films E 2136 and E 2137 of the *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica*; Kubik 1976).

After 1972, Daniel Kachamba was often invited either as a solo guitarist or together with his brother Donald by educational institutions in African and European countries. In 1980 the Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst in Graz, upon the initiative of Alfons M. Dauer, invited him for workshops and performances.

In 1983, my wife, Lidiya Malamusi, and I worked with Daniel in Ndirande township, Blantyre, Malawi, in a research project on musical traditions of the area, including the activities of a nativistic Christian movement, the Apostolic Church, with its practices of spirit possession. Daniel was a knowledgeable and devoted guide. In 1983 we were very often together again, either at Singano village, his original home, or in Ndirande township/Blantyre.

At that time bands with electric guitars had entirely taken over the music business. Although Daniel was highly respected in Malawi, he and some other acoustic guitarists of Chileka were reduced in their own country to a shadow existence. In Ndirande he used to be accompanied by three young men recruited locally (whose picture is seen in this video), who provided a percussive background to his solo guitar playing.

From his early stages until the 1980s Daniel Kachamba had an ambivalent attitude towards the culture of electric guitars. While admiring their glitter, in his heart he tended to look down upon those contemporaries. Once he said to me: "I can play on my guitar for what they need three electric guitars to accomplish." This demonstrates the incompatibility of the acoustic fingerstyle guitar and the electric plectrum styles, although time and again musicians (Mose Yotamu, for example) have succeeded in finding a bridge.

I remember when, in October, 1967, Daniel tried for the first time to use an electric guitar, borrowing the instrument of the Katenga Humming Bees, a notable choir in those days, led by T.C. Katenga on the guitar. Since Daniel merely transferred his fingerstyle patterns to the electrically amplified instrument, the result was a thick brew of sounds that had lost all its usual finesse. The reaction of his young brother, then 14 years old, was very negative. Daniel, of course, realized that it was not exactly the kind of guitar that suited his music, but such status symbols – the red-colored electric guitar had long become a great status symbol for musicians –

had their irresistible magic.

Later, especially during the 1980s, he actually found avenues to master electric guitars in an ingenious way and developed new techniques, still playing solo guitar. In 1984 he was once again invited to the Federal Republic of Germany, this time by a class of school children and their teacher in the State of Baden-Württemberg, who went through the streets to collect money for his airfare. Daniel spent about two months as a solo guitarist in Germany performing for various audiences and living in the house of Arthur Benseler in Freiberg a./Neckar, one of his close friends and devotees since 1972. Here he made his last comprehensive audio-recordings. (Orig. tapes in possession of A. Benseler, Africa Centre, Freiberg a./Neckar).

This was his final trip overseas. Back in Malawi he continued to perform, although without any permanent group of his own. In 1987 he began to experience increasing pulmonary trouble and loss of weight. One of his last performances in front of an international audience was at the UNESCO conference in Blantyre, on April 10, 1987. When he was taken to Queen Elisabeth Hospital in Blantyre/Chichiri in early July, nobody in the family realized the seriousness of his situation, nor did I. We were blindly optimistic and confident that he would soon recover.

He died in our midst at Singano village on July 25, 1987. He had a state funeral attended by high level representatives of the government of Malawi and some 4,000 mourners.

Very little cinematographic footage exists of Daniel's solo guitar performances in the 1980s, with either acoustic or electric guitars, and apparently none exists of his latest developments on the electric guitar, the "metric style" (using a circular hand movement) or his performances of full songs on the electric guitar with the left hand alone, using a combination of "pull-off" and "hammer-on" techniques.

For the present video I had to piece together the footage I could get hold of. I myself only have substantial 16mm documentation of the early Daniel in 1967 at his home village, part of which is published here for the first time. The only other examples of Daniel's solo-guitar playing I have are two short super-8mm sync-sound shots of 1983, in which he is seen sitting in front of his mud house at Ndirande township, playing his most recent lumba instrumental composition. I am very grateful, therefore, to Professor Alfons M. Dauer (Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst, Graz) for his

kindness in placing some short footage at my disposal, which was shot in September, 1980 during a performance Daniel gave with the actor Peter Uray, who was reading translations of South African literature. Unfortunately, all we could use was the instrumental introduction played by Daniel, before the actor started to read, and a short concluding song.

The Daniel Kachamba section of this video begins by introducing the twenty-year old guitarist of 1967 in an over-size suit, which he used to wear with delight. These photographs were made in Mzedi near Limbe. Although he was able to hold the guitar while in his suit, the sleeves obviously got in the way. Therefore, in the actual guitar-playing shots filmed in an open space off the houses of Singano village he wore more suitable clothing.

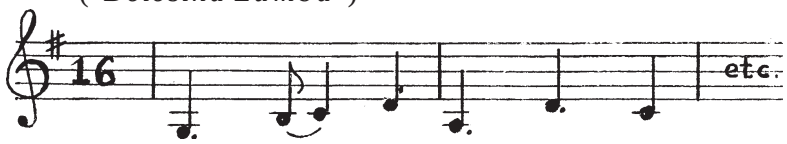
In four close-ups we see Daniel performing an early version of a piece that would later be called "*Dolosina Lumba*" (cf. the Göttingen film 1972, E 2137, item 4). This early "*Dolosina Lumba*," filmed at his home, is a complete performance. The only interruptions occurred when I had to move my single Bolex H 16 RX-Matic to another position, to shoot another angle. With the music continuing (although with a change of the over-all pitch level by a semi-tone in one place) I have filled these blank spaces with stills of the landscape surrounding his performance, the dry plane of laterite soil with green mango trees, and views of the majestic Michiru mountains forming the skyline of Singano village.

Without going much into musicological detail, I would like to draw the observer's attention to Daniel Kachamba's ease and relaxation in the fingers, noticeable already in the early "*Dolosina Lumba*" of 1967, especially his movement coordination between the left- and right-hand operations on the guitar. Using the standard tuning and playing in the key of G, it might first appear as if this lumba instrumental piece were merely a set of repetitions of a 16-pulse cycle: [G – C D – C]. But there are many subtleties. The left hand, for example, is much more than a "change of finger positions." Some sounds are created by the action of a left-hand finger alone. These techniques have been described by guitar researchers in English as the "pull-off" and the "hammer-on." In Daniel's lumba composition, the pull-off is demonstrated in some of his variant repetitions of the cycle by the quick action with his left index finger placed at fret l, "pulling off" from the first string, thereby creating the melodic phrase $g \rightarrow f \rightarrow e$. Other guitarists, such as Bosco, incidentally,

used the pull-off for creating the pitch-line g → f# → e, i.e. pulling off from the second fret, but Daniel's tonal-harmonic sense, we must remember, was deeply rooted in southern African traditions, in which the tonic seventh chord – with the flatted seventh probably being a projection from harmonics-inspired tonal systems – is a prominent feature in popular music.

The "hammer-on" is seen in Daniel's lumba bass line. Shortly after the note "b" sounds from the fifth string, with his second left finger at fret 2, he "hammers on" his left third finger at fret 3, creating the legato b → c melodic progression, as shown below:

("*Dolosina Lumba*")



"hammer-on" note obtained only
by action of left hand third finger

In these instances, the right hand is not involved. Subtle variation is also achieved indirectly without changing the motor image, by spacial shifting of the right-hand action patterns. For example, one kind of variation is created by employing "cross-finger" technique, i.e. the crossing of the thumb and index finger's playing areas (cf. Low 1982a:58 for terminology). In this case the right-hand index finger trespasses into the right thumb's playing area. The result is the emergence of inherent patterns or auditory puzzle effects (Kubik 1989a) whereby melodic-rhythmic variations seem to arise in the listener's ear (and that of the performer himself) without any of them having been played as such. Motional and auditory patterns are no longer congruent. Accentuation can reinforce such inherent patterns. I know that Daniel Kachamba was often inspired by such melodic lines emerging from the total image for finding text-lines to sing, i.e. verbal representations of them. Another of Daniel's often-observed techniques is his tendency to "brush" two strings with his fingers. And his "attack" on the upper strings deliberately aims at creating a clink, as if he were accompanied by a small rattle.

Like Mwenda Jean Bosco (see Low 1982a:34), it seems that Daniel Kachamba started many of his guitar songs by first developing the instrumental part, and only later finding suitable words. Once he had an instrumental version, he first

played it as such for his own pleasure, often for long periods – weeks and months. In the case of "*Dolosina Lumba*," he carried this piece throughout his life, only with the title.

At the end of the analytical close-ups Daniel is seen in his village. He takes his guitar from where it was leaning against a wall and plays his next song. In September, 1967 he played many hours a day for himself, walking up and down with his guitar. Nobody in the village took any notice. Everyone just pursued their usual activities, such as his sister Anasibeko, carrying a pail of water. His young brother, Donald, is seen standing while Daniel is watching what a visitor will do: Maurice Djenda, my research assistant in 1967, who is preparing to drive off. This was one of those trivial events that would induce Daniel and the young children to watch carefully every action undertaken by the visitor, such as opening the car's door, starting it, and driving slowly out of the village, with everyone, of course, running behind.

This second song played by Daniel in the 1967 shots at Singano village is an adaptation of a Nairobi guitar piece which he had heard on the MBC. He plays it in the key of "Full C." On another occasion he also sang the words (in Kiswahili, mixed with a bit of Cinyanja): "*Mimi kwenda Nairobi nilikuwa hapana moja wakundibokeya*" (I was going to Nairobi, there was nobody to receive me; *bokeya* is *pokea* in correct Kiswahili; Orig. tape no. 127A).

In the 1980 shot, we see Daniel Kachamba in Europe during his performance at the Orpheum Theater in Graz, Austria. This was one of his numerous activities during a two-month fellowship, received from Alfons M. Dauer, at the Institute for Jazz Research, Hochschule für Musik und Darstellende Kunst, in that city. The second short take in this scene is the only one in which we can see Daniel for a few moments actually singing the words to one of his pieces:

Text (in Chichewa/Cinyanja):
Dzana lija tinali tonse.
Anzanga, mwadabwa chiyani lelo?
Translation:
Not so long ago we were all together.
But today, friends, why do you appear so surprised?

According to Daniel's brother, Donald (personal communication September 20, 1994), this is a song about the frustrations of friendship. Daniel complains about the sort of friendship formed at beer gardens. Shortly thereafter, the "friends" meet each other with an air of surprise. The subject

of many of Daniel Kachamba's songs is loneliness and social deprivation (cf. Kubik 1976).

In the 1983 footage Daniel is seen back home, showing interest in a new teenage fashion of those days in Chileka: the manufacture and use of mobile music puppets (see also Malamusi 1987), three-wheel chariots with dolls playing drums and banjos with audible noises. This was a development of the popular wire cars made by boys all over southern Africa. Mobile music puppets first appeared in Chileka at the beginning of the 1980s and became very popular. Daniel Kachamba interviews the boy Bruce Mwachiwambo about his mobile doll, called "*Sholisho*," with the letters M.U.S.I.C. displayed in front of the seated figure playing the banjo (see also Malamusi 1987). Among other things, Daniel is heard asking the boy what kind of music these dolls are supposed to play. The boy replies: "The music of 1983!"

Daniel Kachamba used to live in Ndirande township near Blantyre. This is were we followed him on a private visit in early September. After an overview in Ndirande, my wife, Lidiya Malamusi, is seen walking up the hill to Daniel's modest residence, a clay house with an iron roof, following Anasawa, Daniel's wife, who leads the way.

Surrounded by children, Daniel is sitting on a mat in the middle of the square in front of his house, playing one of his newest lumba compositions with a modulation between its two themes. At this stage he listed it in his notebook with the acronym "N.C.," meaning: new composition. The guitar which he played at that time in Ndirande was decorated with strips of colored tape.

He had already included his new lumba composition in band practice with the boys he had recruited in the township to accompany him with rattle, one-string bass and percussion. He did not have any real band at that stage, but changed the people who accompanied him almost monthly. The boys seen in the pictures are, from left to right: Devesoni Kadangwe (vocal), Daisoni Kamwendo (rattle, vocal) and Samsoni John (one-string bass), besides Daniel. The string-bass player did not actually sound the string, as was customary in the old *kwela* groups, but he used the tea chest as a kind of foot-drum. (The recording dubbed in was made on September 3, 1983 in Daniel's house).

The permanent background to Daniel's music in Ndirande in 1983 was the culture of the neighbors' children who pursued their own interests: in particular, the playing of a "buzz-

disk" as seen in the concluding shots of the film, locally called: *nambombo*. Rather than a "disk," however, it is a dry pit (*nthangala*) of a mango fruit through which a hole was bored, and a string wound of cloth was passed. Daniel, who was sitting on a mat, is standing up, very tired and walks away.

MOYA ALIYA MALAMUSI (MALAWI)

Places and dates of filming:
(a) Vienna woods, July 27, 1980.
(b) On a Greyhound bus from New York to Philadelphia., Feb. 4, 1993.
(c) In the guest room of the house of Professor Dr. Kazadi wa Mukuna, Kent State University, Kent (Ohio), between Feb. 8 and 10, 1993.
Language: Cinyanja/Chichewa

Moya Aliya Malamusi, from the same village in Malawi as Daniel Kachamba, has covered an impressive itinerary since his childhood. Born in Blantyre on June 26, 1959, he began his musical career in September, 1967 as an eight-year old boy in the *kwela*-style dance band of his relative, Daniel Kachamba, who recruited him as a rattle player. He has given a lucid autobiographical account of this stage of his life and how he became a musician:

"Daniel Kachamba frequently changed his personnel, especially the musicians who were supposed to play babatoni (one-string bass) and maseche (the rattle). He never suc-

ceeded, however, in changing his flute player, because there was simply no one else who could play flute with the inspiration and expertise, for which he is known until today, like his young brother Donald Kachamba. The strength of this band at that time derived from these two pillars. Whenever there was disagreement between Daniel and Donald because of payment, there was also no way for Daniel to play for a dance performance alone. On the other hand, if there was an argument, for example, with the bass player, it was no trouble to Daniel just to dismiss him; he could easily recruit someone else. The same applied to the player of the rattle."

"I remember very well, that from one day when he lacked a rattle player he began to call me regularly so that I should begin to learn to play the maseche (rattle). There was a dance he had organized at his own house at Singano village, and there was nobody who would have been able to play rattle. Little by little I began to learn this instrument. I was only seven years old. In fact, there was no serious problem for me to learn the rattle; this was so, because I had listened to this music on many previous occasions. However, although in principle the rattle was no problem for me, what used to happen was that my hand got quickly tired. When the hand was tired, I began to slow down with the rattle beat. Therefore, from time to time Daniel reprimanded me saying that I was "late" (ndikuchedwa). When two Saturdays had passed, however, I began to get used to the rattle and the trouble of slowing down receded."

"This was the start of my playing with them, and from time to time I went with them to where they performed. A more serious problem however, was that I was not accustomed to staying up all night, but at that stage there was no choice but to conform and play until dawn. Time and again I even managed to sleep while I was playing the rattle without making any mistake in the rattle beat. When a song ended, I knew somehow that it was finished and stopped my rattle strokes. Troubles came only when another song had to be started; and here it sometimes happened that I did not manage to synchronize my start. Thereby my fellow musicians discovered that I had had a brief nap!"

(Malamusi 1994)

Because of his schooling, however, Moya did not continue to work as a full-time musician. Nevertheless, as an adolescent he also learned to play the one-string box bass (cf. Kubik 1974:39-43) and some patterns on the guitar. Ever

since 1973 he has been a member of Donald Kachamba's *Kwela* Band, the band of Daniel's young brother, alternating between one-string bass and plectrum guitar.

In 1975 he first joined Donald Kachamba on a concert tour to Dar es Salaam and Nairobi. Moya was by then about sixteen years old. His first journey outside his home country began with an "initiation ceremony" to the hazards of traveling which were both painful and humorous. Concerned as he has always been to prepare himself thoroughly for any challenges, he duly obtained his cholera vaccination before departure. Arriving at Dar es Salaam airport, Moya, where his cousin, Donald Kachamba was waiting for him, he was asked by the health officer in Kiswahili about his vaccinations, especially about cholera. His inability to reply in that language upset the man, because from the viewpoint of the Tanzanian regime in those days, it was an offence if a "black" person (and that included African-Americans, who could hardly get rid of their American-English accent) could not speak Kiswahili properly. The officer was annoyed, to say the least, thinking that the young boy wanted to make fun of him by speaking "like a white man." He then asked him the same question in English. In his characteristic polite way, Moya replied to the officer's question, with a pause between each word: "Cholera? – I – have – cholera." The man behind the desk exploded: "What? You have cholera?" And the adolescent Moya was hustled into a "health room" at Dar es Salaam airport to be administered yet another cholera vaccination shot, with a long and old needle by an inexperienced nurse. As a result, he was ill with a swollen arm for several days. Luckily he was not infected with any other disease.

In 1978 Moya first traveled to Germany and Austria with the band of Daniel and Donald Kachamba. A year later he joined me as a field assistant in a research project in northwestern Zambia, and that year was to give his life a new direction. After systematic training in the methodology of field research in culture, language, music etc., audio and visual recording techniques, text transcription and analysis, he developed an ever-increasing involvement in anthropological research.

Concert tours to Brazil in 1980 and to West Africa in 1981 were transformed partly into research trips. In 1983/84 in Malawi, and in 1987 in Zambia he participated in two more large research projects. Eventually, he established in 1989 an independent Oral Literature Research Program at Singano

village/Chileka, with an office and a small museum building housing ethnographic objects. As a free-lance radio producer he has also contributed radio programs to several stations in Germany, Belgium and elsewhere since 1985. He is now a student in cultural anthropology at the University of Vienna, while continuing his career as a musician, particularly in Donald Kachamba's Band, playing plectrum guitar and one-string bass.

Moya's solo guitar music is written for his own delight. It is not related to audiences, even if he plays, as he does quite often in the evening, sitting on the veranda of his house, in the midst of his children, who pursuing their own games. His texts tend to be elegiac.[5] Some of them derive their contents from fairy tales. The vocal themes are sung over short harmonic cycles of subtle motional structure, from which puzzle effects (i.e. inherent auditory patterns) emerge. These patterns, suggesting words or syllables to him, can be reinforced by slight changes in accentuation.

The 1980 movie shots, showing Moya at the age of 21 years during an excursion into the woods, demonstrate his style. On that occasion he played five-string guitar, capo at the 5th fret, in the so-called Spanish tuning, a term he had adopted from Daniel Kachamba to describe the guitar tuning B, G, E, C, -, F (from top to bottom, relative pitches). Moya had built up a repertoire of his own compositions and some other songs adapted from popular records.

The 1980 shots came off during a joint walk into the Vienna Woods, while Moya was staying with me for several months. On that occasion I filmed two of his pieces which he used to play almost daily.

Moya informs me that both songs were inspired by Zimbabwean records. The second song was once very famous, he says, at the time when trousers with wide flares had become the fashion. *Chure* means "frog" in several east and south-east African languages. *Che-* is an honorific prefix used in the Ciyao language to address a male person of some stature in the community. The story is about a boy who discovered one day that green frogs were dressed in the latest fashion. In fact, the legs of these frogs look as if they had bell-bottom trousers on.[6]

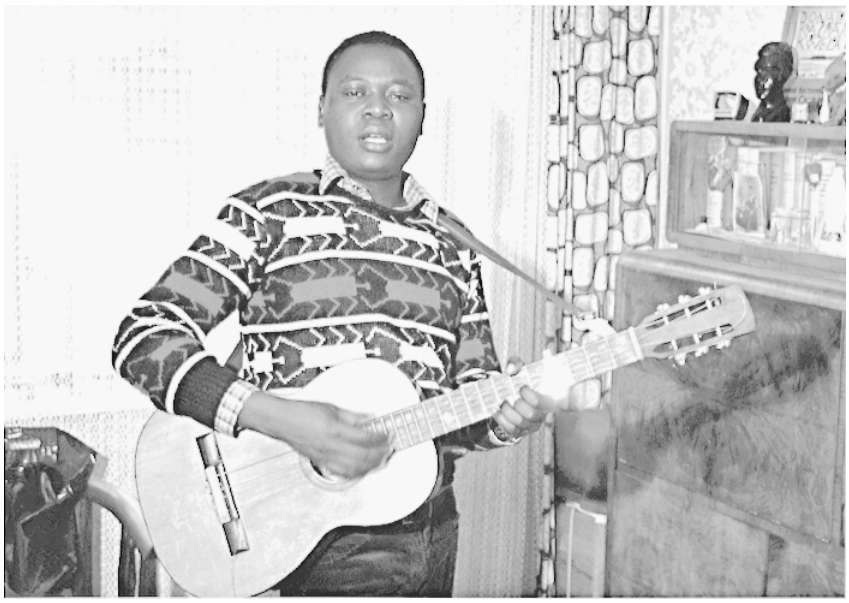
There is also direct testimony by Moya about how he hears his guitar music when he performs. On another occasion in the same year he played again in the "Spanish tuning," with the typical alternating thumb- and index-finger

movements of his right hand. Suddenly he interrupted himself and said to me: “But it is very interesting: when I play, then string nos. 1 and 2 go together, string no.3 is alone, while string nos. 4 and 6 help each other.” Obviously he was referring to auditory inherent patterns which he had just discovered by ear in different string areas while listening intently to his playing. His statement suggests that he had become aware of three independent pitch layers in his guitar part, the first formed by notes on the two highest strings, the second just by the middle string alone, and the third formed by the bass notes. Auditory isolation of the third string as a carrier of its “own voice” in the musician’s own terminology, was also once noted by Daniel Kachamba, who pointed out a pattern to me which emerged from that string.

In the last scene of the 1980 shots we see Moya acting. This is often part of a guitar performance, especially on stage. Acting is directed at an audience, in this case the imaginary audience of the viewers, whom Moya anticipated would see his film. Walking away from the place where he had just played “*Chechure*,” he begins to complain about the “long and tiresome journey” and that the forest was terribly “dark” (*kwada bi*!) and he actually disappears in the darkness. For Chichewa speakers, poking fun at one’s own mishap in that manner has an intrinsic humor. Moya is then seen sitting down under a tree with a sigh, saying that he “will never come back here” (*sindibweranso kuno*).

We have continued this plot. Imagine that Moya’s complaint was heard by the gnome of the forest, who must have been angered, or even by the fairytale frog in the song wearing bell bottom trousers. Moya had hardly finished his sacrilegious words, the gnome had transformed the scene, accelerating time to bursting speed, then we find Moya, thirteen years later, on a Greyhound bus against the Manhattan skyline, then passing the surreal iron bridges of Newark’s industrial area. “You are tired of my quiet and beautiful forest, aren’t you? – All right. I sentence you to a time-journey. Forthwith you will be in a place of huge stones, and fearful iron structures, with no trees at all!”

This second part of the portrait of Moya was filmed in America in February, 1993. We were working for two months as Senior Research Fellows at the Department of Music of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (upon the invitation of Laurence Libin, Director), on some aspects of the Museum’s African instrument collection. In between, we trav-



eled to eleven universities in the eastern half of the United States giving lectures. Moya had his own set of lectures, focusing on string instruments (musical bows, guitar, etc.) and on masked secret societies in south-eastern Africa. In the leisure hours he always played guitar for himself.

The concluding shots were made in a guest room of the house of Dr. Kazadi wa Mukuna, at Kent State University, Ohio, with whom we stayed. They give us an unexpected look at a guitar-playing style that was once very popular in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe: *hauyani*.

The term *hauyani* is an adaptation of the English word "Hawaiian" in the languages of South-east Africa, such as Cinyanja/Chichewa. It refers to the "Hawaiian guitar" craze of the 1940s which swept round the world, reaching southern Africa where it soon stimulated local adaptations. In Malawi, since the 1950s, the term denotes both a playing technique and a certain tuning of the guitar.

The guitar is placed flat on the musician's thighs. In his left hand he holds a slider, usually a small bottle which he presses on the strings from the top, changing positions between the frets. Sometimes the player only glides along the three upper strings, while the bass strings are left to sound without stopping them. For this and other reasons the *hauyani* playing technique goes with a specific tuning, also called *hauyani*, which is a major triad (from top to bottom): g, e, c, G, E, C (two octaves from the first to the sixth string). The right-hand fingers can then be used as in ordinary two-finger

picking styles, or in some other ways.

"Hawaiian guitar" playing was extremely popular in Malawi during the late 1940s and the 1950s. One of the senior players in this style was the late Ndiche Mwarare, whom we recorded in 1967. Daniel and Donald Kachamba have also recorded several *hauyani* pieces, one of them, "*Vula matambo,*" is published on our double-album *Opeka nyimbo,* MC 15, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (cf. Kubik/ Malamusi 1989). Moya's *hauyani* performances are derived from memories and experiences within the Kachamba group which he has revived only from the beginning of the l990s.

The first piece he plays in the video is an instrumental demonstration, the second, "*Ndaona ine ndilibe mau*," is a song he composed about a year before the American trip.

Text:
Ndaona ine ndilibe mau
Nkazi wanga ine anandithawa,
anandisiya ine ndikudwala.
Ndikungolila ine mayo mayo
Ndikungolila nkazi wanga.

Translation:
I see that I have no words left.
My wife has abandoned me,
she left me while I was ill.
I am just crying, dear me!
I am just crying for my wife.

This text is meant to be situational, explains the author: "It is what can happen to anyone. But it is fictitious, like someone else singing, not autobiographical." (Note, July 1994).

Moya's *hauyani* style is rhythmically subtle. The second piece is in a (South African) jive rhythm, and it can be accompanied by a tin rattle with the verbalized strokes *ka-cha ka-cha ka-cha*, etc., as we have demonstrated in lectures. However, very few listeners will be sure where the rattle strokes should go. As our tests in lectures have revealed, many listeners invert the structure of Moya's song, perceiving the beat in the treble notes, and the unobtrusive bass offbeat. The opposite, of course, is correct, and the fundament for the vocal line is irrevocably the bass (in the guitarist's right-hand thumb). Much more even than in Bosco's "*Bombalaka,*" where some listeners in the 1960s had a similar problem, Moya employs such a strong accentuation in this apparently very gentle and non-aggressive music that

listeners unfamiliar with the south-east African traditions are regularly thrown off the beat.

Since I was video-taping Moya, I could not, unfortunately, play rattle with him in these shots, as I did in our lectures. But perhaps it helps viewers if they simply take note that with his right-hand index finger he strikes a continuous chain of off-beat notes. The beat in Moya's right-hand operation is in the thumb strokes on the
bass strings. The interlocking right index finger strokes are so prominent in their auditory accents that they veil the bassnotes. This creates a disorientation effect in listeners whose internal beat reference system is not strong enough to cope with these accents. It is reinforced by another element in the song's structure, namely, that the chord changes, generated with the slider (bottle) held in the left hand, also occur on an off-beat. In fact, the chords are always changed a quaver before the actual (inner) beat unit 1. The beat itself is unobtrusive and acoustically non-prominent.

ERASMUS N. NDARA (NAMIBIA)

Date: Friday, December 13, 1991. Place: a compound at Divundu, near Bagani, Okavango Region, Namibia. Language: Mbukushu

In most countries of Central and South-central Africa, "acoustic" guitars have virtually disappeared from the shops. Apart from South Africa, the newly independent country of Namibia was the notable exception in the early l990s. Guitars of the type used by African musicians could still be found in some shops in Windhoek, and even in remote places such as Epukiro in the east. But even in Namibia, the number of guitarists seen in the townships and along the streets playing fingerstyles must have dramatically decreased in comparison to the 1960s. This was confirmed for Damaraland by Father Geiger of St. Michael Roman Catholic Mission, near Outjo, who has been a resident since 1960. (Personal communication, November, 1992).

And yet, during our three-year survey project, 1991 to 1993[7], while we were covering many parts of the country, we had several opportunities to record fingerstyle guitarists, notably among the Nama and the Damara, who speak closely related Khoisan languages, and in the Okavango Region on the border with Angola, among the -Mbukushu.

A remarkable personality among those whom we recorded was the Mbukushu-speaking guitarist Erasmus N Ndara, about 28 years old – remarkable not only for his guitar-playing style, but also for his life-style as an itinerant, unmarried musician who could only rarely be met in his compound.

In the extremely hot December of 1991 our research group, including Moya A. Malamusi, his five-year old son Yohana and myself, visited the area of Bagani in the Okavango Region. While we were recording something quite different, namely the *thiperu* dance of the -Mbukushu, on Friday, December 13, we were suddenly approached by a young man who gave the impression of being somewhat marginalized. The way he talked and moved, dressed in a minute bathing costume, he presented the image of someone whose behavior must have been considered unusual by the Mbukushu-speaking environment.

He knew some English and told us that he had been in Swakopmund on the Atlantic coast. He expected from us nothing short of permanent employment, be it as a guide at our recording tours, or as a guitarist to entertain us. Unfortunately, we could not honor such great expectations. He said he was tired of the monotonous life here at the villages along the Okavango river. While the *thiperu* dance was going on, he talked about his music and emphasized that, in contrast to those dancers and drummers, he didn't need any accompaniment for his guitar, but that he played solo.

We followed Erasmus to a compound in Divundu, not far west of Bagani, where he stayed with his relatives, including his sister. He revealed to us that he was supported by his (married) sister, who turned out to be a central subject of his songs.

He took his guitar, a South African model which he had adapted, and sat down. There was the characteristic home-made capo, a piece of wood attached with a rubber band behind the first fret. Guitar strings were a problem and one tuning peg was lost. Rather involuntarily therefore, he played "five-string guitar." But like Katanga guitarists (cf. Low 1982a:42), his strong motivation had made him successful in "subsistence guitar" maintenance, as Low has expressed it, and his instrument produced a remarkable sound. The photograph has captured the almost classical right-hand attitude of a Central African fingerstyle guitarist, with thumb and index finger in characteristic striking position, and the second and third fingers firmly planted upon the soundboard. The left hand shows one of the basic chords in the key of Full C with the thumb ready for action on the sixth string (photo page 60). Clearly, what he had in mind was the standard tuning with the sixth string raised to F. In practice, however, he had to adapt his fingering to the circumstances.

Moya audio-recorded several songs from him, and I

video-taped him at the same time, independently of the recording. Such an arrangement is an important aspect of our field documentation technique. In a situation like this we always try to give the musician the impression that the audio-recording is our central concern avoiding his becoming all too attracted by the camera and perhaps interpreting it as a "photographic" situation, and not playing properly. The audio recordings are then played back after each piece to confirm the impression.

The scene begins shortly after Erasmus has started his first song, with my camera focusing upon a child in the compound sleeping on a mat. However, this is not because of any particular interest I might have had in the child as a motif; it was simply that under no circumstances did I want to attract the guitarist's attention. Moya was already recording, and it looked as if I were just taking pictures in between, while Erasmus' attention was focused on Moya's microphone. Only later, when the musician was in full swing did I dare to change angles and point the camera more directly at him so that we could now observe where his fingers moved and also study his vocal style.

Most of Erasmus' songs were sung in Mbukushu, a Bantu language belonging to Zone K/ Group 30 in Malcolm Guthrie's 1948 classification This is important to know, because Zone K is a prominent Central African guitar music area. Mbukushu is spoken in the middle Okavango (or Kuvangu) river area, both in Angola and northern-most Namibia. Erasmus also had one song in Afrikaans in his repertoire.

The first song filmed is his most typical: "*Engelika ghapumura munu wendi - endi dimbo*?" It is a song about his sister Angelika. The song warns her about quarreling with her husband. While he was singing, Angelika happened to walk by with plates in her hands, disappearing into a house. He told us later that she had prepared his lunch.

At the end of this song, Erasmus produces a classical "live fade-out." This is a way of ending a song which many guitarists of southern Africa and elsewhere have practiced with delight. It was inspired by the 1950s culture of the 78 r.p.m. records, whose three-minute time-span often forced record companies to fade out longer performances recorded by musicians in their studios. Dance audiences at open-air parties with hand-cranked gramophones got used to this way of ending a song. And very soon musicians who played live for dance parties imitated it (among them for example, Daniel

Kachamba with his band in Malawi) The live fade-out became fashionable and Erasmus Ndara does it expertly.

Erasmus has many more songs about his sister Angelika, besides the one published here. In another song that was only audio-recorded, he complains: "You can see, there are always problems at home, Angelika! But when these problems get too numerous, then surely I will run away!" And this is what he did quite often. An idea of the tense atmosphere in the compound was perhaps even captured by the video camera. I am referring to the moment when a relative sitting near the musician makes some discontented remarks.

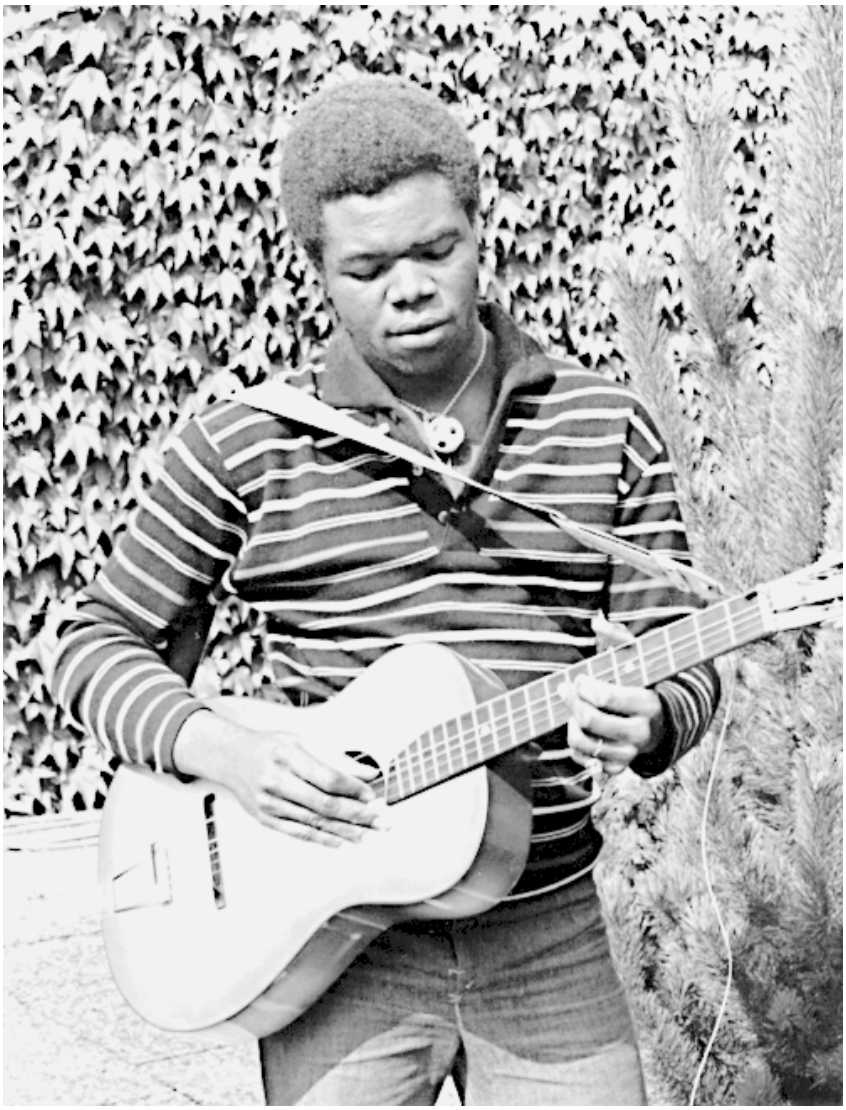
While most of his songs were played in the two-finger picking style, in the second song which I filmed, "*Tango paya*," he used a plectrum. He explained that this was a song about someone who had "too much in his head," i.e. queer ideas that annoyed the community.

Erasmus' guitar style is closely related to the way guitars were played in Western and Northwestern Province of Zambia during the 1970s. It is not a South African, but rather a South-central African guitar style. Indicative of the connection is the "Rumba" background to "Angelika," and the *kachacha* background to "*Tango paya*." The basis of the latter song is the 9-stroke/16-pulse time-line pattern characteristic of *kachacha* dancing in Zambia and eastern Angola. There are also, in this song, reminiscences of soul music, dating to the 1970s when James Brown, Aretha Franklin and other soul singers were popular in Central Africa. Technically interesting is his raising the tuning of the sixth string for this song to create a bass on a single pitch-level.

The two songs filmed of Erasmus N. Ndara also demonstrate that finger and plectrum styles are not mutually exclusive. Many guitarists are experts in both, and they can alternate between the two. When Erasmus ended the session at exactly 2 p.m., we thought that he would now go to have his lunch, which Angelika had prepared. But he insisted on accompanying us and taking us to a relative, Johannes Murerwa, 60, who would tell Mbukushu stories. Unfortunately, that was our last joint undertaking, and the last time we have seen him since then. When we revisited the same place in 1992 and asked of his whereabouts in his compound, we were told that he was on a journey, probably in Swakopmund. And in 1993 we missed him again. But according to the cultural officer of Rundu, Mr. Dekua, he was working at that time in Rundy, which was much closer to his home.

MOSE YOTAMU (ZAMBIA)

Places and dates:
(a) Föhrenau, Lower Austria (in the compound of Dr. Engelbert Stiglmayr), February, 1979.
(b) Lobau, Vienna; Saturday, August 7, 1993
Languages: Lunda, Lucazi, Luvale and Cinyanja



Mose Yotamu was born in Mufulira, Zambia on March 10, 1957. His first language is Luvale (also called Lwena in Angola), which he speaks with his mother and other relatives. He is also fluent in Lucazi, Lunda, English, and has a fair knowledge of several other Zambian and Angolan languages, notably Cokwe, Mbunda, Icibemba, Cinyanja, and Tonga. He even speaks some French and Portuguese.

His multi-linguality is, in part, the consequence of a turbulent childhood, marked by war, population displacement and family conflicts. He is the son of Angolan-born Mr. Yotamu, but during his childhood he never saw his father, who was a worker associated with mining companies on the Copperbelt, Zambia. He grew up under the authority of his mother, Mrs. Sofiya Nyamutunda, until he reached adulthood. Her own father was a Kaluvale, her mother a Kalunda, so she is fluent in both languages.

From Mufulira, where Mose was born, his mother migrated to what was then the Congo (now Zaïre), first temporarily, in 1961, and in 1962 to stay in one of the Katangan mining towns. In 1964 Mose began to attend primary school in the mining town of Kolwezi in Katanga. In his third year of schooling (1967), he started receiving instruction in French.

When I first interviewed him about his life in 1971, he no longer remembered any French-language sentences, but he had retained one song: "*Je suis chrétien ... mon ésperance est mon soutien*" (I am a Christian ... my hope is my pillar). He told me that they were affected by the armed insurrections in Katanga in 1963 and 1964, and that insurgents once nearly killed him and his mother.

As the situation in Katanga deteriorated in 1968, Nyamutunda Sofiya, with her three children, including Mose, returned on foot to Zambia, walking from Kolwezi to Mwinilunga, together with many other refugees, including Mose's stepfather, John Ngombo (father of his two younger siblings). On their journey Mose became very ill with malaria when they reached the road junction near Mutanda, on their way to Kabompo. He received treatment first at Mutanda and then in the district capital Kabompo. On their long journey there had been many stop-overs. In Mwinilunga they had stayed for five months and the boy began to pick up Lunda (which by 1971, however, he had forgotten).

When they arrived at their destination, Chikenge village, Kabompo District in northwestern Zambia in the same year (1968), Mose resumed schooling as a Grade IV pupil at the Primary School of that large village. In Chikenge they were given a hut close to the compound of a relative, Mr. Kamwocha, in the vicinity of the royal enclosure (*lilapa*) of the resident Lucazi ruler, (Mwangana) Kalunga II Ntsamba Chiwaya (1898-1981). The chief protected Mrs. Nyamutunda and her children and became a benevolent grandfather figure to Mose. Mose then adopted the name of his uncle, Kamwocha.

They were now living in a predominantly Lucazi-speaking social milieu and Mose learned yet another language. When they had settled in Chikenge in 1968, Mose was still what is called *chilima* (an uncircumcised person) in Lucazi. In my interview with him he emphasized this, because it is so important in the cultures of northwestern Zambia for young males to be circumcised. On April 26, 1970 , after the operation was carried out on him, he entered into the *mukanda*[8] seclusion, where he stayed with other initiates for several months. The Lucazi-speaking fellow initiates in the circumcision camp reinforced his emerging fluency in that language. Mose graduated from *mukanda* in the same year (1970), and continued thereafter, to attend the Western-style Chikenge Primary School.

In Chikenge, primary school teaching was predominantly in Luvale, one of Zambia's officially approved languages, the same one which Mose used to speak with his mother, while he spoke Lucazi with many of his schoolmates. He was now a grade VII pupil, but had no illusions about school; his teachers used to beat the children and they also exploited their work capacity instead of teaching them. A typical example: the children had to cut down a tree which was then presented by the teacher to someone in his family for whom he wanted to do a favor. Mose complained a lot about that.

(Curriculum vitae compiled by me from the fourteen-year old Mose in Chikenge, on Monday, October 4, 1971; field-notes 1971/Kubik)

It is very rare that we have such a detailed account of an African guitarist's "pre-musical" childhood period. While the early beginnings of guitar-music composers such as Mwenda Jean Bosco and Daniel Kachamba have remained shrouded in mystery, particularly with regard to sources of inspiration, individual response, etc., Mose Yotamu's first signs of talent and its later developments can almost be pinpointed and put into a definite time frame.

I came to know Mose Yotamu (then: Mose Kamwocha) in 1971. He was only 14 years old at that time, but he worked with intelligence and devotion as my research assistant from September to December of that year, during ethnographic fieldwork in the Chikenge area. While doing so, he continued his schooling in Chikenge. In December he accompanied me to Lusaka where we undertook the evaluation of a large amount of my Lucazi oral literature recordings, staying at the Institute for African Studies of the University of Zambia.

In early January 1972 I put him on a plane back to Zambezi.

My association with Mose continued in later years, 1973, 1975, 1977/78, etc. during various visits in Zambia. Gradually he acquired a solid grounding in the techniques of cultural research work, allowing him to conduct independent field studies in later years, for example in 1980 in Angola, and even in a place far away from his home area: among the Anyi of the Côte d'Ivoire, West Africa, in 1978.

When I first knew him at Chikenge village, northwestern Zambia, he hardly showed above-average musical inclinations. But he had been a good dancer in the *mukanda*. He told me that he was given the name "Kaliselwa" (little cloud) because of his expertise. This alluded to his skill in doing the *kuhunga* (winnowing) movement, a dance pattern in which the initiate's dance-skirt, made of bast material, has to swing out. The dancer thereby seems transformed into a "little cloud," as light as if he were floating in the sky. In adolescence he also showed a notable talent in the visual arts. I have some drawings of masks, initiation dancing and other scenes associated with *mukanda*, produced by Mose during leisure hours in 1971. They display an acute sense of observation and the power to transform the observed into visual images.

It was only in July, 1973, when I returned to the area for the second time, that Mose quite unexpectedly displayed musical interest and talent. Like many other boys his age, he had started to play a home-made banjo (cf. Kubik 1989:19-23; photos l0a and b). At that time, aged 16, he was a Form I student at St. Joseph's Secondary School in Manyinga, a school that was directed by the Fathers of the Catholic Mission. Mose revealed to me that he had learned to play the banjo between January, 1972 (just after I had left) and July, 1973 while staying in a relative's house at Mundanya village, not far from Manyinga in Kabompo District. Every day after returning from school he would play the banjo with a friend called Elija, of the same age, and they planned to form a band which they intended to call ELMO Band ("EL" for Elija, "MO" for Mose).

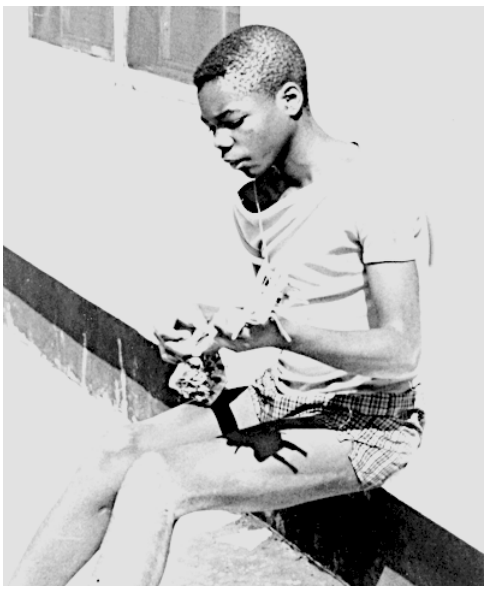
In 1973 Mose's banjo playing was rooted in several contemporary traditions known in northwestern Zambia: Jive from South Africa, with a notable element of *chinjonjo* (the local pronunciation of *sinjonjo*); any songs were based on the *kachacha* time-line pattern, usually struck on a bottle. Eastern Angola, Katanga and northwestern Zambia – that

is probably the original home of this rhythm pattern. Mose had known it, of course, since his early childhood.

There were imitations in his repertoire of popular songs of the time, such as those by the late Lucazi-singing composer Thomas Maliti, occasionally heard on the radio, but he also adapted local songs pertaining to the *mukanda* rites.

For boys of Mose's age, playing the *mbanjo* (as the word is pronounced locally) was always symbolic of a stage of transition.They were dreaming of playing electric guitars, or at least factory-manufactured acoustic guitars, in the future. When Mose accompanied me to Lusaka for the second time in 1973, I contributed to the realization of his dream by giving him a guitar. That was probably his start as a guitarist.

In 1975, now eighteen years old, he joined the Malawian Donald Kachamba's *Kwela* Band on a tour of East Africa, to Dar es Salaam and Nairobi. He alternated between the one-string bass and the rattle. At that time he already played guitar with some expertise, though in a style different from that in the band. He did not want to obtrude and played guitar only for himself. His repertoire consisted of some of the songs he had played on the banjo, augmented by a shot of soul music inspired by James Brown's performances and the numerous Zambian electric-



guitar groups that had begun to adapt soul music. In that year he also changed his name from Kamwocha to Yotamu, after having met his father for the first time in Mufulira.

In 1978 he traveled to Europe for the first time with the same band, and then he stayed on with me in Vienna until February, 1979. At that time he had incorporated in his repertoire several fingerstyle guitar songs in the Lunda tradition (see his 1979 footage). In 1988 he worked at the Museum für Völkerkunde, Department of Africa, Berlin, on the making and restoration of *makishi* masks from the eastern Angolan/northwestern Zambian culture area. In the same year he traveled with us to Finland. In 1990 he participated in the International Symposium on Ethnomusicology, School of the Arts, University of Windhoek (Namibia) where he gave a lecture and guitar performance. In June, 1993 he was invited to give a lecture-performance at the I.C.T.M. (International Council for Traditional Music) World Conference in Berlin, After the end of the conference I again invited him to Vienna for work on a book on Lucazi oral history, and it was during his stay that the 1993 footage was shot.

Mose's repertoire from the late 1970s to the early 1990s consists of a core of songs stylistically rooted in musical traditions of northwestern Zambia, and sung by him in Lucazi, Luvale or Lunda. But he has also assimilated experiences of electric plectrum guitar styles, and is versatile in *kalindula* music, about which he himself has written a paper, yet unpublished (Yotamu, manuscr.)

"Kalindula is a type of Zambian music which originated in the Northern Province (of Zambia). The word kalindula is in the Icibemba language. It derives from ukulindula which simply means the vigorous shaking of the body, particularly the waist, in rhythm to this music."

"The best known musician who has helped to make this music popular is Spokes Chola. Although the music itself dates back to as early as the 1960s, he is the one who has made it widely known since the early 1970s. Spokes is a blind man. He made numerous records with the Zambia Teal Record (Z.T.R.) company.... This music is now fast spreading from the remote parts of the Northern Province to various parts of Zambia, especially the Copper Belt Province, where several other artists have managed to record albums. It is not clear who actually started it, although it is closely related to the music of the banjoists, who are normally enthusiastic youths. It is also performed during ceremonial activities, such as initiation ceremonies."

"In my parental home area, Kabompo District ... kalindula has caught on too." (From an unpublished manuscript by Mose Yotamu, written in May 1988.)

Considering that northwestern Zambia has long been an inter-ethnic melting pot, and in view of the genealogy of his mother, it is not surprising that Mose has had contact with Lunda-speaking musicians. More even than in Zambia, Lunda guitarists in Shaba Province, Zaïre, had long been the turf of some of the better-known styles. That has been so since the days of Hugh Tracey, according to John Low (1982a:67). Mose's Lunda-language song "*Mwenaku mama*!" (Stop crying, mother!), which is heard twice in this video in his 1979 and 1993 performances, which are virtually identical, is an excellent example of how deeply rooted Mose is in this tradition. But he is a versatile guitarist these days, singing in Lunda, Lucazi, even Cinyanja and other languages. His repertoire, although stylistically homogenous, is most diversified, as is testified in the recordings.

He plays both fingerstyle and plectrum guitar. But Mose rarely uses a capo, a fact that is open to interpretation. Another salient feature of his technique is the frequent use of *barré* fingering, for example in his Cinyanja language song "*Nani anyamata mukufuna ncito*..." (no. 3 in the video), something unusual even in Central African plectrum styles. Probably one reason is his strong background in electric-guitar traditions, as is visible in his (instrumental) item (no. 4) in the 1993 footage. Here, one must not forget that Mose is at least one generation younger than the Katanga guitarists. And yet, particularly in "*Mwenaku mama*!," he has assimilated an older Lunda style. Implicit in this particular song is the nine-stroke/16-pulse time-line pattern which can be struck using a bottle. The guitar part can be described (in John Low's terminology) as "regular bass and fill-in" style (Low 1982a:47).

Mose's elegance and control of his body, since the days he was the "little cloud" in the *mukanda*, is still visible in the now thirty-six year old man. He can play guitar in almost any position, and he is still a good dancer. He suggested that I video-tape him riding on a bicycle with hands off the handlebars, playing guitar. Unfortunately we could not find a suitably smooth tarmac without any traffic! Like Daniel Kachamba in the 1960s and 1970s, Mose can, of course, also play guitar holding it behind his shoulders at the back of his head. This is not merely show-biz to impress onlookers,

but a genuine position of relaxation. In Central Africa the guitar was often played walking, especially by migrant laborers traveling to the mines. It can be tiresome to hold one's guitar in front of one's stomach all the time. Then one changes position, holding it behind one's neck and walks on with fresh energy!

Mose's section in the video introduces him at two different periods:

1979: (1) Mose picks up his guitar and plays "*Mwenaku mama*!" in the Lunda language. (There are lots of background noises.)

1993: (2) Mose balancing on the rails of an obsolete rail way track in the Lobau, the lowland wooded area near the Danube river, Vienna. After a brief interme diate guitar piece, he sings and plays the same song he played in 1979.

(3) Mose seated, plays and sings in Cinyanja: "*Nani anyamata mukufuna ncito mukufika kumigoti*" (You, young men, if you want work, go to the mines!). Mosquitos end this part of his endeavor.

(4) Stopping on a path, he performs an instrumental piece in shifting tonality F to G, in electric lead-gui tar manner.

(5) He climbs a tree, singing a *mukanda* song. Briefly, he plays a song in the Lucazi language:

Translation

Parents, I have come again, I went to school.
Now we must rejoice, all of us together!

He descends from the tree and the following song becomes a constant theme for the journey:

Translation

You my father! You my mother!
Where do I go to cry?
My father has died, he has left me behind.
Where do I go to cry?

(6) He continues playing the same song with the guitar behind his neck, walking, until the swarms of mosquitos in this swamp area attack again.

(7) Final shots: walking to escape the mosquitos.

FOOTNOTES

1 Except a short set-up showing Daniel Kachamba with Peter Uray in Graz (Austria); courtesy A. M. Dauer.

2 I am most grateful to Ms. Sabine Haller for having placed this additional footage of Mwenda Jean Bosco at our disposal for this video coverage.

3 I am grateful to Artur Simon, Director, Abteilung Musikethnologie, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, for permission to use this short extract. (See also, Cassette, item 21, in Wegner, 1984.)

4 The Uganda Foundation for the Blind was founded in 1954 "to promote activities for the education, training, after-care and welfare of the blind, and to assist in the prevention and alleviation of blindness." In 1956 the Salama Rural Training Centre for the Blind was established and opened in 1957. The blind school also became an important center for informal musical activities by the blind trainees who very often were musicians. In the early 1960s about three quarters of the 50-60 trainees could play musical instruments of various kinds, sometimes brought with them from their home villages.

5 An example is his song "*Olira ndamalira*" (You are crying, and they are always crying) published on Cassette II, item 62 in Artur Simon, Ed. 1983.

6 Nine years later, Moya, the researcher, recorded another version of this song from the ironwork specialist in the village, Mr. Sitifano Matolino "*Achisale*," 55, who originally came from Mwanza. This man is also a musician, playing banjo and guitar. (orig. tape 91/3/Moya A. Malamusi, I/item 2, rec. Sept. 18, 1991, coll. at Singano village, Oral Literature Research Program, P.O. Box 75, Chileka, Malawi). This suggests that perhaps there were several guitarists in south-eastern Africa who created independent adaptations of this popular song, with texts in their own languages.

7 We gratefully acknowledge that this project (No. P 8643-SPR) was financed by the Foundation for the Advancement of Scientific Research, Vienna. In Namibia we were kindly looked after by Mrs. Retha-Louise Hofmeyr, Director of Arts, Ministry of Education and Culture, Windhoek.

8 The *mukanda* initiation school is a central institution in the cultures of eastern Angola and northwestern Zambia, and it is obligatory for male adolescents.

PHOTO CREDITS

Page 16: Gerhard Kubik with his nieces (from left to right) Bwakolera, Dayina, Monika and nephew Yohana on an excursion into the Michiru mountains near Chileka, Malawi, in August 1992. Photo: Sinosi Mulendo

Page 18: The first known photograph of Mwenda Jean Bosco taken by Hugh Tracey in Likasi (Jadotville), Zaïre, in 1951. Courtesy: Andrew Tracey, International Library of African Music.

Page 21: A posed photograph in which Bosco receives flowers from Sabine and Donald for his imminent wedding . Photo: author, Vienna Woods, June 20th, 1982.

Page 23: Mwenda Jean Bosco, thirty years later, during a concert he gave at the "Bononunus," a Caribbean bar-restaurant in Vienna, in June 1982. Photo: author.

Page 25: Bosco playing guitar (capotasta at the 3rd fret) on a gangplank at the Old Danube river, Vienna. Photo: author, June 20th, 1982.

Page 28: Faustino Okello (guitar) with his assistant playing percussion bottle, at Salama, Agricultural Training Centre for the Blind, Uganda, in November 1967. Photo: author

Page 35: Pierre Gwa with his home-made guitar at Linjombo, Sangha River, border area of the Central African Republic and Congo. May 1966. Photo: author.

Page 43: Daniel Kachamba shortly before his first trip to Europe, April 1972. Photo: author

Page 53: Moya (right) as an eight-year old performer of the tin rattle in Daniel Kachamba's group. Such dance parties lasted until late in the night. At Singano village/Chileka, Malawi, September 1967. Photo: M. Djenda

Page 58: Moya Aliya Malamusi: portrait of the guitarist taken in Vienna, Spring 1984. Photo: author

Page 61: Erasmus N. Ndara in his compound during our recording session. At Divundu near Bagani, Okavango Region, Namibia, December 13, 1991. Photo: author.

Page 65: On tour in Germany: Mose Yotamu practicing at the Afrika-Haus Arthur Benseler, Freiberg a./Neckar, 1978. Photo: author

Page 68: Early stages of a guitarist: the 16-year old Mose Yotamu playing a home-made three-stringed *mbanjo*. And Kabompo (at Mr Kayombo kaChin yeka's house), July, 1973. Photos: author

THE AUTHOR AND FILM-MAKER

Gerhard Kubik is a cultural anthropologist who has worked and lived about half of the time in Africa and half in Europe since 1959. He received his Ph.D. from Vienna University in 1971, where he is now professor. He has been on lecture tours to many countries in Africa and Europe, to Brazil, Venezuela and the United States. He was married to the cultural researcher Lidiya Malamusi from Malawi, until her unexpected death in 1989. Gerhard Kubik is the author of several books and some 200 articles in scientific journals, dealing with cultures, oral literature, and particularly music of sub-Saharan Africa and the New World. His cinematographic work began in 1962 and is only now beginning to be published.

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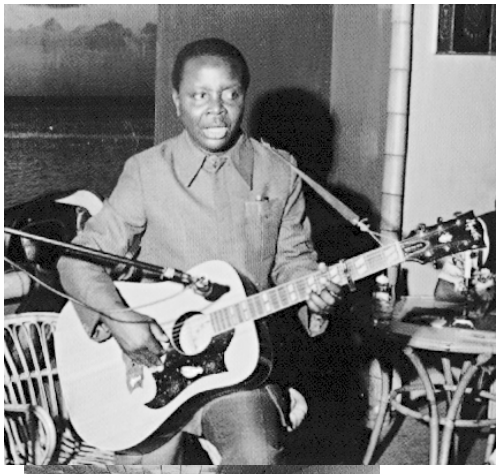
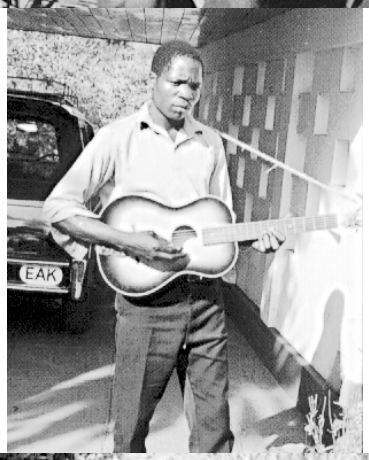


Mwenda Jean Bosco



Daniel Kachamba

Faustino Okello

MWENDA JEAN BOSCO

1. TWENDE KWETU NYUMBANI (1982)
2. NI FURAHA (1982)
3. MASANGA NJIA (1982)
4. BOMBALAKA (1982)
5. BIBI MUPENZI (1982)

FAUSTINO OKELLO

6. MATIDE ABOYO (1967)
7. LOSKEL UCYAKEWAKI KONGO (1967)

PIERRE GWA

8. ABA RI KWALA (1966)
9. BABUTI MWANA LOLO YA TEMBE (1966)
10. NDIANGO (1966)
11. IKWELA (1966)

DANIEL KACHAMBA

12. DOLOSINA LUMBA (1967)
13. MIMI KWENDA NAIROBI (1967)
14. DZANA LIJA TINALI TONSE (1980)
15. N.C. (1983)

MOYA ALIYA MALAMUSI

16. MAKE SOLOFINA (1980)
17. CHECHURE (1980)
18. HAUYANI DEMONSTRATION (1993)
19. NDAONA INE NDILIBE MAU (1993)

ERASMUS N. NDARA

20. ENGELIKA GHAPUMURA MUNU WENDI (1991)
21. TANGO PAYA (1991)

MOSE YOTAMU

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