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DISCOURSES  
IN AFRICAN  
MUSICOLOGY

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**J.H. KWABENA  
NKETIA  
FESTSCHRIFT**

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**University of Ghana, Institute of African Studies**  
September 23–24, 2011

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## Music and Diasporas within West Africa: The Pre-colonial Era

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### Jacqueline C. DjeDje

Jacqueline C. DjeDje is professor emerita, former chair of the Ethnomusicology Department, and former director of the Ethnomusicology Archive at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her research focuses on African and African American music, with specializations in religious music, West African fiddling traditions, and black music in California. In addition to numerous articles that have appeared in various scholarly journals and anthologies, DjeDje is the author and editor of several books, including *Black Music Research Journal Special Issue, "Music of Black Los Angeles"* (Spring 2011) and *Fiddling in West Africa: Touching the Spirit in Fulbe, Hausa, and Dagbamba Cultures* (2008).

Although much has been written on music in the African diaspora, most attention is given to peoples of African origin living *outside* the continent. Minimal music research has focused on diasporas *within* Africa, and even fewer studies have been concerned with pre-colonial, voluntary diasporic movements in Africa (Zezeza 2005:5).<sup>1</sup> Historian Oliver Bakewell's (2008:1) comments on this issue are noteworthy: "Ironically, within the growing volume of literature on African diasporas, very little of it is concerned with diasporas whose population is based on the continent. Africa is portrayed as a continent which generates diasporas rather than one in which diasporas can be found."

The paucity of music material on diasporas within Africa, especially migrations that occurred before the arrival of Europeans, raises several questions: Why do we ignore migrations or political and cultural constructs that developed on the continent during the pre-colonial era? Is it because of the lack of sources, the complexity of the topic, or the fact that we believe pre-colonial polities have little to offer the discussion of performance culture or issues (e.g., globalization, identity) of importance today? In my opinion, the problem lies partly in our perception of Africa. Many music researchers do not regard pre-colonial Africa as a continent with empires, nations, or societies with far-reaching extensions, but instead, as a place with insulated communities and few connections. Because of our focus on discrete, isolated African groups, we do not know why and how musical traditions were dispersed and maintained for hundreds of years, nor do we understand the processes that contributed to differences and similarities.

Continuing research on African music history begun by Klaus Wachsmann (1971), Kwabena Nketia (1971), and others, this essay explores music and diasporas (i.e., diasporic movements) in West Africa during the pre-colonial era. As Nketia states in his landmark essay, "History and the Organization of Music in West Africa," "the development of musical traditions in West Africa must be sought in the social history of the West African peoples" (1971:8). For this reason, history plays an important role in this discussion. Using print sources in history, anthropology, and music as well as data from fieldwork in West Africa, I will address the following: (1) If pre-colonial diasporic movements exist in West Africa, what are they and when and how did they form? What is distinctive about their music culture? (2) How has music (in the homeland and host communities) been affected by

diasporic movements? (3) What can music in historic intra-African diasporas tell us about musicking in contemporary extra-African diasporas? Before tackling these questions, I will discuss how diaspora is both theorized and used in this essay.

### **Defining Diaspora, Diaspora Studies, and African Diasporas**

When reviewing the literature, one will find many definitions for "diaspora." In a general sense, diaspora refers to the forced or voluntary movement of a group of individuals from one location to another involving some considerable distance. Webster and other dictionaries define diaspora, with a capital D, as "the settling of scattered colonies of Jews outside Palestine after the Babylonian exile; the area outside Palestine settled by Jews; or the Jews living outside Palestine or modern Israel" (Webster's 1974:315). Thus, the concept has several allocations: it can refer to the movement of a people, the place where people settle, as well as the people who moved. Yet, as anthropologist James Clifford (1997:251) reminds us, "Diaspora is different from travel . . . in that it is not temporary. It involves dwelling, maintaining communities, having collective homes away from home (and in this it is different from exile, with its frequently individualist focus)."

Because of his concern for diasporas *within* Africa, I use the four criteria that Bakewell proposes to satisfy the basic elements of a diaspora: (1) movement from an original homeland to more than one region, either through forced dispersal or voluntary expansion in search of improved livelihoods; (2) a collective myth of an ideal ancestral home; (3) a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time, based on a shared history, culture, and religion; and (4) a sustained network of social relationships with members of the group living in different settlement regions (Bakewell 2008).

During the twentieth century, many scholars in various disciplines have researched the topic diaspora.<sup>2</sup> Several reasons can be given for the fascination with the subject, but I believe some of the interest is a response to what is occurring globally. Although the reasons for travel in modern day may be the same as earlier times (e.g., work, environment, war, famine, disease, or a better life), the ease of travel and the short length of time to travel great distances have made movement more commonplace. As people move, the memory and nostalgia for home rarely disappears, but often increases. Thus, diasporic

groups sometimes use symbols, objects, and ideas to lessen the pain and anxiety that accompanies displacement from home. And for many, it does not matter if home is imagined or real.

Other scholars provide similar but also different reasons for current research on diaspora. Joseph E. Harris, a historian and an authority on global African diasporas, states: "The study of diasporas is especially timely today because of the current fragmentation and displacement of people throughout the world. . . . These diaspora groups share characteristics of ethnic identity, marginality, and homeland linkage, and one can not understand them without an examination of their original homelands and the root causes and specific contexts within which they were dispersed" (Harris 1996:8). Clifford (1997:249) writes: "For better or worse, diaspora discourse is being widely appropriated. It is loose in the world, for reasons having to do with decolonization, increased immigration, global communications, and transport—a whole range of phenomena that encourage multilocal attachments, dwelling, and traveling within and across nations."

Most historians believe that the concept, "African diaspora," was first used in 1965 at the International Congress of African History at University College, Dar es Salaam, by George Shepperson, who drew parallels between the dispersal of Africans caused by slavery and imperialism to the experience of the Jews. Interestingly, Shepperson does not accept credit for the term's first usage and argues that the concept was "certainly established" in scholarly vocabulary before the 1965 Dar es Salaam conference. Nevertheless, Shepperson's work is important because he was among the first to introduce a broad definition of diaspora that included the movement of Africans to Europe before the Atlantic slave trade, the Islamic slave trade, and "the dispersal of Africans inside [Africa] both as a consequence of the slave trade and imperialism" (Shepperson cited in Alpers 2001:5; Edwards 2001:50-52). Since the 1960s, interest in African diasporas has surged. Commenting on this trend, Ingrid Monson (2000:1) states, "If the Jewish diaspora was the quintessential example of diaspora before the 1960s, the African diaspora has surely become the paradigmatic case for the closing years of the twentieth century."

The emergence of numerous case studies on diaspora during the latter half of the twentieth century has also given rise to critiques on the



subject. A number of researchers are concerned that not only is our understanding of the concept limited, but also too much emphasis has been placed on the Americas. Historian Paul T. Zeleza (2005:36) explains:

The African diaspora, together with the Jewish diaspora . . . enjoys pride of place in the pantheon of diaspora studies. Yet, despite the proliferation of the literature, our understanding of the African diaspora remains limited by both the conceptual difficulties of defining what we mean by the diaspora in general and the African diaspora in particular, and the analytical tendency to privilege the Atlantic, or rather the Anglophone, indeed the American branch of the African diaspora, as is so clear in Gilroy's seminal text.

To address this problem, some scholars began concentrating on issues that had been ignored or marginalized – for example, the global dimensions of African diasporas, overlapping diasporas, and intra- and extra-African diasporas (Alpers 2001). Researchers discovered that when examining African diasporas globally, it becomes apparent that “historic African diasporas can be divided into four categories in terms of their places of dispersal: the intra-Africa, Indian Ocean, Mediterranean, and Atlantic diasporas” (Zeleza 2005:44). Furthermore, intra-African diasporas, because of their variety, can be divided into five sub-groups: (1) trade (the Hausa and Dioula in western Africa); (2) slave (West Africans in North Africa and East Africans on the Indian Ocean islands); (3) conquest (the Nguni in southern Africa and *Mande in western Africa*); (4) refugee (the Yoruba wars of the early nineteenth century); and (5) pastoral (the Fulbe and Somali in the Sahelian zones of western and eastern Africa) (Zeleza 2005:45). Using a global perspective also makes it clear that while diasporas outside Africa are generally defined in racial terms – for example, “African diaspora” or “black diaspora” – diasporas within Africa are defined in terms of ethnicity, making them similar to diasporic groups in other parts of the world. Zeleza explains: “It is interesting that, whereas the other diasporas are defined in *national* or *ethnic* or even *ideological* terms, for Africa they are simply called African; whether the referent used is racial or spatial is not always clear. Also common are descriptions of African diasporas as ‘black’; rarely are diasporas from other regions draped in colour” (40). When researching African diasporas, music scholars tend to focus on peoples and idioms that developed as a result of the forced migration of

blacks across the Atlantic (Shapiro 1976; Monson 2000; Alpers 2001). Only recently have more music researchers begun looking beyond the Atlantic to developments in the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean, including the Sahara and Arab Gulf (see Anderson 1971; Catlin 2002; Catlin-Jairazbhoy (2003), Catlin and Alpers 2003; Benachir (2005), Hamel 2008; Racy 1999). Studies on contemporary diasporas have also expanded the discourse and analysis of interconnections.<sup>5</sup> Hauke Dorsch (2004:105) explains:

While African-American musicians appropriate the griots to connect their own work with ancestral West Africa, West Africans migrating to Europe or America quickly appropriate Afro-diasporan musical styles like reggae and rap. These musical forms transport messages of Blackness and exile reflecting the migrants' experiences in a strange and often racist environment. . . . It forces African and Afro-Caribbean migrants to redefine their identity not only along lines of local belonging but also through their common Blackness.

#### **Diasporas in West Africa**

Now I will discuss each of the three questions raised at the beginning of this essay:

*(1) If pre-colonial diasporic movements exist within West Africa, what are they and when and how did they form? What is distinctive about their music culture?*

In a sense, the first part of this question is somewhat naïve because most researchers know that movement has always been an important feature of many African societies. Rather, it has been primarily Western laypersons and perhaps some individuals in other world cultures that view the continent as a place with little or no change and, as a result, serves as an ideal laboratory for studying ancient and primitive culture. Unfortunately, this thinking portrays the continent's many ethnic groups as unchanging and static societies with little differentiation. Yet, as Gerhard Kubik (1998:294) explains: "Over the centuries . . . African societies have changed; in that respect they resemble the other societies of the world. Thinking of precolonial Africa as a mosaic of rigidly traditional, tightly knit autonomous, ethnic-linguistic units overlooked what might well have been the only stable trait in Africa cultural history, as it probably was elsewhere: continuous change."

While arguments can be made for any number of diasporic movements in West Africa, I limit my discussion to three – the Fulbe, Mande, and Hausa – because they are among the oldest, the most widely dispersed, and probably the largest (in terms of the number of people involved). Recognizing that caution should be employed when attempting to link the ethnicity or language of a people with music or other cultural traits, it is important to note that I am interested in ethnicity on the individual level; that is, the sense on the part of the individuals that they belong to a particular cultural community. While many definitions for cultural community or ethnic group exist, the one proposed by John Hutchinson and Anthony A. Smith in their work, *Ethnicity*, is a good working one for our purposes: “a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of common culture, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity among at least some of its members” (Hutchinson and Smith 1996:5; DjéDjé 2008:54–56).

Since most historians trace the origins of the Fulbe, Mande, and Hausa to savannah West Africa, it is not surprising that these groups are culturally similar. Not only have they had ongoing contacts with each other through the development of empires and the movement of populations, all have experienced influence(s) from North Africa, and to various degrees have adopted Islam. While some are agriculturalists, others participate in cattle herding and trade. The social organization of each follows a stratified system that includes “a landed aristocracy, a hereditary military class, members of craft guilds, free peasants, hereditary house servants, and slaves” (Mabogunje 1976:19). The social organization of professional musicians among the three groups is also similar in that each is based on a socio-occupational structure that probably dates to the first millennium BCE or earlier. Musicians who belong to an endogamous family are born into the profession and receive training from kinsmen. Because musicians are attached to specific patrons, they are expected to know details of the history and genealogy of their patrons, which is transmitted orally from one generation to another (DjéDjé 1998:444).

*Fulbe.* Oral tradition and most scholars link the Fulbe and Tukolor to Takrur, an eleventh-century state located in the middle of the Senegal valley that rose to power when the ancient kingdom of Wagadu (also known as Ghana) declined. The people of Takrur and their descendants



are considered to be Halpulaaren (speakers of the Pulaar or Fulfulde language). During the colonial period, scholars began representing the Halpulaaren as two distinct groups – the Tukolor (sedentary agriculturalists) and the Fulbe (nomadic pastoralists). Although the two have some customs that differ, researchers believe they are the same culturally (DjeDje 2008:48).

At present, the Fulbe (also known as Fula, Foulah, Fulani, Ful, Foulbé, Fellani, Filañi, Fallataa, Peul, Pullo) live in the midst of other populations throughout West Africa, extending from the Atlantic coast to the country Sudan. The migration of the pastoral Fulbe began in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when they spread southward and eastward across the savannah, taking over at first only lands ill suited to agriculture. For this reason, their expansion caused no alarm. Their neighbors, in fact, welcomed the manure the Fulbe cattle provided for the fields and the milk and butter that they exchanged for agricultural products. Few of the pastoral Fulbe were Muslim; thus, religion was not a point of difference with their neighbors. Even when they were Muslim, the pastoral Fulbe were generally tolerant in disposition. However, they were often accompanied in their movements by some of their sedentary kinsmen, who were usually better educated, more sophisticated in political matters, and less tolerant of non-Muslims. It was the sedentary Fulbe who fostered the political influence of the whole group through military aggression, often in the form of jihads that began in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this way, the Fulbe became politically dominant in areas such as Futa Jalon, Bundu, Masina, Hausaland, and the Nupe country.

Fulbe who did not migrate eastward remained in Senegambia and lived among the Wolof, Serer, and other groups. During the fourteenth century, another wave of Fulbe migrants arrived in Mali and established communities in Masina. By the mid-fifteenth century, the Fulbe had reached Hausaland, beginning an infiltration in Hausa country that continued through the sixteenth century. In the mid-fifteenth century, a group of Fulbe also settled in Futa Jalon in present-day Guinea. The Fulbe began arriving in Adamawa in present-day Cameroon, and other regions of the savannah, east and north of Cameroon, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

For the Fulbe, the central markers of ethnic identity are code of

behavior or way of life (*pulaaku* or *pulaagu*) and Fulfulde, the Fulbe language. Regardless of location, these two characteristics “not only distinguish the Fulbe from other ethnic groups, but also color Fulbe perceptions of themselves, as a sort of moral code” (Azarya, Eguchi, and VerEecke 1993:3; DjeDje 2008:56-57).

Due to their dispersions, generalizing about Fulbe music is difficult. But two important distinctions can be made between (1) the music in which the Fulbe themselves participate and that of the professional musicians who sing and play for them; and (2) between the hymns and songs (both sacred and secular) that have developed from Islamic tradition and everyday songs which are integral to the tradition of Fulbe herdsman. Fulbe musicians can be divided into three groups: musicians who are weavers and singers; musicians who play musical instruments such as the plucked and bowed lute; and singers who play drums. Although a variety of instruments are identified with the Fulbe, depending on where they have settled, those that seem to be the most common include the flute, fiddle, and half calabash (Arnott 2007-2011; DjeDje 2008:61-63).

*Mande.* The legendary warrior and hero, Sunjata, and his allies established the West African Mande Empire in the thirteenth century. The homeland for the Mali Empire, situated along the Upper Niger River roughly between Bamako in southwestern Mali and Kouroussa in northeastern Guinea, became the center of one of the largest and wealthiest empires in West Africa. At its height in the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, the Mande Empire extended from Gao in the east and Timbuktu in the north to the Atlantic coast in the west. Their descendants today make up significant parts of the population of many West African countries: in Mali and Guinea they are known as Maninka (or Malinke in French writing); in Senegal, The Gambia, and Guinea-Bissau they are known as Mandinka (or Mandingo in British writing) (Charry 2000:1). Due to dispersions further east and south, Mande speakers can also be found in Côte d’Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Sierra Leone, and Liberia.

A class of hereditary professional artisans called *nyamakala* marks most Mande societies. Although specific professions vary according to the ethnic group and geographic location, among Maninka and Mandinka society four are generally recognized: “blacksmiths-sculptors (*numu*); leatherworkers and potters (*garanke* or *karanke*); musical-verbal artisans (Mn: *jeli*, pl. *jelilu*; Md: *jali* or *jalo*, pl. *jalolu*); and orators, expert in

the Koran, specializing in genealogies (Bn: *fune*; Mn, Md: *fin* or *fino*)<sup>67</sup> (Charry 2000:1). During pre-colonial times, Mande music culture encompassed three distinct traditions: (1) music related to hunters' societies and their hunter heroes sung to the accompaniment of the *simbi*, a seven-stringed calabash (gourd) harp; (2) music of the *jelis* (called *jeliya*), played on the *bala* (xylophone), *koni* (lute), and *kora* (harp), which is associated with rulers, warriors, traders, and other patrons; and (3) drumming music related to various life-cycle, agricultural, and recreational events played on the *jembe* (struck with the bare hands) and *dundun* (struck with a stick) in Mali and Guinea or the *tangtango* (struck with one hand and one stick) in the Senegambia. While drumming, which is associated with blacksmiths, and hunter's music predate the rise of the Mali Empire, *jeliya* dates to the beginning of the Mali Empire (Charry 2000:3).

*Hausa*. Of the many oral narratives that exist on Hausa origins, one that highlights the indigenous aspects of tradition suggests that the original home of Hausa speakers included parts of the Sahara, particularly Air (Azbin) in present-day Niger, and it was not until the Tuareg Berbers conquered them in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that they were pushed south toward their present location. Thus, most Hausa regard present-day northern Nigeria and southern Niger as their ancestral homeland. This is the area in which the majority of people speak Hausa as their first and only language, and the cultural and social traits often associated with the Hausa people predominates (Adamu 1978:1). The term, "Hausa," which does not appear until the sixteenth century, was primarily linguistic – rather than a religious or cultural – category (DjeDje 2008:114).

Through the late eighteenth century, Hausaland consisted of several distinct rival kingdoms that were involved in constant warfare either with each other, with groups in neighboring areas, or with foreign powers that tried to claim sovereignty over the Hausa. Thus, Hausaland never had one government until the early nineteenth century when the Sokoto Caliphate was created as a result of the jihad led by Fulbe scholar and teacher Uthman dan Fodio. This multi-centered state system in Hausaland, in contrast to the uni-centered system of other West African kingdoms, was of major social and economic benefit because it gave rise to more centers of commerce, thereby generating faster development through competition (Adamu 1978:14).

Diasporic movements among the Hausa started during the fourteenth century when they began trading in gold, kola nuts, and textiles with peoples south and west of them. Hausa culture spread to its widest extent during the nineteenth century, after the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate. Adamu (1978:91) explains: "The vehicle in the expansion was the Sokoto Jihad, and the classes of Hausa emigrants involved included warriors and administrators, Qur'anic teachers (malams), traders and stock-keepers, craftsmen (particularly blacksmiths, and textile and leather workers), drummers and musicians, farmers, elephant hunters, rubber tappers, and refugees." As a result, the Hausa created a complex diaspora of interlinked communities throughout much of the west and northern half of Africa, including those in central and southern Nigeria, Benin, Togo, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Cameroon, Chad, Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya (Youngstedt 2004:95). Hausa traders also migrated west to Mali and Burkina Faso, but their settlements in these areas were not extensive (Adamu 1978:3).<sup>7</sup> Before and after the jihad, the Hausa saw their society as an association of rulers and rule, nobles and commoners, or in ethnic terms, Fulani and Hausa. There existed a social stratification based on occupational specialization within these dichotomies. *Sarautu* (ruling) was an occupation that outranked all others. *Mallanci* (Qur'anic learning) and *kasuwanci* (successful trading), which had universalistic emphases, ranked next. Below these came the majority of Hausa occupations; ranking lowest of all were butchers, praise singers, drummers, blacksmiths, house servants, and hunters (Smith 1965:139; DjeDje 2008:117).

Hausaland's location at a crossroads with numerous contacts, borrowings, and cultural fusions not only helped the Hausa to become a powerful political, commercial, and religious force, it also produced one of the richest music cultures in West Africa. The closest term for "music" – *rok'o* (begging) – reflects social attitudes towards musicians rather than their occupation or product. A man participating in music is known as *marok'i* in Hausa, while a woman is called *marok'iya* or *zabiya* (Ames and King 1971:ix, 62, 76; Besmer 1998:519). At present, five major categories of professional musicians exist, which I believe date to pre-colonial times: (1) musicians attached to butchers, blacksmiths, hunters, farmers, and other socio-occupational groups; (2) court musicians of rulers and high officials; (3) freelance musicians of recreational music who play for the general public (including titled nobility, high officeholders, wealthy merchants) at dances, boxing and wrestling



matches, and youth recreation; (4) musician entertainers and comedians who perform at markets and other large public gatherings; and (5) Bori musicians who play for spirit possessions and as entertainment for naming and marriage ceremonies (Ames 1973:134-141; DjeDje 1982:117, 2008:125). The Hausa categorize instruments using "terms such as *bushe-bushe* (singular, *busa*; blowing), *ka'de-ka'de* (singular, *ki'da*; beating, shaking, plucking, or bowing), and *wak'e-wak'e* (singular, *wak'a*; singing)," which refer to performance technique rather than sound (Ames and King 1971:ix; DjeDje 2008:125; King 2007-2011). Instruments that are blown and beaten, which tend to be associated with royalty, have a higher status than those shaken, plucked, or bowed. Similarly, instruments identified with recreation, entertainment, and Bori are ranked lower (DjeDje 2008:125).

*(2) How has music (in homeland and host communities) been affected by diasporic movements?*

Because of the uneven and limited amount information available for each group, it is difficult to address this question generally. However, evidence demonstrates that when diasporic groups move to different locations, the response varies. While the first inclination of some may be to maintain and re-create what existed in the homeland, others might decide to initiate change. The degree to which diasporic groups maintain or change traditions depends upon the situation and relationship with the host community. Even when individuals attempt to maintain traditions, over time minor changes will take place for various reasons: memory lapses, lack of resources, a new environment, new contexts and functions, generational differences, a desire to create a new identity, etc. Therefore, I argue that change is one of the primary factors affecting homeland and host communities, and transformation can occur in one or more ways: (1) the music repertory of communities may be enriched or enlarged; (2) the function, meaning, and status of musicians, music idioms, and instruments are modified, re-aligned, or altered; (3) some musical traditions are displaced or lost; or (4) the blurring of distinctions between groups over time can lead to the emergence of a new music culture that differs from both the indigenous host and homeland communities.

Hausa diasporic movements of the nineteenth century provide an excellent example of efforts to maintain homeland traditions in the host community. As the Hausa established settlements (called *zangos*<sup>8</sup>

or *zongos*) in different locations throughout West Africa, many tried to duplicate Hausa society as they remembered it politically, culturally, and economically. Adamu (1978:16) states, "The moment a Hausa migrant settled down in a *zango* he ceased to be a foreigner socially; most of the non-Hausa incomers who settled in Hausa *zongos* became Hausa subsequently." Even when they were not in the majority, Hausa "often had a disproportionate influence on the others in religion and learning, economic affairs, roles and offices, dress, and language" (Pellow 2001:64). Because musicking was an essential part of Hausa life, "musicians and drummers kept the migrants entertained both during the journeys and in the *zango* settlements" (Adamu 1978:16). Thus, "it was natural that drummers and musicians from Hausaland were welcome wherever they went and even encouraged to settle" (100). In addition to "classical" music associated with Hausa royalty (e.g., *kotso*, *taushi*, *jauje* and *ganga* drums as well as the *algaita* reed pipe), *kalangu* drumming was popular "for the dancing pleasure of boys and girls" (100). Even praise singers (*kwando*) who use no musical instruments traveled and settled with migrants (99-101).

Pellow's late twentieth-century<sup>9</sup> research among Hausa in Ghana is noteworthy because it alludes to features that have been both maintained and changed, particularly in religious practices and gender roles at performance events. On religion, Pellow (1997:585) discusses change: "Just as Islam is diluted in this coastal city (i.e. Accra), so too is 'Hausa-ness.' Distance from home towns in northern Nigeria, with little opportunity to visit, inter-ethnic mixing and marriage within the *zongo*, and the location of the *zongo* within the larger context of a Christian, outward-looking, Western-oriented have led to acculturation." On the subject of gender, Pellow states, "In Accra's *zongo* areas, male-female lines of division, while present, are less well reinforced than in northern Nigeria or in the early days" (585-586) in Accra, indicating change. "But at life-cycle events like weddings and funerals"<sup>10</sup> men and women celebrate separately" (586), demonstrating maintenance of tradition. At Hausa weddings in Accra, "both male and female *maroka* perform. The men's feast takes place in the forecourt and entrance hut, the women's in the women's quarters. At the men's gathering the celebrants are entertained by *roko* and drumming. At the women's, there is drumming, followed by bori dancing, and singing by the female *maroka*" (587). In some instances, however, some modifications have occurred in Hausa gender roles during performances. Because divisions

between males and females have become more relaxed in Accra, so are restrictions regarding who can perform at women's events. In northern Nigeria, "the presence of a male 'doing maleness' (performing the male role) among secluded women would be dangerous and scandalous" (597). Yet, in Accra "where male-female interaction does not carry social opprobrium [disgrace], the male praise-singer, the *maroki*, can perform his traditional role ('doing praise-singing') among women. In so doing he bridges the male and female domains and in effect helps to maintain social order" (597).

For diasporic movements in other parts of West Africa, the contexts and dynamics stimulated other results. If we take the Mande, for example, interactions between those in the homeland (the Maninka) and host communities (e.g., Mandinka in Senegambia and Bamana in Mali) have led to cross-fertilizations that enlarged the musical vocabulary for all. Eric Charry explains: "The three traditional *jeli* instruments (*koni*, *bala*, and *kora*) are associated with different eras and different geographical regions of the Mande diaspora: the northernmost Mande regions (or the sahel in general) for the *koni*; old Mande, particularly the southern reaches in Guinea, for the *bala*; and Kabu (the western Mande territories) for the *kora*. The meeting of these three distinct musical instrument cultures (harps, lutes, and xylophones) in the hands of *jelis* accounts for the unusual breadth of Mande music" (Charry 2000:10). In the case of the Fulbe, the repercussions have varied. For example, although the fiddle, an instrument the Fulbe are believed to have dispersed in much of savannah West Africa, continues to be a symbol of their identity in both homeland and host communities, the Fulbe have embraced the music cultures in which they have settled (DjeDje 2008). In some cases, they have accepted the traditions of the host in their entirety, resulting in a loss of Fulbe traditions, similar to what occurred in Hausaland when Fulbe emirs controlled the Sokoto Caliphate and adopted what was already in place for Hausa rulers. In other cases, the Fulbe combined indigenous traditions with those of the host community to create something new; similar to what occurred among Fulbe rulers and nobility in Cameroon (Erlmann 1983).

Borrowing among groups in Senegambia (Mande, Wolof, Fulbe, and others) has made the entire region musically similar to such a degree that investigators such as Roderic Knight often discuss musicking there generally without specifying what is unique among the different ethnic

groups. Knight (1983:45) writes, "It is clear that Fula-Mandinka relations have encompassed a wide range of situations. . . . The fruitful situation for both parties concerned, that of intermarriage, doubtless went hand in hand with most of the others, and continues to this day, making clear-cut distinctions between the two peoples less and less meaningful."

(3) *What can the musicking in "historic" intra-African diasporas tell us about what is taking place in "contemporary" extra-African diasporas?*

Because of the complexity of the issue, fully addressing this question is difficult. Therefore, my comments will be concise. First, studying "historic" (i.e., pre-colonial) intra-African diasporas makes us more keenly aware of the diversity of musicking in Africa – not only diversity between different ethnic groups but variation within the same cultural community. This was an issue in ancient times and the situation has not changed today. Therefore, instead of trying to identify the pureness of a cultural tradition, which is futile and nearly impossible (especially with extra-African diasporas, because the location of the homeland usually cannot be specified below the level of the continent), it may be more useful to compare the development of traditions within the same group in different host communities to determine both how features are similar or different and why varying features exist.

In addition, we must be cognizant that diasporic movements are constantly influx, shifting, and changing. The cultural identity that results from a diasporic movement is never complete, but is always in process or production (Hall 1993:222). As Edward Alpers (2001:24) has suggested, we need to adopt a definition of multiple and overlapping African diasporas that would allow us to address differences. For example, the movements that began in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries among the Fulbe continue today as Fulbe continue to migrate to other parts of Africa and the world. The same is happening in the Americas with Africans leaving homelands they established when they first arrived for other locations. The only thing that unifies them is that they may share a collective memory of the homeland. Therefore, it is important to document, examine, and compare traditions that are distinct to groups in specific locations at particular moments in time because they will certainly change over time. It is only when we are aware of issues such as multiple diasporas, changing diasporas, and diversity within diasporas will they help us to understand better musical traditions in various African cultures globally.



Now the larger question: what can a study of diasporas *within* Africa inform us about performance culture? Examining intra-African diasporas will, hopefully, remind us that there is not one African diaspora, but many. Because people in global culture, including Africans, respond to new ideas in different ways, comparative research (as I have noted in the foregoing) is critical to have a fuller understanding of the complexity of multiple creations. Just as we have focused on the numerous and varied musical traditions developed by African-derived groups *outside* the continent, a comparable amount of research and effort needs to be given to groups *within* Africa.

### Endnotes

1: Zeleza (2005) states that the word, diaspora, can be used in several ways. "Extra-African" diaspora refers to the movement of blacks outside Africa (for example, peoples of African descent who have permanently settled in the Americas), while "intra-African" diaspora refers to migration within Africa. In addition, "historic" diasporas (those taking place during the pre-colonial era) are distinct from "contemporary" diasporas. Contemporary diasporas, according to Zeleza, are distinguished by three main waves: the diasporas of colonization, decolonization, and the era of structural adjustment, which emerged out of the disruptions and dispositions of colonial conquest, the struggles for independence, and structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), respectively. The diasporas of colonization include the students who went to study abroad and stayed, seamen who became settlers, and many others who migrated and became citizens according to the prevailing immigration regimes of the host countries. . . . The diasporas of decolonization include "indigenous" Africans as well as European and Asian settlers, such as the 32,000 Asians who were driven out of Uganda and the tens of thousands of former Portuguese settlers from Mozambique, who relocated overseas during the struggles for independence and immediately afterwards. "The diasporas of structural adjustment have been formed since the 1980s, out of the migrations engendered by economic, political, and social crises and the destabilizations of SAPs. They include professional elites, traders (such as the Senegalese vendors who trade the monolithic Africa of Afrocentricity on the streets of New York), refugees (such as the Somalis . . .), and many others" (Zeleza 2001:55).

2: Since 1999, I have personally been involved in several projects focusing on diaspora and global studies: (1) a year-long celebration of African music, entitled "The Globalization of African Music," organized by the UCLA Department of Ethnomusicology with concerts, lectures, and a symposium in 1999-2000; (2) the annual meeting of the African Studies Association in November 2001 in Houston, Texas, with the theme, "Africa and the African Diaspora: Past,

Present, Future"; (3) a Global African Music and Arts Festival/Symposium organized by Karlton Hester at the University of California, Santa Cruz, in February 2003; (4) a symposium and festival on "Composition in Africa and the Diaspora" organized by Akin Euba at the University of Cambridge in England, in August 2005; and (5) the annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology in Honolulu, Hawai'i, in November 2006 with the themes, "Diaspora Studies" and "Migration and Movement, with special references to Asia and the Pacific." Recent publications on music and diaspora include works by Aparicio, Jáquez, and Cepeda (2003); Catlin-Jairazbhoy (2003); Monson (2000); and Turino and Lea (2004).

3: Words in italics do not appear in the original publication; I inserted them for the purposes of this discussion.

4: From my cursory review of the literature, *Black People and Their Culture: Selected Writings from the African Diaspora* (Shapiro 1976) may be the first publication (or one of the first) in which researchers in the arts and folklore use the concept, "African Diaspora," in reference to the artistic creations of black people in Africa and the Americas (i.e. the Caribbean, North America, and South America). Published as part of the Smithsonian Institution's Bicentennial celebration, the work includes essays on music, dance, photography, woodcarving, hairstyling, weaving, booking, and other expressive arts.

5: Horton (1999) is noteworthy because he documents the return of the *gumbe* drum, the first evidence of feedback, to Sierra Leone. African popular music also represents contemporary interchanges; see wa Mukuna (1992) and Erlmann (1991).

6: Here, I have used abbreviations included in Charry (2000:1): Mn (Maninka), Md (Mandinka), and Bn (Bamana).

7: Some Hausa also migrated east; Hausa communities can be found in different parts of Central Africa, including the Central African Republic, Gabon, Congo, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Works 1976:2).

8: Adamu describes *zongo* as a voluntary settlement of Hausa migrants united by two factors: "their common desire to better themselves through their own professions and their membership of one cultural entity, the Hausa ethnic group" (1978:16). *Zongo*, according to Deborah Pellow, whose findings are based on research in Ghana, means "stranger quarter" (i.e. a settlement for foreigners). Established in the nineteenth century, many of the *zongos* (in Kumasi and Accra) became multi-ethnic enclaves, including Muslim Hausa, Yoruba, and Mossi traders, soldiers, and labor migrants as well as Frafra, Grusi, Dagbamba or Kusasi who were born and raised in the Islamic north. Within *zongos*, "the Hausa were always influential beyond their numbers, providing a model for the other Muslim groups in manner and behaviour [sic]. Thus many of the *zongo* dwellers self-identified as Hausa despite their true ethnicity, and their children perpetuated the fiction" (Pellow 1997:584).

9: Interestingly, Pellow conducted her fieldwork between the 1980s and early 2000s roughly one hundred years after the initial establishment of *zongos* in Kumasi and Accra, Ghana's two largest cities.

10: I find it noteworthy that funerals are mentioned here because a funeral for many Muslims is not a time for music making or celebration. Funerals are important events for musicking among most peoples in Ghana, including those in the Islamic North, probably due to influence from the South. However, funerals are rarely used as contexts for musicking in northern Nigeria. The fact that Pellow mentions the celebration of funerals by Hausa in Accra suggests that this is another area in which Hausa practices have changed due to interactions with the host community.

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