

Van Gennep, A. 1909. *Les rites de passage*, (Italian edition 2006. *I riti di passaggio*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri).

Notes

1. The research on which this work is based was partially funded by the Missione Etnologica Italiana in Africa Equatoriale, directed by Dr. Cecilia Pennacini, University of Turin. The field work was carried out with permission of the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (File No. SS1655) and took place in two different missions over a period totalling seven months, between May 2004 and January 2006.
2. Often, in my interviews, women made mention of the number seven, or said “seven plus seven” to mean a large but indefinite number of children, of years, of goats, etc.
3. As to the reason why informants are so vague about the moral stories and instructions to the youth, two explanations seem possible: either informants did not want to share male initiate knowledge with me, a woman, or the content of the stories was not significantly different from the usual moral education children received in the family, albeit indirectly, and therefore was not worth mentioning.
4. In spite of all these elements of change, it is important to point out that few informants recall that the return from the *Olbusumba* was a dramatic change from their childhood that had ended only a few weeks earlier. True change, state the older informants, takes place with marriage and the birth of children. Once again the Konzo society refuses to acknowledge change when it is too sharp, preferring to metabolize change through lengthier processes.
5. In 1947 the Adventist Church, lead by two pioneering missionaries, reached Mitandi, on the slopes of the Rwenzori. They were the first Christian missionaries to settle among the Bakonzo. Communication by Mr. Stanley Baluku.

Continuity and Change in Bakonzo Music: From 1906 to 2006

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Music and dance, like any other form of cultural expression, is subject to both continuity and change. While change is inevitable, there is no cultural formation that changes overnight and in a wholesale manner; some aspects are retained while others are lost. Similarly, the aspects of the music of the Bakonzo, people living in Rwenzori Mountain region on the border of western Uganda and eastern Congo (now Democratic Republic of Congo), have experienced continuity and change in the last century (1906-2006). We shall look at continuity and change in terms of performance practices, the types of instruments used, the various contexts of performance, musical structure, and meaning.

However, it is very hard, we could say impossible, to write a comprehensive “history” of the music in the Rwenzori area in the past century. To be historically described, the Konzo music would need regular and intensive fieldwork and comprehensive documentation about musical instruments, as well as pictures, audio and video recordings, musical transcriptions and analysis, descriptions of the context and the occasions when the music and the dances were performed, as well as the musicians’ biographies.

In this paper, we will consider oral evidence and written records from the local Bakonzo². Although these studies are very far from being complete, they offer a precious insight into the past, giving an idea of local musical history against which we can predict the future. They are like little windows opened occasionally and for a short time onto the fascinating musical panorama of the Rwenzori. What we offer you is not a real

“history”, but a more modest *diachronic ethnography*. In fact, there are a lot of gaps, and this paper only aims at stimulating more study of a musical culture that has almost been forgotten.

In this paper, we compare the ethnographic reports, images and sound records of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in order to trace the historical trend of Bakonzo music. During our research in Kasese and Bwera Districts, we made an overview of the musical characteristics and social-cultural relations (dance movements and motifs, musical instruments, music theory, role of the music in terms of meaning and performance) in the twenty-first century. We presented to the musicians some Bakonzo and Banande music documented in the past in order to discuss with them the historical dimension of this music.

Bakonzo Music Context

When Luigi Amedeo di Savoia, the Duke of Abruzzi, arrived from Italy near the Mountains of the Moon in 1906³, we can be sure that the musical traditions were very lively. However, the cultural, social and political contexts that have defined the Bakonzo since 1906 account for the continuity and change in their musical traditions. In order to establish the context for this discussion, there is a need to examine in brief the cultural, social, and political atmosphere under which music has existed. However, as John Blacking rightly reminds us, “changes which are characteristic of musical systems are not simply consequences of changes in social, political, economic and other areas”⁴.

There is no certainty about the origin and movement of the Bakonzo before they settled in the Rwenzori region. Some historians and oral traditions claim that they broke off from the Batoro, while others claim that they came from Buganda after escaping persecution⁵; others allege that they came from the present eastern Democratic Republic of Congo⁶ and yet others say the Bakonzo with the Banande (now living in Congo) were part of a bigger linguistic group: the Bayira⁷. However, whether

they came from the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo or were originally one group before they were split by artificial colonial boundaries, the Bakonzo have a lot in common with the Banande of the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo⁸. First, the language Lukonzo and Kinande are very similar, whereas Lukonzo is quite different from the languages of the Batoro and Banyoro in south-east Uganda (Lutoro, Lunyoro). In fact, Margaret Trowell has stressed that, “Whereas in Uganda the name Konjo is in official use, the name by which the same tribe is generally known in Congo [Democratic Republic of Congo] is Banande”⁹. The Banande were separated from the Bakonzo by the artificial borderlines “defined in a series of treaties that were drawn up between 1907 and 1910, after the duke of the Abruzzi had explored the Rwenzori”¹⁰. As such, there is no way one can talk about the continuity and change of the music of the Bakonzo without referring to that of the Banande. Although we can see many variations when comparing Nande and Konzo music, they look like natural transformations in a main common culture. The hard question would be to ascertain why and when these transformations happened. Moreover, comparisons with the Baganda and Batoro will help us to develop an understanding of the continuity and change that shaped the Bakonzo music.

Despite the strong struggle of the Rwenzururu Movement to liberate the Bakonzo, until the 1980s they were under the political control of the Batoro of the Toro kingdom¹¹. As such, to some extent, the Batoro and Bakonzo have had a dialectical influence on each other’s music. Tom Stacey reports that, “Bakonjo [Bakonzo] Life History Research Society’ has slowly over the years been turned unto a political movement, the standard-bearer of Bakonjo ‘nationalism’ with the declared object of overthrowing Batoro domination”¹².

Further, Christianity and Western education, with their ideologies about “traditional” culture, have had an impact on the Bakonzo, like on many other African cultures. Moreover,

although a number of the Bakonzo have been converted to Christianity, their belief in ancestral spirits still holds. For instance, Bernard Clechet reports that he “was in Bufuku (14,050 ft) [on Rwenzori Mountain], and tried to get some information about Kitasamba [chief spirit of Rwenzori], a porter, a Christian Mukonjo, with grey hair, asked me to stop talking about Kitasamba because he was evil and it was dangerous to talk about him in such a place”¹³. Actually during our research, Debizi Baluku, a flute player, also told us that we could not talk about Kitasamba while were near the mountains at Nakalengejo village.

Some Aspects of Toro and Konzo Drums in the Early Twentieth Century

Vittorio Sella, the photographer during the Duke of Abruzzi’s expedition, took a number of photographs depicting musical activities within the Rwenzori region but, unfortunately, he took none of the Bakonzo, even though the porters during the last part of the expedition were all Konzo. Although these instruments are attributed to the Batoro, later writers, like Klaus Wachsmann (1953), have shown that the Bakonzo too have such instruments, although they may vary in performance contexts, style of playing and design. Two of the Sella’s pictures are important for this discussion.

In the first one, we can see a drummer and Sella describes him as “the doorkeeper”, greeting him at the entrance of the *Kabaka*’s court at Kabarole (Toro District) (see Figure 4)¹⁴.



Figure 4 Vittorio Sella, “The watchman at the entrance of the *eriba* of a native chief, who greets visitors with a long and noisy guffaw and a roll of the drums”, 1906. Courtesy of the Sella Foundation.

There is a similar drum in the ethnographic collection of the Museo di Antropologia in Torino. Probably the Duke brought it to Italy after his mission. The drum is the type that Wachsmann defines as the “Uganda drum”: “The ‘Uganda drum’ uses two skins of which only one is beaten. The second skin is stretched across the bottom of the drum body to hold the lacing and is non-sonorous. [...] Bantu Uganda drums frequently have a ‘broken’ profile as if the top part of the instrument were a cylinder, put on to a conical base [...]”¹⁵.

This type of drum is very common, not only among the Batoro, but also in other Ugandan musical traditions, especially in Bantu cultures. In fact, like the Baganda and Banyoro, among the Batoro the drum is a symbol of power, signifying the existence of

a kingdom. The evidence given by Vittorio Sella's photo of the drum at the entrance of Kabarole Court is a sign of the particular role of this instrument, which is typical of courts like that of the Baganda and Banyoro. The drum announces the coming and going of the king and is indeed the doorkeeper. In this case, this drum could not be Konzo, since the Bakonzo did not have an established kingdom.

There is, however, information about Bakonzo drums at the beginning of the century in the ethnographic notes of Jan Czekanowski, who travelled in the area during the time of the Duke of Mecklenburg's expedition in 1908. In his ethnographic reports on Bakonzo and Amba cultures, Czekanowski gives some descriptions and drawings of musical instruments¹⁶. The drum in Czekanowski's drawing is quite different from the Toro-Nyoro-Ganda type; it is nearer, but not completely similar, to the Konzo-Amba type indicated by Klaus Wachsmann¹⁷, and one that we saw during our research. Moreover, the Czekanowski drum is very similar to the Banande type used in Congo in the 1980s. In general, we can say that the Konzo and Nande drums are both more "slim" than the Ganda-Toro-Nyoro ones. Furthermore, like Czekanowski's drawings, the Nande type has a very short cylindrical part compared to the conical base and yet, it is common to find the recent Konzo drum with a long cylinder on a small base. As such, the contemporary Konzo drum is a variation of Czekanowski's Konzo drum of 1908 and the Nande drum that Facci observed in 1986.

The Konzo drum shares a lot with the Nande drum and a comparison would enhance our understanding of this instrument. Although the design and shape is different from that of the present day, we can find many similarities in terms of the performance practice and roles of the Banande and Bakonzo drums. For example, three drums, in both cultures, are normally played for dances. The biggest has a role of a guide (*enzoboli*). Inside the drums there is a small stone, a symbolic object named "the testicle of a wizard". It is the symbol of the drum's "life"; an aspect also shared in the Toro, Nyoro and Ganda drum traditions.

Facci notes how the drum in some occasions is symbolically linked with the *mwami* (the clan chief). A special orchestra of drums was played during the enthronement of a new chief. *Engwaki* and *erighomba* are the names used by the Banande for the dance in this occasion. As one can note, Nande society, where the most important authorities are the clan chiefs and there is no other central strong power, the *engoma*-political relationship is less strong than in other cultures in Uganda and in general in the Great Lakes region, particularly in the Burundi and Rwanda kingdoms¹⁸.

However, as a result of the Rwenzururu Movement, the Bakonzo founded their own kingdom (although, until now, it is not officially recognized by the Ugandan government). Although the royal symbols are *engoma* and the *endara*, during interviews with the musicians in 2005, we did not receive any information on the role of these instruments in this new monarchy. Similarly, none of them knew the Nande names *erighomba* and *engwaki*, whereas other Nande ritual dances (for example, *amasinduka* for funeral, *omukobo* for war, *omukumu* for male initiation) were known to them. In our impression Bakonzo and Banande both give relevance to another symbolic drum meaning: the relationship with the ancestry. In an interview on 30 December 2005, Davis Walina, a drummer, said that many people have a drum at home because it protects the house and the family from danger, and it is also played to announce death. He also confirmed what a number of Banande said about the role of the drum in relation to the *evirimu*, the spirits of the deceased. As such, the drum, in this way, is a sign of family continuity¹⁹.

Other Musical Instruments

In another photograph, Vittorio Sella recorded important information about the *makondere* orchestra, consisting of side-blown gourd trumpets (see Figure 5)²⁰.



Figure 5 Vittorio Sella, "Native musical band at Unioro", 1906, Courtesy of the Sella Foundation.

While the evidence available in the caption accompanying this photograph indicates that these are trumpets from Toro, Roland Oliver has reported that the Bakonzo too have *amakondere*. However, Oliver attributes their origin to Buganda. He alleges that some clans of the Bakonzo migrated from Buganda and brought *amakondere* with them. He writes that, Rubongo, "brought with him from Buganda the royal trumpets – *amakondere*"²¹. In fact, even today among the Batoro, as well as the Banyoro and Baganda, this orchestra is a royal symbol.

However, in our research we did not find any evidence of this kind of ensemble among the Bakonzo. Nevertheless, another orchestra was very common: *eluma*, a set of twelve to fifteen stopped flutes, each producing a different sound. Just as the *amakondere* trumpets, the *eluma* flutes are played with the ochetus technique, but the functions are different. The *Eluma* orchestra is used to accompany the *amasinduka* funeral dance

and it does not seem to be connected to any royal and political symbolism. While Czekanowski did not mention *eluma* in his work, Klaus Wachsmann refers to this orchestra as belonging to the Bamba and the Bambuti in Bundibugyo District. However, he refers to *eruma*, which is most likely the same as *eluma*, and attributes it to the Bakonzo, reporting that it is performed "at the completion of mourning rites"²².

Further, while all the other instruments documented by Czekanowski are still in use, there is no longer any trace of the pan flute today or in Wachsmann's documentation of the 1950s, even though pan flutes exist in Uganda among the Basoga, for example. Some of the instruments documented by Czekanowski that are still in use include: 1) the leg-bells *esyonzenda* worn by male dancers; 2) the notched four-hole flute *enyamulere*; 3) the gourd rattles (the main instrument for the *kubandwa*, a healing ritual and ancestral worship ceremony); 4) the horn *engubi* used in the past for signalling and during the war dance *omukobo*; and 5) the musical bow *ekibulenge*. The *ekibulenge* is now played with a gourd placed on the mouth. Wachsmann also photographed a man playing the musical bow in this position²³. However, Czekanowski did not mention any gourd. According to him, the player put the bow between the teeth.

Czekanowski's work and the research done by Wachsmann document a musical panorama similar to the one we observed during our research. Wachsmann's drawings, photos, and objects are conserved in the museum and, most important for us, the musical recordings²⁴ reveal a bigger number of instruments. In addition to those mentioned by Czekanowski, Wachsmann's list includes: 1) the harp *enanga* (or *ekinanga*); 2) the lamellophone *elikembe* (or *erikembe*); 3) the percussion beam *enzebe*; and 4) the xylophone *endara*.

Another scholar, who went to the Rwenzori area at the same time as Wachsmann, was Hugh Tracey, the founder of the International Library for African Music. He recorded some Konzo music in 1950. We will return to Tracey's and Wachsmann's recordings later.

Vocal Music: A Song Recorded in 1936

Unfortunately, when Czekanowski arrived in Uganda, he did not have the phonograph he had used in Rwanda and so he did not record any music. The first audio recording in the area was made by a Belgian missionary M. Jules Celis, in Beni (Congo), with a phonograph of the Berliner Phonogram Archiv. Celis was also the first to talk about the *endara*, the big xylophone so important for the Nande-Konzo culture. He recorded only two Nande marriage songs before the machine broke. Only one of these songs is very clear. We propose a transcription of the score in Musical Example 1²⁵.

Musical Example 1

Leader

A B etc.

Kahumira é - kahumira é - kahumira ly'obakahula mw'eheruka é -

Chorus etc.

eriyakwa nga wetsera eriyakwa nga wetsera

Nande wedding song, performed by women, 1936. Extract.

- (Solo.Melody A) *Kahumira, kahumira* [Walking without knowing where (2t)]
- (Chorus Refrain) *Eriyakwa ngawetsera* [Dying while asleep (refers to sex)]
- (A) *Kahumira, kahumira* [Walking without knowing where(2t)]
- (B) *Kahumira ly'obakahula mw'eherukare* [Walking ... that's being married]
- (A) *Kahumira, kahumira* [Walking without knowing where(2t)]
- (B) *Kahumira ly'obakahula mw'eherukare* [Walking ... that's being married]

- (A) *Kahumira, kahumira* [Walking without knowing where(2t)]
- (B) *Kahumira ly'obakahula mw'eherukare* [Walking ... that's being married]
- (A) *Kahumira, kahumira* [Walking without knowing where(2t)]
- (B) *Kahumira ly'obakahula mw'eherukare* [Walking ... that's being married]
- (B) *Kahumira Baghenda w'abene babeghera* [Walking ... Those who move to other people's houses must adapt]
- (A) *Kahumira, kahumira* [Walking without knowing where(2t)]
- (B) *Kahumira ly'obakahula mw'eherukare* [Walking ... that's being married]
- (A) *Kahumira, kahumira* [Walking without knowing where (2t)]
- (Final) *Eriyakwa ngawetsera* [Dying while asleep
ly'obakahula mw'eherukare. Eriyakwa that's being married.
Dying]

The song is clearly addressed to the bride. There are explicit references to the new status of the woman (*baghenda w'abene*, those who move to other people's houses), who must become a member of the husband's family²⁶. The marriage (*ly'obakahula mw'eherukare*, "that's being married") is a crucial moment; the girl does not know her future life (*kahumira*, "walking without knowing where"). For her this is like a death: her past life in the paternal family is "dying while asleep" (*eriyakwa ngawetsera*). The term *ngawetsera* refers here to the sexual intercourse. When someone enters a new family, they normally "must adapt to" (*babeghera*) the new situation. This is what the song recommends to the bride: to die and to begin a totally new life in the husband's family. In this sense the wedding is like an initiation ritual for the woman²⁷.

Musical Example 2

Drums (inner rhythmic pattern)  etc.




Omubaliya, performer Bukombe Mukirane, 1950. Extract.

The melodic contour of Model A in all the performances of *Omubaliya* is easily recognizable as we can see in Musical Example 3³⁰.

Musical Example 3

Pattern A



Kule's version, 1954

Bagheni's version, 2005

Erisania's version, 2006

Desesi's version, 2006

A last extract comes from a recording done by Serena Facci with Kambale Kimavi, a Nande musician in North Kivu³¹. The name of the song is *Ekibaliya* (the bad fisherman), and the song tells the story of a man who died in the lake while his friend waited for him. The melody is a little distant from the Konzo group of melodies, and it was impossible to find the Pattern A.

But some similarity could be found with another pattern. If we look at Musical Excerpt 4, there is a melodic cellule characterizing the repeated melody, indicated with "B". It is a simple descending sequence of sounds (with interval of a second and a final third).

Musical Example 4



Ekibaliya, performer Kambale Kimavi (munande), 1986. Extract.

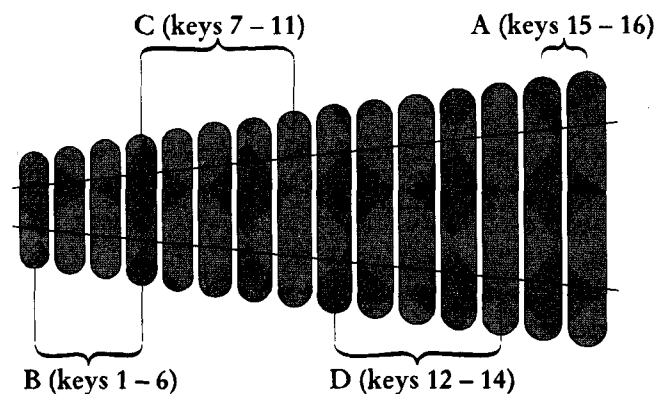
This cellule is also repeated in some Konzo versions of *Omubaliya*. See the cellule B in Musical Example 2.

Continuities and Changes in *Endara* Xylophone

Although it is an important instrument among the Bakonzo, Czekanowski did not mention the *endara* xylophone in his 1908 documentation. However, in the 1930s, Humphreys, an explorer climbing the Rwenzori, saw this instrument in the centre of a village³². Gerhard Kubik, who came near Bwera in 1962, but only for a very short time, recorded the *endara* and wrote a paper comparing the Konzo and Ganda xylophones. However, details of his findings are outside the scope of the present discussion. The *endara*, played together with the drums, has been an important magico-religious instrument among the Bakonzo; it is not an instrument that is owned by anyone. The *endara* has always been associated with Kitasamba, the head of the Rwenzori spirits, the god of the Bakonzo. In fact, Gerhard Kubik reported that "We soon observed how much the Bakonjo [Bakonzo] music is connected with Bakonjo religion; this holds true for the xylophone music"³³. Further, narrating his experience during an expedition to the Rwenzori Mountains in 1974, Bernard Clechet (White Father) reported that although they converted to

Christianity, the Bakonzo still built *Kitasamba* “a small shrine in the form of a xylophone”³⁴. Similarly, during our research in 2005/2006, we attended the new-year’s eve ceremony at Kihaasa village, where the *endara* featured as a prominent instrument during the *kubandwa* thanksgiving ceremony. Florina Mbambu Nyamutooto, about 46 years and formerly a Roman Catholic (she actually had a rosary), was the *mbandwa*, the priest.

While there were definitely some evident changes in the structure of the instrument compared to what Klaus Wachsmann described in 1953³⁵, there are still some continuities. Similar to what Wachsmann noted, the *endara* which was performed during the *kubandwa* ceremony, had sixteen slabs and was also mounted on banana stem supported by short stumps. However, the slabs were separated from each other by reeds instead of sticks as reported by Wachsmann. Unlike Wachsmann’s report, we observed four performers instead of five playing the *endara* in interlocking style. Further, we were given different names for some of the musical parts in comparison to what Wachsmann³⁶ was given; and these include:



According to Wachsmann, A is *omukirinya* and *muguswe* or *omuhumbiriri*, while we were told that it is *ebikekulu*. Wachsmann reported B as *omuhimbiriri*, while we were told that it was *obwana*. We were told that part C was *enzoboli* and this only differed from that of Wachsmann in spelling; it was

“*nzhobolye*”. We were informed that part D was *ebidenguli*, while Wachsmann reported them as *omusakulwe*. From this data, it is impossible to establish whether there has been a change in the naming of these parts or whether the differences are accounted for by the difference in informants and their knowledge of the *endara*.

However, comparing research on the *endara* of the Nande, who are closely related to the Bakonzo, might give us a clue to the way in which there has been continuity and change in the Konzo *endara*. In her study of the Nande, Facci reports that the *endara* has fifteen to seventeen keys, which is within the range of what Wachsmann and we observed³⁷. While Facci concurs with Wachsmann on the five-player system, she differs in the naming of the parts played on the *endara*. However, Facci’s naming is closer to the one we were given during the 2005/2006 research; *obwana* and “*enzovoli*” (but the more correct spelling is *enzoboli*) refer to the same *endara* parts.

In her recent research on Konzo *endara*, Vanna Crupi compares many different instruments and groups of performers³⁸. Her study reveals that the number of four players is now common. However, other features such as the number of the logs or the name of the musical parts are various. Crupi’s data concurs with Wachsmann’s and with other studies in the use of the terms *enzoboli* and *omwana* (or *obwana*). The *enzoboli* is the name of the main musical part and *omwana* is the part played on the smallest high-pitched logs. *Omwana* is the Konzo word for child (*obwana* means childhood). As we said above, this term is also common among the Banande: they use it for the high-pitched keys of the xylophones and other instruments.

What still holds with Wachsmann’s research is that the Bakonzo *endara* is a rare instrument, and besides being performed in churches and during school festivals, outside these contexts, it is performed mainly during the *kubandwa* ceremony.

However, the *endara* takes on new designs to fit in the school and church contexts, and the meaning of the music is also reconstructed. For instance, due to their poor durability, the banana stems are replaced with wood boxes as the frames for the *endara*. Probably the redefinition of the *endara* performance context could help to explain its rarity. Because the *endara* performance we observed was in a ritual context, it had other props around it, and these included a basket in which money and herbs were put. On either sides of the *endara* were a sorghum stalk, a cow's skin, and two flowers of a reed plant. There was constant sprinkling and drinking of local beer made from bananas and sorghum, as well as continuous smoking of tobacco and marijuana by the *mbandwa* and the musicians.

In 1966-67, Peter Cooke recorded Konzo *endara* music in many villages in Bundibudjo, Kasese and Bwera Districts³⁹. Cooke arrived during a crucial time during the rebellion against the Batoro by the Bakonzo Rwenzururu Movement. He also recorded many protest songs. Some of them are still sung as accompaniment to dances. However, these songs had multiple meanings and cannot be taken literally. Besides presenting protest, some of these songs emphasized the strong link between the Rwenzori and the people of the mountain: "If a White come from the mountain follow him, if a white comes from the West, don't go with him"⁴⁰. The "White coming from the mountain" is the snow, the symbol of Kitasamba, the white god of the snowy peaks. During the Rwenzururu movement, white became the symbolic colour of the protest. The whites coming from "elsewhere" are the Basungu: the Europeans. They also referred to the Batoro because of their close connection with the British as part of the British divide-and-rule policy. Further, in a joint publication, Cooke and Martin Doornbos⁴¹ reveal that the *enyamulere* was very common at beer parties and the melody always came from a song. The flute was accompanied by the percussion beam *enzebe* or by a drum beating the common

pattern of triplets. They also transcribed a new corpus of songs in European style.

Comparing Nande and Konzo Music

The political instability of the late 1960s that culminated in Idi Amin's overthrow of the government in 1971, had as consequence the deportation of all foreigners in 1972. As a result, research on Bakonzo music, like any other music, was curtailed. Facci's study of the Banande later, in 1986-1988, is the only available research that can help us trace the musical development of the Bakonzo in the latter part of the twentieth century, and these findings are useful to compare to our joint study in 2005-2006.

In Table 3, we compare the Banande music in the 1980s and the Bakonzo music we documented in 2005/2006. The important musical ensemble (*engoma, endara, eluma*) is at the top of the list. The solo instruments follow. Some secret ritual instruments (*omukumu*) are at the end.

Table 3. **Nande and Konzo Music**

NANDE INSTRUMENTS (Facci, 1986-88)	KONZO INSTRUMENTS (Nannyonga & Facci, 2005/2006)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engoma (drum) • Endara (xylophone) • Amalenga or Eluma (set of flutes) • Enyamulere (flute) • Esonzogha (ankle bells) • Enanga (harp) • Enzebe (percussion beam accompanying many instruments) • Akasayi, Erikembe (lamellophones) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engoma • Endara • Eluma • Enyamulere • Esonzende • Enanga • Enzebe (it accompanies only the harp <i>enanga</i>) • Edungu (big harp from Acholi) • Erikembe (only mentioned)

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Akaghoboghobo (fiddle) • Endeku (one-hole flute) • Enzenze (zither) • Ekibulenge (musical bow) • Omukumu (set of percussion beams for the male initiation <i>olusumba</i>, it was a secret instrument) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Endingiti (fiddle, only mentioned) • Enzenze • Ekibulenge • Omukumu (now used by cultural groups) • Gourd rattles and bells for <i>kubandwa</i>
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Comparing the ensemble music, the instruments used (*engoma*, *endara*, *eluma*, *enzende-enzogha*) are the same in both Bakonzo and Nande cultures. The *engoma* and the *endara* are the most important instruments during weddings, funerals, political meetings, traditional rituals and competitions. However, there are some differences: for the Banande the *endara* accompanied dances. This dance, also named *endara* like the instrument, is neither a gendered nor an age-specific dance; any person irrespective of gender or age could dance it. Further, the *endara* has a very important place during the traditional rituals, especially *kubandwa* among the Bakonzo, as we saw before. During the ceremony the spirits are invoked with rattles and bells accompanied by the *engoma* inside a hut, though the *endara* is often played outside⁴². However, in the 1980s the Banande did not practise the *kubandwa* (at least in the open, accessible to Western scholars and missionaries) as much. Was the *endara* a religious instrument for the Banande before Christianization, when they were devoted to the ancestral spirits? If so, is the loss of the *endara* in ritual functions one of the signs of the erasure of the traditional religion? Or, did the traditional priests *embandwa* perform the rituals in secret, without the *endara* (a big instrument producing loud sounds)?

The Banande and Bakonzo musical traditions differ more with regard to solo instruments including harps and flutes. For example, the little one-hole flute *ndeku*, used by the Banande (mostly by children) is completely unknown by the Bakonzo. Moreover, *akasayi*, a Nande plugged instrument with a hemispheric gourd resonator, is not familiar among the Bakonzo⁴³.

In some cases, the instruments are similar, but their function and relevance is different. In the 1980s, the *enanga* and *erikembe* had an important function for the Banande. Both these instruments (common in many Ugandan cultures) were used during the evening, at home or in the buvettes, and on the local radio. The players sang the old songs used for dancing, as well as some epic songs, but the biggest source for their new repertoire was topical issues or sometimes personal life experiences. Among the Bakonzo of the 21st century, the *erikembe* and the *enanga* is less in use in general ceremonies. The *enanga* is mostly used in the church, accompanying Christian hymns. The strings (eight in the past⁴⁴) are now nine or eleven in number, and the tuning is in the temperate system. This instrument is changing because of influence from other Ugandan cultures. For example, we saw the *enanga* played with the *adungu*, the big harp from the Acholi, in northern Uganda. Are these transformations a sign of “modernity” or was the *enanga* less important to the Bakonzo in the past too? Is that the reason why Czekanowski did not mention the *enanga* in his research on Konzo music? In fact, in Wachsmann’s recordings of the 1950s, the songs are short and repeated many times⁴⁵. Similarly, Erisa Muhonja, son of a late *enanga* player in Ibanda, told us in an interview that he could not recall his father’s repertoire. It is also interesting to remember that Wachsmann, in his notes on bow-harps in Uganda, talks about the “disappearance [of the harp] from musical life of the Ganda”⁴⁶. After independence in 1962, the harp became one of the instruments used for musical education in school, but rarely

exists in the 21st century. Maybe the history of the Konzo harp has to be seen in a larger context of the evolution of this very ancient instrument in Uganda.

The *enyamulere* (flute), documented by all the scholars during the past century among the Bakonzo, is also very popular today. However, it was not the same for the Banande in the 1980s. The flute players were less respected than the *enanga* performers⁴⁷.

The Banande and Bakonzo also use the *enzebe*, a percussion beam, in a different way. This object was a sort of obsession for the Banande. The *enzebe*, with rhythmic patterns, accompanied each solo instrument, for instance the harp, flute and zither. In Bwera District, we saw the *enzebe* played only once with *enanga*. However, in 1953, Klaus Wachsmann recorded the percussion beam played with *enanga*. On the other hand, Peter Cooke reported the *enzebe* playing with *enyamulere*, but in a lot of his recordings this flute was accompanied by the drum and not by *enzebe*. In some cases, the *enzebe* of the Banande (maybe also among the Bakonzo) was used as a substitute for the drum. The reason may be because the *enzebe* is a cheap instrument; it can be found everywhere⁴⁸, whereas the drums need to be made by a specialist with particular wood coming from the forest and the skin of a cow, or a leopard. However, some aesthetic reasons could be noted: the high-pitched sounds of the *enzebe* are sometimes preferred (in the case of the *enanga*, for example). The Konzo drummers sometimes play on the wooden edge of the instrument to create the effect of the *enzebe*. This kind of beating is named *esyongakatero*.

The musical features including tuning, melodic contours, improvisation and variation, and rhythmic organization are somehow similar. A deeper study must be done to compare the various repertoires. One key musical concept which must be mentioned is the concept of *e-enzoboli*. It is a sound, corresponding with one specific string on the harp, log in the

xylophone, or flute in the *eluma* flute set. It has a particular role in the music, which the Konzo musicians seem to be more explicit in defining than the Nande players⁴⁹. For the Bakonzo, the *enzoboli* "leads". It is the most important pitch or the most important part in an ensemble. In the xylophone one of the four (or five) parts has this name too: it is the part charged with reproducing the main tune in the group.

While we do not deal with any dance in this paper, it would be important at least to include a list of dances as a suggestion for an area that needs future exploration. As such, Table 4 shows, as a comparison, the Nande dances as observed by Facci between 1986-1988 and the Konzo dances as observed in 2005/2006⁵⁰. The dances are in order of relevance:

Table 4 **The Nande and Konzo dances**

NANDE DANCES (Facci, 1986-88)	KONZO DANCES (Nannyonga & Facci, 2005)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Omunde • Endara • Amasinduka • Amatakio • Omukobo • Akasayi • Omukumu (secret and only mentioned) • Erighomba (for <i>omwami</i>) • Other less-performed dances not mentioned in Uganda 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ekikibi • Amahande • Amasinduka • Omukobo • Akasayi • Omukumu (performed by some cultural groups) • Other less-performed dances not mentioned in Congo

We can note that some dances are common to both Banande and Bakonzo. For example, some ritual dances: 1) the *amasinduka*, performed during funerals; 2) the *omukobo*, an old war dance in which two dancers do the pantomime of a fight; and 3) the *omukumu*, performed during the male initiation ceremony

olusumba. However, the most often performed dances, documented during the two researches, are different. The most popular dance for the Banande in the 1980s was the *endara*, the dance around the xylophone. The Bakonzo in 2006 did not use the term *endara* to denote a dance. With the accompaniment of the *endara*, they performed other important dances and mostly the *ekikibi*, a mixed dance (like the Nande *endara*) also documented by Peter Cooke in 1966. The *munde*, another famous performance among the Banande, is an athletic male dance, completely unknown to the Bakonzo. The wedding dance *amatakio* (for young girls) is also specific to the Banande.

Facci's research of the 1980s revealed that the Banande musical customs were very clear about the different performance roles of men and women. Women, for instance, did not play any instruments. Further, many dances were specifically for either men or women. It was only the *endara* dance which was performed by both genders. However, motifs for male dancers were more complex and acrobatic than those of the female. During an interview, some informants told Facci that the Christian missionaries had influenced the style of performing, and the more erotic mixed dances were disappearing. Of course, deeper exploration of the truth of this statement is needed before one can objectively confirm it.

In our research in 2005/2006, we verified on many occasions that Bakonzo women do not play instruments. However, looking at the dance tradition, we always saw men and women dancing together. In the *ekikibi*, the most popular dance, men and women perform different but very explicit erotic movements. This dance is performed during the weddings and has been interpreted as a courtship dance⁵¹. Maybe the Christian missionaries had less influence on the Konzo dancers than they had over the Banande, or possibly there may be some other reasons that would now be too difficult for us to investigate.

Reinvention of Konzo Music

The establishment of cultural groups and the promotion of indigenous music education in schools and school festivals by the Ugandan Ministry of Education has contributed a lot to the reinvention of not only Konzo music, but also of other music cultures in Uganda⁵². The 1960s were a period when cultural groups were beginning to develop in many parts of Uganda, inspired partly by the troupe "Heartbeat of Africa" (which performed at Uganda's National Theatre and at state functions in Kampala as well as overseas) and partly by the growth in teaching of traditional music in schools and colleges. These "cultural groups" were established with the aim to preserve local traditions through performance. In October 1967 Peter Cooke found an active group from Bwera calling itself the "Rwenzori Drama and Cultural Society" performing in public for the Independence Anniversary celebrations at Kasese. The group had been formed two years previously. Cultural groups are now found in many Bakonzo villages. They perform at public gatherings like political rallies, wedding ceremonies and competitions organized at village, county and district levels. The musicians are often semi-professional and, like in many other parts of the world, prefer the more spectacular repertoires, like the dance with the *endara* xylophone or with the *eluma* set of stopped flutes.

The formation of the cultural groups and promotion of school music and dance festivals has had some influences too. For example, near Ibanda, a local cultural group performed a dance similar to that which Facci and Cecilia Pennacini filmed near Butembo in 1988. This dance was originally performed for the presentation of a newborn to the sun. The woman who led the dance did a pantomime showing how to carry the baby using a monkey skin. Near Butembo the dance was performed by a group of traditional obstetricians. At that time, many birth rituals were disappearing, mostly because many mothers went to hospitals to give birth. These women were however able to perform the old dances and remembered the ritual very well,

probably because they had performed it often in the past. All the birth rituals, they said, were strictly for women.

However, when the Konzo Ribuni Cultural Group in Nyakalengija proposed the same dance in 2006, none of the girls present wanted to interpret the protagonist: the women dressing and moving in the monkey skin. It was an informal situation, we arrived without any announcement and the group was not complete. The main dancer and group leader was a boy. He did not mind dancing with the skin, like a woman. Of course the new context (it was not a ritual, but its enactment) permits this change of role. Maybe in the future it would be normal for a Konzo or Nande woman to play the *engoma* or the *endara*.

In conclusion, we can say that while there has been substantial continuity, there have also been a number of changes in the music and dance of the Bakonzo, due to changes in the political, social and cultural environment. We have also demonstrated that due to the close connection of the Bakonzo and Banande, the history of the Bakonzo music can only be accessed through an understanding of the Banande. Finally, the gaps in this paper will hopefully stimulate further extensive research on the Bakonzo, a musically rich, yet largely unresearched culture.

Notes

1. This paper is a collaborative effort based on data collected jointly in December 2005 and January 2006, as well as prior research done by Serena Facci since 1988, on the Banande music.
2. The oral sources are interviews conducted in December 2005 - January 2006. The musicians interviewed included: Manki Bagheni (Mihunga - Kasese District), Kyiti Erisania, Kule Kosimu, Baluku Bwenge (Nyamurongo - Kyondo Sub-county), Baluku Desesi (Nyakalengija - Kasese); Kule Mbakwa (Mihunga - Kasese), Erisa Muhonja (Ibanda - Kasese), Mbasa Marani, Milton Kule (Kinyabisiki, Kyondo), Nzwenge Gidion (Kabuyiri - Kasese), Thembo Kumasa (Nyamurongo - Kyondo), Isembwa Sele (Nyakalengija - Kasese), Kisamba Cultural Group, Zedekya

- Moiyugha (Kisamba - Kasese), Rubuni Cultural Group, Davis Walina (Nyakalengija - Kasese). We appreciate the work by Stanley Baluku and Hilary Baluku Kikumbwa, who were our interpreters. As far as documents are concerned, during the 1950s some ethnomusicologists began to work in the area. Hugh Tracey (1950, 1952) and Klaus Wachsmann (1950, 1953) collected some music for two important African institutions: the International Library for African Music and the Kampala Museum. Tracey also went to Congo and recorded the Banande music. In the 1960s, after the independence and the advent of the national republics of Congo and Uganda, two other scholars arrived in the area, both studying other areas of Ugandan traditional music: Gerhard Kubik and Peter Cooke.
3. On his expedition to reach the highest peaks, see Pennacini, C. (ed.) 2006. *I popoli della luna - The People of the Moon. Rwenzori 1906-2006*, Cahier Museomontagna, Torino.
4. As quoted in Moisala, P. 1991. *Cultural Cognition in Music; Continuity and Change in the Gurung Music of Nepal*, Gummereus, Jyväskylä, 13.
5. Oliver, R. 1954. "The Baganda and Bakonjo [Bakonzo]". In *Uganda Journal*, 18, 1, 31-33.
6. Nzita, R. & Mbagu, N. 1993. *Peoples and Cultures of Uganda*, Fountain Publishers, Kampala, p. 39.
7. Mushauri, K. T. 1981. "Organisation étatique des Yira, et son origine". In AA.VV, *La civilisation ancienne des peuples des Grands Lacs*, Karthala, Paris, 160-169.
8. See also Baluku, R. 1999. *Marriage Customs among the Bakonzo in Uganda*, BA (Law) Dissertation, Makerere University, 1.
9. Trowell, M. 1953. "Domestic and Cultural". In M. Trowell & K. Wachsmann, *Tribal Craft of Uganda*, Oxford University Press, London, 8.
10. Pennacini, C. 2006. "On the Slopes of the Rwenzori. Ethnology of an African Frontier". In Pennacini, C. (ed.), 2006, p. 215.
11. On the Konzo rebellion against the Batoro during the twentieth century and on the Rwenzururu movement, see Alnaes, K. 1969. "Songs of the Rwenzururu Rebellion. The Konzo Revolt against the Toro in Western Uganda". In P.H. Gulliver (ed.) *Tradition and Transition in East Africa*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 243-272; Stacey, T. 2003. *Tribe. The Hidden History of the Mountain of the Moon*, Stacey International, London; Pennacini, C. 2006.

12. Stacey, T. 1965. *Summons to Rwenzori*, Secker and Warburg, London, 19.
13. Clechet, B. 1990. "The Rwenzori: The Attempted Ascent by Bishop Guillermain and Fr. Achte". In 1896 - A Commentary, *Uganda Journal*, 39: 37.
14. The photo is published in Pennacini, C. 2006, 57.
15. Wachsmann, K. 1958. "The Sound Instruments". In M. Trowel & K. Wachsmann, 369-70.
16. Czekanowski, J. 1924. *Forschungen im Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet*, t.II: *Ethnographie: Uele/Ituri*, Länder Klinkhardt & Biermann, Leipzig, 382-384.
17. Wachsmann, K. 1958, p. 380.
18. Facci, S. 2000. "Les Nande et leur musique". In F. Remotti (ed.), *Ambienti, lingue, culture*, Edizioni dell'Orso, Alessandria, 59-101.
19. See also Waswandi, K.N. 1987. *Anthologie de la philosophie africaine: les proverbes Yira*. Vol. 3, Grand Seminaire Saint Mbagu-Tuzinde, Bukavu.
20. Fondazione Sella, Biella.
21. Rubango was formerly a Muganda of the Bakunta family who fled after a failed plot to kill Jjunju, the brother of Kabaka Ssemakokiro, king of Buganda, who reigned around 1779-1794. (Oliver, R. 1954, 32).
22. Wachsmann, K. 1958, 342.
23. Ibidem, plate 108. The photo is also in the permanent exhibition of the National Museum in Kampala.
24. The musical recordings of Wachsmann are in the Uganda Museum in Kampala and in the Sound Archive of the British Library in London.
25. The document is still in the Berliner Phonogram-Archiv.
26. On the marriage in Nande culture see Remotti, F. 1993. *Etnografia Nande I*, Il Segnalibro, Torino.
27. Many thanks to Ph. Jean de Dieu Kahangia for the lyric's transcription and translation.
28. The recording is published on the CD entitled *Secular Music from Uganda*, edited by A. Tracey, ILAM, SWP Records SWP 024, 2003, track 17. In the booklet it is mentioned that Bukombe Mukirane, Mukonzo in Toro District, was the performer.
29. A musical transcription is always a compromise; it is even worse when one has to transcribe a Konzo piece using Western conventional systems, which at the moment are the ones available. In this case, we present the

- melody in 4/4 for easier comprehension, even if the rhythmic patterns played by the drums are heard in 12/8. Since the drums are not our focus here, we do not transcribe them. We give only the indication of the inner rhythm in 12/8, to show the rhythmic relationship between the flute and the drum parts.
30. List of the recordings: 1) Performer Kule (leader of the group). Kisomoro-Toro District, rec. K. Wachsmann 1954, location British Library C4/36 S1 C3; 2) Performer Mankisi Bagheni, Mihunga-Kasese District, rec. S. Facci and S. Nannyonga December 2005; 3) Performer Kyithi Erisania, Nyamurongo-Kasese District, rec. S. Facci and S. Nannyonga, January 2006; 4) Performer Baluku Desesi, Nyakalengija-Kasese District, rec. Serena Facci and S. Nannyonga, January 2006.
 31. The recording is published in the CD *Zaire. Entre les lacs et la forêt: la musique des Nande*; ed. S. Facci, AIMP, VDE Gallo CD 652, 1991, track 5c.
 32. In Wachsmann, K. 1958, p. 318.
 33. Kubik, G. 1962. "The *endara* xylophone of Bukonjo". In *African Music Society Journal*, III, 1: 43.
 34. Clechet, B. 1990, 37.
 35. Wachsmann, K. 1958, pp. 318-320.
 36. Ibidem.
 37. Facci, S. 2000, pp. 65-68.
 38. Crupi, V. 2005-2006. *Ruoli e funzioni dello xilofono 'endara' nella musica dei Bakonzo (Uganda)*, Tesi di Laurea, Università "La Sapienza", Roma, see also Vanna Crupi's article in this book.
 39. The catalogue of Cooke's recordings is available online, on the website of the British Library. Other recordings are in the Uganda Museum of Kampala and in the Sound Archive of the British Library in London.
 40. English translation of a song recorded at Kinyabisiki (Bwera District, Kyondo Sub-county), January 2006.
 41. Cooke, P. & Doornbos, M. 1982. "Rwenzururu Protest Songs". In *Africa*, 32, 1: 37-53.
 42. The Bakonzo used to sacrifice animals to the spirits during the ritual, killing them on the *endara* and sprinkling the logs with the blood. This we witnessed during our research in 2005/2006. See also V. Crupi's article in this book.
 43. On the *akasayi* (dance and instrument) see also Facci, S. 2000, 61-65.
 44. Wachsmann, K. 1958, 413.

45. See British Library sound Archive C4/35 S2 C6.
46. Wachsmann, K. *The sound ...*, 398.
47. In 1951 Hugh Tracey recorded an extraordinary Nande *enyamulere* player, Mwongolo, published in the CD *On the Edge of the Ituri Forest*, ed. A. Tracey, ILAM, SWP 009/HT 03, 1998, track 12. See also the John Blacking considerations on Mwongolo recordings in Blacking, J. 1955. "Eight Tunes from Butembo, East Belgian Congo". In *African Music*, I, 2: 24-52 and Idem, *How musical is man?* University of Washington Press, Seattle.
48. The Banande also call this instrument *akakete* (a common, but not an important object).
49. See Facci, S. *Les Nande ...*, p. 71.
50. For the Nande dances see also Pennacini, C. 1996. "Danze Nande". In C. Buffa, S. Facci, C. Pennacini & F. Remotti, *Etnografia Nande III*, II Segnalibro, Torino, 59-89.
51. Mbabazi, P. 2003. *Ekikibi Dance of the Bakonzo*, BA (Music) Dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala.
52. Nannyonga-Tamusuza, S. 2003. "Competitions in School Festivals: A Process of Re-inventing Baakisimba Music and Dance of the Baganda (Uganda)". *World of Music*, 45, 1: 97-118.

The Role and Functions of the *Endara* Xylophone among the Bakonzo People

Vanna Crupi

André Schaeffner, in his well-known book *Origine des Instruments de Musique*, invites the reader to consider musical instruments not only as "significant material traces of musical production" but also as true "signs" that stand at "the multiple crossroads of techniques, arts and rites" (Schaeffner 1936; it. ed. 1986: 334-335).

The *endara* is a log xylophone, which is an important musical instrument among the Bakonzo, a population living on the western border of Uganda, along the slopes of the Rwenzori massif. The *endara*, besides being one of the instruments that most represents Konzo musical culture, is also held in great esteem by virtue of the many functions it fulfils in the social and spiritual life of the community. This "sound object" is, in fact, recognized by the Konzo people as a symbol of their cultural identity and a sign of continuity with their past.

The choice of undertaking ethnographic research, with this particular musical instrument as its focus, stems from the lack of extensive studies on the subject. For many years, in fact, the turbulent socio-political history of the Bakonzo people has prevented in-depth ethnographic research from being carried out. The opportunity of realizing this research project¹ emerged from a productive collaboration with the Italian Ethnological Mission in Equatorial Africa, which has long been involved in important research studies of an ethnographic nature in the area of the Great Lakes.