REVISITING THE ENNANGA:
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE PERFORMANCE PRACTICE AND REPERTOIRE OF THE ROYAL HARP OF THE BAGANDA

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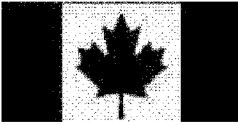

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ABSTRACT

The *ennanga* is an arched harp from the Buganda kingdom in Southern Uganda. The harpist once held a prominent position in the king's court, and the harpist (*omulanga*), through his songs and accompaniment, acted as both messenger and advisor to the king. Ugandan independence and the political turmoil that followed brought about immense change to the role of the Buganda king and his royal musicians. Although today the king remains a cultural leader for the Baganda people, musicians are no longer employed within his palace enclosure. The music of the *ennanga* harp was already diminishing at the time of independence and today the performance practice and repertoire have been rendered all but obsolete since the loss of the royal patronage system. The few remaining expert harpists have nonetheless worked in innovative ways to keep the *ennanga* repertoire alive today.

Since the mid-twentieth century, the musicians have guided researchers through the intricacies of the *ennanga* performance tradition. The harpists later returned to these same documentary materials to remediate and revitalize the *ennanga* repertoire, supplementing traditional modes of aural transmission with academic texts, transcriptions and audio recordings. Additionally, musicians have found a new source of revenue through the work they do in assisting researchers and partnering with academic institutions to promote traditional music of the region. These investigative links also develop into opportunities for the musicians to engage in lectures and musical tours, spurred on by local and foreign interests.

This study utilizes ethnographic and historical sources, sound recordings, and musical analyses of recorded performances in an attempt explain the complex processes

and networks of transmission that have been undertaken by the traditional harpists of the Buganda kingdom in their attempts to sustain their musical practices. The study looks to provide a contemporary understanding of the recent developments in the history, repertoire, performers, and playing style of the *ennanga* as musicians struggle to preserve a musical tradition removed from the sociocultural context that once gave it meaning.

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A WORD ABOUT LUGANDA ORTHOGRAPHY

Luganda (the language of the people in Buganda) is a tonal, Bantu language. In Luganda the meaning of a noun is determined by prefixes and infixes attached to word stems. For example, the first noun class is used to describe people and utilizes the prefixes mu- (singular) and ba- (plural). Therefore the words Baganda and Muganda refer to the people in the kingdom of Buganda (the place). In the same noun class the prefix ki- makes the word an adjective—the word Kiganda describes things of the Baganda. The word for the harp that is the subject of this work is the ennanga, and the harpist is called an omulanga (pl. abalanga).

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

I first encountered the *ennanga* at the Uganda Museum in Kampala in late 2008. I had heard (and consequently read in the *Brandt Travel Guide to Uganda*) that there were court musicians who frequented the museum, and I wanted to meet them. I had an interest in the harps of Uganda, and I ventured to the museum to see if anyone there could offer teaching expertise.

At the museum I looked through the instrument displays and came upon the *ennanga*, a harp native to the Baganda.[1] I turned to another display of large drums, a xylophone, and the single-stringed tube fiddles, which was placed out in the corridor for visitors to play. Next to the instruments, on a bench, was a group of Baganda playing a Kiganda folk song on the *endingidi* (tube fiddle). After trying my hand at the *endingidi*, I asked one of the players, who would later be introduced as Ludovic Sserwanga, if there was anyone who could teach me the *ennanga*, an arched harp. He spoke no English to me, but understood what I said. He took out his refurbished Nokia phone and gave me the number of his nephew, Albert Bisaso Ssempeke Jr.

I met Ssempeke Jr. a few days later at the museum, and he walked me to his house to show me his instrument collection. He seemed very surprised that I was interested in the *ennanga*. He informed me that I was his first student. Although his father had had many students, Ssempeke Jr. had never taught anyone *ennanga* before. He showed me the instrument and played me a few melodies. The quality of the sound was something I had never heard before. The strings buzzed against reptile-skin rings attached to the neck of the harp, creating a percussive attack that added a discrete rhythmic characteristic to the notes that would otherwise "bleed" into each other. Ssempeke Jr.'s

fingers moved with incredible speed. The right hand and left hand creating an interlocking, cyclical melody as he sang over the top of his accompaniment, picking the vocal line out of the grid of notes pouring from the instrument. It was beautiful.

Before I returned home for the day, Ssempeke Jr. went through his files and handed me a few articles written by ethnomusicologists with whom he and his father had worked. He wanted me to understand the background and the historical context of the instrument. It was only when I returned home and read about the tradition of Buganda court music that I realized how little attention the *ennanga* had attracted in the past, and that I very well may have stumbled upon the last proficient player of the Ugandan arched harp.

The more I learned about the *ennanga*, the more intrigued I became about the state of the instrument. Ssempeke Jr. and his uncle, Sserwanga Ludovic, are among the few remaining musicians who uphold the tradition of the court music of the southern Ugandan kingdom of Buganda; Albert's father, Mwanga or Ssempeke Sr., passed away in 2006. Mwanga and his brother Sserwanga began learning the *ndere* (reed flute) as young boys, but later expanded their knowledge of court instruments. Sserwanga learned the *endingidi* tube fiddle while Ssempeke Sr. studied the *endongo* (bowl lyre) and the *ennanga*. Over the last twenty years, Ssempeke Sr. was considered the last remaining expert harp player, or *omulanga* (P. Cooke 1996, Kubik 2004), though he thankfully schooled his son Albert in the instruments of the Buganda court (*lubiri*) before his passing, ensuring that there would be another *omulanga* to continue on.

During my visit to Kampala in 2008, Ssempeke Jr. claimed that he and one other gentleman teaching at a university just outside of Kampala, Professor Ssenoga Majwala,

were the only remaining *abalanga* (pl., harpists). What is more, Ssempeke Jr.'s repertoire consisted of about ten songs—astonishingly few considering the vast repertoire he knew on the other Buganda court instruments: the *amadinda* (xylophone), the *endingidi* (tube fiddle), the *endongo* (lyre), the *ndere* (flute), and the *ngoma* (drums). Once I examined archives for scholarship about Ugandan music and *ennanga*, I was astounded to find that among those prominent musicologists who have studied Buganda music—Klaus Wachsmann, Joseph Kyagambiddwa, Gerhard Kubik, Lois Anderson, Peter Cooke—only a few harp songs have been transcribed and analyzed, and fewer than ten harp songs have been recorded and commercially released. While almost all of the musicologists who have worked with the Baganda recognize the important place the *ennanga* held in the musical culture of the *lubiri*, the music that is a part of this esoteric *ennanga* tradition has all but disappeared. Even the art of crafting the *ennanga* has died out. Ssempeke Jr. and his father were able to give instructions about how to make the instrument, but they complained that these new instruments do not compare to the quality and sound of the *ennanga* that were made only fifty years ago.

What I learned much later about the *ennanga* was that it was something of a musical bystander, lost in the post-independence shuffle of Ugandan politics. Since the Buganda kingdom began losing political power, the *ennanga* and other traditional instruments have been recognized by the Baganda as "quintessentially 'African'" artifacts that are worth saving, a process of consolidation through which many traditional African musics pass in the realignments brought on by the post-colonial period (Agawu 2003, 17). This was precisely the case in Buganda; the Kiganda royal court repertoire was narrowed and the instrumental ensembles were reconfigured to survive in a more modern,

more public context (vis-à-vis the once-restrictive confines of the royal court). Some of this repertoire was also included in pan-Ugandan ensembles, part of a "transethnic canon" of national music, much like the one Agawu described in Ghana in the 1960s (2003, 19). The new ensemble reconfigurations did not however include the *ennanga* because it was not suitable for performance at large social occasions or within ensembles.

Amidst what seemed like a dearth of interest in the esoteric *ennanga*, the *abalanga* persisted in teaching their instrument. As the pool of *ennanga* performers dwindled however, anthropologists and musicologists took note of the fading interest in the instrument and began documenting the tradition of the *ennanga*. The *abalanga*, delighted that their passion for the instrument was being noticed, took advantage of the new resources, and soon the audio recordings, transcriptions, and literature of the instrument and its history that was generated doubled back onto the performance tradition. This shift in the transmission system rearranged the way *abalanga* learned and taught the *ennanga*. The predominantly aural transmission of the repertoire changed to one that relied on both aural methods of transmission as well as the methods of Western musicology that favoured the "document," be it the printed word, a transcription or an audio recording.

The newly acquired methods of transmission were however accompanied by an attendant Western musical framework that was often ill suited to the qualities of Kiganda music, leading to misrepresentations, misnomers, and/or miscategorizations. Still, I have found musical analysis indispensable to my work, while endeavouring to respectfully clear some of the confusion caused by explanations of Kiganda repertoire using the language of *musikwissenschaft*. My analytical framework takes into account scholarship

of American, British and East African ethnomusicologists as well as as much emic information as I could gather. I tried to lend a new perspective that stepped just a little further away from theoretical trappings of Western art music. My goal with this aggregate framework was not to create a "categorical difference between Western knowledge and African knowledge" (Agawu 2003, 197), or to uncover an authentic Kiganda "ethnotheory" (which admittedly I cannot do with full confidence), but to disentangle some of concepts that have been clouded by language of the Western musical academy (such as the labeling of Kiganda intervals according to their proximity to Western intervals) and provide a different explanation of the elements of *ennanga* music that might better serve comparative analyses in the future.

Aims and Scopes

The purpose of this work is simply to better understand the continuity and change in the musical tradition of the *ennanga* in a post-colonial context. What was once a crucial symbol in the most powerful kingdom of Uganda has since become a "museum exhibit," with few musicians remaining who are able to navigate its strings. The *omulanga* (harpist) was arguably the sole figure among the court musicians who could produce in some form the repertoire played on all the court instruments. Now there are almost no new compositions being added to the *ennanga* repertoire, and relatively few songs remain. While there may be no simple or straightforward reason for the withering *ennanga* tradition, I explore the possible factors contributing to this unfortunate lack of development. The overall popularity of the *ennanga* notwithstanding, for those who are versed in traditional Kiganda music, the *ennanga* holds an important status for Buganda

identity, and the instrument, the *abalanga* (harpists), and the music all carry historical significance.

I examine here the *ennanga* repertoire that remains, comparing recordings, transcriptions, and analyses of songs documented in the *ennanga* and Kiganda musicological literature. I focus on why certain pieces remain while others have been lost. I look to the musicians who have worked with the *ennanga*, comparing their musical styles and the musical techniques that have endured in their playing. I investigate what these musicians have contributed to the study of the *ennanga* and Kiganda music overall. Inevitably, I look to the ways in which the *ennanga* is taught and performed, and how these practices have evolved over the past sixty years (though with a few speculations as to some trends that have occurred over the past two hundred-and-fifty years).

The *ommulanga* once had a very special relationship with the *kabaka* (king). Both the colonial and post-colonial periods have drastically changed the political nature of the Buganda kingdom to the extent that the role of the musicians in the *lubiri* (royal enclosure) has vanished. That is, there are no longer musicians in the *lubiri*. Those that once aspired to perform in the *lubiri* now must find opportunities to perform elsewhere. This has often materialized in performances, tours, and presentations that focus on cultural promotion and recovery. I consider how these new performance contexts have changed *ennanga* performance, as well as its repertoire, within the construction of a corporate Baganda identity.

Outline of the chapters

The remainder of Chapter One details my theoretical framework and fieldwork. I provide a short background of the Baganda people; a chronology of the Buganda

kingdom and its place in the region recognized today as Uganda, antedating the British colonial period and continuing through to the post-independence period. This is followed by a description of the *ennanga*, its music, and the song texts sung to the music. The chapter ends with a literature and resource review, including the musicological publications that detail the *ennanga* and Kiganda court music, a description of the musicologists who have published salient work on Kiganda music, a record of their transcriptions and archival recordings, and biographies of the *abalanga* with whom they have worked.

Chapter Two is a survey of the history of the *ennanga*. This is a closer look at the history of the instrument as told by court musicians, missionaries, explorers, historians, and musicologists throughout the last two hundred-and-fifty years. This chapter provides biographical sketches of the *abalanga* of the last sixty years, the manner in which they learned and studied the instrument, and their musical careers. The focal points of this chapter are two historical events: the exile of the king in 1966 and the first published recordings of virtuoso *omulanga* Temutewo Mukasa, which are crucial to the analytical work to follow.

Chapter Three is an outline of the overall style of an *ennanga* performance, using the historical *ennanga* song, "Gganga alula," as the primary analytical material. The chapter begins with a description of the notation style I use throughout the document and continues on to outline the structure of an *ennanga* tune and its componants: the ostinato pattern played by the harp, the vocal melody, the vocal poetry, and the improvisation techniques used within each of these three categories.

Chapter Four is a comparison of the playing styles of five *abalanga*—Kasule, Mukasa, Ssempeke Sr., Majwala and Ssempeke Jr.—using their performances of the song "Gganga alula." From the components outlined in Chapter Three, I compare how each *omulanga* varies his performance through improvisation and the use of different techniques. The performance techniques are traced from *omulanga* to *omulanga* using the recording of Temutewo Mukasa as a baseline reference. The goal of this chapter is not only to compare the performances of each harpist, but to understand from whom and how they each learned, and how these conditions affected their performance on the *ennanga*.

Chapter Five is a look at the forms of transmission that have been used to maintain the *ennanga* repertoire and the reasons why the *abalanga* have turned to new resources in order to supplement the aural transmission process. This chapter first details the growing disinterest in the *ennanga* in post-independence Uganda and the waning performance contexts after 1966, when the king was exiled. Finally, there is a look at the "ethnographic feedback loop" generated from the scholarly collaborations of various musicians and ethnomusicologists: transcriptions and recordings are regularly used to supplement aural transmission in order to perpetuate the tradition of *ennanga* performance, and as the *ennanga* continues to be studied, more scholarship is produced, increasing the intensity of the cyclical process.

These chapters, along with appendices, which include transcriptions of the five performances of "Gganga alula" and additional analytical materials, are meant to provide the field of African music studies with a better understanding of this instrument. Beyond any contributions to the history of the *ennanga*, I hope that this work contributes to an understanding of the dynamic transmission processes of musical repertoire in

traditionally oral/aural societies. Finally, I hope to provide further insight into the effects and values of ethnomusicological research on musical transmission processes and the importance of acknowledging the collaborative nature of this type of scholarship.

Fieldwork

I began fieldwork in Uganda in July 2007. This first trip was a pilot project for my then-prospective work: the study of grassroots music groups that utilized a performance platform to teach the public about health issues, specifically the HIV/AIDS pandemic. I chose to work in Kampala for a number of reasons. First, East Africa was considered ground zero for the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Second, Uganda had been at the time the only country able to reduce HIV prevalence, a phenomenon attributed to the government's policy of openly discussing HIV/AIDS and programmes such as the "ABC"[2] campaign. I believed that, apart from the government campaign, mobilization on the community level contributed to the decline in HIV prevalence in Uganda, and I was interested in exploring grassroots programs that fight the spread of HIV.

In planning for the fieldwork trip, I propositioned a number of NGOs (non-governmental organizations) throughout eastern and southern Africa to ensure that I would have someone to work with. The first response I received was from The AIDS Service Organization (TASO) in Kampala, Uganda. TASO was the first indigenous NGO in Uganda to serve victims of HIV/AIDS and their families. Today, as in 2007 when I first visited, it is the largest indigenous HIV/AIDS-focused NGO, and each TASO centre in Uganda has a music-and-drama group that performs songs and plays to both educate the community about HIV/AIDS and fight the social stigmas associated with the disease.

When I first arrived in Kampala I immediately visited TASO at Mulago Hospital. There I was introduced to John Bosco, the manager of the Daycenter (where the muic-and-drama group rehearsed). I was also introduced to the administrators at TASO Mulago and the administrators at the TASO centre who oversaw operations throughout the country. During the six weeks that I spent with TASO, I sat in on their rehearsals, watched presentations for visitors, accompanied them to outreach programmes in schools near Kampala, and was invited to sing with them in a Catholic mass for the blessing of the home of Noerine Kaleeba, the founder of TASO.

The school outreach sessions consisted of a few songs by the group, a "testimony" in which the leader for that day shared his or her story about living with HIV/AIDS, and a speech by an outreach counselor about how to protect oneself from HIV/AIDS. A question-and-answer period followed in which the outreach counselor and the music-and-drama group members answered questions from the students. It quickly became apparent that the counselors were trained to use Christian rhetoric to educate about HIV/AIDS and sex. Abstinence was the most-discussed prevention method, and it was buttressed by equating sex with immorality—implying that those who had contracted HIV are immoral and deserving of their condition. While this was the frame in which the counsellors worked, I also became interested in the ways in which the performance group used their testimonies, songs, and plays to subvert the overarching Christian discourses of the outreach session.

When I returned to Toronto I reviewed my fieldnotes and planned my next trip to Kampala. Keeping in mind that extensive research had been performed on grassroots performance groups all throughout Uganda, including TASO, I wanted to widen my

focus to examine the ways music might be used in the healing process in any context of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. In addition to visiting with TASO, I planned to seek out other community performance groups that focused on HIV/AIDS, but also wanted to interview and work with traditional healers to see if they used music or sound to counsel or heal individuals or communities affected by or afflicted with HIV/AIDS. During my first trip I had visited a community in which a friend, Fred Kaggwa, was administering a project for an NGO in Kikwayi, Uganda. I heard that this community was known for its traditional healers, and I arranged to begin work during my second trip with one of the traditional healers in the area. Beyond these arrangements, I left my schedule wide open to accommodate any new possibilities. My contacts at TASO could put me in touch with more drama groups and related services in Kampala, and I planned to explore the city for any other prospects. With that I set off on the next fieldwork sojourn.

I arrived in Kampala again in September 2008 with a plan to stay for seven months and further explore the research relationships I had established. After visiting TASO initially, I went to see the Ndere Troupe, a youth group with a rather large endowment that trains orphans and poor children in the traditional music and dance of many of the ethnic groups in Uganda. I spoke to the director about the possibility of working with the group, as well as taking drum and harp lessons from the trainers in the group. I was told to contact the administrator when I was ready and that they would accommodate me. First I planned to get out to Kikwayi and meet with my friend Fred to see about the traditional healer.

I arrived in Kikwayi and Fred was away for the weekend. As the founder of a small NGO, Pat the Child, he was frequently called away for various duties. I waited two

days for him to return, using my minimal Luganda to communicate with the rest of his family. When he did return, a week had gone by before I realized it was not likely that I would meet with the traditional healer anytime soon. Instead, by the time the weekend rolled around, the NGO's youth performance group began rehearsal. I spoke with Fred about their goals and met with their trainer, a twenty-one-year-old college student named Abdul. Since it would take a few weeks to actually get to meet with the traditional healer, I returned to Kampala to pursue my other contacts until the meeting could be properly arranged. In the meantime I returned to Kikwayi each weekend to observe the performance group and work with their trainer. Soon I had set up lessons during the week with Abdul on the xylophone at Kyambogo University just outside of Kampala, and on the weekends I worked on the three basic Kiganda rhythms played on the *ngoma* drums in between rehearsals. During xylophone lessons we worked on what I later learned was a style of playing that came from the west of Uganda, while the drumming was traditional Kiganda drumming (from the Buganda kingdom in the south of the country—the region where we were). I was most concerned with learning the music the children were learning in the same manner that they were learning it.

The more I worked with the Pat the Child performance group, the more I became interested in examining their group as a case study. I began fundraising for them and was also interested in aiding the administration of the branch of the NGO that worked with the group. I soon realized that this was a complicated undertaking, and considered turning my dissertation work into a sort of "how to" manual of fundraising and administrating a small group, following their development and creating a kind of qualitative analysis of their progress all under the umbrella of music and health care.

While this work with the performance group progressed I stumbled upon another project. When in Kampala I had continued looking for a harp teacher. I was interested in the diatonic harp that migrated to Uganda from the Congo because of the similarities between its playing style and that of fingerstyle picking on the guitar. (I majored in guitar at the undergraduate level.) In my search for a harp teacher, I read that the Uganda museum employed court musicians who were usually on hand for musical demonstrations. (This was a tradition, I later learned, which had been instituted by Klaus Wachsmann, a former curator of the museum) At the museum, however, I perused the display cases and found myself in front of the *ennanga*, the Kigandan arched harp. And after one conversation with Ludovic Sserwanga, an *endingidi* (tube-fiddle) player at the museum, I had a harp teacher: Albert Bisaso Ssempeke.

After a few days of investigation, I realized how rare the *ennanga* and *abalanga* (*ennanga* players) had become. I found that Albert and his family were among the few keeping Kiganda court music alive in some form. Albert is one of two remaining, skilled *abalanga*. I began visiting Albert as much as possible, spending most of my time learning the *ennanga*, but also working on the *ndere* (reed flute), the *endingidi*, and the *amadinda*. The more I played the *ennanga*, however, the more I fell in love with the playing technique, the timbre, and the feelings I experienced whenever I played. Albert sold me one of his *ennanga*, which I practiced with a vengeance. Albert then rewarded my dedication by inviting me to play on the radio with him in a programme he frequented.

At this point I faced a crossroads in the research process. I had two viable projects and only one dissertation to write. While still there I continued both projects with the knowledge that when I returned I could sort through the information and make a final

decision. As the money I had available became more and more scarce, I decided to return to Toronto to make a final decision about my research. I did not have enough money to continue both projects, and to pursue either required a return to the university for further study and planning.

I flew back to Toronto in the end of January 2009 to decide. With no small amount of agony I decided that the Pat the Child drama group would be best served if I temporarily kept my work with them outside academia. I had raised awareness for their group and done some fundraising, and could better continue this work if it was outside the realm of the dissertation pressures and deadlines. The time I had available in order to finish my degree did not allow for a real assessment of their progress as a group and their impact on the community. No doubt this was a long-term project. The *ennanga*, on the other hand, was a story ready to be written, Albert had the time and was willing to continue instructing me upon my return to Kampala, and I found the topic to be compelling. Thus began my journey with the *ennanga*.

Methodology

The bulk of this work is a product of ethnographic fieldwork that was documented through fieldnotes and video and audio recordings collected during participant-observation. This work was undertaken along with various other ethnographic techniques, which included lessons (both in music and language), informal interviews, performances and the experience of daily life in the field. These ethnographic data are interwoven with a good deal of archival work, namely (1) historical-document research, most of which was collected from the archives of the Uganda Museum and Makerere University, as well as (2) analytical work based on recordings accessed mainly from the digital sound

archives of the British Library Sound Archive and the International Library of African Music (ILAM). This archival research provided a foundation for understanding the history of the Buganda kingdom, which plays an integral role in the transmission of the harp tradition.

My fieldwork necessitated a steady stream of varied activities. I spent my days in the field with my teachers, taking lessons, chatting, traveling to musician's villages for interviews, and practicing the *ennanga* and *amadinda.* I spent the evenings transcribing interviews, listening to and transcribing lessons and music, practicing the language, and writing fieldnotes. In essence, during the day I collected as much information as possible and I used the evenings to remember and reflect upon my experiences and relationships, which inevitably led me to establish questions and goals for the following day. My fieldnotes—written records of daily reflections and, what I believe to be, careful considerations—are both narrative and analytical. I regarded these fieldnotes as important and invaluable throughout the entire process that has culminated in this study. Like any ethnographic document, they immediately convey my subjective experience of the *abalanga* and other Baganda musicians I worked with. They could upon rereading or reflection return me to the ethnographic moment in my memory, evocative of details that would have been lost in a single telling. It became apparent to me that fieldnotes ultimately have the power to "enhance our understanding" of the field site, which for me meant the music of the *ennanga* as well, by assembling "meaning within a cultural context of related meanings" (Johnson and Johnson 1990, 161).

Fieldwork is always a slightly messy collection of interactions and relationships based on both friendship and reciprocity. I was constantly changing my methods of

collection and documentation to adapt to new circumstances. While performing fieldwork I often found it difficult to navigate these relationships. My teacher, Albert Bisaso Ssempeke, advised me on the most appropriate remuneration for interviews and lessons. (I often brought gifts or donations to a village or paid outright for an interviewee's time.)

Most difficult was the issue of translation for the interviews and recordings of songs. I have yet to find a Luganda translator in Toronto, and having the translations done by a professional from Makerere University proved too expensive for my research budget. Therefore, I decided to ask my teachers to translate interviews to the best of their ability. They would invariably transcribe and translate the text from the songs, and I would have the orthography corrected by my Luganda teacher at Makerere. As a result, the translations are not as consistent as they would be with only a single translator for all of the documentation, and I am sure that some of the information in the interviews has yet to be fully brought to the foreground.

In the introduction to Rabinow's groundbreaking *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco*, Robert Bellah wrote that, "Fieldwork, like any investigation in the human studies, involves constant valuation and revaluation" (Rabinow 2007, xxxi). I hope that my work reflects these sentiments. In this dissertation I chose to use ethnographic writing so as to force a personal experience with the *ennanga* and to lend an interpersonal understanding to its tradition and transmission. The ethnography as such is intertwined with excerpts from formal interviews and musical analysis, as much as it is informed and given shape by the archival work mentioned earlier. Because my study includes the history of the instrument, I also include information about the lives of the musicians that play (and played) it, the manner that the music had been transmitted to them, the harp's

place in Kiganda society and the way the music has changed in the face of these prevailing conditions.

There are two chapters that rely more on ethnography than the others: the first and the third. In these chapters I use an historical and analytical approach to consider (and problematize) the ways that I have become part of the *ennanga* tradition, learning to play the instrument *and* contributing scholarship that may be utilized to continue the transmission process. This ethnographic experience has placed me in the continuing erasure of the once-impermeable lines that defined "researchers" and "informants" (cf. Witmer 1995, 197).

Finally, I have worked to provide in the end a framework as much about a musical transmission as one that also offers ideas about musical transmissions as a whole; rather than confining the study to one idea about transmission I offer views of my work through exemplary studies provided by ethnomusicologists Mark Slobin (1984) and Kay Shelemay (1996). Their work provides a model in this regard, remaining in my estimation ethnographically revealing and theoretically relevant at once.

Ethnographic engagement was in the end necessary to gain a sense of my subjective experience with the *ennanga* tradition. It was the indispensible preliminary step that enabled me to contextualize and compare my experience with other researchers, the *abalanga* and the Baganda that I came to know along the way. Though this study moves about unapologetically between a variety of analytical tools and sites—historical, socio-analytical, musical analytical, biographical, archival, et al.—it was the interpersonal experience of fieldwork that connected all these diverse approaches and enriched the ethnographic value of my scholarship on Kiganda music and culture.

A History of the Buganda Kingdom

Pre-colonial Buganda

Buganda is a kingdom found in the south Uganda and is home to the Baganda (*s.* Muganda) people. The native language in this region is Luganda. The Kingdom of the Baganda, at its height, stretched fifty to sixty miles north of Lake Victoria, bordered by the Nile River to the east and the Kagera River to the west (Ray 1991, 131). The geographic placement of the Buganda kingdom provided its people with a stable climate, allowing for a millet-based economy that was gradually replaced by banana plantains around 1000 AD, most likely imported from Indonesia (Kubik 2004, 3). Traditionally women cultivated crops while men were politicians, goods manufacturers, and soldiers (Ray 1991, 133).

Kiganda oral history begins with the story of a mytho-historical figure named Kintu. The story has changed and been reinterpreted through various retellings. There are two versions of the story of Kintu, one describing the beginning of the society and culture, and the other describing the political history of the inception of the Buganda kingdom. The first historian to publish a history of the Baganda in the native language was Sir Apolo Kaggwa, and until this point, the history of the kingdom was maintained orally by both clan members and the officers of the king. After Kaggwa's publications historical information was regularly recorded (Ray 1991, 99), and the story of Kintu was standardized.

The legend of Kintu (*olugero lwa Kintu*) is a type of story called a *lugero*. Historian Benjamin Ray describes a *lugero* as a tale involving animals or people that is "didactic and allegorical in some way and convey[s] a moral lesson" (1991, 57). The

setting of the myth of Kintu is what Ray refers to as a "timeless period of the beginnings" (1991, 57). The "mythic" version of the story of Kintu describes the important features and events in Kiganda society (Ray 1991, 57): Kintu's relationship with the creator, his journey through courtship and marriage, and the manner in which death found its way to earth. The historical narrative of Kintu dates his arrival to Buganda in the late thirteenth century (Ray 1991, 74). It describes Kintu as a foreigner in the Buganda kingdom who usurped the position of Walusimbi, the leader of the region (Ray 1991, 94). It was Kimera, the king two generations later, who codified "the royal office of the *kabaka* (king)" and integrated Kintu into his royal line (1991, 98).

Buganda gradually grew to become the largest political power in the region. Kiganda society is organized into patrilineal, totemic clans, all linked to Kintu. Each clan had specific duties that it performs for the king. Political positions such as chieftaincies were sometimes appointed and sometimes hereditary. As British influence over the political system in Buganda increased during the nineteenth century, however, appointments became more favoured (Fallers 1964, 93). At the head of the society was the *kabaka*, "Buganda's most important cultural institution—its symbolic and ritual center. [...] Although the Kabaka of Buganda was not a god or a priest, he did possess the sacredness of central authority, for he both represented and maintained the ultimate order of things" (Ray 1991, 14). The *kabaka*'s main activities at this point included appointing chiefs, assigning taxes, managing war, and acting as judge (Ray 1991, 134).

APPENDIX A

Genealogy and Chronology of the Kings of Buganda, with the clans of Queen-mothers and reigning dates of recent Kings

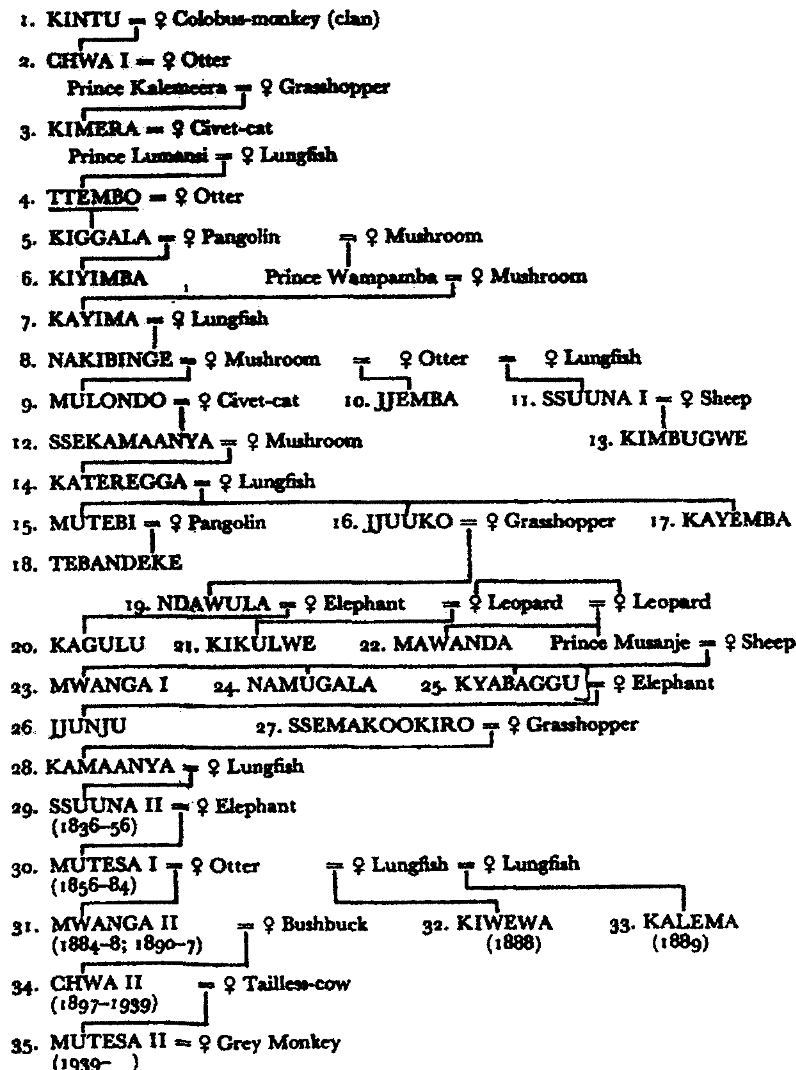

Figure 1: *Kabaka* lineage (Fallers, Kamoga and Musoke 1964). Ronald Mutebi, the current *kabaka*, was crowned in 1993.

Politics played an important part in Baganda life. It was what D.A. Low referred to as "a cultural tradition throughout" (Low 1971, xxiii). Political education was passed down from generation to generation when clan heads, chiefs and elders brought their sons

to the court when they discussed political issues. In this way individuals became prepared for political office (Low 1971, xxiv; Ray 1991, 75).

Colonial Buganda

The first recorded foreign visitor to the Buganda kingdom was a Zanzibari soldier, Issau bin Hussein, during the reign of Kabaka Suuna II (Kubik 2004, 8). The first Europeans, John Hanning Speke and James Grant, arrived in the Buganda kingdom in 1862 in their search for the source of the Nile River. East Africa was soon opened to a flood of foreigners, and Muslims, Anglicans and Catholics fought to be allies with the Buganda king and his subjects. The British Anglicans eventually won over the kingdom and brokered The Uganda Agreement of 1900 with the British government. The Buganda kingdom was able to negotiate a good degree of independence under the agreement and wielded some power within the Uganda Protectorate.

The exercise of this power became a problem in 1953 when the British Protectorate government exiled the king, Kabaka Edward Frederick Mutesa II, who refused to allow the British to further marginalize the political power of the Buganda. Two years later, however, the king returned, sparking a formal resistance to British colonial power (Ray 1991, 4–5). In 1960 the Baganda declared their independence, which was not recognized by the British Protectorate. The Baganda then mobilized the other Ugandan (non-Baganda) political parties and won independence in 1962, naming Mutesa II Uganda's first president (Low 1971, xxi).

Prime Minister Milton Obote suspended the constitution in 1966, expelled the *kabaka* (who fled to England), and abolished all the native kingdoms of Uganda (Ray 1991, 5). He declared Uganda a republic and instituted himself as president. Obote and

his army attacked the *lubiri* (royal enclosure), destroying what was inside, including the instruments, and turning the *lubiri* into army barracks. The kings attendants, including his musicians, fled to avoid persecution, and the royal musicians were forbidden to play while the king was in exile (Anderson 1968, 9).

In 1971 General Idi Amin staged a coup overthrowing Obote. Mutesa II had died in England, but Amin, staging a national ceremony, had his body returned to Buganda in order to win over the Baganda people and establish his regime in the eyes of foreign powers (Ray 1991, 117–18). Many hoped that the kingship would be reestablished, but it never regained its former glory or political power. Mutesa's son, Prince Ronald Mutebi, performed some of the rites to succeed his father, but was never officially inducted as *kabaka* and was forced to live in exile because of the political climate. The National Resistance Army overthrew Amin, and Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, the new president, invited Prince Ronald Mutebi back to Buganda as *ssaabataka* (head of the fifty-two clans of Buganda)—a cultural symbol with no veritable political power—rather than *kabaka* (Mutibwa 2008, 229). Because the Buganda political system had been a major player in every political event that befell Uganda, Museveni knew that with much of his constituency being Buganda, he had no choice but to restore the *kabaka*ship. In July 1993 Kabaka Ronald Muwenda Mutebi II was crowned, and the kingship was restored, bringing the Baganda "out of mourning." The political power of the *kabaka* remains, however, rather ambiguous for many Ugandans, though the *kabaka* as a cultural symbol remains a strong presence in the lives of the Baganda.

The Ennanga Performance Tradition

The *ennanga* is found in the Buganda kingdom—the most southeasterly region in Africa in which harps are found (Wachsmann 1956, 23). The *omulanga*[3] (the king's harpist) was one of many instrumentalists who resided in the *lubiri* (the king's enclosure). The *Mamba*, *Ennyonyi*, *Butiko* and *Lugave* were just some of the clans traditionally supplied musicians for the court of the king (Anderson 1968, 27), and it is thought that clans responsible for particular instrumental ensembles developed their own technique and playing styles (Kubik 2004, 8).

At one time, groups of musicians resided in the *lubiri* to serve the king in shifts of three months. Seven instrumental ensembles resided inside the *lubiri*: the *abakondere* (trumpeters and drummers); the *abadongo ba kabaka* (lyre, fiddle, and flute band); the *abalere ba kabaka* (flute ensemble); the *akadinda* (twenty-two-keyed xylophone); the *entamiivu* (*amadinda* twelve-keyed xylophone and drum ensemble); the *entenga* (drum-chime ensemble); the *omulanga* (king's harpist). Of these musicians, the *omulanga* had the most candid access to the *kabaka*, the king. He was the only musician allowed to sing privately for the *kabaka* and his wives. The *omulanga* was also a vocal improviser and poet, and through his song texts he was able to advise the king.

The relationship between the technical and musical styles of the *ennanga* and that of other court instruments hints at the possibility that most court music was first played on the *ennanga* (Kubik 2004, 1966/67). In fact, much of the repertoire of the *lubiri* was inspired by harp music (Kubik 2004, 1966/7). The *amadinda*, *ennanga*, and *entenga* repertoire are similar; the unique interlocking melodic style of these three instruments/ensembles is not found in the repertoire of any other traditional Kiganda instruments. However, the vocal counterparts of these tunes are found in the repertoire of

the *ndere* (reed flute), the *akadinda* xylophone, the *endingidi*, and the *endongo* (lyre). These instruments were all played in the *lubiri*: the *ndere* ensemble was called the *abalere ba kabaka* and the lyre, tube fiddle, flute, rattle and drum ensemble made up the *abadongo*.

Explorers, historians and musicians alike have praised the status and beauty of the *ennanga* throughout the Buganda kingdom; the *ennanga* was one of the most celebrated instruments of the Baganda (Wachsmann 1953, 397). The employment of an *omulanga* was a privilege enjoyed not only by the king but also by those select few with the requisite economic and social capital (Wachsmann 1956, 24). The instrument was also a symbol of the *kabaka* and his *lubiri*; it was an *omulanga* who played for Princess Margaret when she visited the Buganda kingdom, and when the kabaka sent envoys to Queen Victoria in 1879, they brought their harps (Wachsmann 1964, 86).

Despite the historical regard for the *ennanga*, its gradual decline began long before the downfall of the *kabaka*. In the first detailed writings about the *lubiri*, proponents of Kiganda music tried to understand why there were so few *ennanga* players. Sir Apollo Kaggwa, the exalted Buganda historian, believed that the *ennanga* was abandoned for the *endongo*, a bowl lyre from the Busoga tribe on the East bank of the Nile (Trowell and Wachsmann 1953, 397). Klaus Wachsmann suggested that the *ennanga*, along with other Ugandan harps, lost favour as more percussive instruments replaced melodic instruments (1952, 56). Wachsmann has also suggested that the political power and location of the Buganda kingdom made it a hub for musical exchange (1964), perhaps exposing the Baganda to instruments that may have had more currency in the modern Ugandan world (1971).

Figure 2: The *ennanga*

Organology

Many Baganda claim that the *ennanga* actually came to the Baganda from the Basoga (Wachsmann 1939, 154)—a possibility considering the number of instruments now popular in Buganda that have come from the Basoga. Other harps in Uganda are found among the Gwere, Tesot, and Alur ethnic groups. When Klaus Wachsmann, later joined by Margaret Trowell, first came upon the Buganda kingdom, he began to recognize the declining importance of the esoteric *ennanga*. Much like harpists from other traditions, the *omulanga* acted as a bard, cataloguing information about former kings and political and historical events. Trowell and Wachsmann (1953) were also convinced that the *ennanga*'s playing style and shape linked it to the ancient Egyptian

harp. Yet, despite one hundred years of attention to the fading *ennanga* tradition, very few scholars have rigorously studied the instrument.

The *ennanga* is an arched harp of the type Wachsmann characterizes as "spoon-in-cup." This refers to the position of the bowed neck: the neck rests in the sound bowl and passes through a hole in the sound table (Wachsmann 1964a, 86). The curve of the bowed neck is a "shallow arch," (Trowell and Wachsmann 1953, 393) and the *ennanga's* resonator is an oval bowl made of wood and covered with cow skin that is attached with cords to another skin on the underside of the bowl. The harp has eight strings, now made from cow or goat hide (like the strings on my *ennanga*), although in the past these were constructed from cow's back tendons. Wachsmann also noted that the strings were once rubbed with castor oil seed and ashes to protect them (1953, 396).

Figure 3: Tuning pegs, rings and wood wedges on the arched neck of the ennanga.

The strings are attached to the bowed neck with tuning pegs, and moveable rings of lizard skin with banana fibre woven into them are kept in place by a wooden wedge placed just under the rings (see fig. 3). The act of the strings vibrating against the rings amplifies the sound of the *ennanga* and creates a buzzing timbre. The rattling also creates a "physical experience of rhythm" (Wachsmann 1952, 56). Although Wachsmann reported that the strings used to have different thicknesses (Trowell and Wachsmann

1953, 396–97), most *ennanga* strings made today are not graduated. The *ennanga*'s three highest pitched strings are known as the *obutemyo* (in Luganda, the name for the smallest support ring on the roof of a thatched hut). The fourth and fifth strings are the *enjawuzi* (from the verb "to divide"), and the three lowest pitched strings are called the *matengezi* (Wachsmann suggested that this might refer to their "loose and slow vibration" (Trowell and Wachsmann 1953, 397).

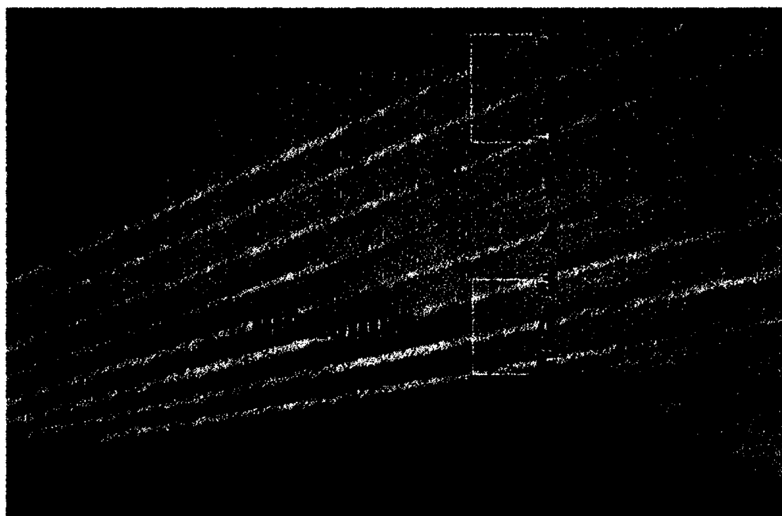

Figure 4: Strings according to scale degrees.

The *ennanga* is placed in the player's lap, usually while seated on the ground with crossed legs, but sometimes in a chair. The bow is pointed away from the player, who places his hands on either side of the strings with the palms facing each other. The thumb and forefinger of each hand pluck the strings, and the little fingers wrap around the back of the bowed neck where it meets the resonator in order to steady the instrument. The right and left hand rapidly play two different tone rows, creating an interlocking pattern or tone cycle while the harpist sings melodies extracted from the resultant pattern. The

pattern played by the right hand is called the *okunaga*, the pattern played by the left is called the *okwawula*, and the vocal part is called the *okuyimba*.

Tuning and Scale

The *ennanga* is tuned to an equidistant pentatonic scale (Wachsmann 1950a). The *obutemyo* (three highest strings) and the *matengezi* (three lowest strings) have octave relationships: strings one and six, two and seven, and three and eight are pairs of octave tunings. The strings are usually referred to by scale degrees, lowest to highest.

Number of string	Frequency in cycles per sec.	Interval in Cents
1	405·82	
		250
2	351·25	
		245
3	304·90	
		244
4	264·82	
		235
5	231·20	
		238
6	201·51	
		236
7	175·83	
		239
8	153·16	

Figure 5: Ennanga string frequency values (Wachsmann 1950a).

Tuning is done by ear. The *omulanga* can tune his instrument to approximate intervals without any external prompting. In his article, "An Equal Stepped Tuning in a Ganda harp" (1950a), Wachsmann observed the standard tuning method and reported that there was a three-step process. The harpist began by tuning strings one and two, then he tuned the remaining strings by playing the notes in a patterned succession, from one to two to three, then two to three to four, and so forth (1950a, 41). Finally the harpist checked the octave pairs. The *omulanga* who Wachsmann recorded, Temotewo Mukasa,

varied between a few cents when tuning his harp, but the mean for the seven intervals on the harp was very close to 240 cents (1950a, 41; see fig. 5).

Vocal melody

The relationship of the song text to vocal melody and vocal melody to instrumental patterns makes it likely that the text was first of the three elements to be composed. The melody was suggested by the pitch contour of the language[4] and the syllables in the text. (A short syllable is sung over the duration of the smallest rhythmic unit and a long syllable is sung over two of these units.) Once the text had been set, the melody was rendered on the harp and extra notes were chosen to fill in the second unit of the long syllables in order to create the desired number of notes to complete the tone cyle (Cooke 1996, 444). This process, which Kyagambiddwa referred to as "harmonization," was supposedly carried out by musicians specially trained for the skill (Kyagambiddwa 1955, 106).

Variation

Although the manner (and quick tempo) in which the *ennanga* is played seems to leave little room for variation on the harp, there is often variation in the sung melody. Firstly, a vocal phrase may be transposed an octave up or down. Additionally, each song has a few distinct melodic phrases that are used for different lines of text, and the performer may choose to arrange the text in a manner that sculpts the melody to his satisfaction. Wachsmann described this practice: "The voice sings the words in clearly separated units which can be distinguished from each other not only by their melody or shape but by the change in register or vocal technique—from unit to unit this lends itself to the creation of extended poetic forms" (Wachsmann 1956, 24). The *omulanga* may

also add vocal ornaments that manifest as chromatic glissandi or semitones (Kyagambidwa 1955, 20–21), substitute text with passages of humming, or improvise passages of musical interludes and vocal melody (both sung text and humming). The ease with which a harpist employs these techniques is a measure of his skill.

There are, in fact, a few ways in which the instrumental pattern can also be varied. The literature suggests that the most experienced harpists are able to accentuate certain rhythms and notes, bringing seemingly "new" patterns into the song. Sometimes a harpist will use this technique to foreground the next vocal phrase. Kubik describes a recording he has of Evaristo Muyindo playing *ennanga*:

> Long before the respective text phrase is sung in the tape recording, this inherent rhythm seems to 'speak' the following words: 'Batulwanako ab'edda!' Evaristo Muyinda very often introduces a new text phrase by playing at first the corresponding inherent rhythm into the foreground through accentuation. It can be noticed in the recording that the notes representing this text phrase are accentuated at first in the harp part until the melody is firmly established as a *gestalt*. Then it appears in the voice part. (Kubik 1969, 23)

Peter Cooke has suggested that this effect was created by a "subtle substitution of pitches, which, for the Baganda themselves, may suggest a change of text" (1996, 445). I have in fact witnessed an *ennanga* player substitute one pitch for another in a given pattern, or even substitute one *okwawula* part for another, to change the resultant and emergent patterns in a song. This skill is particularly important insofar as it allows for variation in an otherwise highly repetitive pattern.

Tonal Structure

There has been little written (and indeed little to write about) in Kiganda music scholarship with regards to harmony and tonality. Wachsmann has suggested in an early work that instead of a harmonic structure of tonic and dominant, melodies were made up

of "frame notes" that were surrounded and filled in with "satellite" notes (Wachsmann 1939, 157). The only time, however, when two strings are simultaneously sounded is when octaves are played. Wachsmann took the view that the *ennanga*'s pentatonic tuning may have arisen because of a lack of concern for harmony (1950, 41), or in order to prevent its occurrence. The precision with which the *ennanga* was tuned in Wachsmann's accounts demonstrates the importance of the available intervals (1956, 3), the intervallic relationships, and perhaps the preference of the interval of a "Kiganda fourth" (1950, 41). Other musicologists have pointed to the importance of the "less-than-perfect" "fourths" and "fifths" also known as "Kiganda fourths" and "Kiganda fifths"[5] (P. Cooke 1970; Kubik 1969). Peter Cooke, after some song analysis, found that there were a few intervallic relationships that were frequently played: the "fourths" and inverted "fifths" between the scale degrees 2 and 5, 1 and 3, and 4 and 2 (Cooke 1996, 445).

Rhythm, Meter and Form

Music of the *ennanga* is characterized by a fast tempo and high rhythmic density. The interlocking pattern created by the *okunaga* and *okwawula* parts produces a tone cycle of anywhere from eighteen to seventy-two notes (Anderson 1968, 142). The interlocking pattern is a continuous cycle with no breaks or rests, played as many times as the *omulanga* sees fit. The cycle is organized around the sounding of the *empuunyi* (the bass drum), and is referred to as a clap beat. Clap beats occur every six units (a unit being the length of a syllabic unit or mora), and depending on the song, a cycle can include four, six, eight, nine or twelve clap beats. Also important are Kubik's inherent rhythms (again, discussed later in this chapter), but it should be noted that these inherent patterns also exist within the *ennanga* instrumental music. It is possible that the *omulanga* has

more control over the listener's perception of these rhythms than is possible by the two players on the *amadinda* because he is in control of both of the interlocking patterns and the accentuation or pitch changes within each. Song melody is organized into rhythmic phrases according to sentence structure and syllabic units. Although the singer is a soloist, many of the texts are responsorial in style, using a common phrase or a song identifier as a song chorus or responsorial unit (P. Cooke 1996, 444).

Song Texts

The song texts in royal Baganda music carry historical significance. It is widely recognized that musicians sang about current events (e.g., wars and political events, characteristics of the *kabaka*, occurrences within the *lubiri*), and musicologists and historians have realized that they can use the details in the text about *kabakas*, events and musicians to date or approximate historical happenings. Because song texts can always be associated with the reign of a king, Baganda historians Kaggwa and Nsimbi have been able to date compositions and by doing so measure the temporal existence of collective oral history (Kubik 2004, 8). Besides historical events, information about the musicians and their service can be found in the song texts; Kyagambiddwa placed Kiganda songs into three categories: common, professional, and bilateral. The professional songs are those that are discussed in this work. Kyagambiddwa argued that these songs, performed by professional musicians were important because "through them one grasps the maximum power of Ganda music" (1955, 77).

Ebisoko

Perhaps because so much of the Kiganda instrumental aesthetic involves repetition, improvisation and variation of vocal texts play an important part in *ennanga*

music. In a process called *okuyungamu*, the harpist can add a reference to a current event or issue in an existing song text that may be related to the song's main theme (Wachsmann 1964b, 184). This addition is called *ekisoko* (sing.). The allusions he sings may be "topical, personal, or ephemeral" (Wachsmann 1964b, 184).

> Professional singers acquire great skill at reworking old themes so as to make them relevant to issues of the day. A singer's skill is measured not by how well he can recall age-old texts in their pristine state but by how successfully, when singing one of the old songs, he makes use of poetic devices such as parallelism, satire, deviation and allusions to convey powerful political and moral messages that are relevant to the moment. (P. Cooke 1996, 443)

While improvisation is widespread and very important, there are of course certain conventions and structures that must be maintained in the *ennanga* performance practice (Wachsmann 1954, 42). These relate mainly to the melody, which is rhythmically structured around the syllables in the language and also affected by the tonal nature of Luganda (Cooke 1996, 444). Still, the *omulanga* must vary the song text to avoid excessive repetition and display his ability. Baganda songs are made up of lines or groups of lines that include solo and chorus phrases of different lengths. The songs are identified by their repeated key texts, a choral response, and solo phrases that follow the melodic contour of this phrases (Cooke 1970, 66-67). In order to create variation an *omulanga* will use the poetic devices listed above while maintaining the rhythmic and melodic structure established by the key texts and choral response (Cooke 1970, 67). Wachsmann later detailed the importance of the *ekisoko*, arguing that this type of variation added authenticity to not only the specific performance, but the whole *ennanga* performance tradition (Wachsmann 1964b, 185).

The Amadinda

The performance style and musical structure of the *ennanga* repertoire and those of the *amadinda, entenga*, *akadinda* and *abadongo* bear a close resemblance. Although there is no comprehensive treatise written on the *ennanga*, there is a relatively large body of literature concerning the *amadinda*. It is therefore useful to engage with the *amadinda* repertoire and literature to determine what analyses can be related to the *ennanga*.

The amadinda is one of the two Kiganda xylophones once found in the lubiri—the other is called the akadinda. The amadinda is the smaller of the two, made up of twelve keys, while the akadinda is made up of twenty-two keys. The keys of the Kiganda xylophones are most often made from the wood of the lusambya tree, and each occasion that the instrument is played, the base of the xylophone is constructed from two banana tree stalks. The keys are kept in their place on these stalks by either boring holes through the keys and attaching them to the stalks with sticks or threading cord through wire hooks attached to the sides of the keys, which are then fastened to the stalks with sticks. The xylophones are tuned to the same scale as the *ennanga*: an equidistant pentatonic scale, although the intervals are not always exactly equidistant. Because of the variation possible in tuning, the music is usually notated using a cipher system.

The *amadinda* is played in a manner very similar to the *ennanga*: the musician, called the *omunazi*, begins by playing the *okunaga* part (the same as the right hand on the *ennanga*). The *omwawuzi* sits across from him on the other side of the xylophone and plays an interlocking pattern called the *owawula* (the same as the left hand on the *ennanga*). Unlike the *ennanga*, there is a third part on the *amadinda*, the *omukonezi*. A third musician plays the *okukoonera* pattern,[6] which is an octave doubling of the pattern created on the lowest two keys of the instrument. This pattern can be heard within an

ennanga piece as well, but as yet has only been treated within the literature about *amadinda*. The origin of the *okukoonera* part has been a source of mystery. Kubik has suggested that much like the inherent patterns he studied, it is possibly an emergent pattern (Kubik 1969) that loomed out from the overall melody. Peter Cooke suggested that it may be added simply for timbre, a "highly stylized version" of an incantation style also found in *ndere* (reed flute) performance (P. Cooke 1970, 79). Each of the three *amadinda* players is assigned certain keys on the xylophone and his pattern does not stray from these (Kubik 1969, 28).

Figure 6: Albert Ssempeke Jr. Constructing an *amadinda*.

Tonality

Kubik, writing about the *amadinda*, argues that there is a tonal center to every Kiganda scale (1960, 8). The largest interval available is approximately 960 cents, comparable to a minor seventh in Western tuning that has been lowered by 40 cents; the

smallest interval is approximately 240 cents, comparable to a major second raised by 40 cents (Kubik 1969, 27). In short, the fifth is about halfway between a major sixth and a minor seventh, and the second is about halfway between a major second and a minor third in an equal-tempered tuning system. According to Kubik, the most frequently played melodic intervals were the third, approximately 480 cents (or 20 cents smaller than a perfect fourth), and the fourth, approximately 720 cents (or 20 cents higher than a perfect fifth) (Kubik 1960, 1969). The only time notes are sounded simultaneously is when the octave, or *myanjo*, is played. Kubik also stated that most *okunaga* and *okwawula* parts ended on the first or second scale degrees (1960, 12), and the same note was never sounded more than two times in the complete tone cycle (Kubik 1969, 31).

Song Cycle

The *amadinda* literature adds a few insights into the structure of Kiganda music that are not found in the literature about the *ennanga*. The *okunaga* pattern is generally a cycle made up of 9, 12, 18, 21, 24, 25, 27, 30, or 36 notes, while the *okwawula* part has an equal number of notes (Anderson 1968, 142). The number of notes in the *okukoonera* pattern is entirely dependent on the notes found in the *okunaga* and *owawula* patterns.

Miko

As is true for all Kiganda music, there are five transpositions (*miko*),[7] and each tune can be transposed to any one of them. When a song is transposed to another *muko* (sing.), the players shift positions on the keys, but they cannot play outside of their compass (Kubik 1969, 28). For example, when a song is shifted from the first *muko* to the second, the fifth scale degree in the first *muko* is displaced to the first scale degree in the second *muko*, changing the overall shape of the part. Figure 7 is a drawing provided by

Gerhard Kubik meant to illustrate the area each musician (*omunazi*, *omwawuzi*, and *omukonezi*) is allowed on the instrument.

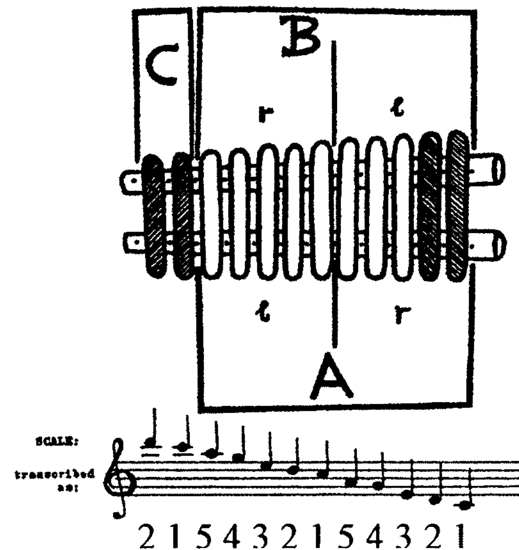

Figure 7: Kubik's (1964, 142) illustration of the *amadinda* playing positions.

In the diagram, the letter A represents the area for the *omunazi*, B represents the area for the *omwawuzi* and C for the *omukonezi*. The lower case "r" and "l" refer to the domain of the right and left hands of the *omunazi* and *omwawuzi*. Below the diagram is Kubik's notation of the note values for the keys on the *amadinda*. Below the diagram is his transcription of the *amadinda* keys. In order to better illustrate certain aspects of the music, Kubik (1964, 1969) notated *amadinda* music on the Western staff. For convenience, he somewhat arbitrarily assigned the tonal center to a C, although he writes that it is closer to an F# (1960,8).

Composition

Most scholars agree that most music of the *lubiri* was first composed on the *ennanga* (Cooke 1996; Kyagambiddwa 1955; Kubik 2004). Kyagambiddwa's notion of

the composition process was described in an earlier section, but Peter Cooke also provided a theory about the compositional process in the context of *amadinda* music. He learned from the Baganda that first the song texts were invented, followed by the instrumental version. Later, purely instrumental versions were arranged for a variety of instruments, and sometimes larger ensembles, to accommodate different occasions that might require more volume, dance accompaniment, or greater participation (P. Cooke 1970, 68).

Both Peter Cooke (1970) and Kyagambiddwa (1955) agree that the first step in the composition process was the creation of the text. Cooke points to the close relationship between the melody and the text to support this theory. In his observations, the most important notes in a melody correspond to the important morae in the text (P. Cooke 1970, 63), creating a nuclear theme that reflects the tonal structure of the song text. Ancillary notes added to the nuclear theme carry the function of clarifying and punctuating text patterns and emphasizing the melody. The addition of these notes often create an interval of a third or a fourth in relationship to the nuclear theme (P. Cooke 1970, 80).

Cooke recognized an underlying clap-pulse that organizes Kiganda song and instrumental pieces. The most common group of songs[8] contain a clap-pulse every six syllabic units (1970, 64); he described long syllables as having exactly twice the duration of short syllables. When two syllables might be stretched over the space occupied by three, a hemiola effect is created (1970, 65). Additionally, the pulse and tempo were more or less in line with normal speech patterns, that is, arrived at naturally according to a normative verbalization of the song text (1970, 66).

Inherent Rhythms

Perhaps the most well-known study on Kiganda music is Kubik's work on inherent rhythms in Kiganda xylophone music (1962). Kubik discovered inherent rhythms while learning to play the *amadinda* (a testament to the usefulness of Hood's bi-musical approach to research). He first listened to how his part interlocked with his teacher's part, and thought he understood the resultant pattern from the interlocking tone rows. Yet, when he returned to listen to a recording of his playing, he was not able to recognize the very pattern he had been playing. Instead, he heard other patterns emerging that neither he nor his teacher had played. Later Kubik found that this was a characteristic of certain East and Central African musical traditions, not just Kiganda xylophone music (1962, 33–34). He defined inherent rhythms as "patterns which automatically emerge from the total musical complex, delighting the ears of both listeners and players but which are not being played as such" (1962, 33).

Kubik wrote that the conditions that make it possible for the listener to perceive an inherent rhythm include: (1) large intervals in the resultant pattern; (2) a smooth, unaccented pattern; and (3) a rapid tempo. Kubik argued that African inherent patterns, unlike those found in European music, are rhythmically additive (Kubik 1962, 36). Kubik deduced that when conditions align, the listener (understood by Kubik as someone with some musical aptitude and an understanding of Kiganda music) reorganizes the auditory image, and these new melo-rhythmic patterns emerge. The performer, on the other hand, is unlikely to hear the phenomenon because he is more aware of his motor image rather than the overall acoustic image or gestalt formed by the piece (Kubik 1962, 40).

Kubik stressed the importance of these patterns, arguing that the composers deliberately embedded these "images" into the tune since the inherent patterns correspond to the melodic setting of the song texts. Cooke later demonstrated that the composition process was centered around supporting the song texts and that inherent rhythms are an incidental byproduct (1970, 70). Kubik further argued that the inherent rhythms of a tune in one *muko* are very similar to the *okukoonera* part of the same tune in another *muko* (Kubik 1960, 15), though Anderson and Cooke had different ideas about the *okukoonera*. Kubik believed it was an emergent pattern, Anderson wrote that it was a learned part (1968), and Cooke was unsure of its significance (1970).

In 1993, Ulrich Wegner published a study that examined Kubik's work on inherent rhythms from the frame of cognitive psychology. This kind of auditory phenomenon had been documented and laboratory-tested (Bregman and Campbell 1971). In his work, Wegner agreed that the ear can reorganize pitches in a manner consistent with Kubik's analysis; arguing that repeating the same cycle, while performing the notes equally spaced in time at the same tempo and without accents, causes the perception of these emergent patterns. These conditions tend to create too much information for the listener to process according to Wegner (1993, 205), and so pitches in similar ranges are grouped together to form different "streams" (Bregman and Campbell 1971, 380) or patterns. Wegner also agreed with Kubik's statement that the motor image created by a performer has real significance to how he locates himself within the tune (Wegner 1993, 229), making it difficult for the performer to perceive emergent streams.

Wegner concluded that "inherent rhythms" are indeed a perceptible occurrence, although not all of Kubik's stylistic prerequisites are necessary for the phenomenon to

arise. Wegner held that there was no cultural context or musical aptitude necessary to perceive the inherent rhythms. Wegner also went on to test some of Kubik's other conclusions, namely (1) that inherent rhythms play a prominent role for Baganda musicians and (2) that the inherent rhythms found in a tune include the nuclear themes that relate to the song text. He questioned Kubik's idea that song texts are related to the *okunaga* pattern and at the same time are replicated in inherent patterns, arguing that vocal melody lines are often not restricted to as narrow a range as the inherent rhythms (1993, 228), and that the process Kubik described was contradictory.

> How is it possible that the Muganda percipient extracts a melody from the interlocking structure of a composition, and during the same musical event perceives inherent patterns that mirror *parts* of just the same melody musically and textually on different levels of organization? The melody progression may be restricted temporarily to a stream-like tone range so that the emerging inherent patterns reflect a section of the melody for the time being. However, this would give the pattern formation a somewhat incidental character and contradict the idea that such patterns are perceptual products in their own right. (1993, 218)

Wegner's argument is twofold. First, he wrote that the melody cannot be found entirely within an inherent pattern—a combination of both the *okunaga* and the *okwawula*—and also found solely in the *okunaga* pattern. It can only be one or the other. Second, if the vocal melody is in fact in the *okunaga* pattern, it is only *part* of the inherent rhythm, and would be perceived through a different process. If the textual melody line is the most important aspect of the auditory image, than the inherent rhythms are of secondary importance.

After conducting auditory experiments with Baganda musicians and dancers (something that Kubik's work had not included), Wegner found that the Baganda did not pick out the inherent rhythms, but rather the first line of the melody of the song, presenting the possibility that inherent rhythms do not carry the significance formerly

documented by Kubik (Wegner 1993, 220–21). Wegner admits flaws in the experiment, namely that asking musicians to sing the melodies they perceived could have simply prompted them to sing the vocal melody associated with the song. In his "Reply to Ulrich Wegner" (1994), Cooke pointed out that the inherent rhythms that Wegner used in his study were associated with the most common key texts of the song and, "With such a degree of overlap it is not surprising that Wegner's informants spoke only about the text melody and seemed unconcerned with our notions of inherent patterns" (1994, 477). However, Wegner's study still supports the theory that the perception of inherent rhythms does not require a particular cultural aptitude, and this was reiterated by Cooke (1994) who wrote that while inherent rhythms are certainly real, he was uncertain of their importance to the Baganda (475-476).

Peter Cooke also held the view that while inherent rhythms emerge in Kiganda music, they do not carry the importance Kubik assigned to them. Inherent rhythms—as well as the bipartite nature of individual parts and additive quality of the patterns—may be coincidental, or at most an enjoyed side effect of the overall composition process (1970, 78). Their emergence can be effected by many factors including the construction of the instrument (1970, 77). Cooke argued that while inherent rhythms may relate to song texts "vaguely" (1970, 78), the relationship between a song's nuclear melody and the text (1970, 62) was far more important. Cooke also criticised Kubik's idea that the *okunaga* contains most of the melody notes. It may only be perceived as such because "its notes coincide with the first morae of long syllables" on the main pulse of the melody (1970, 79).

This material on the *amadinda* provides us with many parallel entry points for examining *ennanga* music. Information about the inherent rhythms of the *amadinda* repertoire is useful because perception theory points to the possibility of the same inherent rhythms presenting themselves within the *ennanga* music. Many of the songs Kubik and Wegner used in their works as examples (i.e., "Ssematimba ne Kikwabanga," "Gganga alula," "Omusango gw'abalere," "Olutalo olw'e Nsisi") are still performed, allowing for a comparative methodology to be applied to current practice on the *ennanga*. There are also playing techniques used in *amadinda* music that may present interesting parallels in the same *ennanga* repertoire. For example, Kubik suggested that inherent rhythms could be affected or manipulated by the playing style or the timbre of the *amadinda* (Kubik 1960, 13). Because the *ennanga* is performed by one player rather than three, the *omulanga* has more control over pattern manipulation and may create changes in inherent rhythms, in different ways than *amadinda* players. It will be interesting to study performance techniques on the *ennanga* and how they might affect the presence of inherent rhythms keeping in mind the importance of song texts in the instrumental versions of Kiganda music.

Literature and Resources About the *Ennanga*

Though many scholars and explorers have mentioned the instrument in passing, literature specifically addressing the *ennanga* is scarce. The first print account of the *ennanga* seems to have appeared in John Hanning Speke's *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (Speke and Grant 1864), based on his 1862 trip to Uganda. Speke visited the royal enclosure, and in his account he wrote about his experiences, including witnessing a performance of the *ennanga*. There were a few other nineteenth- and

twentieth-century accounts—Pickering Ashe (1894), Roscoe (1911) and Kaggwa (1901)—that briefly mentioned the *ennanga* and the music of the *lubiri*. However, by the early twentieth century Roscoe and Kaggwa wrote about the already-waning popularity of the *ennanga*, noting the few *ennanga* players left in Buganda.

Musicologists

Beginning with Klaus Wachsmann, musicologists began recording music inside the *lubiri* and writing about the instruments they found. Those who have published the most information in the twentieth century about the music and instruments inside the Kiganda court include Klaus Wachsmann, Joseph Kyagambiddwa, Hugh Tracey, Gerhard Kubik, Peter Cooke, and Lois Anderson.

In 1948, Klaus Wachsmann became the curator of the Uganda Museum, and in an attempt to expose more people to Kiganda court music, he employed court musicians to play near the instrument displays as a kind of living exhibit. Noting the lack of sound recordings in Africa before 1900 (Wachsmann 1950a, 1964a), Wachsmann undertook a major recording project from 1948 to 1950, and again in 1954, in order to create an archive of music from all over Uganda. He used these recordings and the then-new technology of a chromatic stroboscope to carry out a technical analysis of the Kiganda scale and tuning systems. Wachsmann conducted what is still some of the most extensive research on the *ennanga*, as well as all the harps of Uganda, with a special focus on construction and tuning. Wachsmann was also interested in understanding the historical and geographical context of Kiganda music and seemed particularly concerned with how to examine data without any historical depth of the tradition one studies (Wachsmann

1964b). Wachsmann's most important contributions include his archival recordings and his organological work on the instruments of Uganda.

While working at the Uganda Museum, Wachsmann met Joseph Kyagambiddwa, a Muganda composer and musicologist, and encouraged him in his study of Kiganda music. In 1955, Kyagambiddwa published a comprehensive treatise on Kiganda traditional music titled *African Music from the Source of the Nile*, which included transcriptions and historical descriptions of over one hundred *amadinda* and *ennanga* pieces. Kyagambiddwa included ethnographic information about the instruments inside the *lubiri*, melody and song texts, and the *miko* system. While the bias, accuracy, and clarity of some of the material has been disputed, the value of the emic information and transcriptions cannot be denied (Jones 1957; McAllester 1957; Rycroft 1957).

Hugh Tracey was the next field researcher to encounter the *ennanga*. He traveled throughout Uganda as a part of his monumental recording project begun in 1929 and made recordings in the *kabaka*'s *lubiri* in 1950 and 1952. This portion of the research was funded by Eric Gallo, who also published the Tracey recordings on 78 rpm shellac discs. The project became a part of what is now the *Sound of Africa* series, an undertaking of the non-profit organization which Hugh Tracey founded called the International Library of African Music (ILAM).

In 1959, Gerhard Kubik began work in Buganda, focusing on the *amadinda* (twelve-keyed xylophone) and the *akadinda* (twenty-two keyed xylophone). His main interest was with the subjective or "inherent" rhythms that presented themselves in the performance of Kiganda xylophone pieces. He discussed the *ennanga* in one of his articles on these inherent rhythms, where he discussed the close relationship between

amadinda and *ennanga* playing styles and the inherent rhythms that arose in *ennanga* performances. Kubik published fifty *amadinda* transcriptions in his 1969 article "Composition techniques in Kiganda xylophone music."

Lois Ann Anderson was the next prominent Western ethnomusicologist in Buganda, this time working directly in the *lubiri*. A student of Klaus Wachsmann (by that time teaching at UCLA), Anderson worked inside the *lubiri* between March of 1964 and November of 1966. While there she studied under the court musician Evaristo Muyinda and with the king's *amadinda* and *entenga* groups. She published her dissertation (1968) on the modal system found in Kiganda court music, which included additional *amadinda* transcriptions.

Peter Cooke lived and taught in Uganda from 1964-1968, returning after 1987 for subsequent research visits. His work focused first on the *ndere* (reed flute), followed by the *ennanga* and *amadinda*. Peter Cooke's publications (1970, 1988, 1994, 1996, 2007, 2011; Cooke and Katamba1987) discussed Kiganda court music both before and after the *kabaka*'s 1966 exile, and he and son Andrew performed the first thorough historical and musical analyses on two of the most well-known *ennanga* pieces: "Gganga alula" (A. Cooke and Micklem 1999) and "Ssematimba ne Kikwabanga" (Cooke and Katamba 1987).

Sound Archives and Transcriptions

While there is not a large body of theoretical or analytical work on the *ennanga*, there are a number of field recordings of *abalanga* performing within the past sixty years. Wachsmann's recording project was undertaken between 1949 and 1952 while he was living in Uganda and working at the Uganda Museum. The *omulanga* he worked with

were Temutewo Mukasa, Semu Male and Kasule. His recordings are housed in the British Sound Archive and the UCLA Ethnomusicology Archive. The songs that he catalogued include: "Owekiremba omwagala naye akikinodde," "Olutalo ol'we Nsinsi," "Nandikuwadde," "Nanjobe, Kayaka kayongo," "Kawumpuli," "Akaawologma," "Gganga alula," "Enyanna," "Ebigambo ebiwuulire ebitte ennyumba" and "Akuba mundu."

Wachsmann did not transcribe any of his recordings, with the exception of one example in his first article about African music, "An Approach to African Music" (1938). Here he wrote about a song called "Kayanga," played by the *omulanga* Samwiri. Wachsmann copied the text and the notes, which he transcribed by recording what he refers to as "frame notes," frequently used notes that structure a piece much like the tonic and dominant in European music, and "satellite notes," notes that seem to be "caught in their orbit" (Wachsmann 1939, 157). However, this transcription does not include an explicitly notated melody or rhythm. In another work, Wachsmann (1950) recorded the pitch frequency values on the *ennanga* that he had measured with a chromatic stroboscope.

Hugh Tracey recorded inside the *lubiri* in 1950 and 1952. The *abalanga* that he worked with were Temutewo Mukasa and Evaristo Muyinda. The *ennanga* pieces he recorded included "Osenga omwami tagayala," "Gganga alula," "Okwagala omulungi," "Kwesengereza," "Omusango gw'abulere," "Ekyuma," "Omusango gwenyama tegugwa," "Webale kujja," "Kitumbu" and "Sewaswa kazalabalongo." Tracey did not transcribe any *ennanga* or *amadinda* pieces. His sound archives are housed in ILAM, and

the recordings of the *lubiri* have been published by ILAM, under the title *Royal Court Music of Uganda* (first on LP in 1973, then on CD in 1998).

Joseph Kyagambiddwa produced copious transcriptions of the music he compiled inside the *lubiri*, including one hundred vocal tunes, and sixty-two transcriptions of *amadinda* pieces with their parallel *ennanga* examples. These appear in his book *African Music from the Source of the Nile* (1955).

Peter Cooke worked with the *omulanga* Albert Ssempeke (1988) and Evaristo Muyinda (1992). He archived the following *ennanga* pieces performed by Ssempeke, which are housed in the British Sound Archive: "Abakebezi bali e Kitende," "Agenda n'omulungi azaawa," "Akawologoma," "Akayinja kamennya/atalifa alibaani," "Alikuwadde enyanja," "Anamwanganga," "Asenga omwami tagayala," "Balagana enkonge," "Ebyasi bya boona olugudo," "Mubandusa," "Ensiriba ya munnange," "Gganga aluwa (or alula)," "Kansimbe omuggo awaali kibuka/Gganga," "Nanjobe," "Nkwagala nkulaba ng'amaanyi" and "Ssematimba ne Kikwabanga." Cooke also co-authored a detailed song analysis of the piece "Ssematimba ne Kikwabanga" (Katamba and Cooke 1987) that included musical and text transcriptions.

Gerhard Kubik and Lois Anderson's field recordings from Buganda have not yet been made available online. Both scholars have published extensive transcriptions of *amadinda* and *akadinda* music, many of which will be useful to compare to *ennanga* recordings and transcriptions.

Abalanga

The decline in popularity of the *ennanga*, combined with the fall of the *lubiri* in 1966, has left few competent *abalanga*, so those remaining have left an impression on

Ugandan musicology. What follows is not a comprehensive record of those that have held the position of *omulanga* over the last one hundred years, but the *abalanga* that I have included here have ostensibly driven the study of the *ennanga* and Kiganda music.

Temutewo Mukasa was one of the first *omulanga* to work with Western musicologists. Kubik describes him as "the last of the true *abalanga* [*omulanga*]" (2004, 14). He studied under Jemusi Mayanja, whom Wachsmann characterized as "the greatest harpist of them all" (1950a, 40). Mukasa specialized on the *ennanga* his whole life, and worked with Wachsmann, Tracey, and Kubik.

Evaristo Muyinda was a research assistant to Wachsmann and taught both Kyagambiddwa and Kubik. He was not only an *omulanga*, but a valued exponent of all traditional Kiganda music. Muyinda began as a xylophone player and was appointed to play in the *lubiri* in 1939, but when he joined the musicians at the Uganda Museum (under Klaus Wachsmann) in 1948 he eventually learned repertoire on the *ennanga*, *endongo*, *endingidi*, and *ndere*. He was a xylophone teacher who formed a multi-ethnic, multi-instrument Ugandan ensemble and also developed the basis for *akadinda* and *amadinda* cipher notation (a notation that assigns a number to each note of the xylophone mode). Finally, Muyinda helped to form what is now known as the "Kiganda orchestra," an important ensemble made up soley of Kiganda instruments but played thoroughout the country that is also included in the group *The Heartbeat of Africa*, the first Ugandan national music ensemble (Wegner 2009).

Ssempeke Sr. began to study the *ndere* as a child with his brother Sserwanga Ludovic. He later learned the *endongo* and the *ennanga*, studying the latter with Muyinda. In 1942 he began his service to Kabaka Muteesa II and in 1943 was appointed

to the royal flute ensemble (Kafumbe 2006, 78). He became a promoter of Kiganda music, working outside Uganda to raise interest for this music, and he schooled many Westerners in Ugandan traditional music (P. Cooke 2007). Ssempeke Sr. worked with Kubik and Peter and Andrew Cooke.

Ssempeke Sr.'s son, Albert Bisaso Ssempeke, has succeeded his father as one of the few remaining *omulanga*. He studied with his father and is skilled on the *ennanga* as well as the *ndere, endongo, endingidi*, *ngoma,* and *akadinda*. He is currently employed at the Uganda Museum and continues to collaborate with musicologists. He tours internationally both alone and with his family's ensemble.

NOTES

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1 Baganda refers to the culture group, sometimes dubbed Ganda by earlier scholars. The region in the south of Uganda that they occupy is called Buganda, and the language they speak is Luganda. The word Kiganda is an adjective that denotes part of the Baganda culture (i.e., Kiganda music).
2 "ABC" stands for "Abstain, Be Faithful, Use Condoms."
3 Because there has been little standardization of Luganda spelling, the name for the king's harpist has a few different spellings. He may be referred to in quotations as the *omulanga,* or the *omulanga*. In my own writing I will use the term *omulanga*.
4 Luganda is a tonal language.
5 Kubik and P. Cooke referred to the intervals in the Kiganda pentatonic scale according to their proximity to intervals in the equal-tempered Western tuning system.
6 Also called the *entengezzi*.
7 The translation of *miko* to "mode" is problematic, an issue I will address later in this chapter.
8 P. Cooke calls these songs *Baakisimba* dance-songs because they are used in the *Baakisimba* dance style.

CHAPTER 2: The *Abalanga*

Introduction: The Fall

Beginning with Uganda's independence in 1962, the Kingdom of Buganda remained semi-autonomous within the new nation, and Muteesa II was the *kabaka* who held the non-executive presidency. The Baganda government headquarters were located in Mengo District, Kampala. In 1966 Milton Obote, the prime minister of Uganda, removed Muteesa II from his post as president by suspending the constitution and declaring himself president. With Obote's suspension of the constitution, Buganda ended its incorporation within Uganda, declaring that Obote's government was to vacate the capital. Obote responded by sending troops to storm the *lubiri*, ultimately forcing the king to flee into exile.

Ernesto Sempebwa, the private secretary to Kabaka Muteesa II from 1942 to 1945 remembered the night Obote attacked the king's enclosure:

> I was not in the lubiri then; I was in the central government. [...] I was deputy chief education officer. And I lived [...] just behind Fairway Hotel [...]. And that was where I sat on the verandah as the Obote soldiers started burning the *lubiri*. They attacked at night. I was asleep, but [...] we walked and listened to the firing and all that. We didn't go anywhere near the palace enclosure. We just stayed in Kampala. We just stayed put and kept our peace. We were not going to do anything. We couldn't defend the *kabaka*; *kabaka* had his guard and his rifles. And he started off by defending himself and the first batch of soldiers which attacked were all finished up. Finished! Destroyed by the *kabaka's* group. And his special rifle—he had a special cannon or a special rifle—he used it adequately. And many of the people who attacked [...] they were all destroyed until many more were sent. This is what I learned later on—many more were sent to attack and so on. And they became too many for the *kabaka*'s group to handle. So as they were wondering what to do [...] it started raining. A big shower came down and all the soldiers who were attacking ran away from their job. At that point *kabaka* [...] jumped over the wall [...][to] the outside [of the] palace enclosure and also escaped. [He] ran away through Rubaga and so on.[1]

When asked if he knew what happened to the *kabaka's* musicians during the attack, Sempebwa replied,

> Some of them were killed! Any Muganda who was found near the *lubiri* was killed and the bodies were loaded on lories and took away. I don't know where. But they threw [away] the bodies of many Baganda. Thousands were killed. Yes. So, I'm sorry because the musicians were there. They didn't expect this attack—they were playing for their king. But they were attacked; they had no ammunition. All they had were their instruments and they were killed. [...] Others managed to run away through the other gate."[2]

With the *kabaka* gone, Milton Obote turned the *lubiri* into army barracks. As Sempebwa mentioned, the musicians who were not killed were forced to flee, left with no source of income and, in many cases, no instruments. In 1967 Obote abolished all of Uganda's traditional kingdoms, ensuring that the Buganda, the most politically influential of these kingdoms, would be rendered powerless. The court musicians were forbidden to play with the king in exile. It was not until 1993 that Ronald Mutebi, Muteesa II's son, was finally crowned *kabaka* and the Buganda monarchy was restored (Mutibwa 2008, 230).

Even before the the period of political turmoil many musicians made a living as teachers; among these well-known (or often written-about) court musicians-turned-teachers were: Evaristo Muyinda, Ssempeke Sr., Ssebuwufu, and Bulasio Busuulwa. Before the *kabaka*'s exile, Ssempeke Sr. and Evaristo Muyinda taught and demonstrated the instruments at the Uganda Museum. Ssebuwufu, who played the *akadinda* xylophone in the *lubiri* before the king's exile, is still employed at Kyambogo University outside of Kampala—he was first hired by Peter Cooke—teaching court music and making instruments. The next generation of harpists also became involved in teaching: Albert Ssempeke Jr. teaches privately, in schools and works extensively with researchers. He

supplements his income with a recording studio, by performing locally with two groups and occasionally touring internationally. Ssenoga Ssalongo Majwala teaches Ugandan music at Kyambogo University and performs occasionally.

The repertoire of the *ennanga* has not been particularly well maintained because Kabaka Muteesa II has been unable to find funding to patronize the *ennanga*, which fell out of practice after the king went into exile. Before *Kabaka* Muteesa fled Uganda, musicians had already begun finding posts independent of the patronage system, and there were few *ennanga* players proficient on the instrument. For instance, Klaus Wachsmann had appointed Temutewo Mukasa, Evaristo Muyinda, and Ssempeke Sr. as musical demonstrators at the Uganda museum, and Peter Cooke arranged for three court musicians at the National Teachers College on Kyagambogo University Campus. After the *lubiri* was invaded, however, many of the king's musicians refused to play publically (although they tried to maintain much of the repertoire) until the *kabaka* returned. In the years that it took to restore the kingship many of the royal musicians had died (Cooke 1996, 450). Even after the return of Kabaka Mutebi, royal patronage was not restored and the musicians had already found other careers or sources of patronage for their musicianship. The *ennanga* was a special case because without the *kabaka* supporting the *abalanga*, musicians could no longer dedicate the necessary time to developing performance techniques or composing music on the instrument. Therefore, musicians invested their time in playing more lucrative instruments that were suitable for performace ensembles that might be hired for social occasions.

The *ennanga* is not traditionally played for a large crowd or in an ensemble because it cannot be heard among above other instruments. Instead, the *endongo* lyre

leads the Kiganda ensemble and is able to cut through the roar of the drums because of the percussive sound of its strings hitting the monitor-skin soundboard. Moreover, the songs of the *ennanga*, for the most part, are not appropriate for large gatherings[3] and are not used to accompany traditional dances that are an indispensible part of ensemble programs. *Ennanga* songs do not have the same social capital at weddings and other social gatherings as they did for the king—wedding music (*embaga*) is often didactic, performed with lyrics that teach the new couple about their roles as husband and wife, whereas much of the music played on the *ennanga* was meant to advise or counsel the king, becaming a decontextualized genre given the banishment of traditional kingdoms.

The *ennanga* is not a favourite among Kiganda instruments because it requires a large of the amount of time and focus to develop the skill to play it proficiently. In addition to the daunting time required to learn the *ennanga*, Majwala and Ssempeke Jr. (both teachers of the *ennanga*) indicated that students of all ages are often frustrated by the kind of concentration and focus required to become competent on the instrument. In the university setting students find the instrument too time consuming, and it is therefore not taught either at Kyambogo or at Makerere, the two large universities in Kampala that have well-respected music programmes. Within primary and secondary schools, music programmes are more concerned with creating large instrumental ensembles and dance troupes that can compete in the national contest circuit, rather than with teaching a solo instrument.

In spite of the *ennanga*'s inability to compete with the popularity of other Kiganda court instruments, a small group of *ennanga* performers and teachers has not been deterred from learning, performing and advocating for the instrument. Using the

limited resources available to them, including ethnographies, recordings and transcriptions, these men have found ways to continue playing the *ennanga* into 2011 and hope to eventually rekindle Baganda interest in the harp.

In this chapter, I will explore a history of the transmission of *ennanga* music and playing technique by focusing on two crucial events in the transmission of repertoire: the exile of the king in 1966 and the first published recordings of the virtuoso *omulanga*, Temutewo Mukasa. I will illustrate the impact of these two factors on the tradition of the *ennanga* by examining how *abalanga* have learned, performed and taught the instrument within the scope of the remembered history that I have been able to access.

Abalanga

Since the focus of Kiganda music has been steered away from specialization, each *omulanga* has had to expand his playing and teaching styles to include numerous Kiganda instruments in order to maximize his earning potential in the local music market. This paradigm shift has influenced the way the *ennanga* (and other court instruments) is played, performed, taught, and perceived throughout Buganda. The following history of the most prominent *abalanga* is meant to provide an understanding of the factors that have affected performance practices and the repertoire of the *ennanga* since before the fall of the *lubiri*.

Before the Fall

Gganga and *Kiwugu*

The earliest harp player known by name in the oral history is Ganga, the legendary *omulanga* and subject of the song "Gganga alula." In the song, Gganga lost his "finger" for "stealing meat from the princess" in Muteesa I's court. The lyrics are a

metaphor for the castration of Gganga after making advances toward one of Muteesa's many princesses. Muteesa reigned in Buganda from 1856–1884, so Gganga would have served in the *lubiri* at some point during that time. Lois Anderson wrote that the harpist Kiwugu, another harpist in the lubiri at the time and probably the composer of the song, began playing *Gganga alula* around 1914 (Anderson 1984, 132). Other *abalanga* are portrayed or mentioned, though not by name, in John Hanning Speke's journals, also written during Muteesa I's reign. Speke did note in his journals that many Baganda harpists were blind. This was common in the *lubiri*: the proximity that the *abalanga* had to the king and his princesses, or wives, and the *kabaka*'s propensity for jealousy, meant that blind *abalanga* were preferred. An *omulanga* that did have the ability to see was often blinded to protect him from "the charms of his audience" and to make him a more devoted and vulnerable servant to the king (Wachsmann 1953, 398).

Mayanja, Samwiri, Nampagi and Male

The next known *abalanga* were four early to mid-twentieth-century harpists: Jemusi Mayanja, Samwiri, Semioni Sewakiryanga Nampagi, and Semu Male. These *abalanga* may or may not have actually been appointed to play in the king's enclosure, and there is not much biographical information available on any of them. Mayanja is, however, the best known of these four, and his reputation might lead one to the conclusion that he was a royal harpist. Kyagambiddwa (1955) was familiar with Mayanja, and made mention of him in a description about the song "Ssematimba ne Kikwabanga." He writes, "it was with this song that James Mayanja, the last greatest harpist [sic], made [the] greatest wonders on the harp. Mr Temuteo Mukasa, who was

once Mayanja's pupil, told me: 'The song of Sematimba died with Mayanja, just as Sematimba died with Kikwabanga. What remains of it is a mere skeleton'" (1955, 160).

Samwiri was also a pupil of Mayanja, though he is not well remembered and there remains little documented about him. The only mention of this harpist was in Wachsmann's 1938 article, "An Approach to African Music." There, Samwiri was named as the performer in an archived recording that Wachsmann was analyzing (a recording I have not been able to find). Even less information is available about Nampagi, who is only mentioned in notes that accompany recordings of his son (Semu Male) housed in the British Library Sound Archive. In the archival text, Wachsmann simply mentioned that Nampagi was also a harpist (Kasule 1950). Finally, Wachsmann recorded Semu Male at the Uganda Museum in 1950 and later made available in the British Library Sound Archive.

Only one living person seemed to be familiar with any of these harpists. Yacobo Bbaale, Temutewo Mukasa's nephew, was named as Mukasa's heir after he died in 1954. Yacobo was whisked away to learn the *ennanga* in the hope that he could carry on the tradition, and it was the harpist Semu Male who was assigned to teach him. He remembers being summoned to the *lubiri* after Mukasa's death:

> [...] People took me to Ssabasajja Kabaka Muteesa and found him in his royal enclosure—the old one in *lubiri* Mengo, the Twekobe [name of the palace]—[...] which was so big [...] it is no longer the same as it used be. [...] It used be including the *nkuluze* [treasurer] and accountant of the *nkuluze* [treasurer].

> [...] [They said] "Now, Ssabasajja, this is your servant and servant and heir to the late Temutewo Mukasa."
> He gave [me the] *ennanga* [and said] "Ohhh! Who are you Mr.?..."
> [I answered] "...Yacobo Wamu Mukasa."
> [He asked] "Do you have a good job?"
> [I said] "I am a driver."
> [He asked] "Did you learn through driving school?"
> [I answered] "Yes."
> Now Kasujja [man's name] had my sister and told them to take me to [...] the place of Mr. Male. He is also dead now. When we reached at Mr. Male, I was told that he was an *omulanga* and besides Temutewo he would be in the position to teach me *ennanga*. I was asked to find any day that was ok for me to come for classes. I told him that Saturday would be better for me, during this time it became very bad [busy].
> And it happened that when I returned home I found my child and [...] a full army.[4]

Yacobo was never able to learn the *ennanga* properly because of the coup. When asked about Male, Yacobo remembered that he did not live in Kampala, and said that he did not work in the *lubiri*. Male taught Yacobo a few songs, but unfortunately Yacobo, well into his eighties when I met him, was no longer able to play. Yacobo still keeps one of Mukasa's practice harps, in good condition, at his home in Ggavu District.

Mukasa

The next *omulanga*, and perhaps one of the most notable given the scope of this work, is Temutewo Mukasa. Mukasa and his successor, Kasule, were the last two harpists to rotate the post of the *kabaka*'s *omulanga* in the *lubiri*, which was during the reign of Kabaka Muteesa II (1939-1969). Mukasa was not only one of the most talented and virtuosic *abalanga*, but he has been the most influential for the current generation of *abalanga*. Approximately nine tracks of Mukasa playing the *ennanga*, recorded by Hugh Tracey in the 1950s, have been used by *abalanga* to learn how to properly cultivate performance techniques and recall song patterns and texts. Mukasa played inside and outside of the *lubiri*, crafted his own harps and composed his own songs. The picture

below is a photograph of a photograph of Mukasa shown to me by his nephew, Yacobo Bbaale, in the Ggavu District, Uganda.

As was the custom among the *abalanga,* Mukasa not only played in the *lubiri* but also travelled around the city of Kampala, performing and gathering information to compose topical songs for the *kabaka*. According to oral histories about Mukasa, he would bicycle from Kasangati, a northern suburb of Kampala, into the city and perform in the markets or at Makerere University for coins from passersby. He was usually found wearing a white *kanzu* (traditional robe) and carrying his harp in a white linen sack.[5] Ssenoga Majwala also mentioned that Mukasa was often seen putting his harp into an alternate tuning.[6] His style of playing in two different tunings is a convention only continued by one of the *abalanga* who have succeeded him: Ssenoga Majwala.

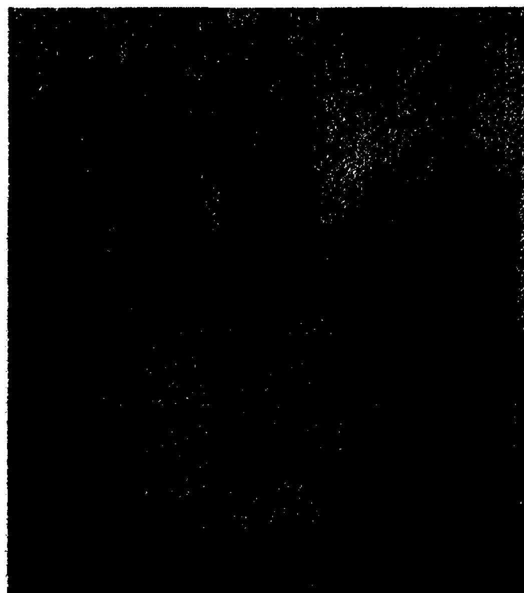

Figure 8: Temutewo Mukasa

Perhaps most notable about Mukasa was that he, as well as Kasule presumably, was the last of the harpists to dedicate himself solely to the *ennanga*. Since Mukasa did

not play any other court instrument, unlike the *abalanga* who followed him, he had much more time to perfect his style of playing and was able to include intricate playing techniques such as note substitution, *okukoonera* and the *amatengezi* (for a detailed description, see Chapter 3). Mukasa's dedication to the *ennanga* probably resulted in a vast repertoire of songs (including a few he himself may have composed[7]); however, those *ennanga* tunes that have remained in circulation are only those that have been recorded. This is not surprising since subsequent *abalanga* have had to rely predominantly on recordings for the transmission of the repertoire.

According to one of my teachers, Majwala, Mukasa's career in the *lubiri* ended abruptly. Majwala tells the story of Mukasa's exile from the *lubiri* as *omulanga* to the *kabaka*, sometime between 1962 and 1964:

> I am told he had sang a song that [...] was not supposed to be sung in public. He sang the song, and the way he sang it is, [...] the way a man and a woman play sex and the responses of a woman as they play sex. And he sang it in public. And the old men in the palace said, "What! You can't sing that this way. This is a palace! You can't!" That's when he was forced out of the palace and Kasule remained there.[8]

Apparently Mukasa himself composed the song in question, although Majwala could not recall the name of the song.

When I visited Yacobo Bbaale, Mukasa's nephew and heir, with both of my teachers, Majwala and Ssempeke Jr., we found that Yacobo still had one of his uncle's harps in playable condition—after a restringing, the low buzzing sound of the harp was still able to fill the room. Upon close examination of the harp, Majwala pointed out that the cowhide on one side of the soundboard had actually worn away from the friction of Mukasa's forearm. It would have taken an immense amount of playing time (especially

considering this was one of four harps he owned) in order to wear the *ennanga*'s surface to such a degree: a testament to Mukasa's dedication to the *ennanga*.

Figure 9: One of *Mukasa*'s harps.

Kasule

Kasule was another harpist recorded by and briefly mentioned in the works of Klaus Wachsmann and Peter Cooke. Little is known about Kasule except that he was the last of the harpists for the *kabaka*, that is the last who played in the *lubiri* before Kabaka Muteesa II was exiled in 1966 (Wachsmann 1950b). He was also the *omulanga* who succeeded the harpist Temutewo Mukasa.[9] Ernesto Sempebwa, who was the private secretary to Kabaka Muteesa II from 1942–1945, only recalled seeing Temutewo Mukasa in the *lubiri*, which suggests that Kasule was not appointed to the *lubiri* until after 1945, the end of Sempebwa's tenure. Critiques of Kasule's playing an singing style from a few sources were the only other information available about Kasule. Ssenoga Majwala[10]

recalled being told that Kasule was a skilled *ennanga* player, but not a competent singer. Peter Cooke's notes, made available with his archived recordings, indicate that Kasule's voice sounded similar to that of Mukasa, and indeed, after I listened to the recordings of Kasule I also found his vocal timbre to be similar to that of Mukasa. However, Kasule's vocal style was not as ornamented on those recordings, suggesting that he may have been slightly less skilled at singing than Mukasa, although he was certainly not "incompetent" by any measure. Aside from these little bits of information about Kasule, Wachsmann and Cooke have collected recordings of him playing eight different songs, now available in the British Library Sound Archive. Peter Cooke provided me with the following portrait of Kasule and his wife.

Figure 10: Kasule, beside his wife, holding an endongo.

After the Fall

Muyinda

Evaristo Muyinda began his training playing the traditional *amadinda* and *akadinda* xylophones (Wegner 2009). Muyinda auditioned for his first official

appointment to the *lubiri* in 1937 as a player in Muteesa II's *akadinda* ensemble. He learned to play the *ennanga* from the *omulanga* appointed to play in the *lubiri* at the time: Temutewo Mukasa. Presumably Muyinda learned to play some other Kiganda instruments from the other musicians in the *lubiri*, although he learned to play the *endongo* and *endingidi* from his brothers (Muyinda 1991). In a recent interview with Muyinda's daughter, she argued that her father preferred the *endongo* to the *ennanga* because it could be played in an ensemble, more people liked it and it was louder. His preference for the *endongo* explains why he was not as proficient on the *ennanga* as his contemporary, Ssempeke, and why he is more widely recognized for his work with the entirety of Kiganda music, rather than specifically as an *omulanga*.[11] In 1948, recognizing Muyinda's talent and aptitude for teaching, Klaus Wachsmann appointed him as his assistant and to demonstrate Kiganda music at the Uganda Museum. Muyinda also taught Kiganda music at various academic institutions in and around Kampala, and according to many, he invented the Kiganda orchestra: an aggregate ensemble performing different styles of music from throughout Uganda and the basis of the national ensemble Heartbeat of Africa.

Muyinda continued touring, performing, cultivating and promoting Kiganda music outside of Buganda and Uganda. He contributed extensively to scholarship about Kiganda music by assisting researchers like Kubik and Wachsmann, and he taught the musician Joseph Kyagambiddwa, who went on to publish the extensive collection of transcriptions of Kiganda music, *African Music from the Source of the Nile* (1955). Muyinda's music and dance ensemble, E. Muyinda's Traditional Music Ensemble, was founded after the civil war and is still running under the administration of his daughter

Maria, a musician herself. This ensemble was set up to train young people with few career options to be professional musicians and dancers. Many who have been trained in this group have since left to sing and dance with professional music troupes, continuing Muyinda's tradition of promoting and love for Ugandan music.[12]

Finally, aother of Muyinda's significant contributions to the transmission of *ennanga* repertoire was the inspiration he provided to another notable *omulanga*—Albert Mwanga Ssempeke Sr. Ssempeke's playing has been an important part of keeping the *ennanga* tradition alive, and it was Muyinda who first introduced him to the instrument.[13]

Albert Mwanga Ssempeke Sr.

Ssempeke Sr. began his musical career as a young man learning the *ndere* flute, along with his brother, Ludovico Sserwanga, from their uncle, a guard at the palace. When they became old enough, Ssempeke Sr. and Ludovico were musicians in the royal flute band, but Ssempeke Sr. never had a chance to perform on the *ennanga* in the *lubiri*.

Later Evaristo Muyinda began teaching Ssempeke Sr. how to play the *ennanga* in exchange for lessons on the *ndere*; at this point Ssempeke Sr. was an established professional musician. He studied the recordings of Mukasa, "lifting" techniques from the LPs in order to become a proficient player. As a result, most of the songs Ssempeke Sr. played were songs from Mukasa's repertoire. To broaden his *ennanga* repertoire, Ssempeke transferred tunes that he knew from the *amadinda* back to the *ennanga*. According to his son, Ssempeke Jr., these types of tunes included "Mwanga Alimpa" and possibly "Nagenda kasana."[14]

Ssempeke Sr. was a renowned advocate for Kiganda music. A well-known teacher, he taught many of the *omulanga* still performing today, including Andrew

Cooke, Damascus Kafumbe and of course his own son, Ssempeke Jr. Ssempeke Sr. performed often along with his family, and gave Kiganda music demonstrations in Europe. Ssempeke Sr. was also employed in the Uganda Museum alongside Evaristo Muyinda, and like his contemporary, Ssempeke Sr. worked extensively with researchers who were interested in the Kiganda music that he played.

Albert Bisaso Ssempeke Jr.

Ssempeke Jr. learned to play Kiganda instruments from his father, Ssempeke Sr., who required that his son carry on his work of promoting and teaching the music of Buganda. As a small boy, Ssempeke Jr. remembers his father expecting high volumes of practice time from him—something he was not fond of—but Ssempeke Jr. eventually realized the value of this work and the importance of perpetuating Kiganda musical traditions:

> [... A]t times I feel like, [...] this man must have a reason of calling me to his office and a reason of teaching me. So, I think I should really give my mind active and I should switch myself to him. So that I learn [...] whatever he wants me to learn. Then I took almost five years [...] spending a lot of time with him. Like I used to spend a full day with him at the office. We play different instruments and [he gave] me some stories of this kind of music [...]. And so that I pick it. [... M]ost of his time he used to tell me that, "You know, I'm, I'm aged. So I'm dying in time. But I need to leave a legacy. I need to leave someone who will carry on my skills."[15]

Ssempeke Jr. also remembers fondly the day that his father retired from *ennanga* playing. It was January 2004, and the two of them were on tour in Europe:

> We were play[ing] in the concert. And I invited him to play *ennanga*. And he said, "You know, Albert, I won't play *ennanga*." But I asked my dad why. And he said, "You know, I trained you. Now I want to see my skills I put in you. Then you sit there, I listen to you as well." Then he decided to go to the audience, to listen to me. Then I grabbed his *ennanga*; I took mine, but he told me, "No, play this one." So he went there. I picked his *ennanga*. I played the concert. I played like three songs. And [...] after the concert he told me [...], "Now, I'm really happy that I'm leaving someone behind because I don't have too much time to

> live [in] this world. I'm getting out. So I want also to feel the harmony. And all the things I used to do, I want also to feel from you." And [...] even here in Uganda we used to play in some concerts and he'd say, "No Bisaso, please, I want to listen. I want also to enjoy!"[16]

When his father died, Ssempeke Jr. became head of the family. He had dedicated over sixteen years of his life to studying and performing Kiganda music, and his family felt that he best embodied the spirit of his father. At first Ssempeke Jr. was not happy with his family's decision to install him as family head, but his family convinced him that it was his duty. This new position, however, meant that he had the responsibility not only to carry on the tradition of Kiganda music, but also the responsibilities of the head—solving family quarrels, managing money, representing the family, and taking the lead at rites of passage and family functions. Ssempeke Jr. had became an elder, and his new duties also involved helping musicians and researchers, part of his father's legacy of teaching and promoting Kiganda music.

Majwala Ssalongo Sennoga

Ssalongo Ssennoga Majwala was born in a village about fifty miles outside of Kampala. He began his musical education on the Kiganda drums, and later began singing in the school choir as well. In senior secondary school he began playing *akadinda* and *amadinda*, as well as the clarinet. Sometime before he came to Kampala, however, he took an interest in the *ennanga,* which he first heard on a phonograph recording. Ultimately he traveled to Kampala to learn more about the instrument and met Ssempeke Sr. in the Uganda Museum where he was introduced to the *ennanga*. Ssempeke taught Majwala the beginner's song "Olutalo ol'we Nsisi," and the two of them worked together until Majwala was able to play and sing it, at which time Ssempeke Sr. assigned Majwala to listen to the music of other *abalanga*. Since Ssempeke Sr. was the only known living

omulanga, Majwala turned to the recordings of Temutewo Mukasa. (At the time Ssempeke Sr. was also teaching his son Ssempeke Jr. to play).

Upon hearing the recordings of Mukasa, Majwala was not able to make heads or tails of his playing. But as a xylophone player, he remembered that many of the *amadinda* songs of the *lubiri* had been transcribed in Kyagambiddwa's book, *African Music from the Source of the Nile* (1955). He found the *amadinda* transcriptions of the song Ssempeke Sr. had played and realized that it was the same as what he learned on the *ennanga*. Majwala continued this process of cross-referencing, listening to recordings of Mukasa, finding the transcriptions from Kyagambiddwa, and then playing the songs on his own:

> So my teachers begin to be Ssempeke, then Temesewo, and Kyagambiddwa because I was using their music. However, I did not see Temesewo. Neither did I see Kyagambiddwa. So that's how I came [...] to learn this instrument. It wasn't having somebody sitting beside you and playing with you. But self-help. And I worked, real work, to come to what I have now.[17]

After pursuing a degree in music at Makerere University in Kampala, Ssalongo took a post teaching music at Kyambogo University in Banda, outside of Kampala. At the university he continues to teach Ugandan music, but has had very few *ennanga* students. As of Februrary 2010, he had three. Here is what he had to say about teaching the *ennanga*:

> Three is not a good number. And that instrument is, I think, facing extinction. And that is very sad. It is sad; I feel pain. My son has not touched it yet. [...] He said, "Me, I want to play the xylophone." My daughter plays the xylophone, though she is now beginning to show interest in the *ennanga*. I hope she will be able. She just looks at it and says, "I think I like it. I think I like it." So I think in the future she is going to come and play.[18]

The Next Generation

With such a small pool of performers and so few instruments, it seems necessary that researchers should consider themselves part of the continuum of the traditions they study. I recognize that those of us who have conducted work in Buganda have undoubtedly had an impact on the transmission and continuum of the *ennanga* tradition. In the last sixty years, researchers have taken an interest in Kiganda music, igniting a new passion within the musicians and in many cases encouraging them to become proponents of their performance traditions both locally and abroad. Researchers (myself included) have provided their Baganda colleagues with access to the archival literature, transcriptions and recordings of Kiganda music, allowing them to reconsider their tradition and remediate and revitalize the music of their ancestors. What is more, the tradition of *ennanga* performance (along with other Kiganda music) has been passed on to people like me who began as researchers and musicologists but have also become bearers of musical knowledge in the hopes that we will pass on this tradition to whomever shares our enthusiasm and passion. The borders of the Buganda Kingdom that once enclosed Kiganda music have been opened to musicians throughout Uganda, East Africa and the world. In this section I would like to discuss the learning processes and involvements of researchers and non-Baganda *abalanga*.

Andrew Cooke

Andrew Cooke was first introduced to the *ennanga* by his father, Peter, who kept one in their home when Andrew was young. The father and son went to visit Ssempeke and Everisto Muyinda in 1987 when Andrew was twenty-two years old. They invited Ssempeke back to Edinburgh the next year as a visiting artist, where Andrew remembers

that he took some preliminary lessons with Ssempeke, about which he wrote the following:

> Ssempeke would teach by playing the right hand and the left hand, and then tried to show, playing slowly, how they connected. However, I came from a background of learning amadinda from written music. I found it easier to learn to play by sight-reading the combined pattern. I also often would learn by slowing down a tape recording to work out what was played, and then to play along. I recorded most lessons, and then when I was back in Edinburgh, I would spend the rest of the year learning from these recordings - e.g. slowing down recordings to work out variations, etc.
>
> When approaching a new song, I would 1) try and play the cycle, at least once through, with understanding of where the pulse is. 2) learn to play this more fluently. 3) learn to sing at least a phrase.[19]

Andrew also played with Muyinda during one of Muyinda's visits to London. From then on, Andrew studied *amadinda* in Edinburgh, using many of the transcriptions found in Kubik's and Anderson's work. He mentioned that his biggest problem with the transcriptions that he had been studying was that the songs were notated without metre or lyrics, and there was no history of the songs included with the work. And so, when he returned to Uganda for a more formal study in 1993, he "[...] brought this large repertory of old forgotten songs [...] to Uganda (the transcriptions), and we explored this repertory together. Sometimes I would play the song, on the *ennanga*, to Ssempeke, and invite him to re-invent, or remember, the song."[20] This exchange between Andrew and Ssempeke Sr, illustrated in J. Micklem and A. Cooke's forthcoming article, "Agenda n'omulungi azaawa: A curio in the Ganda palace repertory,"[21] gave the Muganda musician the opportunity to learn otherwise lost repertoire and Andrew a chance to reconstruct this repertoire with a musician well versed in the tradition.

Ssempeke Sr. first taught Andrew Cooke "Olutalo olwe Nsisi," then followed with songs like "Ganga alula," "Ssematimba ne Kikwabanga," "Akawologoma," and

(possibly) "Ensiriba ya munnange katego." Cooke not only continued with the study of the *ennanga* and *amadinda* but he also began playing other Kiganda instruments like the *endingidi*, *endongo* and on the *ngoma* drums, which he said gave him a better perspective on Kiganda music and an improved sensibility of the intricacies and the complex cycles it is built on.

Other than his work with Ssempeke Sr., Andrew Cooke considers himself largely self-taught: similarly to many Baganda *ennanga* players, he relied heavily on transcriptions, although he used Ssempeke as a resource to attempt to revitalize some *ennanga* music through the *amadinda* transcriptions. Through workshops and lectures that allowed Andrew and his father to invite Ssempeke Sr. and his ensembles to Edinburgh, Andrew was able to expand his repertoire of *embaga* (wedding) music and royal music on all of the court instruments at his disposal, always using the fact that the music was easily transposed from one instrument to the next.

Cooke is currently involved in many projects that involve the *ennanga*, including fusion musics and aggregate Kiganda ensembles. Because it is challenging for the non-Baganda musicians he works with to listen to and understand Kiganda music, it is difficult for Cooke to organize Kiganda music ensembles. Cooke is often involved in fusion projects where he brings his Kiganda instruments into a variety of other ensembles (African and Western) and finds a way for them to fit in. He has specifically been playing his *ennanga* with a small ensemble of guitar, saxophone and percussion, in what he calls a "creative style," as opposed to a Kiganda style. Recently though, he has begun performing Kiganda songs again for a project he was invited to join by Paul Winter, a

jazz musician and composer who performs "accessible" music infused with various world music traditions. Cooke has also periodically performed Kiganda songs in Edinburgh.

Cooke is innovative with the *ennanga*, setting him apart from *abalanga* in Buganda. He has been trying to improve the sound of the instrument by experimenting with small microphones, and has swapped the goat strings for gut strings. He also composes new song cycles on the harp, writing a short chorus and sometimes transferring these tunes to the *amadinda*. Andrew remarked, though, that "in the African sense of 'compose,' which means song writing in my experience, no I don't [compose]."

Andrew Cooke is definitely an important figure in the contemporary *ennanga* tradition. His advocacy for the instrument and the frequency with which he performs the *ennanga* live rivals the Baganda *omulanga* who play and teach in Buganda. When I asked him how he sees himself in the tradition he wrote:

> In a bit of a weird position I guess. When I perform *ennanga* songs, then, for me it is a big deal, as I feel the weight of this big tradition on me. I play and sing the best that I can, with strong memory of Ssempeke in my mind. I like to think he is smiling and encouraging me somewhere when I play, as he did when we were together. I am always conscious of the fact that there are very few players today.
>
> I would like to be more in touch with the other players in Uganda, but have been out of touch for a few years now, as the last time I was there was 4 years ago (since my little girl was born). Because I am not a Muganda living in Uganda, I don't feel I can play the role of contributing to a "living tradition." But I think that in the past (and now still), I challenge Baganda musicians in a positive way by showing good skills on the instruments, and simply by valuing and respecting this rare nearly forgotten traditional music.[22]

While Andrew feels that he is not "contributing to a living tradition," he plays the *ennanga* and composes—at least at the time my interview with him was conducted—as much as the Baganda who *do* consider themselves part of the living tradition. In the ways that Andrew has worked with Baganda musicians, especially his work with Ssempeke Sr.

and *amadinda* transcriptions, he has certainly contributed to the *ennanga* tradition, the available repertoire, and the available recordings of *ennanga* pieces played by Ssempeke Sr. In particular, the recordings have been, and will continue to be, an important supplement to the aural/oral transmission of *ennanga* tradition, a point I address in the following chapter.

Besides Andrew's contribution to recordings of *ennanga* music, his interaction with Kiganda music and performance experience with the *ennanga* are illustrative of the way the tradition may have more longevity, if not renewed appeal. A combination of performances of Kiganda songs and fusion music may be the most successful way to make the *ennanga* visible and the only way to encourage musicians to continue playing and making instruments. It matters little that this type of music and performance might be decontextualized from or physically removed from Buganda because all *ennanga* music has become decontextualized after the *kabaka*'s loss of power. Also, projects put together by prominent musicians with an interest in world musics, musicians like Paul Winter, may be the only remaining individuals with funding to organize tours that will have an international presence. In a way, Andrew Cooke's involvement with the *ennanga* is a perfect example of the trajectories by which the instrumental tradition might be sustained.

Rachel Muehrer

It may seem odd to include oneself in the object of study—it is admittedly not a frequently encountered phenomena. Nonetheless, I have chosen to address my own inclusion into this contemporary phase of the *ennanga*'s story for reasons that I hope will soon be clear. I started learning the *ennanga* in January 2009 with Albert Ssempeke Jr. We began immediately with the harp, learning the song established as the "beginner's

song," "Olutalo ol'we Nsisi." Because this song has a short *okunaga* part (the part played with the right hand) and a very simple *okwawula* part (the part played with the left hand), that is a repetition of three notes, it is easy to interlock the parts while still having some grasp of the mechanics of song construction. Ssempeke Jr. first taught me the *okunaga* part and then the *okwawula*, his normative teaching approach. Once I could play these satisfactorily on the highest five strings, Ssempeke Jr. asked me to put the parts together: a process of playing the *okunaga* part over and over, while trying to hear the easiest, or most acceptable place to begin interlocking the *okwawula* part. He demonstrated this for me, and although I tried to imitate him, I was not able to play the interlocking parts right away, so I wrote down the pattern and went home to study it, memorizing the entire pattern. Since I had memorized the pattern as a single part, rather than learning how the two parts interlocked, I was not able to hear the *okunaga* part independently, nor the main beat, which later proved to be a problem. Nonetheless, what was important to me at the time was being able to play the interlocking pattern.

After I had learned the instrumental part of the song, it was time to learn the vocal line. Ssempeke Jr. never wrote down the words or explained the pronunciation. He repeated the words for me slowly, and I wrote them down phonetically as best as I could so that I would remember them. Once I memorized how the words sounded, I had Ssempeke Jr. sing them again while I played the harp. I watched carefully to see at which part of the pattern each vocal line began and I attempted to sing the words by playing the cycle over and over while practicing these entrances. As I sang the line, Ssempeke Jr. corrected my rhythm and pronunciation, which were most often interconnected. After each session I would go home to practise the words for a few hours and then return in the

morning to go over the song with Ssempeke Jr. again. This process continued for the remainder of the trip, and I was able to learn two more pieces this way, "Ganga alula" and "Ssematimba ne Kikwabanga," as well as two others without lyrics, "Mwanga alimpa" and "Enyanna ekutudde."

As I started to learn the second song, "Gganga alula," however, Ssempeke Jr. noticed that I was having a hard time interlocking the two parts. He remarked that when he learned the *ennanga* he had to first play and understand all three parts on the *amadinda*, making it easier to hear and perform the same piece on the harp. From this point we spent some time on the *amadinda*. I learned each of the two parts on the *amadinda* and how to interlock them properly. When I was able to demonstrate that I could play both parts of the piece with ease and speed on the *amadinda*, Albert had me return to the *ennanga* and start to play the piece again. From then on, any time I had a problem remembering an *ennanga* part or had trouble interlocking or playing at a correct speed, Albert and I turned to the *amadinda* to play through the piece.

At perhaps the first or second lesson Ssempeke Jr. started lending me texts that had been written about the *ennanga*. He gave me the works that Kubik and Peter Cooke had created with Ssempeke Sr. and later lent me Kygambiddwa's book (1955) along with Susan Kiguli's master's thesis, "Kiganda oral poetry: The role of bisoko in the poetry of Ssempeke's Songs" (1996). I was thrilled to have access to background information on the *ennanga* without having to leave the field, and was able to access a few more articles online that had been written by Wachsmann and Kubik and were not in Ssempeke Jr.'s personal library. Ssempeke Jr. also suggested that I find some recordings of his father and listen to these as I learned to play. I was able to find the recording *Ssempeke!* on iTunes, a

compilation of recordings that Peter Cooke had collected of Ssempeke Sr. playing various Kiganda instruments. I listened to an *ennanga* version of "Ganga alula" and the *amadinda* version of "Ssematimba ne Kikwabanga" as I was learning these songs. Ssempeke Jr. also suggested that, as soon as I had memorized the *okunaga* and *okwawula* parts of every song, I should practice singing the parts while walking so that they would become further ingrained in my memory. Ssempke Jr. did not mention if this was a method that he came up with independently or whether it was a technique that his father had suggested. Nonetheless, he and I benefited from the repetition of singing through the song as many times as possible while walking from place to place, sometimes over short walks and sometimes over walks as long as an hour.

When I was learning the song texts for "Gganga alula" and "Ssematimba," Ssempeke Jr. lent me Kiguli's thesis in order to photocopy the song texts so that I had something that would help me understand the connection between the pronunciation and the orthography of the language. These were vocal transcriptions from the album *Ssempeke!*, so I was able to follow along with the music as I learned.

When I returned to study the *ennanga* again the following year, I was not allowed to play for the first month. Ssempeke Jr. and I began playing only on the *amadinda*, and when I was able to play the pieces I had learned the year before at an acceptable tempo again on the *amadinda*, I was then allowed to play the *ennanga*. Now that I was playing much more music much faster, one of the biggest problems I had was hearing the "clap beat" underneath the piece. In most of the other court ensembles, the *empuunyi* drum keeps this beat; however, because the *ennanga* sounds at a much lower volume, there is no drum accompaniment. Therefore, the *omulanga*, much like any musician, must be able

to hear how the piece is metrically organized without the aid of a drum. At this point, I could not hear or identify the clap beat at all, and we spent at least half of each lesson over the next few weeks identifying it in each piece. Often Ssemepeke Jr. would beat his knee or clap for me as I played and sang, and I would try to nod my head in order to internalize the beat without having to stop playing or singing.

Eventually, I figured out where the *empuunyi* (this is the name of the bass drum as well as the clap beat) sounded in each of the *okunaga* parts I played. The hard part for me was identifying which note started on a clap beat. Ultimately, I gave up learning to hear the beat, "feeling it" without recourse to an overtly analytical process. I would then simply ask Ssempeke Jr. to help me write it down. Once I was able to identify and play to the *empuunyi*, or clap beat, I was able to play much faster and smoother, and rhythmically place the sung text much more confidently.

A little over halfway through my second trip, I finally met Ssalongo Ssenoga Majwala. We had an introductory interview—after a year of trying to coordinate a meeting—and he offered to teach me *ennanga*. By this time I had about eight songs in my fingers and was able to sing the lyrics to about six. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, Majwala had a slightly different perspective on the *ennanga*. He had learned differently, and this was apparent during all of our lessons. He began by discussing the two different tunings that he played in—the tunings that Mukasa had used—and decided that he wanted me to learn one song from each tuning. Majwala played, it seemed, about the same number of songs as Ssempeke Jr., but the two of them had only a few songs in common.

I began lessons with Majwala by learning the song "Webale okujja." He chose this piece because it was a relatively easier song and was played in the tuning I was familiar with. Majwala did not know the two parts separately, so instead of playing each part independently, he played the whole song very slowly. I watched his hands as best as I could, transcribing both parts and then playing them back to him. After I had the *okunaga* and the *okwawula* written down correctly, I played each one separately and then put them together. Majwala and I had also discussed his technique, borrowed from Mukasa, of doubling the highest three strings in both hands, as opposed to how I had been playing up until that point, which was doubling the top two strings only with the right hand (the *okunaga* part). It took me a few more minutes to add all the octaves, and after about two lessons and a few hours of practice I was able to play the song at a respectable speed.

When it was time to learn the words to "Webale kujja," Majwala sat down and carefully wrote out the words in Luganda. Under each line he wrote the translation and explained the meaning of the song, along with each possible interpretation of the lines and the double entendres. He notated the *empuunyi* part—the beat—over the words using a dot, and before I sang the text with the harp accompaniment, he asked me to clap the beat and sing the words. This was something I had also done with Ssempeke Jr. for particularly challenging passages. Once I had the timing right, Majwala discussed with me the proper vocal style. He explained the humming aesthetic and the vocal ornamentation style in *ennanga* repertoire. He helped me to add these small nuances when I sang so that I was able to replicate his style of singing to some degree.

After I was able to practice "Webale kujja" on my own, Majwala started teaching me the new song called "Akayinja kamenya," which was in the alternate tuning. He taught me how to tune the harp correctly and we went through the song. We did not have enough time to go through all the words for this song, but Majwala made sure that when I left Uganda I had a recording of him performing the song, as well as a transcription and translation of all of the words.

In all, I spent much more time learning from Ssempeke Jr., having been introduced to the *ennanga* and become familiar with Kiganda music under his guidance. It was not until I met Majwala, interviewed him, and heard him play that I realized that there were in fact different styles of playing the *ennanga*, which were highly influenced by distinct teaching-learning methods. Though I spent a lot of time studying with these men, the available ethnographic materials were a crucial heuristic tool. I discovered much of the history of the *ennanga* through the writings of musicologists and explorers. I learned stories about song texts and the historical significance of each song from the same texts that Ssempeke Jr.'s father had helped to write and Majwala had used to learn. I not only learned the intricacies of the music through practice and the subsequent transcriptions of my own lessons, but also from recordings: the recordings of Mukasa that Majwala had studied, and the recordings of Ssempeke Sr., which his son, Ssempeke Jr., uses as a mnemonic device for vocal texts. And, I compared the *amadinda* parts to the *ennanga* parts, just as Majwala and Ssempeke Jr. had.

While the three of us—Albert Bisaso Ssmepeke, Ssalongo Ssenoga Majwala, and myself—have decidedly different approaches to the *ennanga*, hugely different backgrounds, and slightly different plans for performing on the instrument, we all used

the same resources to study. Majwala and Ssempeke Jr. collaborated with me during many interviews and seemed just as interested in many of the same questions that I had about the instrument. My study of the *ennanga* was collaborative, just as we are taught that ethnographic work should be. The experience was more akin to an exchange of ideas and resources than a guru-protegé relationship. I am not suggesting that the two expert Baganda *abalanga* learned as much from me as I did from them—not that—but they did share with me their appreciation of my work. They took part in much of the investigation, questioning and learning, and they both made it clear that this work, whether it "revives" the *ennanga* tradition or not, would certainly be important to its history.

Conclusion

This brief history of the *ennanga* and the *omulanga* that I have included paints a general picture of the past hundred or so years. The *omulanga*, in his heyday, was a composer of court music with exclusive access to the king. He was a musical specialist who demonstrated great skill and was revered for it. Since Uganda became independent, the *kabaka* experienced a decline in power and the patronage system of Kiganda musicians slowly began to break down until a final blow when the *lubiri* was invaded in 1966. As a result, court musicians, including the *abalanga*, had to seek posts outside of the court, finding new ways to support themselves using their craft, eventually losing the freedom to specialize on the *ennanga*.

Abalanga have lived in Buganda as servants and counsellors to the king, composers, musical demonstrators and folklorists at the Uganda Museum, multi-instrumental ensemble directors, teachers, professors, research assistants and above all, proponents of Kiganda music. Now, as the *ennanga* tradition continues in Buganda and

increasingly leaves its home, researchers have taken up this instrument in a new role that involves performing and teaching the instrument not just outside the *lubiri*, but playing it in contexts more and more foreign to the time-honoured modes of Kiganda musical practices.

NOTES

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1 Ernesto Sempebwa, in discussion with the author, Buwambo, Uganda, February 23, 2010.
2 Ernesto Sempebwa, in discussion with the author, Buwambo, Uganda, February 23, 2010.
3 Some songs played on the *ennanga*, however, are performed at weddings. "Ssematimba ne Kikwabanga" is one example.
4 Yacobo Bbaale, in discussion with the author, Ggavu District, Uganda, February 18, 2010.
5 Ssenoga Ssalongo Majwala, in discussion with the author, Banda, Uganda, February 8, 2010; Ernesto Sempebwa, in discussion with the author, Buwambo, Uganda, February 23, 2010; Albert Bisaso Ssempeke Jr., in discussion with the author, Kampala, Uganda, February 5, 2010.
6 Majwala explained to me that Mukasa was known for playing a few songs in an alternate tuning, but I was not able to find any recorded examples. One of the pieces Majwala played was an example of what he called the alternate tuning, but it was the same tuning displaced an octave lower.
7 Although it is hard to determine who composed many of the *ennanga* tunes (and his nephew claims he composed almost all of them), it is probable that Mukasa composed some. According to Ssempeke Jr., Mukasa composed at least one, although he could not say for sure which one.
8 Ssenoga Salongo Majwala, in discussion with the author, Banda, Uganda, February 8, 2010.
9 Mukasa's nephew, Yacobo, was the only person I talked to who reported that Mukasa played in the *lubiri* until his death.
10 Ssenoga Salongo Majwala, in discussion with the author, Banda, Uganda, February 25, 2010.
11 Muyinda's daughter, Maria, remembers her father playing *ennanga* in the *lubiri*, though other oral and written histories do not corroborate this. It seems that the two *abalanga* during the time Muyinda would have been in the *lubiri* were Mukasa and Kasule.
12 Maria Muyinda, in discussion with the author, Kampala, Uganda, February 2, 2010.
13 Albert Bisaso Ssempeke Jr., in discussion with the author, Kampala, Uganda, March 31, 2010.
14 Albert Bisaso Ssempeke Jr., in discussion with the author, Kampala, Uganda, January 26, 2010.
15 Albert Bisaso Ssempeke Jr., in discussion with the author, Kampala, Uganda, January 21, 2010.
16 Albert Bisaso Ssempeke Jr., in discussion with the author, Kampala, Uganda, January 21, 2010.
17 Ssenoga Salongo Majwala, in discussion with the author, Banda, Uganda, February 8, 2010.

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18 Ssenoga Salongo Majwala, in discussion with the author, Banda, Uganda, February 8, 2010.
19 Andrew Cooke, in email communication with the author, April 27, 2010.
20 Andrew Cooke, in email communication with the author, April 27, 2010.
21 J. Micklem and A. Cooke's article worked with Ssempeke to reconstruct the piece, "Agenda omulungi azaawa" on the xylophone using a combination of xylophone transcriptions, archived recordings of Mukasa, Kasule and Ssempeke playing the song on the *ennanga*.
22 Andrew Cooke, in email communication with the author, April 27, 2010.

CHAPTER 3: The Components of an *Ennanga* Piece

An *ennanga* performance is a unique combination of instrumental dexterity, vocal ability, and poetry. Any performance of a song is decidedly different from the last—even by the same performer—and in fact, the same song performed by two different *abalanga* might be unrecognized as such. *Abalanga* are skilled performers and composers who work within a very structured paradigm to create a distinctive performance. In the next two chapters I will (1) explore the structures and techniques that make up a performance of *ennanga* music, (2) compare performance techniques of different players, and (3) examine examples of continuity and change in *ennanga* performance techniques over the past sixty years.

Within this particular chapter, I will focus on a single song that I have chosen from the larger *ennanga* repertoire. Using this source material, I will introduce the style of notation that I will be working with and then provide a brief explanation of the structure of an *ennanga* tune and its components. These components include the basic tone cycle (the ostinato pattern played on the harp), the vocal melody and its relationship to the harp accompaniment, techniques performed on the *ennanga* to create variation in the ostinato pattern, and finally, the vocal poetry (and its variations) sung to the accompaniment.

Song Structure

Ostinato Pattern

An *ennanga* tune is made up of a tone cycle and a vocal melody line. A tone cycle can be made up of eighteen to seventy-two notes (Anderson 1968, 142), is repeated as many times as the performer wishes, and can be varied by note substitutions. This cycle

is created by interlocking two tone sets, each note alternating between the performer's hands to create a hocket effect. The tone set played by the right hand is called the *okunaga* ("to start") and the tone set played by the left hand is called the *okwawula* ("to interlock"). The key text that comprises the vocal melody is the model for the construction of the tone cycle. In addition to the melody associated with the key text there are emergent patterns that may loom up from the rapidly performed tone cycle.

Gerhard Kubik, writing about the *amadinda*, which also features the sa2me tone cycles in its performance practice, referred to these foregrounded patterns as "inherent rhythms." To avoid connecting these patterns solely to sung melodies, which is not the exclusive means by which they can be perceived, and to discourage conceptualizing them solely as rhythmic phenomena, I will from here on refer to them as emergent patterns. Kubik's term indicates that the looming patterns are strictly rhythmic, and although the rhythmic aspect of these lines is important, the melody is of equal importance. Peter Cooke and Albert Ssempeke Sr. used the term "singing channels" to describe how a performer might listen to the tone cycle as he plays to decide which of the melodies to sing. However, some melodic lines are not necessarily inherent in the cycle, but foregrounded through a variety of performance techniques.

Notation System

Published *amadinda* transcriptions have been written in Western staff notation (Anderson 1968; Kyagambiddwa 1955) and in cipher notation (Kubik 1969); *ennanga* repertoire has been notated in Western notation (Kubik 1966/7) and TUBS notation (A. Cooke and Micklem 1999). In order to notate *ennanga* repertoire in this work, I have chosen to use a combination of cipher and TUBS notation (Time Unit Box System)

(Koetting 1970),[1] similar to that used by A. Cooke and Micklem (1999) and by James Koetting (1984).[2] This notation system is made up of a series of boxes or units that each represent the duration of one note on the harp, or one mora (the short syllable of a word in Luganda). The cipher system that I have adapted to use with the TUBS grid is similar to that used in Kubik's *amadinda* transcriptions and A. Cooke and Micklem's *ennanga* transcription of "Gganga alula" in their 1999 article, "Ennanga harp songs of Buganda: Temutewo Mukasa's 'Gganga alula'."

The notation for the *okunaga* and *okwawula* parts in this system uses numbers that correspond to the degrees of the pentatonic scale: the number 5 corresponds to the highest note of the scale and the number 1 corresponds to the lowest note of the scale. These pitches are performed on the *highest five strings* of the harp. The tone cycle for the tune "Gganga alula," if represented on one line and read left to right, would be represented in TUBS notation as follows:

Musical Example 1: "Gganga Alula" tone cycle as one line.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5	5	3	5	5	2	4	1	3	5	2	1	3	3	2	5	1	1	4	1	3	5	2	1	4	4	3	5	2	2	5	2	2	5	2	1

However, because there are two parts that interlock in a hocketing technique, I have represented them on two separate lines. The top line represents the tone set played with the right hand *okunaga* part and the bottom line represents the tone set played with the left hand *okwawula* part. The numbers are staggered to reflect their alternation.

Musical Example 2: "Gganga alula" tone cycle split into *okunaga* and *okwawula*.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1

The *abalanga* double the highest three strings of the harp (5, 4, 3) with the lowest three strings of the harp by plucking with their thumbs in a style called *amatengezzi*. In a few cases the *omulanga* plays only the lower note, which is notated by an additional comma to the left of the numbered scale degree (",5"). The vocal line is notated in the same fashion as the harp line: each number represents the pitch that corresponds to the highest five strings on the harp. A number with a comma to the left (",5") indicates that the singer sang an octave *below* the sounding of the harp string, and a number with a carat next to it ("^5") indicates a pitch an octave *above* the corresponding harp string.

The pitches in the vocal line are sometimes sung simultaneously with harp notes and sometimes sung immediately before or after the harp notes.[3] The pitches of the vocal line are notated directly under the harp line, and the lyrics are written directly under the notated vocal pitch. Each tone cycle is inserted into a grid featuring a line for each part. From top to bottom the lines designate the following parts: the *okunaga*, the *okwawula*, and the lyrics, the vocal melody, resulting in a diagram with four rows of thirty-six columns.[4] Note that this number of units (thirty-six) is due to the tone cycle length of "Gganga alula" and varies from song to song. Musical Example 3 is one of the nuclear texts from the song "Gganga alula" provided by Peter Cooke in his text *Play Amadinda* (2006). The phrase begins in unit twenty-one and continues into the following cycle from there: *Ganga 'lula Baamutemaak'engal'ebitundu*.

Musical Example 3: Examples of the four rows using the new notation.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	l'e		bi	tun		du										Aat				Gga		nga		ku	la			Baa		mu	te	maa		k'en	
5	5		5	5		4										1				4		2		4	4			2		2	2	2		2	

Metric Structure

A tone cycle is metrically organized not only by the harp tones, but also by the characteristics of the Luganda language. The subdivision of a tone cycle is made up of syllabic units or morae. Luganda contains two kinds of syllables, a long syllable (two morae) and a short syllable (one mora). Six morae make up a "clap beat," and though there may be four, six, eight or more clap beats in a given tone cycle, depending on the song (A. Cooke and Micklem 1999, 50), "Gganga alula" has six clap beats in its thirty-six-pulse tone cycle (i.e., 6 x 6). The clap beat can be can of course be clapped or played by the *empuunyi* bass drum in ensembles where it is used. The clap beat (*empuunyi*) is not explicitly played during an *ennanga* tune, but nonetheless is part of the structure of a piece. Therefore, the text and rhythm of the vocal line is also organized within this metrical system.

Below is an example of the opening lines of the song "Gganga alula" in my modified cipher-TUBS notation. Each box is a unit of time that represents the duration of one mora (or one harp tone), and as I have mentioned, this particular song has thirty-six units in a tone cycle. There are four lines of notation for each of the tone cycles: the first line is the *okunaga*, the second line is the *okwawula*, the third line is the vocal melody, and the fourth line is the text sung to the melody. These four rows are read left to right (i.e., columns 1 to 36), and then the next tone cycle begins directly below with another set

of four rows. The four rows are separated by a bold line to demarcate the beginning of another tone cycle.

Musical Example 4: Example of modified cipher/TUBS notation taken from the first lines of Temutewo Mukasa's "Gganga alula."

5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
																												Baa		mu	te	maa		k'en	
																												ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ1
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo	(e)	bi	tun		du		Ggan		ng'a		lu	la						Nas		so	lo	Ggan		ga		O	lwa		mu	te	maa		k'en	
5	5		5	ˆ2		4	34		3	2		3	3						5		5	5		5	5			ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ1

The clap beats in the example above are indicated with an "x" above the numbered boxes. These beats organize the cycle and are associated with a certain recurring position in the tone cycle, but there is no definitive starting or ending point within a cycle. The tone cycle can begin on any given note, even though there are a few common starting points. This also means that the clap beat is not necessarily the first beat to start a cycle, but is defined rather by distinguishing the appropriate note based on the internal melodic relationships of the ostinato pattern. I have chosen to represent the tone cycle according to how I learned to play the piece. When I learned to play the song, I was encouraged to play only one half of the tone cycle on each hand. I played the top tone set (*okunaga*) with my right hand first, and then to begin interlocking the second tone set (*okunaga*) at the box indicated with the number 1 in Musical Ex. 4. I have organized all of the transcriptions of this piece with the same starting point, which is not necessarily normative but I have done so for the sake of uniformity for the comparisons that will follow.

For clarity, I have provided a "transliteration," so to speak, of my cipher-TUBS notation. Musical Ex. 5 is a transcription of Musical Ex. 4 in unmetred Western notation. The pitches in Musical Ex. 5 approximate the tuning of Ssempeke Sr.'s harp; the top line of the system represents the harp part—the first note is the *okunaga* part and this continues every other note, the second note and every other note after that is the *okwawula* part. The bottom line of the system is the voice part. The "x"'s indicate clap beats. Therefore, the first two lines of notation in Musical Ex. 5 are a complete tone cycle and correspond with the top four rows of notation in Musical Ex. 4, while the bottom two lines in Musical Ex. 5 correspond with the lower four rows of notation in Musical Ex. 4.

Musical Example 5: Example of first line in Western notation.

"Gganga Alula"

In order to understand the performance practice of an individual *omulanga* and the playing techniques that have passed from generation to generation, I have conducted a

comparative analysis of five performances (by different *abalanga*) of one song, "Gganga alula." A standard *ennanga* piece, "Gganga alula," has the greatest potential for this type of analysis because there are commercial or archival recordings available of this song by Kasule, Temutewo Mukasa and Albert Mwanga Ssempeke. I also have two more recent recordings of this song: one field recording of Albert Bisaso Ssempeke, and a recording of Ssalongo Majwala (given to me by him) playing the selection in the 1990s. I more recently came across a sixth recording by Evaristo Muyinda, but the quality of the recording was such that I could not transcribe the song with enough confidence to use it in comparison with the other recordings. Using transcriptions of the first five performances, I will compare the playing techniques of these five *abalanga*, excluding the Muyinda recording because of the unreliable data it would generate.

I have transcribed four of these pieces and reproduced a transcription of the fifth, with a few corrections to the rhythmic structure of the vocal melody and the text (a transcription of Temutewo Mukasa's performance) available in the Andrew Cooke and Micklem (1999) article already mentioned. Two of the song texts I used are available in published works. The first is the text sung by Mukasa, available in the Cooke and Micklem article (1999), and the second text, sung by Albert Ssempeke Sr. on the album *Ssempeke!*, is available in the album liner notes (P. Cooke 1988), as well as in Susan Kiguli's master's thesis (1996). I have borrowed from the analytical frameworks provided in the studies of *ennanga* by A. Cooke and Micklem (1999), Kiguli (1996), P. Cooke (1988), and P. Cooke and Katamba (1987), as well as the work of Kubik, who studied the *amadinda* (the Kiganda xylophone) and published an extended comparative study of *amadinda* pieces.

The Story of Gganga

The text of this song refers to a court harpist, Gganga, who attempted to 'steal meat' from the princess. As punishment, Gganga lost one of his fingers, or in some versions of the song, a few of his fingers. These events, as chronicled in the text, are metaphorical. In fact, Gganga was castrated for having an affair with the princess, daughter of Kabaka Mutesa I—the Baganda rarely refer to sex explicitly. Incidents of transgression by the *omulanga*, followed by corporeal punishment administered by the *kabaka* (king), were apparently quite common (Roscoe 1911, 35); the *omulanga* had access to the king's family, including the princesses, and the Baganda kings were known for being jealous.

Basic Tone Cycle

The tone cycle is thirty-six units long in the song "Gganga alula." After studying the performances of each harpist, I was able to determine what notes were most commonly played in the various renderings of the tone cycle across the recordings in question. I will refer to this as the "basic tone cycle" in order to distinguish it from any tone cycle that may be varied by note substitutions and performance "errors." Most of the *abalanga* in fact performed the basic tone cycle with slight variations. Below is a comparison of the basic tone cycles performed by each *ommunanga* from the oldest to the most recent of the performances I am examining.

Musical Example 6: The basic cycle on *ennanga* by Kasule in 1950.

5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1

Musical Example 7: The cycle on *ennanga* by Mukasa in 1952.

5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1

Musical Example 8: The cycle on *ennanga* by Ssempeke Sr. in 1988.

4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1

Musical Example 9: The cycle on *ennanga* played by Majwala in 1995.

5		•		1		4		3		2		4		2		1		3		3		2		4		2		2		3		2		2	
	5		5		2		4		5		2		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1

Musical Example 10: The cycle on *ennanga* by Ssempeke Jr. in 2009.

5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		2		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1

The notes that are consistent in all five performances are the following:

Musical Example 11: Consistent notes in Musical Exx. 6–10.

						4		3		2				2		1				3		2		4				2				2		2	
	5		5		2				5				3		5		1		1		5				4		5		2		2		5		1

The notes that are consistent in *four* of the five performances are the following.:

Musical Example 12: Notes consistent in four of the five performances (Musical Exx. 6–10).

5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2				2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5				3		5		1		1		5				4		5		2		2		5		1

It is likely that Musical Example 12 is the most accurate portrayal of the harp accompaniment to "Gganga alula." This comparison nonetheless illustrates the fact that each of the *omulanga* performed slight variations. For example, although every other *omulanga* very consistantly played 5 as the first note, Ssempeke Sr. consistantly played 4 as the first note in his 1988 performance. Additionally, although all of the other *abalanga* quite confidently played 3 as the third note in the cycle, Majwala most often omitted this note. These types of variations in the tone cycle could be a result of conditions of the recording session (e.g. how many times the piece was played, what the *omulanga* was instructed to play, how interested he was, etc.) or conscious variation techniques. However, because of the nature of Kiganda song and the types of variation that are practiced on the *ennanga*, it is more likely that as the *ennanga* was played less and less, performers were not able to accurately remember the tone cycle with categorical uniformity.

Tonality

Kubik's findings

In the first chapter of this work, I provided an overview of the literature about intervals in Kiganda music. Gerhard Kubik spent some time elaborating on the use of these intervals and labeling them. He identified the span between five notes (i.e., the first scale degree and the fifth scale degree), approximately 960 cents, as a Kiganda seventh,

presumably because of its proximity to a Western minor seventh, 1000 cents in equal temperament. Kubik also identified the distance between the first and second note in the scale (around 240 cents) as a Kiganda second (Kubik 1969, 27), and the interval between three notes (e.g., the first scale degree to the third scale degree), approximately 480 cents, as the Kiganda fourth, again because of its proximity to a tempered Western perfect fourth (500 cents). The inversion of the Kiganda fourth, the Kiganda fifth, is the interval between four notes, approximately 720 cents (compare to an equal-tempered perfect fifth at 700 cents) (Kubik 1960, 1969).

This system of labeling intervals according to their proximity to Western intervals in an equally tempered scale and preceding the name of the interval with "Kiganda" in order to account for the discrepancy of 20-40 cents, is confusing at best. I believe that Kubik chose this labeling system so that he might also include in his work a discussion of consonance and dissonance, which are more understandable to the Western reader by way of interval naming using a seven-note octave species. However, as I have stated, the etic terms of consonance and dissonance do not further an understanding of Kiganda music. Therefore, I will refer to the intervals of a Kiganda scale according to their position in the Kiganda pentatonic scale: the distance between the first two pitches is a second, the distance between the first and the third pitch is a third, and so forth. Table 2 provides the names of each of these intervals and the distance between them, as well as a comparison to the closest interval in an equally tempered Western tuning system.

Kiganda interval	Cents	Equal Temperament	Cents
Second	240	Major Second	200
Third	480	Perfect Fourth	500
Fourth	720	Perfect Fifth	700
Fifth	960	Minor Seventh	1000

Table 1: Intervals (approx.) on the ennanga compared to equal temperament.

Kyagambiddwa's work hinted that there was a note hierarchy for different categories of songs, an idea that might lead to a statement about a song's tonal center(s). I would like to expand on this idea by looking at note and interval frequency (i.e., how many times a pitch or interval was played) in the song "Gganga alula." After transcribing each version of "Gganga alula," I was able to tally each time a certain interval was played, and what the most frequently played and sung pitches and intervals were. Gerhard Kubik performed a similar exercise in his article, "Composition Techniques in Kiganda Xylophone Music: With an Introduction into Some Kiganda Musical Concepts" (1969). Kubik was of course working with *amadinda* music and was cataloguing (1) the intervallic relationships of notes played in succession and (2) the most often played sequences. Because *ennanga* pieces are very similar to those played on the *amadinda*, the basic principles of song structure are the same. I have built on Kubik's work by adding a comparison of the intervals that sound simultaneously in the voice and *ennanga* parts of the performances of "Gganga alula."

Before describing my findings, I would like to outline a few of the concepts that Kubik, Anderson and Cooke discovered in their research. Through a careful analysis of fifty *amadinda* transcriptions, Kubik hoped to explore the "overall impression of consonance" in *amadinda* music, as well as how the *okwawula* and *okunaga* parts worked together to create this phenomenon. I wish to briefly discuss here the concept of consonance, especially since it plays such an important role in Kubik's understanding and

explication of tonality in Kiganda music. Consonance and dissonance are culturally conditioned concepts, and as a result challenging to define. Kubik operates under the assumption that what he calls the "Kiganda fourth and Kiganda fifth" (actually the difference between the xylophone keys one and three and the difference between one and four) are consonant because of their proximity to a Western fourth and fifth. Kubik argued that the reliance on or prominence of these two intervals suggests a preference for consonance. However, there is no evidence that the Baganda would consider this consonance; it is more likely that the prevalence of these intervals is related to the manner in which they break up the text patterns in the nuclear melody.

In his study of tonality across Kiganda *amadinda* songs with different cycle lengths and in all five *miko*, Kubik noticed immediately that in the resultant pattern there was a general avoidance of pentatonic seconds and fifths in favour of thirds and fourths (2010, 267). Kubik categorized this kind of tonality as "consecutive consonance," amplified by "durational overlapping of notes," which are a byproduct of the music's fast tempo (2010, 267). Kubik's article outlined the most common and uncommon combinations of notes, played in succession, in any given song cycle. He distilled the information to the following factors that composers (as he posits) took into consideration:

> (a) A desire for consonant sound [in a Western sense] and clarity of the (implied) text lines;
> (b) The importance of the inherent-pattern phenomenon and the verbal textual associations it calls forth;
> (c) The desire for two or more tonal steps within a cycle, which is satisfied by the creation of 'segments of consonance';
> (d) The need for the vocal melody to be contained in the instrumental versions of a song, though it is not necessarily sung while playing;
> (e) Requirements of form, for example the bipartite organization of many musical pieces;
> (f) The need for certain melodic 'signals' (routine melodic passages) to appear in the total pattern. (2010, 271–72)

Kubik claimed that these factors all had to be balanced in an *amadinda* composition. The use of thirds and fourths (e.g. the difference between the first and third key and the first and fourth key) is certainly a preferred feature, and although Kubik argues that these are the only "consonant" intervals in the system, it is impossible to know whether a sense of consonance is what drives this preference. When Kubik wrote that the parts were composed so that they might interlock in thirds and fourths, he meant that each part of the song is composed so that when they interlock there is a succession of thirds and fourths. Kubik also found that tucked between groups of intervals of thirds and fourths were short melodic runs made of descending tonal steps (2010, 273).

Finally, Kubik suggested that in the *amadinda* repertoire there is an avoidance of sounding the same note more than two times in succession, a technique that is probably a holdover from *ennanga* playing, whereby playing the same note with alternating hands at a high speed is problematic because (1) the harp strings ring longer than the keys on the *amadinda*; and (2) plucking a note repeatedly dampens the note so that the note can be re-attacked, reversing the amplifying effect of the monitar-skin rings on the harp's neck (2010, 274). Kubik also mentioned the tendency of each of the interlocking component patterns (*okunaga* and *okwawula*), as well as the tone cycle, to have a clear bipartite organization (2010, 277).

Cooke problematized Kubik's method of analyzing Kiganda music, arguing that, "to study the resulting instrumental sound patterns solely by analysis of their intrinsic qualities without searching for the route by which both music and speech through song have been realized in physical terms by striking, blowing or plucking instruments is to ignore what I consider to be the real issue—one closely connected with fundamental

processes of music composition" (1970, 62). In response, Cooke used a new approach to understand Kiganda music, in which he endeavoured to, "demonstrate that the instrumental structures are closely related to the musico-phonological structures of the songs" (1970, 62).

Cooke argued that songs were composed by first creating a text, using the text to create a song melody, and later filling in the tone cycle. He came to this conclusion because the melody line of Kiganda song is closely correlated with speech patterns. By analyzing the relationship between the rhythm and melody of key phrases in Kiganda songs, Cooke concluded that the rhythmic structures in song melodies are determined by basic syllabic structures and phrase lengths. Melodic contours of speech are also preserved in the song, and "the first mora in each 'prominent' syllable is always reproduced" (71). What is more, Cooke discovered the significance of those notes that do not correspond with the structure of the spoken melody (ancillary notes), arguing that often descending seconds and thirds are used to express the low tones in the beginnings of words that might not be realized in rapid speech. Finally, he argues that larger intervals used as ancillary notes are also used to "isolate prominent syllables from preceding syllables" (72) and break the auditory streams into rhythmic shapes and punctuate text patterns in the melody (80).

In order to better understand the relationship between text and melody we must examine the most important phrases in the song, or as Cooke referred to them, "nuclear themes" (1970, 67). Cooke wrote that these "nuclear themes, together with the repeated choral response and the general melodic similarity of other solo phrases, give each song its identity" (1970, 67). I would like to briefly demonstrate Cooke's theory using one of

the nuclear texts and the *amadinda* accompaniment that he provided in his booklet *Play Amadinda: Xylophone music from Uganda* (2006). I have identified this phrase as nuclear theme A.

Musical Example 13: Nuclear theme A on *amadinda* (Cooke 2006, 14)

				X						X						X						X						X						X	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		2		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		3		5		2		2		5		1
								Gga		nga		lu	la			Ee!				Gga		nga		lu	la			Baa		mu	te	maa		ko	
								3		2		3	3			1				4		2		4	4			2		2	2	2		2	

It is easiest to begin with the explanation of the rhythmic structure. In the example above, the word *Gganga* takes up three morae, and the second half of the word lands on a clap beat. Therefore it should be assigned 3 rhythmic units—in the TUBS system, 3 boxes. However, because the words *Gganga* and *alula* are elided to *Gganga 'lula*, the last syllable of the word *Gganga* is assigned two morae. In this line there is a rest and the interjection *Ee* that falls on the clap beat followed by a repeat of the phrase *Gganga 'lula*, which has the same relationship to the clap beat as the first repetition of the phrase. Finally, the prominent syllable *Baa* enters on the clap beat and is given two rhythmic units to account for the lengthened vowel, and the next two syllables *mu* and *te* are each assigned one rhythmic unit. The syllable *ma* is stretched to two units so that the final syllable in the word, *ko*, can be sung on the clap beat.

Moving on to the melodic structure of the phrase, if it is a given that the melodic structure follows speech patterns to some degree, then one must account for the notes that fall in between prominent syllables. In the phrase *Gganga alula*, or as it is sung *Gganga 'lula*, the sung notes are supported by xylophone accompaniment. The "5" that follows the "3" at the beginning of the phrase makes the other syllables more prominent so that the listener might isolate the notes that are associated with the text. The "1"

played after the second syllable is a perfect example of a low tone being used to express the unvoiced *a* at the beginning of *alula* that is lost in the elision of the two words. The last word in the phrase, *Baamutemako* is not quite as clear as the beginning of the phrase: the accompaniment does not quite line up with the sung melody. Although all the notes are present in the accompaniment, the "2" that should be aligned with the syllable *mu* is played during the second morae of the syllable *Baa*. Here still, the ancillary notes "4" and "5" break up the melodic stream to lend prominence to the sung melody sung exclusively on "2."

If Cooke's argument about Kiganda song composition is correct—that text for these nuclear themes was composed first, that the melody line was composed to closely reflect the melo-rhythmic patterns found in the text and that ancillary notes were added to bring out these themes—it would follow that the themes that are correlated to the harp part were some of the first composed. However, Cooke further insinuated that *omulanga* might improvise using different melodic streams that exist in the instrumental part, meaning that newer phrases would also closely correlate to the harp part (P. Cooke 1994, 476). By closely examining some of the nuclear themes, I would like to demonstrate this concept.

I would first like to illustrate some of the nuclear themes demonstrated by Cooke (1996) that are common in the *amadinda* versions of the tune. The first is the call (*Baamutemaako*) and response (*Gganga alula. Ee! Gganga alula.*) illustrated above.

Musical Example 14: Nuclear theme A taken from Cooke (2006)

				X						X						X						X						X						X	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		2		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		3		5		2		2		5		1
								Gga		nga		lu	la			Eel				Gga		nga		lu	la			Baa		mu	te	maa		ko	
								3		2		3	3			1				4		2		4	4			2		2	2	2		2	

The second nuclear theme (Nuclear theme B) that Cooke illustrates (Musical Ex. 15) is another call and response of a different length. In this example, the call is longer (*Baamutemako engalo bitundu*), but the response is identical to the second half of the response above.

Musical Example 15: Nuclear theme B in Cooke (2006).

				X						X						X						X						X						X	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		2		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		3		5		2		2		5		1
ga	l'e		bi	tun		du										Aal				Gga		nga		lu	la			Baa		mu	te	maa		k'en	
5	5		5	5		4										1				4		2		4	4			2		2	2	2		2	

Finally, Cooke's third nuclear theme (C) in Musical Ex. 16 takes up the entire basic tone cycle:

Musical Example 16: Nuclear theme C in Cooke (2006, 14).

				X						X						X						X						X						X	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		2		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		3		5		2		2		5		1
5	5		5	5		4		3	3	2		3	3		3	1		4		3		2		4	4			2		2	2	2		2	
nki	za		bu	gag		g'a		ku	ki	z'en		ga	l'e		ne	n'e		zab		ban		g'em		me	re			baa		mu	te	aa		K'en	

In all three of these examples, about 80% of the notes are sung in unison with the *amadinda* accompaniment (Musical Ex. 18: 78%; Musical Ex. 19: 80%; Musical Ex. 20: 81%). This makes it clear, then why these nuclear themes give the song its identity: the text can be "heard" without ever needing to sing the melody (Cooke 1999)

My findings

With these concepts outlined by Cooke and Kubik in mind, I am interested in further exploring the relationship between vocal melody and accompaniment, but within the harp repertoire. I was first fascinated by the prospect of a tonal center in a piece or even the reliance on a specific pitch or two in a given piece. In order to explore this idea I

identified the frequency with which each degree of the scale was played and the major trends in the intervallic relationships between the harp and voice for each performance (i.e. harmonic intervals). I compiled this information by inputting the transcriptions into a spreadsheet, and creating a formula to measure the frequency of each scale degree in both parts. Because the lowest three strings on the harp (with one exception in Kasule's harp solo) are played only to double the highest three strings, these pitches were not considered in the tally. Note that the tally includes all of the pitches played and sung, rather than the theoretical prescribed notes for a given performance. By taking into account everything that was performed I was able to consider variation (as well as mistakes) into the overall picture of the performance.

In all five of the performances that I included in this analysis, the most frequently played tones were the second scale degree and the fifth scale degree; in three of the performances the second scale degree was the most frequently played, and in two of the performances the fifth scale degree was the most frequently played. A tally of all the performances showed that twenty-seven percent of all the pitches played on the *ennanga* were on the second scale degree and twenty-five percent of all the pitches played were on the fifth scale degree. In most of the performances, the most frequently sung pitches were the fifth scale degree and the second scale degree, and when the pitches in all five performances were averaged, the most frequently sung pitches were the fifth scale degree and the second scale degree.

Ennanga	Kasule	Mukasa	Ssempeke Sr.	Majwala	Ssempeke Jr.	Totals
5	28.03%	28.25%	**21.53%**	**22.86%**	**24.03%**	**24.73%**
4	11.59%	11.35%	14.99%	13.44%	14.65%	13.4%
3	17.04%	16.75%	17.74%	17.04%	16.66%	17.08%
2	**24.71%**	**24.96%**	24.59%	32.93%	30.88%	27.29%
1	18.62%	18.69%	21.15%	13.73%	13.78%	17.5%
Voice						
5	**29.36%**	43.51%	41.78%	55.33%	53.37%	44.36%
4	10.28%	15.43%	11.99%	9.5%	10.1%	11.72%
3	1.76%	**16.49%**	11.46%	13%	9.23%	10.59%
2	27.06%	13.83%	**27.9%**	**14.17%**	**21.32%**	**20.74%**
1	31.53%	10.74%	6.87%	8%	5.98%	12.58%

Table 2: Percentage of notes that were played and sung in "Gganga alula."

Table 2 (above) is a summary of the percentage of the note frequency, by scale degree, played and sung in five different performances of "Gganga alula." The most frequently played and sung pitches are underlined, and the second most frequently played and sung pitches are in boldface. The predominance of the fifth and the second scale degrees suggest that these two pitches are particularly important for the piece, though one must also consider the effect of different techniques on the use of a single pitch: the fifth scale degree is often sung repeatedly over the span of many phrases in "recitative-style" passages. However, the second scale degree was also a predominant vocal pitch. This can be attributed to one of the key texts in the piece "Gganga alula," illustrated in Musical Ex. 17, which centers on the second and fifth scale degrees.

Musical Example 17: Key text sung by Ssemepeke Sr.

4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
5	5		5	5		4(3)		3	3	2		3	3			2		4		3		2		4	4		5	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	
nki	za		bu	ga		ga	n	ku	ki	z'en		ga	lo			e		zab		ban		g'em		me	re		Ze	baa		mu	te	haa		k'en	

The recitative-style vocal passage in this example explains the prevalence of the fifth scale degree in the vocal line, but not in the *ennanga* parts. Not only are these two pitches the most commonly played in this piece, but also the fifth and second scale degrees are often repeated in succession. The frequency with which these two scale degrees were performed over the five performances in the *ennanga* part alone supports the idea that these are central tones in this piece, perhaps because they are convenient reciting pitches.

The Harp and Voice

Since the performance practice of the *ennanga* as a solo instrument offers extraordinary potential for variation, I am interested in further exploring the relationship between the harp ostinato pattern and the vocal lines in a given *ennanga* piece. The single *omulanga* is afforded more opportunity to manipulate this relationship than three *amadinda* players coordinating three tone sets. The correlation between the vocal line and the *ennanga* line is usually quite clear; many of the notes sung in a vocal melody are found in the harp tone cycle.

There is a clear relationship between the vocal line and the instrumental ostinato pattern in an *ennanga* tune, and, in fact, many of the sung melody lines can be almost pulled from the ostinato pattern. However, there are portions of a song melody that are not so clearly supported by the harp ostinato patterns. Examples of these phrases include recitative passages, like the excerpt in Musical Ex. 18.

Musical Example 18: Excerpt of recitative sung by Ssempeke Sr.

4		3		2		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		3		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		1		5		2		1		5		1
5	5		5	5		4(3)									5	5		5	5		5	5	5		4		5	5		5	5		5	5	
ll	kaa		ba	yaa		ye									E	kyo'n		no	kyo		ko	la	baa		ba		e	kyo'n		no	kyo		ko	l'e	
4		3		2		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		3		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		4		5		1
5	5		5	5		4		5							5	5		5		5	5	5	5		5		5	5		5		5	5	5	
kó	gam		bo	ky'om		wen		ge							Nze	naa		bee		ra	wa	no	sse		bo		nze	naa		bee		re	wa	n'a	
4		3		2		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		1		4		3		2		4		3		2	
	5		5		3		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
5	5		5	5		4	4		3				5	5		5		5		5		5		5	5		^2		^2		^2	^2		^2	
wa	li'o		mu	lun		gi	baa		ba				A	ban		g'a		ban		g'a		ban		ga	nz'a		gen		d'o		ku	la		b'en	

Recitatives and others like these that cannot be readily extracted from the tone cycle are certainly not common. However, the melodies that are not sung in unison with the ostinato patterns are an important part of the piece, precisely because the *omulanga* uses them to create variation, as well as to subvert the listener's expectation of the vocal line (Cooke and Katamba 1987, 61–62).

Improvisation Techniques

Gerhard Kubik did not consider variation and improvisation in *amadinda* playing,

> [...]because it is comparatively rare, and secondly because in this music some variations, especially when musicians perform *okudaliza* or *okusia ebyondo*, go deliberately against the normal interlocking relationship of the two basic parts. By temporarily suspending the accepted 'rules of behaviour' tension is created. (Kubik 2000, 267)[5]

Leonord Meyer has argued that, "affect or emotion-felt is aroused when an expectation—a tendency to respond—activated by the musical stimulus situation, is temporarily inhibited or permanently blocked (1956, 31). This tension-creating effect seems to be well suited for the techniques of variation that are applied to *ennanga* repertoire, particularly given its formal cyclical elements. As a result, I am interested in the nature of the improvisation techniques used in *ennanga* solos that occur in between vocal lines and whether they are meant to create tension, foreshadow a melody or highlight an inherent

rhythm.

Accenting

I have been able to identify a few techniques that an *omulanga* might use to improvise variation in the tone set. Often *abalanga* manipulate the resultant and emergent patterns created in a tone cycle by accenting groups of notes, or even one pitch in the scale, effectively foregrounding certain possibilities. Because of the fast tempo, it is sometimes difficult to identify whether the accents are agogic or dynamic; however, accenting might include either of these options or a combination of both. In his 1988 performance of "Gganga alula," Ssempeke Sr. introduced an emerging pattern by beginning the piece playing only those notes that he would accent in the harp introduction of the piece. Musical Ex. 19 is a transcription of this technique: the first two lines are the skeletal pattern that he accents and brings out as an emerging pattern in the second two lines in the full, interlocking cycle of the song (Cooke and Katamba 1987, 63).

Musical Example 19: Excerpt of Ssempeke using the accenting technique.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5				5		4		3		2		3				1		4		3		2		4				2		4		1		2	
									5		1				5		1		1		5		1				5		2		2		5		1
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		2		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1

If one compares this skeletal pattern to Nuclear Theme C noted by Cooke (2006) that spans the whole tone cycle, one finds that Ssempeke is outlining the vocal melody and punctuating it with rests. Musical Ex 20 compares Ssempeke's skeletal pattern and the nuclear theme that he sang later in the performance. Note that the nuclear theme sung by Ssempeke Sr. is almost identical to that outlined by Cooke (shown in Musical Ex. 16).

Musical Example 20: Ssempeke's skeletal pattern above his performance of nuclear theme.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5				5		4		3		2		3				1		4		3		2		4				2		4		1		2	
									5		1				5		1		1		5		1				5		2		2		5		1
5	5		5	5		4		3	3	2		3	3		3	1		4		3		2		4	4			2		2	2	2		2	
nki	za		bu	gag		g'a		ku	ki	z'en		ga	l'e		ne	n'e		zab		ban		g'em		me	re			baa		mu	te	aa		k'en	

Ssempeke Sr. also added a technique in which he stressed the fifth scale degree by plucking the highest string louder than the others. I hypothesize that this common method of accenting is popular because it is the easiest way to bring out a new melody.

Note Substitution

Occasionally in a harp solo a new melody line is foregrounded for the listener through note accenting or note substitution before the *omulanga* sings it. Andrew Cooke and James Micklem (1999) transcribed a harp solo that Mukasa played in a different recording of "Gganga alula" and found that he substituted many of the tones in the cycle for the fifth scale degree, creating a harp tone set in which almost half of the tones were the fifth scale degree, presumably to mimic the recitative that he sings in the same song. Musical Ex. 21 is an excerpt of two lines of this technique taken from Cooke and Micklem's transcription (1999, 56). The note substitutions are in bold:

Musical Examplc 21: Mukasa's performance that mirrors the recitative.

5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		5		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		5		5		5		5		5		5		2		2		5		5
5		5		2		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	3		5		5		5		5		1		5		5		1		5		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		5

The second tone cycle in this example contained most of Mukasa's pitch substitutions in the *okwawula* (left hand) part. Mukasa also accented the fifth scale degree in both the *okunaga* (right hand) and *okwawula* (left hand) parts in order to echo the

recitative-style singing in the harp ostinato pattern. The technique of using note substitution and note accenting to foreground a desired emergent pattern in the ostinato was a common technique in four of the five performances that I examined.

Amatengezzi

One final *ennanga* performance technique is called *amatengezzi*. This is a doubling of the lowest three strings which, as I stated before, are tuned an octave below the highest three strings. It is similar to a technique played on the *amadinda* xylophone: when the top two scale degrees are doubled on the *amadinda*, it brings out an emergent pattern called the *okukoonera*, which is basically the pattern created from the lowest two pitches of the scale. (This is played by a third player on the xylophone.) The doubling of the low harp strings varies from player to player—some harpists use only one of the lowest three strings, while some use all three. Because this technique can bring out another emergent pattern, its use can change the character of a harp performance. In the performance of "Gganga alula" by Kasule, for example, he plays only the *amatengezzi* during part of the harp solo, a technique that I have not heard any other player use. By playing the lowest register alone, rather than in unison with the higher strings, the *omulanga* can create body and volume with a different technique.

Some Initial Thoughts

The form of an *ennanga* performance is almost always different from one performance to the next because it is affected by small choices in improvisation. Choices as to how many cycle repetitions to perform, where to place and how to perform a harp solo, variations of vocal poetry and their consequent melodic and rhythmic structures all

contribute to the form of an *ennanga* tune. The discussion of form in this chapter, and in the next, will again consider the song "Gganga alula."

In the song "Gganga alula," there are entry points for each of the most commonly sung phrases. The beginning of a phrase is composed so that prominent syllables and words coincide with the clap beats (Cooke 1970). Musical Ex. 22 is a transcription of the first two phrases of Ssempeke Sr.'s performance of "Gganga alula." In this example, as in every example of this phrase sung by all five *abalanga*, the word *baamutemako* begins on the clap beat found in unit 29, the final syllable in the word, elided with the next word to form the utterance *k'en* is sung on the clap beat in unit 35. If an *omulanga* chooses to begin the phrase with another word (here Ssempeke uses "Nze") the syllable *baa* must align with its designated clap beat.

Musical Example 22: Opening lines of Ssempeke Sr.'s performance.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		3		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		1		1		5		1
																											5	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	
																											Nze	baa		mu	te	ma		k'en	
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		3		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		1		5		1
5	5		5	5		4		3		2		3	3														5	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	
ga	lo		bit	tun		du		ku		ba'nn		ya	ma														Nze	baa		mu	te	ma		k'en	

The melodies in these phrases follow a formula as well; as discussed earlier, much of the vocal melody in a given phrase aligns with the ostinato pattern played on the harp. Cooke (1970) also indicated that syllables that coincide with the clap beat are always sung in unison with the instrumental pattern (73), a fact that is also clear in Musical Ex. 22. Because the melody and rhythm are so linked to the ostinato pattern, the same melodic phrases reappear with new text across performances. Musical Ex. 23 shows a transcription of Ssempeke singing virtually the same phrase to the words *Naamukolantya* as he sang the words *baamutemako* in Musical Ex. 22. The second half of the phrase

differs, however, mainly because the syllables in the phrase *mukama wange weebale* warrant a different rhythmic frame.

Musical Example 23: Ssempeke Sr. cycle 12 and 13.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
4				5		4		3		2		3		3		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		3		1		5		1				5		1		1		5		2		1		5		2		2		5		1
																											5/	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	/5
																												Naa		mu	ko	lan		tya	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		1		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		3		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		1		5		1		1		5		1		1		5		2		2		5		1
5	5		5	2		4	3		2	2																		5	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2		1	/5
mu	ka		ma	wan		ge	wee		ba	le																		A	ũ	zid		da		wa	

Because so much of the melo-rhythmic material is based on spoken language, the expectation and the manner of listening is culturally acquired—a Muganda is more likely to associate a certain melody with a certain text (Cooke 1999, 79–81). The *abalanga* use these melo-rhythmic formulae to create and challenge listener expectations, often creating expectation by singing the established templates and then varying parts of melodies and adding words or phrases at the beginning or ends or phrases. Returning to Meyer's argument, the expectation and affect elicited in audiences requires "the learning of conventional signs and symbols" (1956, 22). The *omulanga* chooses how to group these units, and whether and how to slightly vary their characteristics to create an affectual moment in the piece. (The following chapter will revisit the form of the piece "Gganga alula," and there I will further discuss how each *abalanga* employs the phrases to create unique forms.)

What are *Ebisoko?*

The lyrics in an *ennanga* tune are just as important, and subject to as much nuance, as the melodic line and the ostinato pattern on the harp. The degree of improvisation applied in the delivery of the text often means that no two performers of a

piece use the same lyrics verbatim, even for a chorus or the identifying line of the song. A performer works with different layers of meaning in any given song text that include allusions to the king, proverbs from Buganda folklore, or the literal narrative of the song. Peter Cooke named six categories of lyrical content that a performer might work with. These are:

> 1) "nuclear" or "key" texts, which identify a song and are used in most performances of a piece;
> 2) "general" phrases, used across different songs;
> 3) "traditional *ebisoko*" that are passed down and "absorbed into the texts of many singers;"
> 4) new *ebisoko* added by the performer;
> 5) lyrics topical to the performance context or current events; and
> 6) "an all pervading theme of obeisance to the Kabakaship." (Cooke 1988, 1)

The *abalanga* must also use literary and musical devices to weave these multiple layers of meaning into the performance, and the skill with which they create variation determines to a large degree their prowess as musicians. One important aspect of the poetry sung to *ennanga* tunes is the use of *ebisoko*, or "oral formulaic patterns used by performers of oral poetry" (Kiguli 1996, 5).

Wachsmann discussed *ebisoko* at some length in his 1965 article "The earliest sources of folk music in Africa." There he included a description of *ebisoko* provided by Muganda historian, J. S. Kasirye: "A reference to current events, slipped into an old song, is said to be 'mixed with' or 'interspersed' or 'stored' or 'deposited' with it, or the term 'to join end to end, to splice' (*okuyungamu*) is used. In conversation about music one distinguishes between the singing of an *ekisoko* and the inventing of an entirely new song" (184). Peter Cooke defined *ebisoko* as minor modifications to a text or melody (1970, 78), while Susan Kiguli provided a much more in-depth discussion of the idea.

She wrote that the use of *ebisoko*, "bring[s] together a variety of experiences to form one text" (Kiguli 1996, 8).

Kiguli cited J. C. Ssekamwa who wrote that *ebisoko* can translate as tropes used to enrich language and are similar to proverbs, but can cross musical genres and "undergo various modifications and even transformations in tense and sometimes words" (Kiguli 1995, 6). In other words, the idea or understood meaning might be consistent in two performances, but be modified in its performance parameters. For example, in Kasule's performance of "Gganga alula," he sings the following line:

> *Olabe anazongerako oludda. Anazongerako engalo kijiiko?*
> See, will he put another part on? Will he put more fingers that are like a spoon?

Kasule is first describing Gganga's fingers as spoons, because they stole meat (like a spoon scooping food from a saucepan). Kasule is also emphasizing that Gganga will not be able to replace his fingers—there is no other "part" to put on. In Ssempeke Sr.'s performance, recorded thirty-eight years later, he sings a line with the same idea and a similar melody, but almost completely changes the text:

> *Engalo eterina sasa aligisangawa engalo okugizza.*
> A finger has no blacksmith shop. Where will he find it to bring it back?

The only Luganda word in common with Kasule's line is the word *engalo* ("finger"), but despite the completely different vocabulary, Ssempeke Sr. is portraying the same meaning with his line: the blacksmith cannot replace a finger, and Gganga will not be able to find, let alone re-attach, the severed appendage. A variation can be as subtle as the substitution of the word *bikuggu* for the word *bitundu*, words that both translate as

"pieces" or "parts" but are heard as almost identical when sung at high speeds due to their assonance.

Apart from slight modifications to an *ekisoko*, entirely new *ebisoko* based on accounts about current events (whether mundane, historical or political) are also a large part of performance. These new *ebisoko* might, after their first utterance, be used verbatim or modified by other *abalanga*, and eventually could become standardized within a given song text. Some *ebisoko* inspire new songs altogether.

Variation of Ebisoko *Through Linguistic Devices*

Both Susan Kiguli (1996) and Catherine Gray (1992) discussed linguistic features in *ebisoko*—sound parallelism, allusions, endosemantic signification[6] and textual reoccurrence are all methods used to create or modify an *ekisoko*:

> It has also been illustrated that *bisoko* as well as other utterances can act as independent units and at the same time fuse into other utterances by means of allusion, imagery and parallelism. On the surface a text may appear full of unrelated utterances which only make sense by following the shifts facilitated by changes in voice and different forms of parallelism as well as allusion. (Kiguli 1996, 54)

Kiguli's work directly dealt with Ssempeke Sr.'s performances on the *ennanga*, but Gray's work was an examination of texts sung to *endongo* accompaniment—while they are different instruments they have the same repertoire. By identifying some of the *ebisoko* one can also examine some of these linguistic devices within the "Gganga alula" texts.

At one level, *abalanga* vary their song texts by playing with the syllables in a given text. Each phrase must be carefully constructed so that the syllables fit properly into the metric scheme of a tone cycle. The *abalanga* might drop or add a syllable or word in a line, and also may use archaic language or language not used in every-day

speech in order to create a desired rhythmic and/or lexical effect (Kiguli 1996, 13–14). For example, Mukasa sang the phrase:

Engalo, engalo, engalo, engalo ekkumi

With elision this phrase is sung as:

Engal'engal'engal'engal'ekkumi

In this case, elision played an important part in creating the desired rhythmic phrase. Additionally, the repetition of the word *engalo* adds to the aesthetic experience, and the elision of words makes this line a long string of repetitive vowels that almost floats above the harp. Mukasa sang this phrase in both his 1949 and 1952 performances of this song, and Majwala and Ssempeke Sr. were both influenced by Mukasa's use of this technique. Majwala was the only other *abalanga* who fully exploited this technique, although Ssempeke Sr. has a similar, shorter repetitive phrase that he ends a recitative section with:

Without elision: *Abange, abange, abange, nze agenda okulaba engalo gyezadda*
With elision: *Abang'abang'abange nz'agend'okulab'engalo gyezadda*

Many *abalanga* begin phrases or words with the same syllables or groups of syllables to unite otherwise seemingly disparate ideas through alliteration.

Parallelism is also extremely common, though it appears in a few forms: the use of parallel sounds, parallel themes, synonym sets and antonym sets. Parallel sounds, or "sound sequence parallelism,"[7] differs from alliteration in that it is a group of more than one sound. For example, Mukasa sings:

*Kitange **ekyo no ky'okola** omwami **ekyo no ky'okola** ekigambo **eky'omwenge***
My father, that which you do to the Lord, that which you do, that thing about alcohol.

The *abalanga* also use parallel themes to unite texts that otherwise seem unrelated. These are often tied together by ideas from Kiganda proverbs. Synonym and antonym groups are also used to unite texts and also in some cases to create symmetry (Kiguli 1996). Ssempeke Sr.'s phrase below is an example of a synonym group that he sang to describe the fingers of the thief, Gganga:

> *Ezabbanga ennyama! Zezabbanga engoye!*
> The ones who stole meat! The ones who used to steal clothes!

Conclusion

Any given performance of an *ennanga* tune can be constructed in numerous ways. An *omulanga* may choose to vary the tone cycle that he plays on the *ennanga*, construct a unique form out of predetermined phrases and *ebisoko*, vary harp solos in an otherwise repetitive tone cycle, and navigate through numerous layers of meaning and language play to create his own version of a song text. The *omulanga* must be adept at manipulating the expectations of the listener, given a harp part that is extremely repetitive.

The main musical component is an ostinato pattern, and within this ostinato pattern lay the blueprints for almost all of the melodic material. By working with the emergent patterns generated through the hocketing ostinati, the *omulanga* can create the illusion that the listener is hearing a vocal melody without even singing. He can use note substitutions to create a call-and-response pattern between the *ennanga*'s "singing" and the actual vocal line. For example, Mukasa repeated the fifth scale degree in the *ennanga* solo, making it sound like a "responsorial" recitative in which the text that he sings is the response to the harp pattern. He can also add a syllable at the beginning or end of a phrase, vary one of the sung melodies (rather than a sung phrase) therefore producing

harmonic intervals other than the expected unison and octave, or create melody lines that depart from the tone cycle. Finally, the *omulanga* can add syllables to the melody by slightly changing the text (or even change all of the text while maintaining the original meaning of a given line). In short, the proficiency of an *omulanga* lies in the relationship created between the harp and the voice through performance, and the tensions and releases that play on his listener's expectations.

Chapter 4 will explore each individual musician's use of the techniques outlined in this chapter and how these techniques have been used and adapted over time. A closer look at these performances can explain not only how the *abalanga* generate a performance, but also from whom and how they learned—an important part of the story of the *ennanga*. As I mentioned earlier, the central point of the chapter will be the recording of Temutewo Mukasa playing "Gganga alula": almost all *abalanga* who have played after him have used this recording to supplement the transmission of the *ennanga* repertoire.

NOTES

[1] The TUBS notation is associated with the musicologist James Koetting, who applied the notation extensively in his work (1984, 1970); however, the systems was initially developed by Philip Harland in 1962 for ensemble work at UCLA.
[2] In A. Cooke and Micklem's article (1999), the authors used the TUBS system with cipher notation. Koetting used this system in his article "Africa/Ghana" in the book *Worlds of Music: An Introduction to the Music of the Worlds's Peoples* (95, 1984). Cooke and Micklem offered the notation for the basic tone cycle on one line and then notated each line of sung melody below. I have used the same idea, but created a more prescriptive transcription that details each note of the harp part (when audible) and notated the vocal line below. This provided a closer look at the relationship between the harp part and the vocal line. I also added to A. Cooke and Micklem's notation by adding symbols that indicate an octave above or below the highest five strings of the harp.
[3] Many of the instances when a note in the vocal line and a note in the harp line were not sounded simultaneously were only audible when the recording was slowed down substantially. These rhythmic changes were so slight they could be attributed to the demands of singing the text or nuances in a singer's style.
[4] This being the length of the cycle of "Gganga alula." This cycle length would likely vary in another tune.
[5] When Kubik wrote of the kinds of variation and/or improvisation that are possible on the *amadinda*, he spoke of a few techniques that one of the three players (usually the same player) might use. Because there is only one player performing on the *ennanga*, it is easier for the *omulanga* to improvise much more without creating confusion more likely to ensue in a multiple-player setting.
[6] Endosemantic significance occurs "when one musical idea or gesture signifies something elsewhere in the work or even in another work, rather than signifying something outside of music, as a word usually signifies something outside of language" (Gray 1992, 86).
[7] Sound sequence parallelism is a concept Kiguli (1996) borrowed from linguist Nigel Fabb (1997).

CHAPTER 4: Continuity and Change in *Ennanga* Playing Style

The published recordings of Temutewo Mukasa, collected by Hugh Tracey and published on the ILAM label, have made a huge impact on the state of *ennanga* repertoire and the way that the instrument is played. Out of necessity, the *abalanga* of Buganda have had to integrate these recordings into their transmission process, and as a result, the Mukasa album has become an emblematic "text" of the tradition. Because the recording was and is used as a heuristic tool in place of the normal aural transmission pattern, the tradition runs the risk of becoming standardized in the style not only of one player, but of one particular performance (cf., Hagedorn 2001).[1] However, the *abalanga* have been careful to retrieve information through face-to-face transmission (however minimal), transcriptions, and the knowledge transferred from the other genres of Kiganda court music in order to supplement what they have learned from the Mukasa recordings.

In *Music-Cultures in Contact*, Stephen Blum summarizes the use of recordings in French composer Maurice Delage's composition process,

> [...] Recordings become texts when musicians hear them often enough to reproduce the features that interest them: the recording is vested with a particular type of authority, qualified by other types of authority. A recording or a score is construed as a text when performers treat it as a set of detailed instructions or guidelines for performance; in practice, no single text or collection of texts can fully determine the performer's responses. (1994, 258)

In similar fashion, each harp player not only took different aspects from the published transcriptions and recordings of the *ennanga*, but they chose to reproduce song texts and techniques from these resources in their own original ways, and with unique combinations of "lifting" content.

Kasule (1999) suggested that the researcher take into account recordings and archives in order to understand the nature of the *ennanga* tradition. About Albert Ssempeke Sr., he wrote:

> Traditional music is also dynamic. Because contemporary musical recordings should re-represent the musics of Uganda, suggesting boundaries and syncretisms of styles, the visiting ethnomusicologist should juxtapose the preserved recordings of the past with contemporary performances, for when Ssempeke attempts to reproduce the old music of the palace, what emerges is a text which has been impacted on by his own experiences, and by changes in the cultural, political and social climates of Uganda. (Cooke and Kasule 1999, 17)

The five performances of "Gganga alula" examined in this study are products of each *omulanga*'s interaction with Mukasa's recording and their experiences of the history of Buganda and its music. Mukasa's recording was only one among many sources—others include teachers, transcriptions and text—but it was and is perhaps the most influential in the recent transmission of *ennanga* repertoire.

This chapter will explore how each of the five *abalanga* (Kasule, Mukasa, Ssempeke Sr., Majwala, and Ssempeke Jr.) has created his own unique performance of "Gganga alula." By tracing techniques and idiosyncrasies from one performer to another, I hope to gain a better understanding of where the *abalanga* learned the techniques they chose to incorporate in their playing and how they construct their performances in the ways that they do. After introducing the recordings, I will examine in more detail the differences in the basic tone cycle of each *ommunanga*, followed by the differences in tuning, improvisation techniques on the harp, form and the use of *ebisoko*. Again, the crucial recording in this examination will be that of Temutewo Mukasa: the other four performances will be compared to his 1952 recording in order to determine what may have been "lifted" from that recording and why.

The Recordings

Of the five recordings of the song "Gganga alula" that I have analyzed, four of them I have transcribed myself. The other transcription that I have included (with a few of my own revisions to the rhythm in the vocal line) was taken from the article, "Ennanga harp songs of Buganda: Temutewo Mukasa's 'Gganga alula'" (A. Cooke and Micklem 1999). I recognize that these recordings represent performances made as a result of a recording session, a rather exceptional context. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that there are conditions in a recording session that undoubtedly affected the outcome of the piece, such as the order the pieces were played, the number of times a piece was played before it was recorded, whether the *omulanga* intended the chosen version to be the final product, with what equipment was the *omulanga* recorded and how did this affect the session, etc. Although any number of factors may have influenced the performances on these recordings, in some cases these are the only records that exist of a particular *omulanga* performing the piece. In some ways (which will be explored in the final chapter of this work), these recordings represent new performance contexts and transmission media.

In 1984, Sue Carole De Vale published an article that compared two recordings of "Gganga alula," one by Temutewo Mukasa and one by Evaristo Muyinda. In her study, De Vale used a graphic system that notated texture to have a visual representation of the textural patterns performed by the two *abalanga* for analysis. She concluded that Muyinda and Mukasa displayed major differences in their performance styles that might have been influenced by their musical roles in the kingdom (1984, 310). De Vale uncovered two recordings of *omulanga* performing "Gganga alula" that are not included in this analysis. The first was a recording of Semu Male, which I could not find. The

second recording was of Evaristo Muyinda, whose recording of "Gganga alula" I obtained from the International Library of African Music and that was also recorded by Hugh Tracey in 1952. Despite my best efforts, I could not decipher the notes in the harp ostinato pattern with any certainty, and therefore am saving the transcription and analysis of that performance for a time when I can find the resources to clean up the recording for a more precise result. However, I hope to add to De Vale's work by conducting the following evaluation of five recordings, using Mukasa's recording as a baseline for reasons described above. In this analysis I will pay special attention to the larger melodic forms and the textual patterns.The five recordings of "Gganga alula" that I have included in this chapter are:

1) Mr. Kasule: Klaus Wachsmann recorded Mr. Kasule playing "Gganga alula" at the Uganda Museum in 1950.
2) Temutewo Mukasa: There are two recordings of Mukasa performing "Gganga alula." The oldest recording of the song was recorded by Klaus Wachsmann in 1949, a recording not made widely available until about seven years ago when the recording was posted online through the British Library Sound Archive. However, Ssempeke Sr. and his brother Ludavico Sserwanga did have access to this recording at the Uganda Museum in Kampala. The recording that I have chosen to analyze is the one that was recorded by Hugh Tracey three years later, in 1952. This recording was commercially released through *The Sound of Africa* series and has since become much more popular both in Uganda and internationally. The Tracey recording of Mukasa has been analyzed and transcribed by Andrew Cooke and James Micklem (1999), and I have reproduced most of their transcription with a few corrections for my analysis.
3) Albert Mwanga Ssempeke Sr: Ssempeke Sr. was recorded by Peter Cooke at the University of Edinburgh in 1988.
4) Ssalongo Ssennoga Majwala: Majwala was video recorded in 1995 for the television program, *World of Music*. This performance was cut to present the parts of the piece that included singing, and, although the main solo (and the humming section) of the piece was cut from the recording, there were forty-one cycles included in the performance.
5) Albert Bisaso Ssempeke Jr: I recorded Ssempeke Jr. playing "Ganga alula" in the Kyebando District, Kampala in February 2010.

Vocal Structure of "Gganga alula"

The duration of the performance and form of the song varied from performer to performer, but there were structural similarities in the song texts and vocal lines in all five performances. This section includes a comparison of the form of each performance, along with some observations on these comparisons. The following is a detailed description of each of the performances in question.

Mukasa

In the recording of his performance, Mukasa played "Gganga alula" for two minutes and fifty-six seconds, over which time he performed the tone cycle fifty-two-and-half times. For much of his performance, Mukasa favoured organizing his text into groups of three tone cycles. He began his performance with a harp solo that lasted three cycles, followed by a nine-line section that can be broken into three groups of three cycles of melodic material. Each of the three groups of three cycles had the same melodic line as well as themes in the text.

The first three lines of this excerpt were the most common phrase in the song,

Bamutemako engalo bitundu Gganga alula.
They cut off parts of his fingers, Gganga escaped

Olwamutemako engalo gyezzali zabba enyamma.
When they cut off the fingers, those which used to steal meat.

Musical Example 24: The first nine lines of Mukasa's performance.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
																												Baa		mu	te	ma		k'en	
																												^2		^2	^2	^2		^2	^1
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo		bi	tun		du —			Ga	ng'a		lu	la						Na		sso	lo		Gganga O				lw'aa		mu	ta	ma		k'en	
5	5		5	^2		4	34		3	2		3	3						5		5	5		5	4	5		^2		^2	^2	^2		^2	^1
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo		gye	zaa		li	e		za	bb'enn		ya	ma						Na		ssc	lo		Ggan ga—				Kye'm		ba	buu		li	r'en—	
5	5		5	5		4	34		3	2		3	3						5		5	5		5	4	3	5	^2		^2	^2		^2	^2	^1
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo		bi	tun—		du—		wu	li	r'en		ga	lo					te	ge	re		z' en		ko	ba—		a	ban		ge	Ka		ba	ka	
5	5		5	5\	3	5\4		3	4	4	3	3	3					5	^1	5		4		5	4\		5	^1		5	5		^1	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
Wu	lu	gem		be — —				gya		ll' e		Men		go—					Na		sso	lo		Gganga—			a	ban		ge	wu	li	ra—		
5	5	5		4	\3			3		4\3		3		3 (325)					5		5	5		5	4	3	5	^2		5	5	^2	^1	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
Wu	lu	gem		be — —				gya		ll'a		la	mu	la					Na		ssc	lo		sse bo—			a	ba		ffe	wu	li	ra	en	
5	5	5		5\4	3			3		43		3	3	3(5)					5		5	5		5	4	3	5	^2		5	5	^2	^1	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo		gye	zaa		li—		e	za	bb'enn		ya	ma					te	ge	re	re	z'en		ga	lo	—				ki	tan		ge	bwe'n	
5	5		5	5		4	3	4	3	2		3	3/	5				5	^1	5		4		5	5	4				5	5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
da	bye		ki	run		gi	bye		nda	by'e		na		nga					ne		mn	la		nsi	ma——						nze		nge	bwen	
5	5		5	5		4	4		3	2		3		4(35)					5		5	5		5	4	3	5				5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
da	bye		ki	run		gi	nen		da	b' en		ten		ga					ne		mn	la		nja	ga	la				ki	tan		ge	bwen	
5	5		5	5		4	4		3	2		3		4(35)					5		5	5		5	5	4	3	5		4	^1		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
da	bye		ki	run		gi	nen		da	b' o		mun		tu					Na		ssc	lo		Ggan ga—			a	gen		d'o	kwo		ge	r'en	
5	3		3	5		4	3	4	3	2	1	3		4(35)					5		5	5		5	4	3	5	5		5	5		5	5	

These lines outline a nuclear theme (shown in Musical Ex. 25) very similar to Nuclear Theme B offered by Cooke (2006) and reproduced here in Musical Ex. 26:

Musical Example 25: Variation on Nuclear Theme B played by Mukasa.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
																												Baa		mu	te	maa		k'en	
																												^2		^2	^2	^2		^2	^1
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo	(e)	bi	tun		du		Ggan		ng'a		lu	ta						Nas		so	lo	Ggan		ga		O	lwa		mu	te	maa		k'en	
5	5		5	^2		4	34		3	2		3	3						5		5	5		5	4	5		^2		^2	^2	^2		^2	^1

Musical Example 26: Nuclear Theme B in Cooke (2006).

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		3		5		2		2		5		1
ga	l'e		bi	tun		du										Aal				Gga		nga		lu	la			Baa		mu	te	maa		k'en	
5	5		5	5		4										1				4		2		4	4			2		2	2	2		2	

Mukasa's variation on Nuclear Theme B is slightly different than what Cooke demonstrated on the *amadinda*. There is an additional phrase sung to the words *Gganga alula* in the ninth unit of the tone cycle, and there are slightly different pitches sung between the twentieth and the twenty-sixth units. Although this variation is not found throughout all five performances, it is very common in Ssempeke Sr.'s performance, and it seems a natural addition given that three of the four notes in the phrase are found in the ostinato pattern.

The third line in Mukasa's introduction is a familiar *ekisoko* that will recur throughout the song, though not as important as the first two lines:

> *Kye mbabuulira engalo bitundu wulira engalo tegereza enkoba*
> What I'm telling you, the remaining fingers, listen to the fingers, think about the strings.

This nine-line section is a microcosm of how Mukasa structured his performance. He repeated texts so that the audience could become familiar with musical and lyrical ideas and then added a small variation to each line—often in the pitches or rhythm from units nineteen to twenty-seven. In areas where he introduced completely new text or melodic material, such as lines four to six in Musical Ex. 24, he referred back to antecedent sections by singing already familiar textual material, such line six:

> *Abaffe wulira engalo gye zaali zabba ennyama tegereza engalo*
> Our friends listen, where the fingers were which stole meat. Think about the fingers.

These refer to the lyrics that are sung in line three:

Kye mbabuulira engalo bitundu wulira engalo tegereza enkoba
What I'm telling you, the remaining fingers, listen to the fingers, think about the strings.

Mukasa also included in his performance two sections of recitative-style singing: one long section (about seven cycles) and one short section (about two and a half cycles). The recitative style in the song "Gganga alula" is found in all five versions addressed here and is almost exclusively sung on the fifth scale degree. An example of this is shown in Musical Ex. 27. Also indicated in Musical Ex. 27 is a triplet figure found in the recitative that includes a unit of rest followed by two units of the fifth scale degree. This is the result of the combination of a short syllable followed by a long syllable, and it creates a lilting or swinging feeling, bolstered by the clap beat that occurs every six units.

Musical Example 27: Mukasa's first section of recitative in "Gganga alula."

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
			x						x						x						x						x						x		
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
da	bye		ki	run		gi	nen		da	b' o		mun		tu					Na		ssc	lo		Ggan	ga—		a	gen		c'o	kwo		ge	r'en	
5	3		3	5		4	3	4	3	2	1	3		4(35)					5		5	5		5	4	3	5	5		5	5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo		gye	zaa		li	zil		zo						e	kya	li	eky'a			ka	b'o		mwa		mi	e	kya		li	kya		ka	bi	e
5	5		5	5		4(3	5		5 ——		4				5	5		5	5		5	5		5	4	3(5	—	5		5	5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		3		5		2		2		5		1
kya	te		myi	Gan		ga——		baa	ba						Na	nyi		ni	m'o		mu	wan		vu — —			nze	gwa		li	kwa		ta	k'a	e
5	5		5	5		4	3	5	5 ——		4(3)				5	5		5	5		5	5		5	4	3(5	5	5		5	5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
li	ka		ba	ya		ye	baa		ba — —						nz	kaa		lo	ke		ka	m'c mw		mi		mi	o	lan		gi	r'e		dd	g'e	
5	5		5	5		4(3	5		5 ——		4(3)				5	5		5	5		5	5		5	4	3	5	5		5	5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		3		5		2		2		5		1
ry	kye		na	gaa		na	nan		ge — —						nz	na		y'	ta		wa	ni'e		waffe —				nze	na	yi	ta		w	an'	o
4(3	5		5	5		4	5		5 ——		4(3)				5	5		5	5		5	4	3	5	4	3	5	5		5	5		5	4	3
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
	wi	o	mu	zun		gu	baa		ba — —						nze	kwa		ga	le	o	sa	le a		mge			zi	kyen		ku	bi		li	r'e	
5	4	3	5	5		4	5		5 ——		4(3)				5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
kya			mya		Ggan		kye		kyo — —						Na	nyi		ni	mu		o ri	wan		vu —			nze	gwa		li	kw		ta	k'a	
5	5		5	5		4	5		5 ——		4(3)				5	5		5	5		5	5		5	4	3	5	5		5	5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
li	kaa		ba	ya	—	ye	—	wu	li	r'e	en	ga	lo — —					Ban		nan		gen		da	bye—			kyen		ku	bu		li	ra	
5	5		5	5	3	5	4	3	5	4	3	3	3	2	1			3(4)—		3(5)		2		4	2	—	—	2		2	2		2	2	

There is an additional theme performed by Mukasa that is found throughout the performances of Ssempeke Sr., Ssempeke Jr., and Majwala. This phrase, which I will call Theme D (Musical Ex. 28), is a variation on the nuclear themes outlined earlier, with considerable modification to the pitch at the beginning of the phrase. The end of the phrase returns to the common melody that accompanies the text *baamutemako*. This theme could have been an *ekisoko* added after the song's original composition given that it does not have a direct relationship with the basic tone cycle. Furthermore, the melody and accompanying text were not sung by all five *abalanga*.

Musical Example 28: Mukasa's variation (Theme D).

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
			la	b'o		ba	–	we		ga		na						ka	le	re	–	t'en		ga	lo	–	–	ba		zi	te	ma		ko	–
			3	3		4(3	4	3	5	2		3	–	2	1			4	4	3	5	2		3	3	1	2	2		2	2	2		2	1
5		3		5		5		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		3		4		5		4		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		5
5		3		5		5		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		1		4		5		4		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		5

Kasule

Klaus Wachsmann recorded Kasule playing "Gganga alula" at the Uganda Museum in 1950. The performance lasted approximately three minutes and seven seconds, and in that time he played the tone cycle fifty-two times. Kasule's performance was very formulaic: there were three vocal sections separated by harp solos.

Kasule tended to group phrases into three lines of similar material, especially toward the beginning of the song. His thematic material in the sung text, however, tended to be grouped into lines of two (also a making use of parallelism, the variation technique mentioned in the previous chapter). Much of Kasule's performace was composed of a variation on Nuclear Theme B, with recited phrases added from units thirteen to unit

twenty-six. Kasule's opening lines (in Musical Ex. 29) demonstrate this pattern repeated four times.

Musical Example 29: Kasule's opening lines.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		4		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
												A	ban		ge	baa		mu	te	maa		ko	Ggan		ga		Ng	baa		mu	te	maa		k'en	
												5	2		^1	^1		^1	^1	^1		^1	5		4		5	^2		^2	^2	^2	^2	^1	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo		ki	jji		ko						A	ban		ge	baa		mu	te	maa		ko	Ggan		ga		Ng	baa		mu	te	maa		k'en	
5	5		5	^1		4						5	^2		^1	^1		^1	^1	^1		^1	5	4	4		5	^2		^2	^2	^2		^1	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo		ki	jji		ko						A	baf		f'o	gen		da	Bu	le		ga	Ggan		ga		E	zi	si	ga	dde		ko'at'en		
5	5		5	^1		4						5	^2		^1	^1		^1	^1	^1			5		/4		5	^2		^2	^2		^2	^2	^1
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	l'a	te	zi	kwe		ke						O	la		b'o	nno		mu	san		ga	yo		na	we		o	no		mu	san		ga	yo	
5	5		5	5		4						5	2		^1	^1		^1	^1		^1			5	4		5	^2		^2	^2		/^2	^1	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
Nas		so	lo	mwa		na							Mu	la	b'a		na	zor		ge	ra	k'o		lu	cda		A	na	zon		ge	ra		k'en	
5	5		5	5		4							5	^1	^2		^2	^1		^1	^1	^1		^1	4\		5	^2		^2	^2	^2		^1	

Ssempeke Sr.

Peter Cooke recorded Albert Mwanga Ssempeke (Sr.) in 1988 at the University of Edinburgh. His performance of the piece "Gganga alula" lasted four minutes and twenty-eight seconds. In that time he played seventy-four tone cycles. Ssempeke Sr. mainly sang the following material: Nuclear Theme B, the variation on Nuclear Theme B played by Mukasa, (Musical Ex. 25), Theme D also performed by Mukasa and recitatives. Ssempeke Sr. also interspersed more harp interludes throughout the song than any other *omulanga*. These interludes were not all substantive—some lasted only half of a cycle. There were also a few textual phrases that he used to cue clisteners to new ideas in his song text. The phrases he chose to use are literally calls to the the king *in absentia*:

> *Naamukola ntya, mukama wange?*
> What shall I do, my master?

and, the phrase:

> *Naamukola ntya?*
> What will I do with him?

Along with the identifying phrase of the song, the following phrase was also used to "bookend" sections of new material in the text:

> *Nze baamutemako engalo bitundu kubba ennyama.*
> The ones they cut into pieces for stealing flesh.

Musical Ex. 30 demonstrates some of these phrases. See, for example, how Ssempeke Sr. began this section in with the phrase:

> *Baazitemako engalo bitundu.*
> They cut them into pieces.

He then ended the section of new material by singing:

> *Baamutemako!*
> They cut them off!

Musical Example 30: Excerpt from Ssempeke Sr.'s performance of "Gganga alula."

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
4		3		5		4		3		1		2		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		1		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
							2	4		3		1		3	3		1	4		3		2		4	4	3	5	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	5
							E	zab		ban		g'enn		ya	ma	z'e		zab		ban		g'en		go	ye			Baa		zi	te	ma		k'en	
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		3		4		3		2		4		1		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		3		5		2		2		5		1
5	5		5	2		5																					5/	2	2	2	2		2	2	
ga	lo		bi	tun		du																						A	ll	gi	san		ga	w'en	
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		1		4		3		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		2
5	5		5	2		4\								5		5	5		5		5	5		4		5		ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2\5	
ga	lo		ku	ziz		za									Ya	ii	guz		ze		pu	iii		da		nze		na		wo	le	re		z'en	
4		3		2		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		1		4		3		2	
	2		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		1		5		2
5	5		5	2		4								5		5	5		5		5	5		4		5		ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2\5	
ga	lo		ku	zi		zza									ya	ll	guz		ze		pu	lll		da		nze		na		wo	le	re		z'en	
4		3		2		4		3		2		3				1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	1		5		2		1		5		1		3		5				1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
5	5		5	5		4-	3																												
ga	lo		te	zad		da																													
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		3		2		2		4		3		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		3		5		2		2		5		1
														5		ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1				5	ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2\12	
														En		ga	l'e		te	ri	na	sa	sa	sa				A	ll	gi	san		ga	w'en	
4		3		2		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	4		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		2
5	5		5	2		5-	3							5		ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1				5	ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	(ˆ1)ˆ2	
ga	lo		ku	giz		za								En		ga	l'e		te	ri	na	sa	sa	sa				A	ll	gi	san		ga	w'en	
4		3		2		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	1		5		2		1		5		1		2		5		1		1		5		1		1		5		2		2		5		2
5	5		5	5		4-		3		1		3	3(1)					4		(4)3		2		4	4		3/	2		2	2	2		2	
ga	lo		ku	giz		za		Ggan		g'a		lu	la					mun		nan		g'o		la	bye			Baa		mu	te	ma		ko	

In the example above, before introducing the new material, Ssempeke Sr. sang the familiar phrase, *Baazitemako engalo bitundu* ("They cut them into pieces"). Then, in the third line, he performed recited material to vary the Nuclear Theme B (much like Kasule), which he performed twice. In the sixth line he sang another variation on Nuclear Theme B by opening it with more "recited" material a scale degree higher than the last recitative. Finally, Ssempeke Sr. ended this section with the familiar text *Baamutemako!* ("They cut them off!").

Aligisangawa engalo okuzizza? Yaliguze puliida
Where can he find the fingers, to bring them back? He would hire a lawyer

nze nawolereza engalo okuzizza. Yaliguze puliida
to petition for his fingers. He would hire a lawyer

nze nawolereza engalo tezadda
to ask for fingers which never returned.

Engalo eterina sasa
A finger has no blacksmith shop.
[You can't obtain fingers from a blacksmith]

Aligisangawa engalo okugizza? Engalo eterina sasa.
Where will he find it to bring it back? A finger has no blacksmith shop.

Aligisangawa engalo okugizza? Gganga alula, munnange olabye.
Where will he find the finger to bring it back? Gganga had a narrow escape, my friend, poor you!

Musical Ex. 31 is also illustrative of Ssempeke Sr.'s style. In this excerpt he sang a section that contained two new themes toward the end of his performance, followed by a familiar recitative theme he had already sung:

Musical Example 31: Excerpt from Ssempeke Sr.'s performance of "Gganga alula."

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
4		3		5		4		3		2		3				1				3		2		4		3		2		4		3		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
																2	1		4	4		4	4-		2		2		2		2		2	2	4
																O	mu		ka	zi		n	tun		d'e		bik		kwa		nam		bu	go	
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		3		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
															1/	2		4		4		4	2		4	3	2		2		2		2	2\	1
																Bwo		bee		ra		ne	bin		gi	o	bik		ka		n'e		bi	na	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3				1		4		3		1		4				2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1								5						1		5		2		2		5		1
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		3		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1				5		1		1		5		1				5		2		2		5		1
														3-	(gli	1		3									4-		2	2	2		2	2	
														Om			wa	mi									bwo		ya	ga	l'en		se	ko	
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		3		1		4		3		3		4		3		2		4		3		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		3		5		2		2		5		1
5		5	5	2		5(3)								5-		1		4(3)									5		2	2	2		2	(2)5	
sen		ya	ku	man		nyo								Om			wa	mi									bwo		ya	ga	l'en		se	ko	
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		3		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		3		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		3		5		2		2		5		1
5		5	5	2		4(3)								5-		1		4(3)					2		3		2		2	2	2		2	(2)5	
sen		ya	ku	man		nyo								Om			wa	mi					bwo		bee		r'o		ya	ça	l'en		se	ko	
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		1		5		2		2		5		1
5		5	5	5		4		4	3		2	3		4																					
sen		ya	ku	man		nyo		Ga	yi'n		ze	wam		ma																					
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		3		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
														5		5		5		5	5	5		5	5	5		5		5		5	5	5	
														nze		naa		bee		ra	wa	no	s	se	bo	nze		naa		bee		ra	wa	n'a	
4		3		1		4		3		1		3		3		1		4		3		1		4		3		1		4		2		1	
	5		5		1		1		5		1		2		5		1		1		5		2		1		5		2		1		5		2
5	5		5	5		4 1/2(3)									4	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5	
wa	l'o		mu	kun		gu									Nze	naa		bee	ra		wa	no		sse	bo		nze	na		bee	ra		wa	n'a	
4		3				4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		1	
	1		5		2		1		5		1		1		5		1		1		5		2		1		5		2		1		5		2
5	5		5	5		4	#							4/	5	5		5	5		5	5		5\	3		4	5		5	5		5	5	
wa	l'o		mu	kun		gu									A	kaa		lo	ke		ka	mun		ga			ol	an		gi	r'ed		do	g'er	

Finally, Ssempeke Sr. ended the piece by repeating the question he sang through out the piece, *Nze namukola ntya mukama wange?* ("What will I do with him, my master?).[2]

Musical Example 32: The final lines of Ssempeke Sr.'s performance.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
4		3		2		4		3		1		4		3		5		4		3		2		3		1		1		4		3		3	
	3		5		2		1		5		2		5		5		2		1		5		1		2		5		1		1		5		1
			1/	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2\	5																								
				Naa		mu	ko	lan		tya																									
4		3		2		4		2		1		4		3		5		4		3		3		3		1		1		4		3		2	
	3		5		2		2		5		2		5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2
	1/	ˆ2		ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2\	1																								
		Nze		naa		mu	ko	lan		tya																									
4		3		2		4		2		1		4		3		5		4		3		2		3		1		1		4		3		2	
	4		5		2		2		5		2		5		5		2		1		5		1		2		5		1		1		5		
		ˆ2		ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2\		1	5		5	5		4-	3																
		nze		ndi		mu	ko	lan		tya		mu	ka		ma	wan		ge																	

Ssempeke Jr.

I recorded Albert Bisaso Ssempeke (Jr.) playing "Gganga alula" in the Kyebando District, Kampala. This performance lasted approximately four minutes and four seconds in which time Ssempeke Jr. played the basic cycle sixty-five times—the speed of each tone cycle varied in the beginning of the performance, but leveled out to be between 3.7 to 3.8 seconds per tone cycle. Ssempeke Jr. divided his sections of melody with short harp solos like other *abalanga*, but he also included recitative sections that were more frequent and shorter (two or three tone cycles) than those of his predecessors.

Much of Ssempeke Jr.'s performance style directly reflected the influences of his father's playing. For example, although he used recitative more frequently and with more variance in terms of length than other *omulanga*, Ssempeke Jr. recited some of the same lines as his father, Ssempeke Sr. Musical Ex. 33 is an example of a recitative performed by Ssempeke Jr. that was borrowed from his father. All three lines in the example were also sung by Ssempeke Sr. in a recitative section (although not sequentially). In fact, the last two lines of the recitative in Musical Ex. 31 are the same as the first two lines in Ssempeke Sr.'s recitative in Musical Ex. 33:

Musical Example 33: Ssempeke Jr. recitative section in "Gganga alula."

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		2		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
ll	kaa		ba	Woo		we								Nd'e		kyo'n		no	kyo		ko	la	sse		bo		e	kyo'n		no	kyo		ko	l'e	
5	5		5	5		4(35)							4/	5	5	5		5	5		5	5	5		5		5	5		5	5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		2		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
ki	gam		bo	ky'om		wen		ge—						Nze		naa		bee		ra	wa	no	sse		bo	N	ze	naa		bee		ra	wa	n'a	
5	5		5	5	4	3		5						5		5		5		5	5	5	5		5		5	5		5		5	5	5	
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		2		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
wa	ll'o		mu	lun		gi	baa	ba						Nze		naa		bee		ra	wa	no	sse		bo	N	ze	naa		bee		ra	wa	n'a	
5	5		5	5		5	5	4\3						5		5		5		5	5	5	5		5		5	5		5		5	5	5	
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		2		2		1		5		2		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
wa	ll'o		mu	kun		gu								Nan		nyi		ni	m'o		mu	wan		vu		nze		gwa		li	kwa		ta	k'a	
5	5		5	5		3								^1		^1		^1	^1		5	5		3\		5		^2		^2	^2		^2	^1\5	

Ssempeke Jr. also used Theme D, which was first played by Mukasa and then later by his father. His version of the phrase is shown below:

Musical Example 34: Ssempeke Jr. transition material ("bie").

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
3		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		2		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
—	—	—	—	—	—		ba	wee		gaa		na							lee		te	z'en		ga	lo			Baa		zi	te	ma		ko	
						4		3		2		3							4		3	2		4	3\			2		2	2	2		1\	

As a method of moving out of harp solos, Ssempeke Jr. used the same text marker as his father:

> *Naamukola ntya mukama wange.*
> What will I do with him, my master?

Finally, Ssempeke Jr. bookended his entire performance with almost the same phrase. He began his performance with the phrase,

> *Baamutemako engalo bikuggu*
> They cut off his fingers, he has parts
>
> *Nannyinimu omulungi nze gw'alikwatako alikaaba 'Yaaye!'*
> The handsome household head, whoever he gets hold of will cry out '*Yaaye*!'

And Ssempeke Jr. ended the piece with that phrase followed by the words:

Gganga alula, Munang'olabye. Baazutemako
Gganga survived. Sorry my friend. They cut them off

Musical Example 35: Ssempeke Jr.'s closing phrases.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5		3		5		4		3		2				2		2		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		2				5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
					O		ba	wee		gaa		na						lee		t'e		z'en		ga	lo			Baa		zu	te	ma		k'en	
					2		4	3		2		3						4		3		2		4	4			ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ1\5	
5				5		4		1		5		2		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5				2		2		2		3				1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo		bi	kug		gu								Nan		nyi		ni	m'o		mu	lun		gi		nze		gw'a		li	kwat'a			ka	
5	5		5	5		4								ˆ1		ˆ1		ˆ1	ˆ1		5	5		4		5		ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ1\5	
4				5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5				1		5		2		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
li	kaa		ba	Yaa		ye		Gan		ga		Alu	la					Mu		nan		g'o		la	bye—			Baa		zu	te	ma		ko	
5	5		5	5		4		3		2		3	3					4		3		2		4	4~			2		2	2	2		2	

This example is particularly interesting because Ssempeke Jr. used a phrase, Phrase D, that he had already established in this piece—and elided it with Nuclear Theme B. In fact, the words *leet'ez'engalo* in his phrase are parallel to the words *Gganga alula* in Nuclear Theme B. Ssempeke Jr. then sang recited material and elided it with Mukasa's variation on Nuclear Theme B. Finally, he sang a fragment of Nuclear Theme B by substituting the words *Gganga alula,* which would normally be sung in unit twenty-one with the words *Munang'olabye*. Ssempeke Jr. used the strategy of eliding phrases a few times in his performance in order to interrupt the listeners' expectations, creating tension.

Majwala

Ssalongo Ssenoga Majwala was recorded playing "Gganga alula" and "Omusango Gw'abalere" in 1995 for a television program, and in 2010 he gave me a DVD copy of the video performance, from which I extracted the audio in order to transcribe the music. Because the performance was edited to include only the parts where Majwala was singing, the length of the full performance is not known. With a few exceptions, each

cycle played by Majwala lasted about three and a half seconds. The form of Majwala's performance seems to be closely constructed from the recording of Mukasa, but because of the audio-visual editing I was not able to isolate distinct sections. Besides Mukasa, Majwala was also the only other *omulanga* documented humming over a harp solo in the song "Gganga alula," although I could transcribe little of this section most of that edited from the performance.

One of the most interesting aspects of Majwala's performance was the use of the same vocal lines *in the same order* as Mukasa. This is a rare occurence in a tradition where it is commonplace to find only one identifiable line in two versions of the same piece. Majwala even inserted his harp solo in between the sung text in the same place as Mukasa's performances, indicating what I would consider to be a clear intent to replicate. Majwala did improvise a bit in the vocal line by changing a line in which Mukasa sang about the king's home to incorporate the current king of Buganda; however, Majwala's song structure was almost identical to that of Mukasa, and setting aside a few exceptions and word substitutions, Majwala performed the song "line for line" from Mukasa's recorded performance.

Summary

There are definite commonalities in the formal structure of the song "Gganga alula" in these performances over the last sixty years, and it is clear that in one way or another each of the *abalanga* translated different parts of Mukasa's performance to craft his own rendition of the piece. Mukasa and Kasule both favoured groups of three lines, and they both used similar material to signal a move to another section. Although there is no definitive proof that Mukasa and Kasule *learned* from each other, it is clear that they

have numerous performance aspects in common, the likely result of the fact that they were colleagues—alternating a shared post in the palace—and therefore learned during the same period in the tradition.

Ssempeke Sr., much like the two *abalanga* that played before him, sang a recitative. While he did not sing with as much variety in the melodic phrases as Mukasa, he varied his few melodic phrases by changing the lyrics, shifting the melodic entrance points vis-à-vis the basic pattern, and adding shorter sections of harp solo and recitative. Ssempeke Jr. performed in a similar style to that of his father, dividing the piece into shorter sections and using a lesser variety of phrases. Ssempeke Jr. also used lyrics to cue transitions (like his father) and provide structural markers for the listener (much like Mukasa). Ssempeke Jr. also used some of the same phrases as Mukasa. (Mukasa played "e bie" while Ssempeke Jr. played "bie.") Majwala chose to replicate Mukasa's performance, rather than integrating aspects of Mukasa's performance into a style of his own, as the other *abalanga* did.

Basic Tone Cycle

Every *omulanga* performed a different basic tone cycle in his recording of "Gganga alula." To understand some of these differences I will compare the tone cycles played by each *omulanga*, as well as basic tone cycles of the same song played on the *amadinda*. I have organized these basic tone cycles chronologically. Musical Ex. 24 is a transcription of the song "Gganga alula" played on *amadinda* that was published by Kyagambiddwa (1955). This is the oldest published transcription of the tune, and Kyagambiddwa studied with Evaristo Muyinda, who played *amadinda* and *ennanga*. The next two musical examples are transcriptions of recordings of "Gganga alula": Musical

Ex. 25 was performed on *ennanga* by Kasule in 1950, and Musical Ex. 26 was played by Mukasa in 1952, presumably around the time that Kyagambiddwa was working on his book. These two versions were recorded around the same time and performed by two *omulanga* who were working in the *lubiri* during the same time period,[3] therefore it is not a surprise that basics nature of their performances are similar. Musical Exx. 36–38 demonstrate the differences between the basic tone cycles documented on the *amadinda* by Kygambiddwa in 1955 and the two *abalanga* who performed around that time: Kasule and Mukasa. In these examples, where the pitches differ from the *amadinda* transcription, the numbers have been set in bold.

Musical Example 36: The cycle on *amadinda* (Kyagambiddwa 1955).

5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		2		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		2		2		5		1

Musical Example 37: The cycle played on *ennanga* by Kasule in 1950.

5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		**3**		2		**5**		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		**1**		1		5		1		**4**		5		2		2		5		1

Musical Example 38: The cycle played on *ennanga* by Mukasa in 1952.

5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		**3**		2		**5**		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		**1**		1		5		1		**4**		5		2		2		5		1

Kasule and Mukasa's tone cycles are identical on the *ennanga*, but they both played four different notes from the *amadinda* version of the piece.

The next most recently published transcription of the *amadinda* version of "Gganga alula" (see Musical Ex. 39) can be found in Lois Anderson's dissertation

(1968), Gerhard Kubik's article (1969), and Peter Cooke's "Play Amadinda" booklet (2006).

Musical Example 39: The cycle on the *amadinda* (Anderson 1968; Kubik 1969; Cooke 2006).

5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		2		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		3		5		2		2		5		1

Kyagambiddwa, Anderson, Kubik, and Cooke all worked with palace musicians to create their *amadinda* transcriptions, but their transcriptions are slightly different: the eighteenth note of Kygambiddwa's tone cycle (Musical Ex 36) is the second scale degree, while the eighteenth note of Anderson, Kubik and Cooke's transcriptions (Musical Ex. 39) is the first scale degree. This difference in the eighteenth unit of the cycle is also found in Mukasa and Kasule's performances—they also play the first scale degree. This difference possibly suggests (1) that over time the tones in a cycle change slightly because of the nature of the aural transmission process, (2) that Anderson, Kubik and Cooke's transcriptions are more accurate, or (3) that this is simply a difference between the *ennanga* and the *amadinda* versions of the same piece.

Musical Example 40: The cycle on *ennanga* by Ssempeke Sr. in 1988.

4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1

Musical Example 41: The cycle played on the *ennanga* by Majwala in 1995.

5		•		1		4		3		2		4		2		1		3		3		2		4		2		2		3		2		2	
	5		5		2		4		5		2		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1

Musical Example 42: The cycle played on the *amadinda* by Ssempeke Jr. in 2009.

5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		2		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		2		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1

Musical Example 43: The cycle played on the *ennanga* by Ssempeke Jr. in 2009.

5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		2		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1

There are three pitch differences between the version that Ssempeke Jr. still plays and Kyagambiddwa's version, as well as three different pitches between Ssempeke Jr.'s version and Anderson and Kubik's version. Each one of these differences is in the *okwawula* part, suggesting that either the *okunaga* part is less malleable (possibly because it has more notes in common with the vocal line) or that it is simply more memorable, phenomena that are not mutually exclusive (which is certainly the case for me). It is possible to have more than one *okwawula* part for a song, particularly an easier *okwawula* part for a beginner, and perhaps another *okwawula* part has had an influence on Ssempeke Jr.'s version, making his version somewhat different from the other three.

Perhaps most interesting is the comparison of the Mukasa and Kasule's basic tone cycle with that of Ssempeke Sr., Ssempeke Jr., and Majwala (all on the *ennanga*). Ssempeke Sr.'s basic tone cycle has three different tones from that of Mukasa; Majwala's tone cycle has three different tones from that of Mukasa; Ssempeke Jr. has four different tones from that of Mukasa. Ssempeke Jr. only has three different tones from his father's basic tone cycle on the *ennanga*. This suggests to me that Ssempeke Jr. is more reliant on his father's version than that of Mukasa. The differences in the basic tone cycles also

suggest a trend of change from generation to generation, but the changes do not dramatically alter the melodies associated with the nuclear themes. I would offer for consideration the possibility that the changes over time are mainly made to ancillary notes that are less memorable because they are not correlated to the text.

Ebisoko

As was discussed in the previous chapter, an *ekisoko* (*ebisoko* pl.) is a song phrase or line with a stable meaning that might be varied in part or in its entirety. Peter Cooke found six kinds of lyrical content in the performances of Ssempeke Sr. that he included in his 1988 recording *Ssempeke!*: 1) "nuclear" or "key" texts that identify a song and are used in most performances of a piece; 2) "general" phrases used across different songs; 3) "traditional *ebisoko*" that are passed down and "absorbed into the texts of many singers"; 4) new *ebisoko* added by the performer; 5) lyrics topical to the performance context or current events; 6) "an all pervading theme of obeisance to the Kabakaship" (Cooke 1988, 1).

During my examination of the texts of "Gganga alula" I found the distinctions between some of these categories to be difficult to delineate. That is to say that a category overlap is frequent. For example, the phrases demonstrating obeisance to the *kabaka* could also fit into the category of "general" phrases used across different songs. Therefore, I have organized the text found in the five performances of "Gganga alula" using some of Cooke's categories, which I have slightly readjusted. These categories are: 1) "nuclear themes" that identify the song; 2) "general purpose texts" that can span across songs throughout the repertoire and are common among many *omulanga*; and 3) "topical texts" that are unique to the time and/or situation in which the *omulanga* is singing.

In this section I will introduce material from each of the categories that I have offered, explore the material that the *abalanga* sang from each category, compare how they performed the *ebisoko*, and trace the appearance of these texts within the five performances.

Ebisoko Themes

1. "Nuclear themes."

While the text of this song is about the story of Gganga, the song lyrics do not always explicitly name what happened to him (i.e., that Gganga had a sexual relationship with the princess and was punished with castration). Rather, the consequences, or moral of the story, are recounted throughout the piece, often in less direct ways. The overarching message of the song text is that a transgression against the king is the most serious offense, and anyone who survives their punishment should consider themselves lucky for escaping with their life, hence the title: "Gganga alula," meaning "Gganga had a lucky escape." Additionally, there is the secondary theme about wealth, namely that it is not the answer to everything—money cannot replace fingers, or the ability to have a family.

Most *ebisoko* that are common throughout the five performances of this piece are generally related to the narrative of Gganga's story. These metaphor-laden texts are used to avoid the direct engagement with the subject of sex. These *ebisoko* mainly revolve around Gganga's fingers or loss of them, that is, the consequence of his affair with the princess, rather than the events that led up to his punishment. The key *ebisoko* include themes about Gganga's fingers being cut off, the crime of stealing meat, the idea that fingers are not replaceable, searching for the fingers and themes of location, poking fun

of Gganga, pleading to the audience, and the theme of food and eating and references to the *kabaka*.

1a. Themes about Gganga's fingers

There are various permutations of the *ebisoko* that concern the loss of Gganga's finger(s) or the fact that it was cut into pieces. The best example of this theme is the identifying line of the song. The following is the first line of Mukasa's performance:

> *Baamutemako engalo bitundu, Gganga alula Nassolo Gganga*
> They cut off parts of his fingers, Gganga had a narrow escape. [Princess] Nassolo and Gganga.

This phrase was sung, in various permutations, by every *omulanga* to the melodic phrase "A," and was usually sung frequently within each performance. Because this was one of the most frequently sung phrases, it was also one of the most varied. (The "success" of the variation is largely related to the degree of expectation in the listener.) An *omulanga* might vary this phrase by singing only part of the line. He might also make a subtle word or syllable substitution, like the using *baazitemaako* "they cut them into pieces" in place of *baamutemako* "they cut them off" or substituting the word *bikuggu* for *bitundu* (both translate as "part" or "half," but the only *omulanga* who uses both of them in his rendition is Majwala). This phrase was often expanded to include other *ebisoko*, or parts of others, like in the second phrase of Mukasa's performance:

> *Olwamutemako engalo, gye zaali zabba ennyama. Nassolo Gganga.*
> When they cut off the fingers, those that used to steal meat. Nassolo Gganga.

This excerpt includes the same verb and noun as the first line with a slight adjustment: *Olwamutemako engalo*. Then Mukasa adds part of another *ekisoko* (about the crime of stealing meat) to describe the fingers. Kasule executes the same maneuver, but with a slightly different analogy:

> *Netumutemako engalo bijiiko. Nebamutemako.*
> And we cut his fingers that are like spoons [e.g. for eating stewed meat]. And his fingers were cut off.

Rather than singing about Gganga stealing meat, Kasule sang about his fingers as a spoon, a utensil used to eat meat. In the line above he began by singing the *ekisoko* about the loss of Gganga's fingers and added the *ekisoko* about stealing meat by likening Gganga's fingers to a spoon that stole the food.

1b. The Crime of Stealing Meat

Another central theme to the story plot of "Gganga alula"—the theme about stealing meat—was used in some fashion by every *omulanga* except for Ssempeke Jr., though the line is slightly different for at least three performances:

> Mukasa: *Abafffe wulira, engalo gye zaali zabba ennyama.*
> Our friends listen, where the fingers were which stole meat.
>
> Kasule: *Ndaba gwali gwa ntamu. Nze gwali gwa ntamu.*
> It was stealing from the saucepan. Stealing from the saucepan.
>
> Ssempeke Sr.: *Ezabbanga ennyama! Zezabbanga engoye!*
> The ones that stole food! The ones that stole clothes!

These three examples show the range of variation in one *ekisoko*. What is perhaps most enjoyable, and most important, about this *ekisoko* is that it is the euphemistic crux. The listener periodically is reminded that this story is simply a metaphor: the word *ennyama* or "meat" was also translated by Kiguli (1996) as "flesh," a common metaphor in English for sex.

1c. Fingers are not Replaceable

This theme ties in with one of the lessons of the story: there are some instances when wealth is useful, but there are things that money cannot buy. This is a single *ekisoko* that enjoys many permutations:

Kasule: *Olabye anazongerako oludda. Anazongerako engalo kijiiko*?
See, will he put another part on? Will he put more fingers that are like a spoon?

Mukasa: *Agenda okwogera engalo gye zaali ziizo ekyali eky'akabi omwami*
He is going to say where the fingers were. It was a bad thing sir!

Ssempeke Sr.: *Nze baamutemako engalo tezadda*
I say, the fingers they cut off never returned

Ssempeke Sr.: *Engalo eterina sasa aligisangawa engalo okugizza*
A finger has no blacksmith shop. Where will he find it to bring it back?

And, a related theme is that wealth is not as desirable as fingers, or that wealth cannot solve all problems. Two of Mukasa's lines that focused on this theme are:

Kitange ggwe okira obugagga onkiza engalo ennene. Wulira engalo.
Father you are wealthier, you have more big fingers. Listen, fingers.

Baazitemako. Owa onkiza engalo ezirya tegereza engalo baazitema.
They were cut off. You are better off, because you have fingers that eat.

The first line adds to the missing finger-castration metaphor by revealing that it was Gganga's "big finger" that was removed. The second line reiterates that the narrator would much rather have fingers to feed himself than have wealth. The second idea was continued and varied by Ssempeke Sr.:

Anti onkiza bugagga nkukiza engalo ennene.
You are richer than me, but I still have big fingers.

1d. Searching for the Fingers and Themes of Location

These two themes are dealt with separately by some *abalanga,* but often become fused in other performances—looking for the fingers and trying to return them:

Ssempeke Sr.: *Aligisangawa engalo okuzizza?*
Where can he find the fingers, to bring them back?

Some lines name actual locations where Gganga or the narrator might go to look for the fingers, presumably the district Gganga or the narrator is from:

> Kasule: *Gganga agenda Bulaga engalo zikweke*
> Gganga is going to Bulaga. Hide the fingers.

Mukasa also sang two variations in which he advised Gganga to go to hide his remaining fingers, or announced that Gganga was going to hide them. Ssempeke Jr. and Kasule both used the same line, but choose to change the perspective so that the narrator became the one performing the action:

> Ssempeke Jr.: *Nze ŋŋenda okulaba engalo gye zadda*
> I am going to see where the fingers went

A general theme of location—being somewhere or visiting somewhere—can be traced throughout the five performances of the piece. Ssempeke Jr. uses a phrase that came from his father's version of the song:

> Ssempeke Sr.: *Nze naabeera wano ssebo, nze naabeera wano awali omukungu*
> I will be here sir, I will be here where there is an official

1e. Sympathy for Gganga

Most of the *abalanga* express sympathy for the harsh (perhaps too harsh) punishment that visited the harpist Gganga. This *ekisoko* was extremely common and relatively consistent through all five performances. The most simple version of this *ekisoko* is:

> Ssempeke Jr.: *Munnange olabye!*
> Sorry my friend!

In Kasule's version of "Gganga alula," he goes beyond sympathy for the protagonist and openly questioned Gganga's punishment. This was a daring move considering that Gganga's punishment was instituted by the king, *the* central figure in

ennanga repertoire, as well as also the employer of *abalanga* (including Kasule). Here are a few of the lines of this *ekisoko*:

> *Olaba baamulanga ki Gganga. Nga baamulanga ki ate engalo bijiiko?*
> You see, why was he accused? Why was he accused, the one with spoonlike fingers?
>
> *Mulabe bamulanga ki naawe? Baamulanga ki ate ngalo bikuggu?*
> Why did he loose his fingers? Was it enough crime to make him loose his fingers?
>
> *Eyadda yadda mugubyabugubya. Nakasojogwa engalo gyezaali*
> He was fooled. Fingers were at Nakasojogwa.

Questioning the king is interesting not only because Kasule was one of the two *abalanga* in this analysis who actually played in the *lubiri*, but he was also one of the last *abalanga* to play there. It is possible that because the *omulanga* had such a close relationship with the king, it was also his role to question actions (like castration/finger amputation), which might have reflected poorly on the king. This idea would be substantiated by the fact that, although Mukasa's rendition is less sympathetic and more damning of Gganga's actions, he sang similar lines in regard to the severity of the punishment as Kasule:

> *Owange engalo gye zaali omutu omulaba bandimukubye omuggo ne bamulekera engalo ezirya*
> My friend, where the fingers were, they should have beaten with a stick and left the fingers which eat.
>
> *Kitange bandimutemye ebigere ne bamulekako engalo ebitundo*
> My father, they should have cut off his feet but left him with parts of his fingers.

Ssempeke Sr. and Ssempeke Jr. did not include lyrics in their performances that were critical of the punishment that the king imposed on Gganga. Rather, they focused on the next theme I will discuss: ridiculing Gganga for his fate.

1f. Poking fun of Gganga

Lyrics that mocked Gganga were some of the most commonly found throughout the five performances. Mukasa, Majwala, Ssempeke Sr. and Jr. all sang the following *ekisoko*:

> *Oba weegaana leeta engalo baazitemako*
> If you deny it, bring the fingers, they were cut off!

Both Ssempeke Sr. and Jr. urged Gganga to find legal help, which was a ridiculous prospect because a lawyer could not replace a finger.

> Ssempeke Sr.: *Yaliguze puliida nze nawolereza engalo okuzizza*
> He would hire a lawyer to petition for his fingers.

The use of *ebisoko* like this one caused a change in the tone of the performances by Ssempeke Sr. and Jr., away from the sympathy that Mukasa and Kasule afforded Gganga, towards ridiculing the victim for his punishment.

1g. Princess Nassolo

Kasule is also the only *omulanga* that sang extensively about Princess Nassolo, and since no other *omulanga* included these *ebisoko*, their predominance in Kasule's performance is interesting:

> *Mulabe Nnassolo omuto. Omwogerangako Nnassolo mwana.*
> See young Nnassolo. Talk about young Nnassolo.
>
> *Bwemwogerako Nnassolo mutya. Asirikidde ki eyali omulungi?*
> I fear to talk about her. Why is she quiet, the one who used to be beautiful?
>
> *Abange abange, asirikidde ki Nnassolo munyiivu.*
> Dear friends, why is she quiet? Nnassolo is annoyed/angry.

Besides introducing Nnassolo as a main character, these lines assign more agency to Nassolo than is normally attributed to her, and could even suggest that she once had a more prominent place in the recounting of the story. Not every *omulanga* would have

included even minimal information about Nassolo, probably because she was perceived as a less interesting figure. The particular princess who had an affair was less important than the man who she was with. Although we are made aware of her identity, her insignificance is underscored by the fact that her punishment (assuming there was one) or fate after the incident was not named in the song.

These *ekisoko* that do include information about Nassolo were lost after Kasule's performance, probably because his version of the song was not standardized or documented in a transcription or recording, and so another dimension of the story and the song has been lost. However, since Kasule's version of the song has been recorded, there is a chance that the *abalanga* will return to Kasule's work in the future and revive some of these lost texts, restoring Nnassolo's prominence in the story.

1e. Pleading to the Audience

This theme appears through the crafty use of a few interchangeable verbs, each verb adding a slightly different nuance to the *ekisoko*. The first example is *okulira*, to listen:

> *Wulira! Engalo.*
> Listen! [And think about] The fingers.

This phrase contains meaning on a few levels. First, it alludes to the fact that Gganga was a court harpist who no longer could play the *ennanga* because of his missing finger(s). Secondly, it serves as a warning to the audience, as if listening to the phantom fingers will remind us to avoid similar transgressions. And finally, on the most obvious level, it is a statement from the performing *omulanga* to the audience to listen and appreciate his virtuosity.

The second example of this theme uses the verb *okulaba*, to see:

Mukasa: *Laba no kye mbabuulira abange, mundaba engalo gye zaali.*
See what I'm telling you my friends, see where the fingers were.

This request to "see what I am telling you" is another way of asking the listener to pay attention, but it is also an allusion to the *ebisoko* in which the characters are looking for or at the missing fingers.

The final example, similar to the first, uses the verb *okutegereza*, to listen or consider. This verb was mostly sung by Mukasa and Majwala, often with the verb *okuwulira* in the same line:

> *Abaffe wulira, engalo gye zaali zabba ennyama. Tegereza engalo.*
> Our friends listen, where the fingers were which stole meat. Think about the fingers.

1f. Circumstancees That Led to the Transgression

A final theme that prevailed throughout many of the performances of "Gganga alula" was the idea that some external force caused Gganga's unforgivable behaviour. The first was the theme of witchcraft, addressed by Mukasa and Majwala:

> *Nze kaalo ke kamu omwami ondoga ekintu ke nagaana nange*
> It is the same village sir, you are bewitching me, something that I refused.
>
> *Nze naayita wano ewaffe nze naayita wano oli omuzungu baaba*
> I will pass here at our place. I will pass here where there is a white man, *baaba*.

It seems that Mukasa was suggesting in these lines that Gganga must not have committed this crime of his own volition; someone must have bewitched him. Ssempeke Sr. sang a line that was derivative of Mukasa's *ekisoko*:

> *Nze naabeera wano, ssebo, nze naabeera wano awali omukungu.*
> I will be here, master, I will here where the chief is.
>
> *Akaalo kekamu nga olangira eddogo eryo nange, nange.*
> It is the same little village where you have been, Proclaiming spells with me, with me.

The following *ekisoko* was found in Ssempeke Sr. and Ssempeke Jr.'s versions of the song, suggesting that it was alcohol that drove Gganga to commit such a crime. One example of this *ekisoko* is the following:

> *Kitange ekyo no ky'okola omwami ekyo no ky'okola ekigambo eky'omwenge.*
> My father, that which you do to the Lord, that which you do, that thing about alcohol.

Alcohol and witchcraft often were looked down upon in traditional contexts, and moreso today in Uganda's Christian environment. Therefore an *ekisoko* that mentions alcohol still implies wrongdoing; although there may have been reasons for Gganga's misbehaviour, his actions still created a scandalous transgression.

2. "General purpose texts"

This is the category of song lyrics that, as Cooke suggested, includes texts that may occur in any given song across the *ennanga* repertoire. Some examples are themes while others are phrases that might be repeated in any song by any performer. A large study could be undertaken to explore the many lyrics and themes that fall into this category, but for now I will outline those that are found in the five performances of "Gganga alula" transcribed in this study. In order to gain an idea of what *ebisoko* were used throughout this repertoire, I have compared song texts in: 1) Cooke's liner notes to his album *Ssempeke!* (1988); 2) Susan Kiguli's master's thesis (1996); 3) my transcriptions and translations of "Gganga alula."

2a. The King

The royal court music by definition centers on the *kabaka* (Kiguli 1996, 8), and therefore his exaltation is one of the most fundamental objectives of the repertoire. The close relationship between the *omulanga* and the *kabaka* heightens this theme in the song

texts. Despite the position that the *omulanga* held in the court—counselor and messenger to the *kabaka*—the performances in this analysis contain few instances in which the *omulanga* actually counseled the king; rather, there were a *few* examples in which the harpist criticized the king, some having been already mentioned. By far, the most frequent mention of the king was through epithets capturing the essence of the king's power, authority, and greatness, in addition to the sentiment that his subjects had for him.

The paramount epithets are those that name the king as father to his people. These are manifest in titles like *kitange*, "father," *nanyinimu omuwanvu,* "the tall head of the household," and *nanyinimu omulungi*, "the handsome head of the household." In addition to connoting the *kabaka* as the ultimate, unquestioned authority that a father might embody, these descriptors designate the *kabaka* as the provider of all things. In the performances by the Ssempeke Sr., Mukasa and Majwala, the epithets also describe the king's authority and his subjects' adoration for him:

> *Naamukola ntya mukama wange?*
> What will I do for my master?
>
> *Nanyinimu omulungi nze gwalikwatako alikaaba wowe.*
> Whoever he catches doing wrong will cry out in agony.
>
> *Nze nabeera wano awali omulungi baaba.*
> I will be here with the beautiful one, friend.
>
> *Omwami ow 'omu jnu muddaabirize*
> Take care of the husband/man of the household

The third example that references the king's beauty, coupled with the fourth example illustrates a kind of allusion that held prominence during the *kabaka*'s exile. According to Kiguli, Ssempeke Sr. focused particularly on themes of love and betrayal (Kiguli 1996, 54) so as not to reference the king outright and potentionally face

persecution as a loyalist to the *kabaka* under the military regimes of Obote and Amin. In these instances the *omulanga* sang to the king *in absentia* as an abandoned lover (Kiguli 1996, 43).

The dominant themes of duty, respect for and love of the king tells us of the connection, however idealized, between the king and his subjects—the *omulanga* being the voice that speaks for the subjects. The *ebisoko* evoke the importance of the king as the essence of being Baganda, and the relationship between the harpist and the king —a microcosm of the relationship the Baganda have with the *kabaka*—is especially apparent in the context of Gganga. Although the *kabaka* represented father, provider, beauty, stability, protection and companionship, above all he held power and authority. The post-independence power of the sitting *kabaka* has almost vanished, and yet the same epithets are sung about him and imbued with the same longing with which the *abalanga* sang to the king in exile. The king is once again absent in the lives of his musicians and subjects, and the sentiment of these *ebisoko* remain painfully relevant in the face of his *physical* presence among them.

2b. Praise of Musicians

Almost all the *omulanga* in this analysis included *ebisoko* in their performances that acclaim musicianship and the merits of different instruments.

> *Kitange ndabye ebilungi nendaba ennanga.*
> My father, what I have seen is good, I have seen the *ennanga*, I have appreciated.
>
> *Kitange ndabye ebilungi nendaba endongo.*
> Father, what I have seen is good, I have seen the *endongo*, I have appreciated.

This is an example of praise singing at its most basic form; in these *ebisoko* the *omulanga* almost always included praise for himself and his *ennanga*. Because the repertoire is

court music, these tributes to the musicians could be considered an extension of praising the *kabaka* because he had such fine court musicians.

3. "Topical or Spontaneous Comments"

The environment and nature of studying from a recording might favour a formulaic performance, one that duplicates the recording, rather than inspiring improvisation of topical information (e.g., news, politics, current events, information about the audience). Nonetheless, a few performers took an opportunity to insert information about the current king and the home districts of either the characters in the story or the narrator. The main examples of this type of *ekisoko* were found in Mukasa's performance:

> *Abange, Kabaka Wulugembe gyali e Mengo, Nassolo Gganga.*
> My friends, Kabaka Wulugembe is at Mengo, Nassolo Gganga.
>
> *Abange wulira. Wulugembe gyali ala mula Nassolo ssebo.*
> My friends, listen. Wulugembe is ruling Nassolo sir.

In this *ekisoko* Mukasa announced the ruling king, Kabaka Wulugembe, one of the names for Buganda King Mutesa II,[4] and then sang that he was in Mengo, the district of Kampala where the *lubiri* and Buganda government can be found. Majwala uses the same sort of textual formula in his version of the performance, but sings of the whereabouts of Kabaka Mutebi at the time of the recording (1995), which happened to be at the second palace, in a suburb of Kampala called Banda:

> *Abange, Kabaka Mutebi gyali e Banda. Nassolo Gganga*
> My friends, Kabaka Mutebi is in Banda. Nassolo Gganga.

Kasule sang an *ekisoko* that named locations where Gganga might flee, including Bulaga, Bulwanyi, and Nakasojogwa, and added that he might find Nassolo in Bulaga.

He also added that the "parent," *omuzadde*, and "the beautiful ones," *abalungi*, come from Bulwanyi, which might refer to a place where the king or the his clan originates.

3a. Shifting Narrative Voice

During a performance, the *abalanga* create a special relationship with their various audiences—the *kabaka* and/or his subjects—by providing a lesson through storytelling. By switching the perspective of the narrator, the *omulanga* can not only change the meaning of the lyrics, but they can also involve the audience in new ways. This technique of switching perspectives was demonstrated in the following examples:

> Ssempeke Sr. and Jr.: *Abange, abange, abange!*
> My friends, my friends, my friends!
>
> Kasule: *Abange, baamutemako Gganga.*
> My friends, Gganga's fingers were cut off.
>
> Mukasa: *Abaffe wulira. Engalo gyezali zabba enyamma*
> Our friends listen. Where the fingers were which stole meat.

In the first two lines, the harpists addressed an audience of peers; in the third Mukasa addressed the audience as "our friends," perhaps speaking to them as the royal "we," creating proximity to the *kabaka*. These lyrics pose a question: If the *omulanga* was meant to perform in order to advise and entertain the king, what is the purpose of such lines that address an audience of peers? There are two possibilities that are not mutually exclusive. First, the *ebisoko* can act as warnings to others to obey the king, and these might have been included to flatter to the king by emphasizing his power, authority and swift hand. Second, the *ebisoko* that spoke to fellow musicians or fellow subjects of the king were lyrics that *abalanga* added when they played outside of the palace (as, for example, Mukasa was known to do). The existence of these lyrics might further denote

that the *ennanga* and its repertoire were, at some point, flexible enough to move between the *lubiri* and more public spaces, and this was not seen as particularly exceptional.

In some of the performances the *abalanga* continued to change perspectives by singing lines such as *munnange olabye*, "poor you," that directly addressed the subject of the story, Gganga. Another maneuver placed the *ommulanga* as the protagonist of the story by lending him the voice of Gganga, who sang lines such as *bannange endabye*, "my friends I am to be pitied." In the following example, sung by Mukasa, Gganga addresses the king:

> *Kitange, gwokira obugagga enkize engalo ennenne.*
> My father, you are wealthier, you have more big fingers.

Summary

Table 3 (below) is a summary of the *ebisoko* that were sung by each of the five *abalanga*. Each *ekisoko* is identified in the table by theme or by a quoted section of the phrase. The table traces an *ekisoko* through the careers of the five *abalanga* and can help to estimate where an *omulanga* learned the tune "Gganga alula"—a map of transmission—as well as which of the *ebisoko* he likely received from his teachers or teaching sources and which he likely composed.

If one compares the performances by the two oldest *abalanga*, the array of *ebisoko* between Kasule's performance (the oldest) and Mukasa's performance are very different. The *ebisoko* that were common among these two performances, however, also tended to be standard for all five performances: *ebisoko* nos. 1, 9, 10 and 20 (see Table 5). Other than these examples, none of the other four *abalanga* sang *ebisoko* found in Kasule's performance. In fact, nothing that Kasule sang remained in the repertoire unless it was also sung by Mukasa, suggesting that the subsequent *abalanga* did not learn (at

least this song) from Kasule, either directly (e.g., face-to-face lessons) or indirectly (e.g., recordings, transcriptions). In other words, this observation suggests that certain *ebisoko* were already standardized in the *lubiri* when Kasule and Mukasa still played for the king, and it was these standardized *ebisoko* that have been passed down through to the present day.

		Kasule	Mukasa	Ssempeke Sr.	Ssempeke Jr.	Majwala
1	Cut of fingers/fingers in parts	X	X	X	X	X
2	"Hide the (remaining) fingers"	X				
3	fingers will never return/ put fingers back on	X		X	X	
4	*"engalo engalo engalo"*		X			X
5	"where the fingers were/went"		X	X	X	X
6	"What I'm telling you, the remaining fingers…"		X			
7	Specific locations: Bulega, etc.	X				
8	"I will be here…"			X	X	
9	*Nassolo*	X	X	X		X
10	*Gganga Alula*	X	X	X	X	X
11	Qualities: Annoyed, beautiful, weak, quiet	X				
12	*Kabaka* by name		X			X
13	"What shall I do…?"			X	X	
14	"The good/beautiful head of the home"		X	X	X	X
15	"Take care of the man in the house"				X	
16	"You are wealthier than me/ I have more fingers		X	X		X
17	"A woman is like white ants"			X		
18	"Why was he accused?"	X				
19	Gganga's punishment was too harsh/suggest other punishment		X			X
20	Pity for Gganga	X	X	X	X	X
21	"It was a dangerous thing"		X			
22	"Listen to the fingers"		X		X	X
23	"Think about the fingers"		X			X
24	"Look at the fingers"					X
25	*Abange abange, abange*				X	
26	"…used for eating…"		X			X
27	"His fingers are like spoons"	X				
28	"…from the saucepan"					
29	Stealing (in general)	X	X	X		X
30	"The ones which stole meat…"			X		
31	"If you deny it, bring…"		X	X	X	X
32	"He would have hired a lawyer"			X	X	
33	"If you want to laugh, brush…"			X	X	
34	"I have seen the *ennanga*"		X		X	X
35	"I have seen the *entenga*"		X			X
36	"I have seen the *endongo*"				X	
37	"I have seen people"		X			X
38	"That thing about alcohol"/beer		X	X	X	X
39	Witchcraft		X	X		X
40	"I will pass… a white man"		X			X
41	"…come up with suggestions…"		X			X

Table 3: Summary of the ebisoko sung by the five abalanga.

The lack of continuity between *ebisoko* sung by Kasule and those sung by Ssempeke Sr., Ssempeke Jr., and Majwala, and the similarity between *ebisoko* sung by Mukasa and Ssempeke Sr., Ssempeke Jr., and Majwala, is consistant with the fact that the latter three *abalanga* did not have access to Kasule's playing. Most of the later three performers modeled their *ebisoko* after Mukasa. For example, *ebisoko* nos. 5, 14, 22, 31, 34, 38 and 39 are common to most of the performances, and they were intially performed by Mukasa, rather than Kasule. If one compares the *ebisoko* sung by Mukasa to those sung by Majwala, one can see that the lyrics that they sang were almost identical. Considering that Majwala learned to perform this song and others by listening to the Mukasa recordings, the similarities between these two performances is not surprising. Ssempeke Sr. learned from the recording of Mukasa (cf., Chapter 3) and Ssempeke Jr. learned Mukasa's *ebisoko* from his father, explaining the continuity of certain *ebisoko* from Mukasa recording through to present-day *abalanga*.

There is still a stark difference between the styles of performance offered by Majawala and Ssempeke Sr. insofar as Majwala's performance was imitative while Ssempeke Sr.'s was adaptive. Ssempeke performed the *ndere* and the *amadinda* in the court style and with other court musicians, which could account for the differences in his approach. Majwala learned how to play thc *ngoma* and the *amadinda* outside of the *lubiri*, and mainly in educational institutions. Ssempeke Sr. may have applied his general knowledge of Kiganda court music and improvisation to his *ennanga* performance, while Majwala's performances were solely based on documented recordings of Mukasa and transcriptions by Kyagambiddwa. Neither of the latter two sources provided details about how to create new *ebisoko* or how to improvise variations in the harp performance.

Ssempeke Sr. and Jr. also sang many of the same *ebisoko*, some of which were not included in the Mukasa recording. This could indicate that Ssempeke Sr. composed some of his own *ebisoko*, or learned these from another source, and then passed them on to his son. Additionally, there are a few *ebisoko*, originally in the Mukasa recording, that Ssempeke Jr. performed that his father did not (e.g., nos. 22 and 34), which suggest that Ssempeke Jr. learned from the Mukasa recording, independent of his father's mediation.

Finally, Table 3 demonstrates the variety of *ebisoko* each *omulanga* performed. If the number of different *ebisoko* any one *omulanga* sang is an indication of creativity or virtuosity, then Mukasa stands out as a superb *omulanga*. Kasule, for whatever reason, had the smallest number of *ebisoko* in his vocabulary, compared to the other four *abalanga*. Kasule, Mukasa and Ssempeke Sr. sang more unique *ebisoko*—that is, *ebisoko* that did not appear within other performances—while Ssempeke Jr. and Majwala performed *ebisoko* that closely imitated those performed by their mentors, Ssempeke Sr. and Mukasa, respectively. These differences could be a result of any number of circumstances that were a result of the recording process including Kasule's mood, the number of times recorded, what exactly was requested during the recording session, etc. Therefore, one is limited in the conclusions that can be drawn concerning any individual performer's style.

These are, however, clear markers of the various styles of learning, teaching and performing that circulated among these harpists. In the case of Ssempeke Jr. and Majwala, the only two known *omulanga* still alive in Buganda, their individual performances of the *ebisoko* of "Gganga alula" are comparatively very different: the type of exposure that each performer had to Mukasa, directly or through his recording of the

piece "Gganga alula," contributed to the creation of very distinct performances of the same song by the two harpists, who basically had the same teachers but tailored their resources to their own needs, if not as a reflection of their own idiosyncratic approach.

Solo Harp Passages and Improvisation Techniques on the *Ennanga*

In the previous chapter, three harp improvisation techniques were identified: 1) note substitution; 2) accenting; and 3) the combination of the two. The harp solos that are interspersed thoughout the performances are the formal moments designed for the *abalanga* to demonstrate these skills, and as would be expected, the combination of these musical features from the individual choices of the harpists result in very different performances.

Although the ability to hear emergent patterns is somewhat subjective, the factors that can lead to the foregrounding of a particular line are fairly well established. Wegner (1993) identified these techniques as rapidly played pitches and conjunct intervals. Besides these factors, the idiosyncratic performance techniques by an *omulanga* have a real impact on what the listener hears as well, notwithstanding the subjective nature of the experience. After carefully listening to all of the harp solos at various speeds, it is clear that there are two sets of patterns that separate themselves from the tone cycle and that are not necessarily associated with a melody line. These present as groups of tones in the high range: 1) the fourth and fifth scale degrees (sometimes including the second) and 2) the first and second scale degrees. Because the human ear regroups tones that are closer in range (Wegner 1993), this division seems natural, and it explains why the third scale degree is sometimes "lost in the shuffle," and sometimes a part of either range: because of the way the ear reorganizes the melody, the median tone in the scale is not

consistently regrouped into the highest part of the spectrum or the lowest part of the spectrum.

The third scale degree naturally splits the *ennanga*'s pentatonic scale into a higher register and a lower register. This divide results in two kinds of emergent patterns that arise from the total pattern. The first pattern, mainly a combination of fourth and fifth scale degrees, is most often created by manipulating the *okunaga* and *okwawula* (right- and left-hand tone rows) through improvisation techniques. The second kind of emergent pattern, usually made up of the first and second scale degree, is not usually created through improvisation. This latter pattern, the rhythmic and melodic pattern created by the group of first and second scale degrees, corresponds with the *okukoonera* part found in the repertoires of the *amadinda* and *entenga*.[5]

Mukasa and Kasule

While the lower pattern is usually quite simply the makeup of the pitches played on the first and second scale degrees, the higher pattern is more reliant upon the *omulanga*'s use of improvisation techniques, especially accenting. In other words, the line that rises to prominence in the higher register does so because of how the *omulanga* substitutes pitches and accents his playing. Below is an example of this technique, an excerpt taken from Mukasa's second harp solo in his 1952 performance. Mukasa's note substitutions are highlighted in bold in Musical Ex. 44 so that they can be compared to the pitches of Musical Ex. 45, an illustration of Mukasa's basic tone cycle:

Musical Example 44: Mukasa's second harp solo.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5		3		5		5		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		3		4		5		4		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		5
5		3		2		5		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		5		4		5		4		3		5		1		5		5		5		4		5		2		2		5		5
5		3		2		5		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		4		3		2	
	5		5		1		4		5		2		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
5		3		2		5		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		3		2	
	5		5		1		4		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		

Musical Example 45: Mukasa basic tone cycle.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1

Mukasa performed nine note substitutions in a thirty-six-note cycle—these changes are rather substantive. By playing these note substitutions he created a emergent pattern that changed slightly from line to line, but was more or less consistent throughout a given harp solo. The emergent pattern is illustrated in Musical Ex. 46.

Musical Example 46: The high emergent pattern in Mukasa's second harp solo.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5				5		5						3						4						5						4					
	5		5				4		5				3		5						5				4		5						5		5
5			5			5						3						4						5						5					
	5				5		4		5		4		3		5				5		5		5		4		5						5		5
5						5						3						4						5						4					
	5		5				4		5				3		5						5				4		5						5		
5						5						3						4						5						5					
	5		5				4		5				3		5						5				4		5						5		

These emergent patterns do not directly correspond to a vocal line in the performance, but they do contribute to the character of the piece by adding another dimension to a harp solo. Each solo harp passage in this one performance had a slightly different emergent

pattern, but the pattern was relatively consistent for each passage. This leads me to believe that Mukasa could hear the emergent patterns he created and intentionally manipulated them to create a particular character for each solo harp passage.

One final characteristic of the high-register emergent patterns is the tendency to include notes every three units, beginning one unit behind the clap beat. Musical Ex. 47 illustrates the accent that occurs every three units and how it corresponds to the clap beat. The row of *x*'s on the top indicates the clap beat, and the row below the *x*'s numbers the units. Below these rows are common emergent patterns played by each performer (indicated by name). Finally, the row of *x*'s indicates the pulses on which the emergent pattern always contains an accented note. These pulses are organized to occur every three units. The rhythmic pattern that stresses a note every third unit (indicated by the *x*'s) in the emergent patterns is similar to a rhythmic pattern found in the recitative-style vocal passages, meaning that the emergent pattern also shadows the syllabic structure of the vocal melody. In the recitative, the vocal line often contains a three-unit figure that includes a word sung over the first two units, followed by a rest (see Musical Ex. 48). The figure begins in the same position, on the *x* as the stressed note in the emergent patterns below.

Musical Example 47: Emergent patterns in harp solos by five different performers.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
				x						x						x						x						x						x	
Mukasa																																			
5				5		5												4						5						4					
	5		5				4		5		4				5						5				4		5						5		5
Kasule																																			
5				5		4						3						4						4						5					
	5		5						5				3		5						5				4		5						5		
Ssempeke Sr.																																			
4				5		4		3				3						4		3				4						4					
	5		5						5				3		5						5				4		5						5		
Ssempeke Jr.																																			
5				5		4						3						4						4						4					
	5		5						5				3		5						5				4		5						5		
Majwala																																			
5				5		4			5			3						4						4						5					
	5		5										3		5						5				4		5						5		
x			x			x			x			x			x			x			x			x			x			x			x		

Musical Example 48: Example of Mukasa's recitative

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
				x						x						x						x						x						x	
5		3		2		5		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		1		4		5		4		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
																																		en	
																																		4	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		5		5		2		2		5		1
ga	l'en		ga	l'en		ga	l'en		ga	l'en		kkumi		—	—	gye		te	ge	re		z'	en	ga	lo	—	—	—		ki	tan		g'o	ra	lw
5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	4	3	5	5		5	ˆ1	5		4		5	5	4	3	4		5	ˆ1		5	ˆ1	5
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	l'en		ga	l'en		ga	l'en		ga	l'en		zi	rya———			ban		ge	mu		la	be'	n	ga	lo	—	—					gwe		nnon	
5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	4	3	5	ˆ1	5	4	4		4	ˆ1	5	4	5	3	4					ˆ1		ˆ1	
x			x			x			x			x			x			x			x			x			x			x			x		

Kasule

Each performer used note substitution to create his own emergent pattern in the high register (and as a consequence he created a corresponding pattern in the low register). Although a few *abalanga* played a different emergent pattern for each solo harp passage, Kasule only performed one emergent pattern, shown in Musical Ex. 49.

Musical Example 49: The emergent pattern Kasule played in his harp solos.

5	5		5	5		4			5			3	3		5			4			5			4	4		5			5			5		

Kasule's consistent pattern throughout all of the solo harp passages in his performance indicates a less virtuosic approach to the techniques of accenting and note substitution.

Ssempeke Sr.

Ssempeke Sr. performed the most solo harp passages in one performance—nine to be exact—and he also used note substitution to create a variety of patterns for each of these. Much like Mukasa, Ssempeke Sr. performed a passage that contained a large number of note substitutions: an average of thirteen per line. Musical Ex. 50 is an excerpt from his performance. It is the final harp solo passage in his rendition of "Gganga alula." In this musical example the notes in bold indicate those that he changed from his basic tone cycle, found in Musical Ex. 51.

Musical Example 50: Ssempeke Sr.'s final harp solo.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
				x						x						x						x						x						x	
																				3		2		3				1		4		3		2	
																					5		1		2		5				1		5		1
4				2				1		1		4		3		5		4		3		2		3								3		3	
			5		2		2		5		2		1		5						5		1				5		1		1		5		
4		3		2		4		2		2		4		3		1		4		3		2		3		3		1		4					
			5		2		2		5		1		5		5		3				5		1		1		5		1		1		5		1
4		3		2		4		2		1		4				5		4		3		2		3		3		1		4		1		1	
	1		5		2		2		5		2		5		5		3		1		5		1		1		5		1		1		5		1
4		3		2		4		2		2		4				5		4		3		2		3				5		4		3		2	
	1		5		2		2		5		1		5		5		3		1		5		1		1		5		1		1		5		2
4		3				4		2		1		4				,5		4		3				3				1		4		3		2	
	1		5		2		2		5		2		5		,5		3		1		5				1		5		1		1		5		1
4		3		2		4		2		1		4		3		5		4		3		2		3		3		1		4		3		1	
	1		5		2		2		5		2		5		5		3		1		5		1		1		5		1		1		5		1
4		3		5		4		2		1		4				,5		4		3		2		3				1		4		3			
	5		5		2		2		5		1		5		,5		3		1		5				1		5				1		5		1
4		3		2		4		2		2		4				,5		4		3		2		3				1		4		3		2	
	1		5		2		2		5		1		5		,5		3		1		5		1				5		1		1		5		1
4		3		,5		4		2		2		4				5		4																	
			5		2		2		5		1		5		5																				

Musical Example 51: Ssempeke Sr.'s basic tone cycle.

4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1

Ssempeke Sr.'s note substitutions, combined with the note accenting, created the pattern illustrated in Musical Ex. 52. The sheer number, and the length, of the solo harp passages that Ssempeke Sr. performed is impressive. Ssempeke was also able to craft an

interesting harp solo with the same adroitness as Mukasa by using note substitution. Ssempeke Sr.'s technique of playing solo harp differed however from that of Mukasa in that he left gaps or rests in the tone cycle, and performed at a slower tempo than Mukasa.

Musical Example 52: Ssempeke Sr.'s emergent pattern in the high register as played in the last harp solo.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
				x						x						x						x						x						x	
																				3				3						4		3			
																					5						5						5		
4												4		3		5		4		3				3								3		3	
			5						5						5						5						5						5		
4		3				4						4		3				4		3				3		3				4					
			5						5				5		5		3				5						5						5		
4		3				4						4				5		4		3				3		3				4					
			5						5				5		5		3				5						5						5		
4		3				4						4				5		4		3				3				5		4		3			
			5						5				5		5		3				5						5						5		
4		3				4				1		4				,5		4		3				3						4		3			
			5						5				5		,5		3				5						5						5		
4		3				4						4		3		5		4		3				3		3				4		3			
			5						5				5		5		3				5						5						5		
4		3		5		4						4				,5		4		3				3						4		3			
	5		5						5				5		,5		3				5						5						5		
4		3				4						4				,5		4		3				3						4		3			
			5						5				5		,5		3				5						5						5		
4		3		,5		4						4				5		4																	
			5						5				5		5																				

Ssempeke Jr.

Ssempeke Jr. performed his solo harp passages with much less variation than his father. He played five solo passages in his performance and almost always brought out the emergent pattern illustrated in Musical Ex. 53. Although he played many solo harp passages in his piece, he did not use note substitution with the same acumen as either Mukasa and Ssempeke Sr. While it was common for Ssempeke Jr. to change the first note of the tone cycle from the fifth scale degree to the fourth every other tone cycle, he

played few other note substitutions. Therefore *note accentuation* was the principal contributing factor to creating the emergent pattern shown in Musical Ex. 54, rather than note substitution.

Musical Example 53: The emergent pattern played in most of Ssempeke Jr.'s harp solo sections.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
4				5		4						3						4						4						4					
	5		5						5				3		5						5				4		5						5		
5				5		4						3						4						4						4					
	5		5						5				3		5						5				4		5						5		

Majwala

Majwala's performance was interesting in that there were many elements of Mukasa's playing (e.g., form, lyrics, melody) that he reproduced verbatim, or "lifted" From the Mukasa recording. Yet, Majwala's solo harp excerpts included a straightforward emergent pattern that was hardly ever varied. One example of these exceptionally scarce variations is given in Musical Ex. 54, an excerpt from Majwala's second solo harp passage. In the first line of this passage the fourth scale degree is only repeated consecutively in one instance (seen in units 25–26); in the second line the fifth scale degree is repeated in units 1–2, and the fourth scale degree is reiterated in the paired units 7–8, 13–14, and 25–26.

Musical Example 54: Emergent pattern as played by Mukasa.

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
5						4			5			4						3						4						3					
			5												5						5				4		5						5		
5						4			5			4						3						4						3					
	5		5				4						4		5						5				4		5						5		

The variation in the second line of this pattern was created in part by note substitution and in part by accents. In unit 2 and unit 8 of the second line of Musical Ex. 55, the fifth and fourth scale degrees, respectively, were repeated because Majwala accented these pitches only in the second line. That is, they were always in the total pattern, but were only brought out in the emergent pattern through note accentuation. The appearance of the repeated fourth scale degree in the fourteenth unit was a product of note substitution and accenting the note: the note was changed to the fourth scale degree and then accented, propelling it into the emergent pattern. Musical Ex. 55 shows the full solo harp passage that Majwala played. The note substitutions are highlighted in bold. Compare this passage to Majwala's basic tone cycle illustrated in Musical Ex. 56.

Musical Example 55: Majwala's second harp solo.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
				x						x						x						x						x						x	
5				1		4		3		2		4		2		**1**		3		3		2		4		2		2		3		2		2	
	5		5		2		4		5		2		3		5		1		**1**		5		2		4		5		2		**3**		5		**2**
5				1		4		3		2		4		2		1		3		3		2		4		2		2		3		2		2	
	5		5		2		4		5		2		**4**		5		**2**		1		5		2		4		5		2		**3**		5		**1**

Musical Example 56: Majwala's basic tone cycle for "Gganga Alula."

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
				x						x						x						x						x						x	
5		•		1		4		3		2		4		2		2		3		3		2		4		2		2		3		2		2	
	5		5		2		4		5		2		3		5		1		4		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1

As might be expected, each *omulanga* used note substitution to varying degrees, and after examining all of the harp solos in these performances, I would suggest that Mukasa was the most proficient of all the performers under examination here. Although Kasule performed in the *lubiri* around the same time as Mukasa, Kasule seemed to use

note substitution with less prowess. As a matter of fact, since the 1955 recording of Mukasa, the intricacies of note substitution have gradually become more "moderate," or less arresting if you will. *Abalanga* like Ssempeke Sr. performed quite complex harp solos, but with not quite as much skill as Mukasa. Ssempeke Jr. and Majwala both varied their harp solos by accenting notes, but they did not vary the emergent pattern or use note substitution as advantageously as did Mukasa.

Conclusion

The recorded performances of "Gganga alula" by Mukasa, Kasule, Ssempeke Sr., Ssempeke Jr., and Majwala have been closely scrutinized in the last two chapters in order to create a basic understanding of (1) how an *ennanga* performance is crafted, (2) what choices a performer might make in the construction of a musical rendering, and finally, (3) what influences might have informed these musical choices. It is certainly not possible to draw conclusions *with certainty* about what a performer is thinking, but using "Gganga alula" as an example, it is possible to identify trends in the performances of *ennanga* repertoire over a span of the last sixty years.

Mukasa and Kasule played in the *lubiri* around the same time, and while I have identified a few similarities in the way they structured "Gganga alula," their playing styles were very different. Kasule played with little variation in form—by any standard—and added little ornamentation within the solo harp passages. The little variation that did appear was mostly achieved through note substitution. His chosen song lyrics, however, demonstrate a wealth of creativity and variation. Kasule's lyrics of the song "Gganga alula" indicate a rather distinct posture with respect to the *kabaka*, vis-à-vis that of any

other *omulanga*, and he sang many *ebisoko* not repeated by any of the later performances of "Gganga alula" that I have transcribed.

Mukasa's performance showed the most variety in form, the most use of recitative, the fastest tempi and the most frequent use of note substitution and note accentuation to manipulate emergent patterns. The fact that Kasule and Mukasa had such distinct playing styles and skills sets would suggest that those *shared characteristics* of their performances were likely standard practice at the time. Among these practices I would include: 1) the use of one or two harp solos to set apart passages in a given performance, 2) the use of accenting and note substitution, and 3) an acute attention to emergent patterns.

With the establishment of these standard practices one can begin to assess the performances and skill of the successive *abalanga* with greater conviction. More importantly, one can begin to trace and understand musical influences over time. For example, Ssempeke Sr. did not sing the assortment of phrases that Mukasa sang, but he was able to create commensurate variety by interjecting multiple harp solos throughout the piece. Ssempeke Sr.'s choices of *ebisoko* suggest that he was very much influenced by Mukasa's vocal poetry, and Ssempeke's use of note substitution, while not identical to Mukasa, suggests that he had certainly observed the technique in Mukasa's playing and adapted it for his own performance style. Perhaps this was one of the most significant aspects of Ssempeke Sr.'s playing: his adeptness at identifying techniques, honing them, and then adapting them for his own use.

Ssempeke Sr. had an entirely different approach to performance than Ssempeke Jr. and Majwala, who both rely on imitating the techniques of their mentors and teachers,

rather than modifying them. Ssempeke Jr. performed "Gganga alula" much like his father: the form that he chose was similar, and almost all of their *ebisoko* are the same. The improvisatory techniques in the solo harp passages (i.e., accenting, note substitution), however, were much sparser in Ssempeke Jr.'s performance, compared to that of Ssempeke Sr. Ssempeke Jr.'s performance did contain a few *ebisoko* that his father did not perform, though most of these new *ebisoko* can be traced to Mukasa, with the exception of one that might be attributed to Ssempeke Jr. himself.

Majwala, who learned mainly from the recordings of Mukasa and transcriptions by Kyagambiddwa, replicated Mukasa's 1955 performance of "Gganga alula" as closely as he could. The form, vocal passages and *ebisoko* that Majwala sang were almost identical to those on the recording of Mukasa. The only substantial differences between Majwala's performance and that of his mentor were a few pitch differences in the basic tone cycle.

Majwala and Ssemepeke Jr.'s learning and performance styles indicate that the *ennanga* repertoire is becoming increasingly redacted, the likely result of the gradual disappearance of person-to-person transmission, which in turn effects lesser diversity in the performance practice, as well as in the repertoire itself. Their playing styles point to a change in the modes of transmission, improvisation techniques, and compositional approaches to the *ennanga* repertoire. The approaches of Ssempeke Jr. and Majwala imply that these *abalanga* are very interested in preserving the music of the masters, rather than improvising upon established technique—an aesthetic of conservation rather innovation. Far from making a value judgment about the musical choices made be the *abalanga*, I am interested in highlighting the modifications in performance practice that

may well keep *ennanga* repertoire "in circulation," and the efforts to keep the *ennanga* off of the "endangered species list." The final chapter will explore the historical factors that have led to the performance practices at the core of this study, and consider the possibilities for the future of the *ennanga* tradition.

NOTES

[1] Hagedorn documents, among other sociopolitical trends, the standardization of traditional Afro-Cuban music and dance through the National Folkloric Ensemble, which unlike the situation in present-day Uganda continues in parallel fashion with a vibrant traditional context that is *not* in danger of disappearing in any foreseeable future.
[2] Although the question was sung to the same melody as before, Ssempeke moved the phrase to a new position in the tone cycle. After closely studying the transcription I realized that Ssempeke missed a section of the harp cycle, this could have been either an intentional cut or a mistake.
[3] As I mentioned earlier, the two harpists did not necessarily work side by side, but rather rotated during the period that they worked at the palace so as to always maintain one harpist in the *lubiri*.
[4] Muteesa's full name is Sir Edward Frederick William David Walugembe Mutebi Luwangula Muteesa II.
[5] This pattern is found on the *amadinda*. It is a third part performed by a designated player alongside the *okunanga* and *okwawula* parts.

CHAPTER 5: The Ethnographic Feedback Loop

Since the first published recordings of *ennanga* harp were made in the middle of the twentieth century in Kampala, Uganda, those interested in performing on the instrument have used this documentation as a teaching and learning tool. The scarcity of *abalanga* available to teach or play with the skill of those who performed for the king has created a need for resources useful to transmitting the *ennanga* repertoire and playing techniques. When there has been no one to share the story of the *ennanga*, or even to supplement available stories, the body of scholarship published by musicologists in the course of last sixty years has provided crucial ancillary narratives. Kiganda music scholarship is now a part of the transmission system of *ennanga* repertoire, and the musicians—well aware that they, their teachers, and their elders have contributed to these publications—use it to aid in a dynamic learning process.

Kay Kaufman Shelemay has theorized about how ethnomusicologists become part of the transmission of tradition, largely impacting the music we study. Shelemay wrote of our involvement in "a type of reciprocity and grounded action that is a surprisingly frequent outgrowth of the ethnomusicological research progress" (1996, 3). Shelemay states:

> The ethnomusicological activity in the transmission of tradition appears to draw on longtime musicological commitments to the preservation of musical tradition. Equally strong anthropological mandates against any involvement that might be perceived as interference in the tradition studied—only recently re-evaluated in the light of growing concerns regarding reciprocity and social responsibility—have rendered ethnomusicologists largely silent about their active roles both during and after fieldwork. (1996, 39)

Some ethnomusicologists often demonstrate a desire to preserve music in its present state "without altering the tradition," and their intellectual ties to anthropology only further discourage them from interference with the culture under study. Ethnomusicologists have largely opted to avoid discussions about the ways our research changes the field, the market for the music we study, and the transmission of tradition. Yet, every step of the ethnomusicological research process is about interactions because our research requires learning, teaching, and making connections through close relationships. In striving for reciprocity by remunerating colleagues in the field for interviews, lessons, and assistance gathering information, we create an economic system that affects the state of the local music industry and the way we conduct fieldwork.

In Buganda, the relationship between the "fieldworker" and "the field," or the "researcher" and the "researched," is complex. The lives of royal musicians and musical traditions have been transformed by the work of researchers in some way. In fact, the impact of research and written scholarship during the last sixty years, both by cultural insiders and outsiders, has greatly influenced the way the *ennanga* harp is performed and learned.

This chapter will describe (1) the ways in which *ennanga* players have used scholarly production to learn and teach the *ennanga*, (2) the ways in which these forms of transmission have influenced the popularity of the instrument, knowledge of its history and its performance style, and (3) the ways that research on the instrument has affected the professional careers of the *abalanga.* I first discuss the end of the royal patronage system in the Buganda kingdom and how this shift affected not only a decline in interest in the *ennanga* but also a shift in the modes of repertoire transmission in the absence of

the *lubiri* as the tradition's foundation. I then describe how harp players have used recordings and transcriptions compiled by both Baganda and foreign musicologists in order to learn the *ennanga*. This process created a "feedback loop" that has shaped the contemporary playing style of the *ennanga* and supplemented aural/oral transmission in the absence of the court patronage system.

Why is the Ennanga Tradition Fading?

Colonialism and independence have changed the political nature of the Buganda kingdom to the extent that the role of the musicians in the *lubiri* has all but vanished. When Milton Obote, the prime minister of Uganda, forcefully took political power in 1966, he stormed the *lubiri*, sending the king, Kabaka Mutesa II, into exile. With the king gone, Obote turned the *lubiri* into army barracks. Those musicians who were not killed in the assault were forced to flee, losing their principal source of income and, in many cases, their instruments. Many musicians said that they would not play until the *kabaka*'s return (P. Cooke and Kasule 1999, 11). In 1967, Obote abolished all of Uganda's kingdoms, ensuring that the Buganda, the most politically influential of Uganda's kingdoms, would be rendered powerless. The court musicians refused to play while their king was in exile (Cooke 1996, 450). In 1993, the kingship was reinstated with the coronation of Ronald Mutebi, son of Mutesa II, though now the kingship is a cultural icon with little political authority.

A number of factors contributed to the *ennanga* losing favour with the Buganda. To be clear, *ennanga* players were scarce even before the *lubiri* was invaded in 1966, and the two harp players who played in the court of Kabaka Mutesa II, Mukasa and Kasule, had passed away by the time Mutebi, his son, was crowned. The tenuous political and

cultural position of the Buganda kingdom and the loss of the patronage system forced the former court musicians to find new ways to survive, and often the *ennanga* was sidelined for more lucrative instruments. The *ennanga* was, and remains, an esoteric instrument that was predominantly meant for royalty. These performance conditions may very well have alienated the already dwindling groups of *ennanga* enthusiasts, especially in a time when association with the *kabaka* or being a "loyalist" was dangerous.

Writing about the North Indian royal patronage system, Andrew Alter proposed that "it had kept music within the hands of a privileged few, and in the opinion of a majority of the population music had become associated with decadent court life" (1994, 161). This was also partly true of the *ennanga* tradition within the *lubiri*, and still holds some truth today. In the last few years I have seen little evidence of the *ennanga* being regarded as a decadent instrument, but very few Muganda that I have interviewed or worked with have been able to identify the *ennanga* or were familiar with its place in Buganda history—a testament to its exclusivity. In an environment where an exclusive instrument already had a select following—few players and even fewer expert performers—the loss of the patronage system dealt a near-fatal blow to the fading tradition of the *ennanga*.

Court Instruments and consolidation

The end of the royal patronage system undeniably caused a shift in the demand for Kiganda court instruments, as well as the dispersal of Kiganda musicians from the physical site of the *lubiri*. After the king fled from Uganda, the Obote regime banished traditional kingdoms, and musicians had to careful as the new dictator did not want anyone restoring an interest in the king. The royal musicians were cleverly able to

disguise their loyalty through highly coded messages, they searched for ways to survive by making music that did not name their exiled king for fear of persecution. In this political climate and without the court patronage system, musicians could not afford to dedicate time to developing performance techniques or composing music on the *ennanga*; if they wanted to continue to make a living through music they would have had to become proficient on multiple ensemble instruments—as opposed to the solo *ennanga*—and perform for varied social occasions.

In the post-independent years, the general trend toward a more pan-Ugandan music was also motivation to veer away from *ennanga* specialization. The Kiganda Orchestra, founded by Evaristo Muyinda, became the basis for a national Ugandan ensemble. This type of ensemble was described by Kubik in 1966 as including Kiganda instruments, such as the xylophone, tube-fiddles, flutes and drums, and filled out with instruments from Busoga (a kingdom to the east of Buganda), like panpipes and thumb pianos. It was a prototype for many popular music groups now found throughout Uganda, on a small scale in schools and on a larger scale in national touring ensembles like *The Ndere Troupe*. Kubik voiced his disapproval of this ensemble mainly because the fusion of so many different styles and addition of so many instruments "diminished the artistic impact of this otherwise excellent group" (1968, 59–60).

While various programmes to revive royal music in general have not materialized, such as a "cultural village" in Banda (P. Cooke and Kasule 1999, 12), or a state attempt to replace the kingdoms as musical patrons (P. Cooke and Kasule 1999, 17), the spread of the performance "troupe" has formed a new venue for some of the royal musics. Since the kingdoms of Uganda were abolished, the former court music had to find an outlet of

some kind. The performance troupe and the Kiganda orchestra arose as a synthesis of traditional musics that included some court music repertoires. Nettl (1978) defined this process of musical change as "consolidation," which "has occurred often as a function of the creation of the nation-states from what once were groups of politically separate entities, tribes, chiefdoms, kingdoms [...]." Nettl even named the creation of a national repertoire and the spread of dance troupes in Africa as an example of this very process.

Not only was the *ennanga* not part of the consolidated repertoires of the troupes, but it became even more marginalized because it required (as it still does) a huge investment of time in order gain proficiency on the instrument. The consolidation of repertoire in the wake of a movement to develop the one-Nation idea above tribalism prompted musical diversification on the part of the musicians. Former Kiganda court musicians, including harp players like Evaristo Muyinda, were working as multi-instrumental teachers and performing in pan-Ugandan music-and-dance groups.

The *Ennanga* in Ugandan Institutions

The declining public interest and the end of the royal patronage system caused the practice of the *ennanga* to become unsustainable, leaving a gap in the transmission continuum. Previously, people were motivated to learn court instruments since it was a vocation supported by the kingship. Although a musician would not be employed in the *lubiri* all year round, he would be granted a piece of land, and he could supplement his income by making use of his time outside of the *lubiri*. The pursuit of a career as a musician in the development of the royal court style was socially prestigious and economically viable. Palace musicians had no reason to seek out students: they obtained what they required to live from their *kabaka*, like in the song *Mwanga Alimpa*.[1] This

created an environment in which the youth had to *pursue* their musical interests. If a young boy decided that he wanted to learn to play the flute like Sserwanga and Ssempeke, or the xylophone like Ssebufu, he had to seek out an elder musician who was willing to mentor him, and this often meant convincing him to do so.

Having access to the *lubiri* allowed musicians to forge relationships with other musicians, a practice that inevitably led to most men learning how to play other instruments with notable skill. While specific clans and villages took responsibility for maintaining musical traditions, music and musical instruments were not necessarily passed down from father to son. While there were reports in the late 1980s of musicians passing down the royal court music in the villages of Buganda, this has proven to be more true for repertoires played on the *akadinda* and *amadinda* xylophones and the *endongo* lyre, rather than the *ennanga* (P. Cooke and Kasule 1999, 11). The recontextualization of the music was not ultimately favourable for the *ennanga*: it seems that the *lubiri* was the only performance and learning context in which an *omulanga* could thrive.

Klaus Wachsmann, while curator of the Uganda Museum, employed musicians to demonstrate Ugandan music, creating what he called a "living museum." Among those that were a part of this project were the *abalanga* Temutewo Mukasa, Evaristo Muyinda and Ssempeke Sr. Noting the number of Ugandan visitors to the museum and the quality and availability of the music, Kubik stated that "[t]he value of traditional music and culture is now realized by many people in Uganda" (1968, 60). What is more, Wachsmann created, in the museum, a fertile environment for musicians to learn from each other.

Having had access to only the *ndere* and *endongo* until he entered the Uganda Museum at the invitation of Evaristo Muyinda, Ssempeke Sr. noted "[…] all the instruments were there. I laughed behind my hand; even the *ennanga* that I could not get before was here, and so were the *amadinda* and the *amakondere*" (Ssempeke 1975, 59). Until then, Ssempeke Sr. had been unable to learn or even tune the *ennanga*, but while working in the museum he learned the *amadinda* and the *amakondere*. Muyinda was able to coach him on the *ennanga*, and with help from recordings, Ssempeke Sr. learned some of the repertoire of the *ennanga*.

Unfortunately, in the past few years the Uganda Museum has not been such a musical hub. Ssempeke Sr. was the last *omulanga* to work in the museum; his son, Ssempeke Jr., has not been offered a post. Only occasionally are there a few fiddle players or xylophone players hanging around, and the museum only hires musicians to play for special events. When I first visited the museum in 2008, Ssempeke Sr.'s brother, Sserwanga, was there with a few other family members, playing his *endingidi* tube fiddle. The last few times I visited, however, the *amadinda* and *akadinda*, along with a host of drums, sat silent in one of the galleries.

Schools

Music researchers in Uganda have long been calling for solid musicology and ethnomusicology programmes within Ugandan educational institutions in order to train people in the country to explore their musical traditions, create an archive for field recordings (P. Cooke and Kasule 1999; Kubik 1966/7), and train teachers in the country to teach and better understand traditional African music (Nabeta 1959). Presumably this would provide a venue for studying the *ennanga* (and any archived recordings) in a

setting where other traditional music is taught. While Makerere University and Kyagambogo University both have traditional Kiganda music programmes, neither officially teach *ennanga* for course credit. The two *abalanga* in Buganda have expressed disappointment about the failure of universities to teach *ennanga* in their music programmes and the disinterest of university students to seriously study the instrument.

The music department at Kyambogo University in Banda (first established in 1964 as the National Teachers College) offers courses in Ugandan traditional music and ethnomusicology. Currently Ssenoga Majwala, an *omulanga*, is a professor on faculty. Makerere University, the main university in Kampala. He began offering music and music education courses there in 1964 and later established the Department of Music, Dance and Drama in 1971. This department now offers undergraduate and master's degrees that include ethnomusicology training. However, the *ennanga* is not offered at Makerere—a shame considering that the only Baganda *ennanga* players in the world reside in Kampala.

For university students who do try to learn the *ennanga*, it has been difficult to make time to study the instrument in any depth. At Kyambogo University, Majwala offers private lessons to three students, but complains that they have little time to dedicate to the *ennanga*: those who are willing to learn the instrument can usually only practice and come to him to play during holiday breaks. This means that anyone truly interested in playing the *ennanga* must pursue it as an extracurricular activity. Ssempeke Jr. has also attempted to teach *ennanga* to a few Makerere University students that have approached him in their own time. This, however, never ended well: students were more

likely to move on to an instrument with fewer technical demands so as to build a repertoire sooner.

Ennanga and Hereditary Transmission

Because it was a common practice for villages to be responsible for the training of specific groups of musicians, there is no established system of transmission of *ennanga* playing from one generation to the next within a family. And, of the practicing *abalanga* in the last fifty years, the only one who has successfully been able to pass down the tradition of the *ennanga* within his family has been Ssempeke. Sr. The other *abalanga* were not so successful. After Temutewo Mukasa died, his family tried to train his nephew, Yacobo, to play the *ennanga*. Although he still has one of Mukasa's harps, he is no longer able to play. As far as I have been able to determine, there is no heir to the *omulanga* Kasule, within or without his family. Evaristo Muyinda, while not much of an *ennanga* player, trained his daughter, Maria, in Kiganda music. She later went on to study Western music, and still runs the E. Muyinda Dance Ensemble; however, she is neither as active in the Kiganda music scene as her father was, nor has she learned the *ennanga*.

The fact that these players were not able to pass on their legacy has caused an interruption of the transmission of *ennanga* repertoire. As a result, the process of learning has been rather ad hoc and involved the use of supplementary resources, but there has nonetheless been some sort of contact from one *omulanga* to the next.

Why did the Ennanga Survive?

In light of all the challenges that faced the *ennanga* tradition, why is it that it is still played? The traditional Buganda kingdom is no longer politically powerful, and the king has no political sway, nor need for the advice he once sought from his *omulanga*.

The music can easily be played on any number of other royal instruments. The act of playing has lost much of its original meaning and context, and the harp is not even recognized by most Baganda. So what is it that has been worth saving?

The *abalanga* regard the *ennanga* with reverance, but cannot quite articulate why the Baganda should strive to continue to play it. There were three reasons that they offered as to why Baganda and Ugandans should fight to keep playing and teaching the *ennanga*. One reason that was often cited was that the *ennanga* is important and exclusive, an inherently beautiful instrument in its complexity and its repertoire. The second reason given was that it was part of the Buganda identity, an instrument tied to the history of the Buganda kingdom. The final reason given for playing the instrument was that the *abalanga* expect the people of Buganda, and most importantly the king, to take up a renewed interest in their former court music traditions, including the *ennanga*.

It seems that some of the very qualities that discourage people from knowing and playing the *ennanga* are the reasons why many believe it should be played. The harp was socially exclusive, played almost principally for the king, and the complex technique discouraged people from pursuing it. But the *ennanga* was the only solo instrument played for the king, and the *omulanga* composed songs to advise his leader. These facts make the *ennanga* too important to disregard. While the investment in time required to learn to play *ennanga* is daunting, Majwala argued to me that the very reason that it should be taught and played is that it requires concentration, dedication and time. The merits of learning this instrument include learning how to sing, learning rhythm (to keep a beat and a tempo), patience and concentration. Majwala argued that patience and concentration are qualities sorely lacking among the youth of Buganda, and they would

do well to learn the *ennanga* to develop them.[2] He felt the skills would be transfereable beyond the musical context.

The larger issue however that makes the *ennanga* special is its connection to Buganda identity. When I asked Majwala if he thought the *ennanga* was important to the Buganda he replied:

> Yes, and no. It is, in fact, to a large extent. It is important because we have to keep our culture. I don't believe in anyone spoiling, or losing, what you have received from your great-grandfathers. Because that is the identity. It is an identity. [...] So I still say, this *ennanga* is important to Buganda first, then to Ugandans.[3]

The *ennanga*'s connection to Buganda identity stems not from its visibility within the Buganda kingdom, but rather, as mentioned before, from its connection to the Buganda king. Like other cultural icons of the Ugandan kingdoms, the *ennanga* is an emblematic part of the Buganda tradition that has been cast aside in the larger effort to discourage any political and cultural resurgence within the traditional factions of Ugandan society. Although the *ennanga* has not been singled out for destruction, the *ennanga* has become symbolic of the struggle of the Baganda to maintain and strengthen their cultural identity within post-independence Uganda.

To save the *ennanga* in the name of the Buganda kingdom, however, seems fruitless given that the instrument continues to be disassociated from the kingship. Since the Kabaka was first welcomed back to Uganda in 1987, musicians and researchers have argued their case to allow a space for the royal instruments within the *lubiri*. The king has not obliged them, arguing that he has more important matters to attend to before he re-employs musicians in his *lubiri*. So, the royal musicians and the *abalanga* plan to maintain tradition until the king is ready to reclaim it:

> [...] The kingdom has a lot of problems at the moment—political problems. So, [...] the king [...] has not yet settled as himself to start [to attend to] some issues, because there is still some fighting with Museveni (the president of Uganda) for many, many things. He knows that music has to be in the *lubiri* ... so, he knows, but he has a lot of problems. I don't blame him. But this is why we're trying to find ways of how we can train these people. [...] So [when] the time comes in for the king to invite the musicians in the *lubiri*, maybe we have some people playing it.[4]

Ssempeke Jr. strongly believes that there will come a time when the king will call on his former musicians to join him again in the palace, and Ssempeke plans to be ready. Majwala too believes that the Buganda will come back to the *ennanga*, "and eventually if we keep teaching many more, and they learn, people will again come back to it and learn how to listen to it: ah, that is if we can compose songs that they can understand. And [if] they listen, they [will] happen to fall in love with the songs. [...] I don't want to give it away."[5]

Ssempeke Jr. and Majwala, perhaps like the *abalanga* before them, have marked the *ennanga* as a cultural artifact important to their Buganda identity. Margaret Kartomi explains what the *abalanga* have described in their designs of a better future: "A culture that has been dominated by another and has neglected its own music eventually may become aware of the danger of that music's possible extinction and make efforts to revitalize it. A so-called native revival of this kind may be made for nationalistic, racial prestige, historical, nostalgic, touristic, and artistic reasons" (1981, 237–38). The *abalanga* see the Ugandan government as having devalued traditional Bugandan music and culture, necessitating their efforts to preserve the *ennanga* and to generate a revival of its musical repertoire. Ssempeke Jr. declared that he was fed up with the school system's push to require children to learn too many Ugandan musics in too short of a time just to conform to music festival standards, which were of a Pan-Ugandan scope.[6] In

a similar tone, Majwala expressed his frustration that students did not make the *ennanga* a priority, but he also explained that the government had to shoulder some of the blame for these conditions since, despite paying lip service to supporting cultural institutions, it did not support the traditional arts associated with the Ugandan *kingdoms*.

The *ennanga* repertoire, then, is being preserved and guarded by these men in the hope that there will be a revival. They perform in what they deem to be the traditional style, improvise in traditional ways, and maintain the instrument without modifications (at least in Buganda).[7] In spite of this, however, aspirations for an authentic tradition are rather impossible not only because the original context for the music has changed, but also as Kartomi rightly states, "because the concept of pure, primeval authenticity is an unrealistic one" (1981, 238). It is no doubt then that the harp players, unwavering in their resolve to preserve the music as it was in its perceived heyday (i.e., in its court environment), have doomed it to remain an esoteric solo instrument without the guarantee that the royal patronage system will be reconstituted.

How did the Ennanga Survive?

The dogma with which the *abalanga* cling to the *ennanga* is in part invested in an imagined or "primeval" past of the *ennanga*. It is clear that there has been almost no innovation in playing style, and even less in the way of composition; however, the process of musical transmission that has taken the place of the *lubiri* system has been nothing short of innovative. While the emotional regard for the *ennanga* might be one of preservation, protection and even nostalgia, the methods of transmission have surely been pragmatic. For over fifty years now the *abalanga* continued to play the *ennanga*, and in the process, they have created methods of transmission that involve new uses of media

and close involvement with scholarship about Kiganda music. Without these adaptations in response to the limitations of aural transmission in the post-*lubiri* period, the *ennanga* repertoire could not have survived to the extent that it has it has to today.

Three Modes of Transmission

Even before the fall of the *lubiri* many musicians had been using alternative methods to supplement gaps in the aural transmission of the *ennanga* repertoire. Three such modes have been particularly important for the maintenance of *ennanga* repertoire: ethnographic recordings, the return of musical repertoire to the *ennanga*, and the use of published transcriptions.[8] These three repositories have been the lifeline for *abalanga*. Though the *ennanga* tradition has occupied a rather indeterminate state since the invasion of the *lubiri*, a few musicians have struggled to maintain it using the media that they and their teachers have remediated and revitalized.

1. Ethnographic Recordings

During his monumental fieldwork documenting African music, Hugh Tracey was able to record the *omulanga* Temutewo Mukasa. Eight tracks from this session were made available on the ILAM label in 1953.[9] Musicologist Klaus Wachsmann also recorded Temutewo Mukasa in 1949, but these recordings were never made commercially available. The Mukasa recordings have been named by Albert Mwanga Ssempeke, Albert Bisaso Ssempeke, and Ssenoga Majwala as one of their main sources of learning.

It is not clear exactly how these recordings were accessed over the years, but there are a few possibilities. First, it is conceivable that the Mukasa records became popular in villages around Kampala when people with phonographs made their rounds playing

records by request. In his autobiography, Ssempeke Sr. recalled how he learned to play the *ndere* by listening to records as a boy: "In those days there were very few gramophones around, but wherever there was one in the neighborhood, we would go there and listen to the recordings" (Albert Ssempeke, Sr. 1975, 54). Later, Mukasa's harp recordings were played on the radio, and the records were probably made available throughout Kampala, where everyone came to learn to play the *ennanga.* Ludovico Sserwanga mentioned that there are LPs of Mukasa's playing in the basement of the Uganda Museum.[10] Since Evaristo Muyinda (Ssempeke Sr.'s teacher) and Ssempeke Sr. himself both worked there under Klaus Wachsmann, it is quite possible that this is where they obtained access to the records. Majwala, however, did not work at the museum, but he obtained a CD copy of Mukasa's playing, probably made from a CD available at Makerere University.

2. Maintenance of Repertoire on Other Instruments

The long history of tunes moving among instrument groups in the *lubiri* has also contributed to the continuance of *ennanga* repertoire. The widely accepted theory that the harp player composed most songs of the court repertoire on the harp first (P. Cooke 1996) already supports the notion that this music was transferred from the *ennanga* to other instruments. That is, the repertoire, by and large, was *ennanga* repertoire first. However, since the death of *abalanga* who knew the most repertoire, much of the *ennanga* repertoire only exists in its transposed form on instruments like the *amadinda* xylophone and the *entenga* drum chime, where musical structures in the repertoires demonstrate explicit commonalities. Ssempeke Jr. remembers his father moving tunes among

instruments, including from the *amadinda* xylophone to the *ennanga* and back, and transferring *ennanga* tunes to other instruments like the *endongo* lyre.

3. Transcriptions

While musical exchange was commonplace in the *lubiri* before 1966, the main resources that musicians (and scholars) have used to reconstitute the *ennanga* repertoire have been published transcriptions, especially of xylophone pieces. The transcriptions are noteworthy because they have been compiled by Baganda scholar, Joseph Kyagambiddwa (xylophone music and song texts), and by foreign scholars, Gerhard Kubik (xylophone) and Lois Anderson (xylophone). They have also been compiled as collaborations much like those published in the appendix of song texts to the CD *Ssempeke!* compiled by Peter Cooke with the aid of Ssempeke Sr., Miriam Zziwa and Meresiane Musoke. More importantly, it was the *abalanga* (i.e., Evaristo Muyinda and Albert Ssempeke) that assisted scholars in documenting and understanding the *ennanga* and *amadinda* tunes. Because there have been so many published *amadinda* transcriptions by Kubik, Anderson and Kyagambiddwa, there is a wealth of prospective *ennanga* tunes waiting to be played again. These transcriptions can be used by novices to learn *how* to play *ennanga* and remember repertoire, but they have also been used by seasoned *abalanga* to transfer to the *ennanga* music that has not been played on the harp for years. The collective memory in Buganda of xylophone and drum chime tunes matched with the published transcriptions are in effect an untapped repository of *ennanga* tunes.

Feedback Loop

These materials would of course be of no use if there were no *ennanga* players to maintain and teach the basics of the playing style. Because the transcriptions and recordings were generated by and are used by *abalanga*, these transcriptions are the crucial juncture at which Kiganda music scholarship, both foreign and indigenous, begins its feedback loop. The feedback loop has in effect operated through two waves of transmittance. Harp players originally began working with ethnographers and musicologists, who recorded and documented their playing. The material was published, and the Baganda subsequently used the media to teach themselves, and other foreign researchers how to play the *ennanga*. This second wave of researchers with the help of *abalanga* went on to publish more scholarship and transcriptions that are still being brought back to the field to be used to learn and better understand *ennanga* repertoire. The remediation and reuse of transcriptions and scholarship—the feedback loop—has been able to fill some of the gaps in the transmission process. What follows are three case studies of harp players whose learning and teaching processes illustrate the feedback loop in *ennanga* repertoire transmission that I have outlined here. These three *abalanga*—Albert Mwanga Ssempeke, his son Albert Bisaso Ssempeke, and Ssenoga Majwala—have used different combinations of the available media to learn and teach the *ennanga*.

1. Albert Mwanga Ssempeke

Ssempeke Sr. was a teacher and proponent of Kiganda music. With the help of Evaristo Muyinda, Ssempeke taught himself the *ennanga* using the aforementioned recordings after a colleague had introduced him to the harp. Because his teacher had a limited repertoire on the *ennanga*, Ssempeke Sr. learned predominantly from recordings,

and the repertoire that he amassed was essentially correlative to that of Temutewo Mukasa, the harpist on these recordings. Ssempeke Sr. did also have a few tunes in his repertoire that he had transferred from transcriptions of other court instruments, some of which were brought to Ssempeke by researcher Andrew Cooke during xylophone lessons. During Andrew's visits, he shared xylophone transcriptions and the two played through them together. Sometimes, Andrew said that he would play a song on the *ennanga* for Ssempeke and "invite him to re-invent, or remember the song."[11]

2. Albert Bisaso Ssempeke Jr.

Ssempeke Jr., Albert Mwanga Ssempeke Sr.'s son and heir, is currently an active player, composer and proponent of Kiganda music. He is one of the two living harp players left in Buganda. Ssempeke Jr. learned *ennanga* from his father, and therefore had no direct use for the harp recordings. He uses his own knowledge of xylophone songs to recall songs on the harp. When this fails he turns to xylophone transcriptions compiled by foreign researchers. In order to recollect song texts, he refers to lyric transcriptions of his father's singing that were transcribed by Peter Cooke with the aid of Ssempeke Sr., Miriam Zziwa and Meresiane Musoke. Ssempeke Jr. also uses xylophone transcriptions to "supplement his memory" when he is teaching, and he has often referred me to recordings of his father playing *ennanga* to help me in my own studies.

3. Ssenoga Majwala

Ssenoga Majwala is a professor of music, and the other living *ennanga* player currently in Buganda. Majwala performs and composes on the *ennanga* and teaches the instrument privately. As a teenager, already familiar with Kiganda music, he traveled to Kampala to learn the *ennanga* from Ssempeke Sr. Ssempeke Sr. taught him the

beginner's song and then assigned him to listen to the recordings of Temutewo Mukasa. When he first heard these recordings, Majwala was not able to make sense of the virtuoso playing. But he knew that many of the xylophone songs from the *lubiri* had been transcribed in the book, *African Music from the Source of the Nile* (1955), written by the Muganda author Joseph Kyagambiddwa. Majwala continued listening to the recordings of Mukasa and referring to the corresponding transcriptions in order to learn to play the songs on his own. In Majwala's case, he transferred the xylophone transcriptions back to the harp, using the recordings to perfect his performance style. Majwala also refers to recordings, published transcriptions, and his own harp and vocal transcriptions in his teaching.

These three case studies exemplify the ways in which academic resources have become a standard part of the contemporary *ennanga* learning process. The movement of musical material between Kiganda royal instruments has been replaced with its movement from xylophone transcriptions to the *ennanga*, and in many cases, the primary "teacher" has been a set of recordings of one player. Each of these three harp players, however, has learned differently from these materials. Ssempeke Sr. and Ssenoga Majwala used the Mukasa recordings as primary material; Ssempeke Jr. uses transcriptions as mnemonics to remind him of song cycles and song texts that he may not readily remember. All three have slightly different playing and singing styles, and Ssempeke Jr. and Majwala have developed very idiosyncratic playing and teaching styles despite having used the same media as heuristic resources.

Discussion

Researchers and *abalanga* have *both* been involved directly and indirectly in the continuation and transmission of the *ennanga* tradition. In order to preserve the integrity of the instrument and its repertoire, both groups have formed a symbiotic relationship that not only maintains crucial aspects of the tradition, but also keeps both parties "in business." Examining each of the two group's contribution to the *ennanga* tradition, we can picture the objective state of the *ennanga*. Two rather salient models, one by Shelemay (1996) and the other by Livingston (1999), have specifically shed light on the ways that we might examine the agency of these two groups in the production and propagation of the *ennanga* repertoire and its history.

In her 1996 article "The ethnomusicologist and the transmission of tradition," wrote directly from the perspective of the field researcher. She argued that there are three ways that an ethnomusicologist becomes implicit in the process of transmission: 1) preserving tradition, 2) memorializing tradition, 3) mediating tradition (1996, 46). Here too, examples abound as to the ways that each of these has played a role in the transmission of *ennanga* repertoire.

1. Preservation

Shelemay argued that in the field of ethnomusicology, preservation, on some level, is a presupposition in all work (1996, 46). The discipline was founded on the idea that the ethnomusicologist is an advocate for a music, people, or particular cultural tradition, and that documentation with recordings, transcriptions and historical information about the music serves in the preservation process. The very act of writing about a music "preserves" some aspect of it in a material form, and the act of recording

means that the music can be heard by anyone in the world, so long as they can access the recording and the reproduction technology. These materials are conducive to circulation and study, and the scholar exerts some power over how a music or music culture is described and remembered, and who is able to access the scholarly materials.

The inflexibility of the imagined "stability" of the *ennanga* tradition is one of the qualities that made it appealing to me as an object of study. The fields of ethnomusicology and folklore are the very places where these types of traditions have generally been most welcome: their inclusion as objects of study is based on a penchant for preservation in the researcher. The researcher's role as archivist—something everyone of them does to some degree—is the example *par excellence* of this tendency: Tracey's recordings are housed in the International Library of African Music and Wachsmann's recordings are in the British Library Sound Archive.

Researchers secure the opportunity to revisit the media because the recordings have only been commercially released on obscure and academic record labels. Harpists like Muyinda, Ssempeke Sr. and Ssempeke Jr. have traveled throughout Europe and the UK teaching and lecturing about their music, and other musicians make names for themselves, often generating income and expanded networks, while assisting musicological research in the field. This too is part of the business of preservation. Because of their resources and interests, ethnomusicologists who have attained a certain instrumental proficiency can even be given the responsibility of musical transmission by his or her teachers, transplanting the study of an instrument to a new region or country, as often happens in, for example, a university music department (e.g. Solís 2004).

2. Memorializing

Memorializing tradition, that practice of paying homage to teachers and research associates who invariably guide a musicologist through training, is as Shelemay points out less common than the act of preservation (1996, 49). Nonetheless, it has received some recent attention in a 2006 conference theme of the Society for Ethnomusicology: "Asian and Pacific music masters: An ethnomusicology of the individual." Few musicologists have spent time describing, *with full disclosure*, what takes place during fieldwork, especially in regard to the nature of the complicated relationships in the field that must mediate the negotiations of power, money and the commodification of knowledge. The teachers, research assistants, translators and guides often receive comparatively little recognition for the expertise they provide, including the music they perform. Memorializing our colleagues in the field—telling their stories as well as our interactions with them—illustrates the importance of these players in the fieldwork process. Our teachers and friends in the field are the veritable arbitrators of knowledge, often overshadowed by the asymmetric power relations that so often shape the relationships between researcher and the object of research.

In Buganda we have seen the memorialization of only a few musicians, mainly because there were and are so few *abalanga*. Since the harpists were once associated with a royal musical system in a renowned Ugandan kingdom, historians have made some effort to record their work and the accounts of their lives. This material is scattered among online biographies, journals and CD liner notes. There one might find biographies of the late Albert Ssempeke Sr. and Evaristo Muyinda, or a short autobiography by Ssemepeke Sr. published in 1975. Even more rare is information about the late Temusweo Mukasa. The dearth of information about Mukasa is surprising because he has

often been cited as a legendary harpist and one of the last to play for the Buganda king in the *lubiri*.

3. Mediation

Mediation, as Shelemay describes it, is probably the most accurate way to portray an ethnomusicologist's primary activity. We are searching for music that we feel should be written about, finding musicians who can tell us about it and sharing their stories (1996, 49). There are two obvious ways that the mediation of *ennanga* music has impacted the state of the *ennanga* performance and its repertoire. The first is the production of recordings. The archives created by Klaus Wachsmann, and more importantly, Hugh Tracey, have undoubtedly changed the way *abalanga* learn to play, and to a large extent, their performance styles. The existence of these recordings was not the only factor in the sustainment of the *ennanga* repertoire, but the commercial release of the recordings allowed a small group of musicians to access this material. Without these recordings, it is doubtful that the performance tradition could have continued in any recognizable form. The *abalanga* have used these recordings to supplement gaps in their knowledge, and although the degree to which they innovate is arguably more limited than it once was, each *omulanga* has been able to create distinct styles of playing through their engagement with these media.

The dissemination of these various musical materials in Buganda is my second example of mediation. Even though *abalanga* grapple to preserve the authenticity of the *ennanga* in the post-independence political system, there is now a demand created for the music *outside* of Buganda. This demand was once created and is now sustained by a niche market through which narrowly circulated recordings are referenced in obscure

publications by a spattering of musicologists (myself included). The interest in the preservation of Kiganda royal music has placed the *abalanga* and other authoritative Kiganda musicians in demand for their knowledge and their talents in the field and abroad. The academy and those interested in preserving or propagating traditional musics provide incentives for musicians to cultivate their skills on the *ennanga*. As long as the musicologists show continued interest in this music, the production of knowledge about Kiganda music is good business for indigenous musicians.

4. Revival

I would like to return briefly to Kartomi's statement, "A culture that has been dominated by another and has neglected its own music eventually may become aware of the danger of that music's possible extinction and make efforts to revitalize it. A so-called nativistic revival of this kind may be made for nationalistic, racial prestige, historical, nostalgic, touristic, and artistic reasons" (1981, 237–38). The concept of revival is at the heart of what has been happening in Buganda. Below is Tamara Livingston's definition of a revival movement. Note that the principles of restoring and preserving a musical tradition cited by Livingston coincide with Shelemay's argument about the ways ethnomusicologists impact the music traditions that they study.

> [A revival movement is] any social movement with the goal of restoring and preserving a musical tradition which is believed to be disappearing or completely relegated to the past. The purpose of the movement is twofold: (1) to serve as cultural opposition and as an alternative to mainstream culture, and (2) to improve existing culture through the values based on historical value and authenticity expressed by revivalists. (Livingstone 1999, 68)

The *ennanga* has not been completely relegated to the past; however, its original performance context—court music used to counsel the king—is a thing of the past. Ssempeke Jr. and Majwala have also made it clear that they are interested in restoring and

preserving the *ennanga* tradition, and Majwala relayed to me that he felt the pressure of the larger Ugandan government pushing down on the traditional kingdoms:

> The government that [… is] running the country is not so much interested I think in the cultural institutions, though they claim to be interested in but they are not. […] I think their feeling is if the kingdoms were not around, they would run the country […] in a better way. [Be]cause they would manage to run it, and they would [...] force everybody [out of power]. But because the kingdoms [and] the kings are there now and they [the public] want[s] them, they [the government] find [it] difficult to do away with the kingdoms.[12]

The members of Uganda's traditional kingdoms are fighting to conserve their identity in the face of a more powerful, official national culture. Both Majwala and Ssempeke Jr. have expressed the importance of the *ennanga* to Buganda identity, and hope that it might one day be reinstated inside the *lubiri*. These two men are part of a small cohert interested in maintaining and reinvigourating the *ennanga* tradition in the Buganda kingdom. Tamara Livingston wrote about the revival and outlined its "basic ingredients" as:

> 1) an individual or small group of "core revivalists."
> 2) revival informants and/or original sources (e.g. historical sound recordings)
> 3) a revivalist ideology and discourse
> 4) a group of followers which form the basis of a revivalist community
> 5) revivalist activities (organizations, festivals, competitions)
> 6) non-profit and/or commercial enterprises catering to the revivalist market. (1999, 69).

The efforts of Ssempeke Jr. and Majwala constitute a revivalist effort in a general sense. Not all of these "ingredients" are found in the revival of the *ennanga* tradition, but many of them describe the community that surrounds the instrument. There is indeed a small group of "core revivalists" that could include the *abalanga* in Buganda as well as those players outside of the kingdom (myself included). Certainly there are recordings and documents from which we learn techniques, style and revitalized repertoire. The

revivalist discourse in Buganda, although very abstract, revolves around Buganda identity and upholding tradition. The new audience that researchers write to—other musicologists and other academics interested in the music—could be considered a group of followers that forms the revivalist community outlined above by Livingstone. However, apart from this loosely organized group of players, our occasional correspondences, and an odd lecture at a conference, there is no formal organization for the community. Because of the lack of formal organization, there are no sanctioned "revivalist activities." Outside Buganda, however, there are scholars that are happy to host *abalanga* for workshops and lectures. Finally, there are non-profit and commercial enterprises inside and outside of Buganda: Ssempeke Jr. occasionally plays the *ennanga* in concert. More importantly, recordings of *ennanga* have been commercially released and one can purchase single tracks or an entire CD of the master's performing on the *ennanga*.

Livingston argued that historical recordings are at the center of the revivalist movement (1999, 71). These are indispensible to the practice of the harp in Buganda. Other materials such as notation and methods books (in this case articles describing the style of *ennanga* performance and the history of the tradition) are of prime importance in revivalism (Livingston 1999, 80). Without these materials there would be no *ennanga* performance. Ssempeke Sr., Majwala, and Ssempeke Jr. have sought out ways to reconstitute the performance tradition using transcriptions, music performed on other instruments (and often transcribed), recordings, and published articles.

The *abalanga* have clung to the information found in these resources. There are certainly outliers to this rule, such as Andrew Cooke, who has not only attached a microphone to amplify the instrument, overcoming one of its most restrictive features,

but who also endeavoured to perform the *ennanga* in fusion settings where new audiences might appreciate the instrument's intricacies. Other *abalanga,* however, have not been so adventurous: they have clung to the traditions of performance and composition that have in fact decreased the *ennanga's* popularity with the Baganda. The adherence to established performance styles does however afford the tradition an authenticity it might otherwise be denied (Livingstone 1999, 74).

Finally the heterogeneous community of *ennanga* players is not unlike bluegrass and klezmer revivalist communities. One might assume that these groups would be composed of an economically and ethnically homogeneous bunch. The *ennanga* revivalist core is made up of members that extend beyond local or national boundaries, and is made up of newcomers to the tradition as well as what Livingston calls "source musicians" (1999, 72). Livingstone and Slobin (1984, 58) argued that revivalist movements that cross ethnic lines like these are common in several traditions like *choro* and *klezmer*.

The *ennanga* revival, if we might refer to it as such, is still a fledgling movement because of its small membership and lack of events that bring the members together to learn from each other. However, there has been enough motivation to organize overseas tours by *abalanga*, and seemingly enough research money has been found that scholars can travel to the source musicians. In this way, there are still "face-to-face" meetings where music and performance styles are shared, just as Livingston's model formulates.

Mark Slobin suggested that "re-interpretation," "re-activation" or "re-cycling" are revivalist concepts that "allow for viewing history more as a spiral than as a straight line" (1984, 38). The re-conceptualization captures much of the process of *ennanga*

transmission: music and knowledge move from the *omulanga* to the researcher, from the researcher to the media, then back to the *omulanga* where the information is absorbed back into the field site, and so on. Often the texts and transcriptions are re-interpreted with fervour, re-activated as Kiganda musicians are more and more motivated to continue to play the *ennanga* when they recognize outside interest.

Mark Slobin's vision of the revival is also concerned with the movement of the music to new contexts to accommodate for demand. His example (1984) deals with the movement of klezmer music from accompanying wedding dances to the new venue of the concert hall, where the docket is padded with a variety of folk tunes labeled under an umbrella label of klezmer music to characterize the whole evening and cater to interesting the audience. Slobin wrote poetically about the music's disassociation with dance: "what was once a cultural knot has become untied, and the strands hang loose" (1984, 40).

This turn of phrase is well suited to the *ennanga*, which is a long way from its original place on the *kabaka*'s verandah in the *lubiri*. Now this instrument is often grouped with other traditional court instruments from Buganda, and a few *ennanga* pieces can speckle a programme predominantly dedicated to drumming, dancing and xylophone music. The music lesson, and even the research interview, could be considered yet another context in which not only is the *ennanga* performed, but the history of its tradition is shared. The *abalanga* have adjusted their approach to the instrument by marketing themselves as skilled teachers and research assistants, as well as performers—perhaps now as crucial to the tradition as its once regal imprimatur.

Conclusion

Shelemay is entirely correct in her claim that "the study of a tradition becomes part of the life of the tradition itself and relationships in the field deepen to a more interactional model" (1996, 46). The fieldworker, whether an archivist, musicologist, folklorist, or all three, has become an integral part of keeping the *ennanga* tradition alive, keeping the music in circulation and sustaining the careers of the *abalanga*. The recordings, transcriptions and ethnographies produced by researchers are the stories of the music and the musicians that we share with our academic communities and the rest of the world. This process of sharing has provided the *abalanga* with many of those few opportunities to continue to play and teach the harp.

The *abalanga* too have been active contributors in this model of an enduring tradition. Since the beginning of the written record in Kiganda music, the *abalanga* have participated in the generation of materials that have ultimately been applied not as much to preserving historically authentic culture as re-activating a new culture of Kiganda music since the instrument joined in the *kabaka*'s exile. The materials musicians have used are more than methods books authored by "cultural insiders" and funded by political institutions in the name of preservation. Instead the knowledge generated by both cultural insiders and outsiders, meant primarily for a niche audience in the academy, has been co-opted by *abalanga* to maintain the tradition. The materials that are developed move between musician and ethnographer, informing the way that researchers understand the *ennanga* and the way musicians in turn perform, a spiral of ethnographic "feedback loops." After my first lesson, my teacher Ssempeke Jr. handed me an article by Peter Cooke about Ugandan court music along with a transcription of an old *ennanga* piece. It was an arresting moment that set out the degree to which this feedback loop has become

fully interwoven into the fabric of a traditional and modern musical practice (cf., Palmié 2002, 252).

A downside to this new revivalist culture is its exclusion of the Baganda public. At some point the harp may have been accessible to its native public (it was occasionally played in markets when the *abalanga* were not in the *lubiri*), but the once-narrow set of performance circumstances has sincebecome even narrower as the *ennanga* is increasingly played for communities of scholars outside of Buganda. This model privileges those who have access to libraries, archives and digital media, rather than those who are reliant upon aural transmission systems.

The *abalanga* are, however, convinced that the conditions will change in time—that the public in Buganda will embrace the *ennanga* once they see its popularity in the West. When asked how the *ennanga* will remain alive in Buganda, both Ssempeke Jr. and Majwala stated their hope that the transcultural exchange and production of knowledge would provide the means to sustain the instrument and its repertoire. Ssenoga Majwala said to me:

> [W]e, the owners, are rejecting it [the *ennanga*]. We don't like it. Sincerely speaking, people don't like it in this country. [... W]henever they look at it, it reminds them of the dead, and they don't want to be associated with death. So, it's the same story with the *ennanga*. We are running away from it, calling it names [like...] difficult and [saying] we can't play it. Now you are coming in, and you are going to pick it. And after some time, I'm sure this instrument will come back, and you will teach us. Now, do you see the irony in it?[13]

The word *omulanga*, the Luganda word to describe an *ennanga* player, translates as "messenger": the *omulanga* was a messenger and advisor to the king. His job was to recount the history of the king and the kingdom, and to praise and advise the king. Without the patronage of the king, a place in the *lubiri*, or the charge to create new music

to advise and soothe the king, there is no context for a king's "messenger." So, while the *ennanga* still exists in Buganda, the harp player no longer has the same function and the word *omulanga* no longer effectively describes him. There is no longer a king's messenger, or a king interested in listening to him. Meanwhile, a system created through the interaction between *abalanga*, researchers, and their audiences has been used to keep *ennanga* repertoire alive. The intersection of Slobin's spiral (1984) and Shelemay's interactional model (1996) provide the best description of the process that sustains the *ennanga* today: the researcher mediates information from the *abalanga* after which the *abalanga* reclaim and re-activate the same information for their use. The feedback loop decidedly embraces agency on the parts of both the *abalanga* and the researcher, and it activates what would otherwise become a static, if not extinct musical tradition.

Music ethnographers are not simply being asked to preserve the *ennanga* until the Baganda have a miraculous change of heart—the Baganda of course have much more agency in this process than is implied by Majwala earilier on. Ethnographers may have generated the funding to study the *ennanga* and produce scholarly or audio-visual materials, but the musicians continue to choose what story to tell and what music to reveal to the researcher. Instead of asking why the *ennanga* is dying, we should be asking how it has survived. The answer might be that the harp players of the last sixty years or so have found a way to expand the exposure of their instrument by accessing the resources, money, time and hands of collectors and researchers to create this system of cross-cultural interdependence, which stands in for the lost patronage system of the Buganda kingdom. In short, the field of musicology has become the new patron of the *abalanga*; the musicologist has become analogous to the surrogate *kabaka*.

NOTES

[1] The text of this song is about a royal servant who does not need assistance from anyone because his king, Mwanga, will provide for him.
[2] Ssenoga Salongo Majwala, in discussion with the author, Banda, Uganda, February 8, 2010.
[3] Ssenoga Salongo Majwala, in discussion with the author, Banda, Uganda, February 8, 2010.
[4] Albert Bisaso Ssempeke Jr., in discussion with the author, Kampala, Uganda, February 5, 2010.
[5] Ssenoga Salongo Majwala, in discussion with the author, Banda, Uganda, February 8, 2010.
[6] Albert Bisaso Ssempeke Jr., in discussion with the author, Kampala, Uganda, February 5, 2010.
[7] Difficulties with the *ennanga*'s volume, which effectively prohibits its inclusion in ensemble settings, could certainly be remedied with modifications to the construction of the instrument, or simply by adding a microphone to the instrument, allowing it to be used in wider contexts; however, the *abalanga* continue on without such changes.
[8] Recognizing that there are few capable performers, royal musicians have continued to record themselves in order to archive the music that they play. Ssempeke Sr. was brought to Edinburgh by Peter Cooke in 1988, where he recorded *ndere*, *endongo*, *ennanga*, *amadinda*, *endingidi,* and drumming tunes in order to "reconstruct the sound of a centuries old palace tradition of flute playing which no longer exists in Uganda and which may never be revived" (P. Cooke and Kasule 1999, 15). This speaks directly to the preservationist intention described by Shelemay (1996).
[9] These tracks were found on the ILAM *Sound of Africa* series disc TR.138. They are: "Okwagala omulungi kwesengereza," "Ganga alula" and "Asenga omwami tagayala" (currently available on the album *Royal Court Music of Uganda*) and "Kitumbu," "Webale kujja," "Omusango gw'ennyama teggwa," "Ekyuma" and "Omusango gwabalere" (available on the album *Madinda xylophones, historical, and topical songs from the Ganda of Kasangati, Kampala district, Uganda*).
[10] Ludovico Sserwanga, in discussion with the author, Nagalama, Uganda, February 14, 2010.
[11] Andrew Cooke, in email communication with the author, April 27, 2010.
[12] Ssenoga Salongo Majwala, in discussion with the author, Banda, Uganda, February 8 2010.
[13] Ssenoga Salongo Majwala, in discussion with the author, Banda, Uganda, February 8 2010.

APPENDIX A: "Gganga Alula" Lyrics

a. Kasule

Translated by Ssenoga Ssalongo Majwala

1–7. Harp

8. *Abange baamutemako Gganga.* / Colleagues, Gganga's fingers were cut off.

9. *Nga baamutemako engalo kijiiko. Abange baamutemako Gganga.* / They were cut off and are like a spoon. Colleagues, Ggangas fingers were cut off.

10. *Nga baamutemako engalo kijiiko. Abaffe ogenda Bulega Gganga.* / They were cut off and are like a spoon. Colleague you are going to Bulega Gganga.

11. *Ezisigaddeko ate engalo ate zikweke. Owange onomusangayo nawe.* / Hide the remaining fingers. My friend you will meet her there.

12. *Onomusangayo Nnassolo mwana. Mulabe anazongerako oludda.* / You will meet Nnassolo the daughter. See, will he put another part on?

13. *Anazongerako engalo kijiiko? Abaffe ngenda Bulwanyi nange.* / Will he put more fingers that are like a spoon. Colleagues I am going to Bulwanyi.

14. *Nze ngenda Bulwanyi engalo gyezadda. Abange ngenda Bulwanyi Gganga.* / I am going to Bulwanyi where the fingers are. Colleagues, I am going to Bulwanyi.

15. *Asirikidde ki nga yeri omuzadde? Bwolaba ku mbiriizi mbale.* / Why is he quiet when the parent is at Bulwanyi? When you see the weak one.

16. *Asirikidde ki nga yeva abalungi? Mbiriizi mbale nange.* / Why is he quiet when the beautiful ones come from there? Weak one.

17. *Nze asirikidde ki nga yeva abanyiivu? Netumutemako.* / Why is he quiet when the annoyed come from there? And we cut his fingers off.

18. *Netumutemako engalo bijiiko. Nebamutemako.* / We cut his fingers that are like spoons. His fingers were cut off.

19. *Nebamutemako engalo bikumbi. Abange agenda Bulaga Gganga.* / His fingers were cut off. They are like bad hoes? Colleagues Gganga is going to Bulaga.

20. *Agenda Bulaga engalo zikweke. Ndaba gwali gwa ntamu.* / He is going to Bulaga. Hide the fingers. It was stealing meat from the saucepan.

21. *Nze gwali gwa ntamu nnyina yanyiiga. Eyo nno yandikobye erugawo* / Stealing of meat. His mother got annoyed. He would say it's going off.

22. *Nga Nakasojogwa ate engalo gyezaali. Olaba baamulanga ki Gganga.* / The fingers were at Nakasojogwa. You see, why was he accused?

23. *Nga baamulanga ki ate ngalo bijiiko. Olaba yadda kakoga nkugambye.* / Why was he accused the one with spoonlike fingers? He became small.

24. *Nakasojogwa engalo bwezajja. Eyadda yadda mugubyabugubya.* / Fingers were at Nakasojogwa. He was fooled.

25. *Nakasojogwa eangalo gyezaali. Olaba asirikidde ki juuzi.* / Fingers were at Nakasojogwa. See, why is he quiet?

26. *Olwamutemako engalo bijiiko.* / His fingers are like spoons.

27. Harp

28. Harp *Hmmmmm ... Abange* / Hmmmmm ... Friends

29. *Asirikidde ki Nnassolo omwana? Mulabe Nnassolo omuto.* / Why is she quiet dear young Nnassolo? See young Nnassolo.

30. *Omwogerangako Nnassolo mwana. Bwemwogerako Nnassolo mutya.* / Talk about young Nnassolo. I fear to talk about her.

31. *Asirikidde ki eyali omulungi? Olaba olwamutemako Gganga.* / Why is she quiet, the one who used to be beautiful? See his fingers were cut off.

32. *Olwamutemako ate engalo bijiiko. Nze nno agenda Bulaga Gganga.* / His fingers were cut off and are like spoons now. He is going to Bulaga Gganga.

33. *Ezisigaddewo ate angalo zikweke. Olaba gwali gwa ntamu nawe.* / To hide the remaining fingers. You see he stole meat.

34. *Nze gwali gwa ntamu engalo yanyiiga. Ekirala kyali kya kabi.* / It was a case of stealing but he got annoyed. The next case was more dangerous.

35. *Nze kyali kya kabi ekyatemya Gganga. Nalaba kyali kya kabi ddala.* / It was too bad that Gganga lost his fingers. It was too bad.

36. *Kyali kya kabi ekyatemya omusajja. Mulabe bamulanga ki naawe.* / He lost his fingers sir. Why did he loose his fingers?

37. *Baamulanga ki ate ngalo bikuggu.* / Was it enough crime to make him loose his fingers?

38.—41. Harp

42. Harp *Ye ye gwe. Nga Gganga olabye.* / Hello you. Sorry Gganga.

43. *Gganga ono alula. Gganga nga olaba.* / However, Gganga was lucky. Gganga, you see!

44. *Gganga ono alula. Gganga nga olaba ate* / Gganga you are lucky. You see his fingers.

45. *Baamutemako engalo bikuggu. Abange abange,* / were cut off. They are stumps. Dear friends.

46. *Asirikidde ki Nnassolo munyiivu. Abange asirikidde ki Gganga.* / Why is she quiet? Nnassolo is annoyed. Friends why is she quiet Gganga.

47. *Asirikidde ki Nnassolo munyiivu. Mulabe olwamugambako Gganga.* / Why is she quiet? Nnassolo is annoyed. See, when he was cautioned about stealing,

48. *Olwamugambako olwengalo teyadda. Teyadda* / He left never to come back. He did not come back.

49. *Olwamutemako engalo teyadda! Teyadda.* / When his fingers were cut off. He did not come back.

50. *Olwamugambako engalo bijiiko. Ba ssebo ngenda Bulwanyi.* / When he was reminded of spoon-like fingers. Gentlemen I am going to Bulwanyi.

51. *Ngenda Bulwanyi olwengalo gyezadda. Abange osirikidde ki?* / I am going to Bulwanyi where fingers are. Why are you quiet?

52. *Olwamukwatako engalo yanyiiga.* / He got annoyed because of the cut fingers.

b. Mukasa

Translated by Miriam Zziwa (see acknowledgements in A. Cooke and Micklem 1999, 59)

5. *Baamutemako engalo bitundu, Gganga Alula. Nassolo Gganga.* / They cut off parts of his fingers, Gganga escaped. Nassolo Gganga.

6. *Olw 'aamutemako engalo, gye zaali zabba ennyama. Nassolo Gganga.* / When they cut off the fingers, those which used to steal meat. Nassolo Gganga.

7. *Kye mbabuulira, engalo bitundu, wulira engalo tegereza enkoba.* / What I'm telling you, the remaining fingers, listen to the fingers, think about the strings.

8. *Abange, Kabaka Wulugembe gyali e Mengo. Nassolo Gganga.* / My friends, *Kabaka* Walugembe is at Mengo. Nassolo Gganga.

9. *Abange, wulira, Wulugembe gy'ali alamula. Nassolo, ssebo* / My friends, listen, Walugembe is ruling. Nassolo, sir.

10. *Abaffe wulira, engalo gye zaali zabba ennyama. Tegereza engalo.* / Our friends listen, where the fingers were which stole meat. Think about the fingers.

11. *Kitange, bwe ndabye kirungi kye ndabye ennanga. Ne mmala nsiima.* / My father, what I have seen is good, I have seen *ennanga*. I have appreciated.

12. *Nze nga bwe ndabye kirungi, ne ndaba entenga, ne mmala njagala.* / When I have seen the good things, when I see *entenga*, I like them.

13. *Kitange bwe ndabye kirungi, ne ndaba omuntu. Nassolo Gganga.* / Father, what I have seen is good, I have seen people. Nassolo Gganga.

14. *Agenda okwogera engalo. Gye zaali ziizo ekyali eky'akabi omwami!* / He is going to say where the fingers were. It was a bad thing sir!

15. *Ekyali eyakabi ekyatemya Gganga baaba* / It was a dangerous thing, that which made them cut Gganga, *baaba*!

16. *Nannyinimu omuwanvu, nze gw 'alikwatako alikaba 'Yaaye!' baaba.* / The tall owner of the house, whoever he touches will cry out *yaye baaba*.

17. *Nze kaalo ke kamu omwami, ondoga ekintu ke nagaana nange.* / It is the same village sir, you are bewitching me, something that I refused.

18. *Nze naayita wano ewaffe. Nze naayita wano oli omuzungu, baaba.* / I will pass here at our place. I will pass here where there is a white man, *baaba*.

19. *Nze nkwagale k'osale mgezi kye. nkubuulira ekyama Gganga kyekyo* / I want you to

come up with suggestions. What I am telling you, that made them cut Gganga, that's it.

20. *Nannyinimu omuwanvu. Nze gw'alikwatako alikaaba 'Yaaye!' wulira engalo.* / The tall owner of the house. Whoever he touches will cry out Yaye baaba, listen to the fingers.

21. *Bannange, ndabye kye nkubuulira. Laba oba weegaana,* / My friends, I am to be pitied, that's what I'm telling you. See if you are denying it,

22. *kale leeta engalo. Baazitemako!* / bring the fingers. They were cut off!

23. Harp

24. Harp

25. *Engalo, engalo, engalo, engalo ekkumi.* / Fingers, fingers, finger, fingers, ten fingers.

26. *Gye tegereze engalo. Kitange olw'engalo, engalo engalo ezirya.* / Think about the fingers. Father, because of the fingers, which are used for eating.

27. *Abange, mulabe engalo. Gwe no nkira bulungi, onkiza engalo ekkumi, ezabbanga ennyama.* / My friends, look at the fingers. You are better than me, you have ten fingers, which used to steal meat.

28. *Kitange ggwe okira obugagga, onkiza engalo ennene. Wulira engalo.* / Father you are wealthier, you have more big fingers. Listen, fingers.

29. *Owange, engalo gye zaali, omutu omulaba bandimukubye omuggo ne* / My friend, where the fingers were, they should have beaten with a stick and

30. *bamulekera engalo ezirya. Kitange bandimutemye ebigere ne* / left the fingers which eat. My father, they should have cut off his feet

31. *bamulekako engalo ebitundu. Laba no kye mbabuulira* / but left him with parts of his fingers. See what I'm telling you.

32. *Abange mundaba engalo gye zaali. Kitange ekyo no ky'okola* / My friends see where the fingers were. My father, that which you do

33. *Omwami, ekyo no ky'okola ekigambo eky'omwenge. Nannyinimu omuwanvu* / to the Lord, that which you do, that thing about alcohol. The tall owner of the house

34. *gw'alikwatako alikaba - (humming)* / whoever he touches will cry! mmm...

35. Harp

36. Harp

37. *Walugembe gy'ali e Mengo, Nassolo Gganga* / Walugembe, he is at Mengo. Nassolo Gganga

38. *Abange abange Walugembe gy'ali alamula. Tegereza engalo.* / My friends, my friends, people of Walugembe, he is ruling. Think about fingers.

39. *Kye mbabuulira, engalo gye zaali ezabba ennyama. Bannange, ndabye.* / What I'm telling you, where the fingers were which stole meat. My friends, I am to be pitied.

40. *Bwe baalaba olw'engalo ebitundu ezabba ennyama.* / When I see you, because of the parts of fingers which stole meat.

41. *Tegereza engalo. Baazitemako! Oba weegaana kale leeta engalo!* / Think about fingers. They cut them off! If you are denying it, bring the fingers!

42. *Baazitemako!* / They were cut off!

43. Harp

44. Harp

45. Harp

46. *Engalo, engalo, Gganga alula. Nassolo nnyini, Gganga.* / The fingers, the fingers, Gganga you have escaped. This Nassolo, Gganga.

47. *Baamutemako engalo, abaffe wulira, engalo. Tegereza engalo.* / They cut off his fingers, my friends listen, the fingers. Think about the fingers.

48. *Bwe nkulaba, olwo onkira obulungi, onkiza engalo ennene, ezabba ennyama.* / When I see you, you are better off than me, you have the big fingers that stole meat.

49. *Baazitemako. Owa onkiza engalo ezirya tegereza engalo.* / They were cut off. You are better off, because you have fingers

50. *baazitema.* Harp / which eat.

51. Harp

c. Ssempeke Sr.

Translation obtained and refined by P. Cooke in collaboration with Ssempeke, Miriam Zziwa and Meresiane Musoke.

1. — 4. Harp

5. *Ne baamutemako engalo bitundu kubba ennyama.* / And his fingers were cut off for stealing meat.

6. *'Ze baamutemako engalo, tezadda. Gganga alula, Nassolo [ne] Gganga.* / I say, The fingers they cut off, never returned. Gganga had a narrow escape, Princess Nassolo and Gganga.

7. *Anti onkiza bugagga, nkukiza engalo ezabbanga emmere.* / You are wealthier than me, but I still have my fingers that stole food.

8. *Anti onkiza bugagga, nkukiza engalo ezabbanga emmere?* / You have more wealth, but where are the fingers that used to steal food?

9. *'Ze baamutemako engalo tezadda.* / I say, the fingers they cut off never returned.

10. — 11. Harp

12. *Naamukola ntya, mukama wange? Webale!* / What shall I do, my master? Thank you!

13. *Aliziddawa mukama wange? Weebale dda.* / What will he do without them, my lord? Thank you.

14. *Alizisanga wa engalo ebitundu?* / Where will he find the pieces of his fingers?

15. Harp

16. *'Ze baamutemako engalo tezadda!* / I say the ones they cut never returned!

17. *'Ze baamutemako engalo bitundu kubba nnyama, Nassolo, Gganga.* / The ones they cut into pieces for stealing flesh, [Princess] Nassolo, [and] Gganga.

18. *Anti onkiza bugagga nkukiza engalo. Ezabbanga emmere.* / You have more wealth than me, but I still have my fingers. The ones which stole food.

19. *Anti onkiza bugagga nkukiza engalo ennene. Ezabbanga emmere.* / You are richer than me but I still have big fingers. The ones that stole food.

20. *Baazitemako engalo bitundu.* / They cut them into pieces.

21. *'Ze baamutemako engalo tezadda, Nannyinimu omulungi.* / The ones they cut never

returned. The good head of the home,

22. *Nze gwalikwatako alikaaba 'Yaye.' Nannyinimu omulungi,* / Whoever he touches will cry out. The good head of the home,

23. *nze gwalikwatako alikaaba 'Yaye.' Baaba olabye, munnange olabye.* / whoever he touches will cry out. Poor you, my friend, I'm sorry.

24. *Ezabbanga ennyama! Zezabbanga engoye* / The ones which stole meat! The ones which used to steal clothes!

25. *Baazitemako engalo bitundu.* / They cut them into pieces.

26. *Aligisangawa engalo okuzizza? Yaliguze puliida,* / Where can he find the fingers, to bring them back? He would hire a lawyer,

27. *nze nawolereza engalo okuzizza. Yaliguze puliida,* / to petition for his fingers. He would hire a lawyer,

28. *nze nawolereza engalo tezadda.* / to ask for fingers which never returned.

29. *Engalo eterina sasa.* / A finger has no blacksmith shop. [=You can't obtain fingers from a blacksmith]

30. *Aligisangawa engalo okugizza. Engalo eterina sasa.* / Where will he find it to bring it back? A finger has no blacksmith shop.

31. *Aligisangawa engalo okugizza? Gganga alula, munnange olabye!* / Where will he find the finger to bring it back. Gganga had a narrow escape, my friend, poor you!

32. *Baamutemako!* / They cut them off!

33. —36. Harp

37. *Namukola ntya?* / What will I do with him?

38. *Nze namukola ntya Mukama wange? Nannyinimu omuwanvu,* / What will I do with him, my master? The tall head of the house,

39. *nze gwalikwatako alikaaba 'Yayĕ.' Ekyo nno kyokola baaba.* / Whomsoever he touches will cry 'Yaye.' That's what you do friend.

40. *Ekyo nno kyokola ekigambo ky'omwenge. Nze naabeera wano ssebo.* / That's what you do, if you drink too much beer. Ssebo I will be here, sir.

41. *Nze naabeera wano awali omulungi baaba. Abange, abange, abange...* / I will be

here with the beautiful one, friend. Fellows, fellows, fellows...

42. *Nze agenda okulaba engalo gyezadda! Nannyinimu omulungi,* / He is going to search for the fingers! The good head of the home,

43. *nze gwalikwatako alikaaba 'Yaye!, Gganga alula.'* / I say, whomsoever he touches will cry 'Yaye! Ganga had a narrow escape'.

44. Harp

45. *Oba weegaana, leetaezo engalo* / If you deny it, bring the fingers

46. *baazitemako. Oba weegaana, leetaa ezo engalo* / they cut off. If you deny it, bring those fingers

47. *baazitemako. Oba weegaana, leetaa ezo engalo.* / they cut off. If you deny it, bring those fingers.

48. *Baazitemako engalo bitundu. Nannyinimu omulungi* / They cut into pieces, the good head of the house

49. *nze gwalikwatako alikaaba 'Yaye'!* / whomsoever he touches will cry 'Yaye'!

50. — 51. Harp

51. *Omukazi ntunda,* / A woman is like white ants,

52. *ebikkwa nambugo. Bwobeera nebingi* / they come out after being covered with bark cloth. If you have many sheets of bark cloth

53. *obikka n'ebina* / you can cover even four [termite mounds].

54. *Omwami,* / Master,

55. *bwoyagala enseko senya ku mannyo. Omwami,* / if you like laughing you should brush your teeth. Master,

56. *bwoyagala enseko senya ku mannyo. Omwami, bwobeera* / if you like laughing you should brush your teeth. Master,

57. *oyagala enseko senya ku mannyo. Gayinze wamma!* / if you want to laugh brush your teeth. It is too much!

58. *Nze naabeera wano, Ssebo* / I will be here, Master,

59. *nze naabeera wano awali omukungu. Nze naabeera wano, Ssebo* / I will be here

where the chief is. I will be here, Master.

60. *Nze naabeera wano awali omukungu. Akaalo kekamu nga,* / I will here where the chief is. It is the same little village where you have been,

61. *olangira eddogo eryo nange,nange.* / Proclaiming spells with me, with me.

62. *Namukola ntya?* / What should be done with him?

63. *Nze namukola ntya?* / What should I do with him?

64. *Nze ndimukola ntya mukama wange?* / What will I do with my master?

65. — 73. Harp

d. Majwala

1.–5. Harp

6. *Baamutemako engalo bitundu, Gganga Alula. Nassolo Gganga.* / They cut off parts of his fingers, Gganga escaped. Nassolo Gganga.

7. *Olwamutemako engalo, gye zaali zabba ennyama. Nassolo ssebo.* / When they cut off the fingers, those which used to steal meat. Nassolo Gganga.

8. *Kye mbabuulira, engalo bikugu, wulira engalo, tegereza enkoba.* / What I'm telling you, the remaining fingers, listen to the fingers, think about the strings.

9. *Abange, Kabaka Mutebi ayo gy'ali Banda. Nassolo ssebo.* / My friends, Kabaka Mutebi is there in Banda. Nassolo Gganga.

10. *Abaffe wulira, engalo gye zaali zabba ennyama. Tegereza engalo.* / Our friends listen, where the fingers were which stole meat. Think about the fingers.

11. *Kitange, bwe ndabye kirungi, kye ndabye ennanga. Ne mmala nsiima.* / My father, what I have seen is good, I have seen *ennanga*. I have appreciated.

12. *Mama, bwe ndabye kirungi, ne ndaba Mutebi ne mmala njagala.* / Mama, when I have seen the good things, when I see *Mutebi* I like him.

13. *Kitange, bwe ndabye kirungi, ne ndaba omuntu. Nassolo.* / Father, what I have seen is good, I have seen people. Nassolo.

14. *Wagenda okwogera engalo gye zaali ziizo. Nannyinimu omuwanvu,* / [They?] are going to say where the fingers were. The tall owner of the house,

15. *nze gw'alikwatako alikaba 'Yaaye!' baaba. Nze akaalo ke kamu omwami,* / whoever he touches will cry out '*Yaaye!' baaba*. It is the same village sir,

16. *olangira eddogo [?] eryo. Nange naayita wano ewaffe* / you are bewitching me, something that I refused. I will pass here at our place.

17. *Nze naayita wano oli omuzungu, baaba. Nkwagale k'osale mgezi.* / I will pass here where there is a white man, *baaba*. I want you to come up with suggestions.

18. *Kye nkubuulira ekyama Gganga kyekyo. Nannyinimu omuwanvu,* / What I am telling you, that made them cut Gganga, that's it. The tall owner of the house.

19. *Nze gw'alikwatako alikaaba, 'Yaaye!' baaba, wulira engalo. Bannange ndabye,* / Whoever he touches will cry out 'Yaaye!' baaba, listen to the fingers. My friends, I am to be pitied,

20. *kye nkubuulira laba oba weegaana. Kale leeta engalo.* / that's what I'm telling you. See if you are denying it bring the fingers.

21. *Baazitemako* / They were cut off!

22. Harp

23. *Engalo, engalo, engalo, engalo ekkumi. Gye tegereze engalo.* / Fingers, fingers, finger, fingers, ten fingers. Think about the fingers.

24. *Kitange olw'engalo engalo engalo ezirya. Abaffe mulabe engalo* / Father, because of the fingers, which are used for eating. My friends, look at the fingers.

25. *Gwe no nkira bulungi onkiza engalo ekkumi, ezabbanga ennyama.* / You are better than me, you have ten fingers, which used to steal meat.

26. *Kitange ggwe okira obugagga, onkiza engalo ennene. Wulira engalo.* / Father you are wealthier, you have more big fingers. Listen, fingers.

27. *Owange, engalo gye zaali, omutu omulaba bandimukubye omuggo.* / My friend, where the fingers were, they should have beaten with a stick

28. *ne bamulekera engalo ezirya. Kitange, bandimutemye ebigere* / and left the fingers which eat. My father, they should have cut off his feet

29. *ne bamulekako engalo ebitundu. Abange kye mbabuulira.* / but left him with parts of his fingers. My friends I'm telling you.

30. *Abange, mundaba engalo gye zaali. Kitange ekyo no ky'okola Omwami,* / My friends, see where the fingers were. My father, that which you do to the Lord,

31. *ekyo no ky'okola ekigambo eky'omwenge. Nannyinimu omuwanvu* / that which you do, that thing about alcohol. The tall owner of the house mmm...

32. *gw'alikwatako alikaba* / whoever he touches will cry - *(humming)*

33. ... *gy'ali e Banda Nassolo ssebo. Abanga abaana, beera Mutebi ayo, Gganga Alula* [?] *Bassebo* / ...in Banda, Nassolo sir. My friends, children, Mutebi is there. Gganga Alula.

34. *Abanga abaana beera Mutebi ayo,* [*gy'ali alamula*]. *Bannange ndabye* / My friends, my children Mutebi is there ruling. My friends, I am to be pitied

35. *bwe baalaba olw'engalo ebikugu ezabba ennyama. Tegereza engalo* /when I see you, because of the parts of fingers which stole meat. Think about fingers.

36. *baazitemako*! *Oba weegaana kale leeta engalo!* / They cut them off! If you are denying it, bring the fingers!

37. *Baazitemako* / They were cut off!

38. Harps

39. *Engalo engalo, Gganga alula. Nassolo nnyini, Gganga* / The fingers, the fingers, Gganga you have escaped. This Nassolo, Gganga.

40. *Baamutemako engalo, abaffe, wulira engalo. Tegereza engalo* / They cut off his fingers, my friends listen, the fingers. Think about the fingers.

Cut off

e. Ssempeke Jr

Translated by Deo Kawalya

1. — 6. Harp

7. *Baamutemako engalo bikuggu. Nannyinimu omulungi* / They cut off his fingers, he has parts. The handsome household head

8. *nze, gw'alikwatako alikaaba 'Yaaye!' Abange abange abange* / he gets hold of will cry out '*Yaaye*!' My friends, my friends my friends

9. *Nze ŋŋenda okulaba engalo gye zadda, Ganga alula. Munnange olabye!* / I am going to see where the fingers went, Ganga survived. Sorry my friend!

10. *Baazitemaako engalo, tezadda. Nannyinimu omuwanvu* / They cut off his fingers, they went for good (they never came back). The tall household head

11. *nze, gw'alikwatako alikaaba woowe! Abange abange abange* / whoever he gets hold of will cry out *woowe!* My friends, my friends my friends

12. *Nze ŋŋenda okulaba engalo gye zadda. Yandiguze puliida* / I am going to see where the fingers went. He would have hired a lawyer (pleader)

13. *Nze, n'awolereza engalo bikuggu wulira engalo. Munnange olabye!* / to represent him; he has half fingers, listen, fingers. Sorry my friend!

14. *Kitange ndabye ebirungi, ne ndaba ennanga n'omulungi, kuba.* / Father, I have seen good things, I have seen a harp, and I have seen a good one.

15. *Kitange ndabye ebirungi ne ndaba endongo n'omulungi, kuba.* / Father, I have seen good things, I have seen an *endongo* and I have seen a good one.

16. Harp

17. *Naamukola ntya mukama wange. Nannyinimu omulungi* / What shall I do to him (her) my God/my boss. The handsome household head

18. *nze, gw'alikwatako alikaaba woowe. Abange abange abange* / whoever he gets hold of will cry out *woowe*. My friends, my friends my friends

19. *Nze ŋŋenda okulaba engalo gye zadda. Yandiguze puliida* / I am going to see where the fingers went. He would have hired a lawyer (pleader)

20. *nze, n'awolereza, engalo gye zadda baaba. Nannyinimu omuwanvu* / to represent him, where the fingers went my friend. The tall household head,

21. *nze, gw'alikwatako alikaaba 'Yaaye'. Nannyinimu omulungi* / whoever he gets hold of will cry out *'Yaaye'!* The handsome household head.

22. *nze, gw'alikwatako alikaaba woowe wulira engalo. Munnange olabye,* / he gets hold of will cry out *woowe* listen to the fingers. Sorry my friend,

23. *baazitemaako. Oba weegaana leeta ezo engalo* / they cut them off. If you are denying it show those fingers,

24. *baazitemako bikuggu. Nannyinimu omuwanvu* / they are half fingers. The tall household head

25. *nze, gw'alikwatako alikaaba 'Yaaye'. Nannyinimu omulungi nze,* / whoever he gets hold of will cry out *'Yaaye'!* The handsome household head

26. *gw'alikwatako alikaaba woowe baaba. Nannyinimu omulungi* / he gets hold of will cry out *woowe* my friend. The handsome household head

27. *nze, gw'alikwatako alikaaba 'Yaaye'. Gganga Alula. Munnange olabye!* / he gets hold of will cry out *'Yaaye'* Gganga survived. Sorry my friend!

28. *baazitemaako. Oba weegaana leeta ezo engalo* / they cut them off. If you are denying it show those fingers,

29. *baazitemako* / they cut them off.

30. — 33. Harp

34. *Naamukola ntya mukama wange. Nannyinimu omuwanvu,* / What shall I do to him (her) my God/my boss. The tall household head,

31. *nze, gw'alikwatako alikaaba woowe! Ekyo no ky'okola ssebo* / whoever he gets hold of will cry out *woowe!* What you are doing sir

32. *ekyo no ky'okola ekigambo eky'omwenge. Nze naabeera wano ssebo* / what you are doing is an act of drunkenness. I will be here sir,

33. *nze naabeera wano awali omulungi baaba. Nze naabeera wano ssebo,* / I will be here where there is a good (beautiful) one my friend. I will be here sir,

34. *nze naabeera wano awali omukungu. Nannyinimu omuwanvu,* / I bathe from here where there is an official. The tall household head,

35. *nze, gw'alikwatako alikaaba 'Yaaye!' Nannyinimu omuwanvu,* / whoever he gets hold of will cry out *'Yaaye!'* The tall household head,

36. *nze, gw'alikwatako alikaaba 'Yaaye'. Omwami,* / whoever he gets hold of will cry out *'Yaaye'!* Sir,

37. *ow'omu nju muddaabirize. Omwami, ŋŋambye,* / Take care of the man in the house (husband). Sir, I have said,

38. *ow'omu nju muddaabirize.* / take care of the man in the house.

39. *Na ekyo no ky'okola ssebo, ekyo no ky'okola ekigambo eky'omwenge.* / What you are doing sir, what you are doing is an act of drunkenness.

40. *Nze naabeera wano ssebo.* / I will be here sir.

41. *Naamukola ntya mukama wange? Nannyinimu omuwanvu,* / What shall I do to him (her) my God? The tall household head,

42. *nze, gw'alikwatako alikaaba 'Yaaye!' Nannyinimu omulungi* / whoever he gets hold of will cry out '*Yaaye!*' The handsome household head,

43. *nze, gw'alikwatako alikaaba woowe baaba. Nze naabira wano ssebo* / whoever he gets hold of will cry out *woowe* my friend. I will be here sir

44. *nze naabira wano awali omulungi. Ekyo no ky'okola ssebo* / I will be here where there is a good (beautiful) one. What you are doing sir

45. *ekyo no ky'okola ekigambo eky'omwenge. Nannyinimu omuwanvu* / what you are doing is an act of drunkenness. The handsome household head

46. *nze, gw'alikwatako alikaaba 'Yaaye' Gganga Alula. Munnange olabye* / he gets hold of will cry out *'Yaaye'* Gganga survived. Sorry my friend

47. *baazitemako. Oba weegaana leeta ezo engalo.* / they cut them off. If you are denying it show those fingers.

48. *baazitemako bikuggu.* / they are half fingers.

52. — 54. Harp *Omwami* / Sir

55. *bw'oyagala enseko senya ku mannyo. Omwami,* / When you want to laugh please brush the teeth. Sir,

56. *ŋŋambye bw'oyagala enseko senya ku mannyo gayizze wamma. Munnange olabye* / I have said when you want to laugh brush the teeth; they have done a lot of hunting. Sorry my friend

57. *baakutemako. Oba weegaana leeta ezo engalo* / they cut them off. If you are denying it show those fingers

58. *baazitemako bikuggu. Nannyinimu omulungi* / they are half fingers. The handsome household head.

59. *nze gw'alikwatako alikaaba 'Yaaye!' Gganga Alula. Munnange olabye* / whoever he gets hold of will cry out *'Yaaye!'* Gganga survived. Sorry my friend,

60. *baazitemako.* / they cut them off.

APPENDIX B: Transcriptions of "Gganga alula"

a. Kasule

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
																														5		5		5	
5		5		5				1		5		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
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												A	ban		ge	baa		mu	te	maa		ko	Ggan		ga		Ng	baa		mu	te	maa		k'en	
												5	2		ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1	5		4		5	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ1	
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ga	lo		ki	jii		ko						A	ban		ge	baa		mu	te	maa		ko	Ggan		ga		Ng	baa		mu	te	maa		k'en	
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ga	lo		ki	jii		ko						A	baf		f'o	gen		da	Bu	le		ga	Ggan		ga		E	zi	si	ga	dde		ko'at'en		
5	5		5	ˆ1		4						5	ˆ2		ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1			5		/4		5	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ1

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ga	lo		ki	jii		ko						A	baf		fe	gen		da	bu	wan		yi	nan		ge	Nze'n		gen		da	Bul		wa	y'en	
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ye	v'a		bai	yii		vu									Ne	tu		mu	te	ma		ko					Ne	tu		mu	te	ma		k'en	
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ga	lo		bi	jii		ko									Ne	baa		mu	te	ma		ko					Ne	ba		mu	te	ma		k'en	
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ga	lo		bi	kum		bi						A	ban		g'a	gen		da	Bu	le	ga	Ggan		ga			A	gen		da	Bu	le		g'en	
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ga	lo	g	ye	zaa		li						O		la	ba	baa		mu	lan		ga	ki	Ggan		ga	Nga		baa		mu	lan	ga	k'a	t'en	
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ga	lo	g	ye	zaa		li						O	la	ba	a	si		ri	kid	de	ki	juu		zi			Ol	wa		mu	te	ma		k'en	
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ga	lo		bi	jii		ko																													
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ssc	l'om		wa		na							Mu	la		be	Nas		so	l'o		mu	to					Om	wo	ger		an	ga	ko	—	
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so		lo	mwa		na							Bwem		wo	ge	a	ko	Nas		so	lo	mut		ya			A	si	ri	ki	dde		K'e	ya	
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li		o	mu	lun		gi						O	la	b'ol		wa	mu		te	ma		ko	Ggan		ga		o	lwa		mu	te	ma	k'a	t'en	
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ga	lo		bi	jil		ko						Nze'n		n'a		gen		da	Bu	la		ga	Ggan		ga		E	zi	si	gad		de	w'a	t'en	
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ga	lo		zi	kwe		ke						O	la	ba		gwa		li	gwa'n		ta	mu	na		we	N	ze	gwa		li	gwa'n		ta	m'en	
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ya	te	mya		Ggan		ga						Na	la	ba	kya		li	kya		ka	bi'd		da	la				Kya		li	kya		ka	b'e —	
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ga	lo		Bi	kug		gu																													
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5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		3	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1

				X						X						X						X						X						X	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		2		4		3		2		4		2		2		5		2		3	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		3		5		2		2		5		5
						Ya		ye								gwe	—	Nga	—	Gan		ga'o		la	bye										
						ˆ3		ˆ3								ˆ2	ˆ1	ˆ4		ˆ3		ˆ2		ˆ4	ˆ3\										
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2	5-	5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		5
						Ggan		g'on		A		lu	la	—	—	—		Ggan		ga		ng'o		la	ba										
						ˆ4		ˆ3		ˆ2		ˆ3	ˆ3			ˆ1		ˆ4		ˆ3		ˆ2		ˆ4	ˆ2\										
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		5
						Ggan		g'on		A		lu	la	—	—	—		Ggan		ga		ng'o		la	b'a		te	Baa		mu	te	maa		k'e	—
						ˆ4		ˆ3		ˆ2		ˆ3	ˆ3	ˆ2		ˆ1		ˆ4		ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ4	ˆ4	ˆ3		ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ1	5
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		5		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo		bi	kug		gu						A	ban		ge		A	ban		ge							A	si	ri	kid		de	ki	Nas	
5	5		5	5		4						ˆ1	5		ˆ1		4	4		5							ˆ1	5	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ1	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
so	lo		mu	nyi		vu						A	ban		g'a	si	ri	kid		de	ki	Ggan		ga			A	si	ri	kid		de	ki	Nas	
5	5		5	ˆ1		4						5	ˆ1		5	ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1	ˆ1	5		4			5	ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ1	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
so	lo		mu	nyi		vu						Mu	la	b'o	lwa		mu	gam		ba	ko	Ggan		ga			ol	wa		mu	gar	ba	k'o	wen	
5	5		5	5		ˆ4						5	ˆ1	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1	ˆ1	5		4			5	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ1	
4		3		2		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		4		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo		te	yad		da									Te	yad		da									ol	wa		mu	te	ma		K'en	
5	5		5	5		4									5	2		4										ˆ2	—	ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	l'e		te	yad		da									Te	yad		da									ol	wa		mu	gam		ba	k'e	—
5	5		5	5		4									5	ˆ1		4									ˆ1	5		ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ1	5
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		5
ga	lo		bi	jil		ko						Bas		se	bo	ngen		da	Bu	wan		yi					Ngen		da	Bu	wa	yi	ol	wen	
5	5		5	5		4						5		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ1		ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1					ˆ5	ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo	g	ye	zad		da						A	ban		g'o		si	ri	kid		de	ki	—				Ol	wa		mu	kwa	ta		k'en	
5	5		5	5		4						5	ˆ1		5		ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1	ˆ1	—				5	ˆ1		ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1	
5		3				4						3						4																	
	5		5						5						5																				
ga	lo		yanyii			ga																													
5	5		5	5		4																													

b. Mukasa

(Tracey Recording 1952)

				X						X						X						X						X						X	
		5	4	3				5											3	5	4	3	5	2	4										
2		4		3		2		4		2		2		5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3	
	1		4		5		2		2		5		1		5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5
																		4						4		3		2		4		2		2	
																					5		2				5		2		2		5		1
4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
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																												Baa		mu	te	maa		k'en	
																												ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ1
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo	(e)	bi	tun		du		Ggan		ng'a		lu	la						Nas		so	lo	Ggan		ga		O	Iwa		mu	te	maa		k'en	
5	5		5	ˆ2		4	34		3	2		3	3						5		5	5		5	5			ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ1
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo	g	ye	zaa		li	(e)	zab		b'en		ny:	ma						Nas		so	lo	Ggan		ga			Kyem		ba	buu		li	r'en	
5	5		5	5		4	34		3	2		3	3						5		5	5		5	4	3	5	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ1
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo	(e)	bi	tun		du		wu	li	r'en		ga	lo						te	ge	re	z'en		ko	ba		a	ban		ge	Ka	ba		ka	
5	5		5	5\	3	5\4		3	4	4	3	3	3					5	ˆ1	5		4		5	4\		5	ˆ1		5	5		ˆ1	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
Wa	lu	ger	be	be			gya		li	e	Men		go						Nas		so	lo	Ggan		ga		a	ban		ge	wu	li	ra		
5	5	5		4	\3			3		4\3		3		3 (325)					5		5	5		5	4	3	5	ˆ2		5	5	ˆ2	ˆ1	5	

				X						X						X						X						X						X	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
Wa	lu	gem		be			gya		li	a	la	mu	la						Nas		so	lo's		se	bo		a	baf		fe	wu	li	ra	en	
5	5	5		5\4	3			3		43		3	3	3(5)					5		5	5		5	4	3	5	^2		5	5	^2	^1	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo		gyɛ	zaa		li	(e)	zab		b'en		nyɛ	ma					Te	ge	re		z'en		ga	lo					ki	tan		ge	bwe'n	
5	5		5	5		4	3	4	3	2		3	3/	5				5	^1	5		4		5	5	4				5	5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
da	bye		ki	ru'n		gi	ne'n		da	by'en		nan		nga					Nem		ma	la'n		sli		ma					Nze		no	bwe'n	
5	5		5	5		4	4		3	2		3		4(35)					5		5	5		5	4	3	5				5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
da	bye		ki	ru'n		gi	ne'n		da	b'en		ten		ga					nem		ma	ta'n		ja	ga	la				ki	ta'n		ge	bwe'n	
5	5		5	5		4	4		3	2		3		4(35)					5		5	5		5	5	4	3	5		4	^1		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
da	bye		ki	ru'n		gi	ne'n		da	b'o		mun		tu					Nas		so	lo	Ggan		ga		a	gen		d'o	kwo		ge	r'en	
5	3		3	5		4	3	4	3	2	1	3		4(35)					5		5	5		5	4	3	5	5		5	5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo		gyɛ	zaa		li	zii		zo						e	kya		l'e	ky'a		ka	by'o		mw	mi		e	kya		li	kya		ka	b'e	
5	5		5	5		4(3	5		5 ——		4				5	5		5	5		5	5		5	4	3(5 —		5		5	5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		3		5		2		2		5		1
kya	te	mye		Gan		ga	baa		ba					Nan		nyi		ni	m'o		mu	wan		vu		N	ze	gw'a		li	kwa		ta	k'a	
5	5		5	5		4	3	5	5 ——		4(3)				5	5		5	5		5	5		5	4	3(5	5	5		5	5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
li	kaa		ba	Yaa		ye	baa		ba					Nze		kaa		lo	ke		ka	m'o		mw	mi		o	lan		gi	r'ed		de	g'e	
5	5		5	5		4(3	5		5 ——		4(3)				5	5		5	5		5	5		5	4	3	5	5		5	5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		3		5		2		2		5		1
ry	kye		na	gaa		na	nan		ge					Nze		naa		yi	ta		wa	n'e	waf		fe	nze		naa		yi	ta		wa	n'o	
4(3	5		5	5		4	5		5 ——		4(3)				5	5		5	5		5	4	3	5	4	3	5	5		5	5		5	4	3

				X						X						X						X						X						X	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
wa	li'o		mu	zun		gu	baa		ba						Nze'n	kwa		ga	l'o		sa	ta		m	ge		zi	kye'n		ku	buu		li	r'e	
5	4	3	5	5		4	5		5 ——		4(3)				5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ya	te		mya	Ggan		ga	kye		kyo						Nan	nyi		ni	m'o		mu	wan		vu		Nze		gwa		li	kwa		ta	k'a	
5	5		5	5		4	5		5 ——		4(3)				5	5		5	5		5	5		5	4	3	5	5		5	5		5	5	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
li	kaa		ba	Yaa		ye		wu	li	r'en		ga	io					Ban		nan		ger	da	bye				kye'n		ku	buu		li	ra	
5	5		5	5	3	5	4	3	5	4	3	3	3	2	1			3(4)—		3(5)		2		4	2	—	—	2		2	2		2	2	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
			la	b'o		ba		wee		gaa		na						ka	le	lee		t'en		ga	lo			Baa		zi	te	maa		ko	
			3	3		4(3	4	3	5	2		3	—	2	1			4	4	3	5	2		3	3	1	2	2		2	2	2		2	1
5		3		5		5		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		3		4		5		4		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		5
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	5		5		1		4		5		4		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		5
5		3		2		5		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		1		4		5		4		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
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																																		4	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		5		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		5		5		2		2		5		1
ga	l'en		ga	l'en		ga	l'en		ga	l'e		kku		mi		gye		te	ge	re		z'en		ga	lo					ki	tan		g'o	lw'en	
5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	4	3	5	5		5	ˆ1	5		4		5	5	4	3	4		5	ˆ1		5	ˆ1	5
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ga	l'en		ga	l'en		ga	l'en		ga	l'e		zi	rya		a	ban		ge	mu		la	b'en		ga	lo							gwe		nnon	
5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	4	3	5	ˆ1	5	4	4		4	ˆ1	5	4	5	3	4					ˆ1		ˆ1	
5		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		5		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ki	ra		bu	lun		gi		on	ki	z'en		ga	l'ek		ku	m'e		za		bba'n		g'en		ya	ma					ki	tan		ge	gw'o	
ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1	ˆ1		5		4	ˆ1	5		ˆ1	ˆ1		5	4		5		4		5	4	4	4					5	ˆ1		5	5	

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	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ki	r'o		bu	gag		ga	on		ki	z'en		ga	l'en		ne	ne				wu	li	r'en		ga	lo							wan		g'en	
ˆ1	5		5	ˆ1		4	3		ˆ1	5		ˆ1	ˆ1		5	4	3	4		3	5	2		4	4	3	4					ˆ1	5	5	—
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	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		3		5		2		2		5		1
ga	lo		gyɛ	zaa		li			o	mu	t'o	mu	la	ba		ban		di	mu	ku	by'o		mug		go		Ne	baa		mu	le		ke	r'en	
5	5		5	5		4	3		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ1	ˆ3	ˆ2	ˆ1	ˆ2	ˆ1		ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1(	ˆ1	5	5		4	3	5	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ1	5
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	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
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ga	l'en		ga	lo				Ggan		g'a		lu	la			Nas		so	lo		nyi	ni		Ggan		ga		baa		mu	te	maa		k'en	
5	5		5	5	4	3		3		2	1	3	3			4		4	4	3	5	4		5	4	3	5	ˇ2		ˆ2	ˇ2	ˇ2		ˆ2	ˇ1
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ga	lo		a	baf		fe		wu	li	r'en		ga	lo					te	ge	re		z'en		ga	lo			bw'en		ku	la	b'o		lw'on	
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	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		1		4		5		2		2		5		1
ki	r'o		bu	lun		gi'on		ki		z'en		ga	l'e		nne		ne			e	za	bb'en		ya	ma			baa		zi	te	maa		ko	
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4		3		5		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		2		2		4		2		2	
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4		2		5		3		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
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																											5	^2		^2	^2	^2		^2	
																											Ze	baa		mu	te	ma		ke'n	
3				2		3		3		2		3				1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
	5		5		1		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
5	5		5	2		5	-																				5	^2		^2	^2	^2		^2	
ga	lo		te	zad		da																					Ze	baa		mu	te	ma		ke'n	
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5	5		5	5		4		3		2		3	3					3	5		5	5	5		4(3)5						3	5		5	5
ga	lo		bi	tun		du		kub		b'en		ya	ma						Nas		so	lo	Ggan		ga							An		ti	on
4		3		2		4		3		1		3		1		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
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5	5		5	5		4(2)3		3	3	(3)2		3	3			1		4		3		2		4	4(3)5(gliss up)						3	5		5	5
ki	za		bu	gag		gan		ku	ki	z'en		ga	lo			E		zab		ban		g'em		me	re							An		ti	on
4		3		2		4		3		1		3		1		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		2		2	
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5	5		5	5		4(2)3		3	3	(3)2		3	3		3	1		4		3		2		4	2			^2		^2	^2	^2		^2	
ki	za		bu	gag		gan		ku	ki	z'en		ga	l'en		ne	n'e		zab		ban		g'em		me	re			Baa		zi	te	ma		k'en	
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ga	lo		bi	tun		du																					Ze	baa		mu	te	ma		k'en	
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ga	lo		te	zad		da	-							Nan		nyi		ni	m'o		mu	lun		gi		nze		gwa		li	kwa		ta	k'a	
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li	kaa		ba	Yaa		ye								Nan		nyi		ni	m'o		mu	lun		gi		nze		gwa		li	kwa		ta	k'a	

				X						X						X						X						X						X	
4		3		2		4		3		2		1		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2				1		2	
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li	kaa		ba	Yaa		ye		Baa		b'o		la	bye					mun		nan		g'o		la	bye										
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ga	lo		bi	tun		du																						A	li	gi	san		ga	w'en	
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ça	lo		ku	ziz		za									Ya	li	guz		ze		pu	lii		da		nze		na		wo	le	re		z'en	
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ga	lo		ku	zi		zza									ya	li	guz		ze		pu	lii		da		nze		na		wo	le	re		z'en	
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ça	lo		te	zad		da																													
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														5		ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1				5	ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	(ˆ2)12	
														En		ga	l'e		te	ri	na	sa	sa	sa				A	li	gi	san		ga	w'en	
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5	5		5	2		5-	3							5		ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1	ˆ1		ˆ1				5	ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	(ˆ1)ˆ2	
ça	lo		ku	giz		za								En		ga	l'e		te	ri	na	sa	sa	sa				A	li	gi	san		ga	w'en	
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ça	lo		ku	giz		za		Ggan		g'a		lu	la					mun		nan		g'o		la	bye			Baa		mu	te	ma		ko	
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				X						X						X						X						X						X	
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	5		,5		3				5		1		1		5		1		1		5		1		1		5		2		2		5		1
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	5		,5		3				5				2		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
																								1			ˆ1	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	\ˆ1
																											/	Naa		mu	ko	'an		tya	
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	5		5		2		1		5		1		3		5		1		1		5		2		4		5		2		2		5		1
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																										Nze		Naa		mu	ko	'an		tya	
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Mu	ka		ma	wan		ge								Nan		nyi		ni	m'o		mu	wan		vu		Nze		gwa		li	kwa		ta	k'a	
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5	5		5	5		4(3)									5	5		5	5		5	5	5		4		5	5		5	5		5	5	
li	kaa		ba	yaa		ye									E	kyo'n		no	kyo		ko	la	baa		ba		e	kyo'n		no	kyo		ko	l'e	
4		3		2		4		3		2		3		2		1		4		3		2		4		3		2		4		3		2	
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ki	gam		bo	ky'om		wen		ge							Nze	naa		bee		ra	wa	no	sse		bo		nze	naa		bee		ra	wa	n'a	
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wa	li'o		mu	lun		gi	baa		ba				A	ban		g'a		ban		g'a		ban		ga	nz'a		gen		d'o		ku	la		b'en	
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5	5		5	5		4(3)								/ˆ1		ˆ1		ˆ1	ˆ1		5	ˆ2		4		5		ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	
ga	lo	g	ye	zad		da								Nan		nyi		ni	m'o		mu	lun		gi		Nze		gwa		l!	kwa		ta	k'a	
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li	kaa		ba	Yaa		ye		Ggan		g'a		lu	la																						
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				2		4	3		1		3							4		3		1		4	4(3)			2		2	2	2		2(1)	
				O		ba	wee		gaa		na							lee		t'e		z'en		ga	lo			Baa		zu	te	naa		ko	

				X						X						X						X						X						X	
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														5		5		5		5	5	5		5	5	5		5		5		5	5	5	
														nze		naa		bee		ra	wa	no	s	se	bo	nze		naa		bee		ra	wa	n'a	
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5	5		5	5		4 1/2(3)									4	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5		5	5	
wa	l'o		mu	kun		gu									Nze	naa		bee	ra		wa	no		sse	bo		nze	na		bee	ra		wa	n'a	
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wa	l'o		mu	kun		gu									A	kaa		lo	ke		ka	mun		ça			ol	an		gi	r'ed		do	g'er	
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yo				nan		ge		nan		ge																									
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			1/	ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2\	5																								
				Naa		mu	ko	lan		tya																									
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	1/	ˆ2		ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2\	1																								
		Nze		naa		mu	ko	lan		tya																									
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		ˆ2		ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ2\		1	5		5	5		4-	3																
		nze		ndi		mu	ko	lan		tya		mu	ka		ma	wan		ge																	
4				2				1		2		4		3		5		4		3		2		3				1				3		3	
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				X						X						X						X						X						X	
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4		3		2		4		2		1		4				5		4																	
	1		5		2		2		5		2		5		5																				

d. Majwala

				x						x						x						x						x						x	
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Mu	te	bi	a	yo				gy'a		li		Ban			da				Nas		sp	lo		Ssebo			A	baf		fe	wu	li		r'en	
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ga	l'en		ga	l'en		ga	l'en		ga	l'ek		ku	mi	—		Gye		te	ge	re		z'en		ga	lo					ki	tan		g'o	w'en	
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ga	l'en		ga	l'en		ga	l'en		ga	l'e		zi	rya		A	baf		fe	mu		la	b'en		ga	lo							Gwe		nnon	
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ki	ra		bu	lun		gi		on	ki	z'en		ga	l'ek		ku	m'e		za		bba'n		g'en		ya	ma					Ki	tan		ge	gw'o	
ˆ1	ˆ1		5	5		4		5	ˆ1	5		ˆ1	ˆ1		5	ˆ4		5		4		5		4	4					5	ˆ1		5	5	
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ki	r'o		bu	gag		ga	on		ki	z'en		ga	l'en		ne	ne	—			wu	li	r'en		ga	lo						O	wan		g'en	
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ga	lo	g	ye	zaa		ll			o	mu	t'o	mu	laba			ban		di	mu	ku	by'o		mug		go		Ne	baa		mu	le		ka	k'en	
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ga	l'e		zi	rya	—	—						Ki	tan		ge	ban		di	mu	te	my	big	re			Ne		Baa		mu	le	ka		k'e	—
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ga	l'en		ga	lo	—	—		Ggan		g'a		lu	la			Nas		so	lo		nyi	ni		Ggan		ga		Baa		mu	te	ma		k'en	
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ga	lo		A	baf		fe		wu	lĩ	r'en		ga	lo					Te	ge	re		z'en													
5	5		2	5		4		3	5	2		3	3					ˆ1	ˆ1	5		4													

e. Ssempeke Jr.

				X						X						X						X						X						X	
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da	bye		bi	lun		gi	nen		da	b'en		nan		ga				n'o		ma		len		gi	ku	ba—					ki	tan		g'en	
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																												ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		\5	
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mu	ka		ma	wan		ge								Nan		nyi		ni	m'o		mu	lun		gi		nze		gw'a		li	kwa		ta	k'a	
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ga	lo	g	ye	zad		da								Yaa		ndi		gu	ze		pu	lii		ca		Nze		na	wo		le	re		z'en	
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ga	lo	g	ye	zad		da	baa		ba					Nan		nyi		ni	m'o		mu	wan		vu		Nze		gwa		li	kwa		ta	k'a	
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ll	kaa		ba	Yaa		ye								Nan		yi	ni		m'o		mu	lun		gi		Nze		gwa		li	lowa		ta	K'a	
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li	kaa		ba	Woo		we		wu	li	r'en		ga	lo					Mu		nan		g'o		la	bye			Baa		zi	te	ma		ko—	
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O	—	—	—				ba	wee		gaa		na						lee		te		z'en		ga	lo			Baa		zi	te	ma		k'en	
3							4	3		2		3						4		3		2		4	4			ˆ2		ˆ2	ˆ2	ˆ2		ˆ1\5	
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li	kaa		ba	Yaa		ye		Gan		g'a		lu	la					Mu		nan		g'o		la	bye			Baa		zi	te	ma		ko-	—
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—	—	—	—	—	—		ba	wee		gaa		na							lee		te	z'en		ga	lo			Baa		zi	te	ma		ko	
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																												Naa		mu	ko	lan		tya	
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mu	ka		ma	wan		ge								Nan		nyi		nl	m'o		mu	wan		vu		Nze		gwa		li	kwa		ta	k'a	
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li	kaa		ba	Yaa		ye								Nan		nyi		ni	m'o		mu	lun		gi		nze		gwa		li	kwa		ta	k'a	
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li	kaa		ba	Yaa		ye								Om		wa		mi								o		w'o		mun		ju		mu	
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GLOSSARY

Abalanga (pl.) – Players of the ***ennanga***; plural of ***omulanga***.

Akadinda – A twenty-two-keyed, pentatonic xylophone found in ***Buganda.***

Amadinda – A twelve-keyed, pentatonic xylophone.

Baganda (pl.) – The people of ***Buganda***.

Buganda – A traditional kingdom located in south-central Uganda.

Busoga – A traditional kingdom located in south-eastern Uganda.

Endongo – An eight-stringed, pentatonic lyre found in ***Buganda***.

Ennanga – An eight-stringed, pentatonic arched harp found in ***Buganda***.

Kabaka – The king of ***Buganda***.

Kiganda – An adjective describing a thing from ***Buganda***, like "***Kiganda***" music.

Lubiri – The royal enclosure in the Mengo district of Kampala, Uganda.

Muganda* (s.)** – A person of ***Buganda.

Ndere – A pentatonic reed flute found in ***Buganda***.

Omulanga (s.) – A player of the ***ennanga***.

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