

events of these "African music days" were two workshops for students together with these musicians and two lectures on African music cultures given by Dr Veit Erlmann and Dr Gerhard Kubik. We were able to make video and tape recordings of our African guests as in the previous year, for our archives of traditional music which now hold approximately 60,000 recordings.

Much additional information about the court music of Buganda was obtained and interesting cultural facts reconstructed. A great number of song texts of Evaristo Muyinda's performance were transcribed and translated into German by Dr Francis Bisasso.

Publications on African music include the book 'Musik in Afrika' and several record albums in our series "Museum Collection Berlin (West)": No.6 'Music of the Hamar/Southern Ethiopia' (recording and commentary by Ivo Strecker); No.9 and 10 'Music of the Nubians/Northern Sudan', and 'Dikr and Madih/Sudan' (recording and commentary by Artur Simon); No.11 'Mukanda na Makisi/Southern Angola' (recording and commentary by Gerhard Kubik). An album about 'musician-composers of Southern Malawi' (recording and commentary by G. Kubik and Moya Aliya) and another on 'African music in Brazil and Angola' (by G. Kubik) are in production. A book on 'African string instruments' (together with a cassette) by Ulrich Wegner was published in 1984.

Field research had been carried out in 1982 and 1983 by Artur Simon in the southern part of the Blue Nile Province/Sudan among the Berta, who live on both sides of the Sudanese-Ethiopian border. This was a joint project together with the Institute for African and Asian Studies at the University of Khartoum.

* * * * *

Research project on "Systems of traditional education in Malawi" (the continuation: September 1983 to February 1984) by Dr. Gerhard Kubik

Since my first report on the research in Mangochi District July/August 1983 (see: *African Music*, Vol. VI No.3 pp.132-137) our team, now comprising four members: Mr Moya Aliya (cultural research student), Mr Donald Kachamba (musician) and Miss Lidiya Malamusi (assistant) besides myself, has been able to continue studies in more districts. These were carried out with permission granted in a letter by the Secretary of the National Research Council, Lilongwe, dated Nov.16, 1983. The financial basis of our research was secured through an additional grant we were able to obtain from the Foundation for the Advancement of Scientific Research, Vienna (Austria) to enable us to extend our project No.4977 to a total of eight months. In various combinations members of our team then visited villages in Mulanje, Mwanza, Chikwawa, Nsanje and Lilongwe District during the next few months. In all these districts we met with interest, help and cooperation on the part of the people and officials alike. The District Commissioners in some areas, for example in Mwanza District where some villages are difficult to reach during the rainy season, also helped us with transport.

In material terms alone, our collection has become quite comprehensive. Before the project even ended, by mid-February we had some 78 hours of tape-recorded material (oral traditions, music, ceremonies etc.) and over 60 cine films of similar content. The photographs, mainly Mr Moya Aliya's work, go into several thousands and will have to be evaluated in detail. Moya Aliya plans a travelling exhibition if possible in cooperation with the Department of Fine and Performing Arts of the University of Malawi, with captions in Chichewa and English. Our written notes, including text transcriptions of interviews in Chiyao and Chichewa now comprise some 400 type-written pages (single-spaced) which will form the basis of publications we intend to produce. With regard to the outcome of the research in Mangochi District on *jando* and *lupanda* we have nearly reached this stage and I was able to give a lecture with an overview of the preliminary results on "Islamic and non-Islamic elements in *jando* and *lupanda* initiation schools of the Yao" for the Department of Religious Studies of the University of Malawi. Our major findings on the history of these institutions may be summarised as follows:

1. Traditional boys' circumcision schools such as *jando* in Malawi have a long pre-colonial history and are not to be considered as introductions from the East African coast through Islam.
2. Circumcision is an old Central-African institution and may be found today in areas of Central Africa, such as in eastern Angola and south-western Zaire, where Islam is practically unknown.
3. On the grounds of a sample of five *jando* schools which we studied in the area of Makanjila (Mangochi District) in July/ August 1983 and one *lupanda* near Nkhumbé (between Chileka and Blantyre) in September 1983 and the comparison of this material with data I collected earlier in other parts of Central Africa (Angola 1965, Northwestern Zambia 1971, 1973, 1979) we can establish that all these institutions have similar organisation, structure, educational objectives and even terminology in the related Bantu languages of Central Africa. It was revealing that there are also close identities in symbolism between *jando*, *lupanda* and its ceremonies on the one hand, and *mukanda* (the Angolan/Zambian/Southern Zairean circumcision school) on the other. Details on *mukanda* for those who are interested may be found in one of my publications in the Museum of Ethnography, West Berlin: *Mukanda na makisi*, double-album with accompanying field notes, MC 11, West Berlin 1982.
4. This suggests that the institutions for the formal education of boys such as found among the peoples of the so-called Rovuma culture areas (the -Yao, -Makua, -Donde, -Makonde etc.) and similar institutions found among present day people in the western part of Central Africa (Angola etc.) probably have common historical roots and might well have been in existence in Shaba (Zaire) when the third dispersal of Bantu populations set in around A.D. 1000 (dating taken from Phillipson 1977).
5. A surprising discovery I made in this context was in the *lupanda* we studied near Nkhumbé: I found masks kept in the *ndagala* (lodge) of this *lupanda*. The *nakanga* (leader of the ceremonies) confirmed that these masks should not be confounded with the common *nyau*, but were proper masks of the *lupanda*. It may be noted here, that in western Central Africa, masks are an inseparable part of circumcision schools while in Malawi there are no masks used in an institution like *jando*.

Gradually it has been possible on the basis of our data which will be discussed in detail in the forthcoming publications, to reconstruct a bit of the history of these institutions for the formal education of boys and answer a number of relevant questions: a) why are there masks in *lupanda* and no masks in *jando*? b) what is Islamic and what is non-Islamic in *jando* as we find it at the present time in places like Makanjila; c) why has *jando* disappeared from Makanjila and why did it survive in other areas of Malawi, such as in Zomba and Blantyre Districts, areas not so heavily exposed to Islamic influences as the old towns along the 19th century trade route from Lake Malawi to the coast?

What seems to have happened is this: Before the -Yao people adopted Islam as a religious world view they had, like any other people in Central Africa, a system of traditional education. The one for boys was called *lupanda*. Elders in the Makanjila area agree that the -Yao before adopting *jando* had *lupanda*. In organisation, structure and symbolism *lupanda*, as it survives today, is very similar to *jando*, but at least today there is no "complete circumcision" in *lupanda*, only an incision made on the prepuce. This is why graduates from *lupanda* may not enter *jando*, while graduates from *jando* may enter *lupanda*. During the reign of Makanjila Bwanali waNkachelenga, after his famous journey to the East African coast, many teachers (*walimu*, sing. *mwalimu*) came to the east side of Lake Malawi along the ancient trade routes and introduced Islam. This happened between ca. 1830 and 1860. As a consequence of the introduction of Islamic ideology the traditional institutions for the education of the young such as *lupanda* (for boys) began to change and had to adapt to the Islamic world view. The changes among other elements included the following:

- a) pictorial symbolism had to disappear from the institution, because Islam does not accept pictures: what thus disappeared was the *masks* and the *isinyago* (large picture-models made in

earth during the coming-out ceremony) (See photograph in *African Music* Vol.6 No.3 p.135). These picture-models still survive as a cultural practice in *lupanda* outside Islamic influences. They were first reported by Sanderson in 1955 in the *Nyasaland Journal*, and I am glad that our team could also photograph them at the coming-out ceremony of the *lupanda* we documented near Nkhumbwe.

b) the name of the institution was changed. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards (in the Makanjila area at least) it was no longer called *lupanda*, but *jando*, a word that comes from the East African coast.

c) Islamic prayers were introduced and the educational objectives (teachings) had to adapt to Islamic world view.

d) in some *jando* traditions (and here we found that in Makanjila several exist side by side) even drums have been expelled from the ceremony.

Lupanda has survived in areas with a strong Christian influence and possibly even adapted in some places to Christian world-views. *Jando* on the other hand, continues in Islamic areas and may be regarded among the -Yao as a renamed *lupanda* equally Central African in outlook and history, but with a tinge of Islam on top.

For the future — and the continuation of our project — it would now seem important to me to begin looking into the circumcision institution as practised by the -Lomwe in Malawi and Mozambique, since the -Lomwe have not been heavily exposed to Islam. Unfortunately, we were unable to obtain any data on Lomwe *lupanda* during the 1983/84 period of our research. Mr Moya Aliya worked in Mulanje District towards the end of November 1983 (alone), but November is already off-season for circumcision schools, and while he was able to make very good music recordings around Mulanje, for example *sekhere*, and record plenty of material regarding informal traditional education, especially stories and riddles, he could only collect data on Lomwe circumcision from hearsay.

The fact that institutions such as *jando* and *lupanda* are seasonal has also greatly determined our approach and research subjects during the second part of our project (from ca. Nov. 1983 to Feb. 1984). We continued to work with -Yao informants on *lupanda* and *jando* and especially to collect detailed information from the *nakanga* (leader of ceremonies) of the *lupanda* at Nkhumbwe, Mr Richard Starch Kunjawa, on the meaning of the didactic songs and the picture-models. But the emphasis during our second part of the project shifted towards studying informal education (childrens' games, story-telling etc.) on the one hand and on the other studying institutions such as *nyau* (masked associations for men) and *chinamwali cha akazi* (girls' initiation) in Chichewa-speaking areas. One of the highlights was that Moya Aliya was able to be initiated into the *nyau* of a -Chipeta group near Lirangwi (Blantyre District) and thus get a first-hand experience of this institution. The other member of our group, the musician Donald Kachamba, is a member of *nyau* as well, and has been so since 1980, and I myself have been admitted to the same *nyau* group (an Amang'anja *nyau*) as Donald Kachamba, having the same *phungu* (guardian). The result is that there are now three different comparative personal experiences of *nyau* shared by members of our team, and we intend to write up our experiences individually. *Nyau* is a difficult subject and it would be self-deceptive to think that someone who has been initiated into this institution one day fully understands it the next. Most members of *nyau* do not fully understand the social, psychological and even religious implications of this institution. As Moya said to me during a discussion of our results, "we are just patching together little bits". Our *nyau* research is still in the infant stage, but we have a lot of recorded and pictorial material to study before we venture to contact the *nyau* elders in the Central Region. Preliminary contacts were made with a *nyau* group near Likuni village (Lilongwe District) when Moya Aliya and I paid a brief visit to this area in mid-January 1984.

Another difficult subject which we are trying to analyse is *chinamwali cha akazi*. Miss Lidiya

Malamusi, the only woman in our team, has recorded the didactic songs practised by the girls in the seclusion hut on a number of occasions. While the literary work on *chinamwali* is progressing well and we are beginning to understand some of the symbolism and educational values in *chinawali* teaching songs, further penetration is out of the question for men, because by no means would we want to violate traditional customs and offend the people with whom we were working. We were, however, able to get special permission from the *chinamwali* women elders on one occasion to attend and film from near-by the coming-out ceremony of one girl. In any case this is a public event, although men are expected to look at the ceremonies only from a distance. The coming-out ceremony is very colourful and beautiful in its pantomimic and choreographic aspects.

We did much work in the field of recording *nihano*, *miyambi* (parables, proverbs, dilemma tales), *dzidapzi* (riddles) and music/dance. Our research trip to Nsanje together with Mr Mupa Shumba and Dr Mitchell Strumpf from the Dept of Fine and Performing Arts of the University of Malawi, produced some nice recordings of fishing songs recorded from a boat in the Lower Shire marshes near Bitirinyu village, Ndamera, Nsanje District on December 31, 1983, and the recordings of an important artist on the *bangwe* (board zither), Antonio Holesi, whom we could recommend on a national level for participating in Arts Festivals.

Our visit to Mwanza District was a surprise. I had been to the remote village of Chakhumbira/Dambe on a brief visit in 1967 and recorded musical traditions such as the *dulira* dance with the large chief's drums, *nkhwendu* (bamboo scrapers), *bangwe* (board zither) and *nsansi* (lamellophone). (See my article in the *Society of Malawi Journal*, 1968). In February 1984 Miss Lidiya Malamusi and I visited the same place. Some people remembered me and we were received very cordially. But traditions at Chakhumbira village have since changed profoundly. The old dances are gone, *bangwe* and *nsansi* have disappeared and instead other dances have become popular: *nchaphata*, *khunju*, *chitivini*, *makuleya*, *dauni*, to name but a few, and these we recorded. It is a lesson for musicologists who think of categories such as "traditional music" or "traditional dances" as stable phenomena. Traditions in Africa often change at a very fast pace, and not only in recent periods. An uninformed observer coming to Chakhumbira village in 1984 for the first time may be pleased to find there what appears to him "plenty of traditional music". Historically, however, most of these traditions are relatively recent, some very recent, and the songs have texts which refer to contemporary events. Moya and I have been entrusted by the Ethno-Musicological Dept of the Museum für Völkerkunde (Museum of Ethnology), West Berlin with the compilation of an annotated double-album on "*Musician-composers of southern Malawi*". It will appear in the now well-established MC-Series of the Museum, possibly in early 1985. With the record in view we have tried to re-visit a number of Malawian musician-composers whom I had recorded seventeen years ago. Unfortunately, we have so far been successful only in a few instances. Most of the older musicians have died. While recording in Nsanje District in December 1983, we heard that the old *malimba* (lamellophone) player Dayi Masitine, recorded in 1967, had died long ago and his instrument had been buried with him. People also said that Zuze, the *ulimba* (xylophone) virtuoso had died or disappeared in Mozambique(?), and the *bangwe*-player, Murimanthewe of Chakhumbira village in Mwanza had also died. How many of the old musicians did we actually find and record again? Only three: Daniel Kachamba (guitar), Anasibeko his sister (playing the *nkhangala* mouth bow), and Limited Mfundo (on the radio also known as Limited Fungo), the great *bangwe* (zither) player from Chikwawa District. Our meeting with Limited Mfundo at his home in Namila village, T. A. Kasisi, Chikwawa District, on the 22nd February 1984 was in tears. We embraced each other, happy and sad at the same time. He is one of Malawi's great composers and his style has shown an extraordinary continuity since I first recorded him in 1967. Although now about 60 years old he still looks young and fit. We would like him to go on concert tours overseas, if that can be arranged.

* * * * *