

GENERIC NAMES FOR THE MBIRA

(A Contribution to Hugh Tracey's article "A Case for the name Mbira")

by

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In *African Music*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1961, Hugh Tracey published a list of names for the Mbira family as recorded and noted by him. In addition he mentioned a number of names that have been listed by other observers.

During three research trips in fourteen countries of Sub-Saharan Africa I have quite often met and recorded this instrument. Incited through Hugh Tracey's extensive list I should like to provide some names from the regions I have visited, as a supplement.

After that, we shall try to see what conclusions might be drawn from the various names given in the combined lists.

If we look both at Hugh Tracey's list and mine we find that some names are constantly recurring in one variant or another. The similarity lies in the *word stems*. Word stems like -KEMBE, -LIMBA, -SANZHI and others appear in wide areas of sub-Saharan Africa and often with tribes living remote from each other.

Here we should keep in mind that the Mbira is an autochthonous instrument of the Bantu and was probably invented somewhere in Central or Southern Africa. Bantu languages are class languages. Therefore, it is only natural that Mbira names frequently changed their class prefixes on their migration routes. Whenever the instrument was adopted by a new tribe, the name was put into the suitable class of the local language. The Bantu-African often does so when absorbing a foreign word.¹

On its migration routes usually the word stem was retained, but the class prefix was exchanged for another one denoting the class of similar objects in the language of the particular tribe. Hence, with one tribe the Mbira may appear as KA-limba and with another as MA-limba, I-limba and so on. It must also be significant into what class the Mbira is put by the various tribes. This would deserve a specialized study.

If we leave class prefixes and look at the list, a clear picture begins to form. There are *four* important word stems, constantly occurring on this continent:

I. The -KEMBE group (abbr.: K)

This stem is preserved unchanged in wide parts of Central and Eastern Africa. The only alteration found in the lists is the name "*Lukeme*" by the Acoli of Uganda, a Nilotic people. By some reason, which probably could be found in the phonetic laws of their own Nilotic language, the letter b after m has been swallowed, when the Acoli adopted either the original Congolese name *Likembe*, or the Alur alterations *Lukembe* resp. *Alikembe*.

II. The -LIMBA (-rimba, -ndimba) group (abbr.: L)

Various names such as *Marimba*, *Ilimba* and others fall into this group. R- and L-frequently turn into each other in Bantu languages. So the stem appears as -limba or -rimba.

An interesting case is that the Tonga call their instrument *Indimba* (see Hugh Tracey's list, page 22), and the Nsenga call it *Ndimba*. (Page 24). These names illustrate what happens when the -rimba/-limba stem is put into a N- or IN-class by some tribes.

Nrimba or *Nlimba* is not pronounced. The R or L change into D after N. This is a

¹ Numerous examples could be quoted. I mention one for its curiosity: "Muserevende" in Lusoga. It means: "Shell van!" (The van of the Shell company). The English noun was put into the MU-class. This is the title of a famous Mbira song, performed by my friend, the blind singer Waiswa Lubogo, of Bumanya, Uganda.

Name	Place where recorded	Tribe	Type of Soundboard	Number of reeds	Reeds made of	Mode	Devices for sound modification	Method of tuning	Way of playing and range of the fingers
AGIDIGBO	(a) Oshogbo (b) Idoonear Ede, Nigeria	Yoruba	large box	5	sheet iron	pentatonic	none	adjusting length of lamelles over the bridge	indices
AKEMBE	Aluimach/near Dokolo Mission, Uganda	Kumam	box	12	iron	pentatonic	metal rings slung around lamelles; — vibrato hole on bottom side	"	thumbs ranges: 7 + 5
AKEMBE	near Lira, Uganda	Iteso	box	12	iron	pentatonic	"	"	thumbs (7 + 5)
AKEMBE	near Soroti, Uganda	Lango	box	11	iron	pentatonic	"	"	thumbs
ALIKEMBE	Paidha, West-Nile, Uganda	Alur	box	various sizes	iron	pentatonic	"	"	thumbs
BANGWE	Near Chitambo (on the road from Milange to Molumbo), Northern Moçambique	Cusabo? Nyanja?	board of bamboo in three parts	6	bamboo (<i>Chibale</i> wood)	?	none	"	thumbs
BUDONGO (Endongo, Kadongo, Gadongo)	(a) Bumanya/Kaliro, (b) Salama, (c) Kampala (d) various places in Busoga, Uganda	Basoga	(wooden) box; the small Kadongo has an oval resonator of sheet iron	various sizes; 12, 13, 14, etc.	iron	pentatonic	metal rings slung around lamelles; — vibrato hole on bottom side	"	thumbs
CHITATA	Murmela, near Nova Freixo, Northern Moçambique	Ashirima	board plus gourd resonator	7	iron	pentatonic	rattling metal pieces are strung and attached to the gourd	"	thumbs and right index (the latter upwards)
CHITYATYA	(a) Nachomba; (b) Namaua; both near Mueda, Northern Moçambique	Makonde	board plus gourd resonator	8	iron	hexatonic	a rattling piece of fruit kernel is attached under the gourd	"	thumbs and right index (the latter upwards)
ELIKEMBE (Erikembe)	area of Bwera in the Ruwenzoris, Uganda	Bakonjo	box	12	iron	?	? (probably metal rings slung around lamelles)	"	thumbs
KADONGO	Salama (<i>Origin: Kachuru/Palissa, Bukedi District</i>), Uganda	Bagwere	oval resonator made of sheet iron	12	iron	pentatonic	metal rings slung around lamelles; — vibrato hole on bottom side	"	thumbs (6 + 6)
KEMBE	(a) Biguene, (b) Mbamina, Nola-district, R.C.A.	Mhimo	box plus portable gourd resonator	(a) 12 (b) 11	iron	pentatonic	(a) metal rings slung around lamelles, (b) a rattling metal piece attached to soundbox (c) vibrato hole	"	thumbs

Name	Place where recorded	Tribe	Type of Soundboard	Number of reeds	Reeds made of	Mode	Devices for sound modification	Method of tuning	Way of playing and range of the fingers
KIDONGO	Weiga/Murchison Falls National Park, Uganda. <i>Origin:</i> Northeastern Congo	Logo	box	? (10 or 12)	iron	pentatonic	metal rings slung around lamelles; — vibrato hole on bottom side of the box	..	thumbs
LIKEMBE	Bondo, Northern Congo	Ngbande/Azande	box	10	iron	hexatonic	..	..	thumbs (6 + 6)
LUKEMBE	near Paidha on the Agu mountain, West-Nile, border Uganda/Congo	Bawo (Alur)	box	10	iron	pentatonic	..	..	thumbs
LUKEME	Kampala. <i>Origin:</i> Lokung/Padibe, Northern Uganda	Acoli	box	10	iron	pentatonic	..	..	thumbs
MALIMBA	Lupingu, at lake Nyasa, Tanganyika	Wakisi	box	8	iron (from old umbrella ribs)	heptatonic	(a) chain lying across the lamelles; (b) vibrato hole on the bottom side of the box (very much used)	..	thumbs (4 + 4)
"	(a) Madunda, (b) Lupanga, Njombe-district, Tanganyika	Wapangwa	box	8	(iron from old umbrella ribs)	pentatonic	..	..	thumbs (4 + 4)
"	Uwemba, Njombe-district, Tanganyika	Wabena	box	5, 8, 10	iron (from old umbrella ribs)	heptatonic	..	..	thumbs
"	Mwaya, at lake Nyasa, Tanganyika	Wanyakyusa	box	8	iron (from old umbrella ribs)	pentatonic	..	..	thumbs (4 + 4)
"	Manda, at lake Nyasa, Tanganyika	Manda/Wanyasa	box	8	iron (from old umbrella ribs)	pentatonic	..	..	thumbs (4 + 4)
MARIMBA	(a) Mvumi, (b) Nondwa, (c) Iseke, (d) Kinangali, (e) Kintinku, (f) Ngaiti, Central Province, Tanganyika	Wagogo	large box	various sizes: 22, 23, 32	iron (from old umbrella ribs)	pentatonic	(a) metal rings slung around lamelles (b) on top of the resonator a hole covered with cob web to produce a buzzing sound (c) vibrato hole on the underside	..	thumbs

Name	Place where recorded	Tribe	Type of Soundboard	Number of reeds	Reeds made of	Mode	Devices for sound modification	Method of tuning	Way of playing and range of the fingers
MBO TONG' ... (generic: MBO)	Mmambwe (on the path from Yoko to Ngambe) Central Cameroun	Tikar	Resonator made of three bamboo tubes hollowed out and attached to each other	14	bamboo	pentatonic	by vibration needles on top of the lamelles	by adjusting length of lamelles over the bridge, fine adjustment: by attaching black wax onto the lamelles	"crab"-style using thumbs and indices of both hands
MBO NGO ... (generic: MBO)	(a) Ngambe, (b) Linc, Central Cameroun	Tikar	halved bamboo tube, hollowed out	12	bamboo	pentatonic	by vibration needles on top of some lamelles	by adjusting length of lamelles over the bridge and attaching black wax	"
MBO MENDJANG' ... (generic: MBO)	Ngambe, Central Cameroun	Tikar	oval box	18	bamboo	pentatonic	by vibration needles on top of the lamelles	by attaching black wax to the lamelles	thumbs (plucking two lamelles at once)
NGOMBI ...	Gamboula, on the border of the R.C.A. and Cameroun	Ngombe	box plus portable gourd resonator	11	iron	pentatonic	(a) metal rings slung around lamelles; (b) vibrato hole on the bottom side of the soundbox	by adjusting length of lamelles over the bridge	thumbs
SANDJE ...	Quartier Plantation Molois, near Carnot, R.C.A.	Gbaya-Bokoto	box	10, 11	iron	pentatonic	"	"	thumbs
SANDJI ...	Mpoyo, near Bilolo, Nola-district, R.C.A.	Mbimo	box plus portable gourd resonator	? (11 or 12)	iron	pentatonic	"	"	thumbs
SANZI (SANDJI) ...	Gamboula, on the border of the R.C.A. and Cameroun	Gbaya	Box plus portable gourd resonator	11	iron	pentatonic	"	"	thumbs
SANZU ...	Djema, Obo-district, R.C.A.	Azande	oval box	9	bamboo	pentatonic	none	"	thumbs
" ...	Djema, Obo-district, R.C.A.	Azande	rectangular box	11	iron	pentatonic	(a) metal rings slung around lamelles; (b) vibrato hole on the bottom side of the soundbox	"	thumbs
SHITATA ...	Missao Mitucue, near Nova Freixo, Northern Moçambique	Alomwe	board with gourd resonator	7	iron (from umbrella ribs)	hexatonic	"	"	thumbs and right index (the latter upwards)
TIMBILI ...	(a) Emtse, (b) Yoko, (c) Nanga-Eboko, (e) Linte, in Central Cameroun	Vute	large box	18 (soprano instr.: 16)	bamboo	pentatonic	vibration needles on top of the lamelles	by attaching lumps of black wax onto the bottom side of the lamelles	thumbs (plucking two lamelles at once)
TIMBRI ...	Betare Oya, Eastern Cameroun	Vute	large box	18	bamboo	pentatonic	vibration needles on top of the lamelles	"	thumbs (plucking two lamelles at once)

well-known mechanism in Bantu languages. Compare in Kiswahili: *mtu mrefu* (a tall man), but: *njia ndefu* (a long road).

III. The -SANZHI (*Sandi, Sanzo, Sandji, Thandi*) group (abbr.: S)

To any linguist the shifting of consonants within this group will be comprehensible.

IV. The -MBIRA (-mbila) group (abbr.: M)

This stem occurs in Southern and South-Eastern Africa.

It is very strange that the *Vute* (sometimes written as *Wute* or *Babouti*), a Sudanic or (according to some authors) a "Semi-Bantu" tribe, in Cameroun call their large Mbiras *Timbili*. The word insinuates a relation to "*Timbila*" although from a plain logical point of view one would prefer to reject any connection to the -MBIRA area, which is quite far away from Cameroun.

As far as I can see the term *Timbili* is unique in Cameroun. The neighbouring Tikar for example call their instrument *Mbo*. Luitfried Marfurt² reports the names *Sandi* for the Kaka, *Lun* for the Bamileke and *Etingili* for the Ewondo. It is only the last name that has a certain sound resemblance to *Timbili*. Both *Timbili* and *Etingili* give a rather onomatopoeic impression, and this probably is the direction where its origin must be looked for.³

All we can do now is to keep the name *Timbili* in mind until further details have been found. For indication of other Mbira names in Cameroun and West Africa I should be grateful to any reader.

With these four groups of word stems, I think I have enumerated the most important ones in the material presently at hand. Other word stems are popular in certain regions: -TATA or -TYATYA⁴ in Northern Moçambique with the Makonde and Amakua-tribes; NJARI in Southern Rhodesia and Moçambique. -NKOBELE is important in parts of Northern Rhodesia and the name *Kangombio* is reported from the Kalanga/Roswi and the Lozi tribes. (See Hugh Tracey's list, page 23). The rest is of only local importance.

Mbira names built on the less frequent word stems should always be questioned as to whether they have been transferred from other instruments. In this context, the stem -DONGO in Southern Uganda has a remarkable history. The Mbira is said to have entered Uganda not more than 60 years ago from the Congo, via the West Nile district. During its migration from Northwestern Uganda to the South the original word stem -KEMBE (still being used by the Nilotic tribes) got lost on its arrival in the Bantu area. One would like to ask for the deeper reason. I suggest that it might be looked for in a socio-psychological direction.

It often happens when a device comes from people regarded as "inferior", that it is regarded as having "no name". A name denoting a similar device in the receiving culture is then given to it. This mechanism occurs regularly where there is an ethnic descent, a sort of "caste barrier" between tribes, peoples and races, or where there is open tribal hostility. This is a law and explains often why certain names ooze away in certain areas.

Europeans, for example, have long been inclined to call the Mbira "kaffir piano" or "hand piano", "pianino" or "le piano", without taking the little effort to ask for its proper names, preferring to give it a name of a keyed instrument within their own horizon.

The *Basoga* seem to have reacted in a similar way. They associated the newly arriving instrument with another "plucked" instrument already well-established in their tradition: the *Endogo* or lyre.

¹ "Musik in Afrika", Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1957, Muenchen.

² There is plenty of material of course to satisfy a scholar's "relation folly". The Alur in Uganda call their musical bow *Aidingili*. (!)

³ I previously have written the Makonde name as *Chitititia*, which might have given rise to mispronunciation. The stress is not on the -i- but on the -a-. Although the -i-'s before the -a-'s are comparatively long, I suggest it is better to write the Makonde name: *Chityatya*.

The expression *Akadongo k'Abalulu* (reported by Wachsmann)⁵ should perhaps not be translated as: "the little instrument of the Alur", but rather as: "the little 'lyre' of the Alur".

The name *Ndongo* or *Endongo* is usually used by the Basoga to denote a Mbira of middle size. (The blind singer, Waiswa Lubogo, whose music I studied in 1962/63 constantly refers to his Mbira as "*Endongo yange*" = my Engondo, in his songs). But since the Mbira is smaller than the lyre, often the diminutive prefix *KA-* is added to the verb stem, giving the name *Kadongo*. *KA-* also refers to the "size" of the notes. Remember the magnitude concept of pitch in most, probably all African music. Hence, *Kadongo* was used by many of my informants to designate the soprano-instrument of the Mbira-ensemble, a small twelve-key instrument with a metal resonator and high (that is: small) notes.

The *Endongo* of Busoga are played in sets of three to four instruments, accompanied by a flat rattle (*Ensege*). This group is referred to as *Budongo* (plural of *Kadongo*). Since the Mbira of Busoga always appear in groups, this is the name usually heard by a visitor.

The plural of *Endongo* is *Endongo*. Mr. Mugejera, the chief of Bumanya, told me there exists one more name for the *Budongo* instruments, referring to bass instruments: *Gadongo* (a plural term as well).

Once I heard the name *Kidongo* by a Logo musician from North-eastern Congo, who was working at a road camp in Weiga, Murchison Falls National Park, Uganda. I failed to ask him at the time what the harp is called by his people. But I know the name of the *Alur* harp: *Adungu*. And I suppose a similar thing might have happened when the Mbira came to the Logo.

-DONGO (-DUNGU) is a word stem that was previously applied to string instruments such as lyre, harp and bow in Uganda and adjacent areas in the Northwest, and later transferred to the Mbira.

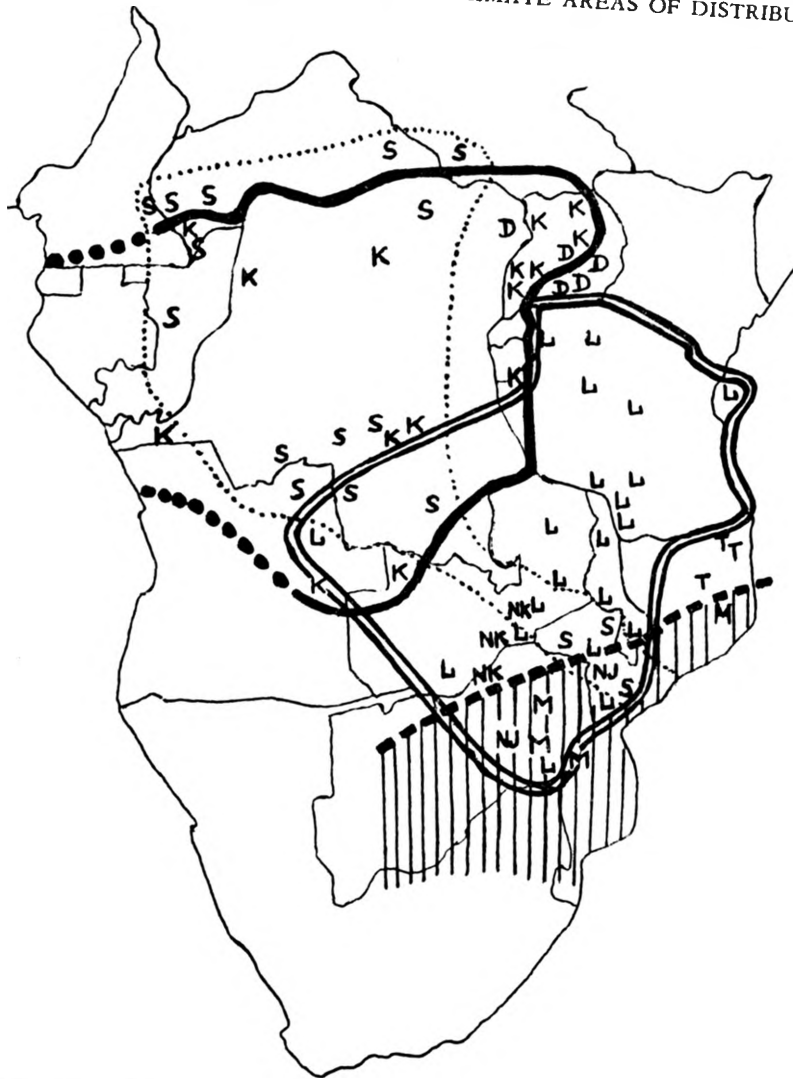
In the following map I have marked the various word stems in the areas where they have been reported, writing the initial letter of the group. Although only certain areas are covered well and from wide regions in the Congo, in Angola, Gabon and other places we have little information, one can easily discern certain clusters on the map. For example most parts of Tanganyika, Malawi and Northern Rhodesia are covered with L (*LIMBA*-group). In Southern Rhodesia M is the dominant letter (*MBIRA*-group).





In our lists the *-KEMBE* group is evidenced predominantly from the border areas of its distribution. But it is widespread as *Likembe*, a term used in the communicative languages of the Congo such as Lingala, Kikongo, etc. In the area of Leopoldville the term *Likembe* is well-known. On the Ngoma Company's records the name *likembe* (and *makembe* in the plural) can be found on some of its labels. *-KEMBE* occurs in the Congo, in North-western and Central Uganda, in the South-western R.C.A., in Southern Sudan, in parts of Western Tanganyika and Angola. I am not sure whether my extension of the line to Gabon and Rio Muni is correct. During my short stay in these countries I did not see the instrument. But in the Nola-District of the R.C.A., a territory that belonged to Moyen Congo before independence, I have heard the name *Kembe* (no prefix) in most villages of the Mbimo tribe. I should be surprised indeed if it was not found further South and Southwest with pygmoid tribes related to the Mbimo in their music.

The stem *-SANZHI* gives a strange picture of distribution. It is found from the Zambesi valley up to Katanga and Kasai; then there seems to be a gap until it occurs again in the Northern Congo. Hugh Tracey reports *Lisanzo* from the the Bua in the Northern Congo (page 23 in his list) and *Isanzu* from the Azande. (In a letter to me). I, for myself, heard the stem *-SANZHI* in one or the other of its variants all over the

⁵ See Margaret Trowell and K. P. Wachsmann: "Tribal Crafts of Uganda".

MBIRA WORD STEMS AND THEIR APPROXIMATE AREAS OF DISTRIBUTION



- (a)  The -KEMBE stem (K)
- (b)  The -LIMBA stem (L)
- (c)  The -SANZHI stem (S)
- (d)  The -MBIRA stem (M)
- (e) Other Initial letters: D = -DONGO,
NK = -NKOBELE, NJ = -NJARI,
T = -TATA or -TYATYA.

South-western part of the R.C.A. and in the East among the Azande as far north as Djema (*Sanzu*). A friend of mine, Monsieur Jean Choury who lives at Etoumbi, in the Northern Congo-Brazzaville, writes that the generic name in his area (as employed by various tribes such as Ngarre, Mbete, Mboko, Bakota, Beteke and Mbochi) is *Essanzi*.

I do not know whether the gap in the Central Congo is a real one or due to lack of knowledge. Should it be a real one there might be reason for speculative hypothesis on migration in this area. Meanwhile I have just encircled the whole area and coloured it grey. It should be understood that in the grey area the stem *-SANZHI* may be *expected*.

The *-SANZHI* area overlaps considerably with other areas.

In a dissertation on the musical instruments of Congo-Leopoldville and Ruanda/Burundi, Ferdinand J. de Hen⁶ gives 125 Mbira names from the Congo. He collected these from literature and from accompanying notes to musical instruments in the Museum of Tervuren and a few other museums.

From experience we know that such notes often come from rather doubtful sources. Mishearing and mispronunciation of African names has been the fate of various travellers with ethnographic inclinations but little inclination to "engage" themselves with the people. This is why I hesitate to copy De Hen's meritorious collection in detail here. But regarding it as a whole and as a "statistical truth" his list nevertheless is very helpful. Through the mist of bad orthography and mishearing we can discern many word stems belonging to the S-, L- or K- group. The names of his collection divide themselves up in the following way:

Word stems belonging to:

S (<i>-Sanzhi</i>) group	..	..	..	..	28	
L (<i>-Limba</i>) group	..	..	..	..	12	
K (<i>-Kembe</i>) group	..	..	..	..	11	51
					—	—
Uncertain stems	..	..	..	..		10
Word stems of apparently local importance only						64
						—
					TOTAL	125

The most important group in De Hen's collection of Congo names is *-SANZHI*, then follows *-LIMBA*, then *-KEMBE*. This distribution is probably due to the fact that most of the names in his collection come from the Southern half of the Congo. That is why the *-SANZHI* stem reported from tribes like the *-Luba*, *-Lunda*, *-Chokwe*, *-Kuba*, *-Songe*, *-Suku*, *-Mbala* and others, leads among the group names. His *-Limba* names also come from the Southern half of the Congo, while for the Northern and particularly for the Eastern Congo he reports names of the *-Kembe* stem. All this agrees with our map, which is mainly based on names collected by Hugh Tracey and by myself.

From De Hen's work it is not evident whether the names are generic or confined to Mbiras of special size or function only. Besides those names belonging to one of the three mentioned groups we meet an abundance of (64) names of apparently local importance. I would rather assume that a good number of these names — if at all truly reported — are not generic but specific.

I have more confidence in Mbira names that have been reported in neat and detailed studies based on first-hand field experience. Authors like Maquet, Norberto Santos, Father Giorgietti, etc. give us first-hand information of some names.

Maquet⁷ indicates the names *gibindji* for the Bapende and *Kisanji* for the Chokwe of the Congo. Norberto Santos (junior)⁸ mentions *Chitata* from Nampula (*Makua*-tribe),

⁶ "Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Musikinstrumente aus Belgisch-Kongo und Ruanda-Urundi" von Ferdinand J. de Hen, Tervuren, 1960. (Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Koeln). *Limited edition*.

⁷ "La musique chez les Pende et les Tshokwe" par Jean-Noël Maquet in Les Colloques de Wégimont, Elsevier, 1956, page 174.

⁸ "A Chitata", Contribuição para o estudo dos instrumentos musicais dos indígenas de Moçambique, par Norberto dos Santos Junior, Liaboa, 1958.

Carimba from Tete, *Bira* from Rio Buzi and *Sanse* from Tete as well. It is very interesting indeed to see no less than three of the important stems meeting in Moçambique. Giorgiotti⁹ mentions *Sanzu* and *Mukanga* from the Azande in Southern Sudan. The latter name is remarkable, since I have not heard it among the Azande of the R.C.A. In a recent magnificent volume on Angola folk music published by the *DIAMANG*¹⁰, the name *txissanje* (Portuguese spelling) is mentioned for the Chokwe of Angola.

I should suggest that similar maps should be drawn for the distribution of names of other African instruments, such as xylophones, harps, zithers, musical bows and so on. This seems to be essential because names of different instruments in the Bantu area are frequently related. The stem *-MBIRA* for example is widespread in Southern Africa, not only as a name for plucked idiophones. The Makonde in Northern Moçambique call their six-key log-xylophone *Dimbila*. The name *Mambira* for a trough xylophone found near Lake Chilwa is already well-known to readers of this journal.¹¹ Hugh Tracey reports the name *Simbila* for xylophones of the Kanyoka in the Southern Congo. (See the field cards for the record AMA - TR 15).

Likewise the stem *-LIMBA* can be applied to Mbiras or xylophones. Further above I have dealt with the relation between names for the Mbira and the harp or lyre in Uganda.

In Gamboula (R.C.A.) I heard the name *Ngombi* for the Mbira. (See above list). I was very surprised at first until I later found out that it was not an isolated phenomenon. In a small village called Ihuda on the road from Liouesso to Makoua in the Congo-Brazzaville, I was told the name *Ngombi* again: this time for a zither-harp. Finally I heard it in Oyem, Gabon, from Andre Mvomé, the priest of the syncretist church Angome-Ebogha, who used an eight-string harp called *Ngombi*, during the cult meeting.

All I suggest here is that for further investigation into the diffusion of names for the Mbira it will not be sufficient to consider Mbira names alone, but similar maps will have to be drawn for the other instruments.

⁹ P. Filiberto Giorgiotti F.S.C.J. "Musica Africana, sua Tecnica e acustica", Verona, 1957.

¹⁰ DIAMANG (Museo do Dundo): "Folklore Musical de Angola", 1 Povo Quioco, Lisboa, 1961, page 48.

¹¹ G. Kubik: "Discovery of a Trough Xylophone in Northern Moçambique", in *African Music*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1963.



Photo 1

Agidigbo, the large Mbira of the Yoruba of Western Nigeria, as used for *Apala* music. The resonator box is made of a wooden chest and the prongs from thin sheet iron. The instrument is portable and frequently used during musical processions through the town. The free ends of the lamelles are pointing upwards in this photograph, that is *towards* the musicians' body, as is usual. The writing and painting, however, are upside down, so to enable the onlooker to read it. As on the "Mummy wagons" (lorries rebuilt into buses) the writing is often a proverb: "Iggeraga Nisaju Iparun" = Pride is a forerunner of destruction.

Photograph: Kubik, Oshogbo, 1960.

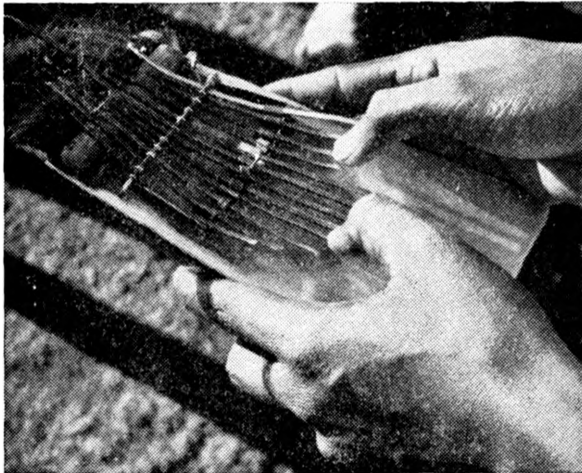


Photo 2

Kadongo, the small instrument of the *Budongo* group of the Basoga and Bagwere in Uganda. The hands in the photograph are those of MUKAMÁ, a great blind singer and Kadongo-player of the Bagwere.

Photograph: Kubik, Salama, 1960.

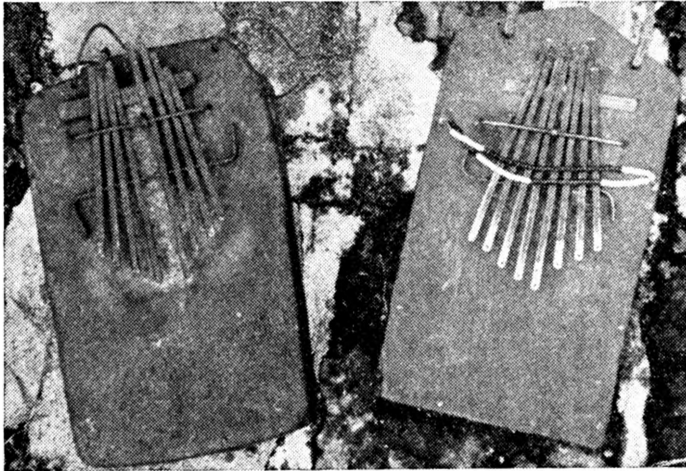


Photo 3

Two *Malimba* of the Wakisi tribe at Lupingu, Lake Nyasa, Tanganyika. The Wakisi have developed a fascinating technique for modifying the sound by making extensive use of the left middle finger on the vibrato hole on the under side of the *Malimba*. The right hand instrument has a string of beads across the lamelles to give a vibrating rattling sound. (The string on the left hand instrument has probably got lost). The approximate size of these small instruments is: 20 cm long, 13 cm broad and 3 cm deep.

Photograph: Kubik, 1960.



Photo 4

Marcel Mogaya, an old *Kembe* player of the Mbimo tribe, Central African Republic. His instrument is not attached to the gourd. He holds it into the gourd which is attached to his neck by a cord.

Photograph: Kubik, at Biguene, Nola-District, R.C.A., 1964.

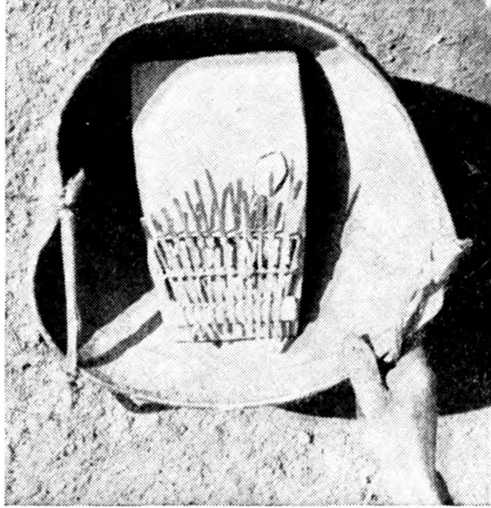


Photo 5

Marcel Mogaya's *Kembe* is the model of the Mbira most widespread in the Northern and Eastern parts of Central Africa (with or without gourd). On the left can be seen a rattling metal piece that is attached to a cord from the straining bar. The metal piece itself is free and vibrates when the instrument is played. Metal rings are also attached to *some* of the right thumb's keys. The reason for this distribution of rattling devices is musical. When playing some of the left hand keys, it is the metal piece that is designed to vibrate, while for four of the right hand keys, it is the rings. The compositions are constructed in such a way that the total amount of left and right hand *rattling* notes give inherent rhythms additional to those already emerging from the purely melodic distribution of notes within the total pattern.