

## LONG TRUMPETS OF NORTHERN NIGERIA — IN HISTORY AND TODAY

by

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**“long wooden trumpet ... the lower end (of which) bulges out as the ramrod of a great gun”** (Oudney, in Denham and Clapperton 1826:301) **“a thin conical tube, made of two or three sections ..., a rather large bell, and bulging rings that mark the beginning of each section”** (Sachs 1940:210).

A visitor arriving at Kano International Airport in northern Nigeria on the same flight as a local V.I.P.<sup>2</sup> may find himself greeted by a blast on an instrument which, at first sight, suggests an elongated European hunting horn or that used by postillions of eighteenth century stage-coaches. It may remind him of the long, straight trumpet in Giotto's *Crowning of the Virgin* (ca. 1317) or of the instruments on the medallion from Guerrero Lovillo's *Cantigas de Santa Maria* on the sleeve of H.M.V.'s "Early Medieval Music". Of the quotations at the head of this article the second would seem an appropriate description, but in fact refers to a Chinese trumpet of the later middle ages. It is the first which records the earliest sighting of a Nigerian long trumpet by a British explorer, the ill-fated Oudney, in a letter home on 28th March 1823. The starting point for any enquiry is to discover the link between present day Nigerian and medieval Chinese or European trumpets and to investigate what happened to those made of wood.

On the way south from Kano through open, rolling savanna, broken by occasional rock outcrops, the farming community, who live in large villages of baked-clay houses, may be seen working in nearby fields, selling garden produce at the roadside, or carrying it to market. The major crop is guinea-corn and, in normal years, rainfall in the wet season (May to October) is sufficient to ensure a good harvest. The urban population of long-established cities such as Kano, Katsina or Zaria, are specialist craftsmen, organised in a guild system, or small traders, and even rich merchants. The original Habe town inhabitants mixed with a group of uncertain origin, the Fulani, to form a Hausa culture, which, in its heyday, comprised numerous small states, each under an emir, with a highly stratified pyramidal social structure in which musicians and blacksmiths occupied the lowest level. Trade and cultural links with north Africa over a thousand years led to adoption of Islam by the ruling groups. The holy war launched by Usman dan Fodio at the beginning of the nineteenth century to reform the backsliding Habe kingdoms established both a narrow, 'puritanical' form of Islam and the Fulani Empire, but failed to conquer the equally highly-stratified state of Bornu in the north-east. Today's traditional rulers, whether Fulani-Hausa, Kanuri (in Bornu) or Nupe (to the south) remain as highly-placed and respected local government officials, Islamic influence continues to spread, and, despite experiments in democracy followed by military government, the desire for social status is the prime incentive in obtaining educational qualifications. The bustling streets of Kano, Kaduna or Zaria are jammed with cars, queues form at the

petrol stations, road-side motor-cycle repair 'shops' spring up over-night, and new building is everywhere in progress to house the small trader in paints, electrical supplies or jerricans; but the old, flat-roofed city of Zaria retains its narrow streets and crumbling thousand-year old walls, open fields and open sewers, a picturesque Hollywood 'set' come to life, provoking the perceptive, if undiplomatic, reaction from a visiting Malawian – "This is not Africa, it is Arab!" Only against this background can we understand the significance of long trumpets.

Technically, the instrument, known as the *kakaki* in Hausa, is a "long metal lip-vibrated, end-blown pipe in two detachable sections" with an "overall length of between 8 feet and 14 feet depending on the area" (Ames and King 1971:50). It occurs wherever there are traditional rulers and is particularly prominent among the Hausa, Kanuri and Nupe for "blowing" the ruler's praises or signalling on ceremonial occasions such as the Islamic festivals of *Id-al-Fitr* and *Id-al-Kabir*.

### LONG TRUMPETS IN HISTORY - AN OVERVIEW

#### Genesis of the Long Trumpet

Long trumpets, both through sound and sight, have commanded the attention of historians, organologists, archaeologists, travellers and explorers throughout the world. Unfortunately, in too many accounts a "long trumpet" is simply a "trumpet that is long", or merely a "trumpet", or, to increase confusion, not infrequently, a "horn"<sup>3</sup>. The seemingly naive question – How long is a long trumpet? – is more than a matter of epistemological differentiation, for unless we can distinguish "long trumpets" from "short" ones, it is impossible to trace connecting links in development. Nor is the question easily answered; judging from the number of "about 5 ft" or "about 6½ ft." in accounts, many figures tell us more of how long trumpets *appeared* to observers than what they actually measured. Even accurate measurements vary considerably. Within the Hausa area alone, two *kakaki* reported in 1913 measured 4.2 and 5.2 ft. respectively (Tremearne 1913:211, 369)(for comparative purposes all measurements have been converted to feet), one in Zamfara 6.29 ft. (Krieger 1968:386), one in Sokoto 6.5 ft. (Harris 1932:119, calculated from the scale), the average in Katsina is given as 8.08 ft. (Ames and King 1971:50) and a Zaria specimen was 8.2 ft. (Ames 1968a:B8). These figures contrast with the 10 ft. (Denham and Clapperton 1826:528) and 10-12 ft. (Ibid:370) for the long trumpets of Bornu and the 12-14 ft. for those of Mandara (Ibid:370) in the 1820's, though these were wooden, not metal, trumpets. Estimates of "about 5 ft." for Kebbi (Podstavsky, n.d.) and "about 6 ft." for Bussa (Lugard 1894:108), Kaiama (Ibid: 153) and Nupe (Day 1897:263), all in the western half of the region (the last three from the late nineteenth century) tend to support more recent measurements. As a later traveller to Mandara reported trumpets of "about 6.6 ft." in length (Rohlf's 1875:79), either the size had diminished in the meantime or travellers' powers of estimation altered! Contemporary long metal trumpets from Fez in Morocco and Konni in Niger measure 5.9 ft. and 6.6 ft. respectively (Jenkins and Olsen 1976:55). The Nigerian long trumpet may thus be thought of as, on average, somewhat in excess of 6 ft. in length.

This factor eliminates as direct sources of origin both sub-Saharan Africa, where the commonest lip-vibrated aerophones are side-blown animal or ivory horns, and

ancient Egypt, where trumpets, though end-blown, were only two feet long (Sachs 1940:100). Those found in Tutankhamen's tomb measured 1.6 ft. and 1.9 ft. and were more cone-shaped. But the Etruscans, Greeks and Romans all used long trumpets, as did the Egyptians of a later era. The Etruscan *litui* was "a straight, slender cylindrical tube ..., held horizontally when played" (Marcuse 1975:788-9) which ended in an upturned bell to form the letter J; the Greek *salpinx*, a 5 ft. straight trumpet "made in thirteen sections of ivory neatly fitting into one another, and strengthened at the joints by bronze rings" (Sachs Op.cit.:145). Substitute bronze for ivory and reduce the length to 4 ft. and we have the Roman *tuba*, which, in a mosaic at Zitlen of Roman musicians at the circus (1st Century A.D.), bears a remarkable resemblance to the *kakaki*. Under the Egyptian Fatimids, who conquered Egypt in 969 A.D. and survived till 1171 (Oliver & Fage 1966:77-8), the metal trumpet (*buq*) played an important role in court life; according to the *Muluk al 'arab*, on ceremonial occasions the procession included 10 trumpets of gold and 30 of silver, held by men on horseback, the brass trumpeters (on foot) being too numerous for the historian to count (Al Omari n.d.:LVIII, n.2). An illustration of an Egyptian Military Band of the fourteenth century shows two trumpets (*buq*), unmistakable ancestors of the *kakaki* in their length, shape and protruding "rings", one player supporting his instrument with the right hand, the other with his left, while each places his free hand on his hip (Arnold & Guillaume 1960:Op.374). The possibility thus remains that the instrument, if not the name, may have reached Nigeria direct from the Nile valley.

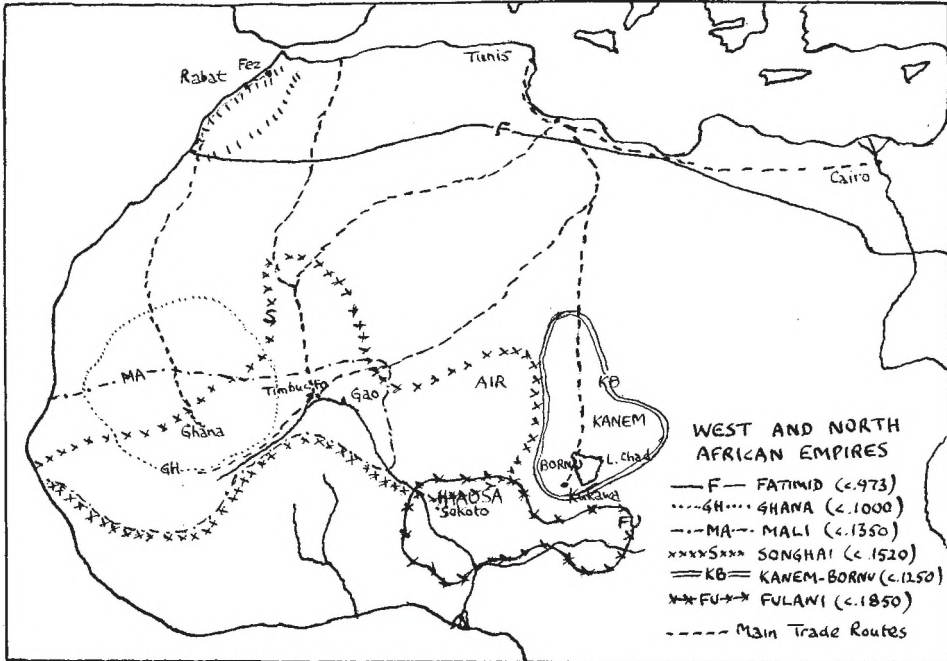
To accept this, however, is to ignore the influence of the Arabs and Islam. Taking over the trumpet, whether in Greek, Roman or Egyptian form remains uncertain, they were responsible for its preservation, development and eventual dissemination. The spread of Islam took it east, contact with Christian crusading armies, who spoke of the *cors sarracinois*, brought it west (Sachs Op.cit.:280). The term *buq* now denoted animal horns (Farmer 1939:571) and a new name, *al nafir*, was used for long metal trumpets. As *nempiri* it accompanied the instrument to China (Schaeffner 1952:1483); from Morocco, where it survives to the present day, the Spaniards changed it to *anafil* (Sachs Op.cit.:281). When the great traveller Ibn Battuta visited Maqdashaw (Mogadishu), the chief town of the Eastern Sudan, early in the fourteenth century, he saw a royal procession, headed by a military band which included drums, horns (*buq*) and trumpets (*nafir*) (Farmer Op. cit.:571). On a later visit to the ruler of Mali in the Western Sudan, the Sultan's soldiers had drums and ivory horns (*anyab*), while, as the Sultan takes his seat to give audience, "drums are beaten and horns and trumpets sounded" (Ibn Battuta n.d.:326). If the latter had been long metal trumpets, we may be sure that, from both his previous acquaintance and his penchant for detail, Ibn Battuta would have told us. We conclude, therefore, that they were not, but more probably resembled those reported by his contemporary, Al-Omari, at Awfat in Ethiopia as "made from bamboo and which end in a cow's horn" (Op.cit.:7-8). The ruler's cortège, moreover, was led by the *janba*, a twisted antelope horn which "produces a sound that can be heard half a day's march away" (Ibid.) Thus, while the long metal trumpet had reached the east African coast by mid-fourteenth century and perhaps found its way westward to Tunis, where the Sultan's procession included "drums, trumpets (unspecified) and bugles" (Ibid.), it had not yet crossed the Sahara. The association of trumpets of whatever type with

royalty and ceremonial occasions is, however, well established.

The Long Trumpet in Hausaland and Bornu

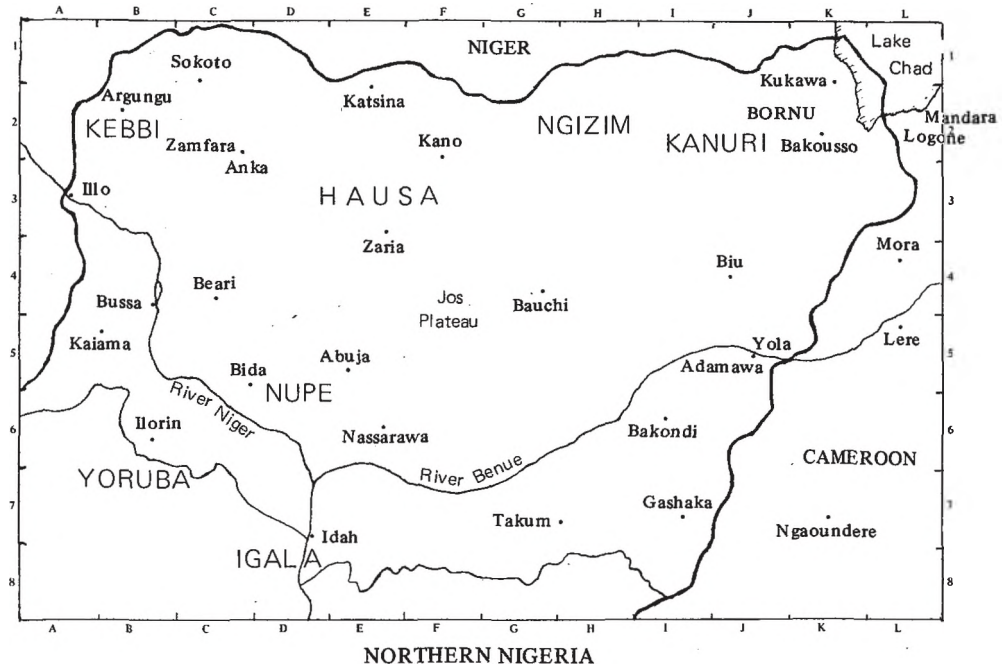
(For places named in this and the following sections – see Map)

If this assumption is correct, the entry in the *Kano Chronicle* for the reign of Tsamia (1307-43) that “long horns” were first used in the city and played the tune “Stand firm, Kano is your city”(Palmer 1908:70) cannot refer to long metal trumpets, though the practice of using instruments to “talk” goes back 6½ centuries. Similarly, when the ruler Dauda (1421-38) was visited by Dagachi, a “great prince from Bornu”, who came with “horses, drums and trumpets and flags and guns” (Ibid:74), the instruments were probably of wood or cane<sup>4</sup>. The *Chronicle* in fact specifically credits the great Mohammed Rumfa (1463-99) as “the first to have *kakaki*” (Ibid:78) and, while chroniclers tend to extol the exploits of successful rulers, independent evidence from the Songhai Empire to the north-west states that in 1500-1 the *askia* Mohammed Tura made an expedition against the Tildza in the Air region, “whence came the *kakaki*, which had not been found previously”, but



(After Oliver & Fage 1962: Figs. 6 & 12)

which was used henceforth by the Songhai cavalry (Kati n.d.:135-6). Allowing for minor inaccuracy in dating, it seems probable that the long trumpet reached Hausaland either towards the end of the fifteenth or at the beginning of the sixteenth century and that it is known as the *kakaki*. The obvious questions are – How did it get there? and What is the origin of the name?



Abuja	E5	Bida	C5	Idah	D7	Kukawa	K1	Ngaoundere	K7
Anka	C2	Biu	J4	Illo	A3	Lere	L5	Sokoto	C1
Argungu	B2	Bornu	J2-K2	Ilorin	B6	Logone	L2	Takum	H7
Bakondi	I6	Bussa	B4	Kaiama	B5	Mandara	L2	Yola	J5
Bakouso(?)	K2	Chad, Lake	L1	Kano	F2	Mora	L4	Zamfara	C2
Bauchi	G4	Gashaka	I7	Katsina	E2	Nassarawa	E6	Zaria	E3
Beari	C4								

Musical historians have suggested two hypotheses: 1) the long trumpet reached Nigeria from North Africa by a direct north-south trans-Saharan route, passing through Air, or with Songhai as intermediary; 2) it travelled from the Nile basin on a westerly or south-westerly route through Kanem-Bornu.

If the second is true, we should expect to find trumpets of this type in Bornu even before they reached the Hausa. Unfortunately, though "horns were blown ... and flutes sounded" (Ahmed n.d.:26) at the siege of Amsaka by the great Mai Idris Alooma of Bornu in 1575, the only reference of immediate interest occurs in the campaign against the pagan Ngizim, when the Mai "ordered the royal trumpeter called Mulima Naser to call the people by trumpet call" (Ibid:41). More concerned to record the name of the player, the chronicler was unaware that posterity might be interested in his instrument. After this there is a gap until the early nineteenth century, when the British explorers, Denham, Clapperton and Oudney, arrived at the capital of Bornu, Kukawa. There can, however, be no doubt as to the instrument they saw. On their first visit to the Sultan, Denham noted "one who bore in his hand the long wooden frum-frum, on which he ever and anon blew a blast, loud and un-



musical” (Denham and Clapperton Op.cit:258) and we quoted Oudney’s description at the head of this article. The Sultan of Mandara (to the east) was preceded by “two immense trumpets from twelve to fourteen feet long, borne by men on horseback, made of pieces of hollow wood, with a brass mouthpiece” (Ibid:327), and, on the expedition to Munga in May 1823, the Shehu of Bornu was “attended ... by men bearing trumpets (frum-frum) of hollow wood, ten and twelve feet long” which were “considered an appendage of royalty alone” (Ibid:370). At Logone (to the south-east) in 1824, the Sultan had “eight frumfrums and as many horns” (Ibid:438), while, in a supplementary chapter, Denham again describes the Sultan of Bornu as “preceded by six men bearing frumfrums (trumpets) of cane, ten feet long, an instrument peculiar to royalty.”(Ibid:528).

Clapperton, who visited Sokoto in Hausaland in March 1824, is less explicit, noting only that he was escorted by 150 horsemen with drums and trumpets (Ibid: 672), whom he left “amid a loud flourish of horns and trumpets” (Ibid:675) and that, in Sokoto, he was visited by Abubakr Atiku, younger brother of the ruler Bello, who, on the death of their father, the Shehu Dan Fodio, “had aspired to the throne and ... even had the audacity to enter his brother’s house, preceded by drums and trumpets” (Ibid:690). While the account substantiates the importance of trumpets as symbols of office, their material and construction are unspecified, and it is only on his second African expedition that, halting at the approach to Sokoto, he heard from a nearby military camp “the baying of their brass or tin trumpets” (Clapperton 1829:181). Returning to the coast after Clapperton’s death in Sokoto, as Lander approached the king’s residence at Beari (between Zaria and Bussa), he was heralded by “a shrill and loud blast through a long brass trumpet, the noise of which brought all the principal male inhabitants to the spot” (Ibid:308), and, in listing African musical instruments in his *Records* of the expedition, Lander mentions the “long brass trumpet, from Barbery” (1830:293).

The conclusion is clear: if the rulers of Bornu and other kingdoms in that area were using long trumpets of wood or cane in the early nineteenth century, they are unlikely to have used metal ones at an earlier date. Conversely, since the existence of long metal trumpets in Hausaland at this time is established, they did not reach there through Bornu but must have come directly from North Africa or through Songhai. Smith’s suggestion that Rumfa’s introduction of royal trumpets and musicians to the Kano court was modelled on Bornu practice (1964:351) should be modified. Rumfa may have got the *idea* from Bornu, but the use of long metal trumpets in applying it was his own innovation.

A succession of European visitors to the Bornu court at Kukawa during the nineteenth century enables us to trace the evolution of the instrument. Barth’s account of the Sultan emerging from his tent in May 1851 while the trumpets sound “the Hausa words ‘gashi, gashi’, ‘here he is, here he is’ ” (1857 Vol.II:78), if it throws no light on the material used, demonstrates the instrument’s use and reveals that the Hausa were not without influence on the Kanuri. When Rohlf’s visited the Sultan of Mandara in Sept. 1866, “wooden trumpets about two metres long” (1875:46) were still in use, but his account of the Shehu of Bornu’s procession the following month, despite detailed descriptions of costumes, mentions only three drummers as riding after the ruler (Ibid:79). Nachtigal’s visit in June 1870 reveals a transition stage; the “crown-prince”, Aba Bu Bakr’s cortège included players of “long trumpets

of wood or metal, droning in a deep bass" (1967:Vol. I:585), while in the "band" following the Shehu at the *Id-al-Fitr* procession were "long trumpets about 1½m. in length – Fumfum – of wood or metal" (Ibid:745).

Reports of later travellers suggest that use of wood for long trumpets persisted in what is now northern Cameroun after its supersession by metal elsewhere. The French explorer, Monteil, who travelled from St. Louis on the west coast to Tripoli via Lake Chad, recounts how, on 17th Sept. 1891, he watched the King of Guiouae (unidentified) return "to the sound of drums and long trumpets like those of our mail coach posterns" (1896(?):223), while an illustration of an audience given by a high official at Bakouso(?) in Bornu shows metal trumpets of the *kakaki* type (Ibid:Op.310), and the German Cameroun Expedition of 1893-4 reported long metal trumpets from Ngaoundere in central Cameroun (Passarge 1895:477). Yet the French expedition of 1903, which navigated Lake Chad, reported that the Mundang of Lere (less than a hundred miles east of the present Nigerian border) used "a kind of wooden trumpet with two notes of great sonority" (Delevoye 1906:54) compared with the Shehu of Bornu's long trumpets which "uttered ... warm and vibrant sounds" as the ruler "rode quietly and majestically under the shade of a tall parasol" (Lenfant 1905:186). The British party under Boyd Alexander who visited him the following year noted that he was awakened "every morning at six ... by a blast of long trumpets of most musical tone" before proceeding in state to pray, the ceremony being repeated "at 3 o'clock in the afternoon and again at sundown" (1908:285-6). The German Central African Expedition of 1910-11 under the Duke of Mecklenberg, which travelled from the Congo to the Niger and eventually reached the Nile, found the sultan of Karnak (in Cameroun)'s Court Musicians using "wooden trombones" as well as "trumpets" (Mecklenberg 1913:116) and noted that drumming and trumpet-blowing accompanied the Sultan's appearance on Fridays (Ibid:118). If Schultze's account of the Sultanate of Bornu speaks of the ruler's instruments as including "long coach horns" (1910:173), the French musical scholar, André Schaeffner, could report that, as late as 1932, of the Lamido of Mora's four trumpets (*gatci*), each 2m. long, two were of wood, two of tin (1952:1487).

In Hausaland and northern Nigeria generally, present-day practice suggests development through specialisation, long metal trumpets retaining their length as *kakaki*, wooden *fumfum* decreasing in size to become the medium-length, if also royal, *famfami* (or *farai*). Whether the instrument seen by Barth among those of eight mounted royal musicians two miles north-east of Katsina in January 1851 was wood or metal remains a mystery; he describes it simply as "the long wind-instrument, or 'pampamme'" (Op.cit.:455), and suggestions by modern scholars have led only to self-contradiction<sup>5</sup>. Once more it is a question of "How long is 'long'?" Hassan and Shua'ibu, in their *Chronicle of Abuja*, achieve a parity denied by modern mathematics<sup>6</sup>, but indicate parallel use at the Ramadan prayers. "To the place of prayer come also the Trumpeter of the Famfami, the long wooden horn of the Emir; the Chief Drummer of the Emir's Drums, ... and the Trumpeters of the Kakaki, or long metal trumpets" (1952:69). Numbers at least are not in dispute - more than one *kakaki* is used, but only one wooden trumpet.

#### The Long Trumpet in Nupe and the southern sector

According to tradition the Atta of Igala, to whom the Nupe were subject in the

mid-fifteenth century, presented Tsoede, founder of the Nupe kingdom, with various royal insignia “including *kakaki* or the long royal trumpets” (Hogben & Kirk-Greene 1966:262). As this antedates their acquisition by both Songhai and Kano, which are considerably further north, while the Igala are to the south of the Nupe, one must choose between a southern origin, some form of instrumental leap-frog, or treat the story as legend. Since all evidence points to North Africa as the immediate source and simpler explanations are preferred to more contorted if they account for the facts, we are inclined to regard the story of Tsoede’s acquisition as later glorification of a past hero. There is, moreover, no evidence that the Igala ever had long trumpets; when the British 1841 expedition met the then Atta, his interest in the party’s bugle suggested unfamiliarity with both its “gold-like material” (Allen & Thomson 1848:303) and aerophones of longer dimensions. Recent research now dates the introduction of the Nupe *kakaki* from the reign of Etsu Majaya (1796-1810)<sup>7</sup>, which accords with the hypothesis of a north-south diffusion, the trumpet entering Nigeria through Hausaland, whence it passed to the Nupe and so to the Yoruba.

Certainly, by the 1830’s the long trumpet was fully established at the Yoruba centre of Ilorin and, in the uncertainties of that time, formed the subject of a power struggle. The Sarkin Gambari had acquired such power that, as symbols of office, he had his own *kakaki* and ceremonial kettle-drum (*tambari*), and in 1831 “power changed hands” when the next in line to the succession was “deprived of *kakaki* and *tambari* by means of a trick” (Herman-Hodge 1929:166). Few musical instruments aspire to a place in the history of political intrigue and the importance of the *kakaki* in this respect is of greater interest today than the intrigue itself.

Fifty years later the British expedition under MacDonald paid an official visit to the Etsu Nupe and reported that he “possessed a singular war-trumpet of metal, perfectly straight in shape, and some six feet long. This trumpet was only sounded by the guards (sic) of the Emir, and no person was allowed to possess or construct a similar instrument upon pain of death” (Day 1892:268). Excited by this, and possibly other reports, the German Inner African Exploration Expedition of 1910-12 under Frobenius arrived at Bida, the Nupe capital, in an anticipatory glow which, despite the leader’s inevitable over-writing, suggested widespread fame for the Nupe trumpets. Escorted by “a train of about fifty richly-clad nobles on magnificent horses”, the party entered the city and “for the first time I saw the wonderful trumpets”, even if, “in the Emir’s absence [owing to illness] they were not blown today” (1913:407). When, however, after presentation to the Etsu, the party is “handed ... over to our domestic host ... The drums rattle again; the trumpets blew” (Ibid:409).

Nadel’s account of “the climax of Bida court life”, based on research in 1934-6, is more soberly enthusiastic. “On Thursday night and again on Friday afternoon the Etsu rides in great state to the mosque in the town, and on Friday at his return holds a reception in his house ...” (1942:92). During the procession, with the “king and courtiers on horseback, in their sumptuous gowns ... drummers are beating their drums, three mounted trumpeters blow the huge bronze *kakati* in an incessant deafening chorus.” (Ibid.) Later, in describing Nupe methods of warfare, Nadel confirms the previous report, relating how troops of the Dokoyiriny [one of the highest generals] “would charge last, to the signals of the long bronze trumpets which only the



troops of the highest military ranks may carry.” (Ibid:111) It is of interest to note that here at least the trumpets were not entirely a royal prerogative.

Ilorin has been less fortunate in its chroniclers. Lloyd’s description of the parade for *Id-al-Fitr* has a photograph of four royal trumpeters of the Emir (1961:266), whose instruments are unmistakably of the *kakaki* type, but the only textual reference is to “drummers and trumpeters producing a cacophony of sound” as the Emir rides back after prayers (Ibid:268). Gervis gives a traveller’s account of the Emir’s installation, attended by “the Governor and his lady”, by the time of whose arrival “all were in their seats and waiting for the terrific blasts from the six- and eight-foot long silver trumpets which would herald the coming of the new Emir” (1963:144). The metal may have changed, but association with royalty remains.

#### Diffusion in East and West

By the concluding decade of the last century use of the *kakaki* had spread from the main urban centres to any petty ruler who could lay claim to it, the main exception being the pagan core around the Jos Plateau in the centre of the area. Diffusion in the western sector seems to have preceded appropriation in the less accessible east. At the Festival of Muhurram at Bussa (on the Niger) in August 1830 the Lander brothers noted that, as the king emerged at sunset “to show himself to his people”, his musicians included players of “long Arab trumpets of brass”. These “preceded their sovereign, and played lustily on their instruments all the while he was returning to his house” (1832:158).

Bussa trumpets, in fact, seem to have got more than their fair share of attention. On 20th September 1894 Lugard surreptitiously watched a ceremony he had refused to attend and noted in his diary how, while “a man with a most gigantic and gorgeous umbrella held it over the King, another with a brass ‘four in hand’ horn 6 ft. long trumpeted into the small of his back” (1894:108-9). A French party in 1898 under le lieutenant Hourst, which navigated the Niger from Timbucto to its mouth, took photographs of the Bussa long trumpets which show them as metal trumpets of the *kakaki* type (1898:425). A second French group under Lenfant in 1901 met the then King of Bussa, Kisale Dogo, “preceded by his trumpets” (1903:129), the metal nature of which, though not stated, may be inferred from an incident in which a “phonogram” was played for the monarch’s entertainment. The Marche-aux-Flambeaux aroused his admiration to the extent that, on hearing the dominant brass, “the excellent king turns towards his trumpeters to make sure that they are in their place and that we have not spirited them away” (Ibid:136).

Lugard also encountered the long trumpet at Kaiama (further west), where, on 19th October 1894, the King’s “trumpeters with their 6 ft. trumpets made a deafening row, pointing the mouth of the instrument at him, and blaring out a few inches from his ears!” (Op.cit:153). Addressing the Royal Geographical Society the following year, he both telescoped and embroidered his experiences. “These trumpets were an institution new to me, and I saw, or rather *heard*, more of them subsequently in Borgu than I cared for.” The “King of all the Boussas” is described as “accompanied on each state occasion by two men who carry these instruments of torture. They are some six feet long, shaped like a gigantic four-in-hand bugle. At odd moments during the ‘palaver’ . . . , the two ushers of the bugle place the end which isn’t in their mouths as near to the king’s ear as possible and give vent to an appalling instrum-

ental yell. The noise is absolutely deafening even at a distance... But the king never moves a muscle of his face.” (quoted Herman-Hodge Op.cit:21) The main item of interest in this farrago is that the instrument is “new” to Lugard. As he entered the western region from the south, we may assume that the Bussa-Kaiama area marked the extent of the instrument’s penetration.

A possible reason for the procedure noted by Lugard at Kaiama occurs in Hourst’s account of the Chief of Illo at Giris (on the Niger to the north) in 1898. The trumpets are described as “not unlike those used in Europe by drivers of stage coaches” (Op.cit:429), while, “at a sign from the chief, the twelve trumpeters approached him, and with all their strength blew a tremendous blast almost into his ears, the instruments all but touching him.” (Ibid:431) “This,” comments Hourst, “was done to drive away evil spirits.” (Ibid.) The encounter ended on a lighter note, indicative of a happier side of race relations, when, following the “arrival of . . . flasks of champagne” on the French side and “large jars of millet beer” on that of the local inhabitants, “in half-an-hour the chief, his court, and all the men and women . . . were tipsy”, while the trumpeters’ departure was less noisy than their arrival, for they were “now unable to blow a blast on their instruments” (Ibid:432).

Boyd Alexander’s visit to Mamadu, King of Nassarawa (south-east of Bussa) in 1904 is of interest in that he “made a very successful recording of the long brass trumpets that were sounded before this king on his progress through the villages of his country” (1908:199). Like other travellers he notes their resemblance to “our coach horns”; but his assessment of their musical quality is more sympathetic than most, for they sounded “two notes that rose and fell, soft and deep in tone like those of a hautboy” (Ibid.). Unfortunately, this must remain a subjective reaction, for “the record was spoiled by damp before I could send it home” (Ibid.).

Four years later the German missionary and scholar, Dr. Mischlich, published a cultural account of the Kebbi area at Argungu (in the north-west) which described the use of the *kakaki* in a cavalcade undertaken by the Emir of Kebbi (1908:80), the role of the *kakaki*-player at his installation (Ibid:60) and drumming and trumpet-blowing on the Emir’s death (Ibid:66). But over fifty years were to elapse before long trumpets passed finally from travellers’ reports into the hands of academics.

Accounts from the eastern region (outside Bornu) are less numerous. Visiting Takum (in the southern sector) from Cameroun in 1889, the German traveller, Zintgraff, was hospitably entertained by Sultan Nakubu, who honoured him with a morning serenade by six musicians, four of them with “long metal trumpets”, two with several kettledrums each. “The music”, comments Zintgraff, “did not sound too bad”, even if, to European ears, the eight items played were barely distinguishable (1895:267). The incident is of interest for its non-ceremonial context and use of long trumpets as “musical” rather than as signalling instruments.

In February 1893 the French explorer, de Maistre, saw a procession of the Lamido of Bakondi (in southern Muri, Adamawa) when the ruler was “preceded by five or six musicians”, while, “at the head of the cavalcade was a herald-at-arms with a long ‘flute’ (sic) of iron and copper which produced clamorous sounds” and was “more than two metres in length” (1895:262). Despite the misplaced designation, the instrument is recognisably a long trumpet. In 1904 Alexander found the Emir of Bauchi (north-west of Bakondi) riding “at the head of about forty horsemen consisting of his guard and a mounted band with long trumpets and drums, and pipes

[oboes] called *alligatas*" (Op.cit:214). As at Nassarawa he proved a sympathetic listener and, once more, the long trumpet is used as part of an ensemble, the "*alligatas*" presumably providing the melody. "The band played music that suggests a paean of victory mingled with a dirge. It was very beautiful to hear, and haunted the memory with the deep sad wail of the pipes rising and falling on the roll of the drums and the blare of the long brass trumpets" (Ibid.).

Although not completed till the early 1950's, Davies *Biu Book* reports of the Emir of Biu (south-east of Bauchi) that "in the Emir's band are some long horns which are pre-British [i.e. nineteenth century or earlier]. They are over seven feet long and play one or two trombone-like notes when blown hard" (1954-5:249). Although the material is not specified, the "trombone-like" timbre suggests metal, and Davies adds that they "may perhaps be equated to the long trumpets known in Northern Nigeria (e.g. Kano) which are said to be usually reserved for royalty . . . The Emir's band," he adds, "is of especial interest when it is all mounted on horses" (Ibid.).

The extent of diffusion by the end of World War I and the effect of political manoeuvres by which the former German colony of Cameroun was divided between the British and French are brought out by Migeod's account of his travels through Nigeria to Lake Chad in 1922 and through British Cameroons the following year. At Yola, on the Benue, the Emir's musicians had drums, *algaitas* and *kakaki* (1924:58). That seen at Gashaka (in Adamawa) is described as "a long horn made of copper and other metal, which is restricted to higher chiefs" (1925:176), that at Toango as "a six-foot long metal trumpet. The end removes for carrying purposes and all fits neatly into a leather bag" (Ibid:193). The comment of most interest as indicating the extent of the instrument's diffusion is his remark that "when the chiefs in the new country come under the Emir [of Yola], they will have to give up some emblems of authority. The principal outward signs to be surrendered will be the blowing of the long horn called the *kakaki*. This they will not like. It is the emblem of a paramount chief, and even the Emir himself must not allow his to be blown in the proximity of the Residency" (Ibid:206).

To sum up: by the end of World War I long metal trumpets had spread throughout the northern states wherever authority was vested in an emir or chief, who, with a few exceptions (when permission was granted to a high official) alone retained the prerogative of their use. To a large extent this diffusion corresponded with that of Islam, the most notable recorded exception being their use at Illo at the end of the last century for non-Islamic purposes. The so-called pagan areas of central Nigeria, despite imposition by the British of chiefs on the Hausa model, maintained a comparative egalitarianism and eschewed the use of long trumpets. The association with Islam is further brought out by their use on ceremonial occasions and for processions at the great religious festivals of *Mohurram*, *Id-al-Fitr* and *Id-al-Kabir*, where they appeared as adjuncts of royalty rather than religion. Their initial adoption by the Songhai cavalry survives both in the processional aspect, with frequent references to the instruments being carried by horsemen, and in warfare. Basically signalling instruments, long trumpets were able to utilise tonal languages such as Hausa to "blow" the ruler's praises. The suggestion that, to do this, they were played in pairs, requires further examination. Apart from Nai Idris' lone trumpeter (and he could well have been Chief of a group), the records suggest a "consort"

rather than a “duo”. If the rulers of Mandara had only two trumpets, the Etsu Nupe had three, the rulers of Ilorin, Mora and Takum four, the Shehu of Bornu six, the Sultan of Logone eight and the Chief of Illo twelve! In addition, performances at Takum and Nassarawa show long trumpets as part of larger instrumental ensembles, even if the type of “music” played is not clear. As to the sound, while most writers speak of the resultant “blast” or “blare” when the trumpeters “played lustily” or the instruments were “blown hard”, and words such as “deafening”, “appalling” and “cacophony” are not infrequent, one observer distinguished their “two notes” and found the music, at least in conjunction with oboes and drums, “very beautiful to hear”.

One problem remains unsolved – origin of the name *kakaki*. Discussing North African influences on the Sudan, Farmer observes that “most of the names of the instruments are Arabic” and “in four instances only are non-Arabic names used . . . viz. *ginbri*, *kakaki*, *futurifa* and *gabtanda*” (Op.cit.: 575). The first may be a corruption of the Arabic *tunbura* for a plucked lute, while the last two have disappeared without trace. Yet neither he nor Hause, whose “lexicographical enquiry”, by demonstrating the progress from *kakaki* among the Hausa to *kakati* for Nupe, *kaki* among the Edo and Bini speakers and *kakatwi* in northern Togo, substantiates, on linguistic grounds, the hypothesis of a north-south diffusion, is able to suggest an origin or provide a link with the north African and middle eastern *nafir*. In further diffusion the word itself acquires an autonomy, for the Ghanaian *katakayi* is no metal trumpet but “a large curved [horn] made of ivory” (1948:57-8). The existence of names such as *karna*, reported from Isfahan in 1674 (Schaeffner 1952:1482), *karen* or *kenet* from Ethiopia (Ibid: 1484) or *kirtim* from Wadai (Ibid:1486-7) may provide opportunity for continuing an ingenious linguistic goose-chase, especially when we now know that the mouthpiece section of the instrument in Hausaland is referred to as the *karan kakaki* (Ames & King Op.cit.:50); we prefer to adopt a simpler “explanation” and regard the name *kakaki* as one, perhaps the only, sub-Saharan contribution to the entire subject.

## LONG TRUMPETS TODAY

The advent of the ethnomusicologist in the 1960’s and 70’s – Ames in Zaria, Besmer in Kano, King in Katsina and Krieger in Zamfara, with Podstavsky currently conducting research into Kebbi practice at Argungu – has enabled us to form an overall picture of the place of music in Hausa culture and to examine more closely the role of the long trumpet. Rather than repeat what is available elsewhere (see Bibliography), I propose to summarise their findings, indicating similarities and differences between the major centres investigated, before considering in more detail three aspects: 1) the question of continuity and change; 2) musical performance as communication; and 3) the social significance of long trumpets.

### Long Trumpets in the 1960’s: a survey

Long metal trumpets are still long trumpets of metal, even if contemporary counterparts of Landor’s “long trumpet of brass” and the magnificent bronze Nupe trumpets that fascinated Frobenius are more often of baser material. Harris’ 1932 report that he had seen one “of which the horn section was made of copper, the

central section from tin from a kerosene tin, and the mouthpiece section of brass" (1932:119) foreshadows degeneration (as well as starting the myth of tripartite construction adopted by scholars who equated the exceptional with the everyday – see Hause Op.cit.:57; Marcuse 1964:270; 1975:819). For Zamfara, Krieger states that "in the past the *kakaki* was made of copper or brass, but today it is usually of aluminium" (1968:416). In Zaria "today it is made by local blacksmiths from tin kerosene containers or from brass pans purchased in the market" (Ames 1968a:B8) and one of Ames' photographs of two trumpet players juxtaposes past and present, for one has "a traditional trumpet made of brass, the other an instrument made of kerosene tins" (1968b:40).

Even in this form, long trumpets retain their association with royalty. In Kano they are part of the royal insignia (Besmer 1974:9), in Zaria restricted to the Emir (Smith, M.G. 1957:28) and in Katsina a requisite for kingship (King 1965:46). In both Kano and Katsina (and presumably Zaria also) less respect is given to the long trumpets than the royal kettledrums (*tambura*) and their use is consequently less restricted (King 1964:16; Besmer Op.cit.:9). There is, of course, a practical reason – despite their length, long trumpets, especially the tin variety, are comparatively light and more readily portable than the royal drums, though drums of this type may be slung on camels or horses. Long trumpets continue to be played on horseback (Krieger Op.cit.:416) or standing, but the playing position given by Ames and King – "held to the mouth in a near-horizontal position with the right hand near the mouthpiece and the extended left arm towards the bell end" (Op.cit.:51) is by no means rigid. Ames' excellent photographs (1968b:40; Ames & King Op.cit.: Fig. 10) show the hands in reversed positions, while trumpeters at Ilorin (Lloyd Op.cit.:266) and Bussa (Hourst Op.cit.:425) conform to the description, and one can only assume that it is a matter of personal preference.

Respect for the instrument is not reflected in the status of its players. To appreciate this we must recall that, in Hausaland, musical performance is a craft (*sana'a*) carried out by professional specialists (*maroka*, lit. 'beggars') associated with a particular patron, and that the emir's musicians (*marokan sarki*) have conferred on them the same titles as are used by members of the official hierarchy; *Sarkin Makada*, for example, is Chief of the Drummers; *Sarkin Kakaki*, Chief of the *kakaki*-players, while others have titles such as *Magajin Banga* or *Magajin Busa* (see Ames 1973; Ames & King Op.cit.:97-103; Besmer Op.cit.:5-7). If leading members of instrumental groups prefer the title of *Sarki*, "Chief", the rules governing craft organisation ensure that not all *sarki* are equal any more than are their patrons, the "real" *sarki*. In Zaria in 1964 the head of the *kakaki*-players (*Sarkin Kakaki*) ranked third in the hierarchical order after the heads of the side-blown horn- (*kaho*) and wooden horn- (*farai*) players (Ames & King Op.cit.:65, 101); in Katsina, as *Sarkin Busa*, he came second to the Chief of the drummers (*Sarkin Makada*), who was head of the royal *maroka*; in Kano, *Sarkin Kakaki* was one of the *Bawan Sarki*, hereditary slave positions, along with the chief of the players of the royal drums, and thus of superior status to ordinary *maroka*, yet it is *Sarkin Busan Kaho*, Chief of the side-blown horn-players, who is designated as "leader of the *maroka*" in concluding the first part of their performance on the eve of the Muslim festivals (Besmer Op.cit.:14); at Argungu, in the *yamta* collective performance of musicians' crafts according to prescribed order, *kakaki*-players are listed second in association with *ganga* (double



membrane cylindrical drum)-players, to whom they are subordinate, leadership being “vested in the seniormost among the royal craftsmen’s offices, that of *Landon Kabi*, held by the chief *ganga*-player of the *ganga-kakaki* group” (Podstavsky n.d.: 14). Conversely, at Anka in Zamfara, the chief trumpeter is known simply as *Kakaki* and, while information is lacking on his status, in performance the *ganga*-player is subordinate to him, as are the *algaita* (oboe)-players (Krieger op.cit.:416). In short, there is no overall pattern except that, despite the long trumpets’ royal associations, nowhere does the chief of the group occupy the highest rank among royal musicians.

A similar variety appears in the instrumental ensembles with which the *kakaki* is associated. If it is used as a solo instrument (Ames & King Op.cit.:51, 89), or in conjunction with other *kakaki* as leader and chorus (Ibid.), it occurs also at Zaria and Katsina with the wooden horn (*farai*) and the palace *ganga* drum (Ibid.:51; King 1965:46) or with the oboe (*algaita*), *farai* and *ganga* (Ames & King Op.cit.:48); at Zaria with *farai* and *kaho* (Ames 1968a:B8), or *farai*, *kaho* and *ganga* (Ames & King Op.cit.:51) and is occasionally played with the royal drums (*tambura*)(Ames 1968a: B8; Ames & King Op.cit.:51, 89); in Zamfara, as we have seen, it is associated with the *ganga* and *algaita*, and, in performance, is followed on most occasions by a goblet-shaped drum (*gwangwaragwandi*) not found elsewhere (Krieger Op.cit.:403); at Kano, on the eve of the Muslim festivals, *kakaki*-players occupy the same station as those of the small kettledrum (*banga*), though there is no suggestion that the two groups form an ensemble (Besmer Op.cit.:12); while at Argungu, as already noted, *kakaki*-players are associated with those of the *ganga* drum (Podstavsky Op.cit.)

Occasions for use show greater uniformity. Though *kakaki*-players are not always specified among royal musicians who perform, there is general agreement that they take part in a daily salute to their patron, the Emir, even if only at Zaria is the *Sarkin Kakaki* depicted as every morning at dawn climbing up on “a rock outcrop near the palace (where he) blows *take* (see later) honouring his patron and greeting the people at the beginning of a new day” (Ames & King Op.cit.:89-90). The main weekly performance takes place on the Eve of Friday (*daren juma’a*), i.e. Thursday after sundown, when royal musicians together salute the Emir, escort him to mosque the following day and again salute him on his return. The main annual events are the great Islamic Festivals of *Id-al-Fitr* and *Id-al-Kabir* (Hausa *Karama Salla* and *Babbar Salla*), particularly the former which marks the end of *Ramadan*, the month of fasting (see especially Besmer Op.cit.: passim). As earlier observers noted, long trumpets are prominent in the great processional cavalcade (*hawan salla*), where they summon the horsemen to mount (Ames 1968a:B8). Also annually are extended tours by *kakaki*-players together with *ganga*-drummers and those of the open hourglass drum (*kotso*), when they visit district heads and even important village heads (Ames & King Op.cit.:64). Irregular occasions of performance include the ‘turbaning’, i.e. installation, of high officials and the arrival of distinguished guests. The *kakaki* signals the Emir of Zamfara’s departure on tour (Krieger Op.cit.:416) but in Zaria it is the *Sarkin Busa* and *Magajin Busa* (heads of the side-blown animal horn- and wooden trumpet-players respectively) who “accompany the Emir on official business trips with the latter blowing his trumpet from a lead automobile” (Ames & King Op.cit.:64). Despite the precedent of European coach horns, the drawbacks of a twelve foot trumpet for this purpose are obvious. The recently installed Emir of Zaria is, however, determined to demonstrate the advantages of mechanisation by

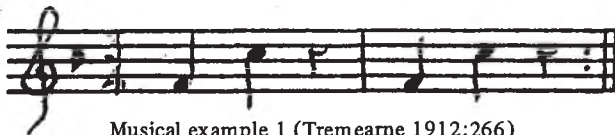
installing in his car a tape recording of the *kakaki* (made by the Centre for Nigerian Cultural Studies, Ahmadu Bello University), which he hopes will announce his progress. Whether he has succeeded in overcoming technical problems and what effect this innovation will have on relations between the royal *maroka* concerned are not yet known.

Krieger alone mentions the use of long trumpets on less happy occasions – the death of the Emir and in warfare, where, following beating of the metal gong, they gave the signal to march, as well as for a visit of the Emir to his troops, and during the campaign itself (Op.cit.:416). It would seem reasonable to assume that these wartime practices occurred elsewhere. Two additions to peacetime activity are also reported – the weekly use of *kakaki* at Katsina for “performances solicited by an official” after the salutation to the Emir (Ames & King Op.cit.:89), and, in Argungu, of long trumpets to mark the New Year and the Prophet’s Birthday (Podstavsky Op.cit.), occasions restricted elsewhere to royal drums (Ames & King Op.cit.:35).

Plus ça change . . . .

These disparities disappear when we turn to consideration of the technique of performance, which everywhere takes the same form – simulating the tones and rhythm of identificatory praise epithets (*take*) either with or without vocal declamation of these epithets (*kirari*) by a praise-shouter. Use of such “descriptive phrases” probably outdates that of the instrument, for they occur in proverbial sayings. Over 60 years ago Fletcher listed 54 *kirari* for such varied subjects as a butterfly, a snake-catching bird, a buffalo, a dye pit, the morning star and an all-mud house (1912:passim). At the turn of the century, as Babo of Karo related to Mary Smith, young people had their own *kirari* and drum rhythms (1954:57ff.) beaten on the hourglass tension drum (*kalangu*), and a Hausa folk tale, *Yarima, Arafa and the Chief* includes an incident in which all three characters, none of whom are musicians, “hear trumpeting in the distance and identify who the blowing is for” (Ames *et al* 1971:12). As for concurrent declaiming of the words, both Denham and Oudney, at their first meeting with the Shehu of Bornu in 1823, mention not only the “long wooden *frumfrum*” but simultaneous performance by “an extempore declaimer shouting forth praises of his master” (Op.cit.:258).

Use of the same words in signalling can be traced back over a hundred years and of the melody for more than half a century. We have already mentioned that when, in 1851, Barth watched the Shehu of Bornu emerge from his tent, the trumpets sounded “the Hausa words ‘gashi, gashi’, ‘here he is, here he is’ ” (*supra*). Tremearne’s account of the “Tailed Head-hunters of Nigeria”, published in 1912, includes a felicitous digression on a “salutation or song of praise” and continues: “Two salutations are very general and are played all over Hausaland on long brass trumpets shaped like coach horns . . . The words of the first are *Ga shi, Ga shi* (‘See him, See him’)” (1912:266); he zealously adds a musical transcription (Musical Example 1) which, despite unwarranted insertion of a non-existent (and instrumentally impossible) B $\flat$  and somewhat dubious time signature, shows the appropriate use of high and low tones.



Musical example 1 (Tremearne 1912:266)

Some fifty years later, Besmer's detailed analysis of the musical behaviour of different instrumental groups in Kano on the eve of the Muslim festivals of *Id-al-Fitr* and *Id-al-Kabir* includes a specification for the long trumpets (Musical Example 2).

Musical example 2  
(Besmer 1974:22)

Underlying text	Gā	shī	Gā	shī
Translation	See	him (the Emir)	See	him

The diacriticals ` for a low speech tone, and ´ for a high, clearly indicate correspondence between words and music, with the addition of solo-response repetition between the leader (*Sarkin kakaki*) and his group (*Masu kakaki*).

Obviously one would not extrapolate from a single example without additional evidence. The rarity of such instances in the history of African music gives it additional weight and our knowledge of the persistence of tradition, especially in West Africa, tends to confirm this. Long trumpets might well take as their *kirari*: *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. That such change as occurs applies to content rather than form appears in the next section.

#### Performance as Communication

How do long trumpets communicate? The musical examples already given show the correlation between high and low speech tones and those of the instrument, whose limitations – ability to produce only two tones at an easily recognisable interval (approximately a fifth)(with a third tone at about 100 cents below the lower of the two) – are thus turned to advantage. Ames' recording of the Emir of Zaria's trumpet player, made in the early 1960's, in which "the *kakaki* first simulates certain words of praise, then the blower speaks the words to show the similarity though ordinarily he would only blow them" (Ames 1968a:B8) shows how, in a longer example (Musical Example 3), tonal correspondence between words and musical sound is supplemented by similarities of rhythm, duration, phrasing and stress. In the opening phrases – the six times repeated *Ba da razana* – "He (the Emir) commands respect", the thrice repeated *Cika sarari* – "He has personality" (literally, he has filled space), and the four times repeated *Uban gabasawa* – "Father of the Eastern people", i.e. the Bornu Empire, high and low tones show an almost one-to-one correspondence, the stress in musical sound corresponds to that in speech and musical phrases to the phrases as spoken. The result is that even a non-Hausa-speaking European audience has been able to recognise immediately what the instrument "says" (once they have been told the words!) Similarly with the concluding *Mai nasara* – The victor, though here the effect is obtained by using the lowest tone of all in conjunction with the lower of the two tones normally used. In other phrases correlation is less complete but doubtless adequate to enable Hausa-speakers to recognise the meaning. A number of musical phrases, however, appear to have no

Musical example 3

Trumpet  $\text{♩} = 104$   $\text{♩} = 140$

Voice A  $\times 6$   $\times 3$   $\times 4$

Ba-da-ra-ra-na Ci-ka sa-ra-ri U-ban-ga-ba-sa-wa

U-ban-ga-ba-sa-wa

U-ban-ga-ba-sa-wa

Ba-ji-mi Sa-ra-ki Sa-da-kin Sa-ra-ki A-da-li Sa-ra-ki

Sa-da-ki-ga Sa-ra-ki A-da-li Sa-ra-ki Sa-da-kin Sa-ra-ki

Ba-gi-mi ma-ga-jin ba-ji-mi Mai na-sa-ra Mai na-sa-ra

Mai na-sa-ra Mai na-sa-ra

corresponding words in the spoken version, and the spoken phrase *Ci gari uban gabasawa* no corresponding musical one, while allocation of *Uban gabasawa* to musical phrases C1, C2 is justified only on the assumption that these are variants of C. Either the informant has failed to provide all the words, or his spoken intonation is less “accurate” than his musical.

The experiment is open to other objections. The performer’s speech recording follows immediately after that on his instrument, and it is possible that speech intonation *echoes* what has just been blown rather than corresponds to it independently. This supposition is increased when we learn that “the blower ‘voices’ the sound as well as blowing it with his lips” (Ames Op.cit.B8) and that in consequence “there is frequently a periodic vibration of his vocal chords while blowing” (Ames *et al* Op.cit.:12), though “whether this vibration corresponds significantly to the stretches of voicing in the Hausa sentences” intoned is uncertain (Ibid.) A further factor, especially at the “receiver’s” end, is the extent of knowledge of correct tonal usage. Despite the insistence of grammarians that such blowing is essential to avoid misunderstanding – one word, for example, may have different meanings according to which syllables are spoken with high or low tones – and emphatic statements that in this way one can distinguish educated from uneducated speakers, hearing the language spoken daily leaves the impression that intonation is probably less important than context and that the majority of Hausa speakers are no more exact in their speech than are the majority of Her Majesty’s subjects in Great Britain in using the Queen’s English. This does not prevent the Hausa from recognising the Emir of Zaria’s “signature tune” any more than it hampers recognition by non-musical Britishers of that associated with the Queen.

A further complication is introduced by the fact that the Emir of Zaria’s *take*, as recorded on 1 March 1976 (Musical Example 4) differs considerably from the previous Ames’ recording. It comprises only three different phrases and a slight variant of one of them. In the recording five repetitions of A are followed by 12 of B and 4 of C before the trumpeter returns to a further 10 of B, followed by the C1 variant and concluding with another 4 of B. The interest here is that, even without the words, one immediately recognises the most often used (B) as the *Ga shi* – “See him” phrase of Barth, Tremearne and Besmer. The overall content has changed but

Musical example 4

Emir of Zaria’s *take* as recorded 1st March 1976. High note 202 cps, low note 134 cps



this injunction lingers on, linking the Emir with his forebears, and reminding us that "the Emir's *take*" is an abstraction; in reality, there are different *take* for Emir X and Emir Y. Conversely, as King has pointed out for Katsina in an investigation of the *take* of high officials, "over 81% are assessed as 19th Century survivals; over half the *take* for new *sarautu* [officials] have been borrowed from the past . . . and where the status of a *sarauta* [office-holder] alone has changed . . . all the original *take* have been preserved" (1965:51).

Are we to assume that the "average Hausa" can interpret the "message" blown by a particular trumpeter in praise of a particular emir *solely* through knowledge of the tonal and rhythmic structure of the language as translated into sound without words?

In considering the problem in terms of communication rather than intonation, we distinguish between (1) instruments using a code which bears no relation to speech, e.g. monotone horn signals, which have to be learned if they are to be effective; two 'short' blasts followed by a 'long' may be interpreted as a warning, but could equally have been an invitation; and (2) instruments such as the double-membrane tension drum and the *kakaki*, which, employing tonal and rhythmic changes, are able to simulate speech and thus convey messages which require no preparatory learning other than competence in the spoken language. Unfortunately, western musicologists investigating the second have been so fascinated by the unfamiliar phenomenon of speech tone/musical sound correlation (or non-correlation), while constraints of training led to separate investigations of sound and context, that they neglected Seeger's plea for integration of the two (1961:77). The Jones (1959)–Schneider (1961) controversy, by directing attention to the technical aspects of music-speech correlation, hindered rather than advanced progress and only recent suggestions of the need for an ethnography of performance hint at the way out of this impasse.

Adapting Hymes' linguistic analysis of a communicative event (1972(64):26-7), we may regard performance of *take* on *kakaki* as a "musical event" entailing transmission of a "message". This pre-supposes (1) a transmitter – the musicians performing *take*; (2) a receiver – the audience addressed, which may be, directly, the Emir, or, indirectly, members of the listening public; (3) a code "in terms of which the message is intelligible" – simulation of speech in musical sound; (4) a channel – the actual sound transmitted; (5) a setting – in front of the Emir's palace or at the *Salla* day procession; (6) subject-matter, e.g. praise of the Emir. Communication does not, however, depend on the channel of musical sound alone but involves all components, provided, of course, that recipients are members of the same "musical culture", i.e. that they have acquired a "competence" (Hymes 1971:57), including *expectations* arising from a "shared aesthetic". Thus, sight of mounted trumpeters arouses anticipation of performance, the fact that they are at the Emir's palace indicates that they will blow in his honour, and the lifting of the long trumpet to the player's lips produces expectations of a loud blast rather than the squeak of a tin whistle. In short, receivers tend to "know" what will happen and to be active in its interpretation, just as the audience at a western symphony concert anticipates that arrival of the conductor will be followed by a drum roll as prelude to the National Anthem.

Communication through the major channel thus cannot be divorced from supplementary "messages" conveyed by other components of the event, and commun-

ication within the channel itself results from a synthesis of its constituents rather than through one means alone. In stressing correlations between speech tone and instrumental pitch, musicologists have tended to forget that both are inseparable from timbre. One has only to imagine performance of the emir's *take* on a flute or whistle to realise not merely the appropriateness of *kakaki* but their inevitability. Not only have the instruments royal associations, their sound is a "royal" sound, which, granted the stridency of many northern Nigerian instruments, is a necessary concomitant of aural domination. Whether its effect is solely determined by cultural conditioning or represents a musical universal, as the ubiquitous use of brass for military or ceremonial purposes suggests, is less important than that it "works". To the Hausa the *sound* of the *kakaki*, irrespective of the message played, is inseparable from its associations. If the illiterate majority do not actually recognise all the "words" of the *take*, they have no doubt who is being saluted. Nor, would we suggest, in the light of modern information theory, is it necessary to recognise *all* the words in order to "get" the message. Half-finished dinner-table requests to "Pass the —" are completed mentally by the receiver because of expectancies shared with the transmitter. The *kakaki* communicates as part of a total event, and not as a BLST on a TRMPT.

#### Long Trumpets and Society

A perceptive and musically-sensitive European visitor, after hearing a salutation to the emir by an ensemble which featured three long trumpets, described it as "the aggressive sound of a dominant ruling class in a highly-stratified society". Before dismissing this as subjective synesthesia, it is as well to recall that Hausa society is highly stratified, that emphasis on status occupies the place of class-loyalties elsewhere, that the ruling strata is predominantly Fulani, that long trumpets were used in warfare and that Dan Fodio's flag-bearing armies which carried his "purified" version of Islam into remote areas of Adamawa were hardly characterised by defensive tactics. We have already commented on the sound, and the great Mai Idris of Bornu long ago recognised the value of musical weaponry "to put fear into the hearts of the pagans" (Ahmed Op.cit.:28)

Ames offers a more sober, if no less pertinent, estimate of the role of music in Hausa society. "Musicians stress position, rank, title and ancestry in songs that sustain and justify the noble and wealthy, and so, indirectly, the whole structure of social relations. Musical instruments also symbolise high political office, since most of those played by court musicians may not be played for the common people" (1969:Intro.4). Long trumpets, as we have seen, are among the more restricted, and may be played only for an emir, even if the "common people" delight in the spectacular processions at which they appear.

Discussion of long trumpets would, however, be incomplete without viewing them in relation to the total musical culture. We have already stressed the importance of professionalism, the adoption of titles by court musicians and the performance of praise-epithets for a patron. Structurally, the whole organisation of musical activity, in its professional aspect, is based on patronage, each group of musicians, the majority of whom inherit their craft, attaching itself, according to prescribed rules, to an appropriate patron, the Emir's musicians being succeeded by those of high officials or district heads, and so down the scale to musicians for hunters, blacksmiths and

butchers; even the despised, low-status musician has his own musician. The system operates on a basis of commodity exchange, musicians offering their songs of praise for a patron and receiving in return financial reward, a gown or, for court musicians, a turban and a title. Ideologically, the system is sanctioned by the Islamic injunction of generosity, and what may appear as a relationship based on a bare cash nexus justified as a means of redistributing wealth. That musicians as a group have not become appreciably richer over the years and are not above converting praise to satire of a potential patron's miserliness, if they consider his "gift" inadequate, while the emir continues to reside in his palace, has not so far evoked suggestions of disparity between theory and practice<sup>9</sup>.

Outside the professional sphere, music is characterised by a restrictive ethos. Married women sing to the rhythm of plosive gourds or upturned calabashes, but only in the privacy of their compounds; young unmarried girls dance in public (to professional instrumentalists) as do (less frequently) young men, but marriage ends such activities and only adult adherents of the "unrespectable" *Bori* possession cult, including prostitutes, continue dancing later in life (see Ames 1973:132-4). That the Hausa musical urge has not been entirely stifled is seen in the growth and popularity in recent years of non-attached singers and their groups, many of whom have acquired widespread fame in public performance before enthusiastic audiences, while "pop" music disseminated through radio and television is not without impact on the younger generation with formal schooling. But dancing and singing by entire communities to drums, horns or other instruments, which for many typifies the "African" contribution to world culture by demonstrating that man is inherently musical, is alien to the Hausa ethos. In the development of music Hausa practice represents a mid-way stage between traditional societies, in which everyone is musical with no distinction between performers and audience, and Western practice, where specialists and the "musically-gifted" demonstrate their skill in interpreting works of "art" before a quiescent audience. The Hausa system of patronage may resemble, at least superficially, European courts of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, but there are no signs yet of the development of music as an "art" form, or even of its "development", for the whole emphasis is on stability, the continuity of traditional practices.

It is this aspect of permanence which gives the long trumpet its significance. As it was in the time of Rumfa, so it is now, except for the innovation, noted by that champion of traditional music, Mercedes Mackay, in the 1950's, that "the Emir of Kano has allowed Kano airport to make use of one to herald the approach of aircraft" (1950:127). Long trumpets are so inherently a part of the existing system and so little capable of adaptation in their present form that they stand or fall with it. European visitors may regard the continued existence of traditional rulers and long trumpets as a picturesque survival and Western political observers consider them an anachronism in a rapidly developing and temporarily rich oil-producing country, but there are few signs that the Hausa view it that way<sup>10</sup>. The system survived both the arrival of the British, who used it to impose "indirect rule", and the advent of a Federal Military Government, both of whom, had they so wished, might have instituted other methods of government. Already, with a survival of some five hundred years in its present context, the long trumpet is heading towards the longevity record.

As to its future, all one can say is that it is bound up with that of the emir it salutes, or at least with the office of chieftainship. Far from declining, the ambit of long trumpets is on the increase. Two hundred miles south of Zaria, the Kagoro, a people who, until the coming of the British in the early years of this century, were organised on an egalitarian basis with authority vested in a council of elders rather than a chief, now have, on British insistence, a Chief of their own. When, on 1st January 1977, the Chief of Kagoro, richly robed and turbanned in a fashion that his naked ancestors would have rejected as offensive and mounted on a fine horse, returned to his palace after riding round the perimeter of Kagoro township at the head of a procession of Boy Scouts, members of the Church Lads Brigade and uncountable groups of women from the Evangelical Church of West Africa, he was welcomed, not by the traditional drums or side-blown antelope horns but, as befitted his status, by a blast on a long metal trumpet.

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## NOTES

- 1 This study was made possible as the result of research carried out while serving as Senior Research Fellow and Head of the Musicology Section of the Centre for Nigerian Cultural Studies, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria. I wish particularly to thank my colleague, Mr. Sviat Podstavsky for permission to quote from his unpublished seminar paper "The Crafts of *roko* in the Kebbi Community of Argungu".
- 2 Distinguishable, positively, by his sumptuous garb and, negatively, by the absence from his hand baggage of a large Marks and Spencer's paper carrier.
- 3 While a "flexible terminology" may be expected in thirteenth century Europe "when lip-vibrated instruments were still in full development" (Marcuse 1975:702), it is surprising to find that great scholar of Islamic music, H.G. Farmer, calling the *kakaki* both "a large horn" and "a long, straight metal trumpet" within the space of three pages (1939:573, 575).
- 4 See later discussion on Bornu.
- 5 King, for example, maintains at one point that "farai are also possibly of some antiquity, and it is evidently to these that Barth was referring, when in 1851, he noted wooden trumpets at Katsina named *pampamme*" (1964:15) but is later of the opinion that "it would be unwise to equate this instrument with the *farai* purely on . . . linguistic evidence . . . Instead we note Barth's emphasis on its length, making it more probable that the observed instrument was a wooden *kakaki* (sic) of the type observed by Clapperton in 1823" (1965:47-8).
- 6 Ames and King give the length of the *farai/fanfami* as 32", i.e. 2.67 ft., which makes it less than half the length of the *kakaki* (1971:49). The instrument in their photograph, however, gives the impression of being longer and it is not unreasonable for an observer to call it a "long" instrument.
- 7 I am indebted to Mr. S.I.O. Okita of the Centre for Nigerian Cultural Studies for this information following a series of interviews undertaken independently in the Nupe area.
- 8 More than one traveller has noted the resemblance between the *algaita* and European bagpipes. Lander, for example, lists the instrument simply as "bagpipes" (1830, Vol.I:294), while Clapperton refers to a court musician at Jaza, near Kano, as having "a pipe like the pipe of a bagpipe" (1829:177). Both are, of course, derivatives of the North African *gaita* (hence the Hausa name), the European instrument being fitted with a separate air-reservoir, while the Nigerian player puffs out his cheeks to form a human chamber and blows round the double-reed, thus producing a more strident tone.
- 9 The situation in Kano in 1951 may be judged from the Emir's action in "forcing through subsidiary legislation to curb the hounding activities of Kano's notorious beggar minstrels. Formerly anyone of rank or wealth had been at the mercy of the minstrels who levied a perennial blackmail: 'there was the choice', noted an official report, 'between paying for their worthless praise or being held up to hatred, ridicule and contempt in an endless calypso (sic) in which personal character, domestic difficulties and private affairs were reeled out with pitiless comment for the edification of the vulgar and to the delight of enemies'." (Hogben and Kirk-Greene 1966:210).
- 10 Even while this paper was being written the Federal Government issued a newly approved National Table of Precedence in which "Traditional Rulers by status" are listed seventh after the Head of the Federal Government, the Chief of Staff, Members of the Supreme Military Council, the Chief Justice, Members of the National Council of States and Members of the Federal Executive Council, and thus taking immediate precedence over Heads of Foreign Diplomatic Missions in Lagos. (Lagos *Daily Times* 13th August 1977).