Interweaving Worlds:
Jola Music and Relational Identity in Senegambia and Beyond

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by

Scott Valois Linford

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology
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This dissertation concerns the musical production of relational identity narratives among people of the Jola ethnic group in the West African countries of Senegal and The Gambia. I argue that Jola music-makers deliberately create "audiotopic" spaces in which seemingly contradictory referents can be brought together and negotiated: the past and the present, the local and the global, the Self and the Other. In this way, Jola music is a social practice and self-reflexive discourse through which Jolas position themselves in relation to neighboring ethnic groups and an ongoing war of national secession, as well as broader narratives of the Black Atlantic and global citizenship. Despite their location in ostensibly isolated rural villages, Jolas experience themselves through the ethos of Afropolitanism, in which rootedness in a particular identity is also the means of transcending it. Whereas existing research too often characterizes African identities either as ancient and immutable or as politically contingent articulations of difference, my research instead emphasizes that Jolas make musical gestures of both difference and association, and that their ethnic identity is maintained through both strategic political
positioning and a substantive system of longstanding cultural meanings and practices. Jola music is deeply participatory, inherently social, and associated with positive valences of tradition and heritage, qualities that allow the potentially contradictory array of local and global influences at play in Jola music culture to be molded into coherent self-conceptions. I explore these ideas through chapters focusing on a Jola stringed instrument called ekonting, a women's festival called alamaan, and the presence of Jola sounds in syncretic popular music in Senegal and beyond. This project is based on twelve months of ethnographic fieldwork conducted over a span of six years in Senegal, The Gambia, and the United States, comprising participant observation, audio and video recordings, and interviews conducted in English, French, Wolof, and Jola.
The dissertation of Scott Valois Linford is approved.

Allen Roberts

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Christopher Waterman

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2016
A new Casamance has come
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Glossary

alamaan ........................................ festival to restore women's relationships

amansa .......................................... Jola variant of the Mandinka term for ruler

añalena, pl. kuñalena ........................ a woman with ambivalent social status who provides spiritual assistance at births

asampul .......................................... a male relative from the maternal lineage

ataaya ............................................ strong green tea prepared in three courses

ateka ekonting, pl. kuteka ekonting ...... an ekonting player

awasena ......................................... a practitioner of the Jola indigenous religion

ayi; kuyi .......................................... a religious leader of the Jola indigenous religion

bahan ............................................. large, conical, double-headed drum played in a pair by two people to accompany the bombolong

balafon ........................................... gourd-resonated wooden xylophone typically played by Ballanta and Mandinka jalis

Baye Fall ......................................... male member of a Senegalese Islamic brotherhood; female members are called Yaye Fall

boekin, pl. ukin ................................. spirit shrine

bolong ........................................... three-stringed bass harp associated with Mandinka hunters' guilds

bombolong ..................................... large, two-toned slit log drum associated with ekonkon dances

bongo ............................................ large, gourd-resonated lamellophone with three or four tongues; used sporadically from The Gambia to Guinea-Conakry

bugarabu ........................................ large cylindrical or goblet drum associated with the Jola-Fogny subgroup, often played in sets of two to five drums by a single drummer

bukut ............................................. Jola men's initiation ceremony

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bunuk..............................................palm wine

cabo..................................................Lusophone popular music associated with Cabo Verde
djembe...................................................now-ubiquitous goblet drum originally associated with Mandinka hunters' guilds
ejandu..................................................pair of idiophonic wooden blocks
ekaran...................................................tall, wide cylindrical drum
ekonkon..................................................a wrestling match; also refers to a circle dance performed by young men prior to a wrestling match, the songs sung during this dance, and the characteristic rhythm played by the bombolong during this dance
ekonting, pl. sikonting..................................three-stringed, gourd-resonated plucked lute
ekutir....................................................small goblet drum

Emité.....................................................creator and sky god of the Jola indigenous religion
Emité dabognol........................................a prophet of the Jola indigenous religion; literally "whom Emité has sent"
esabar.................................................Jola variant of the Wolof cylindrical, stick-beaten drum
esuk......................................................village; may also connote land, culture, or people more broadly
etek......................................................to strike a membranophone, idiophone, or plucked lute
futaba (or ñaakay).................................variant terms for Jola women's initiation ceremony
futamp...................................................circumcision ritual
fuyundum..............................................tall, narrow cylindrical drum
gabilen...................................................end-blown aerophone made of an antelope horn
gewel....................................................a Wolof hereditary musician and oral historian
jali .................................................. a Mandinka hereditary musician and oral historian
jambadon ........................................ dance associated with the Mandinka men's initiation ceremony
kajendo .......................................... long-handled hoe used in rice cultivation
kalol .............................................. village quarter or ward
kalonkoñ .......................................... musical bow
kelumak .......................................... tree denoting a public gathering place (palaver tree); also connotes village quarter or gathering ground
kora ................................................ twenty-one-stringed harp-lute played by Mandinka jalis
Kumpo ........................................... a mask and avatar of the sacred forest typically embodied by young men
kussay ............................................. malevolent spirits or sorcerers that eat souls
mbalax ............................................. syncretic Senegalese popular music
montuno ......................................... Cuban song genre known as salsa or Cuban in Senegal and The Gambia
murang ........................................... joined pair of shallow cylindrical drums carried and played by a single drummer
ngoni ............................................. four-stringed plucked lute played by Mandinka jalis
sekere ............................................. idiophonic shaker usually made of a heavy metal cylinder filled with metal ball bearings; the term is generic of several West African idiophones
toumba ........................................... pair of cylindrical drums held in a metal rack and played by a single drummer
wuleaw .......................................... pair of idiophonic bamboo clappers
xalam ............................................. four-stringed plucked lute played by Wolof gewel
zouk ............................................... fast-paced popular music associated with the French Antilles
Jola Musical Instruments

Membranophones
bahan: large, conical, double-headed drum played in a pair by two people to accompany the bombolong
bugarabu: large cylindrical or goblet drum associated with the Jola-Fogny subgroup, often played in sets of two to five drums by a single drummer
busikan: medium-sized goblet drum made of a repurposed rice mortar, played during wrestling matches and Kumpo dances
ekaran: tall, wide cylindrical drum
ekutir: small goblet drum
emombi: small goblet drum that lives permanently in the sacred forest, thus rarely seen
fuyundum: tall, narrow cylindrical drum
jikankan: small goblet drum played in a wooden stand
murang: joined pair of shallow cylindrical drums carried and played by a single drummer
toumba: pair of cylindrical drums held in a metal rack and played by a single drummer

Idiophones
bahag: large metal bell rattle worn around the wrists or ankles
bajerereng: women's rattle worn around the wrists or ankles
bombolong: large, two-toned slit log drum associated with ekonkon dances
 ejandu: pair of wooden blocks or batons
hubarig: metallic or plastic gas canister, used percussively in women's ehuna ceremonies
kabisa: large slit log drum built in the sacred forest, used to announce important events such as deaths and calls to war
sekere: idiophonic shaker usually made of a heavy metal cylinder filled with metal ball bearings
wuleaw: pair of bamboo clappers

Chordophones
ekonting: three-stringed, gourd-resonated plucked lute
kalonkoñ: musical bow with palm-root string

Aerophones
efifi: children's bamboo flute, from the French word fifre (fife)
gabilen: end-blown trumpet made of an antelope horn
hunjeng: wooden or bamboo whistle
konkenom: wooden whistle, used in public celebrations and funerals
Acknowledgements

There is no word for "thank you" in the Jola dialects I speak. Jolas instead turn to the Wolof jërëjëf or Mandinka baraka or, more commonly, do not say anything at all. This has been a constant source of frustration because, for me, gratitude has defined every step of this project.

The Casamance is the kind of place where a young stranger can enter a village in the morning knowing no one and feel confident of being offered food, shelter, and friendship by day's end. At times, Jolas stretch out the final syllable of the word iyo (literally "yes") to imply affirmation of another person's generosity, fellowship, or talents. So, to all the people of the Casamance who touched me with their boundless generosity and hospitality: iyooo.

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To my advisor, Jacqueline Cogdell DjeDje, thank you for never accepting less than my best and for modeling diligent, ethical ethnography. To my committee members Allen Roberts, Anthony Seeger, Timothy Taylor, and Christopher Waterman, thank you for your encouragement and feedback over many years, and for the lofty aspirations your work provides. My thanks also to Professors Helen Rees, Steven Loza, Cheryl Keyes, A. J. Racy, Jeff Titon, Rose Subotnik, and Wanni Anderson for your academic mentorship. I am grateful for the unanimously supportive graduate students in the UCLA Department of Ethnomusicology and the unanimously ignominious members of the UCLA Bluegrass and Old Time String Bands, whose camaraderie shepherded me through my time in Los Angeles. All of you contributed insights to the pages that follow. Thanks in particular to Vivek Virani, Larry Robinson, Jennie Gubner, Lauren Poluha, Nolan Warden, Eric Schmidt, Alex Rodriguez, León García, Stephanie Stallings, Wyatt Stone, and Rob Denomme for the tunes, the laughs, and the inspiration. Kutiom and aliinom Dave Wilson, Ryan Koons, and Logan Clark have guided my thinking and provided role models of kindness and conviction every day for the past six years.

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Department of Ethnomusicology, and the Center for World Music at the University of Hildesheim. Chapter 3 of this dissertation is a significantly revised and expanded version of my article "Stories of Differentiation and Association: Narrative Identity and the Jola Ekonting" in the Yearbook for Traditional Music 48:94-114.
Curriculum Vitae

Education

2016 Ph.D. Candidate., Ethnomusicology, UCLA

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2013a FLAS summer fellowship, University of Kansas, to study Wolof at the African Languages Initiative at the University of Florida
2013b University of California Regents Fellowship
2012a Graduate Summer Research Mentorship, UCLA, for field research in The Gambia
2012b University of California Regents Fellowship
2011a Graduate Summer Research Mentorship, UCLA, for field research in Nicaragua
2011b University of California Regents Fellowship
2010 University Fellowship, UCLA
2009a 4Culture Individual Artist award, Martin Luther King, Jr. County, WA
2009b smART Ventures grant, Seattle Department of Arts and Cultural Affairs, for production and screening of Farther Along documentary
2006 Research at Brown grant, Brown University, for field research in New Orleans and production of Every Note Counts documentary

Selected Publications


2012a "Bluegrass and Old Time at UCLA." Ethnomusicology Review 17: Sounding Board.

2012b L.A. BlueGrassHoppers. Album recorded at UCLA School of Film and Television Studios. Banjo and vocals.


2006 Every Note Counts. Documentary film. Producer, director, and editor.

Selected Conference Presentations


2015b "Jola Audiotopia: Contact Approaches to Traditional Music in Senegambia." Paper presented at International Doctoral Workshop in Ethnomusicology. Center for World Music at the University of Hildesheim and Hanover University of Music, Drama, and Media, Germany.


2013c "Ethnomusicological Performances and Perspectives on Music and Health in Mexico, Nicaragua, and Ecuador." With León Garcia Corona and Jessie Vallejo. Paper presented at "At the Crossroads: Medicine and Culture in Latin America Symposium." Los Angeles, CA.

Introduction: Village Planétaire

During my fieldwork in the area of southern Senegal called the Casamance, a friend off-handedly described the region as a village planétaire. The phrase "global village" is, at this point, something of an old chestnut. Communications theorist Marshall McLuhan coined it in the 1960s as a metaphor for the replacement of individualistic print culture with "electronic interdependence," leading humankind to a new social organization based on collective identity with a "tribal base" (1962, 1968). Since then, the term has entered the vernacular and circulated around the world, somehow finding its way to the tongue of my Casamançais friend, a musician and local political representative. In the context of the Casamance, the term village planétaire takes on an apparently contradictory tension. The people of the region live primarily in literal villages, small communities that are physically bounded by rice fields, dense forests, and tributary rivers and mangroves. Many are not connected to electric grids, water pipes, reliable telecommunications antennas, or satellite internet. It would be easy to take these villages for discrete cultural worlds, and to assume that the village signifies locality, self-containment, and even isolation. Then again, in the Casamance villages are associated with the intersubjective closeness of family, both living and long dead, and with hierophanic points of contact between the physical and spiritual realms provided by ukin ("spirit shrines") that live in and around villages. Village life is also inextricably linked to political decisions, religious movements, economic trends, and indeed musical genres that span continents and oceans alike. The village is thus also a metaphor for interconnection and relationality. When paired with the adjective planétaire, the significance of the phrase threatens to split apart between small and large scales, difference and sameness, specificity and universality. These are the interwoven worlds that underpin this dissertation. By the time the final page turns, I hope that they appear not as
oxymoronic tensions but instead as coexistent and even mutually supportive factors in the lives and stories of the people who inspired this work.

The Jola ethnic group is centered in Senegal, The Gambia, and Guinea-Bissau on both sides of the Casamance River. Jolas comprise about ten percent of the population of each country, numbering perhaps 600,000 in total. Most work as sustenance rice farmers, supplemented by community gardening, fishing, palm wine tapping, and assorted small business ventures. Religiously, Jolas are split roughly evenly between Islam, Catholicism, and the Awasena Path, the traditional Jola religion. The strong influence of these latter two religions marks Jolas as unusual in Senegal and The Gambia, which are predominantly Islamic. Jolas also differ culturally from more populous Senegambian ethnic groups such as the Wolof, Mandinka, and Fula in that their social organization entails a lesser degree of hierarchical distinction between social roles. Instead, Jola social structure is described as acephalous and egalitarian.

Musically, Jolas are known for dance events potentially featuring hundreds of participants, with large numbers of vocalists singing short pentatonic phrases in unison, supported by an interrhythmic drum ensemble and idiophonic clappers. In smaller settings, Jolas sing a cappella or with melodic accompaniment from a three-stringed plucked lute called ekonting. Music-making is a central mode of Jola social life, occurring at nearly every important occasion literally from birth to death. Jola music has also become part of the soundscape of Senegalese popular music, in which Jolas increasingly participate as performers, and it has travelled beyond the African continent multiple times, in multiple ways.

With a focus on the Jola people, this dissertation sits in a long tradition of particularistic ethnomusicological and anthropological accounts of ethnic groups around the world, addressing the musical dimensions of a relatively cohesive cultural formation situated within the
ethnological record of human unity and diversity. "Another country heard from," as Clifford Geertz spins the old phrase (1973:23). At the same time, I follow James Clifford in taking "a view of human location as constituted by displacement as much as by stasis" (1997:2). Like him, I attempt "to trace old and new maps and histories of people in transit, variously empowered and compelled, [and the] tangled cultural experiences, structures, and possibilities of an increasingly connected but not homogenous world" (1997:2). Indeed, ethnomusicologists frequently suggest that, as much as musical traditions are identified with particular cultural formations, music has a peculiar tendency toward movement and admixture. Jolas are a good example of this combination of roots and routes because they are denizens of rural Africa, far removed from the sprawling and urbane capital cities typical of the Third World, and many of their musical, religious, agricultural, and social practices seem consonant with traditional lifeways dating back centuries. Yet, many of the Jolas I have come to know regard themselves as participants in a series of concentric social spheres – ethnic, regional, national, continental, and diasporic – and, ultimately, as citizens of the world. I seek to record the largely undocumented and sometimes unique music culture of the Jola people while, at the same time, working from the idea that their music is also a site of connection to other peoples and other places.

Given this approach, the chapters of this dissertation move from historical to ethnographic description, from popular to traditional musics, and indeed from villages to cities. In addition to tracing the intricate webs of significance and social interplay comprising Jola music culture, they intersect with narratives of the slave trade, of colonial history and postcolonial conflict, and of contemporary economic and musical trends. All are geographically centered on the Casamance, but they touch on Europe, the United States, and the Caribbean. Throughout, I ask classically ethnomusicological questions. What are the sounds and social
practices of Jola music? What instruments are played, in what settings, by which people, and with what social significance? Another set of questions emerges from my view that Jola music is a site of both differentiation and association. How is Jola music distinctly particularistic and, at the same time, a point of contact with other cultural formations and other narratives? How does music-making bring distant worlds together, and how do ostensibly marginalized people experience themselves as connected to ever-larger spheres? At the broadest level, this dissertation responds to two central questions of ethnomusicology and anthropology. First, it takes up Jean-Loup Amselle's challenge to investigate the definition of an ethnic group being studied rather than accept it as a self-evident fact of the ethnological record (1985:11). Who are the Jola people, why is ethnicity a salient aspect of their personal and group identities, and through what processes is this identity produced and maintained? What becomes of the concepts of identity and ethnicity when the balance is shifted toward association and relationality rather than difference? Second, it follows in the tradition of Anthony Seeger's *Why Suyá Sing* (2004) in asking why Jolas make music. Why do Jolas make music the way they do, what work does music do for them, and why is music the chosen mode for this work instead of some other social or expressive practice? Providing definitive answers to such questions is far beyond my capacity. Instead, I take a view of music-makers as public intellectuals and music-making as a form of self-reflexive critical discourse (Wong 2004), thereby approaching Jola music as an access point to local perspectives on the global (Tsing 2004). In this way I humbly follow Geertz's suggestion that "the essential vocation of interpretive anthropology is not to answer our deepest questions, but to make available to us answers that others, guarding other sheep in other valleys, have given, and thus to include them in the consultable record of what man has said" (1973:30).
While visiting Djembering, a Jola village on the Atlantic coast just south of the Casamance River, I'm told that I must meet les Américains. I assume that these Americans are like the handful of others I have met living and working in the region: missionaries, non-profit workers, Peace Corps volunteers, or simply peregrine souls passing through for one reason or another. But no, les Américains turn out to be an entire quartier of the village, a sub-community of Djembering natives who have proudly adopted the moniker. Learning that I too am Américain, they welcome me with particular warmth as an ati, a brother. Sure enough, during an ekonkon dance preceding a wrestling match later in the day, representatives of that quartier carry two flags: one Senegalese, one Stars and Stripes. I wonder: How is this identification as les Américains realized in the course of their everyday lives? Why America, of all places? Then again, why not? Is America any less abstract a concept than Africa, a vast site of identification that people in Djembering also embrace?

---

I came to this project as, of all things, a banjo player. I first learned of the Jola people and their music in 2005 while conducting research for an undergraduate paper on the banjo's African-American history. During the course of that research, I made contact with Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta, a Gambian scholar who has done much to promote the connection between the Jola ekonting and the New World banjo. I visited his Akonting Center for Senegambian Folk Music in Mandinari, The Gambia, in 2013, intending to learn to play the ekonting as an interlude between my master's research on musical nationalism in Nicaragua and my dissertation research, which was to focus on the same topic. The music I heard during that visit unexpectedly captivated me personally and intellectually, and I set about preparing for this dissertation immediately afterwards. The deciding factor in pulling me to this topic was the reaction of local
collaborators to my research. In addition to extending their extraordinary hospitality, a handful of Jola contacts implicitly understood the motivations of my research, agreed that it was worthwhile, and shared many of my questions. This dissertation is entirely a product of their encouragement.

I undertook ethnographic research in Senegal and The Gambia during a two-month trip in 2013 and a ten-month trip spanning 2014 and 2015. My field methods included ethnographic and oral history interviews; observation, documentation, and analysis of Jola music and dance events; participant-observation in Jola music performances; Jola music lessons (with Musa Diatta, Adama Sambou, and Mathew Jarju); language lessons in Wolof (with Omar Ba of the University of Florida) and Jola-Fogny (with Alain Christian Bassène of Cheikh Anta Diop University); and examination of archival and references materials at several archives, libraries, and museums (including the Archives Nationales du Sénégal, the National Archives of Gambia, the West African Research Center in Dakar, the Musée de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire in Dakar, the Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise in Ziguinchor, the Gambia National Museum in Banjul, the Kachikally Museum in Bakau, the Tanje Village Museum in Tanje, the Akonting Center for Senegambian Folk Music in Bijilio and Mandinari, and the Musical Instrument Museum in Arizona). I also performed numerous times with a variety of Jola musicians and sat in on countless rehearsals and informal jam sessions, understanding bi-musicality as a useful practice of social interchange and as an epistemological strategy (Hood 1960). Interviews and performances were audio- or video-recorded whenever possible and appropriate, with recordings used for analysis, archival documentation, and sometimes as points of dialogic playback-feedback sessions with Jola musicians (Feld 1990).
My research methodology follows a trend in ethnomusicology toward multi-sited ethnography. Specifically, I conducted ethnographic research in several villages in the Casamance (above all Thionk-Essyl, Mlomp, Djembering, and Banjaal), in the Casamançais city of Ziguinchor, in the Senegalese capital of Dakar, in the Gambian villages of Mandinari and Bijilo, in the tourist centers of Cap Skirring (in the Casamance) and Senegambia Junction (in The Gambia), in several locales in the United States, and, inevitably, on YouTube, facebook, and other interactive internet sites. This breadth of research settings posed a serious challenge in gaining the social familiarity and language skills that come with long-term habitation in a single place, but it was necessary to pursue the translocal research questions elaborated above. In contrast with the traditional anthropological concept of a single site situated within a theoretically constituted world system, Marcus suggests that multi-sited ethnography presumes that "any ethnography of a cultural formation in the world system is also an ethnography of the system" (1995:99, my emphasis). He adds that research sites may be chosen by following a people, a thing, a metaphor, a plot, a life story, or a conflict. My sites in Senegal and The Gambia are chosen by following the Jola people and the sounds and stories stemming from their music. In this sense, I take up Clifford's suggestion (1997), paraphrased by Allen Roberts: "Why not focus on any culture's farthest range of travel while also looking at its centers, its villages, its intensive field sites? How do groups negotiate themselves in external relationships, and how is a culture also a site of travel for others?" (2000:4). Although Jolas have been the subject of explicitly comparative methodologies based on their geographic and religious diversity (e.g., Andrewes 2005; Klei 1985; Linares 1981, 1992), the multiple sites of my project are not conceived in terms of controlled comparison. Even so, "in multi-sited ethnography, comparison emerges from putting questions to an emergent object of study whose contours, sites, and
relationships are not known beforehand, but are themselves a contribution of making an account that has different, complexly connected real-world sites of investigation" (Marcus 1995:102).

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I am attending a rehearsal at Adama Sambou's home in the Colobane neighborhood of Ziguinchor, the largest city in the Casamance. I have visited Sambou many times over the past few months, and I hear the ever-present gang of neighborhood children calling my name as soon as I step off the tarmac road that leads west to the coast, and onto the bumpy dirt path to Sambou's house. Stepping inside, I greet Sambou and his neighbor Bouli Diatta. They are watching television, flipping back and forth between a soccer game (Manchester United versus Liverpool) and a Jamaican comedy that none of us can quite follow. Soon, two more members of this informal musicians' gathering arrive. Pascal Dieme is an energetic young man from the village of Affiniam north of the river, whom the others greet as "the rastaman." He wears a Bob Marley hat perched loosely atop long dreadlocks; a t-shirt picturing Senegalese President Macky Sall's smiling face; and a large metal pendant in the shape of the African continent, with appliques of a grass hut, a dancing man, and a chain crossing the continent along the equator. Fodé Touré is slender and middle-aged, a polymath artist who makes garments, teaches dancing, and plays a number of musical instruments. Unlike the others, he is Mandinka, not Jola.

The rehearsal begins. Sambou is the one in charge, leading the group by singing lead vocals and playing ekonting, and occasionally stopping to give direction to the others. He is the most virtuosic ekonting player I have met in the Casamance, and he has recently toured Europe on the summer festival circuit with a multi-ethnic ensemble that plays adaptations of traditional music from the Casamance. Diatta plays a sekere (shaker), this one made from a metal shampoo canister packed with metal ball bearings. Dieme and Touré both play bongos, four-keyed bass
lamellophones with large gourd resonators topped by thin wooden soundboards. The group disagrees about where the bongo came from. Sambou believes bongos are commonly played in The Gambia – and, after all, he is the one who built these two instruments after seeing a Gambian musician playing something similar at a traditional dance event. Touré counters that the Gambian version is different because it uses a rectangular wooden resonator. He says that this gourd-resonated version is a Mandinka instrument from Guinea-Conakry that mimics the Cuban-inspired membranophones, also called bongos, that accompany the accordion in the asiko dance from Portugal and the Antilles. Dieme is not sure where the bongo came from originally, but he personally picked it up from some Guinea-Bissauans who are now "scared of him" because of how quickly he mastered the instrument. Diatta, reticent as usual, stays out of it.

The rehearsal begins with a traditional song called "Ajeme" (Figure 1). Touré uses two of the bongo's lamelles to reproduce the characteristic melorhythm of the ekonkon dance that precedes wrestling matches in the Jola-Kasa area, which is normally played on the enormous two-toned bombolong slit log drum. Dieme adds a higher-pitched interlocking melorhythm on the second bongo, while creating an additional rhythm by knocking on the side of the gourd resonator with a thick metal thumb ring. Diatta keeps the beat on sekere with a slight swing feel. Sambou sings leads vocals while playing a heterophonic melody on the ekonting, its short sustain and limited range forcing him to repeat notes and leap octaves to approximate the vocal melody. The others form a vocal chorus that interlocks responsorially in numerous repetitions of a short melodic phrase.

Ajeme sijul ebaay  
Sembe o ye  
Commandante aletenut du kiletam  
Bu nukaane uyaben anaare

Ajeme has calves like a bull


Strength o ye  
The commandant, if he's not there  
How did you marry a woman?

Figure 1. Transcription of "Ajeme" performed by Adama Sambou, Fodé Touré, Pascal Dieme, and Bouli Diatta.
As always, I have trouble understanding both the literal meaning and the allusive context of the Jola lyrics. As always, Sambou tells me the story behind them with a mischievous glint in his eye. Ajeme was a great wrestler, renowned throughout the lower Casamance for his strength. During World War II, a French commandant came to Ajeme's village to force him to join the army. Ajeme refused. The commandant ordered the other villagers to restrain him, but no one dared oppose the mighty wrestler. Finally, the commandant offered Ajeme a gift: two shiny metal bracelets. Flattered, Ajeme accepted and put them on. But, the bracelets were handcuffs and the commandant led Ajeme off to war. Hearing this story, Dieme, Touré, and Diatta burst out laughing. Sambou guffaws loudest of all, slapping his knee and wiping away a tear. What an idiot! Ajeme was so stupid and vain that his strength could not save him. And, just like that, a history of colonial violence springs forth into a gathering of friends, domesticated and put to work for a shared laugh, a musical moral about the inevitable outcome of brains versus brawn, and a warning about accepting gifts from the French.

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Theoretical Perspectives

In this introduction, I situate my interpretive perspective within the set of discourses that most closely informs it. My approach to social theory is loosely inspired by grounded theory (Bryant and Charmaz 2007; Clarke 2005), a point of view that begins with the collection of data – in this case, ethnographic experiences, field notes, interviews, historical sources, and musical recordings – rather than with a pre-determined theoretical framework. Common themes and tropes emerging from data analysis then guides theoretical emplacement. Many of the theoretical preoccupations of my dissertation proposal, in this case, were discarded in favor of a different set of questions that emerged from my fieldwork and Jola research collaborators. At the same time,
however, my fieldwork experiences confirm the truism that ethnographic research is a subjective enterprise, one inevitably colored by my position as a white man trained in elite American universities and by the limitations of my physical body and mental capacity. As such, the theoretical perspectives of this dissertation emerge from a combination of, on one hand, my research experiences and personal relationships and, on the other, a series of ongoing intellectual conversations that frame the "conditions of possibility" (Foucault 2002 [1969]) producing what I observed, how I experienced Jola music-making, and what questions I asked both during and after the fieldwork period. Here, I locate my research within these conversations, especially concerning the frameworks of audiotopia, Afropolitanism, and the Black Atlantic.

Audiotopia

Ethnomusicological research draws from and contributes to related disciplines such as anthropology, area studies, and history, but it must also rely on theoretical paradigms concerning the specific qualities of music. To do so, I turn here to the idea of audiotopia and situate it in relation to other key concepts of this dissertation. Specifically, I seek to develop a revised version of the audiotopia concept that maintains its insistence on the capacity of musical space to bring together geographies and identities normally kept apart, but that also considers the role of power in shaping these interactions with more nuance. Reconsideration of two concepts central to the audiotopia paradigm – contact zones and heterotopias – brings the issue of power to the forefront. Thinking of the specific practices of Jola music culture, I also emphasize the ways that music-making creates participatory, embodied, and collective experiences.

Communications scholar Josh Kun (2000, 2005a, 2005b) coined the term "audiotopia" as the musical manifestation of what Michel Foucault (1984, 1990) termed "heterotopia." For Kun,
audiotopias are "sonic spaces of effective utopian longings where several sites normally deemed incompatible are brought together not only in the space of a particular piece of music itself, but in the production of social space and mapping of geographical space that music makes possible as well" (2000:6). Kun's work addresses the role of audiotopias in realizing connections of geography, as in music by Mexican and Mexican-American artists that deliberately transcends the United States-Mexico border, a political demarcation that in real terms is heavily policed (2000, 2005b). He also uses the term to evoke collisions of social identity, for example the way white American composer Charles Ives engaged black American musical styles at a time when associating directly with black people on equal footing would have been considered, by some, beneath his social standing (2005a). The open-ended imaginative possibilities of musical composition and the special qualities of musical sound and social space thus allow it to bring together geographies and social identities that are deemed untenable in other realms of social life. Hence, Kun characterizes audiotopias as "identificatory 'contact zones' [...] where disparate identity-formations, cultures, and geographies historically kept and mapped separately are allowed to interact with each other as well as enter into relationships whose consequences for cultural identification are never predetermined" (2005a:23, emphasis in original). Africa and America, to use an example pertinent to this dissertation, can exist side by side in the same audiotopic space even as the two continents are separated by an ocean and an often impenetrable network of national borders.

The audiotopia concept has been adopted productively by other musical scholars. Moehn (2007) uses the term to describe how music in post-1985 Brazil is invoked as a space of refuge or a harbinger of hoped-for social change because it allows social inequalities to be "leveled out." Ching (2013) theorizes several compositions of African-American country music songwriter
Alice Randall as audiotopic engagements with country music's supposed whiteness, for example by paying homage to both Aretha Franklin and Patsy Cline in a song she wrote for Trisha Yearwood. Blackstone (2011) discusses audiotopia as one in a long lineage of theories exploring the practice of listening to music as a vehicle of transcendence, rather than a practice of delineating social boundaries. Finally, Panikker (2016) uses the term as inspiration for what he calls "browntopia" in the context of solidarity-building across communities of color in post September 11, 2001 jazz. These scholars are variously trained in ethnomusicology, English, and sociology, demonstrating the cross-disciplinary appeal of the audiotopia concept.

A discussion of Michel Foucault's heterotopia concept (1984, 1990) adds some additional nuance to Kun's music-oriented adaptation of the term, particularly fleshing out the relations of power that frame interactions between disparate geographies and social identities. Foucault defines heterotopias as the coming together "in a single real place of several spaces, several sites that are themselves incompatible" (1990:24-25). He uses the term to describe spaces that do seem to include utopian elements: sacred gardens, cinemas, theaters, and, in a more conceptual vein, mirrors. However, he also applies the term to spaces that include obvious elements of authority, control, and state violence: military barracks, prisons, and classrooms. A classroom, to take up one of these examples, is indeed a space where pupils potentially interact with others of different races or from different neighborhoods; yet their interactions occur in a setting defined by, among other things, discipline, indoctrination, and subordination to a common authority figure. The various spaces described by Foucault are termed "hetero"-topias because they are sites of interaction between different types of people who might not cross paths in other social settings, but they are nonetheless spaces defined by structures of power. Given Foucault's view
of power as an omnipresent, constitutive aspect of social life (1980), it becomes apparent that power continues to be exercised even within and around these special heterotopic spaces.

Another vital component of the audiotopia framework is the concept of contact zones developed by Mary-Louise Pratt (1991, 1992), which likewise adds some nuance to the issue of power. Kun explicitly describes audiotopias as "identificatory contact zones," but he downplays the extent to which contact zones, as theorized by Pratt, are entirely defined by power. As she writes, "Contact zones […] refer to social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today" (1991:34). Kun, by contrast, more lightly asserts that within audiotopias "contradictions and conflicts do not cancel each other out but coexist and live through each other" (2005a:23). Another key aspect of Pratt's theory is that the meeting of cultures implied by contact zones is not considered a confrontation of two discrete entities that produces a new cultural hybrid. Instead, cultures in interaction are considered to be mutually constitutive and involved in ongoing processes of what she calls transculturation. In this way, Pratt's contact zone paradigm mirrors the Third Space concept developed by Homi Bhabha (1994), in which cultural formations are always already in the process of ongoing hybridization. For Bhabha, "these 'in-between' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself" (1994:2). While drawing inspiration from the critical perspective inherent in Bhabha's Third Space, I prefer Pratt's contact zone concept because this dissertation emphasizes gestures of association as much as differentiation. Music is therefore not exactly conceived as an "in-
between" space facilitating only the articulation of cultural difference; it is a space of overlap, plurality, and co-presence in which both association and difference are articulated.

In short, I follow Kun in viewing audiotopias as heterotopic contact zones in which geographies and identities normally kept apart can interact with unpredictable results, but, with Foucault's and Pratt's contributions in mind, I place more emphasis on the ways audiotopias are structured by power and in which cross-cultural interactions remain flushed with power. To use an illustration of this subtle difference from another work, Taylor points out that the well-known partnership of Paul Simon and Ladysmith Black Mambazo on the album *Graceland* (1986) entailed cross-cultural interactions that remained subject to political and economic relations of power. As he writes, the American and South African artists "do collaborate in some sense – they work together, some songs are credited to Simon and Joseph Shabalala – and their center/peripheral subject positions are in some ways effaced, at least, perhaps, for the duration of the songs. But in the end, it is Simon who profits: his position in a powerful economic center – the United States, a major corporation – means that he cannot escape his centrality" (Taylor 1997:203). This collaboration is a good example of an audiotopia in that it comprises a meeting of different social identities and political geographies that were in many ways untenable in the context of Apartheid and the music industry of the 1980s. Nonetheless, the outcome of these artists' collaboration was considerably more beneficial for Simon because of his relatively powerful position. Taylor's tentative language in suggesting that "their center/peripheral subject positions are in some ways effaced, at least, perhaps, for the duration of the songs" (1997:203, my emphasis) points to his skepticism that even this much is true. Indeed, I would go a step further to argue that unequal power relations are sonically evident in musical arrangements that inevitably feature Simon as a lead to Ladysmith Black Mambazo's back-up chorus.
Finally, my use of the audiotopia concept underscores the extent to which music not only functions discursively but also produces social experiences. This is evident, though underdeveloped, in Kun's description of audiotopias as both sonic and social spaces. Music's relationship to embodied and affective experience is well-reported by ethnomusicologists, musicologists, and psychologists alike. Among many other examples from the field of ethnomusicology, Feld discusses the power of music in Kaluli society to both express and generate affect in a way that reframes personal emotions in terms of social sentiment: sonic performances "reorganize experience onto an emotional plane resonating with deeply felt Kaluli sentiments" (1990:216). Likewise, in his analysis of Yoruba popular music, Waterman argues that musical performance provides the imagined, emergent Yoruba identity with an "interactive ethos or 'feel'" (1990a:376) that contributes to ethnic attachment by "embod[ying] the ideal affective texture of social life and the melding of new and old, exotic and indigenous within a unifying syncretic framework" (1990a:376). Waterman likewise points out that while music is often considered in context, it should also be studied as context for a variety of social processes (1990b). As a final example, Seeger describes the way Suyá musical ceremonies create "euphoria out of silence" (2004:86), imbuing experiences of social collectivity with a positive valence. Jola music-making typically involves large numbers of participants, strenuous and prolonged physical activity, and extensive extemporaneous interpersonal interaction. Audiotopias, in this case, do more than score discursive points about the interconnectedness of diverse social geographies; they produce deeply felt, collectively oriented experiences of that interconnection.
Afropolitanism

Scholarship on African cultures produced in the last twenty-five years typically starts with the assumption that African lives are inextricably entwined with Other worlds. Building from postmodern and postcolonial models of identity (e.g., Said 1978; Clifford 1988; Bhabha 1990b, 1994; Hall and du Gay 1996) and deconstruction of Africa's invention in Western discourse (Mudimbe 1988) and subsequent reinvention by African peoples (Kanneh 1998), essentialist and primordialist conceptions of Africa have been largely overrun by more recent models stressing syncretism, intersubjectivity, and affinity (Appiah 1992, 2006) or, more cynically, promiscuity with state power (Mbembe 2001) and subjective ambiguation within neoliberal capitalism (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). One such model, Afropolitanism, originated as a somewhat tongue-in-cheek description of a specific social formation (Selasi 2005) and entered academic discourse via Mbembe 2007 as a promising way to understand how African lives are "rooted in specific geographies but also transcendental of them" (Gikandi 2010:9). Ghanaian novelist Taiye Selasi coined the term in lively prose:

Afropolitans – the newest generation of African emigrants, coming soon or collected already at a law firm/chem lab/jazz lounge near you. You’ll know us by our funny blend of London fashion, New York jargon, African ethics, and academic successes. Some of us are ethnic mixes, e.g. Ghanaian and Canadian, Nigerian and Swiss; others merely cultural mutts: American accent, European affect, African ethos. Most of us are multilingual: in addition to English and a Romantic or two, we understand some indigenous tongue and speak a few urban vernaculars. There is at least one place on The African Continent to which we tie our sense of self: be it a nation-state (Ethiopia), a city (Ibadan), or an auntie’s
kitchen. Then there’s the G8 city or two (or three) that we know like the backs of our hands, and the various institutions that know us for our famed focus. We are Afropolitans: not citizens, but Africans of the world. (Selasi 2005)

Critics of Selasi’s conception of Afropolitanism have bemoaned the way it creates a neglected "underprivileged counterpart" to the privileged Afropolitan (Hassan 2013), diverts attention away from the study of creative work by artists living on the African continent (Ogbechie 2008), and blithely embraces commodity capitalism (Santana 2013). Among these critics, Dabiri rejects the term as a new label for an old attitude: "It seems again that African progress is measured by the extent to which it can reproduce a Western lifestyle, now without having to physically be in the West. This doesn’t appear to signal any particular departure from the elites’ enduring love affair with achieving the lifestyles of their former masters" (2014).

While acknowledging some of these limitations, Achille Mbembe takes a more expansive view of Afropolitanism, and his use of the term most directly inspires my own. As he writes:

It is not simply that a part of African history lies somewhere else, outside Africa.

It is also that a history of the rest of the world, of which we are inevitably the actors and guardians, is present on the continent. Our way of belonging to the world, of being in the world and inhabiting it, has always been marked by, if not cultural mixing, then at least the interweaving of worlds, in a slow and sometimes incoherent dance with forms and signs which we have not been able to choose freely, but which we have succeeded, as best we can, in domesticating and putting at our disposal. Awareness of the interweaving of the here and there, the presence of the elsewhere in the here and vice versa, the relativisation of primary roots and memberships and the way of embracing, with full knowledge of the facts,
strangeness, foreignness and remoteness, the ability to recognize one's face in that of a foreigner and make the most of the traces of remoteness in closeness, to domesticate the unfamiliar, to work with what seem to be opposites – it is this cultural, historical and aesthetic sensitivity that underlies the term "Afropolitanism." (2007:28)

Importantly, for Mbembe this "interweaving of worlds" is far from a recent trend: "This was the case well before colonisation. There is, indeed, a pre-colonial African modernity that has not yet been taken into account in contemporary creativity" (2007:27). Simon Gikandi has also worked to refine the Afropolitan concept in an academic context, suggesting that the term implies a way of thinking of "African identities as both rooted in specific local geographies but also transcendental of them. To be Afropolitan is to be connected to knowable African communities, languages and states. It is to embrace and celebrate a state of cultural hybridity – to be of African and other worlds at the same time" (2010:9).

Music scholar Ryan Skinner prominently addresses Afropolitanism in his book *Bamako Sounds: The Afropolitan Ethics of Malian Music* (2015). For Skinner, the term Afropolitan evokes "a perspective on contemporary African urbanism that acknowledges the worldly orientations of the continent's peoples and recognizes the prescriptive and volitional moorings that bind individuals to local lifeworlds" (2015:1). As its title implies, Skinner's book is particularly concerned with the moral and ethical dimensions of Afropolitanism, a theme present in other discourse on the term. Mbembe writes that Afropolitanism is "a political and cultural stance in relation to the nation, to race and to the issue of difference in general" (2007:28-29).

Discussing Mbembe's and Gikandi's contributions to the concept, Chielozona Eze agrees that "We all are born into specific places and cultures. But as humans we are not circumscribed by
these places; we move, and in moving, we expand our vision and perception of who we are; we incorporate the beings of others the moment we begin to relate to them" (2014:240). Eze's articulation captures the delicate ethical balance implied by all of these scholars: Afropolitanism includes both a sense of connection to a specific geographic place or social identity and, at the same time, a stance of openness that welcomes intersubjectivity while acknowledging difference. It thus takes a stand against the essentialist notions of identity, race, and difference that have often characterized discourse about the African continent, while avoiding a colorblind universalism that elides both cultural particularism and the uneven effects of past and present oppression.

Afropolitanism is, in some ways, a response to earlier paradigms of Pan-Africanism and Négritude. In the context of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor's famous espousal of Négritude likewise addresses the position of African peoples in a global context, though in a different way. While emphasizing "rootedness" (enracinement) in allegedly pan-African values such as imagination and emotion, he also embraced "openness" (ouverture) to the positive aspects of European influence such as reason and order. In contrast to the "static, objective, dichotomic" philosophy of Europe, Senghor wrote that African philosophy "conceives the world […] as a fundamentally mobile, yet unique, reality that seeks synthesis" (1994 [1966]:30). This philosophy is reflected elegantly in the lyrics to Senegal's national anthem, penned by Senghor in 1960: "To make, from east to west, north to south / Arisen, one single people, a people without seams / But a people turned to all the winds of the earth." Over time, however, Senghor has been criticized for the way his version of African-ness goes hand in hand with exoticizing representations of African people and the way it produces a false dichotomy of African tradition and European modernity, the very problems Afropolitanism reacts against. In particular,
Senghor’s Négritude at times veers dangerously close to what Mudimbe terms "Africanism" (1994) after Edward Said's Orientalism: "a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of the time) 'the Occident'" (Said 1978:2), and "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said 1978:3). By contrast, Afropolitanism rejects the essentializing, hegemonizing character of Africanism, and extends the inseparability of the Self and the Other as a relationship couched in mutual imbrication rather than contradistinction.

My research addresses two questions inspired by the growing discourse of Afropolitanism. First, if African lives are indeed characterized by intersubjective and relational (rather than oppositional) ways of being (per Eze 2014), through what discourses and practices are the forms and signs of "here and there" brought together, domesticated, or rejected? Second, if African lives are marked by cultural admixture and apparent contradictions bordering on incoherency (per Mbembe 2007), how do they come to be experienced as "a coherent (if not always stable) experiential sense of self" (Gilroy 2006:195)? I also seek to expand the Afropolitan paradigm by focusing on a mode of belonging to the world that takes place outside the metropole (troubling an untenable urban/rural dichotomy that has been uncritically accepted in Afropolitan discourse) and that proliferates primarily through modes other than capitalist participation and consumption. The rural farmers and struggling musicians who are the majority of my collaborators are a far cry from the relatively privileged urbanites linked to Afropolitanism by Hassan (2013). My reliance on sustained ethnographic methods rather than philosophic or literary theory also promises a different perspective on how African people experience themselves as tied to specific communities but wrapped up in broader regional, national, continental, and global narratives in the midst of everyday life. I argue that music-making
produces audiotopic experiences of ever-broader cultural spheres (including the Casamance region, the African continent, and the diasporic Black Atlantic), allowing Jolas to "belong to the world" while embracing the specific practices, beliefs, and identificatory narratives that locate them as Jolas. Jola music is a historical and contemporary contact zone that, while framed by uneven relations of power, allows people to articulate and enact open-ended and multifaceted Afropolitan life stories.

*Black Atlantic*

Paul Gilroy famously defined the Black Atlantic as a public sphere of cultural interchange involving people of the African continent and the African diaspora in the "liquid continent" of the Atlantic Ocean. He succinctly captures the spirit of the Black Atlantic concept through the chronotopal metaphor of a transatlantic ship: "The image of the ship – a living, micro-cultural, micro-political system in motion – […] immediately focus[es] attention on the middle passage, on the various projects of redemptive return to an African homeland, on the circulation of ideas and activists as well as the movement of key cultural and political artifacts: tracts, books, gramophone records, and choirs" (1993:4). This liminal image of constant motion and interchange underscores the difficulty of discussing origins and roots in the context of the Black Atlantic, again emphasizing the critique of hybridity implied by Pratt's contact zones (1991, 1992). The ship, in this case, is also more than a metaphor, drawing attention to the literal movement of people and objects across the Atlantic.

Like proponents of the Afropolitanism concept, Gilroy seeks to understand black identity as a tangible aspect of African lives while rejecting hegemonizing narratives of essentialism. As he writes, "Whatever the radical constructionists may say, [black identity] is lived as a coherent
(if not always stable) experiential sense of self. Although it is often felt to be natural and spontaneous, it remains the outcome of practical activity: language, gesture, bodily significations, desires. […] Music and its rituals can be used to create a model whereby identity can be understood neither as a fixed essence nor as a vague and utterly contingent construction to be reinvented by the will and whim of aesthetes, symbolists and language gamers" (1993:102). Here, Gilroy emphasizes the special role of music in producing coherent experiences of multifaceted identities that are linked to embodiment, desire, and potentially far-ranging identity narratives.

Gilroy's Black Atlantic concept also has implications for my use of audiotopia. Kun's work optimistically suggests that the connections made in audiotopic space can lead to changes in real social and political geographies; they "point us to the possible, to help us remap the world we live in now" (2005a:23). Understanding audiotopias in the context of the Black Atlantic makes clear how they are founded in the dispersal of African peoples in the slave trade, facilitated by colonialism (including the use of similar languages and the dispersal of songs and recordings through armies), and framed by centers of media power controlling the means of representation and dispersal after colonialism's formal end. Likewise, audiotopias are not necessarily geared toward remapping the world solely with an eye to the future; they can also serve to rearticulate connections that were interrupted, but never completely severed, in the past.

For Jola music-makers, audiotopic connections to other Black Atlantic referents articulate a vision of the past in which the cultures of the people removed from Africa in the transatlantic slave trade remained connected to the African continent. Such connections do, in fact, serve to remap the world we live in now, since "constructed histories are also about the constructed present" (Makoni and Pennycook 2007:8). I suggest that Jola musicians participate in the Black
Atlantic through the production of audiotopic space, allowing them to engage with musical styles associated with far off places without having to physically leave the Casamance, or even their natal village. Audiotopias are thus an important factor in allowing people with strong ties to a specific ethnic community and a small, apparently isolating geographic location not only to discursively identify as Africans but also to experience black identity as phenomenologically coherent.

... 

A friend from The Gambia has come to visit me in Ziguinchor and I am delighted to have the chance, for once, to repay in some small measure the hospitality shown to me at every turn. My friend has a good job working for an international non-profit organization, he holds a degree from the University of The Gambia, and he enjoys impressing me by reciting long passages of the Quran from memory. I am flattered that he has decided to use some of his limited vacation time to visit me, and to visit the Casamance for the first time. We are strolling on the beach near the tourist town of Cap Skirring, gazing westward over the blue skies and ruddy waves of the Atlantic Ocean.

- "It's so clear today I think I can almost see America," I joke.
- "What do you mean?" he responds. "Is America that direction?"
- "Yes. If you kept going that way on a boat for a few thousand miles, you would run into America."
- "I thought Mali was that direction."
- "No, Mali is the other direction. This is the edge of the whole continent."
"Wow! I can't believe America is just there," he says. Pointing north with his right hand, he adds, "And if you walked this direction, you would come to Gambia."

"Right. You would come to the Casamance River and then after that Gambia."

He points south with his left hand. "And if you walked this direction, you would come to Guinea-Bissau."

"Yes." We are close enough to Guinea-Bissau that we could walk there in a few hours. A few weeks earlier, in fact, I crashed a Guinean independence day party that nearly spanned the international border.

He waves further south. "And if you kept going, you would come to Liberia, and finally to South Africa. And then past that, South America and finally Europe."

"Well, actually South America is across the ocean that way." I gesture vaguely southwest. "And Europe is that direction, north past Mauritania and the Mediterranean."

"Wow. I never knew."

I am taken aback by my friend's tenuous grasp on global geography. Later, back at my apartment, I show him a map of the Casamance region and point out where we were on the beach. He feigns interest but seems to have trouble reading the map. Later still, I worry that I came off as patronizing. Geography at the global scale becomes abstract anyway; I could never see the United States from here, even standing on the westernmost point of continental Africa, even on the clearest day. And South America does seem a little closer than its physical distance implies, given that my friend, like many Senegambians, faithfully watches Brazilian telenovelas several times a week. Certainly, Europe feels more tied to everyday life in Senegambia than
many of the African countries one would have to cross to get there since everyone seems to have a cousin in England, Belgium, Sweden, or Germany. Geography is a work of imagination, more about processes and relationships than the physical distances between pieces of earth.

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Literature Review

In addition to the theoretical conversations described above, my work contributes to the body of knowledge contained in two subfields: scholarship on the Jola people and scholarship on music in the Senegambian region. This section reviews existing literature in these areas and describes the particular contributions of my dissertation to each.

Jola Scholarship


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Academic publications on Jola people tend to be highly interdisciplinary in their approach. Nearly all of the major scholars of Jola people, including those writing on archeology, history, religion, and art objects, have substantial ethnographic fieldwork experience in Senegal and/or The Gambia, with a small group (Thomas, Sapir, Linares, Mark, and Baum) having lived in the Casamance for multiple years over the course of three or more decades.

**Foundational Jola Scholarship**

*Les Diola: Essai d'Analyse Fonctionnelle Sur une Population de Basse-Casamance* (1959) by the French anthropologist Louis-Vincent Thomas is the monograph with which all other Jola scholars must reckon. This comprehensive tome is the epitome of structural functionalism, with sections covering Jola material technology, psychological attitudes and
beliefs, arts, sciences, morality, and religion. Rooted in theoretical paradigms that have since fallen out of favor, Thomas sought to access the essential Jola psyche and made sweeping comparisons to other African and European societies via the logic of cultural evolutionism. Nonetheless, Thomas' rich ethnographic detail lends his scholarship immense documentary and historical value, and his obvious respect and admiration for Jola culture softens some of his evolutionary judgments. Other foundational scholarship on the Jola people was produced by J. David Sapir. His *Grammar of Diola-Fogny* (1965c) is a linguistic analysis of phonology, morphology, and syntax in one of the major Jola dialects, and is mostly beyond my lay comprehension. Later works (1970a, 1970b, 1981) follow a structuralist approach in analyzing Jola folktales. Both Thomas and Sapir also wrote specifically about Jola music (discussed below).

**Jola Anthropology, Art History, and Religion**

Following the monumental scale of Thomas' monograph, Jola scholars have tended to focus on more specific topics. Migration has proven to be enduringly popular, probably because Jolas do not fit prevailing paradigms of migration in two respects: 1) young women, as well as men, seasonally migrate to urban locations to work in the service industry before returning to the village for agricultural work; and 2) Jolas may migrate to cities for several years in search of work but they tend to eventually return to their village of origin to start families. Focusing on the urban community of Jolas in Dakar, Lambert's 2002 book, *Longing for Exile: Migration and the Making of a Translocal Community in Senegal, West Africa*, explores migration as "a shared system of meaning, a process that goes beyond the mere movement of people to encompass identity, status, and understandings of place" (xxvi), in which urban and rural spaces are brought

Religion is another central topic of Jola research. The Jola indigenous religion, called the Awasena Path, revolves around local shrines (*ukan*, sn. *boekin*) attended by shrine-keepers or rain-priests (*kuyi*, sn *ayi*). Jolas people's propensity for Christianity makes them unusual in the heavily Islamic Senegambian region, though many eastern and northern Jola communities are primarily Muslim. Baum's book *Shrines of the Slave Trade: Diola Religion and Society in Precolonial Senegambia* (1999) is the most significant work on the Awasena Path. Baum has also written on Aline Sitoe Diatta (2001, 2010c, 2015), a young shrine priestess who mobilized Awasena in opposition to French colonial rule in the twentieth century, and the role of secrecy in Jola rituals in delineating self/other relationships with regard to the slave trade (2010b). Mark (1985) and Baum (1990) discuss the mutual syncretization of Awasena, Islam, and Christianity in Jola practice, for example the continued visitation of traditional medicine shrines by Jola Muslims and the alleged influence of the Abrahamic religions in changing the Jola creator god Emité from a distant and ineffable presence to a more personable entity who can be prayed to through the intermediaries of shrines and shrine-keepers. Mark also explores the role of Islamic
conversion in Jola cash-cropping (1977), while Hamer (1981) discusses the loss of social status experienced by women in Islamic conversion.

In her book *Power, Prayer, and Production: The Jola of Casamance* (1992), Linares uses the relative dominance of Islam, Christianity, and the Awasena Path in three Jola communities in eastern, northern, and southern Casamance, respectively, as a key comparative factor influencing the cultural aspects of agricultural labor. Andrewes likewise adopts the tripartite Islam, Christianity, and Awasena Path distinction as the basis of her 2005 comparative study of Jola dress codes and embodied dispositions.

The Jola men's initiation ritual (*bukut*) has received sustained attention from three generations of scholars: Thomas, Mark, and de Jong. Thomas described the ritual in detail (1959, 1965), viewing it as a classically functionalist *technique de purification* and social *mise en ordre*, and used his analysis to confirm or reject numerous "laws" of social science concerning rites of passage (1959:734). He also strongly predicted that the *bukut* he witnessed in 1958 would be the last because it had not occurred for many years prior to that (and because its continuance contradicted the metanarrative of primitive assimilation to cosmopolitan cultures). Instead, however, the *bukut* has grown increasingly popular since that time and is now conducted every seven or eight years, with young boys travelling to the sacred forests of the Casamance from all over the Senegambian region.

Mark's repeated explorations of the Jola *bukut* (1983, 1985, 1988, 1992, and 1994) focus on thick description of ceremonial regalia (especially horned masks) in relation to Jola cosmology and interaction with Mandinka initiation rituals, Islam, and Christianity. Mark's persistent focus on the men's initial ritual as a site of ethnic induction and confirmation marks a significant departure from Thomas' positivist exploration of the Jola biopsychological essence. In
his words, "Bukut today is the bulwark that preserves and, indeed, forges a Jola identity" (Mark 1992:24). Picking up where Mark leaves off, de Jong (1995, 2001) approaches the performance of secrecy in initiation rituals as a traditional mode of responding to modernity. For de Jong, secrecy as a signifying practice establishes relations of power, both in the interpersonal sense and in the broader scope of political upheavals. Initiation rituals provide a locally specific mode of responding to and participating in modernity, not as "modern inventions of tradition […], but historical ways of dealing with modernity" (2001:7). De Jong's work exemplifies productive use of contemporary social theory, especially his engagement with Appadurai's cultural dimensions of globalization and the production of locality (1996).

In the coming years, the cluster of Jola language dialects will be the subject of several publications. Friederike Lüpke, a linguist based at the School of African and Oriental Studies in London, is the principal director of a five-year research project entitled "Crossroads – Investigating the Unexplored Side of Multilingualism" based in the village of Brin just outside Ziguinchor. The team includes three post-doctoral researchers, six doctoral students, and project coordinator Alain Christian Bassène. This project promises to yield high-resolution details on the nature of multilingual interaction in the Casamance and its consequences for ethnogenesis, gender, religion, and national politics. Lüpke's most recent essay (forthcoming) stems from this project, and explores the role of strategies of sameness and difference in maintaining the Casamance region's remarkable linguistic diversity.

**Jola Music Scholarship**

Scholarship on Jola music falls into three categories: 1) early works by Thomas and Sapir; 2) a cluster of essays on the *ekonting* by banjoist scholars; and 3) passing references to
Jola music in scholarship on other Jola topics and on Senegambian music. Thomas' 1959 monograph includes nineteen pages of description of Jola music including brief musical transcriptions, lyrical translations, and organological classifications of Jola instruments with twenty-four line drawings. Although Thomas' use of musical terminology is sometimes frustratingly vague and fraught with evolutionist and diffusionist speculation, he is a far cry from the stereotypically tone-deaf anthropologist, even adopting the Hornbostel-Sachs instrument classification system.

Sapir's two articles on Jola music reflect his strongly structuralist linguistic framework. Irvine and Sapir (1976) approach the notion of musical change by searching for differences in musical genres that Jolas themselves characterize as either "old" or "new." After a lengthy engagement with Lomax's cantometrics system (1959, 1976), Irvine and Sapir conclude that "informant notions of 'old-fashioned' and 'new' song styles correspond to actual musical changes perceptible to the analyst; that these musical changes are similar in kind, indicating a consistent trend toward differentiation and individual display; and that this trend can be related to ongoing changes in Kujamaat social structure" (1976:81). Sapir's earlier article (1969) attempts to establish a "formal grammar" for Jola funeral songs (buñanay), employing a modified version of linguistic phonemic analysis to arrive at an underlying structure of Jola music and lyrics. As with Thomas, Sapir's use of musical terminology can be vexingly imprecise, but his exegesis of native Jola music concepts such as foñ (to sing out the melody), kit (to begin the performance), sanken (to sing the lyrics), and buj (to terminate the solo section) is immensely useful.

Sapir's third and final contribution to Jola musical scholarship is the collection of ten songs he recorded and released via Smithsonian Folkways (1965a). The ten tracks comprise solo praise-singing with extemporaneous lyrics; antiphonal work songs to the rhythm of rice hoes
(kajendo); dance music played on bugarabu drums with accompanying handclapping; an antiphonal funeral dirge; and ambient recordings of a futamp circumcision ceremony that include a slit drum and iron clapper accompanying antiphonal singing alongside spontaneous whistling, shouting, antelope horns, and celebratory gunfire. The liner notes feature ethnographic information, photographs, lyric translations, and colorful anecdotes from the recording circumstances. In addition to the general information they provide about Jola music culture, the musical transcriptions and descriptions from Thomas' and Sapir's publications contribute much-needed historical background to my own research.

Several scholars have published descriptions of their pilgrimages to the heartland of banjo roots to learn to play the ekonting at the Akonting Center for Senegambian Folk Music in The Gambia (Adams and Levy forthcoming; Adams and Pestcoe 2007; Adams and Sedgwick 2007a and 2007b; Currin 2006; Bamber 2006a, 2006b; Jägffors 2003; Levy and Jatta 2012; Pestcoe n.d.). Although these publications are not peer-reviewed scholarly works, they contain valuable insights on ekonting playing styles and construction techniques. Greg Adams, a Smithsonian archivist, and Chuck Levy, a medical doctor, have been particularly generous in sharing their experiences, field recordings, and interviews with me. Their forthcoming co-authored book chapter represents the most scholarly attempt so far to synthesize current knowledge about the ekonting. Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta's work in this area, discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, has also been illuminating (2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d, 2007e, 2007f).

Scholarship on Jola people that is not explicitly music-focused generally has little to say about Jola music, with a few exceptions. Linares notes that Jola women often sing together while working in the rice fields, sometimes making up songs to chastise their errant husbands as a form of public accountability or to recount their everyday existential troubles (1992:195). Mark's
historical survey (1985) includes a vivid description of a new year's celebration that acknowledges music's central importance in embodying community and combatting witchcraft,\textsuperscript{10} and his later article on the folklorization of Jola dancing (1994) includes thick description of dance practices and ceremonial regalia in relation to local politics. In describing multi-layered Jola memories of the slave trade, Baum writes that "at celebrations women carried musical instruments that were iron fetters, used in an earlier time to bind people's hands together. When swung up and down the fetter part moves along a stable rod, making a sound that is used to emphasize a basic rhythm. Both types of fetters were tools of slave raiders, not their captives" (2010b:142).

**Contributions to Jola Scholarship**

Researching Jola music provides clear opportunities to enter into interdisciplinary dialogue with the anthropologists, art historians, political historians, linguists, and religious scholars who study the Jola people. The outdated and limited research on Jola music represents a significant shortcoming in Jola scholarship, especially given the importance of music-making in Jola social life. My work departs from early studies of Jola people that accepted ethnic essence as an immutable fact of human life, following more recent publications by de Jong (2001) and Kringelbach (2014) in exploring the role of expressive performance in maintaining the currency of Jola ethnicity alongside its historical and political aspects. I am also convinced by Roberts (2000), Lydon (2005), and Wright (2004) that the Senegambian region has long been a deep field of cultural interchange, connected to far-reaching routes of economic, political, and cultural interchange through the "process geographies" of the Black Atlantic and the Sahara. Therefore, it makes little sense to conduct a study of the Jola people in isolation; instead I seek to understand
the "originary syncretism" (Amselle 1998) of Jola musical practices and, in my own way, continue Thomas' (1959) exploration of their connections to neighboring groups and global processes through the perspectives of audiotopia and Afropolitanism.

**Senegambian Music Scholarship**


Sajnani 2013; Tang 2012). Nearly every work on Mandinka and Wolof music and most of the works on popular music and hip hop address the figure of the *griot*, a cultural role of oral historian and musician common to several West African societies.  


I should note here a large body of published work on Senegambian music that I do not address: the vast output of audio recordings by traditional and popular musicians. As a student of an institution that grew from Charles Seeger's ideas of "musicking about music" (1961) and Mantle Hood's "bi-musicality as a way of knowing" (1960), I am a firm believer in regarding music as a form of discourse, a mode of expression that, like language, emerges from the
musician's cultural disposition even as it self-consciously contributes to and comments on it. Senegambian musicians have long been musicking critically about their traditions and much of their work has thankfully been recorded. Due to the overwhelmingly large body of recordings and the subtler analysis required to interpret musical discourse, however, this field of work is unfortunately beyond the scope of this review.

Generalizations on Senegambian Music Scholarship

The body of literature on Senegambian music is quite large, for several reasons. Alex Haley's 1976 novel and the subsequent 1977 PBS miniseries *Roots* (Chomsky 1977) introduced 1.5 million readers and 130 million viewers (representing 85% of American homes with televisions at the time) to the region, especially piquing interest in the figure of the griot (Hale 1997). Senegalese popular music has also been internationally popular since the late 1970s, building from landmark tours by Touré Kunda and Youssou N'Dour's Étoile de Dakar. The richly musical and historical traditions of the Mandinka have attracted sustained interest since the 1970s and those of the Wolof since the 1980s, with both groups' numerous and appealing musical instruments probably accounting for scholars' emphasis on organology. Hip hop's extraordinary prominence in Dakar and its significant role in Senegalese public discourse accounts for the burst of recent interest by younger music scholars, who may themselves be fans of the musical, political, and generational content. Finally, Senegal and The Gambia have both been relatively politically stable for the last several decades and both have reasonable infrastructure around their capital cities, creating appealing field sites for foreign researchers.

Research on Senegambian music has turned increasingly to urban popular musics, following a general trend in ethnomusicology. In particular, research on Senegalese hip hop is
like a cubist portrait, with each author offering a different perspective on the same scene. Appert (2011) focuses on the musical and discursive implications of the connection between rappers and griots, while Appert (2012), Sajnani (2013), and Tang (2012) problematize this relationship by pointing out its disjunctures and the ways it is articulated in relation to cultural and economic capital. Baker (2002) focuses on the lyrical artistry of Dakarois hip hop in English, French, and Wolof. Herson (2000, 2011), Moulard-Kouka (2008), and Niang (2001, 2010a) discuss the political implications of creating youth-oriented social space through hip hop, a topic also explored in the documentary film *African Underground: Democracy in Dakar* (Herson, McIlvaine, and Moore 2009). Niang also explores hip hop gender roles and social significance as a way of speaking for/at Dakarois youth (2006) and as a strategy of religious outreach (2010b). Melendez-Torres (2013) interprets rappers' changing views of Senegalese copyright reform as an expression of generational solidarity, while Mbaye (2011) provides a sociological survey that treats Dakarois rappers as cultural and economic entrepreneurs. Finally, Prévos (2002) chronicles the career of Senegalese-born rapper MC Solaar in France. While this preponderance of scholarship has yielded multi-faceted interpretations of Senegalese hip hop, unfortunately these authors do not always cite each other's work and may unintentionally arrive at similar interpretations based on similar ethnographic evidence (including interviewing the same rappers), a problem that is exacerbated by their often overlapping publication timelines.

**Ethnomusicological Work in Senegambia**

Ethnomusicological scholarship on Senegambian music has followed a general trend in the field by moving from early monographs on traditional music and distinct ethnic groups to more recent works on popular music and interethnic urban musics. The following pages focus on
the work of ethnomusicologists working in the Senegambian region, as they will be the primary regional interlocutors for my own work.

The first major work on Senegambian music is Roderic Knight's dissertation "Mandinka Jaliya: A Professional Music of the Gambia," filed at UCLA in 1973 with Mantle Hood as committee chair.\textsuperscript{14} Knight covers the social role and speculative origins of the griot \textit{jali}; general reflections on \textit{jaliya} ("what the griot does") including instrumental and vocal music and general aesthetic preferences; tuning systems for the \textit{kora}; and extensive analysis and cataloguing of both vocal and instrumental texts. A second volume includes musical transcriptions and textual translations of thirty-three \textit{kora} songs from different parts of The Gambia. Knight's approach is typical of its time in that he discusses \textit{jaliya} from the perspective of music \textit{in} culture (laying out the social hierarchies and economic systems in which \textit{jalis} operate) as well as music \textit{as} culture (using analysis of song texts and musical aesthetics as indicators of broader cultural values and preoccupations). Knight's subsequent work (1974, 1982b, 1984, 1991) followed in much the same vein, with a pair of documentaries (1982a, 2005) supplementing his written publications.

The culmination of thirty years of research in Sudanic Africa, Jacqueline Cogdell DjeDje's \textit{Fiddling in West Africa: Touching the Spirit in Fulbe, Hausa, and Dagbamba Cultures} (2008)\textsuperscript{15} is a multi-sited ethnography that also involves multiple methodological approaches: 1) historical (chronologically contextualizing each community's present circumstances and their contact with fiddling); 2) anthropological (situating fiddling within a broader cultural and societal analysis); 3) musicological (transcribing and analyzing numerous songs and performances); and 4) organological (contextualizing the fiddle as a meaningful instrument). Although fiddling practices in all three communities likely share a common history, DjeDje argues that four major factors have influenced the unique production of meaning in each one:
place, ethnicity, religion, and status. Within the context of Senegambian music scholarship, this book stands out because it addresses traditional music in non-Mande cultures and because it frames meticulously particularistic fieldwork within a comparative context.


Eric Charry's monograph *Mande Music* (2000) is notable for its meticulous, systematic style of research and its attention to several forms of music-making in Mande culture. The book covers the history and sociopolitical organization of the Mande people; the genres of hunter's music (*donso foli*), griot music (*jeliya*), drumming (*jembe foli*), and modern guitar music; and Mande musical terminology. The concluding chapter briefly considers Mande music through the perspectives of identity, modernity, and ways of teaching/learning. Generally speaking, the book is highly music-focused, with numerous detailed transcriptions and analyses. Charry's organological surveys of instrument types (1994b, 1996a) provide a useful framework for situating Jola instruments in a broader West African context, even if they are missing some lesser-known Jola instruments.

Patricia Tang's *Masters of the Sabar: Wolof Griot Percussionists of Senegal* (2007) follows a similar organization to Knight's and Charry's work but with a distinctly different orientation. An introduction, seven chapters, and a conclusion introduce her methods and background; describe *sabar* history and ensemble organization; outline the hierarchical Wolof
social and familial structure; and describe traditional and contemporary repertoire and performance contexts. Unlike Knight and Charry's more analytical and text-based perspectives, however, Tang's work is an ethnography of a single griot family situated within the context of rapidly changing Senegalese culture. Musical transcriptions and analysis are primarily confined to chapter five, which discusses sabar repertoire and the relationship of the tonal Wolof language to specific drum sounds. The first chapter describes Tang's involvement in the field at length, including matters not often discussed, such as her financial transactions with informants and the "reverse exoticization" she experienced as an Asian-American woman playing violin with an mbalax band. The book's emphasis on Wolof musicians is important for diversifying the focus of ethnomusicologists in Senegal; as Tang herself notes, "because little research has been done on the musical traditions of non-Mande griots, what is known about the Mande is often assumed to be true of other ethnic groups, at times resulting in false generalizations" (2007:2). Tang's most recent publication explores the Senegalese trope of rapper-as-modern-griot, addressing how "Senegalese rap artists have seized upon and exploited […] griotism" (2012:79) by "drawing upon Western ideas of the djelly as a romanticized and historicized African phenomenon" (2012:90).

Catherine Appert's dissertation, article, and book chapter are important contributions to the recent burst of publications on Senegalese hip hop. Her chapter discusses the connection between Senegalese rappers and griots, arguing that "Senegalese youth […] discursively and musically position hip-hop in an intertextual relationship with griot performance […] to construct a music that is at once local and transnational, indigenous and diasporic" (2011:6). Changing this model somewhat, Appert's dissertation (2012) argues against the concept of local/diasporic hybridity in Senegalese hip hop, instead suggesting that young Senegalese rappers reject
narratives of the indigenization of hip hop in favor of positioning themselves within an alternative globalized modernity, an argument furthered in her recent article (2016). Appert's emphasis on Senegambian music as a strategic discursive medium in relation to global modernity parallels my own interpretive framework.

Contributions to Senegambian Music Studies

Following a general turn toward urban popular musics, ethnomusicologists have approached Senegambian popular musics such as hip hop, Mande guitar music, and mbalax as syncretic, translocal sound systems, but they have too often accepted traditional musics as static, discrete, and purely local traditions. Several works of Senegambian music scholarship make vague reference to the Casamance as a repository of traditional musics or a melting pot of ethnic cultures, but details on the region's musics are severely lacking. Because there is no monograph on Jola music and other sources are scarce and out of date, this dissertation should help diversify the field by looking beyond Dakar, beyond Wolof and Mande music cultures, and beyond griots as the principal actors of traditional Senegambian musics.

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Tired of writing, I flip onto facebook and scroll through some recent messages. A friend from The Gambia has written to offer his condolences on the recent shooting in a Florida nightclub, in which forty-nine people were killed. I thank him and tell him to pray for peace. Another Gambian friend has written asking whether I prefer Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton. I have reservations about these two sides of American imperialism, but I write back telling him that I definitely do not like Trump. Two days later, he sends me a video of another friend playing ekonting and singing a song in Jola: wo o ye, Hillary Clinton esume / wo o ye, president kati
kasumaay ("wo o ye, Hillary Clinton is good / wo o ye, the president of peace"). During another writing break, I call Adama Sambou (he's not on facebook) to ask if he is willing to build an ekonting for a Canadian friend based in Jamaica, a professional gourd banjo builder who occasionally builds custom ekontings for American clients and who wants to study a Senegambian-built instrument in person. Later, I surf the internet to figure out how to ship an ekonting from Senegal to Jamaica. Writing a dissertation often feels like a solitary effort, but it takes place in the midst of ongoing social and professional relationships. Despite what Alan Merriam famously described in The Anthropology of Music (1964), there is no clear distinction between "the field" and "the lab," at least not anymore. I think back to the Jola name bestowed on me by a young musician after I told her of my intention to study Jola music and write about it in the United States. She called me Atebesuk, "one who carries the village." I was impressed with her quick wit in encapsulating the concept of ethnomusicological research so pithily, but, at the time she gave me the name, I was uncomfortable with the responsibility of becoming a "village carrier" or "culture bearer" when my knowledge of Jola culture was so rudimentary. Reflecting on the name at the time of this writing, I see that I have, in fact, carried the village with me – not as an expert or authority on Jola music, but in the simple fact of my ongoing personal relationships and the various ways that living in the Casamance has enduringly affected my thinking. These relationships and, indeed this dissertation, have become strands in Mbembe's "interweaving of the here and there, the presence of the elsewhere in the here and vice versa" (2007:28), stretching the village to planetary scale.
Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 provides ethnographic and historical context for the Casamance region and the Jola ethnic group. I historicize the numerous small affiliate societies of the region in relation to a number of factors including ecology, neighboring states, and the transatlantic slave trade, then turn to Jola ethnogenesis as a product of strategic essentialism in relation to religious and ethnic interactions and European colonialism. This strategic essentialism continues into the postcolonial era, albeit positioned in different ways toward the Senegalese state and "turnaround" economic migration to Dakar. The Jola ethnicity thus emerged and continues to be maintained as a relational identity through strategic assertions of sameness and difference.

Chapters 2 and 3 concern the ekonting, the three-stringed plucked lute played almost exclusively by Jolas. The instrument has recently attracted international attention due to its remarkable similarity to early New World gourd banjos, and has been the subject of a small body of scholarship. Chapter 2 is an ethnographic profile of the instrument, situating it in historical and cultural context to an extent that has not been possible in previous scholarship. Rather than confirming its newfound identity as "the ancestor of the banjo," I instead locate the ekonting in a long history of African cultural interchange while also tracing its specific meanings and practices in Jola social life. Chapter 3 presents the ekonting in three ethnographic scenarios: the compositions of ekonting player Adama Sambou, the story of the Akonting Center for Senegambian Folk Music in The Gambia, and the role of the ekonting at a festival hosted by the separatist group Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de Casamance. I approach these scenarios through the perspective of ontological narrativity described by sociologist Margaret Somers (1992, 1994), viewing contemporary cultural production on and around the ekonting as "emplotted" in a series of other narratives that it both shapes and is shaped by.
Chapter 4 describes and analyzes a Jola festival called *alamaan*, which is held every ten to twenty years when relations between women in a particular community are determined to be out of balance. I discuss the festival in the context of Jola youth migration, which produces economic pathways and shapes desires that differ between generations of women, potentially troubling a long-established Jola system of gerontocratic hierarchy. I thus interpret the *alamaan* as an audiotopic practice that puts generational identities in relation to each other for the purpose of both restoring harmony and delineating them hierarchically. The *alamaan* is specifically geared toward a multi-sited conception of the village community that extends to Dakar and, accordingly, musical practices at the festival are highly translocal. I also situate the *alamaan* in the context of ethnomusicological research on women's music-making, viewing the festival not as a horizontal community-building exercise nor an autonomous, gendered social space, but instead as a negotiation between different types of women in a multi-gender context.

Chapters 5 and 6 trace the presence of Jola music in Senegalese popular music. Chapter 5 follows the sounds of Jola music – usually not accompanied by Jola people – in the history of post-independence Senegalese popular music. Through interviews with members of Orchestre Baobab, Jola music emerges as one of a set of Casamançais musics that added a Senegalese feel to the Afro-Cuban genre that dominated urban Senegalese music in the 1960s and 70s. While the advent of *mbalax* in the 1980s represented a turn away from the diasporic ethos of Afro-Cuban music and toward a specifically local Wolof language and musical framework, the internationally successful groups Xalam and Touré Kunda made heavy use of Casamançais musics in drawing audiotopic connections between specifically Senegalese styles and other Black Atlantic musical genres. Chapter 6 presents ethnographic portraits of contemporary Jola musicians who have attempted, with varying degrees of success, to follow a pathway of
economically viable musicianship established by these earlier groups. Through their stories, I address issues of representation and the status of Jolas as "internal others" in Senegambia, and the cultural and economic barriers facing Jola musicians.

Maps

Figure 2. The Senegambian region.
Figure 3. Villages and cities in The Gambia and the Casamance.

Figure 4. Jola subgroups and other Casamançais ethnic groups.
Chapter 1: Jola Culture and History

The Casamance region that is the Jola homeland comprises a contact zone with ecological, cultural, linguistic, religious, and political dimensions. Although Jolas are the majority ethnic group in the region, the area is so geographically small that the cultural and social structures underlying the Jola cultural formation have been in constant relation with surrounding societies for centuries. As described in the introduction, this environment sets the stage for Jola musicians' present-day Afropolitanism, an ethos of belonging to a specific group and a specific place while also belonging to the world. It likewise opens questions about the nature of ethnicity, destabilizing the idea that ethnic groups are distinct, stable entities. Instead, Jolas emerge as a social formation with extraordinary internal diversity that has changed over time and that interacts constantly with other social formations through gestures of differentiation and association. As Mark puts it, "The Casamance is so small that, in a sense, the entire region constitutes the borderland between different groups. There, ethnic groups are fuzzy not only at the periphery, but also at the center" (1992:16).

Jola origin stories project the group's ethnogenesis deep in the ancestral past. Probably the most repeated origin story is the legend of Jamboon and Againe, twin sisters who took a pirogue from the mouth of the Saloum River in Senegal. The boat broke in two mid-river, with the passengers who were carried north becoming the ancestors of the Serer and those carried south becoming the ancestors of the Jola. Baum recorded another origin story of a first woman and first man who physically quarreled with each other before turning to advice from the God Emité, who advised them to have sexual relations, leading to the first child. The relational character of these origin stories is notable, centering around the relationship between two
siblings and two ethnicities, or between a man and a woman and their relationship to Emité. These stories also project the beginnings of the Jola ethnic group into distant prehistory.

Africanist scholarship of the 1980s and 90s, on the other hand, called into question the extent to which present-day ethnic groups reflect precolonial identities and affiliations. In particular, Ranger (1983) argues that ethnicity in Africa is an "invented tradition" – that the reification of previously fluid African social structures and the categorization of African people into discrete ethnic groups were classificatory strategies of European colonial powers, who were themselves entrenched in a period of intense nationalism. In Ranger's view, African peoples eventually embraced the political expediency of ethnic solidarity in opposition to colonialism and in interethnic competition for national resources. Amselle (1998) builds meticulously on this highly influential but rather undeveloped framework, tracing the "hardening of identities" that took place as West Africa faced colonization. He baldly implicates his anthropological colleagues in the process: "the invention of ethnic groups is the joint work of colonial administrators, professional ethnologists, and those who combine both qualifications" (1998:11). This body of work has deeply influenced much of the scholarship on Jola people since the 1970s. Mark, for example, contends that "the unified Jola ethnic group is a product of colonial and postindependence political and economic structures that unite the Casamance and its inhabitants vis-à-vis the rest of Senegal" (Mark 1992:16). A central facet of this argument is that there was evidently no group of people identified as Jola prior to the nineteenth century, with the ethnonym first entering French colonial records in 1823. De Jong likewise writes that the idea of African ethnicity as invented tradition is now accepted as "common sense" (1995:15) and, along with others, has analyzed the many ways that the concept of Jola ethnicity is enmeshed in colonial and

Other scholars, however, object to this line of thought. Niang, for example, plainly states that "the Diola of Casamance, as an ethnic group, precedes the French colonial advent" (2009:70). Himself a Jola by maternal lineage, Niang takes specific exception to a comment in Mark's work (1992:16-17), protesting that "it is also insulting to assert that the Diola is whoever claims to be one. To reduce Diola identity to a mere personal preference would likewise be untrue" (Niang 2009:68). Sonko-Godwin supports this argument, claiming that the Jola originally comprised a precolonial society that "in fact could be regarded as a nation" (1986:78), and later splintered into smaller subgroups under the influence of colonialism and cultural globalization. An uncertainty regarding this question underlies much of Thomas' work (e.g., 1959, 1968), leading him to wonder even toward the end of his long career, "Are the Jola an ethnic group in the process of creation or dissolution?" (1992:iix). Baum's work (especially 1999, 2015) paints a picture of religious and cultural continuity in the lower Casamance region that stretches back five hundred years, even as it has responded significantly to colonialism, slave trading, and the influence of Islam and Christianity. Taking a middle road, he argues that "ethnicity, [...] no matter to what extent it may have been 'invented,' is never seen as 'modern' [by Jola people]. Ethnicity constitutes for many Casamançais the domain of life in which traditions are maintained" (1999:6).

A further complication of grasping the Jola ethnicity is that, as Thomas puts it, "one cannot speak of the Jola except in the plural" (1992:iix). Thomas initially enumerated fifteen Jola subgroups, later simplified to eight (Thomas 1959:12). Depending on the situation, a given Jola person might identify with a specific village, a cluster of villages, a major or minor Jola
subgroup, or with the Jola ethnic group as a whole. The Jola language is likewise not a single
tongue but a cluster of related dialects, usually conceived as two to four major subgroups that
further subdivide into as many as thirty dialectical variants (Lüpke forthcoming). The linguistic
research website Glottolog describes a rather dizzying array of Jola dialects and sub-dialects (see
Figure 5), some of which are mutually unintelligible (Hammarström, Forkel, Haspelmath, and
Bank 2016). For practical reasons, Casamançais people tend to be extraordinarily multilingual in
these Jola dialects as well as other African and European languages, as illustrated by a married
Casamançais couple mentioned in Lüpke's work who each list fluency in nine languages yet
share only two (forthcoming:4). Musically, the situation is equally complex, with different
genres, instruments, and practices present in different regions of the Casamance and associated
with different subgroups and villages. This abundance of internal diversity and subgroup
identification threatens to overwhelm the concept of a unified Jola ethnicity. It also presents a
distinct challenge to overarching ethnological classification of the region. As Mark writes, "The
complexity of these groups seems to be directly proportional to the researcher's familiarity with a
given region" (1992:22). Indeed, a researcher on the ground quickly discovers so many
subdivisions that it sometimes feels like every village potentially constitutes its own cultural
group. Even so, Thomas believes that "all of them, conscious of belonging to a common group,
know how to close ranks and present a unified front to foreign aggressors" (1992:ix).
In short, the Jola ethnicity is variously seen as a precolonial nation, a changeable but ancient cultural formation, a practical alliance of embattled village communities, a colonial and postcolonial political instrumentality, and a conglomerate of complexly related subgroups. At the risk of being non-committal, many of these conceptions are probably in play. Jola people tend to experience their ethnic identity through a sense of "givenness" (Geertz 1973:259) stemming from an ancient birthright, even if the present-day Jola identity is probably a more recent coalition than that notion suggests. Inter-village alliances have indeed served the Jola people well in times of war and colonial oppression, even if a common ethnic identity has not always deterred villages (and even village wards) from antagonizing or waging war against each other. And, the Jola ethnicity is undoubtedly mobilized instrumentally in the fields of colonial and postcolonial politics, even while it also comprises a set of beliefs, practices, and social relationships that transcend instrumental political concerns. These apparent contradictions point to a series of questions arising from the gray area between essentialist and postmodern conceptions of ethnicity. If African ethnicity is indeed a politically contingent and historically malleable concept, how do some African people come to experience it through an innate sense of timeless belonging? And, if present-day African ethnicities reflect primordial and substantive corpsuses of
meaning, practice, and belonging, then how do they respond to historical changes and frequent interlacing with political discourse? Partial responses to these questions emerge throughout this dissertation text, taking the perspective of musical anthropology in which "music is part of the very construction and interpretation of social and conceptual relationships and processes" (Seeger 2004:xiv).

This chapter provides an ethnographic and historical introduction to the Jola people of Casamance. I begin by describing the geography and ecology of the Casamance region, and its connection to Jola political organization. I then describe Jola family and social structures, systems of gender and generation, agriculture, and religion. Given the preceding description of Jola internal diversity, it should be clear that these descriptions are primarily ideal rather than particular, though I do attempt to flesh them out lightly with specific details. Finally, I provide a history of the Casamance region and the emergence of the ethnic group presently named Jola from the precolonial period through European contact, the slave trade, the formal colonial period, and the post-independence period.

**Environment and Culture**

Centered on both banks of the Casamance River, the Jola homeland sits in an intermediary ecological zone between the Sahelian savannah to the north, the tropical forest to the south, the Sahara desert to the east, and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. The Casamance River flows through the southernmost arm of Senegal, with the Upper Casamance region (or Haute-Casamance) stretching north into The Gambia and the Lower Casamance region (or Basse-Casamance) extending to the Bissago Archipelago north of the Cacheu River in Guinea-Bissau. Fed by freshwater runoff in the hills of Futa Jallon, it meets the Atlantic Ocean at the delta two
hundred miles downriver. The Casamance River's broad, slow-moving span east of Ziguinchor, forty miles inland, is properly termed a hyperhaline estuary, with the brackish water's directional flow determined by ocean tides rather than downward slope (Debenay, Pagès, and Guillou 1994). In this area, the estuary provides habitat for numerous species of seabirds and saltwater fish, as well as marine mammals such as dolphins and manatees. The river is navigable by large ships up to the port of Ziguinchor, and by large pirogues considerably further upriver. The riverbanks are lined with mangrove forests (*J. kusole*) and sandbars, laced by innumerable serpentine streams called bolongs, marigots, or tidal meanders, many of which are navigable by large pirogues (Figure 6). The surface of the river shines like quicksilver in the early evening, reflecting the tangerine haze of the sky, the green stripe of mangrove forest, and the flamboyant hulls of fishing boats returning with their daily haul.

The low plateau of the Upper Casamance is dotted with forests of caicedrat (*J. bukay*), ceiba (*J. busaan*), baobab (*J. bubak*), and oil palm (*J. jibeekel*) trees, floored by sparse, grassy undergrowth. Nearest to the sea, the Karones region is riddled with estuaries and marshy mangroves. The Lower Casamance is a patchwork of mangroves and thick forests that are considerably denser in both the canopy and understory. Rainfall in the Casamance is generally quite high, ranging from thirty-five to sixty inches annually, but varies considerably within the region. As a rule, rainfall increases from north to south, and from east to west. With some regional variance, the rainy season typically lasts from late June into September. The last forty years have seen considerably decreased rainfall in the region, with profound effects on agricultural production as well as annual fish reproduction rates, the estuary's salinity and directional flow, and the range of tidal meanders and mangrove forests. It remains to be seen whether this drought is the result of cyclical fluctuations or more durable climate change.
Social Organization

For Jolas, social organization begins with the family household (*sindaay*). The Jola terms for mother (*iñaay*) and father (*ampa*) also encompass the English terms aunt and uncle, respectively, and the Jola terms for brother and sister (*ati* for same-gender sibling, *áliin* for cross-gender sibling) likewise encompass the English term cousin. This is indicative of the close relationship between "extended" families, who often live in the same household or compound, though Jola people do sometimes single out their birth parents and siblings using French or English. Cross-aunts and -uncles (i.e., the birth mother's brother and the birth father's sister) play a special role in a person's life as matchmakers, mentors, and providers of material support. Polygamy is permissible but rarely practiced. Family, marriage, and children are generally sources of great joy and companionship in Jola communities.
Beyond the family, communities are organized first by ward (*kalol*) and then by village (*esuk*). Until recently, village wards (also termed quarters or neighborhoods) functioned as highly independent, named communities, not infrequently with competitive or outright adversarial relations to other wards in the same village. As Baum describes, "until the end of the First World War, township unity was so fragile that people did not socialize extensively beyond the quarter and even today, one does not wear casual dress when visiting people from another quarter" (2015:25). Today, the village is generally regarded both as a group of wards and as a cohesive unit unto itself. Village populations range from several dozen people to a few thousand, with the largest being Thionk-Essyl at about six thousand strong. Decision-making at the village level is guided by a council of elders, which often includes both men and women and which usually includes religious leaders from whichever faiths are most prominent in a given village. Although affinities and rivalries between villages do exist, Jolas developed no lasting political structures larger than the village or village cluster. For this reason, they are frequently described as stateless or acephalous.

Jola communities are also described as egalitarian. As Kisliuk (1998) points out, however, egalitarianism is always a relative, not an absolute concept. Egalitarianism in this case does not imply that all Jola adults are equally respected or possess equal resources – indeed, sometimes significant disparities depend on age, occupation, gender, religion, and other factors – but rather that social organization is less stratified than the hierarchical, hereditary social organization of neighboring Sahelian groups such as the Mandinka and Wolof. Elements of this egalitarianism include cooperative, un-coerced agricultural labor practices, consensus decision-making, inclusion of male and female authority figures, and the absence of large-scale political structures. Dumont suggests that societies combining an egalitarian sensibility with high levels
of individual autonomy necessary produce a climate of constant negotiation (Dumont 1986). Indeed, Jola culture includes a number of cultural structures that serve to balance the distribution of power and authority. Baum, for example, suggests that the large number of spirit shrines associated with the indigenous Jola religion produces egalitarian access to spiritual resources: "This multiplicity of spirit shrines […] ensured the broad distribution of religious authority among priests and councils of elders. Most women and men could expect to reach a position of influence and authority in at least one spirit shrine as they reached middle age. At the same time, no individual could have access to the esoteric knowledge associated with all the major shrines of the community" (2015:36). By the same token, the highest position of religious authority in a village – the *ayi*, usually translated as rain-priest or simply king (or *roi*) – is considered so powerful that in some villages everything he touches becomes his property, including houses, wives, and even the very ground he walks upon. Precisely because of this great power, the *ayi* faces strict limitations on movement: he is not allowed to leave the village and in some cases he is only allowed to travel within the village on a limited network of pathways that already belong to him. The most powerful figure in the village is also the most constrained.

**Gender**

Jola men and women generally inhabit loosely separated, complementary spheres (Journet 1976, Linares 1985). Both are involved in agricultural work, with men maintaining irrigation dykes and regulating water flow and women sewing seeds and transplanting seedlings. Women also care for children and cook, while during the dry season men work as palm wine tappers. Gender relations are frequently said to conform to Jola egalitarianism, though again this should be regarded as a relative rather than absolute term. In a comparative study of gender,
religion, and labor in three Jola communities, for example, Linares finds sometimes stark
differences in the workloads of men and women, particularly in villages with strong Islamic and
Mandinka influence (1992). Jola music-making that occurs in single-sex social contexts often
concerns inter-gender relations, as with the women's work songs chastising bad behavior by the
women's husbands (Linares 1992:195) or men's ekonting songs lamenting the lack of female
company during palm wine tapping expeditions. In mixed-gender music-making, men and
women perform complementary roles, with men playing membranophones and women playing
wood, bamboo, or iron idiophones. In large-scale musical events, women and men often divide
into a pair of gendered choruses, singing the same words and melody in call-and-response an
crueve apart. Certain events (such as wrestling matches and harvest festivals) involve cross-
dressing by both women and men, accompanied by deliberate, sometimes exaggerated cross-
gender behavior (e.g., women playing in men's drum sections, or men dancing seductively in
competitive pairs). While this cross-dressing suggests a playful fluidity in gender norms during
celebratory music events, the blatant transgression of these norms also creates an idealized
example of the performative behaviors that define gender in ordinary social contexts.

Scholars have found different effects of colonialism on gender relations in Jola
communities. Reflecting broader arguments about the polarization of African gender relations
under colonialism (e.g., Amadiume 1987 and Mikell 1997), Callaway and Creevey argue that
relative equality in precolonial Senegalese gender relations was eroded by the French educational
system and the commercialization of agriculture (both of which generally excluded women's
participation) along with the increasing influence of local interpretations of Islam (1993, see also
Creevey 1996). On the other hand, Baum suggests that Europeans' focus on male authority
figures during the colonial period allowed female authority to grow: "Both the lower visibility of
women in leadership roles and the inability of male leaders to contain European interventions contributed to the development of new spaces for women to provide religious leadership in Diola communities" (2015:15). Today, the nearly ubiquitous practice of seasonal urban migration by Jola youth has in some ways empowered young women while also burdening them with additional financial responsibilities (Hamer 1981, 1983; Lambert 1999, 2007; Linares 2003).

*Generation*

Jola society is gerontocratic, with power accruing with age in a system that seriously questions the narrative of Jola egalitarianism. The concept of generation differs from chronological age in that it implies a progression through distinct stages of life (childhood, unmarried youth, initiation, marriage, parenthood, and old age) and because for Jolas generational groups are explicit social identities produced and maintained through cultural activity. Both Jola men and women participate in an initiation ceremony that includes a period of seclusion in the sacred forest, with their return home marking the transition to full-fledged adulthood in a fairly typical example of Turner's ritual process (1969). The initiation ceremony (called *bukut* for young men and *futaba* or *ñaakay* for young women) also marks the creation of a generational group, which receives a collective name at the time of initiation and remains a prominent aspect of an individual's identity and social network throughout their life. As a Jola person continues to age, they gradually gain access to secret knowledge that is off-limits to younger people, such that secrecy (de Jong 2001, Baum 2010b) and generation (Baum 1999) are perhaps the most important dimensions of power and authority in Jola society. As seasonal labor migration has become a nearly ubiquitous trajectory for young Jolas, however, differences in
monetary wealth and lifestyle between generations has presented a challenge to the traditional gerontocracy (Lambert 2002, Linares 2003).

**Agriculture**

"The Jola was created to farm rice," as the saying goes (quoted in Baum 2015:26). Wet rice cultivation is common to all Jola subgroups, as well as other Casamançais groups such as the Manjaks and Balantas. Rice fields are divided into small plots about ten meters square, separated by earthen irrigation dikes about one meter high which keep the plot submerged for several weeks during the rainy season (Figure 7). This intricate and labor-intensive technique is certainly precolonial in the Casamance and possibly dates to the first millennium CE (Linares 1971, 1981). Wet rice cultivation in the Casamance is also an important piece of the so-called Black Rice hypothesis, which controversially suggests that enslaved Africans provided the technological knowledge necessary for rice cultivation in the New World (Carney 2002). Jola men and women typically play complementary roles in agricultural labor, often as part of collective voluntary labor associations (Linares 1985, 1988). Men maintain the irrigation dikes using a distinctive long-handled hoe called *kajendo*, and periodically create floodgates to flush out plots that have been contaminated with salt water. Women fertilize the plots with cattle dung, sow rice seeds, and transplant seedlings from starter plots. The rice harvest is a major annual event in which the entire community participates. This cultivation system is extremely laborious, requiring up to twelve hours of work a day during the planting season, often in sweltering heat and humidity. Accordingly, one of the most important aspects of virtue in Jola societies is hard work (Davidson 2009). Pelissier suggests Jola agricultural knowledge extends to two hundred varieties of rice (1958), while Linares puts the number between five and fifteen (1970). Most are
variants of African rice (*Oryza glaberrima*, originally domesticated in the Niger, Gambia, and Casamance riverlands) as opposed to Asian rice (*Oryza sativa*, introduced by Europeans during the colonial period, which has higher yields but is more susceptible to drought). Jolas also cultivate onions, lettuce, tomatoes, cashews, mangos, and other crops in sustenance gardens, and peanuts in commercial plots.

Rice (*J. emaan*) has meaning beyond sustenance. Accumulated in personal storage granaries, it is a sign of wealth and wellness. More importantly, as Mark writes, "rice as agricultural abundance is associated with land, with fertility, and with rain, and through them, rice is linked to sacrifice and to communication with the spirit world" (1992:27). Along with palm wine libations, rice offerings are an important practice of the Jola indigenous religion. Watching undulating waves of steam ascend from the rice paddies in the morning heat, it is no surprise that "like water, rice was seen as having a life force, similar to people and animals" (Baum 2015:26; see also Davidson 2015). For this reason, Jola religious leader Aline Sitoué Diatta discouraged the ritual use of *Oryza sativa* in the 1940s; Asian rice was acceptable for human consumption, but only African rice was appropriately linked with the land, the ancestors, and the spirit world.
Religion

Jolas are practitioners of Islam, Christianity, and the indigenous Jola religion, sometimes called the Awasena Path. This mix of faiths, which divide roughly evenly between the population, differentiates Jolas from the rest of Senegal and The Gambia, which are predominantly Muslim. Historically, these three religions have interacted complexly in the region. There is even greater complexity in how each is practiced, especially since a single person most often participates in practices deriving from at least two faiths. For that reason, generalizing about the religious situation of the Casamance is difficult.

Jola practitioners of indigenous religion often refer to themselves as animists (animistes), as there is no formal name for the set of religious beliefs and practices deriving from Jola
Baum has suggested the term *awasena*, meaning "a person who pours out libations," as an appropriate term for an adherent of the traditional Jola religion and *Awasena Path* as a name for the religion itself (see Baum 2015:29-30 for a discussion of Jola terms related to religious practice). The Awasena Path revolves around a large number of shrines (sg. *boekin*, pl. *ukin*), which are seen as the primary points of communication with the spirit world. In its physical manifestation, a *boekin* might be a forked stake planted in the earth, a more complex altar with animal horns and a receptacle for receiving palm wine libations, or a natural landmark such as the roots of a ceiba tree. Typically a *boekin* is attended by a single person, usually an older man or woman. A *boekin* might be associated with a village ward or subward, or a specific family, or an aspect of life such as rainfall, childbirth, physical or spiritual wellness, or social disputes. *Ukin* are numerous: Thomas described over a hundred *ukin* (1959) and Baum identified about fifty within a single subward of Kadjinol (2015:30). A young Jola researcher and museum proprietor named Karafa Diatta is working to create a database of *ukin* throughout the Lower Casamance, having identified over sixty in his village of Djembering. Central to this system of *ukin* is the Jola belief in the "interpenetration" (Mark 1992:26) of the physical and spiritual realms. Visible and invisible worlds are intertwined and overlaid, with *ukin*, sacred forests, and religious ceremonies creating points of particularly intense hierophanic contact.

In addition to the *ukin*, the Awasena Path includes a creator god called Emité, a word that also means year, sky, and rain. The nature of Emité has been a subject of dispute among Jola scholars. Mark describes Emité as a *deus otiosus* in line with other divine beings of African Traditional Religions, a remote creator that is generally indifferent to and uninvolved in human affairs. Sapir concurs with this view, writing, "In terms of traditional Diola belief […], emit remains a distant creative force, an unmoved mover that has nothing at all to do with the
immediate, or even distant, fate of man, either during life or after death" (1970b:1331). Both Mark and Sapir hypothesize that personification of Emité (and related practices such as addressing prayers directly to Emité rather than to a boekin spirit) is a relatively recent phenomenon owing to the influence of Abrahamic religion. Baum, however, strongly disagrees with this view, instead arguing that "the concept of a supreme being is far too important to the awasena path to be a product of the very limited contact of Diola and Europeans prior to the twentieth century" (2015:32). Baum also presents a long history of people called Emité dabognol ("whom Emité has sent"), prophetic figures who were either sent by Emité or in direct communication with Emité, as proof of Emité's direct involvement in Jola life.

Jola practice of Islam differs significantly from Islam in other parts of Senegambia. It typically runs in parallel with the Awasena Path, regarded by Muslims from further north as unorthodox and heavily influenced by indigenous religious beliefs. Unlike northern Senegambia, Jola Muslims generally do not belong to Mouride brotherhoods, though anecdotal evidence during my fieldwork suggests that this dynamic may be changing. Historically, Islam was not prevalent in Jola communities until the twentieth century, despite aggressive attempts at conversion in the late 1800s and links to the Islamic world stretching back centuries (the history of Islamic influence in the Casamance being explored more fully in the following section). Today, Islam is considerably more influential in the Upper Casamance than the Lower Casamance.

Mark provides a telling portrait of the interaction of Islam and the Awasena Path in Thionk-Essyl, the largest village in the Upper Casamance: "In Thionk-Essil the sacred forest associated with [the central rain shrine] was chopped down to make space for the central mosque. But the one tree which was the actual abode of the community's protective spirit was
not touched. The pivot of the ceremonial center remains. Vine-bedecked and venerable, this tree stands beside the mosque, living testimony that the traditional center was not to be trifled with. For no one would assume the responsibility – and the risks – for cutting it down. In this most thoroughly Muslim of Diola communities, the old and the new coexist, side by side" (1985:126). I experienced a similar dynamic in the village of Mandinari in The Gambia, which is shared by Jolas and Mandinkas. There, one of the last remaining ukin manifests as the roots of a caicedrat tree smeared with candle wax (Figure 8). It sits in a tiny patch of forest perhaps twenty meters square that is entirely enclosed by a low fence. This serves to separate the forest from the large stretch of agricultural fields that completely surrounds it, an interesting reversal of the more typical dynamic in which nature is fenced out, not fenced in. Stepping into the dark shade of this quiet grove from the bright and busy ricefields, there is a strong sense of crossing over to another space. This boekin is tended by a frail old woman who had recently become seriously ill when I visited in 2015. She was conflicted about whether to continue offering libations to the boekin because the village's fundamentalist Muslim clerics have threatened not to bury her if she does.

*Figure 8. A boekin in Mandinari. Photo by the author, 22 May 2015.*
Christian influence in the Casamance dates to the establishment of Ziguinchor as a Portuguese trading post in 1645 (Baum 1990). French Catholic missions were later established in the mid-1800s and early 1900s. Catholic authorities were evidently tolerant toward the Awasena Path prior to WWI, at which point a change in religious leadership led to more discouraging views of dual and syncretic religious practice. Even so, Catholic masses in Senegal frequently incorporate Jola musical idioms, even as far away as the cathedral in Dakar. In the past few decades, evangelical Christian sects have also made inroads in the Casamance. These efforts are led by the Société Internationale de Linguistique (SIL), an US-based Christian non-profit that publishes editions of the Bible and Bible stories in several Jola language dialects from their regional headquarters in Dakar. I attended a presentation by SIL's regional music specialist to other SIL staffers in 2014, during which the goal was not to explicitly discourage Awasena practice but instead to keep it as separate as possible from Christian worship, even while infusing Christian services with as much Jola language and music as possible. This specialist also runs workshops in Jola communities in the Casamance in which she convenes musically talented Jolas to compose new songs in traditional idioms that relate stories and messages from the Bible.

History

History is not a simple recording of past events, but also an act of interpretation and storytelling from a position in the present. This truism has significant implications in the Casamance, where different interpretations of the past lead to different perspectives on the age and nature of the Jola ethnicity. A decades-long civil conflict in the region likewise turns on competing narratives of Senegalese colonial and postcolonial history. The two main sources of historical information are Jola oral history and European records. In general, Jola oral history is
temporally shallower than that of other Senegambian groups because Jola society does not include the oral history specialist role sometimes called griot, such as the Wolof gewel and Mandinka jali. Nonetheless, Baum has worked to establish three general chronotopes in Jola conceptions of the past over the course of hundreds of oral history interviews: "a time of the first ancestors, beyond the reach of genealogical reckoning; the time of the ancestors, included within the genealogies; and the period lived through by at least some of the elders of the community" (1999:188). Using the approximate dates of male initiation ceremonies as guideposts, Baum estimates that the time of the first ancestors corresponds to everything prior to the year 1700. European records date to the first Portuguese expeditions in the region in the 1400s, and include accounts by travellers, traders, missionaries, and colonial administrators, as well as economic records and shipping logs. As Mark points out, all of these sources carry their own biases: "The Diola of 1850 are no longer here to speak for themselves. They left no permanent records that might afford us access to their understanding of these matters. We are left with only the partial recollections of a later generation, influenced by the spread of Islam, Christianity, and literacy. The only written records are those of another, literature culture and another religious tradition, Christianity" (1985:76). The following historical account draws from historical studies of the region (especially Barry 1998; Baum 1990, 1999, 2004, 2010a, 2010b; Knörr and Wilson 2010; Leary 1970; Linares 1987; Mark 1983, 1985; Méguelle 2012; Nicolas and Gaye 1988; Roche 1976; Trincaz 1984), and it is geared toward understanding the deep continuities and profound changes that have occurred in the region. Although Jola culture is sometimes misunderstood as insular or isolated, I approach Casamançais history with an Afropolitan perspective, in which local history is inextricable from the history of the world.
"The African societies we know were all born not 'in the beginning,'" Kopytoff writes, "but as part of a continuous and variegated process of interaction and social formation – a process that included these forms as part of the condition in which they were created and re-created. It was an ecology that made for the fact that states and stateless societies have existed side by side for over nearly two millennia" (1987:78). The Casamance region sits at the northern reaches of the Wagadu (also called Ghana) empire that flourished in the eighth century. It was within reach of the ancient city of Tekrur and its Saharan trade routes, but probably lay on the margins of such long-distance economic and political networks, existing instead as small communities of sustenance farmers. After the fall of Wagadu, it remained on the outskirts of the Mali Empire, which thrived into the fifteenth century. The creation of the Jolof confederation in what is now northern Senegal in the 1300s presented a northern challenger to Malian influence. As the Jolof confederation splintered into the kingdoms of Waala, Kajoor, Baol, Siin, and Saalum in the 1500s, most of the small-scale kinship societies of the Senegambian region were gradually assimilated into centralized states; but the Casamance region remained on the fringes of any known historical polity. This is probably due to the region's ecology: the dense forests (particularly south of the Casamance River) were impassible to camels ("the ships of the desert" per Lydon 2005), and the tropical climate harbored tsetse flies carrying the equine disease nagana (trypanosomiasis), which acted as a natural defense against mounted cavalry. These Casamançais communities were part of a cultural cluster of small-scale, non-hierarchical, rice-farming societies extending between the Gambia River and the Kolenté River (forming the present-day border between Guinea and Sierra Leone). Despite their agricultural self-sufficiency, these groups were, in fact, linked together by networks of trade, by canoe rather than camel. Of
these early groups, the Bagnun were the most influential and trade-oriented, controlling trade routes for cola nuts, indigo dye, iron goods, and salt (Barry 1998).

European Contact and the Slave Trade

As Wright describes, "By the middle of the fifteenth century, Western Europe and West Africa were being drawn increasingly into a wider world or, more particularly, into a restructuring and expanding world economic system that forever after would alter the ways of life of the people living in each place" (Wright 2004:13). Portuguese explorer Nuno Tristão sailed into the wide mouth of the Gambia River in 1446. Although three-fourths of his men were immediately killed and the ship promptly reversed course, local leaders recognized a new economic opportunity and agreed to trade with the Venetian Alvise de Cadamosto nine years later. As Wright points out, this was far from a meeting of heretofore provincial societies: the Europeans were aided by Chinese inventions such as gunpowder, printing, and the compass and by Portuguese, Italian, and Middle Eastern innovations in shipbuilding and navigation, while the Gambian states offered a coastal contact point to the trans-Saharan trade in Sudanese gold, as well as leather, wax, and ivory from the south (2004:12).

Ziguinchor was founded on the Casamance River as a Portuguese trading post in 1645. Folk etymology suggests that the Portuguese phrase chegai e choram ("I came and they cry") was the source of the city's name, implying a local fear of European domination or enslavement, but in the early decades the city's precarious existence depended entirely on the protection of neighboring villages and the powerful Manding kingdom of Kaabu, then the most important state between the coast and the Futa Jallon plateau. This marked the beginning of fierce competition between the Portuguese, French, English, and Dutch for footholds in the Senegambian region,
which led to the creation of a chain of fortified European communities at Saint-Louis, Gorée, Bathurst, Cacheu, and Bissau. The arrival of European ships and the new trade opportunities they represented altered the balance of power in the region, somewhat lessening the importance of the Mali empire and its Saharan trade connections in comparison to the coastal states. In the Casamance, struggle for control over the new arena of Atlantic trade spurred violent conflict between Bagnun, Kaabu, and Kasanga states, such that "by the time of [French merchant Sieur Michel Jajolet] de la Courbe's visit [in 1687], fighting appears to have been almost endemic" (Mark 1985:25). Typical households at the time were fortified with walls, battlements, and other defensive architecture (Mark 2002). In addition to Bagnuns, Mandings, and Kasangas, other ethnic groups described by Portuguese visitors to the Casamance in the sixteenth century include Jabundos, Arriatos (or Arriaeros), Papels, and Falupos (Mark 1985). The Casamance derives its name from the mansa ("leader") of the Kassa state, another name for the Kasangas.

The Senegambian region was an early epicenter of the transatlantic slave trade that removed twelve million Africans from the continent over the course of 450 years (Transatlantic Slave Trade Database 2013). The Senegambian region was the source of approximately fifty percent of total embarkations of enslaved Africans in the first half of sixteenth century, at a rate of eight hundred to a thousand enslaved people annually (Barry 1998:39). This rate increased to a few thousand a year by the mid-1600s. By that point, "the slave trade became the principal business of the European powers on the African coast" (Barry 1998:46), surpassing the earlier trade in gold and other goods. Curtin (1972) estimates that one to two thousand enslaved people were exported from The Gambia alone between 1687 and 1800, a number that Barry (1998) argues is a significant underestimate. The peak period was 1750 to 1800, when 220,000 enslaved Africans embarked from the Senegambian coast, 108,000 of whom boarded British ships.
(Transatlantic Slave Trade Database 2013). Nonetheless, the Senegambian region was preceded in importance by the Gulf of Guinea and Angola in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In total, approximately 750,000 enslaved Africans embarked from ships leaving the Senegambian coast (Transatlantic Slave Trade Database 2013).

The small, decentralized societies of the Casamance region were especially vulnerable to slave raids by Europeans and neighboring states. The region's latticework of navigable waterways made it easy for raiders to take captives and disappear downriver before a defense could be mounted. The endemic warfare in the region was motivated not only by control of trade routes, but also by the constant demand for captives. Preliminary Jola oral histories typically deny Jola participation in the slave trade, painting Jola communities solely as victims, though a deeper level of oral history uncovered by Baum (1999) and supported by colonial records (Mark 1985) suggests that some Jolas did trade in slaves. Baum recounts oral histories from the Lower Casamance describing how neighbors' children could be captured and hidden before being sold to European traders, and how special shrines were created in an attempt to shield those participating in this taboo practice from the retribution of the community or the spirit world (1999). Lüpke suggests that this climate produced intense, nuanced systems of othering in order to rationalize participation in the slave trade and frequent warfare on neighboring villages, while strategies of affinity were simultaneously necessary to create alliances and common defenses (forthcoming). Participation in the transatlantic slave trade may have been seen as a corollary to the precolonial Casamançais practice of domestic slavery or "forcible adoption" (Mark 1985:27), which differed significantly from chattel slavery in that domestic slaves were absorbed into their communities, apparently suffering few durable social disadvantages (Baum 2010a). At any rate,
Mark writes, "by the second half of the seventeenth century, the Diola of Buluf were very much involved in the slave trade" (1985:27) in exchange for iron, cattle, beeswax, and dried fish.

Changes in the power dynamics between Casamançais groups continued in the seventeenth century. The most significant of these was the decline of the formally dominant Bagnun kingdoms, and the attendant rise of groups that would eventually be called Jola. Several factors probably contributed. The Bagnun had established strong relations with the Portuguese in the early wave of European contact, alliances that became less profitable as Portugal's global influence declined, and France's influence in the region grew (Roche 1976). The increased flow of iron to the Casamance may have allowed small-scale agricultural societies to increase their productivity and defensive capabilities, at the expense of the more trade-focused Bagnuns (Lauer 1969). These societies also tended to incorporate some captives as additional laborers through the continued practice of domestic slavery, leading to further increases in productivity, while the Bagnuns raided their own communities and sold captives as slaves (de Jong 2001). By the end of the seventeenth century, the coalition of groups that would soon be called Jola "were well on their way to displacing the Bagnun as the most powerful group" in the Casamance (Mark 1985:31).

Abolition followed a ragged timeline. France abolished slavery in all its land possessions in 1794, only to be restored by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1802. The Abolition of the Slave Trade Act abolished slave trading in the British Empire in 1807, halving the number of enslaved Africans embarking from the Senegambian region and leading to increased conflict between British Gambia and French West Africa. France followed suit and abolished slave trading in 1818, with slavery abolished in French colonies in 1848. 1866 marked the last known transatlantic slave voyage to the Americas (Transatlantic Slave Trade Database 2013). Even after
abolition, the slave trade continued to leave its mark in the Casamance. In fact, "far from quelling the Casamance slave trade, abolition and the rise of 'legitimate commerce' caused an increase in slave raids and trade" (Mark 1985:55), with domestic slaves now needed for commercial agriculture, especially the peanut production encouraged by French merchants. Today, memory of the slave trade in Senegambia feels fresh, with coastal colonial battlements serving as its tangible monuments. It also haunts contemporary Jola musical performance, as when groups of Jola men dance in a circle brandishing tarnished French sabers and muskets, and when Jola women accompany them with iron manacles repurposed as idiophonic percussion.

Colonial Casamance

While Ziguinchor continued to thrive as a meeting ground of Europeans, Lusophone Africans, and Casamançais locals, France established its first formal concession in 1836 on the island of Karabane at the mouth of the Casamance River. Emmanuel Bertrand Bocandé was appointed as Resident Representative, charged with expanding French influence in the region and preventing the expansion of the English and Portuguese. While the term "Diola" was apparently first attested in French written records in 1828 in reference to one of the Casamance's many ethnic groups, by the mid-1800s Bocandé was using the word as an umbrella term for groups in the region (Mark 1985:55). This raises the question of whether coining an ethnonym can be said to be the beginning of Jola ethnogenesis, or whether it simply reflects long-standing affinities between groups previously labelled separately; a difficult question to answer definitively with the available evidence in the Jola case. In any case, the ethnonyms Floup (or Felupe), Kasanga (or Kassa), Arriato, and Papel, formerly considered to represent separate groups, were gradually replaced by the single term Jola.
The first direct manifestation of French imperial authority occurred in 1860, with a French attack on the village of Thionk-Essyl in the Upper Casamance as punishment for their continued participation in slave raiding. Numerous sources connect the ferocity of Jola resistance to colonial authority to their acephalous social structure. The outcome of this first French aggression, for example, was that eight male "chiefs" of Thionk-Essyl were made to swear allegiance to French sovereignty (Mark 1985:67). Yet, these eight men did not speak for the entirety of the Thionk-Essyl populace, and the village soon counterattacked the French outpost at Karabane. French administrators were constantly frustrated that Jolas had no king to conquer and no existing system of hierarchical governance to coopt. Instead, they faced a vast number of recalcitrant village communities that steadfastly ignored French authority. As one French administrator wrote, "The Diola come to prove to us that their non-coercible obstinateness is every bit as difficult to defeat as an active rebellion […] We are unfortunately almost disarmed in the face of this type of resistance. One could not permit the use of arms against a stubborn population who does not respond to any of our efforts to make them obey. […] It is the almost complete application of the principle of inertia" (quoted in Baum 2015:92,104). Small village communities simply moved into the dense forests with their livestock and other valuables when French tax collectors approached, waiting there until they left. French attempts to tax rice production met with particularly stubborn resistance due to rice's cultural and religious importance. Awasena religious leaders, whether keepers of powerful ukin (Baum 1999) or direct emissaries of Emité (Baum 2015), were particularly involved in this resistance. Although the French often retaliated with murderous village raids, Jola adherence to French authority was rarely long-lasting.

Despite Jola resistance, French colonialism brought economic changes to the Casamance.
Natural products such as palm kernels, palm oil, and rubber replaced the export trade in enslaved people, leading to a large increase in seasonal labor migration among young Jola men. Women's migration also developed substantially during this time, primary to work as porters in British Bathurst in The Gambia (Mark 1985). Commercial peanut farming ushered Casamançais farmers into a cash economy, with profits dependent on a capricious global marketplace. As Wright puts it, "peanut prices [in the mid-1800s] bobbed up and down like a pirogue on the Atlantic, with various world events causing major waves" (2004:157). Farmers' livelihoods were no longer dependent only on annual rainfall, but on the whims of the global economy as well.

The Casamance region had been in contact with the Islamic world as early as 1300, but in the late 1800s a series of invading armies attempted to force the region's peoples into conversion. Known as the Maraboutic Wars, these invasions were led by Muslim political and religious leaders from the northeast who sought to expand their domain of influence into the Upper Casamance. Fodé Kaba led period raids into the Fogny region from 1877 to 1893; Ibrahima N'Diaye attacked the eastern Casamance in 1886; and Fodé Sylla invaded the Buluf region in the same year. All three met with ardent resistance from village communities that put aside histories of mutual antagonism and banded together to face culturally, religiously, and geographically foreign foes. All three invading armies were eventually repelled. Ironically, the successful Jola defense probably increased people's faith in the ukin shrines and the Awasena priests who tended to them. As Linares puts it, "the jihads [of the late 1800s] had the opposite effect from conversion. They brought heretofore competing Jola villages into alliances and they strengthened the tie between the population and their leaders and shrines" (1992:7).

Christianity fared better in making inroads into the population of the Lower Casamance. The Spiritan Holy Ghost Fathers opened a mission in Sédhiou in the eastern Casamance in the
1860s, followed by a mission, school, and medical post at the French concession on Karabane in 1880 and a mission in the nearby village of Elinkine in 1891. Although Catholicism had been present in Ziguinchor since its founding, its practice was nominal. French explorer Hyacinthe Hecquard described Christian identity in Ziguinchor as a marker of differentiation between Luso-Africans and their local neighbors rather than an indicator of actual religious practice: "All the inhabitants call themselves Christians even though they do not fulfill any obligations of their religion: they called the neighboring peoples, pagans" (quoted in Mark 1985:7; see also Mark 1999). Led by Father Édouard Wintz, the French Catholic missions were relatively open to syncretic or dual religious practice by their new Jola congregation, with Wintz himself attending and describing some Awasena rituals and publishing a Jola-French dictionary (1968 [1909]).

Despite continued resentment of the French presence, many Jolas saw no reason not to add baptism and mass attendance to the existing repertoire of their Awasena practices.

In the 1900s, the French sent a larger occupying military force to quell ongoing resistance and domestic slave raiding. Unable to levy taxes through the council of elders governing village decisions, they installed a chef de village in each community, most of whom were Catholic Jolas or Muslim Wolofs or Mandinkas. The state of pax Franca enforced after the Maraboutic Wars and the stark decrease in domestic slave raiding created more favorable conditions for seasonal migration. Migration, primarily to The Gambia and Dakar, in turn spurred increased contact with non-coercive Islam, which had also acquired associations with authority and wealth through French political policies. The first Muslim communities in Thionk-Essyl in the Upper Casamance date to 1915. Christian missionaries in the Lower Casamance also expanded their reach thanks to safer travel conditions. The Awasena Path was changing as well. As Baum writes, "The seeming inability of older spirit cults to protect the Diola from conquest created a
need for new types of spirits, which was met by religious leaders relying on visionary experiences. Furthermore, Diola male leadership's inability to contain or expel European colonizers militarily or ritually created new opportunities for women to exert religious leadership and speak up in public forums where they planned strategies of opposition" (2015:88). The first female Emité dabognol (direct emissary of Emité) became active in the early 1900s and moved women's leadership more firmly into the public sphere, with influence over entire communities of women and men. Prophetic contact with Emité would become a more common and influential aspect of the Awasena Path throughout the twentieth century.

During WWI, the French army conducted village raids to forcibly conscript Jola men into military service. Although young Jola men attempted to evade conscription by hiding out in the sacred forests, sometimes for weeks at a time, in the end many were forced to fight, primarily in Egypt. Awasena shrine-keepers poured out libations to prevent conscription, and French authorities complained that young women were especially effective in organizing draft resistance (Baum 2015:105). The practice of French military conscription is still remembered bitterly today. WWI is also remembered as the time when "the priests went home" (Andrewes 2005:79), as they too were conscripted to serve as army chaplains. When they returned after the war, the tolerant attitude of Father Édouard Wintz was replaced by a more oppositional stance to the Awasena Path spearheaded by the younger Father Henri Joffroy. Father Nazaire Diatta, a Jola Catholic priest in the coastal village of Djembering, recalls a song from that time encouraging Christians to desecrate Awasena "fetishes": "Pee on the boekin, make it stink, you the Christian women" (quoted in Baum 2015:107-108). The interwar period saw the Casamance integrate ever further into a cash economy with the expansion of peanut farming. In the 1930s, the worldwide
Great Depression cut the price of peanuts in half, a hardship exacerbated by a period of drought, locusts, and cattle plague that lasted until the return of heavy rainfall and crop recovery in 1936.

WWII in the Casamance saw the rise of an extraordinary young woman whose influence persists in Jola communities and indeed the Senegambian region as a whole. Born in 1920 or 1921 in the coastal village of Kabrousse near Guinea-Bissau, Aline Sitoué Diatta introduced new ways to bring Jola cultural and religious traditions to bear on the crises of the war years and colonial domination. She travelled to Dakar at age eighteen to look for work as a maid or palm wine vendor, one of the first wave of women to participate in this now commonplace journey. In 1941, while shopping in Dakar's Sandaga market, she heard the voice of Emité calling her to the nearby beach. There, she dug a hole in the sand and watched as it slowly filled up with water. This was the sign from Emité that revealed her calling as an Awasena rain priestess. She returned to Kabrousse the following year and founded a new boekin called Kasila, which successfully brought rain to the village. Her fame grew rapidly in the surrounding villages, spreading a message that Emité was displeased with Jola people's increasing reliance on foreign lifeways. She encouraged her followers to return to Jola tradition, to turn away from Christianity, to reject European-made products, to use only African *Oryza glaberrima* rice for ritual offerings, and to evade French military conscription. Such instruction travelled beyond her immediate sphere of influence through the numerous songs she composed (see Girard 1969), which her followers learned by heart and taught to others in their home villages.

Unease among French administrators and Catholic leaders led to Diatta's arrest in 1943. The arrest order described her as an "active and influential fetishist who by a sustained action pressured the people of the Province of Oussouye (Circle of Ziguinchor) into a systematic disobedience which compromised the internal security of the colony. This action was ultimately
serious and translated into a serious agitation that descended into a bitter rebellion” (quoted in Baum 2015:156). She was sentenced to ten years imprisonment, but died of scurvy on May 22, 1944 at the French internment camp in Timbuktoo. She was twenty-four years old. Fearful of making her a martyr, the French kept Diatta's death secret until 1983, when Senegalese President Abdou Diouf sent an exploratory team to Timbuktoo to investigate her fate. Baum reports that, in 1978, her husband Alougai Diatta did not know what had happened to her, and many Casamançais believed that she was still alive in captivity (2015:177). Today, Aline Sitoué Diatta is a name known to all Senegalese, a public icon whose name graces the ferry from Ziguinchor to Dakar, among other public and governmental institutions. The meaning of her life and legacy are debated, mobilized in different and sometimes contradictory directions; she is variously seen as an anti-colonial martyr, a nationalist Senegalese Jeanne D'Arc, an early supporter of an independent Casamançais nation, a proto-feminist, and an Awasena religious revivalist (Tolliver-Diallo 2005, Baum 2010c). In addition to the numerous songs Diatta composed, she has become the inspiration for even more numerous songs about her, which likewise leverage her legacy in multiple directions (Tolliver-Diallo 2005).

Diatta operated under the same ideas about music that underlie this dissertation: that the audiotopic possibilities of musical space allow normally disparate social identities (gender, age, and village community, in this case) to come together; and that participatory music-making produces deeply felt experiences of community identification. As Baum writes:

For Alinesitoué, it was not enough to come together and pray for rain. People had to have the tangible experience of their community: to partake of food in common, to sing and dance together, all without distinctions of wealth, family, sex, or age. The community prohibited participants from leaving the ritual to eat
or sleep on one's own. Everything was connected to the public meeting place. The community need was one, and they gathered as one body with one voice. They sang songs of the ancestors and of Alinesitoué. The funeral dances and songs linked the new rituals of the genealogy of each family back to the first ancestors, and integrated them into an ongoing Diola tradition. (2015:165)

Girard (1969) recorded French translations of thirty-five songs attributed to Aline Sitoué Diatta, though Baum believes some of these may have been composed by her followers after her arrest (Baum 2015:170). Some call for Jolas to come together in song and renew their dedication to Emité, such as this one: "Sing with hope and encourage the brave Alinesitoué / Our servant near to God / Oh! Here she is preparing to stand up and sing in the name of God / From whom she asks happiness for us all / And we who follow her / Whisper our prayers and go home / Sing, sing, encourage us / Here is our guide standing and singing for us in the name of God / So that he hears our prayers as we ask him for rain" (Girard 1969:350). Other songs instructed Jolas to reject the meager offerings of European technology and forecasted the eventual downfall of the French, such as this one urging direction action against the French: "Here come the French! / Beware, prepare yourselves / Let everyone arm himself with his rifle / Let us take action, we too like the Europeans / What have we done to them? / To come mistreat us? / To wear us down? / But we can say that it's the good God who led them to us / Only to mistreat us" (Girard 1969:352).

Independence and the Postcolony

Senegal achieved independence from France in 1960, and The Gambia achieved independence from Britain in 1965. The two countries were briefly united in the short-lived
Senegambian Federation from 1982 to 1989, but have otherwise remained independent republics. Senegal has been praised for its series of peaceful democratic governmental transitions, despite ongoing charges of economic corruption and a civil conflict in the Casamance region that lasted decades. In The Gambia, a military coup led by Yahya Jammeh deposed then-president Dawda Jawara in 1994. A Jola by birth, Jammeh has led the country ever since, winning a series of elections in the face of charges of ballot rigging, severe restrictions on the press, and violent quelling of opposition parties.

Despite a reputation for peace and stability, Senegalese national integrity has been troubled since independence. In 1964, Senegal passed the Senegalese Land Reform Act, giving the federal government the right to claim unused land for public purposes. This act was used to requisition land in the Casamance that had previously been considered the collective property of Jola village communities. The federal government believed they could increase the region's agricultural production enough to make all of Senegal totally self-sufficient in rice, but government agricultural projects in Oussouye and Diatock failed to increase production as the sensitivity of the dyke cultivation system made contemporary technology unfeasible (Trincaz 1984). Resentment brewed among Jola communities that saw little reason to identify with a new nation to whom they were now expected to supply rice, as they had once done for the French. In 1974, land was claimed near the coastal village of Diakene and sold to a French hotel owned by Club Med. The hotel was burned down and, unable to determine the specific perpetrators, the Senegalese government responded by imprisoning the entire male population of Diakene for a week. In 1982, the leaders of a protest in Ziguinchor were arrested, leading to a cycle of violent interactions between police and protesters. Thereafter, a organization calling itself the Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de Casamance (MFDC) began publicly calling for the
Casamance to secede from Senegal and form an independent republic. The paramilitary arm of the MFDC, called Atika after the Jola term for warrior, began attacking military targets in 1985, allegedly with support from the government of Guinea-Bissau. During the wave of reprisals from the Senegalese military, both sides were accused of deliberately attacking civilian targets and several other nations were implicated in supplying arms to one side or the other. A long series of negotiations took place between MFDC political leader Father Augustin Diamacoune Senghor and Senegalese president Abdoulaye Wade, leading to a string of fleeting cease-fire agreements. As of 2010, the Casamance conflict had resulted in about 5,000 deaths and about 25,000 people displaced by violence (Fall 2010), with the armistice of 2014 appearing to have achieved a durable peace at last. Even so, pro-independence sentiments remain common in the Casamance and the region's population and economy have suffered immeasurably.

Driving the physical violence of the Casamance conflict is a war of competing narratives. The Senegalese federal government (along with the scant foreign journalists who have covered the Casamance conflict) portrays the MFDC as a Jola organization seeking to establish a "Jola republic." Framing the secession movement as one centered on a single ethnicity is a formidable rhetorical strategy because Senegal has outlawed political parties based on ethnicity since gaining independence from France, as have most other West African nations (Webster and Boehen 1980). The founding charter of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963 likewise binds member nations to respect the boundaries of colonial territories as the basis for independent nations, rather than ancient kingdoms or other precolonial political or cultural formations, including ethnic affiliations. Clearly, as Lambert notes, "while attaching the label 'ethnic' to the MFDC may appear to non-Senegalese scholars to be a neutral description, within Senegal it has political implications" (1998:598). Framing the MFDC as a specifically Jola organization has
also produced an ethnic explanatory narrative propagated by politicians and journalists alike, in which the Jola preference for egalitarianism and acephalousness is said to make them inherently allergic to federal governance. By contrast, the traditionally hierarchical ethnic groups of northern Senegal are said to readily accept centralized state authority. This narrative undoubtedly implicates the professional ethnologists who conflated Jola political attitudes with a biological, ethnic essence, recalling Amselle's views on the colonial and postcolonial hardening of previously fluid African identities (1998).

Unlike many other secession movements around the world, however, the MFDC does not base its claim for independence on an assertion of ethnic or religious difference from other parts of the country. Instead, they argue that the MFDC was founded at the time of independence by Jola leader Emile Badiane, who made a pact to support soon-to-be president Léopold Sédar Senghor in exchange for the eventual independence of the Casamance. The MFDC further argues that the French administrator of the Casamance territory prior to independence had equivalent authority to the administrator of the Senegal territory, and that therefore it should have been created as an independent republic in accordance with the Organisation of African Unity charter. Among other pieces of evidence, proponents of secession often point to the fact that the French erected memorials to fallen WWII soldiers in both Dakar and Ziguinchor as common sense proof that the two territories were in fact separate colonies. Nonetheless, given that the constituency of the MFDC is primarily (though not exclusively) Jola, it is unsurprising that MFDC leaders have frequently made use of specifically Jola structures such as sacred forests and joking cousin relationships in both political and military actions (de Jong 1995, 2005; Faye 1994; Lambert 1998).
The present-day MFDC walks a fine line in rhetorically maintaining a multi-ethnic umbrella while cementing its power and popularity through specifically Jola idioms. It is in this context that my Jola friend labeled the Casamance a *village planétaire*, as discussed in the introduction to this dissertation. That term succinctly captures the notion that Casamançais identity can be rooted in a specific place and a specific community, but transcendent of both at the same time – the same balance that underlies Afropolitanism. At present, there is peace in the Casamance and current Senegalese president Macky Sall has made efforts both to decentralize the power of the federal government and to increase the Casamance's connection to the rest of the country by improving roads and increasing bus and ferry services (even if Gambian President Yahya Jammeh continues to block proposals to build a bridge across the Gambia River, which would create a significantly faster connection between the Casamance and Dakar). Popular sentiments today seem much as they were in 1992, when Linares wrote, "Even though most Jola condemn the central government for the social and economic exploitation and neglect in which it has held the Casamance, they are against secession from the nation, and for peace" (1992:128).
Chapter 2: The *Ekonting* in Culture and History

*Ekonting* is the name of a three-stringed plucked lute played almost exclusively by Jolas. Although the instrument has probably been played in the Casamance for centuries, it was little known outside of that region until the year 2000. In that year, Gambian scholar Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta presented and demonstrated the *ekonting* at the Banjo Collectors' Conference in Massachusetts, identifying several features that link the *ekonting* more closely to early New World banjos than any other African instrument. This link remains largely unknown to Jola people, but it has become the defining feature of the *ekonting*'s international profile. It was this link that led me to contact Jatta for the first time in 2005 and, years later, to begin conducting research on Jola music in a more general vein. Since 2000, a handful of European and American banjo scholars have visited The Gambia and Senegal, some of whom have published excellent reports on the *ekonting* and its historical relationship to the banjo. However, this research has thus far been limited by brief fieldwork periods, lack of language proficiency, cursory engagement with scholarship on Jola culture and history, and contact with a small cohort of *ekonting* players. Despite the *ekonting*'s growing fame among American roots music enthusiasts, there is currently little information available on the *ekonting* itself, especially with regard to its role within Jola music culture. This chapter seeks to remedy this lacuna by profiling the instrument's history, construction details, relationship to other West African plucked lutes, playing technique, performance contexts, and typical repertoire. The following chapter focuses on the role of the *ekonting* in three contemporary ethnographic scenarios, demonstrating how it is a vehicle for narrative production around personal and group identities in Senegambia and beyond.
Information in this chapter is supported by extensive desk research and twelve months residence in Senegal and The Gambia during fieldwork trips in 2012 and 2014-15. During that time, I observed twenty-seven _ekonting_ players, with contacts ranging from brief single meetings to extensive interaction over several months. I observed _ekonting_ performances in multiple settings: in villages and cities; and in traditional, tourist-oriented, and popular music contexts. Quotations in this chapter come from interviews conducted in French, English, and Jola; unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. In addition to ethnographic participant-observation, my field methods included interviews, video and audio recordings, "playback-feedback" sessions soliciting input on my field recordings (Feld 1990), and attentive casual interaction during sessions of "deep hanging out" (Clifford 1997; Geertz 1998). I also learned to play _ekonting_ passably well during lessons with Musa Diatta and Adama Sambou, viewing both the learning process and my ability to personally perform Jola music as vital epistemological strategies (see Hood 1960 on "bi-musicality"). As Ali Jihad Racy advocates: "like living organisms, instruments adapt to different cultural settings, thus dropping or maintaining some of their older connotations and acquiring new functions and meanings. Consequently, the study of musical instruments may necessitate applying a combination of historical, anthropological, musicological, and organological approaches" (1999:135). By drawing from a number of approaches, I hope to provide a general yet multidimensional portrait of the _ekonting_ before analyzing its roles in specific musical settings in the following chapter. My findings confirm and expand existing research on the instrument.
Figure 9. A collection of sikonting at Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta's compound in Bijilo, Gambia. Photo by the author, 2 February 2016.

History and Scholarship

Jolas and other Senegambians regard the ekonting as an ancient instrument (Figure 9). As ekonting player Adama Sambou states, "The ekonting is one of the oldest instruments in Africa. It is older than the kora. [...] The kora was created in the thirteenth century, but the ekonting existed well before that. They created the kora, but the ekonting was already there." The idea that
the *ekonting* was not created but has simply existed for a very long time is repeated elsewhere. Thomas recorded a Jola folk tale (summarized more fully below) in which a young man finds a magical *ekonting* while walking in the forest, which he brings back to the village when it asks him to do so (1982). In this account, no explanation is given for the *ekonting's* presence in the forest; it was simply there waiting to be carried into the village. Likewise, the teacher of Adama Sambou's teacher, a World War Two veteran named Essamaye Manga, told him that "no one can say it was them who created the instrument. There’s no one." In this narrative, the *ekonting* appears as a timeless aspect of the natural world rather than a creation of humankind; or its origins lie in the distant ancestral past beyond living memory;

Despite Sambou's claim that the *ekonting* already existed in the thirteenth century, Jola oral history is relatively shallow compared to neighboring ethnic groups such as the Mandinka, whose professional *jalis* are specialists in that area. Given the Jola perception of the *ekonting* as something that has always existed, the instrument's historical origins may be presumed to fall in the "time of the first ancestors, beyond the reach of genealogical reckoning" (Baum 1999:188), which Baum estimates as everything prior to the year 1700 CE. However, there are two problems with this theory. First, Jolas tend to publicly present many aspects of their culture (especially those connected to the Awasena Path) as extremely old or timeless because longevity is associated with power in an extension of gerontological social organization. Baum found that Jola elders revealed the historicity of certain Awasena shrines only after years of intimate acquaintance, whereas before they had insisted that the shrine had always existed (2010b). The presentation of the *ekonting* as an ancient instrument may therefore be considered a public proclamation of its power and importance, rather than an indication of its actual historicity. A second problem is that Baum's informants were elders who were particularly interested in
community history and genealogy. By contrast, my collaborators are musicians who, with the exception of native scholar Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta, often showed little particular interest in history and genealogy. None had specific knowledge of the ekonting or ekonting players beyond two generations in the past. What these musicians consider "beyond the reach of genealogical reckoning" may well be considerably more recent than 1700. In short, establishing a definitive chronological age for the ekonting currently appears to be an impossible task given the available evidence.

Documentation of the ekonting in Western scholarship is meager. Regrettably, the historical documents and colonial records I examined in the Archives National de Sénégal and the National Archives of The Gambia made no mention of the instrument. Wintz's 1909 French-Jola dictionary likewise does not include the instrument, even though several other musical instruments are included and he was based in an area of the Lower Casamance where the ekonting is played today. The earliest and most extensive source documenting the ekonting is Louis-Vincent Thomas' seminal monograph on Jola culture (1959), which includes two paragraphs of ethnographic description and an illustration of the instrument. Thomas' descriptions of the instrument are nearly identical to contemporary instruments in all respects, indicating that it has changed little in the intervening six decades. The only potential discrepancy is the mechanism for attaching the neck to the gourd resonator: in Figure 10, Thomas appears to show the neck resting atop the sound plane instead of passing underneath it and through the resonator in the manner of contemporary sikonting. Although it is possible that some other attachment mechanism existed which has since fallen out of use, I believe this is more likely a minor inaccuracy in Thomas' illustration given that no other attachment mechanism is apparent.
Image details of the string attachment at the base of the neck and of the two-footed bridge are consistent with contemporary instruments.

Figure 10. Illustration of an ekonting with details of string attachment and bridge (Thomas 1959:Planche XXVI).

Thomas also recorded a story about the ekonting in a collection of Jola folk tales (1982). I summarize it here, as I will refer to it in other sections of this chapter. A young man finds a beautiful ekonting while walking in the forest. The ekonting speaks to him, telling him to carry it back to the village. The young man does so and shows the instrument to his two brothers, who take turns playing it. The first brother plays roughly, breaking a string and throwing the instrument out of the house. The second brother plays pretentiously, delighting in his own skill. Finally, the young man plays the ekonting himself, touching the strings gently while singing a song asking for a young woman to love him. When the song is finished, the ekonting speaks again to explain that she is, in fact, a young woman and that she could tell by the way he played that he is a loving and kind person. She transforms into a young woman, marries the young man, and bears him many children. "When Jolas play the ekonting," the tale concludes, "they always secretly hope that it will turn into a beautiful young woman" (Thomas 1982:189).
The *ekonting*’s appearances in other publications are generally much more limited. Giraud's text on charismatic power in Jola culture includes the earliest known photograph of an *ekonting* (1969:231). The image depicts four young men from the Basse-Casamance village of Efok, one of whom holds an *ekonting*, though the instrument is not named or described in the caption or anywhere else in the text (Figure 11). Although the photograph is too grainy to note fine details, as with Thomas' illustration it appears to be substantively identical to contemporary instruments. In a lexical study of the Jola language, Christian Diatta notes that the *ekonting* is the "best known" of Jola stringed instruments (1999:82), and Baum's book on Jola religious history describes the *ekonting* as a "two-stringed guitar" used in courtship dances in the Kasa region (1999:171). Constant Vanden Berghen, a Belgian botanist who spent time in the village of Enampor in the Lower Casamance, describes the *ekonting* (called *ehoting* in the Jola Banjaal dialect spoken in Enampor) as "the only instrument of real music, without practical utility, designed only to flatter the ear" but notes that "this art, unfortunately, is no longer practiced in Enampor. The young generation now seems to prefer the thunderous sound of transistors or tape players" (Berghen and Manga 1999). Significantly, the *ekonting* is not mentioned in any of Sapir's three publications on Jola music (1965b, 1969; Irvine and Sapir 1976); this is likely because his research was conducted in the Fogny region of the Upper Casamance where the *ekonting* is not typically played. The *ekonting* is also conspicuously absent from Charry's extensive survey of West African plucked lutes (1996a).
The relative dearth of scholarly references to the ekonting is unsurprising. Descriptions of music in the Casamance region are often omitted or reduced to gross generalizations in works on Senegambian music in general. Scholarly works on other aspects of Jola culture are typically terse about music. Describing why the ekonting is not as well known as the kora, Adama Sambou offers further explanation: while travelling kora players may spread knowledge of their instruments far beyond their homes through public performances, sikonting are typically left in the village even when ekonting players travel for other purposes. "The ekonting, the villagers, they play it in the village," he says. "When they leave for a voyage, they leave it in their houses. They go. They return, and then they play. Because of that, it’s not really well known."

Furthermore, the ekonting is a relatively quiet instrument and thus is not well-suited for large
public presentations without electric amplification, especially since Jola public festivities tend to be loud affairs dominated by drum ensembles and choral singing. This sonic limitation makes it most suitable for relatively small, private gatherings, which are less likely to be observed and documented by foreign scholars.

Although there is little evidence regarding the specific history of the ekonting, the instrument can be placed within the general historical trajectory of plucked lutes in West Africa. Plucked lutes are documented in Mesopotamia as early as 2370 BCE, an invention relatively late in human history compared to other forms of instrumentation such as flutes and idiophones (McKinnon and Anderson n.d.). They seem to have entered the Egyptian empire around 1730 BCE, probably introduced by Hyksos immigrants or invaders from the Levant, and they are documented in Egyptian art until about 1000 BCE (Charry 1996a:16). Due to the lack of archeological evidence in West Africa, it is unclear at what point the plucked lute first became popular there. However, the Berber Moroccan explorer Ibn Battuta described a two-string plucked lute in the kingdom of Mali in 1352 CE (Coolen 1991:120) and oral traditions from the Soninke ethnic group suggest the presence of plucked lutes in the ancient Ghanaian empire as early as the eleventh century CE (Charry 1996a:3). Due to the strong historical records of the plucked lute in the Middle East, then, it seems likely that this instrument type passed through Egypt and then spread to West Africa, especially given the prodigious power and extensive trade routes of the ancient Egyptian empire. However, we cannot definitively disprove the reverse hypothesis: that plucked lutes entered Egypt from West African sources prior to 1730 BCE. Today, plucked lutes are played by musicians of the hereditary oral historian role called griot in Mauritania, Senegal, and Mali by peoples who were once under the influence of the ancient Ghanaian empire (such as the Mandinka, Bambara, Xasonke, Wolof, Soninke, Fulbe, and Moor),
while plucked lutes played by non-griot musicians are especially correlated with the historical migratory path of the Fulbe people (Charry 1996a), as are bowed lutes (DjeDje 2008).

While the strong possibility of a Middle Eastern origin for West African plucked lutes (and bowed lutes) has led some scholars to view this instrument type as less authentically African than idiophones and membranophones, DjeDje rightly dismisses this assertion by arguing that lutes have become intrinsically African through centuries of local use and deserve to be studied as such (2008). Michael Coolen puts a period on the issue: because of the lute’s involvement in genealogy, rites of passage, healing, divination, and other such important culture functions, "it would not be presumptuous to state that the plucked-lute was in some ways a far more important and intrinsic African instrument than any of the membranophones from the Western Sudan" (1984:131). Continued research on the history and social roles of African stringed instruments is clearly necessary to illustrate this point. As DjeDje notes, "The belief that West Africa only consists of drum orchestras is an obvious untruth. While drumming is prominent in this area of the continent, other performance traditions are equally important. Therefore, both examining traditions in geographical regions not normally investigated and looking beyond the stereotypes are vital if we are truly committed to appreciating the complex realities of African music" (2008:248-249).

**Physical Features, Construction, and Decoration**

The *ekonting* is a three-stringed plucked lute of the full-spike variety, meaning the neck passes all the way through the resonator. Although *sikonting* vary considerably in size according to the materials used and the preferences of the instrument builder, in general they are considerably longer than most West African lutes, ranging from 35 inches to 54.5 inches in total.
length in my observations. Typically the neck is made from an unadorned length of sturdy papyrus reed (*banjul*, a loanword from Mandinka and the namesake of the Gambian capitol). The resonator is made of a gourd (*karonfay*) bisected lengthwise, resulting in an oval or piriform sound plane, or crosswise, resulting in a round sound plane. Less frequently, the gourd may be cut on a curved line at the whim of the instrument builder, resulting in a sound plane that is not level. The gourd resonator is covered in animal skin, most commonly goat (*ejaameen*) or occasionally deer, which is usually but not always stripped of fur. The skin is preferably quite thick, resulting in a durable and taut surface. The skin is affixed to the gourd resonator with several dozen thumbtacks or nails, which are sometimes arranged in a decorative curve. In some cases, a line of tacks down the center of the sound plane also affixes the skin to the neck below. The size, location, shape, and number of soundholes is left to the discretion of the instrument builder: an instrument might have, for example, a single round soundhole, one triangular and one square soundhole, four small round soundholes, or none at all. The two-footed, U- or M-shaped bridge is carved from the relatively soft wood of the ceiba tree (*busaana*) and sits freely on the sound plane, held in place by the tension of the strings, which sit in shallow grooves on the bridge.

An *ekonting* most commonly has three strings, though some reports indicate that instruments with two to five strings are occasionally seen. Like most other West African plucked lutes, each string is a different length. Based on observations of *ekonting* builder Remi Diatta, Adams and Levy (forthcoming) suggest that the length of the first string is measured using the length of one forearm from the edge of the rim, with the second and third strings being spaced one and two hand spans beyond that. On Musa Diatta's *ekonting*, which has an overall length of 54.5 inches, the scale lengths of the three strings are 21 inches, 31.5 inches, and 43 inches,
ranging from highest-pitched to lowest-pitch. A much smaller *ekonting* made by Adama Manga with an overall length of 35 inches had scale lengths of 12 inches, 20 inches, and 28.5 inches, suggesting consistent ratios across instrument sizes. When the instrument is held in playing position, the highest-pitched string is on top, followed by the intermediate and lowest pitched strings. The Kachikally Crocodile Pool Museum in Bakau, The Gambia, displays two *sikonting* strung with woven palm roots, as they would have been in the past, but today *sikonting* are exclusively strung with nylon fishing line. A thicker fishing line gives a sound that is said to be "good," "strong," or "sweet," while a thinner line gives a "sour" sound but can be played more quickly. Strings are knotted in a loop around the neck, maintaining tension through their own friction. In some cases, thumbtacks may be stuck into the neck to hold the strings in place.

Some variations on this construction formula exist, especially for those players who use their *sikonting* in popular or interethnic musical styles. An *ekonting* built by Adama Sambou, for example, uses a thick teak wood dowel for the neck rather than a papyrus reed. This instrument is tuned with salvaged mechanical guitar tuners at the end of the neck nearest the bridge, while the strings are knotted through "nuts" made from the tips of mechanical Bic pencils pushed into holes drilled in the opposite end of the neck. This *ekonting* also has an internal pick-up for electric amplification. One of Adama Manga's *sikonting* uses thick, tanned cow leather for the sound plane and a bent metal rod for the bridge. Sana Ndiaye's custom-made *ekonting* has a wooden sound plane replete with violin-style F-holes, and guitar tuners placed along the end of the neck furthest from the bridge.

*Ekonting* players typically build their own instruments, though in some cases they may rely on a more experienced player to build one for them. Construction of an *ekonting* takes two to three days, accounting for the drying time of the skin. Adams and Sedgwick provide a
description of typical *ekonting* construction technique, which accords strongly with my own observations:

The akonting builder prepares a piece of ground by digging a shallow ditch into which the round bowl shape of the gourd rests. The gourd is then filled to the rim with sand. These preparations make working with gourd easier, the sand being an ingenious method for reinforcing the relatively fragile gourd during the forceful operations of attaching the head and inserting the neck. Just before the head is attached to the gourd, notches are cut into opposite sides of the gourd rim and the neck is carefully fitted into these notches, resting on and intersecting the gourd rim. Then, the neck is set aside. The wet goat hide (with the hair still on) is stretched over the gourd and held down very tightly by one or two helpers while the builder hammers nails through the skin into the gourd all the way around the instrument (historically, wooden pegs would have been used to fasten the head). When it is time to attach the neck to the body, short slits are cut into the skin adjacent to the two notches in the gourd rim. One end of the neck is sharpened and inserted into the first slit and is wiggled and pushed through until it pokes out through the slit on the opposite end of the gourd rim. The neck is pushed through until the sharpened end becomes the long playing end at the top of the instrument leaving behind a short section or "end pin" at the bottom. The sharpened top is cut off and the akonting is left overnight to allow the skin to dry. The following day, a hole is cut in the gourd body and the sand is poured out. Then, the goat hair is scraped off of the head and more hails are hammered through the head. [The strings are attached and] finally, the instrument is tuned. (2007b:14)
The assemblage of materials in the *ekonting* has meaningful resonance within Jola culture. Although most *ekonting* players attribute little explicit symbolic significance to the construction materials, viewing them instead as the practical materials one uses to make an *ekonting*, it is possible to extrapolate the meaning of these materials by looking to other areas of Jola culture. As Mark describes with regard to Jola initiation masks, materials "are chosen for their symbolic meaning. The symbolism is shared with a wide range of other ritual objects, clothing, and even utilitarian implements […]. These objects demonstrate a remarkably consistent iconography. Often a particular element has the same symbolic references everywhere it appears. By looking at the other objects, it is thus possible to elucidate the symbolic meaning of the decorative elements" (Mark 1992:95). In this light, the choice of goat or deer skin for the sound plane is significant insofar as goats and deer have little symbolic importance in Jola culture meaning beyond their material value as food sources. Cows, on the other hand, are one of the most important indicators of wealth for Jolas and they are rarely slaughtered except for ceremonial purposes (Mark 1992:92). While the use of cow skin (as is common in other West African plucked lutes) would impart connotations of wealth and importance to the *ekonting*, then, the use of goat or deer skin instead reflects its status as a casual and amateur instrument. There is a striking visual echo between the long reed neck of the *ekonting* and the long wooden handle of the *kajendo*, the iconic hoe used for rice cultivation exclusively in the Casamance. This aesthetic resonance would go a long way to explain why the *ekonting's* neck is far longer than other Senegambian lutes (though, on the other hand, this observation has not yet been confirmed by Jola collaborators and the difference in materials between the two objects is significant). The choice of fishing line for the strings, as with the prior use of woven palm roots, reflects the
profession of many young Jola men as fishermen and/or palm wine tappers, thus strengthening the identity of the ekonting as a young men's instrument.

The choice of a gourd for the resonator (rather than carved wood as is used on other Senegambian plucked lutes such as the Wolof xalam and Mandinka ngoni) is particularly significant. Like the prior use of woven palm root strings, this choice reflects the profession of many young Jola men as palm wine tappers. When a tap is started on a palm tree, a gourd is hung below to collect the milky runoff, which is made into palm wine (bunuk) upon fermentation. Adama Sambou states that young men sometimes made sikonting from gourds that had formerly served to collect palm wine, but had been ruined for that purpose by mischievous birds who pecked holes in them. Like the use of fishing line for strings, the use of a gourd resonator can be considered a simple case of using the materials at hand; even, if you will, a tradition of upcycling. At the same time, there is a strong connection between gourds, palm wine, and the Awasena Path. Mark describes palm wine as "the sine qua non of Jola religious rituals" (1992:57); in addition to its importance in social settings, it is said to contain a soul that nourishes the spirits of ancestors and shrines when poured out of a gourd as libation (Baum 1999:44). An MFDC leader likewise described the organization's most recent logo to me as representing the three major religions of the Casamance: a cross to symbolize Catholicism, a star to symbolize Islam, and a gourd to symbolize the Awasena Path. In this particular case, at least, the gourd serves as the primary icon of the indigenous Jola spiritual path. Given that I never heard reports that the ekonting is more than marginally associated with Awasena rituals, I do not believe that the instrument's gourd resonator or its contact with palm wine are evidence of any special spiritual significance. Instead, the choice of a gourd resonator and the fact that some
ekonting gourds once held palm wine place the ekonting within a web of symbols that are held to be intrinsic to Jola culture and identity.

In general, sikonting are not copiously decorated. Players may sign their names in pen on the skin sound plane and often take pride in the dark fingering marks burnished onto the neck by frequent use. Ekonting builders sometimes scrape fur off the goatskin only in the section that serves as the sound plane, retaining the fur on the area that is nailed to the gourd resonator, which may be cut into decorative curves or shapes. The two sikonting at the Kachikally Crocodile Pool Museum in The Gambia are adorned with strings of small orange beads tied around the neck. While the colors red and black have strong symbolic resonance within Jola iconography due to their spiritual associations with fire and rain, respectively (Mark 1992:96), the use of the color orange reiterates the generally secular status of the ekonting. An ekonting played by Edouard Diatta is decorated in a nearly identical manner, with the addition of a single cowry shell dangling from a leather strand tied around the neck. A common Jola decorative element, cowry shells were formerly used a form of currency and they retain associations with wealth and good fortune (Mark 1992:99). Diatta primarily plays this ekonting in restaurants and hotels in the Senegambia Strip, the most densely touristic area of The Gambia. His choice of decoration is fitting because his income depends on the goodwill of the venue owner, the generosity of the audience for a given performance, and the ups and downs of the global tourism industry – a substantial responsibility for a single shell. Adama Sambou used a black Sharpie pen to draw what he calls an "African mask" on the large goatskin surface of his ekonting, possibly inspired by the similarly decorated, professionally built instrument of a Mandinka kora player with whom he plays regularly. Given the patently multi-ethnic nature of their collaboration and
Sambou's multifaceted view of the *ekonting* (see Chapter 3), the generic "Africanness" of the image is appropriate.

*Ekonting* builder Adama Manga utilizes more extensive decorative and symbolic elements than most builders, reflecting his imaginative disposition and his profession as an artisan specializing in meticulously beaded sandals and hand-carved wooden batons that are symbols of Awasena power – hence his nickname "Atouka," meaning "one who creates things."

One of his *sikonting* is decorated with a large cross drawn on the sound plane, surrounded by colorful stickers of Jesus Christ and several Catholic saints. These images clearly reflect his Catholic faith. Another of his *sikonting* is decorated with a repeated pattern of four parallel lines on the gourd resonator (see Figure 12). In a hushed tone of voice, he explains that these lines represent four women who visit him in his dreams and fill him with artistic inspiration, drawing from an Awasena tradition of oneiric visitation. He further implies that the four round soundholes of this instrument represent vaginas, and that the curved shape of this particular instrument's sound plane is meant to resemble a pelvis. Although other *ekonting* players did not explicitly note a relationship between the *ekonting* and the female body, it is supported by the folk tale in which a magical *ekonting* is revealed to be a beautiful young woman in disguise (Thomas 1982). Unlike his "Catholic" *ekonting*, this instrument's associations with sexualized nocturnal inspiration are, for Manga, evocative of the spiritual power of the Awasena Path. These two instruments thus express different sides of Manga's spirituality.
Figure 12. Front, side, and back views of an ekonting built by Atouka Manga, showing an uneven sound plane and suggestively anthropomorphic decorative elements. Photos by the author, 13 January 2015.
Playing Technique and Scale

The action of playing *ekonting* is described by the Jola term *etek*, meaning "to hit," which also describes the action of playing drums and idiophones. This term is related to the Wolof word *tegg* (meaning "to knock" or "to beat" and used to refer to the playing style of the *xalam* lute and *sabar* drums), but the Jola playing style differs subtly from the way Mandinka and Wolof musicians pluck lutes. The *ekonting* playing action may be described as a downstroke style, in which the longest string is struck with the fingernail of the second or third finger and the two shorter strings are plucked downwards with the thumb. Unlike *xalam* and *ngoni* technique, up-picking and tapping on the skin sound plane are extremely rare. When Musa Diatta performed a song called "Aliinom Ayo" ("My Sister Ayo") that utilized rhythmic tapping on the sound plane to accompany a short ostinato pattern, he suggested that it was "not our style." *Ekonting* players prefer the sound of distinct, staccato notes (facilitated by the short decay of the animal skin sound plane) and skilled players will mute a note using the fingers of the left hand as soon as the following note is struck to prevent notes from slurring together. Notes are overwhelmingly played one at a time ("note par note"), though occasionally the thumb and forefinger may pluck two strings simultaneously, either as part of a single downstroke hand movement or in a pinching motion (the only time when up-picking is utilized). Striking two strings simultaneously in this manner is most common in ostinato-style playing, as opposed to the more common melodic style.

In addition to the three notes created by the open strings, the longest string may be fingered in two positions, creating a total of five possible notes in accordance with the anhemitonic pentatonic Jola scale (Figure 13). These two positions are equivalent to the fifth and seventh positions on a classical European instrument (though I mark them as 1 and 2 in tablature...
notation since Jolas normally use no other positions). Although it is possible that alternate tuning systems exist, all ekonting players I encountered used a single tuning system: an ascending major second between the first and second strings and an ascending minor sixth between second and third strings. Perhaps due to the laborious process of tuning the instrument, a variance of up to a half step in these intervals is usually considered acceptable; in particular, an interval of a perfect fifth between the second and third strings is often allowed to be "in tune." An even wider variance is considered acceptable when two sikonting are played together, again owing to the difficulty of tuning the instruments together as well as widely variable scale length of different instruments. The pitches of the three open strings are sometimes referred to by the mnemonics "ka-ja-nka" (after the Casamançais village of Kajanka) or simply "e-kon-ting." Strings are not tuned to a particular pitch; instead, the pitch depends on a combination of string tension (which has a limited range given the tendency of tuning nooses to slip down the neck) and scale length.

![Tablature notation for the ekonting](image)

**Figure 13. The five-note range of the ekonting, with tablature notation.**

**The Ekonting Among Other West African Lutes**

Within the Casamance region, the Jola ekonting is nearly identical to the Manjak bunchundo, Ballanta kisinta and kusunde, Papel busunde, and Bujogo ngopata (Bamber 2006a, 2006b; Jatta 2007b, 2007c, 2007c; Pestcoe n.d.). Together, these ethnic groups represent the Bak
branch of the Atlantic Niger-Congo language group (Charry 2000) and Jolas usually perceive them as related peoples. Although these groups differ in some aspects of language, culture, and history, Christian Diatta argues that "in reality, it would be more correct to consider at minimum in a single ethnic ensemble the Jola, the Manjak, the Mankagn, and the Ballant. It is in effect impossible to distinguish them without putting in question the definition of an ethnic group" (1998:19). The presence of a nearly identical plucked lute type in all four groups is evidence at least of their close contact and interchange, and a general zone of musical contact in the Casamance. Although teasing out the connections between these related instruments would be an interesting project, it is frustrated by the extreme dearth of information on the Manjak bunchundo, Ballanta kisinta and kusunde, Papel busunde, and Bujogo ngopata, and the rarity of encountering people who play those instruments or know anything about them.

Determining the ekonting's relationship to other members of the plucked lute family in West Africa is more complicated. Eric Charry suggests a tripartite system for understanding the distribution of plucked lutes in West Africa: "there are three major features which may be used to distinguish plucked lutes in West Africa from each other: who plays them, the kind of bridge, and the kind of resonator" (1996a:4). These categories are strongly correlated. Lutes played by hereditary professional musicians (generically termed griots) typically have fan- or V-shaped bridges that attach to the end of the neck through a hole in the sound plane approximately two-thirds of the way down the resonator; this style of neck attachment is called a tanged lute. Lutes that are not restricted to a hereditary class typically have a cylindrical bridge that sits on top of the sound plane. Likewise, griot lutes use only wooden trough resonators, whereas non-griot lutes may use wood, gourd, or metal resonators. The ekonting generally conforms to Charry's organological categories, though it has a two-footed U-shaped bridge instead of the cylindrical
bridge that is more typically of non-griot lutes, and it is a full spike lute instead of the tanged lute that Charry presumes is typical of West African plucked lutes in general. Given these idiosyncratic features of the *ekonting*, it stands to reason that griot lutes follow stricter construction schemas than non-restricted lutes, which may be more liable to organological adaptation.

Charry also makes some headway in grouping lutes based on linguistic similarity, identifying some forty-nine names and variants for West African plucked lutes (1996a:23-26). To understand this linguistic smorgasbord in a systematic way, he suggests four primary families of instrument names: *gmbr; du; xalam;* and *kon*. The *ekonting* would fall into this last category. Linguistically, the word *ekonting* can be broken down into three parts. The prefix *e*- is a marker of the most common noun class for objects in the Jola language, which includes both indigenous words and foreign loanwords. The verb radical *kon* means "to knock, to hit, or to wrestle" across the Jola dialects, while it means "to knock" in the Fulbe language (Coolen 1991) and "finger" in the Mande language (Charry 1996a).33 The nominal suffix *-ing* is an optional suffix in the Mande language family (Charry 2000). These linguistic relationships would seem to link the Jola *ekonting* most closely to Fulbe and Mande plucked lutes, but such evidence must be taken with a grain of salt. For example, the linguistically unrelated *ngoni* and *xalam* (both griot lutes) are much more morphologically similar than the *ngoni* and *ekonting*, even though the latter pair is related by the common linguistic root *kon* (see Figure 14). For that matter, the Wolof *konting* and Jola *ekonting* are only superficially similar despite their essentially isomorphic linguistic relationship. Therefore, instruments with similar names are not necessarily similar in construction details or cultural context. A more likely scenario follows from DjeDje's observation that the names of West African bowed lutes generally derive from the local word
that describes the action of playing the instrument (2008:28). The related Jola, Mande, Fulbe, and Wolof languages use similar names for plucked lutes that are not necessarily organologically similar because plucked lute names in the West Atlantic Niger-Congo language cluster most often derive from the action of playing the instrument rather than other qualities of the instrument such as shape or construction material.

Figure 14. Top: a xalam from Senegal. Middle: a ngoni ba from Mali. Bottom: an ekonting from The Gambia. The top pair is more closely related morphologically, but the bottom pair is more closely related linguistically. Morphological similarity does not necessarily correlate with linguistic similarity. Photos by the author at the Musical Instrument Museum in Phoenix, Arizona, 27 February 2012.
Relationship to the American Banjo

Since Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta's presentation at the Banjo Collectors' Conference in 2002, the *ekonting*'s relationship to early American gourd banjos has been the subject of considerable scholarship and cultural production. Jatta himself is a leading researcher and proponent of this relationship, having given numerous lectures and published several online essays on the topic (cf. 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2007d, 2007e, 2007f). Because the subject of the *ekonting*'s specific historical relationship to the American banjo is, for the most part, beyond the scope of the current study, I refer interested readers to more detailed reports in Jatta's work as well as a nexus of publications by banjo historians (Adams and Pestcoe 2007; Adams and Sedgwick 2007a, 2007b; Adams and Levy forthcoming; Bamber 2006a, 2006b.; Currin 2006; Jägfors 2003; Levy and Jatta 2012; Pestcoe n.d.).

In summary, while the banjo was for several decades assumed to descend from the family of griot lutes such as the *xalam* and *ngoni*, the *ekonting* appears to be a closer banjo relative for several reasons: 1) like many early American banjos, the *ekonting* is a full-spike lute with a gourd resonator whereas griot instruments tend to be tanged lutes with wooden resonators; 2) the *ekonting*'s playing style is uncannily similar to the down-picking style of American old time banjoists (called "clawhammer") and blackface minstrel performers (called "stroke style"), whereas the playing style of West African griot lutes usually combines up- and down-picking; 3) the *ekonting*'s short, repetitive songs and emphasis on casual dancing are consistent with descriptions of early American banjo performances.

The evidence linking the two instruments is sound, though two important issues remain unresolved. First, the persistent vagueness of the *ekonting*'s chronological age makes it difficult to definitively connect it to historical reports of New World banjos that begin approximately four hundred years ago. During the interval between the earliest reports of New World banjos and the
deepest specific oral history of the ekonting, the Casamance region underwent massive upheavals including ethnic migration, warfare, and reorganization; large-scale slave raiding and concomitant political upheaval; and heavily increased influence of Islam and Christianity, among other changes. Although musical instruments often display remarkable resilience over long periods of time (Doubleday 1999; Racy 2007), as have many aspects of Jola culture (Baum 1999; Mark 1985), assuming that present-day African practices are identical to precolonial traditions plays into persistent stereotypes of African culture as primordial and ahistorical (Mudimbe 1988, 1994). As Senegambian historian Donald Wright concludes:

Anthropologists have done historians of Africa great service with their cultural studies, but often they have lent confusion to historical study by the reference to societies in the cultural present, treating them as if they never had different ways of doing things until fairly recent times [...]. In such studies, there is an implied sense that only the complex world of the twentieth century brought change to "traditional ways." Of course, this is not historical, not an appropriate way to consider cultures through time. As all people in all cultures, African societies changed. The difficulty is that for most of those societies there is not sufficient evidence of the way things used to be. (2004:45)

While it is entirely possible that an ekonting-like instrument was played in the Casamance by the ancestors of present-day Jolas during the time when reports of banjo-like instruments first appear in the Americas, for the time being this cannot be definitively confirmed.

A second issue, potentially more readily remedied, is that studies tracing slave-trading routes to New World locations linked with reports of banjo-like instruments have thus far tended to be quite general. While it is frequently remarked that millions of enslaved Africans were
transported from the Senegambian region to the New World during the slave-trading era, works such as DjeDje's study of African-American fiddling (2016) suggest that it is possible to establish considerably more detailed profiles of geographic origin, cultural identity, and chronology of enslaved Africans in the New World. Research demonstrating specific links between Casamançais ethnic groups, slave-trading routes and chronology, and early reports of New World banjos would go a long way toward establishing a definitive link between the present-day banjo and ekonting. For now, the increasingly popular conception of the ekonting as the "ancestor" or "grandfather" of the ekonting may be premature, and these catchy sobriquets doubtlessly portray a contemporary African tradition as existing in the past, and as having value only insofar as it is related to what has become a predominantly white American tradition. Still, there is no doubt that the two instruments are at least "cousins."

**Ekonting Players, Transmission, and Status**

Although there are no formal restrictions on who may play the ekonting, ekonting players (*kuteka ekonting, sg. ateka ekonting*) are most commonly young men. This has been the case for at least fifty years. Thomas notes that "no sufficiently skilled young man misses playing" the ekonting (1959:382). Likewise, one may infer from the lack of commentary on the ekonting pictured in Giraud's text that the instrument was included in the picture as a typical accouterment of "young men from the region of Efok," along with their necklaces, waistcloths, and haircuts. (1969:231).

While confirming that primarily young people play the ekonting, Adama Sambou adds that old people play the instrument in more limited circumstances: "Yes, there are old people who play to sing funeral songs. If someone dies, you play songs. If it’s a great farmer, you play
songs of farming. If he was rich, you play songs of his wealth. If he was strong, you make songs of his strength. If he was a great wrestler, you sing wrestling songs. If he was a great boxer, you make songs of boxing. It’s like that. Those who are old, they play songs like that.”

Daniel Jatta adds that old men may continue to play the ekonting at home to amuse themselves and their families, which was my observation as well. Although the category of "young man" could be construed as including those who are not yet married or those who have not yet undergone the bukut circumcision rite, such categories of age are always a subjective issue: at 54 years old, Adama Sambou is fond of referring to "we young people."

Women are not formally restricted from playing the ekonting, but in the course of my field research I met only one female ekonting player. At the time of my research, Suzin Sambou was eighteen years old and living at a group home in Ziguinchor. She learned to play from her friend Adama Manga, with whom she sings in a small ensemble. Both were inspired to learn ekonting after hearing the music of Jean Bosco Goudiaby et l'Orchestre Ekonting (discussed in Chapter 6), and both regard the ekonting as a central aspect of their efforts to fuse Jola music with regionally popular styles such as reggae and cabo. Although Sambou states that other women play ekonting in her home village of Oussouye, I have so far been unable to meet any other women ekonting players. In general, women may be discouraged from playing the ekonting because of its associations with courtship of young women (and in some cases, with sexualized manifestations of the female body) as well as the gendered division of Jola musical practices in general, in which women generally sing and play idiophonic instruments while men sing and play membranophones, chordophones, and aerophones.

Although the lack of hereditary professional musicians in Jola communities is a key point of distinction from the music cultures of the neighboring Wolof and Mandinka peoples, there is
nonetheless an informal hereditary component to ekonting transmission. Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta, for example, learned to play the instrument from his father, who learned from his father before him (Levy and Jatta 2012). The same is true of Musa Diatta. The ekonting players Remi, Ekona, and Jules Diatta in the Kasa village of Mlomp are cousins. Jean Bosco Goudiaby describes how he was drawn to the ekonting in a way that does suggest an inherent hereditary component: "Me, I had a grandfather [who played ekonting] so, I am a heritage, if you like. I have it in the blood. Because I have a relative who played a traditional instrument. And I came, no one taught me. […] It’s a heritage. So, I didn’t go to the school of fine arts. I didn’t take music classes. Me, I played music. Just like that [raps on the table]."

Even so, Goudiaby’s maternal uncle discouraged him from playing music because he felt it detracted from his schoolwork. "I was contaminated by the virus of music a long time ago," Goudiaby relates. "I couldn’t listen to the teacher’s explanations because I really had music in my head. I was really stuck with music!" With a conspiratorial chuckle, Adama Sambou likewise explains how he learned to play ekonting in spite of his father's disapproval: "My father didn't want me to play ekonting […] because if I did, I would rush through my [school] lessons. […] So in the evenings, I would take my notebook and say to my father, 'That man there, he's going to help me learn my lessons.' But I would go play ekonting. 'Okay, you should go learn!' But he didn't know."

Taken together, these divergent views on hereditary transmission indicate an ambivalent status for ekonting players, though in a different way than many neighboring Sahelian societies with traditionally hierarchical structures. On one hand, parents and other relatives may teach young men to carry on the family tradition of ekonting playing. The ekonting folk tale collected by Thomas also seems to equate ekonting playing with proper morals; the ekonting/young
woman discerned the loving and kind nature of the young man by the way he played (1982). On the other hand, some parents clearly feel that playing the instrument interferes with a proper school education. Likewise, given the high moral importance placed on physical labor by Jolas (Linares 1992), playing the *ekonting* may be considered a waste of productive time, a trivial dalliance of youth to be discarded in the dignity of maturity. In my observations, religion did not play a strong role in determining the status of the *ekonting*. Because the instrument is primarily played in the Kasa area of the Basse-Casamance, most people who play it are either Awasena, for whom music-making of all types is an integral part of social life, or Catholic, for whom traditional music associated with Awasena rituals is sometimes considered problematic but secular *ekonting* music is perfectly acceptable. Despite the negative perception of chordophones in some Muslim cultures, Muslim *ekonting* players Musa Diatta and Abdoulaye Diallo see no religious conflict in playing the instrument. Such attitudes are unsurprising given the generally tolerant and syncretic relationship of the three major religions in the Casamance.

**Performance Contexts**

The *ekonting* is played in a wide variety of contexts, including harvest festivals, naming ceremonies, wrestling matches, marriages, public festivities, Awasena funerals, and casual gatherings, as well as touristic performances and regional popular music. Above all, however, the instrument is associated with courtship (*buiyabu*) and social dancing. As Laemouahuma Jatta writes:

According to all Jolas, the Akonting music culture originally was a dating culture. The word "Whofuleto" is a Jola Cassa Word, meaning to attract attention from the girls. Young people of one commune, when they want to date girls of a different
commune, would take their Akontings together with their best Akonting players, singers and dancers and visit their neighbouring commune. These activities normally happened when the Jolas main economic activity is over. That is when they harvest all their rice from their mighty rice fields that stretch from Kanjanka to Alankeen. The Jolas called this period "the period of Plenty."

As soon as the girls hear the music they would come out with their beautiful dresses to listen to the music and associate with the new comers. When the Akonting players start seeing the girls, they would do all their best to play to convince the girls that they can play better than their young guys. Everybody would appreciate the coming of these guys to play in their commune and everybody would dance to the best of his or her ability to create attention to all. Normally they play up to early hours of the morning. When it is time to go home some of the girls who fall in love with the music of this new group would like to follow them to their commune.

This is where the whole atmosphere starts to be unfriendly and where the love trouble starts. Girls from the commune where the whole Akonting show was played, would like to follow the guys of the other commune for they would like to hear more of their music. The guys of the commune where the programme was held would feel jealous and try to prevent their girls to go with these guys. In the end, they would not succeed and the whole peaceful show turns to a civilised fight. A fight not to hurt your opponent but a fight to threaten your opponent, for all of them belong to the same extended family, it is only the communes that separate them.
So when they start to fight, they would take weapons like cutlasses and would use the flat side of the weapon to hit his opponent, only to threaten him to let their girls alone. This can go on for hours until the elders of the community hear the news and come out to cool them down. The following day they would all joke about it and laugh at the guys who ran away when they saw the cutlasses and praise the brave guys who face the danger and got hit by these cutlasses. As from that day onwards those who ran away are seen as cowards and those who stay and got hit are seen as brave men. (2007a)

In this rich description, the *ekonting* provides context for interaction between neighbouring village wards and between young men and women. It is also connected to the performance of masculinity through ritualized fighting. The performative nature of this fighting is clear in that it is "a civilized fight," which mimics actual warfare through the use of cutlasses (or machetes, as the case may be) but whose effects are geared toward establishing gendered interpersonal relations rather than inflicting physical damage. The consequences of such fights extend far beyond the duration of the performance itself: young men and women may form lifelong bonds on such evenings and young men may be sorted into the masculine categories of cowards and brave men "from that day onwards."

Musa Diatta further describes how, before he was married, he would round up a group of friends in his natal village of Efok and lead them to another commune while playing *ekonting*, singing, and dancing. They would visit the compounds of the young women they wanted to court, singing songs praising their beauty and goodness. During the dancing that followed, young women would toss their handkerchiefs at the feet of young men who caught their fancy. If the young man picked up the handkerchief and returned it to her during the course of the dance, it
was begrudgingly accepted as a sign of platonic friendship. If the young man picked up the handkerchief and kept it, then a mutual romantic interest was established. The two might walk home together or he might return another day to pay a more formal visit to her compound. As in many social dance traditions throughout the world, the *ekonting* here provides context for the ritualized establishment of courtship relations between young men and women. While establishing such relations is of course possible in non-musical contexts, the practice of exchanging handkerchiefs during a dance provides a formal structure that circumnavigates the informal social norms that restrict male/female interaction in everyday Jola life. It has the added bonus of applying obvious rules to what can be a baffling and risky area of social life for any young person. In this sense, the *ekonting* produces an intergender audiotopia, providing a highly structured context for contact between young men and women. "We young people," Adama Sambou confirms, "use [the *ekonting*] to sing of boys and girls. That's why we always sing, 'cherie, cherie, cherie, cherie.' It's for love, n'est-ce pas?"

Adama Sambou also describes how the *ekonting* is used casually to contribute to the festive atmosphere of other events such as rice and palm wine harvesting, and inter-village wrestling matches: "You take the *ekonting* to animate things. […] Let’s say Colobane is going to wrestle Boudodi [our respective neighborhoods in Ziguinchor]. The guys from Colobane, they go to Boudodi. They go with the *ekonting*. After the fight, if they were defeated, they take the *ekonting* to sing and forget defeat. If they win, they take the *ekonting* and it raises their joy." Such contexts involve a role of Jola music in general, encapsulated by the Jola term *kararor*, which one young collaborator explained as "enhancing things, making yourself big." The *ekonting* is also performed in connection with the occupations of its performers: palm wine tapping and fishing. Rudi Gomis (of Orchestre Baobab, discussed in Chapter 5) fondly recalls
hearing the ekonting played by fishermen in their boats as a young boy in Ziguinchor: "In their pirogues, how they played it! And how you could hear it from afar! [whistles in appreciation] It's very beautiful, because the sound of the ekonting floats on the water. Yes, it floats on the water."

In addition to its role in courtship and in "animating" or "enhancing" other social situations, the ekonting is most often played in the small, casual gatherings that comprise everyday social life: during a long afternoon before the harvest season; while crowded under a roof to wait out a rainy season downpour; to set the sun in the company of a few cherished friends. The plunky sound of the ekonting is an invitation to friends and neighbors to gather for a time, perhaps to pass a cup of a palm wine, or to slowly heat the coals for a round of ataaya (sweet green tea), or to commiserate after a long day at work, or to exchange the latest gossip, or simply to join voices in familiar old songs.

**Ekonting Music**

Ekonting technique and musical characteristics are quite consistent from one player to another, allowing for some generalizations that will be elaborated by three specific musical examples. Interaction between voice and ekonting is a central feature of ekonting music, with the melody of the ekonting said to "follow" the vocal melody. Both music and lyrics are typically based on relatively short strophes, often consisting of a repeated four-measure phrase or couplet. Although a minor element of improvisation is present in the adaption of vocal melodies to the ekonting, compared to other African musics there is little variation from strophe to strophe. Toward the end of a typical performance, an ekonting player may repeat only the final one or two phrases several times before drawing the song to an end. Melodic and rhythmic ornamentation are generally kept to a minimum, though open strings sometimes play a limited rhythmic drone.
role. In general, the voice and ekonting interact heterophonically, at times approaching monophony with instrumental doubling. Due to the unvarying nature and compact range of the ekonting's five notes, the ekonting and voice often diverge in melodic line and register even while following the same note order. That is, while the vocal melody might ascend a full step to move from G to A, the ekonting must descend a minor seventh to play the same two notes in the same order, albeit in different registers. This technique allows for interesting harmonic effects even within a nearly monophonic texture. A smaller subset of polyphonic songs is based on a short ostinato played by the ekonting, with the voice creating an additional melody or speaking in declamatory style. When additional accompaniment of a shaker, clapper, or drum is added, the texture must be understood to become polyphonic. Call and response frequently occurs between the voice and ekonting, or between the ekonting player and other people present at the performance.

Song texts primarily speak of romantic relationships, rural life, migration, work, and locally known contemporary and historical people. Lyrics are frequently characterized by alliteration, which is a linguistic quality of the Jola language resulting from extensive grammatical agreement. As in all Jola vocal genres, ekonting songs make ample use of vocables on the syllables "o," "i," and "e." Vocal quality is smooth, open, almost entirely syllabic, and typically in a low tessitura. Jola-Kasa is the primary language, though ekonting players often insert phrases from other Jola dialects of from Wolof, Mandinka, or European languages as is also common in everyday speech.

The ekonting is most often played solo, and is always accompanied by singing. Usually the ekonting player serves as the "lead" singer, with others present often providing an informal chorus of responders. In casual contexts, the ekonting may be accompanied by a shaker.
(kasekaseng) or ad hoc idiophonic percussion such as glass bottles or plastic palm wine jugs. The ekonting is sometimes played in tourist-oriented folkloric ensembles, alongside one or more bugarabu or djembe drums and bamboo clappers (wuleaw). The relatively quiet ekonting is often completely inaudible to the audience in such ensembles, serving as a visual icon of Jola or generic African tradition for the audience, and perhaps as a familiar guide for the ensemble's lead singer. In regional popular music ensembles, the ekonting is amplified and played alongside electric guitar, bass, and keyboard with drum set or bugarabu percussion.

Three musical examples explicate the use of ekonting techniques and the interaction of instrument and voice: "Man de waaru na," "Mama Laliya," and "Watu eriring bee kaolo." The first two are transcribed from performances by Musa Diatta in July 2012, and the third is transcribed from a performance by Musa Diatta and Daniel Jatta in February 2014. I have transcribed all songs in the key of G because this most closely reflects the tuning of Diatta's ekonting and conveniently allows the omission of accidentals. Diatta sometimes added variable flourishes to his ekonting playing from strophe to strophe, but never strayed far from the archetypal transcriptions below.

"Man de waaru na" ("You Made Me Surprised at Myself") is sung from the perspective of a naughty young child apologizing to his or her mother (Figure 15). The song is highly strophic, with the final line (man de waaru na) sometimes sung together by everyone present in a sort of antiphonal call-and-response. This final line is in Wolof, while the first three lines are in Jola-Kasa. The second line (Mama uboketon la yo) is sometimes sung an octave higher, adding variety to the repetitive vocal line. The alternation of vowel sounds at the end of phrases ("ye," "yo," "ye," yaram) is a fairly common sound-echo aesthetic in the ekonting songs I learned. "La," "ye," and "yo" are vocables. Measures four and six include instances of the short third string
being used as an ornamental drone; however, its primary function is as a melody string. Measure four includes an instance of the vocal line descending by a whole step from A to G while the ekonting ascends a minor seventh to play the same two notes. Measure three typifies the technique of playing a series of repeated notes on the ekonting to match a single long note in the vocal melody; this difference in vocal and instrumental melody is one of primary contributors to the lightly heterophonic texture. The 4/4 meter and regular phrasing of this song are relatively common features of ekonting songs, though far from ubiquitous.

"Mama Laliya" is a song associated with the naming ceremony, though it may also be sung for casual entertainment (Figure 16). The introduction of a new baby into the community is a joyous occasion accompanied by day-long feasting, music, and dancing, with this ceremony serving to announce the child’s name (often in tribute to a relative or friend) and signify the new mother’s reentry into the community after a period of seclusion. The lyrics reference lumbuda, a traditional dance that involves limbo-ing under a flaming stick, and sumbuyum, a pair of small drums placed on the ground. I have transcribed the song in a combination of 4/4 and 6/4, though...
in fact there are not clearly demarcated downbeats or measure breaks. The musical notes accompanying the word *lumbuda* in measure four again demonstrate the voice and *ekonting* beginning in monophony on G and then diverging as the voice continues up a whole step to the A while the *ekonting* jumps down a minor seventh to the A. As in "Man de waaru naa," measure four also includes two uses of the short third string as an ornamental drone; in this case, Diatta did not always play these drone notes but used them intermittently to add variation.

Figure 16. Transcription of "Mama Lalilya."

"Watu eriring bee kaolo" ("The Time has Come to Rest") makes reference to the *ekonting's* role in casual social situations after work (Figure 17). The lyrics mention a now-deceased man named Mustafa Sambu, whom Mathew Jarju describes as "the best, best, best, best, best *ekonting* player in the Casamance." The lyrics also reference Musa Diatta's friends Apapa Diatta and Sana Goyo; the three men work together as gardeners in the compound of a wealthy Gambian lawyer who lives in Los Angeles. In this performance, Daniel Jatta accompanied Diatta with a gourd shaker decorated with generically African designs that his
brother Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta brought from Sweden. He uses a steady additive rhythm that is common in Jola dance performances in western Gambia (indeed, the same accompanying rhythm was used by Bombolong Cultural Group when they performed this song at a nearby tourist restaurant). While the ekonting follows the vocal line closely in the first three measures, measures four through seven illustrate the role of open strings as rhythmic drones in more detail. As represented by grace notes and sixteenth notes, these open drone notes serve to rhythmically ornament the melody. They are accomplished through a single hand motion that combines thumb-plucking and fingernail-striking. In measure five, Musa quickly ascends from B to D by plucking the open second string with his thumb and then immediately striking the first string in first position with his fingernail. In measure six, the gesture is reversed as Musa ascends a minor seventh from A to G by striking the open first string with his fingernail and then immediately plucking the open third string with his thumb. In the course of this performance, Musa would sometimes omit the vocal line in measure five and seven, leaving the ekonting to continue playing as a response to his calls in measures four and six. After playing for several minutes, Musa began omitting the first three measures altogether, playing only the final four measures in a repeated loop. As the performance drew to a close, he repeated only measure seven several times before striking the final three notes particularly emphatically to signal an end to the performance.
Figure 17. Transcription of "Watu eriring bee kaolo."

Conclusions

Although the ekonting's age cannot be definitively determined, it is viewed as an ancient instrument by Jola musicians. Scholarly documentation of the instrument begins in 1959 with Thomas' seminal monograph on Jola culture, and continues sparsely until the flurry of
publications by professional and amateur scholars after the year 2000. The *ekonting* is closely related to other West African plucked lutes and to early New World banjos, though the precise nature of these relationships is difficult to tease apart. Its construction materials, design aesthetics, and performance contexts are meaningful within a Jola web of significance, linking the instrument to the Awasena Path, to the profession of young Jola men as palm wine tappers and fishermen, and to its roles in providing casual entertainment and facilitating courtship.

*Ekonting* music is pentatonic, highly strophic, and either heterophonic with the human voice or polyphonic with idiophonic accompaniment, with pithy lyrics addressing romantic relationships, rural life, migration, work, and people known to local performers and audiences.
Chapter 3: Narrative Identity and the *Ekonting*

Traditional musical instruments make useful symbols of identity because they are often unique to a particular social group and therefore serve as markers of distinction from other groups.\(^{38}\) This is true of the *ekonting*. One *ekonting* player describes the instrument much like an identification badge: "No matter where you go, if you see someone playing the *ekonting*, you will know that person is a Jola." Ethnomusicological literature abounds with similar cases, where there is said to be a one-to-one relationship between a musical instrument and the social identity of the performer. However, constructivist models of social identity emphasizing multiplicity, changeability, and relationality complicate this apparently straightforward relationship, even if ethnomusicologists too often continue to treat the subject of identity in contradictory ways (Rice 2007). In this chapter, I approach the *ekonting* through sociologist Margaret Somers' (1992, 1994) paradigm of narrative identity, which emphasizes the relational and ontological qualities of narrative production. I argue that the *ekonting* serves not as a signifier of an *a priori* social identity, but instead as a site for the narrative production of Jola ethnicity. This narrative production both differentiates Jolas from — and associates them with — other regional, national, and transnational identity narratives. After an explanation of this paradigm, I demonstrate this argument through three vignettes describing different directions of narrative production around the *ekonting*.

The three vignettes in this chapter demonstrate how the *ekonting* becomes a contact zone through which Jola musicians emplot their ontological narratives within public narratives of Jola ethnicity and African roots. Articulated verbally, musically, and institutionally, these narratives involve elements of differentiation but also highlight the extent to which gestures of association define Jola personal and group identity narratives. In the first vignette, master *ateka ekonting*...
(ekonting player) Adama Sambou talks about the ekonting in ways that position it as both uniquely Jola and part of a pan-African cultural heritage. He also composes music for the ekonting that puts the Jola ethnicity in relation to other regional and transnational identities. In the second vignette, an ekonting performance during the Festival for Peace hosted by the Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de Casamance is part of a delicate balancing act in which the political organization creates an identity narrative that is simultaneously Jola, pan-ethnic, regional, and international, all while differentiating itself from northern Senegal. In the third vignette, the efforts of Jola musician and scholar Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta to promote the relationship between the ekonting and American banjo through the founding of the Akonting Center for Senegambian Folk Music reveal new ways of positioning the ekonting within a public narrative of African roots. In each case, the ekonting is at the center of an audiotopic contact zone in which the instrument is positioned in relation to multiple social identities. In presenting these three scenarios, I aim for a sort of call-and-response between ethnographic description and analysis, approximating Geertz's notion of thick description (1973) and employing methods of musical analysis, discourse analysis, and historiography.

**Ethnicity, Difference, and Narrative Identity**

Ethnic identity has long been a central concern of African studies. While journalistic accounts frequently posit ethnicity (and its primitivist twin, "tribalism") as a source of violent conflict and a divisive scourge of national solidarity,39 academic Africanists tend to view ethnicity more positively as perhaps the most important factor in the social and cultural lives of African people. Dozens of books with titles that make reference to "the people (or peoples) of Africa" depend on the concept of ethnicity as their central organizing principle and on the image
of Africa as, to quote one such book, "a bewildering kaleidoscope of thousands of discrete ethnic entities whose group identities are focused and distinct" (Olson 1996:vi).\footnote{40} Other Africanists have responded by focusing on historical processes of ethnic identity production, especially the complicity of colonial and post-colonial policies in creating and manipulating ethnic divisions (e.g., Amselle 1998, Ranger 1983, and Wallerstein 1975, among many others). In both camps, Africanists have "tended to emphasize boundary formation rather than boundary crossing" (Brubaker and Cooper 2000:21), that is, differentiation rather than association. This emphasis on discrete, distinct ethnic identities – whether historically constructed or not – follows from influential models viewing differentiation as the primary component of the identity formation process. Fredrik Barth's landmark 1969 volume, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, was an early proponent of the definitional importance of differential boundaries for ethnic groups, while thirty years later Arjun Appadurai saw the production of difference as a definitional function of culture (1996). Expounding on the idea of "culture as difference," he writes, "Culture is a pervasive dimension of human discourse that exploits difference to generate diverse conceptions of group identity" (1996:13).

But what if members of an ethnic group define themselves not only by differentiating themselves but also by associating themselves with other social identities? For every study of music reflecting or producing a particular social identity, there is another emphasizing the way people use music to cross boundaries: for example, by generating border-crossing "audiotopias" that would be untenable in non-musical social space (Kun 2005a), by participating in a transatlantic sphere that transcends the apparent binary of local and global (Appert 2012), by producing vernacular cosmopolitanism "across the intimacy-making bridge of acoustemology" (Feld 2012), or any number of other examples. While policing boundaries and producing
difference are undoubtedly vital processes in the construction of ethnic identity, my fieldwork with Jola musicians revealed in equal measure the ways that people define their identities through gestures of association, connection, inclusion, and sameness.\textsuperscript{41} This is the crux of my enthusiasm for Afropolitanism and its insistence that African lives are "rooted in specific geographies but also transcendental of them" (Gikandi 2010:9).

To account for the dual importance of differentiation and association, I turn to the framework of "narrative identity" elaborated by Margaret Somers in her studies of English working class formation (1994, 1992).\textsuperscript{42} In some ways, Somers' narrative identity concept does the same work as the models of Afropolitanism and audiotopia described in the introduction. It is, however, frankly more rigorously developed than either of these models, which provide useful perspectives but somewhat underdeveloped analytical tools. In particular, narrative identity embraces the ways that narrative production (including music-making, in the case of this chapter) is both a way of making descriptive statements about the world and, at the same time, a way of living them out. It thus allows me to theorize music-making as performative of social realities (Schieffelin 1985, 1998; Butler 1990, 2007). It also acknowledges that social identities are more than simply politically expedient labels or titles; they also have content that is both determined by and often determining of its constituents' choices. Navigating the dynamic of structure and agency that is central to practise theory, Somers suggests the interrelationality of what she terms "ontological" and "public" narratives.\textsuperscript{43} Ontological narratives are the life stories through which people make sense of their experiences and make decisions for future action. Public narratives are those attached to cultural formations and institutions larger than individual narrators – such as the Jola ethnicity, in the case of this chapter.
Relationality is the crux of this story-telling, in that people give meaning to experiences and relationships only by relating them to others. In Somers' terms, this relationality is accomplished through "emplotment," that is, by locating an independent event, feeling, or relationship in an explanatory narrative. Becoming winded after climbing a flight of stairs, for example, is not experienced as an isolated occurrence but becomes part of a story ("I shouldn't have eaten so much ice cream yesterday," "I am getting older" or, interpersonally, "Dad died of a heart attack") that may or may not influence future action (going to the gym or taking the elevator next time). Emplotment thereby turns disjointed "events" into a series of "episodes," each of which has meaning insofar as it is understood to be related to other episodes, which together add up to a meaningful life story, or ontological narrative. In the same way, these ontological narratives are emploted into other ontological and public narratives. The ontological aspect of this theory of narrativity means that narratives are not simply descriptive. Rather, ontological narratives give meaning to experience, guide future action, shape the public narratives that define social identities, and provide a set of possibilities for the ontological narrative production of their constituents. This model of narrativity allows us to see that stories about the ekonting – whether articulated verbally, musically, or institutionally – are not merely descriptions of the instrument's social profile but are, in fact, the very source of the instrument's meaning and its role in the production of a relational Jola ethnic identity.

As a sociologist and historian, Somers' research focuses on interpreting collective action through the analysis of public narratives (and metanarratives, an even broader level of abstracted, explanatory master narratives). As an ethnographer, my perspective leads more naturally to an analysis of personal ontological narratives and the ways they contribute to – and sometimes challenge – public narratives. Calling our research subjects "informants," "interlocutors," or,
indeed, "narrators" is an obvious clue that collecting and interpreting narratives is a major component of ethnomusicological methodology. Situating these methodological interactions within a framework of ontological narrativity pushes us to see past the classical role of the ethnographer as passive documentarian and interpreter. Ethnomusicologists typically ask interview subjects to describe or explain their musical practices, initiating a process of narrative production in which the ethnographer becomes complicit as instigator, audience, and validator. This makes ethnographers investigators of musical processes of identity construction even as we elicit from our collaborators – and ultimately write down and transmit – the ontological narratives that are the building blocks of public narratives of social identity.  

Adama Sambou: You Won't Find Another Ekonting Player Like Me

In a musical career spanning nearly four decades, Adama Sambou has served as ekonting player, dancer, singer, and percussionist in numerous groups, including the successful folkloric troupe Ejam Kassa. Because of the great difficulty of earning a living as a professional musician in the Casamance, he has worked various odd jobs during this time as well, primarily as a construction worker. Currently, he performs with the interethnic ensemble Keloumake (a Jola term referring to a large tree that serves as a public gathering place), earning enough money during summertime tours of Europe to support himself and his family throughout the year. Sambou is the most technically virtuosic and among the most stylistically innovative of the two dozen ekonting players I observed in the course of my fieldwork. He is justly proud of his skill, sometimes fishing for compliments by asking me to compare him to other ekonting players I have met. "You won't find another ekonting player like me," he chuckles after demonstrating his ability to play with the ekonting held behind his head, Hendrix-style. His neighbors likewise
speak highly of his musicianship, reverently repeating, "He's been to Europe, you know."
Sambou and I visited each other numerous times between December 2014 and March 2015 in
Ziguinchor, either in his childhood home in the Colobane neighborhood or my apartment in the
Boudodi neighborhood, passing pleasant afternoons and evenings playing music, talking, or
watching soccer. His sitting room is decorated with a map of France showing the route of the
Tour de France bicycle race; a rack of CDs including several Bob Marley albums and a
collection of female American jazz singers; a dog-eared photo album of his public performances;
a stereo system that he uses to amplify his ekonting; and a large TV that is inevitably tuned to the
current soccer match. Sambou himself cuts a stout figure in his regular outfits of a brightly
colored khaftan suit or loose-fitting chaya pants printed with outlines of the African continent
pigmented with the colors of the Senegalese flag, always topped by his favorite red kufi skull cap
(Figure 18).

Figure 18. Adama Sambou at his home in Ziguinchor's Colobane neighborhood.
Photo by the author, 11 January 2015.
Born in the village of Mlomp in 1960, Adama Sambou moved to Ziguinchor at the age of five to be raised by his aunt and uncle. He explains how the ekonting first caught his attention and helped him feel like part of the ethnic community into which he was born when he returned to the village at age ten:

I visited the village [of Mlomp] in 1970. When I arrived, I spoke Jola poorly. I was in the village and I saw the instruments and the people dancing the ekonkon. I said to myself, "I call myself Jola but I am not Jola." So I really glued myself to the traditional instruments. I learned to play the bombolong. The two drums that accompany the bombolong and all that. I tried wrestling like everyone else. I learned to wrestle. Yes, okay. After that, I saw the ekonting and I said, "No, I have to learn how to play the ekonting." The singer sings, then the ekonting alone sings, then the people take it to heart and everyone sings together. It's so beautiful.

Yes, voila. The ekonting really made an impression on me.

This explanation reveals much about Sambou's close relationship to the ekonting. Having grown up primarily in a multiethnic town, speaking mostly Wolof and learning French in school, Sambou felt himself to be only nominally Jola when confronted with the music, dance, and communal activities of his natal village. Perhaps even more than learning to speak the Jola language, Sambou sought to recover his sense of ethnic identity through cultural performance.

While playing the ekonting made him feel like a Jola for the first time, Sambou also positions the ekonting as a pan-African instrument. This is revealed through a story he tells about a man named Apucha, a veteran of World War One and the earliest ekonting player of whom Sambou is specifically aware. Sambou is a gifted and animated storyteller, often regaling me with folktales involving a diverse cast of animal characters, and his recounting of this historical
story utilized many of the same hand gestures, vocal rhythms, and mild voice changes to indicate different characters, never forgetting that he was performing both for me and my microphone. Sambou told me this story after I asked him about the history of the *ekonting* during a relatively formal interview, rather than our more typical mode of playing and informally discussing music together. Instead of responding with an objective historiographical account, Sambou responded by reframing my interview questions within a story from his own life:

My teacher, when he taught me to play the *ekonting*, when I had mastered it, I asked him, "But, who created the *ekonting"?" He said, "No, I don’t know. But I will put you in touch with an old man, an old man who was in the First World War. He is old. He was in the First World War. So, you go see him and he will explain. You go see the old man, and bring some *bunuk* ["palm wine"]." [I went to meet this old man, whose name was Apucha.] I said, "Papa, I’ve come to see you." "Me?" "Yes, you." "My son, listen, I’m resting. Don’t bother me. What do you want anyway?" "I want to know about the creator of the *ekonting*. Who created the *ekonting* and who was the first to play the *ekonting*? And when did he play the *ekonting*? At what time did he play the *ekonting* in the Kasa [region]?"

He said, "No, leave me alone." I said, "Okay, first have some white wine [i.e., *bunuk*] and then we’ll chat." He called his brother and they drank. He said, "Come my son, I am content. Listen to what I say." I said, "Yes."

Here, Sambou incorporates the very interview questions I asked of him into his response, deftly emplotting our relationship within an earlier story from his own life and, ultimately, a story from Apucha’s life. This is a powerful example of Somers' insistence on the relationality of ontological narratives, and of the complicity of the ethnographer in the production of narrativity.
Bunuk palm wine plays a central role in this story with trifold importance: (1) it situates the narrative within a specifically Jola cultural structure, because gifting and sharing bunuk is one of the most important practices of Jola sociality; (2) bunuk is the "sine qua non" of ritual practice in the Jola Awasena Path (Mark 1992:57), further enmeshing the story in a specifically Jola web of significance; and (3) bunuk consumption is a major point of differentiation from other Senegalese ethnic groups who have more uniformly converted to Islam and thus are prohibited from drinking alcohol.⁴⁵

The story continues as, after sharing a gourd of bunuk, Apucha tells Sambou how he was kidnapped by the French military and forced into military service during World War I. Transported to Egypt, Apucha meets a man playing a familiar instrument:

[Apucha said,] "Yes, the ekonting. It’s true that I was in the war, the First World War. I left for the war at the age of 48. I was married." [In those days,] the young people, they would get up very early and hide themselves in the bush because there were Europeans who would take them and bring them to the war. So, they would get up at four in the morning and hide in the bush, leaving the older people. [Apucha], at that time, he was getting ready to get married. He had his girlfriend that he was going to marry. So, now, they were helping him build his building, in the traditional Jola style. [While Apucha was working on the house], the Europeans came and he was there on top. He was preparing the roof. Okay. He didn’t see the Europeans. They came and, voila, [they said,] "Where are the young people?" He said, "No, there are no young people. The young people left on vacation. To go harvest palm wine." […] So, he came down. And that’s how they took him. […]"
He was in the war in Egypt. A black man, yes, an Egyptian man was there with an ekonting. And [Apucha] said to his group leader, the chief of the battalion, he said "Listen, chief." "Yes?" "Tell that guy to lend me that instrument there." "That instrument there? Why, you can’t play it?" He said, "I know how to play that instrument. It exists chez nous." So, he asked and the guy gave it to him. [Apucha] played, he tuned it and played it in his style. Then, a Burkinabe also asked for it. A Burkinabe is a black man. He asked for it and he played it too, in his style. […] [Finally, Apucha told me.] "So, I can’t say that the ekonting only exists here." He told me, "Here in the Kasa, we have mastered the ekonting well. But the ekonting comes from very far away."

The story concludes with Apucha telling Sambou (and me, by extension), "So, I can’t say that the ekonting only exists here. … We have mastered the ekonting well. But the ekonting comes from very far away." Sambou's description of the Egyptian and Burkinabe as "black men" can be read as a mark of their differentiation from white French army officers, and at the same time, an acknowledgement of the ekonting's connection to a racialized pan-African culture. The ekonting's pan-African "black" identity here emerges from two sources: 1) the deep history of shared African tradition, expressed as the dispersal of similar plucked lutes across the Sahara (Charry 1996a); and 2) the common experience of colonialism, white supremacy, and political globalization expressed as kidnapping and forced military service in the global conflict of World War I. The ekonting's link to Egypt may be particularly significant here, because Sambou is undoubtedly aware of Senegalese polymath Cheikh Anta Diop's controversial work identifying ancient Egypt as a black African civilization that was highly contributory to West African cultures (1974). Through Sambou's narratives, the ekonting becomes intrinsically Jola and, at the
same time, part of a collective African heritage that "comes from very far away" in both time and space.

Sambou's multifaceted conception of the ekonting affects the way he plays and composes songs. A skilled percussionist, Sambou often finds inspiration in other instruments when composing ekonting songs, particularly those that are based on rhythmic ostinatos. While singing a women's song from the Fogny region, for example, he accompanies himself with an ekonting ostinato that he based on the melorhythmic bugarabu drum, the most iconic instrument of Fogny Jolas. He used a similar strategy when creating the ekonting ostinato in a reggae-inspired song he composed for Keloumake. In this case, he combined a melorhythm usually played by the tumba drums typical of the Thionk-Essyl region with minor-third chords inspired by reggae guitar lines.46 "I mix [je mélange] the different instruments," he says. "[The ekonting] has different instruments inside it. […] All those rhythms are there inside the ekonting."

Sambou's mixing of instruments within the ekonting is exemplified by his composition "Vventure de la Mort." The song is addressed to, as he says, "all the presidents in Africa." Sambou explains that it is a warning to anyone considering running for president because they will inevitably be corrupted by power: "Running for president is a dangerous venture. It’s a venture of death. Where is the good in you? We elected you yesterday but today you forget us. It’s a problem of power. All the wars in Africa are about that. Côte d’Ivoire, Mali, Gambia, Central Africa, even here." In this song, Sambou speaks in French in a deep-voiced declamatory style, delivering his critique of African presidential politics before launching into a short melodic chorus in Bambara, a Malian language with which he has only passing familiarity. The ekonting part consists of several variations on a rhythmic ostinato (see Figure 19).
Figure 19. Ostinato variations from "Venture de la Mort." Transcription by the author.

Explaining the compositional process for creating the *ekonting* part, Sambou says that these ostinato variations are based on a combination of typical rhythms from three other instruments: *kalonkoñ* (a mouth-resonated musical bow played by Jolas in the Kasa region); *bolong* (a Mandinka bass hunter's harp); and *nyanyeru* (a bowed lute played by members of the Fula ethnic group). As Sambou explains, the first string of the *ekonting* plays the *nyanyeru* fiddle part, the second string plays the *bolong* harp part (noted with gray squares), and the third string plays the *kalonkoñ* mouth bow part (noted with gray circles). Although the first string melody is interrupted by notes played on the other two strings, it strongly suggests a constant stream of eighth-notes. Sambou confirms this by humming this melody while mimicking the playing.
motion of a fiddle in constant back-and-forth arm movements. The second string bolong melody is less distinct and emerges only in the third variation. Because the bolong is a three-stringed harp and only one note is possible on the ekonting’s second string, it is likely that Sambou's conception of the bolong melody also includes notes on adjacent strings. Sambou emphasizes the third-string kalonkoñ part by plucking this string especially forcefully and muting it over the bridge with the palm of his right hand, creating a staccato popping sound that conveys a strongly rhythmic effect. The additive rhythm produced on this string has the feel of a bell pattern that propels the song's pulse. With this combination of rhythmic and melodic instruments contained within the ekonting ostinato, the texture of this performance can be considered polyphonic even before the vocal part begins.

In this case, Adama Sambou brings together musical styles from three Casamançais ethnic groups within a single instrumental part, thereby creating an ostinato that can be said to be pan-Casamançais. Sambou uses first person plural pronouns in his declamatory lyrics, calling into being an imaginary unified African electorate that is currently impoverished but hopeful for a more democratic future. The use of Bambara and French also contributes to the pan-African feel of the song. The use of Bambara and French rather than local languages such as Jola or Wolof also contributes to the pan-African feel of the song. In this case, Sambou produces a musically generated contact zone through which the ekonting can be a central part of his identification as a Jola even as it contains other ethnicities, other languages, and other rhythms inside it.

Significantly, Sambou shows disregard bordering on disdain for the popular fusion music called mbalax, which has dominated the airwaves in northern Senegal for nearly three decades, calling it "a bunch of noise." With a dismissive wave of the hand, he says, "The northerners,
everything is Wolof-\textit{mbalax}, Lebou-\textit{mbalax}, Serer-\textit{mbalax}, everything \textit{mbalax}. Here in the Casamance there are many ethnic groups, more diversity." For Sambou, the southern Casamance region represents cultural diversity while northern Senegal represents cultural homogeneity. Not only does Sambou pointedly exclude northern \textit{mbalax} rhythms from the mixture of instruments voiced by his \textit{ekonting}, but the diversity of sounds he does include is, itself, an articulation of difference from the perceived sonic homogeneity of the north. This piece of Sambou's musical narrative is clearly emplotted within the hotly contested public narrative that sees the Casamance region as politically and culturally distinct from the Republic of Senegal. This separatist public narrative, and Sambou's contributory ontological narrative, hinges on a declaration of Casamançais ethnic, religious, and political difference that loudly contradicts the national motto imprinted on the Senegalese coat of arms: \textit{"un peuple, un but, une foi"} (one people, one goal, one faith).

\textbf{The \textit{Ekonting} at the MFDC Festival for Peace}

For the second year in a row, the Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de Casamance (MFDC) is hosting a Festival for Peace in Ziguinchor. The 2014 festival was a rather small, haphazard event; but in 2015, the festival features a full week of concerts along with wrestling matches, mask dances, and appearances by MFDC representatives. The chief organizers of the festival are: 1) Abdul Aziz Mbaye, a well-connected local musician with minor celebrity status who is sometimes hailed as the Elvis of the Casamance because he recorded an album of French- and Jola-language light rock music in Paris in 1977 under the name King Joe Dann; 2) Ali Bayot, a youthful musician from Ziguinchor who has established a relatively successful career as an electronic dance music producer in Germany, where he currently lives; and 3) Abdou Elinkine
Diatta, the popular local representative of the political wing of the MFDC. The festival takes place near the MFDC's Ziguinchor headquarters in the Colobane neighborhood, and is generally well-attended by a crowd that skews slightly toward young men. A typical evening's concert includes as many as ten "playback" performances (generally young rap, reggae, or cabo performers singing over a pre-recorded backing track) plus one or two "live" acts in the early hours of the morning.

The following ethnographic descriptions and analyses are based on the festival's final concert on Sunday, January 25, 2015. The evening exemplifies use of cultural performance to create a complex political identity balancing specifically Jola idioms with a multi-ethnic regional constituency. As with Adama Sambou's conception of the ekonting, the instrument's ability to carry multiple significances make it particularly suitable to perform this balance alongside a repertoire of other typically Jola cultural practices.

4:30 pm

The MFDC festival grounds, about the size of a soccer field and encircled by a tall reed fence, are nearly deserted when the sound of distant drumming first wafts in on the afternoon breeze. Two buses appear on the dirt path leading back to the main road, rocking to and fro and bursting with the sound of live singing and drumming coming from inside. The music grows louder as the passengers disembark. Thirty women dressed in their brightest boubous descend from the front door of the first bus, singing and laughing while keeping a steady rhythm with traditional Jola bamboo clappers (wuleaw) and metallic idiophones made from gardening tools and cooking utensils. Thirty men spill out of the front door and back gate of the second bus, unloading a collection of six drums as they sing in unison. Most of the men are dressed in
everyday casual attire, while five or so are dressed in varying degrees of female drag. The two
groups join in a circle just outside the entrance to the festival grounds and individual dancers
move through the circle to show off their fancy footwork, always in the downward-focused,
hunched-forward, high-stepping style that is typical of Jola dancing. The sound of the drums and
the clappers travels over the treetops, signaling the start of the evening's festivities, and almost
immediately a small crowd appears and begins to make their way inside the festival grounds.

The singers and drummers are part of a folkloric troupe from one of Ziguinchor's
outlying villages. Although a wide range of ages is represented, the majority of the troupe are
high school students. The sonic core of the troupe is the drum ensemble, consisting of an ekutir
(medium goblet drum), murang (a joined pair of shallow drums carried and played by a single
drummer), an esabar (the Jola-ized pronunciation of the Wolof sabar, a tall and narrow drum
played with one stick and one open palm), and a djembe (the ubiquitous West African large
goblet drum, originally associated with Mande hunters' guilds). The four young men playing
these drums explain that the esabar and djembe are Wolof and Mandinka, respectively, and they
have brought them to "accompany" the Jola ekutir and murang. The drummers would like to
transition from a "troupe" to an "orchestre," but they do not know anyone who has access to an
electric guitar or keyboard. The women play their idiophonic instruments in unison on each beat.
When a dancer enters the circle, the women respond by creating an additive double-time beat
through rhythmic hocketing, which immediately returns to the unison rhythm when the dancer
exits. Throughout, the men and women take turns singing a short chorus in call-and-response
fashion, always singing in unison and emphasizing the central position of vocables.

As the troupe continues to play and sing, a masked Kumpo dancer appears from behind
an unfinished cinderblock structure a ways down the dirt path, attended by his "soldiers" Samay
and Niasse. Much more than a simple face covering, the Kumpo mask consists of innumerable strands of palm leaf topped by a thick wooden pole that waves a green flag (Figure 20). An unmasked attendant periodically takes swigs of water from a tea kettle and spits them on Kumpo in a fine spray. As the masks approach, the circle of singers and dancers collapses into a procession and leads them into the festival grounds. Singing in its distinctive and inhuman voice, Kumpo leads the folkloric troupe and the growing crowd of spectators past the main festival stage and around a corner to an out-of-sight area that holds two houses and another stage. Here, a group of MFDC dignitaries awaits, chief among them Ziguinchor's MFDC representative Abdou Elinkine Diatta and an old woman with the staff and black robes of an Awasena healer and spiritual authority (fusekataf). The folkloric troupe and the crowd of spectators form a large circle bordering the entrance to one of the houses, with the masks dancing in the center. Kumpo kneels in front of the MFDC dignitaries, receives a particularly heavy dose of water from its attendant, and then approaches the edge of the circle as the crowd scatters and titters nervously in its path. Bouncing up and down, Kumpo prepares to perform its signature dance move for the first time: with a running start, it launches itself forward, plants its wooden pole firmly in the dirt, and twirls vigorously for several seconds, sending its strands flying and producing a formidable cloud of dust. Clapping in additive double time, the crowd erupts into cheers and physical celebration when Kumpo finally jumps back up onto its feet. After performing this impressive feat three times, Kumpo leads the crowd back out to the main festival grounds.
Kumpo is the most powerful and best known of the Jola masks, and it is surrounded by an aura of secrecy. The mask conceals all trace of the dancer inside, and in theory only initiated men know the identity of the dancer. Although the young man embodying this Kumpo undoubtedly arrived with the two buses carrying the other members of the folkloric troupe, it is essential that he costume himself in privacy and appear separately from the singers and dancers, as if emerging from the forests of which he is an avatar. Kumpo's signature twirling dance is so spectacularly acrobatic that it is difficult to imagine how it is accomplished, an effect augmented by the flying palm leaves, which become soft and pliable when wetted evenly by Kumpo's
attendant. Kumpo's strange, high-pitched singing voice is modified through the use of an aerophonic instrument that is likewise shrouded in secrecy; describing the mechanism for producing the voice of another Jola mask, Mark, Chupin, and de Jong note that "one of the authors feels strongly that the nature of this instrument, familiar to many readers, is a secret that should not be divulged" (Mark, de Jong, and Chupin 1998:95). Girard likewise notes that not everyone is capable of understanding Kumpo's voice, and that a young male dancer usually translates its messages for the larger crowd (1969:70).

De Jong argues that the effect of the secrecy surrounding Kumpo augments its power in relation to its audience: "a mask performance articulates an unequal relation between mask-performers and audience, empowering the former over the latter" (1999:50). Indeed, the audience's simultaneous fascination and nervousness around Kumpo stem from their uncertainty as to its true nature and, at the same time, their certainty of its immense power. Kumpo's deference to the MFDC's dignitaries at the Festival for Peace is thus a major endorsement of their own power, achieved through a distinctly Jola performance modality that is inextricably bound to music, dance, and sound. The Kumpo performance can considered an audiotopia in that it creates a contact zone between the world of spirits and the world of mundane reality in a way that is not possible in everyday social life. This audiotopic performance also serves to emplot the public narratives of Jola ethnicity and Casamançais separatism.

6:00pm

As the singing and drumming of the Kumpo performance continues in the main festival grounds, a young friend from Ziguinchor named Labraise claps me on the back and tells me that he has arranged an audience for me with Abdou Elinkine Diatta. We approach the outdoor porch
of one of the houses in the small festival area and Labraise tells me that I must take off my shoes before entering. While removing one's shoes before entering a house is fairly common practice in Senegal, this is the first time that anyone has specifically told me to do so. An old man emerges from the doorway and takes my hand, leading me inside while Labraise assures me that he will be waiting just outside the house. Grasping my hand tightly, the old man leads me into the first room in the house, an open space that is dominated by an unusually large and elaborate *boekin* shrine in the center of the room. We pass through this room, squeeze down a narrow hallway, and emerge onto the back porch, which is entirely enclosed with the same tall reed fencing that surrounds the festival grounds. Abdou Elinkine Diatta sits alone in this area, pensively sipping a cup of *bunuk* mixed with cinnamon and coconut water. The old man formally introduces me to Diatta and then disappears back into the house, leaving us to speak alone.

Diatta is an energetic man who enjoys enthusiastic popularity and local celebrity status in Ziguinchor. He represents the political branch of the MFDC, which currently advocates for a peaceful resolution to MFDC grievances. He is also a musician, performing frequently with the Jola-language folk-reggae group Les Frères du Sud. Diatta greets me warmly and we share a hand-rolled cigarette while drinking his "special cocktail" of *bunuk* from the same cup. Diatta begins by explaining the significance of the new MFDC logo that he himself designed, which he shows me on a freshly printed T-shirt that depicts former MFDC leader Abbé Diamacoue Senghor on the front and the logo on the back. As described in the previous chapter, the logo represents religious unity through its simultaneous depiction of a Catholic cross, an Islamic star, an Awasena gourd, and a green heart representing respect for nature. Counting off the various ethnic groups of the Casamance on the fingers of both hands (Jola, Mandinka, Peul, Manjago, Ballanta, Bainunk, etc), Diatta describes the Casamance as "an America in miniature" that is
chiefly characterized by its diversity. Diatta also explains that the large *boekin* inside the house protects the entire festival grounds from violence of any kind, which he believes makes it a particularly fitting site for a festival celebrating peace. With that, he concludes our audience and the old man reappears on cue to lead me by the hand back through the house. Exiting the sanctified space of the house into the afternoon's red light, I put my shoes back on and meet Labraise, who eagerly asks me how my audience went. Perhaps due to the ritualized nature of the visit, I reply honestly that I felt like I was in the presence of charismatic power.

The curious combination of specifically Jola modalities of power (such as the protective *boekin*, the ritual secrecy of the meeting, and the exchange of *bunuk*) with Diatta's rhetoric about the inclusive religious and ethnic umbrella of the MFDC makes sense given the terms of their political conflict with the Senegalese federal government. As described in Chapter 1, the MFDC differs from most secession movements in other parts of the world because it does not base its claim for independence on an assertion of ethnic or religious difference from other parts of the country. Instead, MFDC leaders claim that French administrators historically conceived the Casamance as a separate colony from the rest of the Senegal territory, and that MFDC founder Émile Badiane made a pact of mutual support with soon-to-be president Léopold Sédar Senghor in exchange for the eventual independence of the Casamance.49 By contrast, the Senegalese federal government portrays the MFDC as a Jola organization seeking to establish "a Jola republic," a rhetorical strategy that delegitimizes the MFDC because political parties based on ethnicity are illegal in Senegal. Nonetheless, because the constituency of the MFDC is primarily Jola, MFDC leaders have frequently made use of specifically Jola structures such as sacred forests and joking cousin relationships in both political and military actions (de Jong 2005). The MFDC walks a fine line as it must maintain a multi-ethnic umbrella while promoting its power
and popularity through specifically Jola idioms. Given this background, the strong presence of Jola cultural practices at the MFDC festival, accompanied by rhetorical emphasis on diversity and inclusion, is perfectly in keeping with the multifaceted narrative the MFDC seeks to project.

10:00pm

After I leave the MFDC house, after Kumpo disappears back into the forest, after a continually growing audience of a few hundred gathers, and after the crowd dances to pre-recorded music for a few hours, I run into Abdul Aziz Mbaye, one of the festival organizers and a close friend in Ziguinchor. He introduces me to Abdoulaye Diallo, an ekonting master of whom he has often spoken. Eager to make a good impression, I tell Diallo that I am studying Jola music and that I can play ekonting passably well. Abdou Elinkine Diatta notices that we are talking, and soon he, Mbaye, and Diallo are insisting that I perform on the festival stage. Adama Sambou, who has frequently heard me play, appears out of the crowd and likewise encourages me to perform. Waving off my objections that I am only a beginning level player and unprepared to perform, Diatta sends Diallo home to fetch his ekonting. A short time later, Diallo and I take the stage with an ekonting each. With no time to rehearse together or even discuss repertoire, Diallo tells me to play whatever I want and he will follow me.50

I nervously greet the crowd and introduce myself in Jola, drawing laughter when I playfully solicit a louder response to my greeting with the typical admonishment esaaful? ("you don't greet me?"). I decide to play it safe with a simple song that has a 4/4 meter and short refrain: Afrika o ye, esuk Afrik esume ("Oh Africa, the land of Africa is good"). Surprised by my meager ability to play ekonting and sing in Jola, the crowd claps along enthusiastically and effortlessly falls into a call-and-response pattern with my vocals, repeating the second half of the
refrain in response to my singing the first half. Although I thank the crowd and rise to exit the stage after this performance, Abdu Elinkin Diatta takes the stage and asks the crowd if they want me to continue playing, which they affirm with their applause. Diatta then asks me to sing something in English. Racking my brains, I play and sing "Sail Away Ladies," an old time American fiddle and banjo tune with a two-part structure and a repetitive refrain: "sail away ladies sail away, sail away ladies sail away, sail away ladies sail away, sail away ladies sail away." As before, the crowd claps along and takes up the refrain in responsorial style, mimicking the repetitive syllables despite the fact that very few members of audience, if any, speak English with enough fluency to understand the idiomatic lyrics. A handful of men and women enter the empty space in front of the stage to dance, clap, and sing. The applause after this performance is even more enthusiastic than for the first Jola song, and I am congratulated heartily as I exit the stage.

Throughout these two performances, Abdoulaye Diallo plays along at a barely audible level, perhaps because he is tentative about performing unfamiliar repertoire on the spot or, more likely, because our instruments are tuned about a full step apart. As I leave the stage, he begins to perform a Jola song that is clearly familiar to a large portion of the crowd, who start to sing and dance along immediately. After a short time, Abdou Elinkin Diatta takes the microphone and speaks in French in a declamatory style while Diallo falls into a repetitive ostinato pattern on the ekonting. Over the course of the next thirteen minutes, Diatta delivers a history of the Casamance region beginning with the first contact of Portuguese traders in the sixteenth century, moving through the introduction of Catholicism and the transfer to French administration in the formal colonial era, and ending with Senegal's independence in 1960. In accordance with the MFDC interpretation of Casamançais history, he is careful to emphasize that the Casamance was
administered by a separate governor from the rest of the Senegal territory, and that Léopold Sédar Senghor's consolidation of power was accomplished through his pact with MFDC founder Émile Badiane guaranteeing eventual independence for the Casamance. "We are with the Senegalese," Diatta concludes, "but we are not Senegalese." During pauses in this historical monologue, Diallo often sings a few lines in Jola or plays his ekonting more loudly to emphasize a particular point. When Diatta concludes his speech and leaves the stage to great applause, Diallo continues to play and eventually transitions back into the song he was originally playing. The crowd dances, claps, and sings along more enthusiastically than ever.

After this performance, Diatta takes the microphone for a final time and calls the festival organizers to join him in front of the stage. Each delivers a brief message of thanks and affirms the importance of peace in the Casamance: Abdul Aziz Mbaye speaks in Jola, French, and Wolof; Ali Bayot speaks in Jola, French, and German; Lamin Baldé (a guest of honor as a founding member of the popular group Super Mama Diombo from Guinea-Bissau) speaks in French and Portuguese Creole; and Diatta speaks in Jola and French. Diatta also calls me back to the stage to reprise "Sail Away Ladies," which I do briefly. I then say a few words of thanks and peace mixing Jola and French, switching to English when Diatta specifically asks me to. By then well after midnight, Diatta gives his final thanks and message of peace before turning it over to the series of DJs and playback singers who entertain the crowd until the glow of sunrise warms the eastern sky.

Here, the ekonting provides context for the delivery of a rhetoric of diversity within specifically Jola performance practices. During my performance of "Sail Away Ladies," my high social status and exoticness as an American and my ability to sing in English were mobilized as evidence of the breadth of the MFDC umbrella. Even though the audience almost certainly could
not understand the English lyrics to the American folk song, this side of my identity and musicianship were, in this venue, more appreciated than my ability to sing in Jola and play familiar Jola melodies. At the same time, my performance of "Sail Away Ladies" was significantly domesticated into the Jola musical idiom. Due to the limitations of the ekonting, I made slight modifications of the melody to fit it to a strictly pentatonic scale. I also intuitively used typical ekonting techniques such as displacing the vocal melody an octave from the ekonting melody, and representing long vocal notes as multiple strikes on the ekonting. For their part, the audience adapted the two-part structure of "Sail Away Ladies" to a typically Jola responsorial structure. The performance of multilingualism in the organizers' parting words (including my own) also balanced a mixture of unfamiliar and locally comprehensible languages. Although it is likely that most people in the audience did not fully understand my English or Ali Bayot's German, the verbal content of these speeches was less important than the narrative of heterogeneity produced by their foreignness and indeed their unintelligibility.

Abdoulaye Diallo and Abdou Elinkien Diatta's performance balanced much the same dynamic. The performance was framed by Diallo's playing and singing of a traditional Jola song on the iconically Jola ekonting, providing an opportunity for significant audience participation in the Jola modes of clapping, dancing, and call-and-response singing. At the same time, Diatta's explanation of Casamançais history clearly framed the issue of secession as a regional and historical concern rather than one of ethnic difference. His use of French to deliver this oration is significant: although French was probably understood by most, though not all, of the audience, speaking in Wolof or Jola is much more common at large-scale musical performances in Ziguinchor. However, both of these local languages would be problematic for the purposes of Diatta's rhetoric: Wolof is unacceptable because it is the language of the Senegalese – the
northerners – while Jola is unacceptable because it would exclude non-Jola Casamançais and make the overall performance too specifically Jola. French is thus the most practical option, and it has the added bonus of affirming separatist ties to French colonial history and the MFDC party line that "the French made the Casamance" as a separate colony from northern Senegal (Lambert 1998:589).

The **ekonting**, in this case, thus served as one in a repertoire of cultural practices that contributed to the strongly Jola character of the evening's performances, alongside the Kumpo mask performance and the sanctification of the MFDC house with Jola shrines and social rituals. Despite the festival's explicit message of peace, these Jola referents were strategically emplotted into the MFDC's narrative of Casamançais political secession and cultural difference. Through the possibilities for cultural and linguistic admixture afforded by audiotopic space, the **ekonting** proved a particularly adept vehicle for balancing specifically Jola cultural practices with the legitimizing narrative of regionalism, ethnic diversity, and international legitimacy promoted by the MFDC.

**The Akonting Center for Senegambian Folk Music**

Gambian musician and scholar Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta's presentation at the 2000 Banjo Collectors' Conference in Boston, Massachusetts, forever changed the narrative of "America's instrument." With his longtime Swedish collaborator Ulf Jägors, Jatta proposed that the Jola **ekonting** and American banjo share a close historical relationship based on the evidence outlined in the previous chapter: a nearly identical downstroke playing style, similar organological features such as a full-spine neck and an M-shaped bridge sitting atop the skin sound plane, and a similar role of providing casual entertainment for social dancing. Their claims
were quite controversial at the time: some members of banjo-related online message boards accused Jatta of fabricating the instrument and its tradition for personal renown, while others allegedly even threatened physical violence against him (Linford 2014).

Jatta and Jägfors' presentation produced such strong reactions because it challenged two central aspects of the banjo's existing narrative. First, it disrupted the previous consensus that American banjos descend from a large group of West African archetypes played by griot musicians – plucked lutes such as the xalam, hoddu, and ngoni. While these instruments are similar to American gourd banjos in many respects, they differ in key organological details: they have wooden resonators instead of gourd resonators; they are tanged lutes rather than full-spike lutes; and their playing style involves a combination of up- and down-picking that is similar but distinct from what we know of early banjo technique. Although subtle, these differences leave room for the banjo to remain a uniquely American invention based on indeterminate African influences – hence the banjo's frequent sobriquet "America's instrument." The existence of a single African instrumental tradition containing nearly all the key features of early American gourd banjos displaces the site of invention from the New World to West Africa. Secondly, the emergence of the ekonting contradicts the narrative of Western scholarly omniscience. Initial skepticism about the ekonting's authenticity stemmed from a belief that such an instrument could not have escaped notice by Western scholars in this information-rich day and age. While excellent scholarship by Charry (1996a), Coolen (1984), Epstein (1975), and others has catalogued a large number plucked lutes in West Africa, the vast musical diversity of that region has clearly left gaps in the Western musical ethnologue, of which the ekonting's recent "discovery" is but one example. A final reason for incredulity about the ekonting is the sheer extent of its similarity to early American gourd banjos. The retention of specific construction
details and especially the characteristic downstroke playing style through centuries that saw the cultural genocide of slavery and the explosion of industrial banjo manufacturing is a remarkable testimony both to the durability of musical practices and their ability to adapt to new contexts.

![Figure 21. Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta in Mandinari, The Gambia. Photo by the author, 22 May 2015.](image)

Born in the Gambian village of Mandinari in 1956, Jatta grew up in a traditional Jola rice-farming family (Figure 21). He fondly recalls his father playing ekonting in the evenings to amuse friends and neighbors after a hard day of work in the rice fields. In his youth, Jatta bussed for several hours every day to attend Catholic school in Banjul, and eventually earned a half-scholarship at a junior college in South Carolina with financial help from an American doctor living in The Gambia. Jatta first heard banjo music on a bluegrass radio broadcast after a football game in South Carolina in 1974. He was immediately struck with the acoustic similarities to the
ekonting. Although the history of the banjo had been thoroughly whitewashed by that time (Linn 1991), an African-American friend explained to Jatta that the banjo originally came from Africa with enslaved Africans. In 1983, having completed his scholarship in the United States, Jatta moved to Sweden to earn a university degree in accounting and to begin his career as an accountant. During his annual six-week vacation, he would return to The Gambia to study the ekonting with his father and other players he sought out, especially his relatives Remi and Ekona Diatta in the Casamançais village of Mlomp. In September 2000, Jatta made the results of his investigations public to a Swedish community music group for the first time in a presentation called "The African Origins of the Banjo." There, he first met Ulf Jägfors, a Swedish banjoist who had previously travelled to The Gambia and Senegal to learn about griot instruments such as the xalam and ngoni, which at that time were considered the closest African relatives to the American banjo. A few weeks later, Jägfors invited Jatta to the Banjo Collectors' Conference in Boston, where Jatta gave his landmark presentation on the connection between the banjo and ekonting. After five years of close collaboration between Jatta and Jägfors, they again presented their findings at the first Black Banjo Gathering in Boone, North Carolina, in 2005. Jatta's playing of the ekonting at that event was an emotional discovery for many African-American banjoists interested in the instrument's African history, and it helped spur the American cultural movement sometimes called the Black Banjo Revival. Today, Jatta splits time between England and The Gambia, and has discussed his research in international venues including the Smithsonian Institution, the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, and the University of The Gambia.

For Jatta, evidence of the ekonting's relationship to the banjo comes from his observations of the two instruments, supported by his reading of research on early reports of
banjo-like instruments in the New World. It also comes from his interpretation of a story told to him by his father, quoted in the previous chapter, in which "devils" took ekonting players who played too late at night. For Jatta, "This is how the Jola Akonting came to the Americas" (Jatta 2007f). In Jatta's telling, the link between Jola ekonting players and American banjoists is already contained within Jola oral history. As with Adama Sambou's conception of the instrument as one that "came from very far away," here the ekonting is also one that "went very far away" with the transatlantic slave trade. The inclusion of the kidnapping and long-distance transportation of Jola people in both accounts is striking. For Jatta, the contemporary linking of the stories of the ekonting and banjo does not constitute a new narrative gesture; each was already part of the other's story, even if that story was contested or forgotten.

In 2006, Jatta founded the Akonting Center for Senegambian Folk Music in his natal village of Mandinari with the help of American banjo scholars Greg Adams and Chuck Levy and Swedish banjo scholar Ulf Jägfors. The mission of the Center was to be two-fold: 1) it would provide a venue for American and European banjoists to learn to play ekonting and to learn about the ekonting's relationship to the banjo; and 2) it would educate Gambians about their rich musical patrimony. The three-day opening ceremonies in 2006 featured performances by several traditional groups, talks by Jatta and Jägfors on the connection between the ekonting and banjo, and visits to Gambian historical sites connected with the slave trade. In addition to performances by Gambian and Casamançais ekonting players, performance troupes representing Wolof, Mandinka, and Fula stringed instrument traditions also performed. Americans Greg Adams, a Smithsonian archivist and expert in early American banjo styles, and Rhiannon Giddens, banjoist and singer for the Grammy-winning Carolina Chocolate Drops (formed a few months after the 2005 Black Banjo Gathering), also performed to demonstrate downstroke and clawhammer banjo
styles. In 2014, Jatta officially opened the "Akonting and Banjo Museum," containing a collection of sikonting as well as a contemporary, mass-produced banjo; a recreation of an early Jamaican strum-strum built by American gourd banjoist Paul Sedgwick; a Wolof xalam; a Fula molo; a Mandinka kora; and several Jola drums.

In its material form, the Akonting Center for Senegambian Folk Music is a small earth-brick building with a corrugated tin roof in the center of a small Gambian village with neither running water nor electricity. Inside, there are three small, dirt-floored chambers and a larger open space, all of which were completely empty when I visited in 2012 and 2015 (Figure 22). People rarely go inside since it is much more pleasant to sit outside in the shade of a nearby mango tree. The importance of the Akonting Center, then, lies not in its material reality but in the narrative it serves to legitimate. Perhaps the most potent narrative signifier is the institution's name. On one hand, the Akonting Center for Senegambian Folk Music strategically associates

Figure 22. Musa Diatta and Daniel Jatta in front of the Akonting Center for Senegambian Folk Music in Mandinari, The Gambia. Photo by the author, 15 September 2012.
itself with American roots music through the use of the word "folk" (which is rarely used in reference to African traditional music) and through its comfortingly prestigious title. On the other hand, the word "folk" is a marker of differentiation from the professionally played, hereditarily transmitted instruments played by Wolof and Mandinka griot musicians (such as the xalam and ngoni), which are better known both internationally and within the Senegambian region. This distinction stems from and contributes to the public narrative of Jola identity, in which the absence of a hereditary griot musician role is part of their representation as an egalitarian society without social castes, a major point of differentiation from neighbouring Sahelian ethnic groups. Taylor describes the changing discourse of authenticity in world music marketing, in which "world musicians may not be expected to be authentic anymore in the sense of being untouched by the sounds of the West, but it is now their very hybridity that allows them to be constructed as authentic" (2004:224). In this case, however, the Akonting Center must position itself within the older discourse of authenticity as purity; the three-hundred-year-old connection to the banjo depends on it. It makes sense, then, that the Akonting Center would be located in rural Mandinari instead of the more developed and cosmopolitan town of Bijilo a few miles down the road, where Jatta owns a modest compound that is significantly larger than the Center and that has modern conveniences such as a television, computer, and flush toilets. This, in fact, is the Center's true headquarters.

Above all, the narrative production of the Akonting Center for Senegambian Folk Music emplots the ekonting into the international public narrative of African roots, a field of discourse embraced and propagated by ethnographers, musicians, marketers, and cultural institutions throughout the African diaspora and beyond. In The Gambia, this narrative carries special significance because the country has played host to "roots tourism" ever since the novel *Roots*...
(Haley 1976) and subsequent 1977 ABC television mini-series (Chomsky 1977) prominently
featured a Gambian griot reciting the genealogical history of the African-American protagonist.54

The Gambian government continues to sponsor a biannual "Roots Festival" and numerous travel
agencies offer "roots" tour packages, promising personal contact with griot praise-singers. For its
part, the ekonting was officially adopted into the roots story during a 2014 Gambian government
ceremony commemorating the ekonting as "the grandfather of the banjo."55

The narrative of African roots carries weight in the West as well, and indeed the
ekonting's newfound status as "the grandfather of the banjo" has sent it on a second voyage
across the Atlantic. Sikonting are now available for purchase from well-known banjo suppliers in
the United States such as Elderly Instruments and from respected banjo builders such as Jeff
Menzies (based in Jamaica) and Bob Thornburg (based in Colorado), and even from at least one
folk instrument store in Argentina. The Ships of the Sea museum held an "Akonting/Banjo
Weekend" in 2007, where attendees learned how to build an "a-can-ting" using a cookie tin or
coffee can; instructions for building one are now posted on the museum's website. Florida-based
banjo and fiddle player Chuck Levy designed and commissioned an instrument he calls the
"banjonting," which combines elements of the banjo and ekonting, and he also released an album
of old time Appalachian fiddle tunes that includes four traditional Jola songs played on fiddle
and ekonting. The cover art features anthropomorphic outlines of four American states square
dancing with the outline of the Senegambian region, with accompanying text reading: "A jumble
of Jola ballads, fiddle tunes, minstrel melodies, and a cowboy lament with a hint of rock-n-roll!"

American banjoist, author, and physician Steve Levitt self-published a book called The Akonting:
Banjo Ancestor in 2015; the description reads: "This illustrated story, in rhyming narrative form,
is based on the history of the present day American banjo beginning from a distant ancestor, the
Akonting, which is the traditional folk lute of the Jola people of Senegambia, West Africa" (Levitt n.d.). The ekonting was featured prominently in the documentaries *Throw Down Your Heart* (Paladino 2008), in which banjo virtuoso Bela Fleck "brings the banjo back to Africa" by travelling through Africa playing with local musicians, and *Give Me the Banjo: Stories of America's Instrument* (Fields 2011), in which the narrator (comedian, actor, and Grammy-winning banjoist Steve Martin) identifies the ekonting as the progenitor of the banjo. As of 2016, approximately a dozen Americans and Europeans, all banjoists, have visited the Akonting Center in Mandinari to learn to play the ekonting, and many have gone on to write articles about the ekonting/banjo connection and to perform on the instrument in their respective hometowns (myself included).

*Figure 23. Cover art for the documentary film "Throw Down Your Heart" (Paladino 2008) showing the African continent superimposed on a banjo, with text reading "Béla Fleck brings the banjo back to Africa."*
A postcolonial perspective on the white American side of this narrative activity is not flattering. One could read white Americans' interest in the ekonting as a form of "playing in the dark" (Morrison 1992), of using real or imagined blackness as a way to elaborate and enrich white identities. After all, "Africa still constitutes one of the metaphors through which the West represents the origins of its own norms, develops a self-image, and integrates this image into the set of signifiers asserting what is supposed to be its identity" (Mbembe 2001:2). The trope of African roots or retentions has indeed been a long preoccupation of discourse on American music, to the extent that the hybridity of African and European origins has now become one of the central metaphors of "American music," even if African influences on American music were vigorously denied for centuries. Would jazz be considered "uniquely American" without its African roots? And could the banjo today remain "America's instrument" without the African ekonting as its grandfather? Appiah answers: "there is, of course, no American culture without African roots" (1991:354). Blackness has now become a central part of the banjo's narrative, and the ekonting plays a key role in supporting that narrative. A less cynical reading of this narrative activity, however, sees the relationship between the banjo and the ekonting prompting sincere interest in African culture and in the history of power-laden hybridity of American culture, not to mention the development of personal and economic relationships between the United States and Senegambia.

Meanwhile, as contemporary African-American string bands such as the Carolina Chocolate Drops and the Ebony Hillbillies have reasserted the banjo's African-American history through musical performance, the close similarities between the banjo and its African antecedents have led some to claim the banjo as a completely African instrument. As banjoist
and artist-scholar Sule Greg Wilson writes in the preface to the Black Banjo Then and Now online listserv:

Mention of the "African influences" in banjo playing and history starts from a false supposition that the thing ain't All-African to begin with. We can talk about Euro-influences with cheese boxes (has that been proven to be a Euro-American adaptation?) Euro-style necks, racist lyric content and Irish melody lines and rhythm structure, and the like. All these aspects are just grafts onto an already-existing tree. Tie an apple branch on a peach, the tree ain't gonna turn apple. It's gonna stay fuzzy, juicy fruit. And I love the taste. (Wilson 2004)

Aside from the obvious message that the banjo is "All-African" and has only been influenced by European innovations of questionable value, this text embodies the banjo in the metaphor of a fruit tree, fleshing out the metaphor of the instrument’s African roots. Wilson also released an album of banjo and fiddle tunes with members of the Carolina Chocolate Drops shortly after the 2005 Black Banjo Gathering, where many were moved to tears by Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta's ekonting playing. The musicians met each other at the Gathering and formed a long-distance band called Sankofa Strings. The term "sankofa" is a loanword from the Ghanaian Akan language that has come to mean "bringing the past forward" in African-American usage. The insertion of the ekonting into the narrative of the banjo has thus allowed "America's instrument" to be re-identified as African, African-American, and part of a diasporic identity narrative that includes both at once.

While research continues on the precise nature of the ekonting's connection to the banjo, at this point the historical facts may be less important to the instrument's public significance than the way stories told about it have become musically, verbally, and institutionally emplotted in
public narratives about America, Africa, and the Jola ethnicity. Whatever the historical
relationship between the banjo and the ekonting may be, the stories that banjo players tell about
the ekonting, and indeed the stories that ekonting players tell about the banjo, have each become
elements in their own self-narratives. For banjo players, the "discovery" of the ekonting in the
year 2000 amounts to nothing less than a new origin story, one that positions banjoists as
inheritors of a syncretic African-American tradition. For Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta and the Jola
musicians who work with him, the discovery of the ekonting's relationship to the banjo has been
a major source of symbolic capital, which holds the potential for conversion to economic capital
through a variety of creative strategies positioning Jola people as stewards of a powerful
transatlantic legacy. Both of these narratives are created in large part through musical
performances designed to link the two instruments through audiotopic space that bridges the
Atlantic Ocean. Paul Gilroy's famous conception of the Black Atlantic is epitomized in the
metaphor of liminal space created in a transatlantic ship: "The image of the ship – a living,
micro-cultural, micro-political system in motion – […] immediately focus[es] attention on the
middle passage, on the various projects of redemptive return to an African homeland, on the
circulation of ideas and activists as well as the movement of key cultural and political artifacts:
tracts, books, gramophone records, and choirs" (1993:4). The ekonting and banjo are among such
cultural and political artifacts. Despite the narratives that surround them, they do not exemplify
African origins and American innovations but rather the continuously unfolding hybridity of
music cultures in the Black Atlantic. Through this process, the ekonting is implicated in public
narratives that are at once Jola, Senegambian, African, African-American, and part of an
unqualified American musical heritage.
Conclusions

As philosopher V. Y. Mudimbe notes, "Stories about Others, as well as commentaries on their differences, are but elements in the history of the Same" (1988:28). These ekonting stories suggest that traditional instruments contribute to ethnic identities not only as markers of differentiation, but also as associative contact zones through which identity narratives are relationally emplotted within other public narratives. It is tempting to suggest that association is becoming an increasingly important facet of identity construction as global modernity allows for ever-greater possibilities of narrative emplotment. However, it is also the case that narratives of difference proliferate equally well through globalization (Hall 1991a, 1991b), and that even apparently marginal regions such as the Casamance have been integrating into world systems for centuries (Wright 2004) – as evidenced by the ekonting's links to colonialism and the slave trade. Given that music can evoke multiple identities (Turino 1984) and trouble hegemonic interpretations through its polyvalence (Rice 2001), it may be a particularly fruitful area of social life for gestures of association, even while contributing to processes of differentiation. Somers' model of narrative identity is useful precisely because it emphasizes the inherently relational character of identity production, and because it foregrounds the mutually constitutive nature of personal and collective narratives and identities.

The second key to this paradigm is that narratives not only describe but also constitute social actors and the social world in which they act. The narrative production of Adama Sambou, the MFDC, Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta, and others on and about the ekonting constitutes the instrument's meaning and, insofar as their ontological narratives are relationally emplotted in the narrative of Jola identity, contributes to the public narrative of who Jolas are and how they relate to the world around them. As I have noted with regard to the Casamance conflict and the
tempting economic opportunities opened by the ekonting’s relationship to the banjo, the emplotment of the ekonting and Jola ethnicity within other narratives of Senegalese politics and Black Atlantic history takes place in relation to specific stakes. In each case, ethnographers are complicit in the shaping of personal and public narratives by providing a demand and an audience for narratives about traditional instruments. The ekonting is a storied instrument, one that helps its narrators articulate what it means to be African, to be American, and to be Jola. Just as "traditional" and "modern" spheres of African life are often conceived as a false dichotomy (Mudimbe 1988), African traditional music is often depicted as a straightforward symbol of static ethnic groups while African popular music is portrayed as the exclusive site of musical contact with urban life and global modernity. These three ethnographic scenarios significantly disrupt that dichotomy, demonstrating how a traditional instrument is the focal point of complex articulations of identity in relation to multiple forces of local, regional, national, and global history, politics, economics, and culture. If identity is indeed articulated in the contested borderlands and in-between spaces, then the audiotopic qualities of musical space make it an exemplary contact zone for the negotiation of multifaceted identities.

These three scenarios all concern particularly dense articulations of identity in relatively public venues, but I am reminded, in closing, of a simpler scenario. It is a typical evening in the rural village of Mlomp, and Salodian Sambou is playing ekonting in the shaded area outside his small general store. As he sings lead, his cousins Gilbert and Thiackas sing in response while chatting idly and passing a mug of palm wine. The song describes a young woman's journey from the Casamance to Dakar, where she will look for work and perhaps marry. The way the lyrics are worded – *Selestin ejaw Senegaal* ("Selestin is going to Senegal") – implies that she is not within the boundaries of Senegal to begin with. That she may marry (and therefore stay) in
Dakar represents the loss of a young community member and potential marriage partner for those who remain in Mlomp despite the limited economic opportunities there. This simple and repetitive song, shared between close friends to pass the time in casual entertainment, contributes to the construction of a Jola and Casamançais identity that is articulated against Senegalese national identity. In this way, ekonting music disseminates the "micronarratives" of cultural identity that "penetrate the nooks and crannies of everyday life" (Appadurai 1996:189) and creates a familiar, participatory site for the articulation of shared experience.
Chapter 4: Gender, Generation, and Migration at the Alamaan Festival

In January of 2014, the Niaganane quarter of Thionk-Essyl held funeral services for a local woman who had died of old age. A group of young mothers arrived together under the Niaganane kelumak, a large tree designating a public gathering place, in anticipation of the speeches and feasting that would take place in the late afternoon. Taking the front row of plastic chairs set out for the event, they chatted boisterously while other women and men gradually filled in the chairs behind them, leaving most of the community on their feet. Later, as the deceased's family members carried large dishes of fish and rice from the nearby cooking fires, the same group of young mothers squatted around the dishes first and meticulously selected the tastiest bites of fish meat. Only after they rose was there room enough for others to enjoy the communal feast. While the young mothers had likely not intended to be impolite, for women of older generations their behavior at the funeral represented the last straw in a trend of young women failing to practice proper deference to their elders. Shortly after the funeral, a group of older women announced that the village would begin preparations for an alamaan.

Alamaan is a festival designed to restore proper relations between women in a village community. In addition to creating an experience of collective fellowship between all women in the community, the festival is particularly designed to reassert gerontocratic power relations between highly differentiated generational groups and to affirm the role of kuñalena (sing. añalena), spiritual midwives with deeply ambivalent social status. While previous research on women's music events has typically emphasized either the production of inclusive women's solidarity or the negotiation of hierarchical relations between women and men, my observations of the Thionk-Essyl alamaan demonstrate how music and dance are also involved in negotiating power dynamics between different types of women. As an audiotopic social space, the alamaan
festival brings together explicitly differentiated generational groups, putting them into discursive and embodied relations that emphasize both collective fellowship and gerontocratic ordering. At the same time, individual women's music and fashion tastes in some ways contradict the alamaan's goals. Although the alamaan is a participatory event designed to address social relationships within a relatively small, face-to-face rural community, it nonetheless includes presentational elements oriented beyond the bounds of the village, as well as an Afropolitan attitude of participating in local and translocal spheres simultaneously.

I observed the alamaan festival in the Niaganane quarter of village of Thionk-Essyl in April 2015, toward the end of my doctoral fieldwork in the region. Thionk-Essyl is the largest village in the Casamance with a population of about six thousand, and lies in the cultural cluster of the Upper Casamance called Buluf. The village is divided into four quarters: Niaganane, Daga, Kamanar, and Batine. The Niaganane quarter is further divided into four sub-quarters: Diiwut, Butab, Jali, and Gafanta, with the latter two sometimes grouped together under the name Jijigen. Thionk-Essyl was one of the first villages in the region to begin Islamic conversion, and today the population is almost entirely Muslim despite varying levels of Awasena co-practice. The population is primarily Jola. Lasting five days and five nights, the Niaganane alamaan was an unforgettable community-wide assemblage of singing, dancing, speech-making, and theatrical performance circling a large tree in the quarter's gathering grounds. Feasting, tea-drinking, visiting, and very little sleeping filled the time between the more organized events. Given the long process of organizing the event and the substantial financial burden it represents for all women who participate, an alamaan can only be organized once every decade or longer. I am fortunate to have had the opportunity to attend and observe. This chapter begins with a review of ethnomusicological scholarship on music and gender, followed by a discussion of the
intersection of gender, generation, and migration in Jola societies. The bulk of the chapter is
dedicated to ethnographic descriptions and analysis of alamaan festivities.

Scholarship on Music and Gender

Ellen Koskoff (2000) chronicles three stages of research on music and gender: 1) women-
centric scholarship; 2) gender-centric scholarship; and 3) scholarship influenced by feminist
theory, gay and lesbian studies, cultural and performance studies, and psychoanalysis. In the first
stage, from the mid-1970s onward, scholars for the first time began collecting, documenting, and
notating music made by women. Much of this early literature provided what Shapiro calls "a sort
of 'catching up'" (1991:6) to the fact that women have been active music-makers all around the
world and in all periods of history, a fact that had been largely omitted by earlier studies despite
the central involvement of women in the history of ethnomusicology. Although Shapiro (1991)
criticizes research on women's music prior to 1991 for a generally "limiting, value-laden"
perspective deriving from the political values of first-wave Western feminism, Koskoff (2014)
and Herndon (2000) laud early scholars of women's music for taking the first steps to address
what now appears as a glaring gap in the scholarly record. Citing noteworthy contributions by
Gourlay (1970), McLeod and Herndon (1975), Sakata (1976), and Lee (1979), Koskoff suggests
that even these early studies went beyond simply documenting women's music-making: "These
scholars began to understand that 'woman' was not one monolithic category, but differentiated
according to ethnicity, race, class, or social position (or a combination)" (2014:27). While this
acknowledgment of women's social intersectionality inspires my current work on women's
intragender relations through the alamaan festival, these scholars' early interest in gender systems
remained focused on "deviant" gender expressions and on women who made contributions to
genres dominated by men. DjeDje's book chapter (1985) on women's music among the West African Tuareg, Malinke, Wolof, Hausa, and Dagomba peoples is among the first works to explicitly take note of women's music-making on the African continent. She finds that, among these groups, "A woman's sociocultural status correlates with her role and position in musical activities. [...] Only when women are respected and given equal partnership in religious, economic, social, and political institutions, will they be equal participants in the musical culture" (1985:86).

For Koskoff (2000), research on women's music-making began to transition to "gender-centric" scholarship beginning in 1989. This scholarship maintained a focus on women's musical activities but situated them within the context of gender systems, whether reinforcing, changing, or contesting hierarchical power dynamics between women and men. Two excellent ethnographies in this vein by Kisliuk (1998, 2000) and Sugarman (1989, 1993) have particularly influenced the way I think and write about the confluence of music and gender. Adopting a self-reflexive "conversation" approach to performance analysis, Kisliuk suggests that women's song and dance among the Central African BaAka is deeply entwined in changing social circumstances. In particular, Kisliuk approaches musical performance as a site for the negotiation of intergender relations, in which BaAka women's music-making is sometimes supported and sometimes contested by male drummers and dancers. Following Leacock's suggestion that the issue of gender in egalitarian society "is inseparable from the analysis of egalitarian social-economic structure as a whole" (1981:133), Kisliuk argues that the complex, sometimes contradictory musical interactions of women and men "could be understood as expressing – among other things – the fluctuations and frustrations of their own status in the changing world
of the village. I do not mean necessarily to link gender tension with inequality, but such tension
does suggest a time of flux, a struggle between parties to reconstitute relationships" (2000:43).

In her influential studies of wedding music of Prespa people living in Albania and
Canada, Sugarman illustrates how musical performance both confirms and contests patriarchal
gender dynamics, how it both reflects and shapes gender roles, and how gender dynamics
themselves are enmeshed in broader cultural systems. As she succinctly puts it: "Singing, rather
than merely reflecting notions of gender, also shapes those notions in return. […] Through
singing [social actors] are temporarily able to mold their individual selves into the form of a
cultural ideal. In the process they may choose to affirm that ideal, by following closely the norms
of musical practice, or they may use their singing to suggest its revision. Gender concepts and
musical practice can thus be seen to exist in a dialectical relationship to each other, each
functioning as a 'mutually determining aspect' of the Prespa 'system'" (1989:193). Sugarman's
work is also noteworthy for anticipating the central importance of embodiment and
performativity in feminist scholarship through her intricate combination of Foucaultian discourse
and Bourdieusian practice, finding that "music-making [has] helped to inscribe and maintain
[residual notions of gender] deep within our beings. […] [S]o long as we operate within
gendered social worlds, gender is intrinsic to our musical performances, and any musical
performance is thus also a performance of gender" (1993:32). Finally, these notions of gender
can only be understood in terms of ever-broader structures of power: "Taking the Prespa
community as an example, I see their notions regarding gender identity as both enmeshed within
and central to a far broader view of society […] . It is thus a whole social order, and perhaps a
cosmology as well, that must be appraised in any consideration of the relation of music to
gender" (1993:31). Sugarman's 2003 article "Those 'Other Women'" further indicates that
women's music and dance genres have "been instrumental in constituting distinct categories of women who have thereby been associated with distinctive personal attributes and assigned to distinctive roles or strata within society" (2003:111). This recognition of music's role not only in negotiating intergender relations but also in contributing to the ordering of different types of women is essential to understanding the Jola alamaan.

Koskoff's (2000) third stage of research on music and gender is characterized by the postmodern influences of feminist theory, gay and lesbian studies, cultural and performance studies, and psychoanalysis, with the additional goals of understanding links between social and musical structures and the ways in which each can be seen as embedded within the other. Such research overwhelmingly comes from the discipline of musicology rather than ethnomusicology. In an analysis of approximately 7,500 books and articles on the subject of women and music, feminist theory and music, gender and music, and men and music from 1990 to 2005, Koskoff (2014) found that ninety percent came from musicology (defined as dealing with textual analysis of Western classical and popular music) and only ten percent came from ethnomusicology (defined as dealing with "everything else" based on ethnographic fieldwork). She suggests that feminist and gender-studies scholarship was integrated into the "New Musicology" more easily, quickly, and prolifically because of a shared tradition of textual criticism, while the signature ethnomusicological methodology of ethnographic fieldwork drew more naturally from classically anthropological approaches to gender.

In ethnomusicological studies of music and gender since 1990, a focus on individual subjects is a frequent theme (see Danielson 1997; Doubleday 1988; Hellier 2013; Kaeppler 1990; Kimberlin 1990; Muller 2013; Porter 1995; Qureshi 2001; Schade-Poulsen 1999; Seroussi 2003; Silverman 2003; Stokes 2003; Vander 1996). Individual subjects have long played a role in
ethnomusicological research in general (Ruskin and Rice 2012), but ethnomusicological research on gender particularly emphasizes individuals because it is strongly influenced by feminist critiques of homogenizing concepts of culture and identity (e.g., Abu-Lughod 1990; Mohanty 1991; Trinh 1989). As Ruth Hellier writes of the ten essays on individual women in the edited collection *Women Singers in Global Contexts*, "we engage with a trajectory of scholarship, drawn from feminist, historiographical, and postmodern concerns, which recognizes the value and significance of a single life, not in order to make generalizations about other lives or about a broader context, or indeed to further a comparative approach, but solely in terms of that one person, regardless of status and recognition" (2013:7). Koskoff echoes this approach as she implicates meta-studies of globalization and neoliberalism in the continued dearth of attention to gender in ethnomusicology, instead advocating "respect for the individual, and respect for the process of life that could help us put real people and the truth of their musical lives back into the picture" (2005:97-98). In contrast to this trend, the ethnographic research on women's music presented in this chapter does not emphasize individual subjects because 1) it is based on observations of a large-scale community event taking place over a relatively brief period of time, and 2) as a male researcher working in a cultural system in which male and female social domains are segregated (albeit fairly loosely), it was more difficult to develop close research relationships with individual women. This does not indicate a deliberate choice to de-emphasize individual subjects, but rather a shortcoming in my research methodology. "Deep hanging out" (Clifford 1997; Geertz 1998) is useful for accessing the microinteractions of everyday social life, but without care it can channel researchers into social cohorts that accord with their own gender, age, and socioeconomic status.
In the 2000s and 2010s, research on music and gender has tackled increasingly diverse topics as scholars have agreed in greater numbers that "one can no longer avoid investigating the role played by gender [...] in determining essential aspects of a musical activity and its cultural meaning" (Magrini 2003). The 2003 collection *Music and Gender: Perspectives from the Mediterranean* edited by Tullia Magrini provides a good snapshot of this diversity. The book's fourteen essays explore women's music as transgressive political "voice" (Bithell 2003; Joseph 2003); music and dance as examples of increasing flexibility in sanctioned expressions of femininity (Bithell 2003; Plastino 2003; Sugarman 2003; Virolle 2003); the interweaving of musical, gendered, and religious discourses (Bohlman 2003; Nieuwkerk 2003); the musical implications of difference between women such as class (Kapchan 2003) or generation and place (Sugarman 2003); the history and economic lives of female professional musicians (Labajo 2003; Silverman 2003); women's roles as folksong archivists (Seroussi 2003); the musical lives of individual women (Seroussi 2003; Silverman 2003; Stokes 2003); and music as a site for the transgression or unorthodox expression of gender constraints, including appropriation of male genres, styles, and attitudes by women (Bithell 2003; Holst-Warhaft 2003; Virolle 2003) and gendered performances that stretch the bounds of binary gender systems (Pettan 2003; Stokes 2003). Given the explosion of gender within the discipline of musicology since 1990, it seems inevitable that research on music and gender will continue to proliferate in ethnomusicological research. Even so, gender remains under-analyzed in ethnomusicological research despite decades of research on the subject.
Intersecting Gender, Generation, and Migration

As noted in Chapter 1, Jola women are typically considered to possess considerable power and autonomy, in keeping with the narrative of Jola society as egalitarian. Linares' major comparative study of three Jola villages in different areas of the Casamance addresses intergender relations through the lens of productive labor and religious authority, finding that the influence of Islam and the neighboring Mandinka society had generally diminished the capacity of Jola women to control cash and other fruits of their agricultural labor and to occupy positions of religious authority (1992). Musically, gender roles are strongly differentiated but mutually complementary: men often provide drumming for women's dances and women often provide idiophonic percussion for men's dances, and at intergender musical events men and women often sing responsorial melodies. Relations between Jola women are typically highly cooperative with occasional competition and hierarchies based on generation and positions of authority. Cooperative labor and collective decision-making at the level of the village or quarter are coordinated through women's associations based on generational groups, while smaller networks of patrilineally related sisters called *kuriiman* act independently and sometimes countermand larger women's and men's associations (Linares 1988). Contemporary Jola women's spheres are strongly affected by issues of generation and migration.

Along with gender and family ties, generation is among the most significant aspects of social organization in Jola societies. Generation is closely correlated with age but it differs in that it implies a progression through distinct stages of life (childhood, unmarried youth, initiation, marriage, parenthood, and old age) and because, for Jolas, generational groups are explicit aspects of social identity produced and maintained through cultural activity. As described in the following paragraphs, Jola generational groups are created through initiation rituals – one for
men and one for women. In addition to formally inaugurating participants into the rights and responsibilities of full-fledged Jola man- and womanhood, this defining life event inducts initiates into a generational society comprising their co-initiates, which lasts their entire life. Each generational society is given a name, and initiates incur social obligations to other group members in addition to lingering feelings of communitas produced in the initiation ritual and reinforced by subsequent generation-based social gatherings and cooperative institutions. This system of generation is the basis for traditional Jola decision-making and power: "In this 'gerontocratic' society, the oldest generation typically exercises authority over all the secret knowledge on which its power is based" (Langeveld 2013:35), a hierarchy attested in every major ethnography of the Jola people. These gerontocratic social relations seriously question the narrative of Jola egalitarianism, and they are in some ways undermined by changing practices of youth labor and migration.

For Jola men, generational groups are produced through a major ritual event called *bukut*, which formally initiates them as adults. Although Thomas believed that the *bukut* ceremony he documented in 1958 would be the last ever performed because of its great expense and the increasingly large time interval between ceremonies (1965), the *bukut* ceremony continues to be performed in Jola villages with increasing frequency. It retains its status as a definitional event in the lives of Jola men, and has responded to contemporary political, economic, and religious concerns (Mark, de Jong, and Chupin 1998). The ritual itself strongly accords with the stages of rites of passage developed by Victor Turner (1969): 1) young men gather in the village square, shave their heads, and receive new clothing marking them as initiates; 2) they process together into the sacred forest where they stay secluded for a few weeks up to a few months, learning songs, dances, and ritual secrets from men of older generations that are off-limits to non-initiates;
and 3) they return to the village wearing new clothing and caps marking them as initiated men in a community-wide celebration that lasts several days. At this time, the newly minted generational group receives a name, uniting its members in an explicit social identity that will last the rest of their lives.

Music is intrinsic to the initiation process in numerous respects. As soon as preparations for the *bukut* begin (typically several months before the actual ritual takes place), each prospective initiate receives a specific song composed by their classificatory mother, to be sung in public only during the *bukut* ritual and on the occasion of the initiate's death (Mark, de Jong, and Chupin 1998). During the community-wide gathering prior to the initiate's entrance into the sacred forest, groups of men and women form circles around each other while singing and dancing in complementary pairs – indicating that the significance of the *bukut* is not unique to the young male initiates but also "expresses the interdependence of men and women" (Mark, de Jong, and Chupin 1998:40). The group of young men processes into the forest singing songs and playing rhythms that are specific to the *bukut*. While in the sacred forest, the initiates create new songs that will only be known and performed by members of their generation. During the period of seclusion, the space of the sacred forest is demarcated by the sound of a specific type of drum that is built and lives only in the sacred forest; if non-initiates hear the sound of this drum, they should move out of earshot to avoid impinging on the sacred space. Finally, newly initiated men re-enter the village after their period of seclusion to a dance rhythm played by women on idiophonic instruments, again pointing to the complementarity of gender roles in the *bukut*.

Jola women also participate in an initiation ceremony, called *futaba* or *ñaakay*, that produces a generational group and inducts them into formal adulthood. While the men's *bukut* ceremony has been documented and analyzed in multiple sources, the women's initiation
ceremony is nearly undocumented in academic scholarship, probably because 1) most long-term ethnographers of Jola culture have been men and have been more involved in men's social spheres; 2) like the men's bukut, the women's ceremony takes place only once every few decades, often with little advance notice to outsiders; 3) the women's initiation may be shifted more toward private events or events that only initiated women may attend; 4) ethnographers may be understandably reluctant to pursue research in these areas and unlikely to publish what they have learned because of the importance of secrecy and limited transmission of ritual knowledge in Jola conceptions of power. Interviews and informal conversations suggest that, like the men's bukut, the women's initiation involves rhythms and dances specific to the ceremony, the composition of songs specific to each generational group, and a community-wide celebration marking newly initiated women's re-entry into the village common space. It takes place in an area of sacred forest that is accessible to initiated women only. Like the men's bukut, the women's ritual formerly included a component of circumcision, which is now rarely practiced. The Jola women's initiation ceremony may also have received less attention than the men's bukut because motherhood and marriage are equally definitional events in a woman's life. As Langeveld writes, "in Jola society, the only way for a woman to be fully recognized as an adult is by becoming a mother within a marriage" (2013:36), because she is then allowed to participate in rituals in the sacred forest. The accrual of secrets, including closely guarded song texts and their metaphorical interpretations, is what gives her power within her community.

Because generational groups are formally produced through the initiation ceremony and because men and women are initiated separately, they are not considered members of the same generational group even if they are the same age and have attained the same social status. The generational groups produced and named during the initiation ceremony last an individual's
entire life, involving special social obligations to members of his/her own generational group as well as to other younger and older groups. Four generations of women participated in the 2015 *alamaan* in Niaganane: Ando, Ejugul, Linking, and Bulfale, from oldest to youngest. While Oyewùmí has argued in *The Invention of Women* (1997) that seniority is the most salient category of Yoruba social distinction, with the category of gender being an imposition of English colonists, I more modestly suggest here that both generation and gender are inseparable and durable components of Jola personal identities. As Stuffelbeam similarly describes in her study of women's music in northern Ghana, "While much social intercourse and behavior observed in Tamale was determined by seniority, age, and status, rather than gender, I would also argue that many aspects of life are organized around a combination of gender, social status, and age" (2014:67).

In the postcolonial era, a surge in urban migration has impacted rural Jola communities perhaps more significantly than any other factor. Jola people's tendency to migrate is strongly correlated with age, primarily occurring prior to marriage. Somewhat unusually in West Africa, Jola men and women migrate at the same rate – and they tend to return to their natal villages rather than settling permanently in urban centers. Treating migration as more than a straightforward matter of transportation and economics, Lambert suggests that Jola people have been "speaking with their feet" (2002:xviii) to create new systems of meaning and identity in translocal communities that bridge urban and rural spaces. He views Jola migration as "a shared system of meaning, a process that goes beyond the mere movement of people to encompass identity, status, and understandings of place" (Lambert 2002:xxv-xxvi). In particular, young women's migration has complicated the gerontological system of Jola social organization. As Langeveld writes regarding Jola women's social structure, "I place the term 'gerontocratic' in
quotation marks […] because in fact the younger adult generation has an increasing say in a variety of family decisions such as migration to the cities" (2013:35). On one hand, older generations still maintain an aura of respect and authority, but, on the other hand, younger women often earn far more money, progress further in formal education, and desire different lifestyles and fashions. Following Kisliuk (2000), I am weary of suggesting that social change necessarily produces friction in gendered social structures. Nonetheless, over the past fifty years there are several documented examples of Jola communities reinstating defunct traditions or repurposing living traditions to address the complications surrounding women's migration, some of which are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Widespread economic migration by Jola people began in the late 1800s with the lure of seasonal work in the Gambian rubber trade, as well as palm oil gathering and processing a decade later (Hamer 1981, 1983; Mark 1977, 1985). During this time, men and women would typically make these annual work trips together as a conjugal couple. The growth of cities and towns in the 1900s created increasing job prospects for women as cooks, laundriamaids, and nursemaids (Hamer 1983), and Jola women typically fared well in this market because they were perceived to be stronger and harder-working than women of other Senegambian ethnic groups thanks to the traditional Jola ethic of hard work (Linares 2003:124). Beginning in the 1950s, Dakar became the most common destination for single women migrants, who largely continued the practice of seeking temporary work as housemaids (J. kapos) in the city during the dry season and returning to the Casamance in the harvest season to work in the rice fields. By the 1990s, migration had become a normative experience for young Jola men and women. In a census of three Jola villages in different areas of the Casamance taken in 1990, Linares found a consistent rate of approximately eighty-five percent of men and women between the ages of
fourteen and twenty-eight who left the village for work, primarily to Dakar and The Gambia, with rapidly declining percentages for older age groups (Linares 2003). A census conducted in 1984 in the village of Mlomp in the Lower Casamance found that eighty-two percent of men between the ages of twenty and forty and eighty percent of women between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four migrated; and only ten to twenty percent of women migrated after the age of the thirty (Enel, Pison, and Lefebvre 1994). For Jola people, "migration has become a defining feature of community affiliation and experience" (Lambert 2002:xxv).

Jola people's tendency to migrate is ostensibly driven by economic motivations. Working as domestic help, women typically earn around 20,000 CFA per month (about US$60 in 1999) (Lambert 1999), or from 10,000 CFA per month up to significantly more if working for foreign employers (Linares 2003). This represents a substantial increase over the meager economic yield of raising vegetables, gathering "forest fruits," and other women's non-sustenance labor in rural areas. Many of these urban wages are channeled back to increasingly dependent rural communities: up to one third of the rice eaten in rural Casamançais communities is store-brought and mostly paid for with remittances from urban migrations (Lambert 2007:143). Even more significantly, Jola women are now expected to purchase their own trousseau (i.e., kitchen utensils and other items necessary to establish a household) prior to marriage, which makes working in the city almost a required prerequisite of marriageability (Lambert 1999, 2007; Linares 2003). Linares also cites "the boredom of rural life, and the desire for goods and new experiences" (2003:114) as strong motivators for young people's urban migration, even suggesting that government programs should consider funding rural music and dance events to combat urban migration (2003:129). Clifford (1997) famously argues that people are as naturally predisposed to movement as they are to rootedness and, with that in mind, an acquired taste for
cosmopolitan, urban-produced media – especially music and fashion – is more than enough to motivate young Jolas to migrate.

As the statistics above indicate, urban migration is strongly correlated with age. Beyond chronological age, movement is associated with life cycle periods. As Linares describes it, kuniil (children under twelve) rarely leave the village except possibly to attend nearby schools; kujanga and kukambani (unmarried boys and girls) make up the bulk of urban migrants; kuniine and kuseek (married and initiated men and women) occasionally migrate for economic purposes; and kunifan (old people) rarely migrate (Linares 2003:119). Along with the growing importance of a young woman's urban migration in economically preparing to marry, migration is more than ever a defining experience along the path to assuming full-fledged Jola womanhood. In this light, "migration has become an activity of growing up, as expected as attending school or working in the rice fields" (Lambert 1994:142), and central to Jola conceptions of gender and generation.

Even as urban migration has become an increasingly common experience for young Jola women, several attempts have been made to control it through political and cultural means. In the 1950s, a Casamançais regional men's association held a vigil at the port of Dakar to ensure that young women arriving from the Casamance had permission from their parents (Foucher 2005a). In the 1970s, at least one village association voted to prohibit female migration, motivated by older generations' dim view of the practice (Lambert 2007), and in 1974 young women who returned to one village from Dakar after the start of the rainy season had to pay a fine of 7,500 CFA (de Jong 1999). De Jong argues that young men in the village of Diatock reintroduced Kumpo mask societies in the 1970s in the hope of exerting influence over young women's behavior by leveraging the mask's spiritual authority to limit female migration (1999). In the same work, Lambert reports hearing a Jola work song expressing "male anxiety over
female migration," with lyrics describing a young woman who became absorbed by her appearance and went to work as a housemaid in Dakar to earn enough money to buy clothes and cosmetics (1999:85). I heard many songs lamenting the movement of young Jola women to Dakar during the course of my fieldwork, none more elemental than this repeated couplet known by singers throughout the Casamance and sometimes accompanied by ekonting and ad hoc percussion: Koriye beju Dakarum / Suni nanima bo ("Koriye went to Dakar / Perhaps she'll marry there"). In addition to the loss of a potential marriage partner for Jola men, the implication is that if Koriye marries in Dakar she will settle there and never return to her natal village.66

Given these efforts to control female migration, Lambert argues that "female migration must be read not just as an economically informed act but also as a form of political resistance against local expressions of patriarchy" (2007:131), specifically against male demands on female labor. This intergender dynamic is undoubtedly at play, but because gender, generation, and migration are in this case intricately entwined, I also view female migration as a complex response to traditionally gerontocratic power structures in Jola villages and an expression of desire for different lifestyles and fashions associated with cosmopolitan Dakar. For example, Lambert found that some Jola villagers "attributed the willingness of elders to let their daughters go to the city to the degree to which they were dependent on the remittances these women would send back to them" (2007:144), indicating that the demands of both male and female elders on young women's economic production sometimes accorded with their views on urban migration. Klei likewise described a direct conflict in 1969 between village elders and young people over the issue of migration, leading to explicit negotiations between different age groups (1989). On the other side of the equation, Lambert witnessed a group of girls as young as thirteen covertly boarding a bus to Dakar in the middle of the night because they wanted to buy new clothes but
their parents had forbidden them to go (keeping in mind that "parents" in the Jola context refers to all family members of older generations). "These new [urban-inspired] youth styles presented a problem" (2007:139), Lambert writes, because the economic requirements of fulfilling these young women's desires conflicted with their parents' wish for them to stay in the village. Laying bare the unspoken desire of many young women who migrate to Dakar, one older married woman describes how young women look for husbands in Dakar to escape the difficulties of rural life: "Village working conditions are too difficult. In the village, women must collect firewood, draw and haul water, and work in the fields. Very simply, urban wives are freed from these tasks" (quoted in Lambert 1999:90). More than a straightforward act of resistance against rural patriarchy, Jola women's migration represents a rebellion against a gerontocratic system in which young people cannot attain property rights and leadership positions, a rejection of the hard labor celebrated by traditional Jola ethics, and a seeking out of new cosmopolitan tastes.

**The 2015 Niaganane Alamaan**

Social change at the nexus of gender, generation, and migration sets the backdrop for the 2015 *alamaan* in Niaganane. The group of young mothers who had taken the best seats and eaten the best pieces of fish at the funeral belonged to the generation named Bulfale. The group of older mothers who called for the *alamaan* belonged to the generation named Ejugul, women in the prime of adulthood who felt that Bulfale should have demonstrated deference to their elders. The incident at the funeral was only the straw that broke that camel's back, the latest in a pattern of behavior stemming from the fact that the women of Bulfale, nearly all of whom have worked in Dakar relatively recently, have more cash and more access to cosmopolitan Dakarois styles than older generations. This tension between traditionally gerontocratic relations and changing
economic practices situates Niaganane in, to recall Kisliuk's words, "a time of flux, a struggle between parties to reconstitute relationships" (2000:43). The *alamaan* aims to reconstitute relationships between women primarily through music and dance, in a way that creates experiences of fellowship between all women in the community but that also affirms differences between distinct categories of women. Here, I analyze the process of preparing for the *alamaan* (an integral piece of the event's efficacy) and the first and third nights of the five-day festival, which were the most illustrative of the festival's goals. I also describe the accompanying orchestra of male musicians, who in addition to providing musical propulsion also added a supportive intergender component and an Afropolitan outlook to the translocally oriented festival.

*Preparation*

Preparations for the *alamaan* are extensive and expensive. Women begin preparing for the Niaganane *alamaan* about a year before the event itself. The leaders of the Ejugul generation announce the *alamaan* at a community-wide meeting shortly after the funeral, after having conferred privately amongst themselves. Women immediately begin saving cash and potentially seeking out ways of earning or borrowing money because the festival requires a substantial financial commitment. The Jola word *alamaan* likely comes from either the Wolof *alamaan* or Mandinka *alamaani*, both meaning "to pay a fine," which in turn may have originated with the Arabic *al'taman* "the price." This etymological chain reflects the importance of each woman's financial commitment to the *alamaan* festival, as well as the way the festival is intended to redress transgressive behavior. Each woman in the quarter must contribute 10,000 CFA (approximately US$25 in 2015) to a collective planning fund and, during the week of the
festival, each woman is also expected to contribute two chickens to a collective cooking area. Two black bulls are also slaughtered and eaten during the festival. In addition to these expenses, each woman has two new outfits tailored that are color-coded by generation, and often a third festive outfit made of fabric of the individual's choosing. Many women also opt to purchase new jewelry, purses, and wigs specially for the alamaan. The escalating cost of the event is the reason why the last alamaan in Niaganane took place in 1998, even though it is supposed to be organized every ten years.

Once a date is decided, the alamaan is widely publicized. In addition to the short-range community radio station in Thionk-Essyl, radio announcements are broadcast in other Casamançais villages as well as the cities of Ziguinchor and Dakar. Media outlets are invited to cover the festival, especially the national television station Radiodiffusion Télévision Sénégalaise (RTS). Word travels quickly by mouth and by cell phone, reaching individuals and communities with links to Thionk-Essyl in Guinea-Bissau, The Gambia, and Dakar, as well as families members living in Belgium and France. I was invited to the event months in advance by my friend Fadel Diiba, a male musician from Niaganane who was heavily involved in playing and composing music for the alamaan.

A few months before the event, tensions flared because members of the younger Bulfale generation complained about the high cost of the event. The Ejugul generation insisted that the cost was necessary to perform the festival correctly. Perceiving that the planning process was close to running off the rails, Fadel Diiba composed a song urging women to go forward with preparations because the alamaan had already been widely publicized. His lyric jamari gulege ("understand like an old person;" that is, act considerately and deliberately) is particularly
pointed given the difference in generational attitudes at the root of this alamaan. The women of Niaganane learned the song during the preparation process and performed it during the festival.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Alamaan uye ejamojamo yisumut gabaay} \\
\text{Jamari gulege} \\
\text{Aa ee} \\
\text{Gubonket gusabari min ukaanaal fuririolaal} \\
\text{Yo ee ii oo ee} \\
\text{Bu jibonket jimuyen}
\end{align*}
\]

This alamaan is too well-known to stop now
Understand like an old person
Aa ee
Lower their tension so they can do the festival
Yo ee ii oo ee
Lower your tension

The alamaan planning process is not merely a preamble to the event itself; it contributes to the goals of the festival by engaging all the women of the quarter in lengthy and complex intergenerational cooperation. It also creates an opportunity for the women of the Ejugul generation to exercise their authority as directors of the planning process. The high financial cost of the event, shared among all participants, creates a strong incentive for women to work together productively. It also points to the fact that the village of Thionk-Essyl has benefitted economically from the large number of urban migrants with connections there. While the trend of young people earning high wages and cultivating urban tastes in some ways undermines gerontocratic social norms, in this case the availability of cash in the village contributes to a festival aimed at restoring gerontocratic relations between women. As evidenced by the argument over the expense of the festival, the planning process may also have aggravated existing tensions in some ways. Fadel Diiba's attempt to calm these tensions through song shows the generally supportive role of men with regard to women's social and musical spheres, as Kisliuk also observed in some cases among the Ba'Aka (2000). Finally, the wide publicity for the
alamaan reflects the wide dispersal of members of the Niaganane community, but also suggests that the alamaan is at some level oriented toward a public beyond the participants themselves. The alamaan is a highly participatory, community based ritual and, at the same time, an outward-looking presentational music and dance performance.

*The First Night of the Alamaan*

I arrive in Thionk-Essyl on the first day of the festival expecting noisy celebrations but finding instead the peace and quiet typical of rural villages. Aside from observing an efficient and cordial final planning meeting attended by two dozen women and three men charged with coordinating the drummers, I pass the afternoon and evening at the home of my host Fadel Diiba. We chat lazily, drink ataaya tea, and entertain a group of children with my laughable soccer skills. After sundown, Fadel and I perambulate the sandy streets of his neighborhood, stopping to sit and chat many times with neighbors, friends, and relatives in the temperate night air. It is almost midnight before Fadel dons his performance attire and heads to Niaganane's main gathering ground, and another half hour before the rest of the musicians arrive. A crowd of about two hundred and fifty assembles by the time the first drum beat signals the start of the event just before one in the morning.

The crowd arranges themselves in two large concentric circles around the kelumak tree (in this case, an enormous mango) at the center of the gathering grounds, leaving a large open area in the center (Figure 24). The spectators – men, children, and women from other quarters or villages – stand or sit in a loosely structured outer ring and generally do not join the singing or dancing despite their intent interest. They surround a single-file inner ring of over a hundred women wearing festive dresses and headscarves. These women dance in place, with groups of
about a dozen women occasionally breaking off to dance in step around the circle, lingering in
front of the drum section and shouting warm greetings to other dancers as they pass. In loud
chest voices, the women sing a brief melody in unison over and over again, a call answered each
time by the identical melody played on alto saxophone by Fadel Diiba, his instrument amplified
through an overworked public address system via a wireless microphone as he winds through the
circle. Each woman strikes *ejardu* (pairs of idiophonic wooden blocks) or ad hoc metallic
idiophones (including kitchen utensils, gardening tools, and other household implements) in a
steady downbeat rhythm over the dense interlocking patterns produced by the drummers (Figure
25). Soon, individuals and pairs of women begin entering the central space of the circle to dance
athletically, raising plumes of dust as they bend low and pump their arms toward the ground,
propelling their bodies from side to side by raising their knees high into their chests and then
stomping downward with blinding speed. Nearby women immediately respond in energetic
encouragement by creating an interlocking double-time figure on their idiophonic instruments
(Figure 26). As the athletic dancers kick out a leg and rejoin the larger circle, their neighbors
return seamlessly to the previous unison downbeat rhythm, producing a dramatic rhythmic
contrast (Figure 27). A team of two men from the national television station RTS circulates
through the center of the circle with a large camera and powerful spotlight, prompting many
women to orient their singing and dancing directly into the camera. The crowd continues to
grow, eventually including spectators and dancers from all four sub-quarters of Niaganane, an
event rare enough that a spectator standing next to me leans over to whisper, "The people will
never forget this."
Figure 24. Diagram of alamaan performance area.

Figure 25. Women's unison downbeat ejandu rhythm.

Figure 26. Women's interlocking ejandu rhythm.
After two hours or so, the drums finally fall silent and the two rings of spectators and dancers gather closer around the *kelumak* tree. During the last hour of the dance, a small group of women has assembled at the trunk of the tree, each holding a small shell-covered hand mirror identifying her as an *añalena* (pl. *kuñalena*), a spiritual midwife with deeply ambivalent social status. Speaking into a microphone, the oldest of the *kuñalena* briefly welcomes the crowd and announces the start of a *démonstration*, a staged theatrical performance. Two dozen women gather in one quadrant of the circle and begin a tightly choreographed dance in three lines, while one young woman kneels in front and weeps dramatically. One of the *kuñalena* approaches to physically comfort her, then rises and dances together with the young woman while the group of dancers sings a song about a woman who was sad because she could not conceive a child. Two
similar scenarios follow, with the *kuñalena* comforting and singing for women acting out physical and emotional illness. Finally, the group sings and dances to several short songs in succession, which a spectator informs me are "generational songs." The entire *démonstration* is accompanied by two drummers positioned near the trunk of the *kelumak* tree, facing the group of performers. The first is Dji Diiba, an older man respected as a community leader and knowledgeable drummer, who beats a tall and narrow *fuyundum* drum with his hands. The second is Mary Sane, an older *añalena*, who sits astride a tall and thick *ekaran* drum lying on the ground and beats it with a wooden mallet.

Following a brief pause after the end of the *démonstration*, the drums sound again and the circle of women – by now numbering perhaps two hundred – begin to dance again as they had earlier in the night. It is now four in the morning. The atmosphere is festive and relatively unchoreographed, with some women running across the gathering ground to dance vigorously or with humorous exaggeration in front of a friend in another part of the circle, who chases them back and returns the favor. One after another, women spontaneously enter the circle to dance in front of the one of the *kuñalena* still stationed near the *kelumak* trunk. The *kuñalena* dance face to face with these greeters in the same athletic, downward focused style. Many dancers approach the drummers as well, who beat their drums loudly and more intricately in response, landing hard on a downbeat when the dancer kicks a leg out to the side and scurries back to rejoin the circle, perhaps trying to catch the eye of the RTS television crew on the way. A number of women dance with babies on their backs, wrapped securely in colorful fabric and miraculously sleeping despite the din of the drums and songs. While the large majority of women play *ejandu* or metallic idiophones as before, others now blow whistles or, occasionally, a *gabilen* antelope horn aerophone. A few meters outside the circle of dancers and spectators, another group of a dozen
men and women cook rice and coffee over low fires, welcoming any takers with shared plastics cups and sometimes circulating through the crowd with large jugs of water balanced on their heads.

Just after sunrise, the drummers land together definitively on their final beat, signaling the end of the night's festivities. A crowd of younger women gathers to continue dancing in a looser style near the PA speakers, now blasting distorted zouk music. Other women chat and laugh casually, flushed with exhilaration after many hours of dancing and singing. Fifteen minutes later, a crowd of women besieges the exhausted drummers and demands that they resume playing – which, despite their sincere protestations and raw hands, they do. The large ring of women reassembles immediately and dances with as much energy as ever. A short time later, the drummers finally stop for good. With the sun bobbing low above the treetops, the people of Niaganane meander to their beds, all save a small gang of tireless young women left dancing to the sounds of zouk wafting from the tinny PA.

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The balance of participatory and presentational modes evident in this event, coupled with strong relational components, demonstrates that this festival is both a casual practice of deeply internalized dance/music styles and an idealized presentation of generational and gendered social life. Unlike most public Jola music events, in which many attendees do not sing because they do not know the lyrics, in this case vocal participation is high because the women have rehearsed these songs during planning meetings. As forecasted in the preparations process, the presence of a circle of spectators confirms the mix of participatory and presentational modes at this alamaan event. Likewise, the RTS television crew not only documented the event for future broadcast, but also affected the women's singing and dancing when they began orienting their performances
toward the camera. Many members of the audience (including myself) also made video and audio recordings of the event on camcorders, cell phones, and laptop computers, which will be circulated and revisited throughout the Casamance and Dakar for months to come. The theatrical démonstration was the most explicitly presentational aspect of the festivities, one that staged idealized scenes of the kuñalena's special role in women's social life (discussed further below).

As in the preparations process, this event also highlights the complementarity of male and female music-making. Fadel Diiba plays saxophone responsorially with the women's singing, and physical and sonic cues are constantly exchanged between the female dancers and the male drum section. This mode of music-making could even be described as a relational practice between men and women, perhaps surprising at a festival ostensibly oriented toward women. The women's successful bid for the reluctant male musicians to continue playing at the end of the night indicates their collective authority in this situation. By the same token, the way women enter the circle to dance "toward" other women – either as individuals or in small groups – highlights the particularly relational character of the event for the women of Niaganane. These brief interactions in some ways fit within the collection of everyday microinteractions that constitute social life. Because they are situated within an idealized performance context, however, they have ramifications as model behavior that will last beyond the specific time and space of the alamaan. As that anonymous spectator put it, "the people will never forget."

Although a generational slight was the motivation for the alamaan, generational groups were overtly differentiated at only two points during the night. First, the singing of "generational songs" during the démonstration is a way of paying homage to each generational group in turn. If these songs are, as I suspect, the same songs composed for each generation during the women's initiation ritual, this would further demonstrate the seminal importance of the initiation ritual in
producing a durable group identity that lingers throughout women's lives, invoked in this case through music-making. The second moment of differentiation occurs at the end of the evening, when only the younger women dance to the zouk music playing through the PA speakers, in an urban dance style that was evidently unknown or unappealing to older women. Just as the first beat of the drum sonically signals the beginning of the alamaan festival, the first sounds of zouk played just after sunrise signal the end of this particular event, and indeed the end of the night for all but the young dancers. This musical cue signals a shift in social space from one in which the entire community participates to one that belongs only to young women. In general, however, I observe no other obvious generational demarcations. To my eye, women of all generations dress in eclectic but similarly colorful and festive outfits and spread themselves evenly throughout the dance circle. Family affiliation, neighborhood of residence, and close friendships probably play a greater role in where each woman chooses to dance. In this sense, the event reflects relatively horizontal camaraderie between the women of Niaganane, and indeed creates a memorable experience of that camaraderie.

Alongside (and to some extent in contradiction to) this production of horizontal fellowship, the ambivalently positioned kuñalena play a central role in this transformative event. Women who have multiple miscarriages or whose children die before weaning are sometimes believed to be afflicted by kussay, maleficent beings who devour the souls of the living (see Mark 1992 for more on "les sorciers dans la nuit"). To address this affliction, such women may undergo a ritual called kañalen (either voluntarily or sometimes against their will), which inducts them as kuñalena. The outcome of this ritual is a long period of separation from the woman's previous household and relatives, and the taking of a new first and last name (often inspired by animal names, names from foreign soap operas, or names of other villages or neighborhoods in
Dakar [Langeveld 2013]). This stripping away of social ties and displacement of identity "hides" the woman from harmful kussay. She enters the guardianship of a women's work group or family network, usually in a new quarter or sometimes a new village. She also assumes a new social identity as an añalena, a role variously described as a buffoon (Fassin and Badji 1986), clown (Fels 1994), or mask (Langeveld 2013). This new role comes with deeply ambivalent social status. Kuñalena are expected to serve other women, to ask permission to leave their new quarter, and to submit to the authority of any adult in that quarter. As one collaborator told me, "Anything you ask her to do, she must do – wash your clothes, clean your dishes, make you food." On the other hand, kuñalena may enter any household in their quarter without asking permission and they are allowed and even expected to openly discuss issues of sexuality and mistreatment that are normally taboo, often using deliberately provocative humor to do so.67 Kuñalena also control secretive spiritual powers to assist other women in conceiving children or influencing the sex of an unborn child by diverting the malicious kussay. As in many other cultures on the African continent, mirrors for Jolas are associated with clairvoyance and the ability to detect and deter evil spirits (Mark 1992). The hand mirrors encircled by a protective circle of shells carried by kuñalena during the alamaan are thus an icon and implement of their spiritual power. Specifically, these mirrors are indicative of their social role in helping other women achieve pregnancy and birth, thereby facilitating other women's passage into full-fledged adulthood even as they themselves remain perpetually outside normative womanhood.

Langeveld writes that "the only source of power the anyalena has is her creativity in expressing her frustration about her position" by singing and composing songs (2013:41). Although this statement disregards an añalena's spiritual power and ability to freely transgress gendered social norms, it does speak to the central importance of music in the enactment of an
añalena's social role. The songs of healing and support during the theatrical démonstration exemplify how music-making is part of an añalena's service to other women. This démonstration was also the only time I observed a woman playing a membranophone and the only time I observed a drum played in that manner (with the drummer sitting on top of a prostrate drum, hitting the skin head with a wooden mallet). Such unusual behavior, however, is typical of the kuñalena's transgressive social role. Perhaps the most important role of the kuñalena at the alamaan is that of intergenerational mediators. As with her other social positions, an añalena's generational status is ambiguous: she has conceived a child and is thus entitled to full-fledged womanhood; but she has no children and she is expected to act with a childlike mixture of deference and indiscretion. She is strictly confined within the boundaries of a specific quarter but she has left her home and potentially even migrated to another village or city. The singing of generational songs during the démonstration is thus a way of invoking an important Jola system of social order, directed by women whose social role makes them liminal to that system.

The Third Evening of the Alamaan

After the exhausting all-night celebration of the alamaan's opening night, I am surprised (and mildly relieved) to find that festivities on the following days take place in the afternoon and early evening. During the remaining four days of the festival, I generally accompany Fadel Diiba fishing in the morning (he is always successful, I am not), then join the group of male drummers for an afternoon meal (usually chicken or fish yassa) at a house adjacent to the gathering ground. I then observe a large-scale music and dance event in the gathering ground, which for the second through fifth nights of the alamaan begin shortly after five in the afternoon. This schedule allows ample time to visit with neighbors and chat with new acquaintances, asking questions about
various aspects of the *alamaan*. I also observe a meeting attended by several dozen women from the Gafanta sub-quarter, during which an older woman speaks at length about the importance of women's cooperation, with frequent vocal affirmations from the others. A group of three male drummers also attends this meeting and plays while the women dance at the beginning and end of the meeting. Although it is possible that other such meetings take place in private or without my knowledge, the primary focus of the festival is undoubtedly the elaborate events taking place every evening. While the opening night's festivities emphasize the relational aspects of music and dance within a relatively undifferentiated community of women, subsequent events explicitly differentiate generational groups while maintaining the relational mode linking them together as a whole. As before, the *kuñalena* play a central role in facilitating the music and dance events. The festivities of the third night, described below, provide a particularly rich example of this.

On the third night of the *alamaan*, the drummers gather and strike the first beat at half past five in the afternoon, just as the air begins to cool but before dusk seeps in. The crowd is still sparse and only a few small groups of women dance, making laps around the *kelumak* tree in groups of four to six. Four *kuñalena* dance in place near the trunk of the tree and blow whistles to greet each group as they pass. Little by little, more groups of women arrive, whom the *kuñalena* greet by blowing whistles or by kneeling in front of them (Figure 28). As the crowd grows, one of the *añalena* named Alicia begins singing into a microphone, extemporaneously praising various present women while all the assembled women respond together in a repeated chorus. Alicia also takes a lead role in directing the drum ensemble with her dancing, her whistle, and occasional direct hand gestures. As they pass, some women approach her and mime
exchanging coins with her. Before long, a crowd of about a hundred spectators has gathered,
surrounding an inner circle of perhaps sixty women.

Figure 28. An añalena kneels in front of a group of arriving women. Photo by the author, 16 April 2015.

Without warning, six motorcycles roar into the gathering grounds from an adjacent dirt
road, flanked by two old sedans, all driven by young men. The sound of unmuffled engines
nearly drowns out the drumming and singing, which continue uninterrupted all the same. An
older man rides on the back of one of the motorcycles, wearing a red cape and hat that mark him
as an ayi, an Awasena rain priest now designated by the French word roi ("king"). The vehicles
take two laps around the kelumak tree as the circle of dancing women opens to make way for
them, then drive off down the same dirt road. Soon after, the ayi returns on foot and circles the
gathering grounds, attended by a singing añalena and a pair of young men carrying long, leafy
branches. Next, five old men approach the gathering ground wearing long, formal *kaftans* with matching *tubay* pants and *kufi* skullcaps marking them as Muslims. The drumming, singing, and dancing stop as they reach the crowd, allowing relative quiet as they sit in the sandy dirt and offer a brief, unamplified prayer. Most (though not all) of the crowd listens in attentive silence. Like the *ayi*, these Muslim elders circle the gathering ground and exchange nods of greeting with the women, and then move off down the road, not to be seen again.

At a sign from Alicia, the drumming begins again and the open circle of women sways from side to side, clapping or striking idiophones in time. From the road, two long lines of at least a hundred women each approach, moving together in a shuffling march timed to the downbeat of the drums. At the head of each line, two women carry banners bearing the name of their respective generational groups: Bulfale and Linking. These banner-bearers are followed by two women carrying flags: one the flag of Senegal and the other depicting a white picket fence overlaid with the English word "Welcome." All of the women in these two generational groups wear dresses of the same print but in different colors – yellow for Bulfale and green for Linking – with nearly every woman in each group wearing elaborate matching eye makeup and some carrying matching purses. Many also wear colorful headscarves or fascinators, ornately woven wigs, gold jewelry, and high-heeled shoes. The two lines split as they reach the existing semi-circle of women still dancing in place around the *kelumak* tree. The yellow-dressed Bulfale line circles the *kelumak* tree clockwise and the green-dressed Linking line circles counter-clockwise. As these two lines overlap, each woman passes face to face with every woman from the other line, taking the opportunity to wave, laugh, and shout greetings to each other. After several minutes, a smaller line of women wearing matching red dresses and carrying the banner of the Ejugul generation enters the grounds, forming a third concentric circle that winds inside the other
two. Next, a dozen motorcycles zip through these interlocking lines of dancers, each driven by a young man and each carrying an old woman seated on the back, all of whom wear matching orange dresses in a different fabric print from the other three generational groups. These, I would learn later, are members of the Ando generation representing the oldest age grade of "grandmothers." They receive a particularly boisterous greeting from the crowd of spectators and dancers (Figure 29).

![Diagram of third night choreography.](image)

**Figure 29. Diagram of third night choreography.**

As the sun goes down, this concentric choreography shifts into the more open dance mode of the first night's festivities. Individuals and small groups of women again enter the circle to dance athletically, accompanied by the accelerated interlocking clapping rhythm of their
neighbors until they signal to the drummers with a sideward leg kick. Eventually, a troupe of a
dozen women dressed in simple T-shirts and skirts enters and parades around the circle, carrying
enormous pestles and stirring paddles. Some also wear coffee cans on their heads in a comic
inversion of the other women's elegant headwear. These are the women who have been cooking
next to the gathering grounds almost non-stop for the past three days, and they receive
enthusiastic greetings from the other assembled women. Finally, a large group of middle-aged
women enter, wearing matching dappled orange dresses in a different print from the generational
groups. Flanked by a smaller group of rowdy young men cheering and waving leafy tree
branches, these women circle around the kelumak tree, leaving coins on a small table at the base
of the trunk. With that, the evening's formal choreography comes to an end and the large circle
begins to disintegrate. The drummers continue to play nonetheless, urged on by a group of about
forty women who form a tight circle them. Illuminated by battery-powered floodlights hanging
from a nearby tree and the bright spotlight of the still-present RTS television crew, these
dedicated dancers continue to sing and take turns entering the dance circle. The mood is jubilant
and free, and even I am eventually goaded good-naturedly into taking my turn dancing in the
center. The majority of the crowd sits and watches from plastic chairs strewn around the
gathering grounds while chatting with friends, half-heartedly scolding small bands of playful
children, and enjoying the opportunity to show off their finest jewelry and newest purses.
Eventually, the drummers succeed in convincing the dancers that they are too tired to continue
and, as in previous nights, the sounds of pre-recorded zouk coming through the PA system
signals an end to the festivities for all but a small clique of young women dancers.

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While the *alamaan's* opening night festivities create an experience of relatively undifferentiated fellowship among all the women of Niaganane, the more choreographed music and dance event of the third evening more overtly demarcates different generational groups while emphasizing relations between them. Some of these efforts at demarcation are quite explicit: each generation's matching dresses and make-up created a strong visual icon of their bounded internal unity, along with the categorial markers of generational identity provided by the banners bearing the name of each group. The entrance of each generation into the dance circle was timed in order of seniority, with the interesting caveat that the two youngest generations, Bulfale and Linking, entered simultaneously. This decision may reflect that both these groups are considered "young mothers" and both are junior to the Ejugul generation, which took the lead in organizing the *alamaan* and which holds the most practical authority in village affairs (since the smaller number and advanced age of the older Ando generation renders their power primarily symbolic and deferential rather than authoritative). When thus grouped according to generation, differences in the women's bodies and voices also became apparent. The members of Bulfale and Linking sing loudly and dance limberly. The members of Ejugul carry themselves somewhat more regally and, despite singing equally loudly, they produce less sound due to their smaller numbers. The few members of Ando do not dance at all and the sound of their voices was totally inaudible over all the other sound sources – but their noisy motorcycle entrance made for the most impressive auditory, visual, and even olfactory effect. The *kuñalena*, for their part, remain physically and audibly removed from the generational groups, instead serving as mediators by directing music and dance movements.

Running alongside these elements of differentiation, another set of practices emphasized relationality and unity between generations. Despite the striking differences in dress color, all but
the oldest generation wear dresses of the same fabric print. The choreography of interlocking circles – with the older generations located closest to the kelumak tree trunk – is a powerful representation of each generation's relationship to the others, and indeed of each woman's relationship to every member of the other generations. This choreography puts the bodies of nearly every woman in the quarter in relation to all the others, creating opportunities to exchange verbal greetings and compliments along with gestures of friendship, respect, and teasing.

Exchanging of coins occurs twice: once when entering dancers mime giving coins to the singing añalena and once when the final group of women places coins on the table under the kelumak tree. Unlike the exchange of money between, say, a Wolof gewel or Mandinka jali and a listening patron, the value of coins exchanged during the alamaan is too small to comprise an actual economic interaction. Instead, this symbolic exchange is an idealization of social interchange between different types of women, and also a representation of the real economic exchanges that tie women together in an increasingly cash-based economy driven by remittances from economic migrants.

Fashion provides an interesting countercurrent to these practices of generational differentiation and relationality. While adhering to the uniform dress and color codes of their generational groups, many women go to great lengths to emphasize their individual fashion sense – and their access to the economic resources needed to realize it. In addition to ornately woven wigs, oversized earrings, necklaces, and bracelets, many women clutch colorful handbags large enough to interfere with their ability to clap and dance (Figure 30). Others wear imitation designer sunglasses long after the sun has set. I am in constant demand as a photographer at the end of the evening, as women pose with these accessories. The connection of such fashion accessories to personal wealth is underlined by one woman who has simply clipped a 10,000
CFA note to the hem of her dress as if it were a broach. Such fashion choices, which are much more prominent among the younger Bulfale and Linking generations in comparison to the almost completely unadorned outfits of the Ando grandmothers, reflect desires shaped by time spent as economic migrants in fashion-forward Dakar. Because such accessories are not available for purchase in Thionk-Essyl, they also reflect access to urban markets and participation in cash economies beyond the village. In contrast to the festival's goals of simultaneously restoring women's horizontal unity and the hierarchical authority of older generations, fashion play provides a venue for members of younger generations to individuate themselves and to display their economic resources and knowledge of urban tastes.

Figure 30. Women of Bulfale and Linking display their make-up, necklaces, bracelets, purses, and other accessories. Photo by the author, 17 April 2015.
From my perspective, religion plays only a token role at the alamaan, with gestures toward both Islam and the Awasena Path. The presence of the male Muslim elders early in the event reflects the dominant status of Islam in Thionk-Essyl; indeed, the entire event took place more or less next door to one of the village's mosques. The elders' entrance and prayer are conducted in near silence, creating a striking sonic contrast to every other public aspect of the alamaan festival and underlining the marginality of Islam to this specific event. The presence of the Awasena Path in the alamaan is somewhat more difficult to parse. The kuñalena’s shell-encrusted hand mirrors and the leafy branches carried by the rowdy young men (evoking the spiritual power resident in the sacred forests and the natural world in general) are visual icons of Awasena spirituality. The entrance of the red-cloaked ayi is the most obvious symbol of the Awasena path, but his appearance may have been primarily symbolic or "cultural" rather than indicative of real spiritual authority. Thionk-Essyl went years without an ayi because no one would voluntarily accept the role, and in some cases a costumed Fadel Diiba portrayed the ayi in folkloric performances. Diiba has a hereditary claim to the position of ayi, but he and all other men in his family have declined to assume the role because of their Muslim faith. The ayi may thus appear at the alamaan as a symbol of cultural identity and community heritage rather than a source of spiritual authority. This ambiguity reflects the difficulty of distinguishing secular and spiritual realms in Jola social life, and the complex co-presence of Muslim and Awasena religious systems even in the oldest of Casamance's Muslim Jola villages. The relatively token role of the male religious authority figures indicates that, within the women's domain of the alamaan, women have autonomy over their own affairs. Likewise, the token role of Islam at the alamaan reflects the fact that positions of Muslim religious authority are often denied to women.
Songs sung by women at the festival reflect a similar set of concerns. Collective participation in Jola singing is facilitated by a high degree of repetition and frequent use of vocabularies but, in many settings, participation in singing varies depending on the extent to which attendees are familiar with the lyrical content. Jola song lyrics can be difficult to learn on the fly because words and phrases are often compressed to fit melodic and rhythmic figures through syllabic ellision. In ritual events, varying levels of participation frequently fall along generational lines because older generations know a larger repertoire of songs and thus naturally guide ritual performances. In the case of the alamaan, however, women's participation in singing was uniformly high across generations because the lengthy preparations for the festival included composing and rehearsing new songs.

Many songs performed at the alamaan pithily address the issues at the heart of the festival. One such song speaks directly both generational cooperation and authority. In the lyrics, Maay Diedhiou, a member of the Ejugul generation and one of the most involved festival organizers, calls the women of Thionk-Essyl to disseminate "the rules;" that is, the ethical system of respect and deference privileging older generations. This message is particularly directed at the younger Linking generation, also named in the lyrics. Like those who have migrated to Dakar, the song itself is expected to travel to Dakar and to "stay there;" to have a lasting impact on long-distance intergenerational relations. Recalling the flag carried in the festival prominently bearing the English word "welcome," the use of the English phrase "you're welcome" in these lyrics is a signifier of translocality. Unlike French, which is associated specifically with France and sometimes with the colonial past, English has no threatening or negative connotations.

English is experienced in Thionk-Essyl primarily through radio broadcasts and digital recordings of Bob Marley, Tupac, James Brown, and others. The use of the English word "welcome" both
visually and sonically during the alamaan is a manifestation of Jola people's identification with continental and diasporic narratives, an Afropolitan outlook that welcomes worldly influences into locally oriented cultural practice.

Funaga fulinge farabul fale  
Maay Diedhiou nakane ekila nage jitojol sindool  
Nagano wame saria  
"You’re welcome" buya Linking Animbara  
Guje bo Dakar gudifile garde bu

Our days have arrived  
Maay Diedhiou sent out a message to gather at her home  
To say what the rules are  
"You’re welcome," Linking Animbara  
It passed on to Dakar to stay there

Another song affirms the importance of face-to-face gatherings in maintaining community ties that now span large geographic distances. This song begins by asking after the people of Niaganane in a manner typical of family greetings (guleng buge?), a call that receives a response affirming the collective neighborhood identity of the singers: oli ubuge ("we are here"). The lyrics are in the Gusilay dialect of Jola spoken in Thionk-Essyl, but the fifth line (dasomo bijele aninkonto ngo ["there will be a breakfast and a lunch"]) is in Sose, a Jola language variant spoken in several villages in the Buluf region. Like the use of English in the previous song, this demonstrates an attitude of openness to the external world, albeit on a much smaller scale. The lines "please gather together" and "no one will be missing" reflect messages of community unity, evoking an ideal world in which all the women of Niaganane have returned from the cities and other villages in which some have settled. Many women did indeed return to Niaganane from other locations to participate in the alamaan, notified via word-of-mouth or other publicity channels. However, still more women did not return, above all the cohort of women younger than the Bulfale generation. The large majority of these as-yet uninitiated
women were pursuing economic migration at the time of the *alamaan*, representing a significant threat to the *alamaan*'s long-term efficacy.

_Guleng Niaganane buge?_  
_Oli ubuge!_  
_Jibonket jihomenorul min ukaanal sum_  
_Alaal ulobayo oli nukanogan_  
_Dasomo bijele aninkonto ngo_  
_Nañumeting an mataganool_  
_Bee ñoto jijilul_

Where are you Niaganane?  
We are here!  
Please gather together so that we can do good  
It's us who said it  
There will be a breakfast and a lunch  
No one will be missing  
You will see

*The Alamaan Orchesra*

The events of the *alamaan* are propelled by a drum ensemble of ten men, who provide a sonic counterpoint to Fadel Diiba's saxophone and to the women's singing, clapping, and idiophonic percussion. Of these drummers, about half reside in Thionk-Essyl, while the others live in other Casamançais villages, especially the large settlement of Elinkine across the river on the southern bank. During the *alamaan*, those without close relatives in Thionk-Essyl lodge together in a house near the Niaganane gathering ground, where they spend their "off duty" hours making *ataaya*, playing cards, and eating meals coordinated by an *añalena* assigned to provide for them. One young drummer, Kanye Badji, brought an *ekonting* and plays traditional and original songs to entertain the others, who remark on the novelty of hearing a Jola Kasa instrument from the Lower Casamance played in Jola Buluf territory in the Upper Casamance. For their participation, each drummer receives 10,000 CFA plus room and board from the *alamaan* organizing committee. In return, the drummers provide approximately twenty-four
hours of drumming over the span of five days. Although they may live in different villages, all
the drummers know each other well, having played together in various folkloric troupes
throughout the Casamance. Such troupes are hired to play for village events such as weddings
and naming ceremonies, as well as political festivals and tourist-oriented performances in
Ziguinchor, Cap Skirring, and Abéné. As the saxophonist for Troupe Erinkiit, Fadel Diiba
estimates that he has played in sixty cities and villages in Senegal, The Gambia, and Guinea-
Bissau over the past ten years. He brings a Walkman tape recorder with him whenever he travels,
and makes a point to record and learn songs unique to each village so that he can play them for
appreciative local audiences. Such recordings would by now comprise an impressive archive of
Casamançais traditional music, if not for the fact that Diiba rewinds and records over the same
cassette each time he plays in a new locale. Many of the other drummers playing for the alamaan
are similarly well-traveled within the Casamance. None, however, considers himself a
professional musician; they are rice farmers who sometimes make money playing music.

With slight variation from night to night, the collection of drums played at the alamaan
comprises two pairs of toumba, two djembes, two esabars, two pairs of kutir, one pair of smaller
kutir, one fuyundum, and one sekere (an idiophonic shaker), most of which were augmented by
rings of small bells worn on the drummers' wrists. A considerable range of pitches and timbres
emanates from this combination, from the high and tense stick-beaten esabar to the low and dark
fuyundum, with the loud djembes and the tuned pairs of toumba and kutir in between. The
collection of drums played at the alamaan also reflects a diverse set of influences from West
Africa and the Black Atlantic. The toumba are a pair of tall, thin drums with metal tension hoops,
which are held side by side in a wood and metal rack and played with the hands by a single
drummer. Toumba are clearly inspired by the Cuban drum pair known as tumba or conga,
Despite some slight differences in construction methods reflecting the availability of materials. During the alamaan, the toumba are primarily played by the musical director of the drum ensemble, Ajeme Niassi. Jolas are somewhat atypical in West Africa and especially in Senegambia in that a single drummer often plays multiple drums simultaneously; in addition to the toumba, I frequently observed single drummers playing up to five bugarabu, up to three djembes, and up to two esabars or two kutir. This is sometimes considered an idiosyncratic trait of traditional Jola music (and indeed it is applied to Jola-identified drums such as the bugarabu and kutir, which have been deeply enmeshed in Jola culture for generations), but three Jola drummers told me that this practice was adopted in imitation of the Cuban music craze that swept Senegal in the 1960s and 70s. As the drum played by the ensemble leader, the toumba's pride of place at the alamaan indicates the strong influence of Cuban drumming practices even in dance genres considered to be traditionally Jola.

Djembe and esabar drums are typically played by members of the Mandinka and Wolof ethnic groups, respectively. Originally associated with Mande hunter's guilds (Charry 2000), djembes have become popular all over the world and in some contexts retain only a vague association of Africanness (Polak 2000). Jola drummers always acknowledge the Mandinka roots of the djembe, but play it frequently because 1) it is recognized by tourist audiences and in demand by short-term foreign students, 2) it is abundantly available for low-cost purchase, and 3) it is similar in sound and playing technique to the bugarabu drum played by several Jola subgroups. The esabar (a Jola-ized pronunciation of the Wolof word sabar) has a less prominent international following than the djembe, but is well known within Senegambia thanks to its prominence in Wolof dance music and its central role in mbalax ensembles. The drummer playing the esabar at the alaaman tells me he brought the drum to "accompany" the others,
echoing an identical comment made by an *esabar* player at the Festival for Peace in Ziguinchor described in the previous chapter. In this case, the *esabar* player seems to refer to the pleasing contrast created between the high, crisp pop of the stick-beaten *esabar* and the lower, muddier sound of the other hand drums. While Jolas are sometimes resentful of Senegal's perceived "Wolofization" and commonly dismissive of the *mbalax* genre in particular, in this case the Wolof *esabar* is openly embraced by the *alamaan* drumming ensemble because of its sonic qualities.

The alto saxophone has become a fixture of Jola traditional music. I personally observed saxophone players in Jola musical settings in Ziguinchor, Cap Skirring, Djembering, Mlomp, Oussouye, Thionk-Essyl, Bijilo, and Dakar, often over multiple occasions. Its role is consistent across performances: it plays responsorially with a vocal chorus in an identical melody. Saxophonists generally prefer a rough timbre with little vibrato. I initially hypothesized that the saxophone entered Jola musical practice via military bands, as was the case in Ghanaian highlife and other genres around the world. However, three collaborators told me that the saxophone entered traditional Jola settings during the 1970s as a response to the popularity of Cuban music throughout the region. For his part, Fadel Diiba first learned to play orchestral flute by listening to a cassette tape of Western classical music given to him by a friend. He would sometimes play this flute during traditional music performances, but later switched to the saxophone because it is louder. From a practical standpoint, the saxophone is a useful addition to the Jola instrumental repertoire for several reasons: it is easy to hear whether played amplified or unamplified (unlike the other primary melodic Jola instrument, the *ekonting*); it can play all five pitches of the Jola scale in multiple octaves (unlike other Jola aerophones, which are fixed to one or two pitches only); and it is durable, portable, and inexpensive to maintain. It has the added benefit of
bringing Jola musicians into a transatlantic sphere of musicianship. Diiba, for example, first heard the saxophone through Cuban music, but later became a fan of saxophonists John Coltrane, Charlie Parker, Cannonball Adderley, and Kenny G.

Although the male drummers do not coordinate their outfits in the manner of the *alamaan*s female participants, most do change into specific performance attire before each event. Some wear outfits created for the various folkloric groups in which they participate, with the result that a few of the drummers did in fact wear matching attire. One such outfit features a repeating fabric print based on the outline of the African continent in green, yellow, black, and red (Figure 31). Another drummer wears a T-shirt printed with a quotation explicitly referencing these same colors: "Red for the blood that flowed like a river / Green for the land, Africa / Yellow for the Gold that they stole / Black for the people it was looted from." This shirt includes an attribution to Marcus Garvey, the Jamaican intellectual and leader of the Pan-African movement who promoted these colors as part of the Pan-African flag. These exact words, however, seem to derive from a song *about* Garvey by the British reggae band Steel Pulse (1982), evidence of that genre's importance in disseminating transatlantic racial identity narratives.

Four of the drummers wear their hair in dreadlocks. Of these, three identify themselves as Rastas, fans of reggae music who attribute spiritual importance to playing music and sometimes smoke marijuana. During my time in the Casamance, people I met who identify as Rastas overwhelmingly also identify themselves as musicians, and their understanding of Jamaican Rastafarianism stems almost exclusively from musical recordings. The fourth dreadlocked drummer in the *alamaan* ensemble is a Baye Fall, a member of an Islamic brotherhood specific to Senegal. Baye Falls are known for their colorful patchwork clothing, their long dreadlocks,
and their practice of daily manual labor as a substitute for prayer. Because playing music is an acceptable form of manual labor (and therefore a devotional practice), Baye Falls participate in musical activities with greater frequency than other Senegalese brotherhoods. They are visibly represented by several well-known Senegalese musicians, most prominently the drummer and singer Cheikh N'Digel Lô. Although it is difficult to quantify, within Senegal there is a sense of commonality and a slippage of symbolism between Rastas and Baye Falls stemming from the shared visible identity marker of dreadlocks, their shared devotional adherence to an unadorned lifestyle, and the spiritual significance that both attribute to musical performance. The presence of both Rastas and Baye Falls in the alamaan drum ensemble represents localized manifestations of two transnational religions, here mobilized in service of an ostensibly locally oriented event.

Figure 31. Alamaan drummers stand ready to play fuyundum (left) and toumba (right). Photo by the author, 15 April 2015.
Conclusions

Like many rural communities in the Casamance, the Niaganane quarter of Thionk-Essyl is in the midst of social transformation spurred by economic migration, throwing gendered conceptions of generation into question. The alamaan festival is a traditional recourse to social tension, designed to restore harmonious relationships between women. In this case, social harmony depends on consensus around hierarchical relations between different types of women, especially between the generational groups that are essential to Jola people's traditionally gerontocratic social organization. The alamaan's choreography eloquently reflects and produces a balance of unity and differentiation between these distinct categories of women. Recalling Sugarman's view that "any musical performance is [...] also a performance of gender" (1993:32), the alamaan is a site of social interaction between women within an idealized performance setting. Functioning as both discourse and practice, the lyrical content of the alamaan songs emphasizes the importance of coming together and adhering to gendered social norms while the women's voices and bodies are put into synchrony. Even so, the alamaan's goal of social ordering is far from complete, contested even during the festival through individual women's display of fashion and musical taste. The ambivalent, liminal role of the kuñalena is also vital to the alamaan, in which they act as mediators between generational groups. As a site of interaction between women and men, the alamaan provides an example of men's music-making that is essentially supportive of the women's social sphere. The token role of male authority figures in the alamaan is likewise supportive, though indicates that women in Niaganane have authority over their own issues. As a caveat, this may be because men have no skin in the game; the balance of power between men and women is not at issue in the alamaan, and harmonious relations between women can only benefit men through reduced social tension and perhaps more
efficient organization of women's labor. All of these factors demonstrate that the narrative of Jola egalitarianism is more complicated than it seems, masking internal systems of hierarchical differentiation and resulting from specific structures of negotiation.

Viewing the alamaan as an audiotopia, the festival overtly serves as a contact zone between different types of women. Although these women interact commonly in other social contexts, it is rare for them to come together as members of explicitly differentiated generational groups. As described above, the alamaan is also, to some extent, a contact zone between men and women. One of the chief drivers of social tension in Niaganane is economic migration, a translocal issue that requires a translocal response. The mixture of participatory and presentational performance modes in the alamaan reflects a balance of local and translocal orientation, as does the presence of the RTS television crew and other amateur documentarians. Song lyrics addressing the broad reach of the alamaan's publicity and the hope that the alamaan's message will "pass on to Dakar and stay there" likewise reference the festival's translocal goals. The integral role of cosmopolitan fashions and Black Atlantic musical influences produces lived experiences of Afropolitanism for the alamaan participants, for whom the festival is addressed to intensely local issues but transcendent of them at the same time.

Writing this chapter makes me keenly aware of the many shortcomings in my ethnographic data. Some are practical questions: Who are the women wearing orange dresses who place coins on the table during the third night of festivities? How are certain women chosen to manage the cooking while others participate in song and dance? Other questions are more complicated: How will the alamaan affect women's social relations going forward? How will the alamaan affect the lives of the uninitiated generation of young women who were not present for it? To what extent are the issues at play in the alamaan also relevant to women's initiation
practices through which generational groups are created? What issues will be at play if and when the alamaan is performed again in Niaganane? How does the Niaganane alamaan relate to communities of women in the other quarters of Thionk-Essyl, and indeed to other Casamançais villages and cultures? Conducting ethnography at the alamaan pushed my linguistic, social, and even musical skills to the limit, bringing to the fore the extent to which an ethnographer remains a gendered body operating within a complex set of cultural structures both familiar and foreign. Much of the information and analysis in this chapter may indeed be revised after my next visit to Thionk-Essyl.
Chapter 5: Jola Sounds in Senegalese Pop

Directly after completing the long-term fieldwork that informs this dissertation, I travelled by boat, plane, and train from the Casamance to Germany to attend a workshop for dissertation writers at the University of Hildesheim. I continued operating in a Senegalese social mindset for some time, and I distinctly recall the baffled look on the face of a German stranger as I took his hand and asked about his family after stopping him in the street to ask for directions. That weeklong workshop was the first stage in a long process of stepping back from the community of friends and research collaborators I had come to know in the Casamance, and rejoining the community of academics with a new perspective informed by both groups. After the workshop, I had a night to kill in Berlin before my flight back to Los Angeles, during which I was unexpectedly called back to "the field." I had made several new contacts at the workshop, among them an American saxophone player conducting fieldwork in Berlin. He invited me to a street festival where, coincidentally, he was performing that very night. "It's kind of an Afro-pop thing," he said. "You'll like it." The music was indeed good, the crowd was happy, and the bock beer was a revelation after months of watery Senegalese Flag and Gazelle. As the band kicked off their final number, my jaw dropped and my beer nearly did too: I recognized the melody from a Jola ekonkon song, and the words were in Jola. My American friend played along in unison on the saxophone, sounding much like the Jola saxophonists I had heard so many times over the past months. Two members of the band, it turned out, were from the Casamance. Although they were not themselves Jola, they had grown up hearing Jola music frequently. We even shared some common friends back in Ziguinchor. This coincidence felt bizarrely serendipitous and, rather narcissistically, I was astonished that Jola music had somehow followed
me on my way home. But, I should not have been. Jola sounds have been part of the international music scene for decades.

In the 1960s, budding Senegalese stars Orchestre Baobab drew from Jola music culture and other Casamançais musics to help put the "Afro" in "Afro-Cuban" music. Their deep engagement with the Cuban montuno genre, known in Senegal as "salsa" or simply "Cuban," created experiences of an alternative cosmopolitanism, one that did not rely on Europe as a pivot point but moved directly from "margin to margin" within the cultural sphere of the Black Atlantic. Orchestre Baobab and other Senegalese artists at the time viewed Cuban music as a syncretic African music, and thus conceived their use of Jola musical resources in Afro-Cuban music not as the hybridization of two discrete music cultures but instead as a coming together of African musics that were always already products of musical métissage. As such, Orchestre Baobab's contributions underline the ongoing "interweaving of worlds" that characterizes Mbembe's Afropolitanism, as music became a way of participating in a local scene and a way of "belonging to the world, of being in the world and inhabiting it" (2007:28). Orchestre Baobab's perspective also sheds light on the special role of Casamançais musics in the development of Senegalese popular music. In the 1970s, Senegalese musicians and audiences began to turn away from Afro-Cuban music and toward more identifiably local sounds, languages, and lyrical concerns, led above all by Youssou N'dour and his Super Étoile de Dakar. Jola music was again part of this trend, especially noticeable in compositions by the bands Touré Kunda and Xalam. While Orchestre Baobab's popularity outside Senegal was relatively muted until the 1990s, Touré Kunda and Xalam both managed to achieve significant recognition in Europe and the United States as well as Senegal beginning in the 1970s. As such, Jola music has been part of the sound palette of internationally successful African popular music since the early years of
Western audiences' fascination with syncretic African popular musics. In this case, European (and, to a lesser extent, American) markets played a large role in driving these bands' success and both groups made careful compromises when performing and releasing records for Senegalese or international audiences.

This chapter raises new points about the development of popular music in Senegal, and makes room for personal and musical stories that have not been well documented. Even so, my focus remains on Jola music. Previous chapters have demonstrated the wide reach of influences present in Jola traditional music as it is currently performed in Senegambia, and the ways that elements of Jola traditional music have become emplotted in regional, national, and international narratives. This chapter likewise follows Jola sounds as they spread around the world, circulated primarily by non-Jola Senegalese musicians and received by international audiences eager to experience syncretic African music. This chapter also functions as a historical prelude to the following chapter, which centers on ethnographic portraits of contemporary Jola musicians working in syncretic popular styles. I rely primarily on personal interviews conducted with members of Orchestre Baobab and, in the case of Touré Kunda and Xalam, an array of historical sources coupled with musical analyses.

**Orchestre Baobab: We Don't Play Salsa, We Play Salad**

1960s Dakar moved to the clave beat of Cuban *son montuno*. This was a love affair a long time in the making. Songs and, eventually, records circulated between Senegambia and the Caribbean on transatlantic ships, following the movement of African people as crewmen, soldiers, and human chattel "cargo" (Bolster 1997), such that "for hundreds of years these coastal populations [in Senegambia] heard the precursors of the Cuban musical genres that were to
coalesce into Cuban *son*" (Shain 2002:85). Dakar-based dance bands like Guinea Jazz, Harlem Jazz, and Tropical Jazz began adding Cuban songs to their repertoire in the 1950s, and, by the time of Senegalese independence in 1960, Cuban music had become "the modern music of choice" (Shain 2002:88; see also Benga 2002). As Togolese Orchestre Baobab guitarist Barthélémy Attisso puts it, "When I arrived in Senegal in 1968, there was only Cuban music. [...] If you walked past a club in Dakar, you would swear there were Cubans playing inside. Yet they were all Senegalese!" (in World Circuit Records n.d.). Listening and dancing to the African-derived rhythms of Cuban music offered urban Senegalese an opportunity to experience firsthand the transnational, transcontinental ethos of Léopold Sédar Senghor's Négritude. It also provided a way to participate in the cultural sphere of the Black Atlantic without relying on their recent colonizers as a mediator, even if a European language was still in the mix; as historian Ibrihima Thioub puts it, "Power in Senegal talked in French. The people talked back in Spanish" (Thioub 2001, in Shain 2002:91).

Orchestre Baobab is one of the most successful Senegalese groups with roots in this time. During my initial fieldwork in Dakar, I heard them perform many times at the cluster of upscale nightclubs near Cheikh Anta Diop University. To my ears, they play as tightly and cleanly as ever, even if their aging audiences dance a little more slowly and a little more stiffly as the night stretches into morning. I tell the band's story here because they were among the first and certainly the most prominent to reframe Jola musical resources in new musical and social settings. The following pages draw primarily from interviews conducted in 2014 with lead singers and percussionists Rudi Gomis and Balla Sidibe, both of whom grew up in the Casamance (as did the band's bassist, Charley Ndiaye). Jola music emerges as one of a set of musical resources that identify the Casamance as a site of both ethnic diversity and ongoing
syncretization, which Gomis in particular casts in opposition to a trend of homogenizing musical Wolofization in Dakar. Both men's upbringing in the multiethnic Casamance also framed their openness to more global influences and gave Orchestre Baobab an unmistakable sound that differentiated them from the cohort of other Cuban-influenced bands in 1960s and 70s Dakar.

Rodolphe Gomis grew up in Ziguinchor's Boudodi neighborhood, steps away from the Casamance River and the boisterous fish market where fishermen and fishmongers still haggle for the best price on tilapia, perch, and barracuda. His father was from Guinea-Bissau and his biological mother was from the nearby Jola village of Banjaal, while the woman who raised him was a Jola from the Fogny region north of the river. Although he considers Wolof his native language, as a child Gomis heard Jola Banjaal, Jola Fogny, Portuguese Creole, French, and Mandinka on a daily basis. Unlike most Senegalese, he grew up Catholic, leading to early experiences singing in a church choir and in the Boy Scouts. "I'm Catholic and so I was a Boy Scout," he recalls. "I was a Boy Scout and in scouting, we did a lot of singing. You learn a lot of songs. And, I sang in a choir. Yes, a church choir. I didn't like sports. [laughs] But I really liked everything that is music." He smiles as he recalls his earliest memories of Jola music: troupes of drummers and singers following masked dancers on festival-day parades through town; fishermen singing and playing ekonting in their pirogues as they passed his house on the way to the fish market; and occasional forays en brousse to the many villages surrounding Ziguinchor. As he grew older, he fell in love with the international musics he heard on the radio and occasionally on records: "I was really influenced by Congolese music, Ghanaian music, Nigerian music, Cuban music. French music too. And, I listened to a lot of rhythm and blues." He would later try listening to Beethoven and Mozart as well, because "sometimes they have good material for intros." As a teenager, Gomis decided to pursue a career in music despite the
disapproval of his father. "My father didn't like it. My father didn't want me to do music [professionally]. Because, here in Africa they say that music, it's griots that do music. And we're not griots so my father didn't like that. He told me, 'It's university or you leave my house.' So, I left the house, I did university, and I did music."

Balla Sidibe was born in Sédhiou, a Casamançais town at the crossroads of Jola and Mandinka influence located midway between the port city of Ziguinchor and the inland trading post of Kolda. Sidibe is "pure Mandinka," as he proudly puts it, born to two Mandinka parents and raised in Sédhiou's primarily Mandinka-speaking milieu. He reminisces about his early memories hearing the set of signature Mandinka rhythms, each associated with a specific dance, ritual, or social occasion, and the melodies of virtuosic Ballanta balafon players. His father was a merchant who had fought in Germany during WWI. "Normally, I should have French citizenship because I have all my father's papers and if your father is French you can be too," he tells me. "But me, baf, I didn't want all that. The truth is, I'm Senegalese. I'm Senegalese." Sidibe left the Casamance for Dakar in 1961 to serve as a paratrooper in the Senegalese army. He left the military three years later, ostensibly to join a police education program. Instead, he began playing music full time. Like Gomis, his family opposed the idea of a career in music on moral grounds: "My parents didn't want me to because, for them, when you play guitar or make music, you're a griot. So, because we weren't griots, they didn't want me to. It was a big problem. A really big problem. A whole big problem. But finally, when they started hearing my name on the radio – Sidibe, Sidibe, Sidibe – it was a point of pride for them. My siblings, my mom, my dad, my parents – it's only me who plays music."

Gomis and Sidibe played in various Afro-Cuban ensembles in Dakar in the 1960s, both playing conga drums and both drawing from the rhythmic idioms of the Casamance. They met in
1966 and immediately formed a lifelong musical and personal connection. "We did everything together," Sidibe recalls. First, they played together in a group called Les Standards at Le Palladium. Then, they moved on to play with the Star Band (the same band that would later launch the careers of Youssou N'Dour, Pape Seck, and El Hadji Faye, among others) at the hottest nightclub in town, the Miami. It was Adrian Senghor, the cousin of then-president Léopold Sédar Senghor, who facilitated the creation of their most enduring project when he asked Star Band saxophonist Baro Ndiaye and the two Casamançais percussionists to put together a house band for his new nightclub, the Baobab, in 1970. "He came to see me and said he needed musicians," Gomis remembers. "I went looking for musicians in different boîtes [nightclubs], in different orchestras, and we made Orchestre Baobab." The band's name was a practical consideration meant to identity the place they played, not necessarily a specific group of musicians, but it has proved to be an enduring label. Gomis laughs when he explains, "Orchestre Baobab' isn't a name. It's the orchestra of the club Baobab. So it's not a name like Super Étoile. No, no, no. It's the Baobab's orchestra. But it's lasted until this day." Sidibe agrees, "We were just the orchestra of the Baobab. And then the name stayed: Baobab, Baobab, Baobab." The Baobab itself was an exclusive venue, geared toward a wealthy and worldly clientele. As Sidibe puts it, "The dress code was strict: a suit and tie or full traditional robes. [...] Only the very top people could get in" (in Hudson 2001).

In addition to Sidibe and Gomis, the line-up eventually included: Laye Mboup, a singer from a Wolof griot family (replaced by Ndiouga Dieng in 1974 after Mboup died in a car crash); Baro Ndiaye, the alto saxophonist from the Star Band; Issa Cissoko, a tenor sax player from a Malian griot family; Barthélémy Attisso, a virtuosic lead guitarist from Togo who had studied law at Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar; Latfi Benjeloum, a rhythm guitar player from a
Moroccan family; Mountage Koite, a trap drum player from eastern Senegal; and Charlie Ndiaye, a bass guitar player from the Casamance. Sidibe and Gomis also began to contribute lead vocals for their first time in their respective careers. While Mboup and later Dieng were both from Wolof griot families and provided the high-pitched, nasal vocals that characterize northern Senegalese griot singing, Sidibe and Gomis sang in a different style reflecting their southern upbringing and international influences. Sidibe's voice is low and rough; Gomis' voice, though somewhat higher and smoother, remains lower and more relaxed than most of their contemporaries from northern Senegal. In the words of the band's biography from their eventual British record label, "Sidibe and Gomis's husky voices worked superbly together, their deep-velvet harmonies redolent of the tropical atmosphere of their native Casamance" (World Circuit Records n.d.). Both men credit their distinctive vocal styles to a combination of their background in the ethnically, religiously, and musically diverse Casamance region and to their appetite for musical styles from around the Black Atlantic. Both also stand out among their Dakarois peers for their ability to sing effortlessly in a wide range of languages, a linguistic facility that both men credit to their polyglot childhoods. As Sidibe puts it, "Many singers who sing here, can't sing in other languages. They only sing in Wolof. Only. Or in French, because they don't understand Cuban [i.e., Spanish]. So they have to sing in Wolof. But me, I like to sing in four languages: Mandinka, Wolof, Portuguese, and Ballanta. So that's what astonishes them. It's that I sing in four languages. You see? Yes." Gomis, for his part, sings in Wolof, Spanish, French, Portuguese Creole, and Jola.

Sidibe looks back on those days with nostalgia, knowing that they could not last forever: "In that time, there were no videos. There was no television. So, people went to the cinema, and when you left the cinema, it finished at midnight, and then you went out to the clubs. By
midnight or one, the clubs were already full. But now, people stay in their living rooms in front of the television or films until two in the morning, and then they’re tired and they don’t come out. And if they do come out, they don’t feel like dancing. But before, it wasn’t like that."

"Those who dance salsa have become old," he adds, and indeed attendees at their regular gigs in Dakar now skew to an older demographic even if the band itself plays with as much energy as ever. For young Senegalese music fans in the 1970s, there was a new kid on the block. After an early career playing Cuban-tinged music with the Star Band and Étoile de Dakar, Youssou N'dour launched his new group Super Étoile in 1979 and changed the sound of Senegalese popular music forever. While several earlier bands had laid the foundations for the densely interlocking rhythms of the mbalax genre, N'dour's unparalleled vocal control and charisma propelled mbalax to the center of Senegal's urban music scene. Young people particularly gravitated to mbalax because 1) it drew from the familiar sounds of neighborhood drum ensembles; 2) its lyrics spoke to relatable social and political struggles; 3) its vocalists sang almost exclusively in Wolof, a language nearly any young Senegalese could understand; and 4) it explicitly referenced Islamic themes and singing styles, in contrast to the overwhelmingly secular Senegalese Afro-Cuban genre. Despite Orchestre Baobab's foundation in a diverse array of Senegalese musical styles and despite the fact that they too experimented with the same combination of sabar drums and griot-derived vocals that defined mbalax in the 1970s, their heavily Cuban-influenced, multilingual music began to seem foreign and, worse, old-fashioned.

Historian Richard Shain argues that the shift in popularity from salsa to mbalax reflects a generational change in attitudes toward cosmopolitanism. As he writes, "Afro-Cuban music has been the 'anthem' of the generation that came to power during the Independence period of the 1960s. For this cohort, listening and dancing to Latin music embodies a 'modern' tropical
sensibility and repertoire of behaviors they see as the bedrock of a viable post-colonial national culture" (2009:187). In this view, Orchestre Baobab's self-identification as a "Pan-African orchestra," and one that borrows liberally from African influences both diasporic and continental, is a musical manifestation of Léopold Sédar Senghor's Négritude. By contrast, *mbalax* represents a shift to more overtly local preferences. The fact that Afro-Cuban music was particularly popular among an elite class of urban Senegalese also suggests that *mbalax* appealed to a broader swath of the socioeconomic spectrum. Even so, this explanation underemphasizes the extent to which *mbalax* draws from a complex web of international influences, not to mention the degree to which early Afro-Cuban bands drew from Senegalese musical resources. Indeed, many Senegalese Afro-Cuban compositions, including Orchestre Baobab's, pre-figured the ingredients of *mbalax* prior to the 1970s. In any case, *mbalax* continues to dominate the Senegalese popular music scene today, even as hip hop has gained significant popularity in the last fifteen years. Since the 1970s, it has spawned a number of subgenres such as *salsa mbalax* and *mbalax acoustique*.

Facing shrinking audiences in Dakar's declining number of salsa clubs, Orchestre Baobab disbanded in 1985. Gomis subsequently helped found the Baobab Center, a Dakar-based language school for foreign students where he taught French for Peace Corps recruits and worked as a Test of English as a Foreign Language evaluator. Sidibe continued to play with other Afro-Cuban groups in Dakar, especially the government-sponsored Orchestre National. Orchestre Baobab's fame, however, had spread far beyond Dakar. The band had recorded fifteen albums between 1972 and 1982 in Dakar and Paris, most of which were released only in Senegal on cassette tapes. Some of these cassettes made their way to Europe and the United States, where they were duplicated and circulated through networks of friends and connaisseurs of global
fusion musics. By the time "world beat" developed into a marketable genre category in the 1980s and 90s, Orchestre Baobab had become an underground favorite overseas without ever releasing an album outside Senegal. The band's final Senegalese album, *Ken Dou Werente*, originally recorded in 1982, was re-released worldwide in 1989 by London-based World Circuit Records as *Pirate's Choice*. The album's title reflects the fact that illegal cassette duplication was the only viable way European and American audiences could consume their music.\(^7\) World Circuit subsequently racked up a string of successful collaborations with African and Cuban musicians in the 1990s, including 1993's Grammy-winning *Talking Timbuktu* (a collaboration of Malian Ali Farka Touré and American Ry Cooder), 1996's *Ne La Thiass* by Senegal's Baye Fall innovator Cheikh N'Diègel Lô (produced by Youssou N'Dour), and 1997's Grammy-winning smash hit *Buena Vista Social Club* (a collaboration of several Cuban musicians and Ry Cooder). In 2001, it was Orchestre Baobab's turn.

*Pirate's Choice* was re-released for a second time in 2001 as a double album with additional tracks from the band's early years, supported by a year of international touring to large audiences in Europe, the United States, and Asia.\(^8\) Orchestre Baobab's first new recording in twenty years, *Specialist in All Styles*, came out in 2002, followed by *Made in Dakar* in 2007.\(^9\) The story of a defunct Senegalese band's rebirth thanks to audience support from abroad became part of an appealingly nostalgic comeback narrative. As one World Circuit executive put it, "We put the band back together again. It's like [the American film] *Blues Brothers* [Landis 1980]. It's a classic romantic story. We get the old team back again for one more show. […] People love a great story and a great romantic theme" (in Whitmore 2016:349-350). World Circuit's artist biography describes the audience reaction to Orchestre Baobab's 2001 world tour: "Far from crassly modernising their music, as many fans had feared, the group looked and sounded as
though they had stepped through a 1970s time-warp" (World Circuit Records n.d.). Such romantic nostalgia is an interesting mode of world music appreciation, and not unlike the reaction to World Circuit's 1997 *Buena Vista Social Club* release. It fits somewhere in between the two channels of world music consumption identified by Taylor in *Global Pop* (1997): on the one hand, an expectation that Third World musicians exhibit pure, rustic authenticity untouched by foreign commercial influences; or, on the other hand, an expectation that Third World artists demonstrate their syncretism and global influences as evidence of a new model of authenticity.

Although Orchestre Baobab's music is the very definition of syncretic and globally influenced, it is nonetheless often consumed as an anti-modern throwback, specific to a time in the past when urban Africa was perceived to be more genteel and approachable. One might even argue that the grainy audio quality of the *Pirate's Choice* reissues provided a sonic marker of the band's Third World authenticity because it located them in a nostalgic past and masked the fact that their openness to global influences was evidence of an ongoing transatlantic black modernity.

Then again, in Gomis' opinion it is not romantic nostalgia for an imaginary pre-modern, non-commercial urban African that is responsible for Orchestre Baobab's international success. Instead, he believes it is precisely their wide-reaching modern influences that have made them palatable across the world. He frames their syncretic musical attitude within a historical network of reciprocity across the Black Atlantic, which stems from the movement of Africans in the slave trade:

Every time Orchestre Baobab plays, we mix music. Everything we have here, plus salsa. [...] We've mixed it all. We've taken what the Cubans took from here, *chez* the Ibo [a Nigerian ethnic group]. Because they left from here. They were taken from here, with the slaves that were brought to the United States. They made *son*...
montuno, the *son*, the *guajira*. Us, we retook that. We brought it back here, and we added some Senegalo-African things. We didn't take the [Wolof] *sabar*. No. We took the [Cuban] *conga* because with the *conga* and the drum set you have more than you need. So, we put African rhythms in Cuban, European, or American harmonies, something like that. So, that gives you a music that can be accepted everywhere. Everywhere. Everywhere!

Laughing, Gomis adds, "That is to say, we've made a meal that everyone can eat. You can! In fact, people call it salsa but it's not. No. We don't play salsa, we play salad! [...] The future of everything that is cultural is *métissage*. If you don't understand that now, you won't do anything later." Gomis' metaphor of a meal that everyone can eat is strikingly similar to a comment from a World Circuit executive concerning the world music industry in general: "You have to put [the music] on a really nice plate for people. You have to put it on something which they understand and they can associate with" (in Whitmore 2016:333). For Gomis, it is Orchestre Baobab's many syncretic influences that allow every listener to find something familiar and relatable in their music. Under Gomis' light-hearted words is a more painful truth; that African musical syncretism stems from colonialism and the slave trade.

For both Gomis and Sidibe, the Casamance plays a special role in their approach to musical syncretism. As Gomis puts it, "In Senegal, [other musicians] have almost only utilized [Fr. *exploiter*] Wolof music. They've never utilized the music of the Casamance. The *musics* of the Casamance, actually, because there are a lot of kinds of music there." In Gomis' opinion, *mbalax* has not been commercially successful outside of Senegal because it is based only in Wolof music, which has led some contemporary musicians to seek out the diversity of traditional music in the Casamance. "They made *mbalax*, but they couldn't sell *mbalax*," he says. "When
they couldn't sell it, they came back to the place of departure, but to utilize the Casamance. But, they're so used to *mbalax* that it's hard for them. It's like someone who has learned French, French, French for seventy years and then he wants to learn Chinese. It's complicated. You can learn but it's hard." Sidibe agrees:

You have other singers who want to take the rhythm of the Casamance and sing Wolof in it. Because it's very rich there. Very, very rich. So, many singers take that. […] They go to the Casamance, to the south, to take the rhythms, the harmonies, and then sing in Wolof. […] They go to the Casamance, and they record the rhythms of the tam-tams and the *balafon*. Then they come here [to Dakar], and they work it with the guitar and the keyboard, and it becomes another thing. It may not belong, but that's Senegal. There are no borders for rhythm. People, they take what they're going to take. They come, they put it in a song. Some go to the Casamance to take songs from the Casamance. When they come here, they don't sing in Mandinka, or Ballanta, or Jola. They put the songs in Wolof. In Wolof or in Peul. And we who know, when we hear it, we know that rhythm came from the Casamance. Yes.

The terms that Gomis and Sidibe use to describe the Casamance here are not accidental. Gomis repeatedly uses the French term *exploiter* (translated above as "utilize") in the same way an English-speaker might use the phrase "to exploit a natural resource." Sidibe's repeated comment that the Casamance is very rich (*très riche*) mirrors the way the Casamance is often described in terms of its *richesse naturelle* ("natural riches"). To me, their choice of words springs from an ongoing national conversation concerning the Casamance, in particular a narrative in which *la richesse naturelle de la Casamance n'a pas été exploitée* ("the natural
riches of the Casamance have not been exploited") due to developmental neglect and political centralization in Dakar (see for example Kinty 2014; Sagna 2008). Paralleling this narrative, for Gomis and Sidibe the bountiful musical resources stemming from the Casamance's ethnic diversity have been underdeveloped, neglected in favor of mbalax's exploitation of Wolof musical resources.

For Gomis, the musical diversity of the Casamance represents a challenge to the Wolofization of Senegalese music and, in particular, what he sees as the lack of harmony (and therefore international marketability) in mbalax. In his words:

Senegal tries to do a musical politics. [...] All the griots in Dakar, they speak Wolof. So, they have tried to monopolize Wolof music to make it the Senegalese music. But, then there are people like me who say, "Mbalax, that's not the Senegalese music. Mbalax, it's one of the Senegalese musics." And we've shown, Orchestre Baobab has shown that we can play all the musics that are here, and that they are danceable if they're well arranged, if they're well done.

If you listen to the radio, all the radio you hear is mbalax, mbalax, mbalax. But what annoys me is that they try to bury Casamançais musics, the other forms of music of other ethnicities in favor of one little ethnicity who tries to . . . who only knows how to play the tam-tam. That's it. Mbalax is the tam-tam. That's it. Harmony, they don't think about that. If one day you ask of mbalax, "What is harmony?," they can't answer you. So, in the whole world we all agree that music is the art of combining sounds in an agreeable manner. And so that it's agreeable, you have to have harmony, not cacophony. A bunch of percussion, a bunch of cacophony. People have to understand that!80
More broadly, for Gomis the musical diversity represented by the Casamance challenges the tendency of the world music industry to latch on to a single genre from each country, masking internal national diversity. As he says:

Here in Senegal they tried to popularize mbalax. In Congo, it's soukous. In Cameroon, makossa. And so on. But, that's not the way. Because if you take, for example, mbalax as Senegalese music, even though I speak Wolof, I say no, no, no. Me, I don't play that. That's not my music. […] It's tough. In other countries, you say "Tango, that's Argentina." You say, "Rhythm and blues, that's the United States." But you have to say that the United States doesn't only play rhythm and blues! They play all kinds of things – jazz, country, all that.

Here in Africa, they try to call the music of a country by a single name. That doesn't work. That doesn't work. Today, we've seen that every country that they've tried that in, it doesn't work. It doesn't work. For example, here they say that mbalax, that's the Senegalese music. But, then people like me came and said, "No, no, no." […] That's to protest!

Nick Gold, the World Circuit executive who engineered Orchestre Baobab's comeback tour, appears to have faced similar criticisms regarding his 1997 production of the Cuban Buena Vista Social Club album. He notes, "[W]e were almost being accused at some point of dictating what music represented Cuba. It was weird. It was only because Buena Vista was so successful that it looked like we were presenting that as the music of Cuba [...]. We just did something that we liked. We didn’t stop anyone doing anything else" (in Whitmore 2016:338). One could criticize this comment for downplaying the extent to which a British record company could, albeit unintentionally, monopolize the external musical representation of a Third World country
with few resources to disseminate counter-representations internationally. On the other hand, it is notable that Gomis views Gold's role in Senegal as one of diversifying a national musical representation currently dominated by *mbalax*. The role of European record companies in producing homogenous representations of national musical cultures may therefore be more complicated than it seems.

As members of Orchestre Baobab, Rudis Gomis and Balla Sidibe were at the center of Senegal's Afro-Cuban music scene in the 1960s, making Dakar's dance clubs into audiotopic contact zones where attendees could physically and sonically experience a transatlantic culture sphere. Although European and American world music appreciators would later consume their recordings as products of a bygone age, their music originally served to create a modernity that largely bypassed Europe by drawing from continental and diasporic African influences. In doing so, they also bypassed a model of cultural imperialism in which centers of political and media power are assumed to dictate musical preferences to the margins (e.g., Wallerstein 1979; Hannerz 1988). Jola music, especially drum rhythms, provided a set of resources for Gomis and Sidibe, one that gave their Afro-Cuban innovations a Senegalese feel while differentiating them from other percussionists and singers who drew more exclusively from northern Senegalese genres. For both men, the Casamance represents a wellspring of musical resources that remains largely untapped, and their upbringing in its multiethnic cities provided early experiences of everyday syncretism that would inspire their later openness to international genres.

**Touré Kunda: You Belong to the World, Stay Who You Are**

A decade after Orchestre Baobab began making its mark in Senegal, another Senegalese group was carving out a space for African popular music in Paris. Touré Kunda was one of the
first Senegalese groups to achieve significant international commercial success, and in many ways they laid the foundation for the success of subsequent Senegalese stars. Although they toured the United States extensively in the 1980s, Touré Kunda's popularity remains primarily a Francophone phenomenon, even if few of their lyrics are in French. The band's roots are in Ziguinchor and, of all the Senegalese groups who have drawn inspiration from Casamançais music, they have made the most extensive use of rhythms, melodies, and languages from the region. The family is ethnically Mandinka, and that culture (especially the Mandinka language, the sound of the balafon, and the distinctive rhythm of the jambadon leaf dance), have provided inspiration for a large portion of the band's compositions. Jola music, however, has been also been at the core of the band's syncretic style since their early years.

Touré Kunda is a band of brothers, and the group's name translates from Mandinka as "elephant home" or "elephant family." The half-brothers Ismaïla and Sixu Touré were born four days apart in 1950 in Ziguinchor's Santhiaba neighborhood. The oldest brother, Amadou, was the first in the family to deliberately develop his musical talent, and he soon began sharing his love of singing and drumming with his younger brothers. Amadou, Ismaïla, and Sixu performed together first in La Fraternelle, a local music and theater troupe, and then in the locally popular band Esperanza Jazz de Ziguinchor. Ismaïla remembers his initiation ritual as a vivid early musical influence: "In Senegal every year they have training for young boys and girls. They take them to the sacred forest. They teach them how to get through life, how to make a song, how to live with one another. During this time you hear music everywhere. That's our first influence" (in Bordowitz 2004:159). The initiation ritual itself is part of a system of signs shared with neighboring ethnic groups such as the Ballanta, the Bagnun, and indeed the Jola (Baum 1999, Mark 1992). Ismaïla describes his upbringing in similarly interethnic terms: "We
were born there and grew up there amid the Soninke, Mandinka, Jola, Creole Portuguese, Fulani, and Wolof. It is also the place we learned music, theater and dance. We have especially learned to live harmoniously with all dialectical components resulting from this generous ethnic mixture [ce généreux brassage ethnique]" (in ToureKunda.com n.d.).

Ismaïla moved to Paris in 1975, followed soon after by brothers Sixu, Amadou, and Ousmane. Sixu recalls his parents' parting words: "Our parents told us, 'You are our sons, our children. Leave now, you don't belong to us anymore. Go bring to the world what you can. You belong to the world, and stay who you are" (in Tenaille 1987:96). While his brothers pursued non-musical careers, Ismaïla worked intermittently writing jingles for African-owned stores in Paris and played briefly with the early Afro-jazz fusion band West African Cosmos. Together, the brothers listened to James Brown, Aretha Franklin, Nina Simone, Led Zeppelin, Creedence Clearwater Revival, and other groups popular at the time. Ismaïla extends the familial metaphor at the root of the band's name to include their relationship to these blues and jazz artists: "Touré Kunda's music is based in reality, African reality. That's what we know. […] To us, black American music comes somewhere from Africa. The jazz, the blues, black American music is like cousins, related" (in Bordowitz 2004:159-160). Much like Rudi Gomis and Balla Sidibe, Touré Kunda views their style not as a fusion of local and global elements, but rather as a coming together of already related African musics that have spread around the world. Like Gomis and Sidibe, the "generous ethnic mixture" of their childhood set the stage for later interactions with a broader variety of African musics.

After organizing a successful concert in Paris in 1977, Ismaïla recruited Sixu to play under the name Touré Kunda for the first time. Their first album, Mandinka Dong (1977), was self-released with borrowed funds. It received scant attention, but included their future hit
"E'mma." In 1979, the two signed with the Paris-based Celluloid label to record their first commercially released album, entitled *E'mma Africa* or simply *Ismaïla do Sixu* ("Ismaïla and Sixu"). With support from Senegalese music promoter Mamadou Konté's Africa Fête, a still-running music festival then in only its second year, "E'mma" became a breakout hit in France. Amadou Touré subsequently joined Ismaïla and Sixu for a run of successful shows and residencies at Paris nightclubs: le Palais des Glaces, la Chapelle des Lombards, Théâtre Dunois, and l'Hippodrome de Pantin. 1982's *Turu* extended the group's popularity to the Francophone Caribbean. In 1983, tragedy struck when Amadou collapsed onstage during a show at Chapelle des Lombards in Paris, dying of cardiac arrest en route to the hospital. Ismaïla and Sixu continued to perform, sometimes joined by brothers Ousmane and Hamidou. Later that year, the band fulfilled their dream of an African tour, playing concerts in Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, The Gambia, and Senegal in a 38-ton truck with a mobile stage outfitted specially for the tour. Heavy financial losses incurred during the tour were partially mitigated by the success of the live album *Paris-Ziguinchor* (1984), which reportedly topped 200,000 records sold. Touré Kunda celebrated their return to Paris by playing to a crowd of 20,000 at Espace Balard, followed by the release of *Natalia* (1985) and *Toubab Bi* (1986), their first of several albums with a new label, Tréma. The brothers met rock superstar Carlos Santana in 1986 during a show at Carnegie Hall in New York, leading to their writing credit on the song "Africa Bamba" from Santana's fifteen-times platinum record *Supernatural* (1999). In 2002, Ismaïla and Sixu played a concert in the Casamance for the first time in nearly two decades, promoting peace in the region in the midst of a period of particularly heavy violence. In 2003, they released the album *Un Bateau pour Casamance* in Senegal only, directing all profits to families of the victims of the sinking of the passenger ferry *Le Joola* and to a fund to purchase a new ferry for the Ziguinchor-Dakar route. The album
featured collaborations with Senegalese stars Thione Seck, Omar Pène, Baaba Maal, Didier Awadi, Coumba Gawlo, and Ismaïl Lo.

I attended a Touré Kunda concert at the Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise in January 2015. It was their first time playing in the Casamance since the release of *Un Bateaur pour Casamance* over a decade earlier. The Alliance's beautiful open-air amphitheater was filled to a comfortable capacity, but not overflowing with throngs of eager young fans as it had been when mbalax queen Coumba Gawlo played there a month earlier. Some potential attendees may have been enticed away to another event taking place across town – the Festival for Peace organized by the Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de Casamance (MFDC) described in Chapter 3 – which was host to several young local music groups and which did not require paid admission. Touré Kunda's long absence from Senegal and their firm grounding in musical styles popular in the 1980s may also have contributed to their warm but not overwhelming reception in Ziguinchor.

The concert kicked off around eight in the evening (typical for the Alliance but quite early by Senegalese standards) and lasted a brisk two hours including a full set by an energetic interethnic opening band from Abéné, a coastal village north of the river. Ismaïla and Sixu Touré took the stage with a six-piece backing band, telling the cheering crowd, "We will never stop singing for peace." They kicked off their set with "Salam," an ear-worm inducing number that takes the typical Senegalese greeting as inspiration for a syncopated call-and-response groove: *salaam aleikum, maleikum salaam*. Judging by the crowd's reaction, the most popular number of the night was "Fatou Yo," a catchy hit praising mothers from the album *Sili Béto* (1992). A slightly awkward moment occurred toward the end of the concert: much of the audience filed out of the amphitheater after Touré Kunda left the stage just before ten o'clock, not anticipating (as I did) that the band would return for an encore, a practice that is common in American and European
concerts but rare in Senegal. When the band did inevitably return for an encore, they played two songs to a half-empty theater.

The most obviously Jola-influenced performance of the night was the song "Casa di Mansa," first recorded in studio on *Amadou Tilo* (1983) and live on *Paris-Ziguinchor* (1984) (Figure 32). The song directly addresses the Casamance conflict, using Jola lyrics and musical concepts to make a powerful case for peace. The opening lines seem to evoke a traditional Jola warrior chant but, as the song progresses, the lyrics chronicle the damaging psychological and spiritual consequences of war. By the end, it is clear that Touré Kunda is making a desperate plea for peace to MFDC leaders, to the people of the Casamance, and to God.

\[
\text{Wo o o o, wo o o o, wo o o o}
\]
\[
\text{Wuli bee ejaw bee misyon}
\]
\[
\text{Wo o o o, wo o o o, wo o o o}
\]
\[
\text{Wuli bee ejaw bee misyon}
\]

\[
\text{Di jimorenool, di jimorenool}
\]
\[
\text{Di jimorenool, di jimorenool}
\]
\[
\text{Emite erabenool aneme bee boteoolaal}
\]
\[
\text{Wuli bee ejaw futikof}
\]

\[
\text{Wo o o o, wo o o o, wo o o o}
\]
\[
\text{Wuli bee ejaw bee misyon}
\]

\[
\text{Jo ne soom kapooral sifason, amin (x5)}
\]
\[
\text{Emite yooya, inje oomuto}
\]
\[
\text{Emite yooya, inje oomuto}
\]

\[
\text{Jo giregoom Alassane Diedhiou}
\]
\[
\text{Ubokete urabenoom}
\]
\[
\text{Atiom ibajute nirabeño ujokélool}
\]
\[
\text{Di farafubom bucarab pabukobenom diboñoto kuraj}
\]
\[
\text{Onaye mo kaane nilakoto di Touré Kunda}
\]

\[
\text{Wo o o o, wo o o o, wo o o o}
\]
We are going on a mission

\[
\text{Wo o o o, wo o o o, wo o o o}
\]
We are going on a mission
They are singing to me
God help us, give us aid
We are going to war

Wo o o o, wo o o, wo o o
We are going on a mission

They say they will behave, amen (x5)

God himself, I'm here
God himself, I'm here

Please help me Alassane Diedhiou
If I can, I will help you
Look at me, my brother, anger is killing me
Do not lose the path and lose strength
That is what Touré Kunda is doing here

Touré Kunda's performance of "Casa di Mansa" at the 2015 concert in Ziguinchor began with minor pentatonic vamping on a synthesizer keyboard, as the brothers Ismaïla and Sixu Touré started the crowd clapping on the beat while members of the band contributed off-beat vocal whoops. This vamp landed hard on a downbeat after a solid minute, kicking off drum set and bugarabu accompaniment as the bass guitar and saxophone began playing an ostinato figure in the same minor pentatonic scale. After a few measures, the entire band began singing in unison in a low tessitura, using the typically Jola vocables "wo" and "o" in a melody adapted from a Jola ekonkon chant. Hearing this, the crowd immediately leapt to their feet and joined in singing and pumping their fists, sending chills down my spine with the thrill of so many voices suddenly united in a rumbling low register. Ismaïla sang the next verse solo in Jola, riffing slightly on the previous melody, before returning to the chorus louder than ever. The band switched briefly to a new ostinato riff before dropping out almost completely, leaving only the drum set and bugarabu to play on. In the blink of an eye, a member of the audience sprang onto
the four-foot high stage and began dancing in the downward-focused, arm-pumping Jola style.

Others rushed to line up on the side of the stage, waiting for their turn to take center stage in this impromptu dance "circle." Ismaïla and Sixu each strapped a Wolof *sabar* drum to their waist and hit them occasionally with a stick to emphasize particularly acrobatic movements by the dancers, which were also met by enthusiastic cheers from the crowd. After a few minutes, the band sang a new unison melody, still with only drum accompaniment. Finally, the saxophone, bass, guitar, and synthesizer re-entered, playing the opening ostinato pattern as the band and crowd sang the opening *ekonkon* melody in unison. Ismaïla sang the first verse again, followed by the vocable chorus, and finally the band played the second ostinato riff for several measures before closing the song with an emphatic stinger.

![Figure 32. Vocal chorus of "Casa di Mansa" with bass and saxophone ostinato.](image)

The crowd recognized this song as having particularly strong Jola influence almost immediately, tipped off by the Jola language, the unison vocal melody, and the familiar vocables. The mix of on-beat clapping and off-beat whooping in the song's introduction took on a Jola tinge when set alongside these others typically Jola elements, even if clapping and whooping are hardly unique to Jola music culture. The melody is not strictly pentatonic (as it includes a minor
six as a passing tone), but nonetheless has a pentatonic "feel" thanks to the i-VII-i harmonic progression. Although not everyone in the audience was ethnically Jola, they understand implicitly how to "hear" the song in a typically Jola fashion: through maximum participation of singing, first pumping, and dancing. This was not the only song of the evening in which crowd members took the stage to dance (indeed, such behavior is commonplace at concerts in Senegal), but it incited crowd members to dance specifically in the downward-focused Jola style instead of the more upright, leaping style typical of mbalax dancing.

After this rousing performance of "Casa di Mansa," Sixu laughed and told the crowd, "Tonight, we can all say we are Jola. We are all Mandinka. Without forgetting, of course, that we are all Soninke. Because, you know, without the Mandinka, the Jola wouldn't exist." On one level, this comment was a simple joke, eliciting laughter from the crowd by referencing the friendly rivalry between Jola and Mandinka people in Ziguinchor, a city in which no single ethnic group is dominant. From my own perspective, I interpreted Ismaïla's comment as a powerful assertion of the fact that no ethnic group can exist in isolation – "without the Mandinka, the Jola wouldn't exist." Ethnic identification works only in relation to other ethnic groups, not solely through gestures of differentiation but also through association and, in this case, even declarations of sameness. Given my preoccupation with the performativity of music-making, I also took note that "tonight, we can all say we are Jola" because we participated together in an explicitly Jola musical performance. For me, this was an assertion of the way participation in musical performance allows people to temporally embody different identities than they occupy in non-musical space. These two points add up to an excellent example of the audiotopia concept working even within a small geographic region. Finally, thinking of Touré Kunda's decades-long role as ambassadors for peace in the Casamance, I interpreted this comment as a statement of
interethnic solidarity, effectively heading off ethnic animosity by making a joke of the traditional Jola-Mandinka rivalry and recasting that interethnic relationship in terms of the "joking cousin" relationship that is common between many West African ethnic groups. Of course, for most of the audience, Sixu's comment was probably received as a simple joke.

The simultaneous scheduling of the Touré Kunda concert and the MFDC Festival for Peace may likewise have been a simple coincidence. Nevertheless, it was striking to attend Touré Kunda's concert at the Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise, which they explicitly framed as "singing for peace," in comparison to the MFDC Festival for Peace across town, which I attended later that night and the following day. In international (and northern Senegalese) discourse, the MFDC is almost universally cast as a violent rebel group, whereas in the Casamance they are viewed more ambivalently as, at best, heroic freedom fighters forced to take up arms against an occupying foreign power or, more measuredly, a mildly corrupt group fighting for a just cause that became entrapped in internal power struggles and misguided romanticization of Jola male warrior culture. Coincidental or not, Touré Kunda's performance at the French-funded Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise rather than at the MFDC's Festival for Peace made an implicit statement about whose peace they support.  

"Casa di Mansa" is not the only Touré Kunda composition to draw from Jola musical resources. The song "Ah Diatta" from Touré Kunda's 2008 album Santhiaba immediately evokes the Jola ethnicity through the typically Jola surname Diatta, and it sets recognizably Jola sounds in a richly syncretic context. The song begins with the first phrase of Mozart's well-known rondo "Alla Turca" (Third Movement of Piano Sonata No. 11) played by a synthesized keyboard with punchy harmonic accompaniment from a piano accordion. The phrase repeats, this time accompanied by a set of tuned hand drums, probably a pair of either bugarabu or djembe. As the
drumming continues, the synthesizer and accordion abruptly give way to a funky ostinato played on direct-line acoustic guitar, electric guitar, electric bass, shaker, and drum set, with off-beat hits on a synthesized xylophone and melodic fills from an airy alto saxophone. The voices of Ismaïla and Sixu Touré enter immediately, singing the Jola lyrics in unison. The two continue singing in unison on the chorus – *Ah Diatta, ma cherie* – over a reggae-like I-IV-I-V chord progression in the relative major. Pizzicato strings provide a melodic response to the vocals during this chorus. After the chorus, the first phrase of Mozart's "Alla Turca" returns on synthesizer and accordion, with the driving pulse of the electric bass, shaker, and drum set playing through this time, incorporating the classical European melody into a Senegalese groove. Ismaïla and Sixu sing another verse and chorus before Mozart returns, this time starting with "Alla Turca's" triumphant second phrase in the relative major, which resolves immediately back into the minor first phrase. After a short vocal bridge with chords moving between the major V and I, a short solo xylophone run brings us back to the chorus. An initially stripped down accompaniment of acoustic guitar with hand drumming and saxophone gradually builds back to the full accompaniment as the chorus repeats several times. The song ends with a single *a cappella* iteration of the words *ah Diatta*, the melody's three notes forming a major triad.

In addition to the obviously Jola language and tuned drum melorhythm, the strictly pentatonic scale and the short, unison vocal phrases are more subtle contributions of Jola music culture. Likewise, the call-and-response interplay between vocal phrases and alto saxophone runs, though in itself not unique to Jola music culture, evokes the similarly responsorial interaction of voice and alto saxophone in traditional Jola music events. The prominent use of Mozart's timeless melody here is intriguing, and it certainly lends credence to Rudi Gomis' comment that listening to European classical composers can provide "good material for intros."
In this case, however, Mozart's influence goes beyond an introductory sample. The signature melody of "Alla Turca" returns periodically throughout Touré Kunda's composition, and is likely the inspiration for the use of responsorial pizzicato strings in the chorus. "Alla Turca" also provides a framework for "Ah Diatta's" harmonic tonality, which emulates Mozart's first two phrases in moving from a minor groove on the verse to the relative major on the chorus.

The lyrics of "Ah Diatta" describe the narrator waiting endlessly for his lover "on the other side of the shore" after being separated by a powerful storm. Although there is no explicit connection to the sinking of Le Joola, it is easy to imagine that tragedy as a contributing influence given the band's prior attention to that maritime disaster and their use of nautical and meteorological imagery in connection with the cruel vagaries of fate. Of course, the subject of lovers separated by fate is also a nearly universal theme.

Samdi erini ijukutool
Dimans erini ijukutool
Diya busaanab dibocok
Dibocok dibocok lifuhal
Wal wala uti kulimba

Nibilañul lisinto
Lisinto, lisinto, lisinto
Wéy cheri kaman bubaane

Taate nilakoe di cheri umbaam
Nihoñol wañul
Darumbom lakatumbo
Nanosom bubaane

Ah Jatta, ma chérie
Ah Jatta, ma chérie

Samdi erini, dimans erini
Samdi erini, dimans erini
Samdi erini, dimans erini

Saturday came, I didn't see her
Sunday came, I didn't see her
I took the canoe across there
I crossed there and came back
Where has she gone?

It's this storm and this tempest
This storm, this storm, this storm
That tells me darling won't be at our meeting

I waited here for my darling
I called her to come back to me
She left me
She says it's over

Oh Jatta, my darling
Oh Jatta, my darling

Saturday came, Sunday came
Saturday came, Sunday came
Saturday came, Sunday came

The effect of a Paris-based Senegalese band embracing an Austro-German composer's imagining of Turkish music creates a dizzying chain of syncretism. As previously discussed, comments by members of both Orchestre Baobab and Touré Kunda have suggested that the adoption of Cuban and African-American musical styles is not regarded as the hybridization of discrete musical styles but an outcome of ongoing syncretism within the Black Atlantic. In this case, it is striking that Touré Kunda draws from a composition that clearly signifies European classical music, especially since they do not merely sample Mozart's melody but incorporate it into the song's groove and uses it for harmonic and instrumental inspiration. Given that the Touré brothers have spent most of their professional careers in Europe, it is fitting that this composition audiotopically brings the Casamance, Africa, and Europe side by side. Whereas "Casa di Mansa" employs specifically Jola musical resources to speak to ethnic concerns particular to the Casamance, "Ah Diatta" situates Jola music within a grand narrative of musical universalism that is inseparable from the European classical tradition. Here, Jola music serves to evoke a specific
ethnic group and a specific geographic region – and, at the same time, to recast a particular music culture within a universal network of human music-making.

Touré Kunda's song "Akila" from *Sila Béto* (1992) takes its Jola inspiration in a direction more in line with Orchestre Baobab's Afro-Cuban style. The lyrics, which are split between Jola and Mandinka languages, concern a man with the common Jola first name Akila who is rich in rice fields. As such, they reference the Casamance's agricultural productivity and, in particular, the importance of rice in Jola culture. The recording begins with bass guitar and direct-line acoustic guitar creating a minor reggae vamp, which turns to a double-time ska feel as a piano accordion enters playing offbeat eighth-note chords. After this brief intro, the songs switches to a laidback Afro-Cuban groove as a hand drum, shaker, and piano enter. Although hand drums and shakers are typical of traditional Jola music, their role in "Akila" feels more inspired by Cuban music conventions. Ismaïla Touré sings two brief phrases in Jola, which are then repeated by a female singer (who is unfortunately not identified in the liner notes). This identical call-and-response between male and female singers is unique in Touré Kunda's repertoire, and is therefore likely inspired by Jola music culture, where the practice is commonplace. Copious repetition of such short phrases is also typical of Jola singing.

Akila nabadje emano
Nabadje emano balobutiyô
Akila

Oh oh Akila ye
Akila ye assano

Akila has rice
Akila has many rice fields
Akila

Oh oh Akila ye
Akila is a rich man
In contrast to the Jola pentatonic scale used in "Casa di Mansa" and "Ah Diatta," "Akila" is based on a harmonic minor tonality often heard in Cuban music. Specifically, the chord progression of the first phrase is Am-Dm-F#-E-A; and the chord progression of the second phrase is Am-E-F#-E-Am. After a total of five repetitions of these two phrases, the song moves to a bridge in which the male and female voices sing in Mandinka in homophonic harmony over a major chord progression. This change thus entails a tri-fold contrast of texture, tonality, and language. Immediately after the bridge, the piano and accordion switch to an additive double-time arpeggio pattern moving between the minor one and the major five in the style of Cuban montuno or guajeo piano. Fifteen seconds later, the song returns to the head, and the singers again move through several repetitions of the first two phrases, followed by the bridge section. The song ends as the montuno vamp returns for almost a minute and a half, with a female chorus repeating the word "Akila" and Sixu Touré adding occasional vocal interjections in a growling bass register. In all, the song uses several typically Jola music elements, including the language, the lyrical theme, and the numerous repetitions of a short verse in identical call-and-response between male and female singers. Despite the contrasting bridge section, these Jola elements are integrated seamlessly into a musical setting inspired by Cuban and reggae music. While the harmonic progression and overall feel of "Akila" clearly stem from Caribbean music, the song also serves as an homage to earlier period of Senegalese popular music.

A final example of Touré Kunda's use of Jola music is "Adjua," first released on the compilation album Légende (1999). The song's lyrics, which move between Jola, French, English, and Wolof languages, are a pastiche of typical Jola conversation, hip hop bravado, and Islamic prayer. The song begins with an electric guitar playing a repeating pentatonic riff over a synthesized reggaeton drum beat, with a second electric guitar playing off-beat reggae chords. A
chorus of male and female singers then repeats the word "Adjua" (a Jola first name) several times, their voices enhanced with heavy reverb, as the guitar riff is replaced by a deep synthesized bass line. Ismaïl and Sixu join the chorus in singing the song's refrain in unison, a simple pentatonic melody with lyrics consisting of the word "Adjua" and the alternating vocables "ye" and "a." This use of contrasting vocables, rather than canonically rhyming words, is typical of Jola lyrical organization. The chorus then drops out as Ismaïla and Sixu sing the next line in unison, the lyrics comprising an invitation to sit and converse with a friend, with reference to the Jola village of Banjaal fifteen miles west of Ziguinchor. Both verses repeat, and then a new male voice enters, rapping in French at high speed and in a low register (again, this vocalist's name is unfortunately omitted from the liner notes). After the rap, Ismaïla and Sixu lead the chorus in singing the refrain four times, followed by the Jola verse twice, and then the refrain another two times as the instrumentation drops out almost completely, leaving only the electric reggae guitar to accompany the singers. As the instrumental track re-enters, Ismaïla and Sixu continue singing the refrain and then repeating the name "Adjua" while the rapper interjects in a mixture of English, French, and Wolof.

[Jola refrain]
Adjua e ye ye ye, Adjua a a a a
Adjua e ye ye ye, Adjua a a a a

[Jola verse]
Adjua naane Banjaal naage
Acibugo naage ulako taate na uloloboraal

[English, French, and Wolof interjections]
Uh huh
Hello bad boy, are you ready?
Alors, bad bad bad bad
Ecoute, ça c'est le regional sound na waakër
C'est pour Touré Kunda
C'est pour tout l'Africa
C'est pour toi, c'est pour toi
Oh na na na na na
Ewa Touré Kunda waatuna yon yalla sufé sééda sakaw
Yalla na suñu borrow tééru

[Jola refrain]
Adjua e ye ye ye, Adjua a a a a
Adjua e ye ye ye, Adjua a a a a

[Jola verse]
Adjua says Banjaal is calling
Acigubo calls you to sit here and chat

[English, French, and Wolof interjections]
Uh huh
Hello bad boy, are you ready?
Okay, bad bad bad bad
Listen, this is the regional sound family
It's for Touré Kunda
It's for all of Africa
It's for you, it's for you
Oh na na na na na
Touré Kunda is lonely, praying to the God of light
May God receive you in paradise

The use of reggae chords and a reggaeton synth drum beat in "Adjua" are clearly nods to the Caribbean, in a more contemporary style than some of Touré Kunda's earlier reggae-inspired compositions. The timbre of the deep synth bass likewise evokes reggaeton, but melodically it more closely follows the pentatonic Jola vocals than the drum beat or off-beat guitar hits (Figure 33). The brief section of rapping clearly references hip hop, a genre with roots in the United States but an enormous following among Senegalese youth.
Touré Kunda brought the sounds of Jola music into the formative years of African popular music on the international scene. Based in France, they have relied on the strength of European markets to offset the financial precarity of touring and releasing records in Senegal. Nonetheless, they have made efforts to remain connected to Senegal and especially the Casamance, even if their music style is today somewhat less than current in Senegal. Through their compositions and performances, Jola music is linked to narratives of peace in the Casamance, of ongoing Black Atlantic syncretism, and of musical universalism. Like Rudi Gomis and Balla Sidibe of Orchestre Baobab, the Touré brothers' childhood in the multiethnic Casamance framed their relational approach to a wide variety of music genres.
Xalam: Transporting a Whole Culture and Civilization

Xalam has pushed the boundaries of genre classification more than perhaps any other Senegalese band, drawing effortlessly from jazz, Afrobeat, mbalax, Cuban music, and Senegalese traditional musics in equal measure. Like Touré Kunda, they helped bring traditional Jola sounds to broader audiences as part of a syncretic popular music repertoire. Founded in Dakar in 1969, the band was originally called the Xalam Cadets in tribute to an existing band, also called Xalam or the African Khalam Orchestra, founded by Sakhir Thiam, Seydina Insa Wade, Cheikh Tidiane Tall, Idrissa Diop, and Moustapha Diop in 1965. The name Xalam refers to the four-stringed plucked lute played by Wolof gewel. It stands out from the names of contemporaneous orchestres, which more often referenced jazz or Cuban band names, by marking a deliberate return to Wolof language and specifically Senegalese concerns after decades of Afro-Cuban and jazz popularity. The original 1965 Xalam band did, in fact, primarily play in an Afro-Cuban style, but they were innovators in introducing Wolof rhythmic and vocal concepts in ways that prefigured the emergence of mbalax as a distinct style in the 1970s. The young members of the Xalam Cadets borrowed instruments from the original Xalam band, for whom they would sometimes provide an opening act. With musical mentorship from original Xalam member Moustapha Diop and financial backing from Senegalese-Lebanese businessman Daniel Gandour, the Xalam Cadets eventually overshadowed their namesake in popularity and took over the name Xalam (though within Senegal, they are often called Xalam Deux in acknowledgement of the earlier band's importance). The early line-up of the new Xalam included Sanoussi Sidibe on guitar; Henri Guillabert on guitar, percussion, and keyboards; Capy Diagne and Serge Alves on bass; and Alain da Silva on vocals; all directed by Abdoulaye Prosper Niang.
on drums. Yoro Gueye soon joined on trombone, along with saxophonist Ansoumana Diatta, a Jola from the Casamance.

This new Xalam was, at first, an *orchestre de variété* like many others at the time, playing a mixture of Afro-Cuban, jazz, proto-*mbalax*, and rhythm and blues songs in a single set. They distinguished themselves with particularly tight arrangements and by beginning to incorporate the cutting edge sounds of Sun Ra, Jimi Hendrix, Eric Clapton, and James Brown, along with African popular musics reaching Senegal in the 1970s such as Fela Kuti, Osibisa, and Manu Dibango. In 1975, the band left Dakar for three months to undertake a seminal tour of rural villages throughout the country, including the Casamance. It was during this tour that they first began to collect traditional songs, dance rhythms, and musical instruments, much as Balla Sidibe described other bands doing in the 1980s and 90s. Xalam's first album, *Daida* (released under the name Le Xalam in 1975), reflects the fruits of that research tour with its jubilant incorporation of Wolof, Mandinka, Fula, and Jola musical resources. The band's first international break came a year later, when South African star Hugh Masekela heard them perform after his own concert in Dakar. Masekela subsequently invited Xalam to play on his 1976 African tour with Miriam Makeba. German musician and musicologist Wolker Kriegel then recommended them to play at the Horizonte Berlin music festival in 1979, leading to their first international release, *Adé*, recorded at Studio Paragon in Berlin during the same trip.

In the 1980s, Xalam relocated from Dakar to Paris, where the band members shared a house and worked on a number of projects that expanded their international profile. In 1980, they played alongside American jazz musicians Dizzy Gillespie, Sonny Rollins, and Dexter Gordon at the Festival de Jazz de Dakar. In 1981, they recorded a soundtrack for the African pavilion at Disney's Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow (EPCOT) Center in Florida.
Following in Touré Kunda's footsteps, they played at the Africa Fête festival in Paris in 1982, leading to a lauded opening spot for Crosby, Stills, and Nash in Paris' Hippodrome d'Auteuil in 1983. Members of Xalam contributed percussion tracks to the Rolling Stones' 1983 album *Undercover*. They soon had three albums with wide international releases (1983's *Gorée* for Celluloid, 1985's *Apartheid* for Celluloid and Encore!, and 1988's *Xarit* for Jet Set) along with two cassettes distributed in Senegal (1984's *Africa* and 1987's *Ndiguël*). While the Senegalese releases are predominantly in an *mbalax* style, the international releases deftly combine funk, jazz, and rock grooves that riff on Senegalese rhythms and melodies from Wolof, Mandinka, Serer, and Jola music cultures. Many tracks on these albums are completely instrumental while others feature extended instrumental introductions, with vocals entering only after the three-minute mark. The fact that Xalam maintained popularity internationally and in Senegal through different styles reflects Rudi Gomis' comment that *mbalax* "couldn't sell" internationally. Instead, a wider mixture of both Black Atlantic genres and of Senegalese ethnic traditions gave Xalam's international releases a more straightforward appeal. During this time, new band members included Souleymane Faye on vocals, Cheikh Tidiane Tall on lead guitar, Taffa Cissé on percussion, and Papa Moussa Babou on bass.

Band leader Abdoulaye Prosper "Pros" Niang died of cancer in 1988, and virtuosic vocalist Souleymane Faye left the band to pursue a solo career in Dakar in the same year. Xalam forged on with new vocalist Seydina Insa Wade, releasing *Gëstú* (1990) in Senegal and *Wam Sabindam* (1993) internationally for Mélodie. As part of a world tour featuring concerts in Europe, Japan, and Canada, Xalam played at Woodstock '94 (marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the original concert). Their performance was part of a stage curated by Peter Gabriel's World of Music, Arts and Dance organization (WOMAD). Youssou N'dour also played
the festival on a headline stage and it is likely that he recommended Xalam to WOMAD. The band went on hiatus beginning in 1995, but has reunited several times for concert dates in Europe, Senegal, Burkina Faso, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. A reunited line-up of Henri Guillabert, Ibrahima Coundoul, Taffa Cisse, Abdoulaye Zon, Cheikh Tidiane Tall, and Pape Moussa Babou recorded a new album, *Waxati*, for the Senegalese label New African Production in 2015, and is evidently currently organizing concert dates in the United States for the first time in twenty years (*NewAfricanProduction.com* 2016).

Two songs from 1984's *Gorée* position Jola music as part of a transatlantic music culture. The album's name refers to Gorée Island, a small settlement easily accessible from Dakar that was established as a trading center by the Portuguese in 1444. Gorée Island has become the site most strongly associated with the transatlantic slave trade in Senegal. Ongoing debate over the island's (probably minor) actual historical importance in the slave trade is a testament to its symbolic significance as a place of national and diasporic memory (see Araujo 2014; Austen 2001; Ebron 1999; and Freeman 2013; among others). Hundreds of thousands of tourists and dignitaries visit the island every year to experience the Maison des Esclaves (including Hillary and Bill Clinton in 1998, George W. Bush in 2003, and Barack Obama in 2013). Gorée was named as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1978, and its role in public memory of the slave trade has been affirmed frequently by the Senegalese government. The album art for Xalam's *Gorée* clearly evokes this association, with high-contrast images of a black hand gripping a barren rock and a black wrist in rusty iron chains. Track names and descriptions appear over a photo of the Maison des Esclaves, with a bright rectangle of the Atlantic Ocean framed in darkness by its so-called "Door of No Return." The description of the title track, "Gorée," likewise connects the album to the slave trade: "Gorée is an island located 3 kms from Dakar. An
important place, it was made a Portuguese, Dutch, English and French trading post. Thousands of Africans were 'exported' to the USA, the West Indies, Brazil, Haiti & Cuba, transporting a whole culture and civilization" (Xalam 1983). This statement succinctly captures the multinational character of Senegal's colonial and precolonial contacts with Europe, and portrays the slave trade as the impetus for the creation of a transatlantic African cultural sphere.

The song "Gorée" is an instrumental track, one that audiotopically brings together several geographic points of the Black Atlantic. The song begins with a pair of Jola kutir drums, a conga, and a trap drum set playing a 12/8 Jola dance rhythm called sawruba. The full band then enters to play a clear opening melodic figure, before dropping out for a brief kutir and conga break. The electric bass, electric guitar, and keyboard re-enter to establish an intricately interlocking I-VII-I-VII figure, with the bass playing an arpeggiated samba-style ostinato modified to fit the sawruba rhythm. The song progresses through two extended solos by Yoro Gueye on trombone and Ansoumana Diatta on saxophone, broken up by repetitions of the opening melodic figure. The track concludes with the trombone and saxophone playing offbeat hits while the drums move higher in the track. This track's drum and bass parts deftly play off of each other to form an interlocking melorhythm that simultaneously references Jola and Latin jazz sounds (Figure 34). The trombone and saxophone solos, along with the electric guitar and keyboard riffs, are in the style of American and Latin jazz. "Gorée" is an instrumental evocation of the Black Atlantic cultural sphere described in the liner notes, with the title's clear reference to the slave trade indicting the brutal relations of power that brought it into being. While Gorée Island was the point from which enslaved Africans would never return, the track argues, physical distance only enlarged the network of interchange uniting African musical expression.
The song "Djisalbero" from the same album underscores the difficulty of teasing out specific influences in syncretic popular music, especially when Xalam casts so wide a net. The liner notes explicitly describe "Djisalbero" as a *chanson Diola*, with an additional description reading: "The story of a woman who prays to the god Djisalbero for a child. Her prayers go unanswered and she sees that around her the other women who have children hardly spend their time caring for them or simply abandon them" (Xalam 1983). Based on this description, the song could plausibly be in the *fañalen* repertoire, the songs sung by the *kuñalena* spiritual midwives description in Chapter 4. Like other *fañalen* songs, it ostensibly describes a woman who has difficulty conceiving and, true to *kuñalena's* freedom to openly discuss taboo subjects, it criticizes mothers for neglecting or abandoning their children. However, neither I nor any of my Jola contacts are aware of a Jola entity called Djisalbero, and the song's lyrics are not clearly connected to the story described in the liner notes aside from the use of the female name Fatiya. Instead, the word "Djisalbero" is most likely a rendering of the Jola phrase *jisalberoool* ("lift him up").

*Jisalberoool Fatiya*
*Bee jisolfe Fatiya*
"Jisalberool Fatiya
Bee jisolfe Fatiya

Muyuul kumalakake jibil safooraal
Muyuul kumalakake jibil safooraal

"Jisalberesom jiserom
Jisalberesom jiserom"

Lift him up Fatiya
Where you catch him Fatiya
Lift him up Fatiya
Where you catch him Fatiya

The spirits come to greet each other
The spirits come to greet each other

Lift me up, lift me
Lift me up, lift me

The disconnect between the lyrical content and the liner notes indicates that the story referenced in the song's description is here conveyed through instrumental musical discourse, not through the song's linguistic content. The track begins with a hand drum melorhythm played on two tuned drums, likely either bugabar or djembe. This potentially reflects Jola musical influence, but the rhythm itself is not identifiably tied to any specific Jola rhythm. The lyrics enter after a two-minute instrumental introduction, repeating several times in three short melodic phrases before returning to a series of instrumental melodies and solos. Although the vocal melody is not pentatonic, its mixolydian mode and use of I-VII-I tonality could plausibly be inspired by a pentatonic Jola original. Rather than the more direct adaptation of a distinctly Jola rhythm in "Gorée," in this case Jola musical resources provide Xalam with a jumping off point for an original composition in their own Afro-jazz style. The syncretism of "Djイスルーロ" thus goes beyond amalgamating overt references to distinct Senegalese and Black Atlantic genres, instead leading to a cohesive style that is more difficult to parse.
Conclusions

While Chapter 4 noted some of the ways that Cuban music has influenced Jola music in traditional settings, the sounds of Jola music have also traveled beyond the Casamance through syncretic Senegalese popular music. Through Orchestre Baobab, Jola music was part of a repertoire of Casamançais resources that added a local element to Dakar's Afro-Cuban scene. In turn, this Afro-Cuban scene allowed some Senegalese to participate in a sphere of specifically African cosmopolitanism. Through Touré Kunda and Xalam, Jola language, melodies, and rhythms entered an even broader sphere of international circulation. The ekonkon melody I recognized during the Afro-pop performance in Berlin was thus part of a firmly established tradition of Jola music's presence in Europe. The use of Jola musical resources by Orchestre Baobab, Touré Kunda, and Xalam also complicates the narrative of Senegalese popular music, which is dominated by mbalax and especially its link to the Wolof ethnic group. Rudi Gomis' protestations about the dominance of mbalax and Balla Sidibe's concern about northern Senegalese musicians' use of Casamançais musical resources exemplify the complex dynamics of the appropriation of African music by other Africans. The case of Jola music in Senegalese popular music history is less like American Herbie Hancock's sampling of Central African hindewhu hocketing (or Madonna's subsequent sampling of Hancock's recording), and more like Cameroonian Francis Bebey's use of the same (see Feld 1996). In this sense, it responds to DjeDje's concern that "[b]ecause scholars place more focus on how Africans are affected by non-Africans, examining how travel and mobility within Africa affects creativity and identity has received little attention" (2008:243, emphasis in original). External representations of African popular music often mask the internal diversity of African musical creativity, which do not always conform to dominant genre categories and national styles. Through their integral
presence in the musical production of three of Senegal's most internationally successful bands, the sounds of Jola and other Casamançais musics have arguably traveled more widely than the mbalax genre, which has found little international following beyond the Senegambian region.
Chapter 6: Jolas Making Pop

Jola music made its way into the Senegalese popular music scene as early as the 1960s, and onto the European festival stage in the 1970s, but it has taken longer for Jola musicians to develop syncretic styles in the Casamance region. While the previous chapter explored the trajectory of Jola music as it was adopted by Senegalese pop groups and adapted for international audiences as part of a repertoire of localizing and exoticizing sounds, this chapter focuses on popular music that is primarily defined by Jola influence and that is made primarily by Jola people. Chronologically, it overlaps with the previous chapter but concentrates on the period of the 1990s to the 2010s, which is the time when Jola musicians began to develop their musical resources in popular styles. In particular, I focus on histories, ethnographic descriptions, and lyrical and musical analysis of four contemporary groups: Orchestre Casamance/New Casamance Band, Groupe Fogny, Joël Maligny Bassene, and Jean Bosco Goudiaby. For these musicians, playing music that is based in their ethnic heritage and, at the same time, inspired by reggae, cabo, zouk, and salsa genres is a mode of participating in the Black Atlantic. Their work is audiotopic in that it allows them and their audiences to experience connections to distant places while remaining grounded in specific Casamance locales. In addition to their engagement with the Casamance conflict and with public figures of local significance, these groups also emplot their music-making within public narratives of environmentalism and continental urban migration, always through a particularly Jola perspective. They view Jola music as possessing economic potential because it remains a novelty in the international market in comparison to the other Senegalese ethnic music cultures. At the same time, they must negotiate a different set of challenges around representation from other Senegalese ethnic groups because they are viewed as ethnic others even within their own country. While the musicians discussed in this chapter are
almost all ethnically Jola, they almost unanimously also include themselves in a multi-ethnic Casamançais regional identity.

**Orchestre Casamance and the New Casamance Band: Citizens of the World**

The Casamance region has a history of popular music that runs in parallel to the histories of the previous chapter, which are primarily centered in Dakar and Paris. While Dakar was awash with talented Afro-Cuban groups at the time of independence in 1960, few other places in Senegal had the infrastructure, economy, or interest to sustain an electrified band of musicians skilled in non-traditional genres. By the 1980s, however, participation in popular music had grown significantly in the Casamance and Ziguinchor's soirées were enlivened by the Esperanza Jazz Orchestra, the Casa Créole Band, the Symphonie Jazz, the Bisabor Band, and the Orchestre du Relais. Due to the economic and practical difficulty of obtaining suitable instruments, many of these early Casamançais groups were associated with high schools or Catholic churches, which supplied instruments, rehearsal space, electricity, and sometimes musical mentorship. One such band was founded at Ziguinchor's Lycée de Niabi by a French music teacher, Jacques Cassel, who brought a collection of musical instruments from France. The group was called Jaliya after the craft of jalis (the Mandinka griots), and quickly became a showcase for singer Ibou Mbaye and kora player Ibrahima Sissoko, both Mandinkas from jali families. In 1988, the band changed its name to Orchestre Casamance, a change reflecting several band members' desire to move away from Mandinka influence and toward a greater diversity of regional influences. In practice, this meant that Orchestre Casamance began emphasizing Jola traditional musics set in a syncretic style, and Mbaye and Sissoko left the band in response.
In 1991, Orchestre Casamance won first place at the Festival National de la Musique in Saint-Louis, which featured musical representatives from all of Senegal's regions. Orchestre Casamance member Mahamet "Papis" Danfa believes they won because "our themes of food self-sufficiency ["l'autosuffisance alimentaire"], rural exodus ["l'exode rural"] and others coincided with the national themes that year." The band recorded one locally distributed album, *Ayo* (1993), but broke up soon afterward due to internal frictions. "They were ordering us around like they were commandants in the army," recalls Danfa. Several members of the band moved to France to pursue musical careers, but Danfa remained in the Casamance. "I would have loved to go too, but we have to defend our culture, which is not well known," he explains. "We are really a symbol of the culture. [...] We were the first to sing *ekonkon* in modern music. We were the first to sing the name of Aline Sitoué Diatta in modern music. That's very important." Danfa quickly formed a new band with Matias de Campos, a versatile singer and percussionist from Guinea-Bissau. With a father raised in Brazil, de Campos handles the Spanish and Portuguese-Creole language songs that still delight Casamançais audiences, while Danfa deliberately centers his compositions around the traditional musics of the Lower Casamance area west of Ziguinchor, where he was raised. They are called the New Casamance Band, a name that references the defunct Orchestre Casamance but also signifies that "a new Casamance has come," as Danfa puts it (Figure 35). The combination of a regional signifier ("Casamance") and the English language in the band's name reflects their Afropolitan orientation. Danfa, in particular, is tremendously proud of his Jola heritage and believes his calling is to instill similar pride in his Casamançais audiences. At the same time, he speaks passionately about the importance of looking beyond one's own roots. Even while explicitly invoking the specifically Jola character of his compositions, he views music as a site in which racial, religious, and ethnic identities are erased:
Citizenship of the world. I am a citizen of the world. The world has to see that idea. To think like that. Mixture [le métissage] as well. If we are métis, then we're all related, and no one can do each other harm. There is no Muslim, no Catholic. No black, no white. No Serer, no Jola. So, we'll all be a family. […] If you just stay in your cellar, you won't learn anything. I meet all these people at my concerts. There is no Muslim, no Catholic, no black, no white, no Serer, no Jola. And they all love the music that I make because they are all citizens of the world. That's how I want to live my life.

Figure 35. Papis Danfa (center) with The New Casamance Band members (from left) Laurent Dominique, George Bass, Samuel Badji, Seydou Diatta, Matias de Campos, and Charles Coly. Photo courtesy of the Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise de Ziguinchor.
Papis Danfa's composition "Harisa" for the New Casamance Band demonstrates his ambitious creativity. The song begins as a close adaptation of a traditional *ekonkon* song from the Kasa region, which young men still sing and dance together in their ward communities before village or intervillage wrestling matches. Typical of the genre, the lyrics center around a single wrestler, Harisa, but contain a wealth of references to other wrestlers and places that would be meaningful only to people from its village of origin. Fittingly, the rhythmic drive of Danfa's composition is closely adapted from the distinctive rhythm of the large *bombolong* slit drum that is played at the center of *ekonkon* dances. About halfway through this song, Danfa lyrically pivots and begins praising Aline Sitoé Diatta, the young rain priestess who spoke against French authority during WWII and later died in prison. Unlike songs referencing Diatta produced by non-Jola groups in Dakar, which typically cast her as a hero of Senegalese national independence, Diatta here is framed within the specific village and region in which she was born and in which she spread her message of cultural and religious revival. Parts of the lyrics are sung in a Jola dialect specific to Kabrousse, Diatta's natal village. Like Harisa, she is cast as "ours" – that is, as belonging to the specific cultural and geographic sphere of the Lower Casamance. Danfa ends the song by returning to his praise for the wrestler Harisa. Danfa composed this song at age seventeen, at a time when he frequently attended *ekonkon* wrestling matches. He describes the second half of the song as "a sacred piece," inspired by a dream vision of Aline Sitoé Diatta in which she told him, "If you sing my name, you will be known in the world."

*Harisa uma ma Harisa
Harisa dakobene ukaayleen
Harisa uma ma Harisa
Harisa dakobene ukaayleen*

*Harisa o o we
Wo o o we, Harisa o
Harisa dakobene ukaayleen*
Ajangeneel Eriba Erukuben o e
Esuk yaamok eyeyolaal
Nyaba buko da ayinorool

Wendaay kone buko kwilooli
Buliba agoreriit etaam
O o we jitek o wan o e
Ekuruben o nyaba dajumbe ekondor rahe
Mo kaane dafaanool

O Harisa looli o
Aline Sitoë o we
O Harisa looli o
Aline Sitoë o we

Yoba yoba yoba le mayi
Kabrousse kuwalenoor Sitoë
O a waaye waay mama
O a a Sitoë
O a waaye waay inje
O a a Sitoë

Aline dagun
Aline dahoy

Harisa uma ma Harisa
Harisa dakobene ukaayleen
Harisa uma ma Harisa
Harisa dakobene ukaayleen

Harisa o o we
Wo o o we, Harisa o
Harisa dakobene ukaayleen

Harisa, there's Harisa
Harisa is beyond big
Harisa, there's Harisa
Harisa is beyond big

Harisa o o we
Wo o o we, Harisa o
Harisa is beyond big

He is big like Eriba and Ekuruben [other locally known wrestlers]
Their village is stronger than us
That big boy and his girlfriend are there

Wendaay [a nearby island community] says they're stronger
But Buliba [another wrestler] doesn't even touch the ground [i.e., can't be pinned]
They thrash the ground with their branches [as young men do while pumping themselves up through communal dance prior to wrestling]
Ekuruben the big boy is well formed
That's why they love him

O Harisa is ours
Aline Sitoé o we
O Harisa is ours
Aline Sitoé o we

Bring bring bring me there
Kabrousse, Sitoé puts down her sack there [i.e., she lives there]
O a there is mama
O a a Sitoé
O a there I am
O a a Sitoé

Aline refused [i.e., resisted French authority]
Aline refused [repeated using the Kabrousse dialect]

Harisa, there's Harisa
Harisa is beyond big
Harisa, there's Harisa
Harisa is beyond big

Harisa o o we
Wo o o we, Harisa o
Harisa is beyond big

Another of Danfa's compositions, "Adama," addresses the community changes brought on by youth migration. He describes the song as addressing *l'exode rural* ("the rural exodus"), using the French term to emplot the specific circumstances of youth migration in the Casamance within a broader narrative of the movement from villages to cities that is occurring throughout the continent. While the song makes reference to migration during the dry season, Danfa is particularly concerned about young people who prefer to work in Dakar for years at a time and send money back to their natal village rather than return regularly and participate in the arduous
labor of the rice harvest. He praises the celebrated Jola work ethic, saying, "We work. We don't know anything but that." At the same time, he recognizes that many people in the village do not recognize professional musicianship as a legitimate form of labor, and that he himself has left the village to perform primarily in urban communities. The rhythmic drive of this composition derives from the bugarabu dance rhythm typical of the Fogny region, here adapted for de Campos' conga drums. In live performance, the song includes a long drum break before repeating the final couplet several times; "it really makes the people party," as de Campos puts it.

O o o e
O o o e

Adama, jipare manufaal boot
Fujamara fe naam furingool mi
Esukey burom kone kuparepare
Fujamara fe naam furingool mi
Kujanga buroom kone kuparepare

Yo ekimi Adama, Adama, Adama
Adama jipare manujool
Yo ekimi Adama, Adama, Adama
Adama jipare manujool

Kukambani kuaalo bee kagoonse
Dumia ye filaaye naam beteeni

Adama, prepare yourselves to come home
When the dry season comes
All the village says they are ready
When the dry season comes
All the young women say they are ready

That's why Adama, Adama, Adama
Adama, prepare yourself to go
That's why Adama, Adama, Adama
Adama, prepare yourself to go

All the young people come to counsel
The future will be difficult
Groupe Fogny: Between Troupe and Orchestre

Groupe Fogny took shape for the first time in 1995, and eventually achieved a national and international profile that surpassed the regional appeal of Orchestre Casamance and the New Casamance Band. The group is named for the Fogny region of the Upper Casamance and for its homonym *efon*, meaning "to sing" in the Jola Fogny dialect. Musically speaking, Groupe Fogny is firmly grounded in the traditional song and dance genres of that region, while also incorporating influences from Congolese popular music, Caribbean *zouk*, and Cuban *montuno*. As such, they are probably the first and certainly the most enduring popular music group to be grounded primarily in Jola music culture, as opposed to the more regional and multiethnic approach of earlier Casamançais popular music groups. Groupe Fogny released their first of four albums in 1998, followed by a series of European tours beginning in 2004 and an East Asian tour in 2012. Today, the band is based in Dakar and performs a handful of concerts annually in Senegal and The Gambia.

Groupe Fogny is the brainchild of Momodou Dieme, a tall and strong-willed man with a storied life. Born on Christmas Eve in the Fogny village of Baila in 1947, Dieme grew up at a time when the village was transitioning from Catholicism and the Awasena Path to a clear Muslim majority. His Muslim relatives called him Momodou; his Catholic relatives called him Noel; and his Awasena relatives called him Adjua. His father was known as a prolific composer of songs for the *bukut* circumcision ceremony. Dieme himself composed melodies on the way to Koranic school and, later, on the way to theater rehearsals at a Canadian-funded Catholic school. At age ten, he hid out in the forest for a week to avoid being sent to Dakar, which felt like "the bush" compared to his close-knit village community. While his father and uncle covertly aided his escape, his mother and grandmother were so determined that he receive a formal education.
that they bound his hands behind his back and personally deposited him on a sept-place transport to Dakar. There, he lived with his grandfather, a radio repairman whose occupation sparked Dieme's lifelong love of the Caribbean and American popular musics that came wafting in on the airwaves. After a brief stint in the merchant marines in France, he returned to Senegal to serve in the marines as a quartermaster. Dieme quickly ascended through the ranks and eventually became the personal chef and attendant of the president of Senegal, in which capacity he worked for thirty years in service of Presidents Léopold Sédar Senghor, Abdou Diouf, and Abdoulaye Wade. Among the many adventures of his career, Dieme recalls jocularly ribbing Senghor based on the joking cousin relationship of the Jola and Serer ethnic groups; comforting kindly First Lady Viviane Wade as she constantly faced her fear of flying; and slyly observing negotiations for the independence of Portugal's African colonies while serving dinner.

Dieme's personal experience at the center of Senegalese democracy can be felt in the way Groupe Fogny is structured and managed. Dieme himself serves as President and Founder of the group. His role is to purchase and maintain musical instruments, provide rehearsal space, arrange high-level bookings, contribute lyrics and song ideas, and oversee all band operations. He does not perform. Below Dieme are the Manager (originally Diibril Dieme; currently Bacary Coly), and Musical Director (Tony Conté), a team of band assistants, and the performing members of the band. Dieme's leadership style mirrors that of other Senegalese presidents in that he sometimes treads perilously close to autocracy, and brooks no opposition. For example, former manager (and Dieme's nephew) Diibril Dieme allegedly quit the band after Dieme punched him in the face during a disagreement over tour policies. During a rehearsal I attended in 2015, he criticized the band's performance with such vitriol that one of the singers fled the room in tears and the rest of the band refused to continue. After Dieme banned two members of the band from
an upcoming performance because they skipped a sound check (both to attend funeral services),
the rest of the group held a private meeting and decided to confront him for going too far. Facing
down this rebellion, Dieme hotly chastised the band using the language of political policy: he
warned the band that he was "no weak leader;" that, in fact, he had been far too "laissez-faire" in
his approach to band management; and that he would decide how to "sanction" them after the
conclusion of the concert. Clearly, Dieme's idea of a musical group is deeply emplotted in his
idea of African democracy.

As a predominantly Jola band working in Senegal and abroad, Groupe Fogny balances a
complex set of issues regarding representation. Their use of electric instruments and international
musical influences would seem to position them as an orchestre, the Senegalese term for a
popular music group that originated with visits by American jazz orchestras and Cuban montuno
orchestras in the 1950s. On the other hand, their use of ethnic dress both in Senegal and abroad
and their particularly strong reliance on specifically Jola musical ideas positions them as a
troupe, a term denoting folkloric music, dance, and theater groups that lightly adapt participatory
traditional music practices for presentational settings in national festivals or tourist venues. The
use of the generic term groupe in the band's name reflects this ambiguity. Part of this balance
stems from the position of Jolas as ethnic minorities in Senegal. Senegalese musicians from all
ethnic groups are accustomed to toying with audience expectations of difference during
European and American tours, most obviously by crafting elaborate outfits that may or may not
be based on traditional ethnic dress. Within Senegal, however, popular musicians generally strive
to exemplify the sleek, urbane dress code of Dakar's fashion scene. Jolas, however, are perceived
as different even within Senegal; as discussed in the previous chapter, their perception as
Senegal's "real Africans" plays into the perception of the Casamance as a repository of ancient
ethnic traditions rather than modern innovation. Jolas therefore play the role of "internal others" common to many nations.

A subtle interplay of audience expectations and self-exotification drives Groupe Fogny's decisions around representation. I attended a Groupe Fogny performance in April 2015 in which this was a subject of much discussion and some conflict. The performance setting was a fundraiser for Allez Casa, a group supporting sports in the Casamance, at a large nightclub in Dakar's downtown Plateau neighborhood. Attendees were primarily middle-aged, middle-class families with personal ties to the Casamance; men wore suits and ties and women wore elegant matching dresses and headscarves. Paying 20,000 CFA (about $40) per performer, this was a profitable and prestigious gig, which had been preceded by a full week of intense and sometimes contentious rehearsals. During the sound check, Groupe Fogny's two female singers, Marie Sane and Awa Sadjo, arrived wearing beautifully tailored silk dresses. Sane wore a wig of long, curly black hair gracefully piled into a trendy up-do, while Sadjo, who also performs hip hop under the name Sista Awa, wore her hair in short braids as she always does. Momodou Dieme sternly reminded them that they would soon have to change into their performance outfits: a swath of indigo-dyed cotton wrapped around the waist; a narrow piece of the same cloth wrapped around the bust with small gourds forming an external brassiere; and long strings of beads around the waist and crisscrossing the torso (Figure 36). This type of dress, in particular the indigo-dyed cotton, has become iconic of the Jola ethnicity in Senegal and The Gambia, and is frequently used in Jola touristic and folkloric performances. The two women nodded their acquiescence. Dieme then asked Sane to change her wig, saying that her current choice was neither "traditional" nor "authentic." Sane refused, arguing that because this event was a soirée it was perfectly acceptable to look "modern." Dieme reminded her of the shorter, beaded wig she wore
during their most recent European tour, saying that "toubabs [white people] know what looks natural." Sane fired back: "This isn't Europe." At this point, Guinean-born musical director Tony Conté joined the fray, agreeing that it was unnecessary to wear "costumes" at a soirée and that he felt strange wearing the men's outfit (a red cloth cap and a large swath of the same indigo-dyed cotton wrapped over one shoulder) because he was not Jola. The keyboard player, a Jola from the Lower Casamance, chimed in that he was proud to wear the traditional outfit of his people.

Another small crisis occurred when the band's regular bugarabu player cancelled at the last minute. Dieme told me that the bugarabu was not strictly sonically necessary since the trap drummer could carry the beat, but that it was vital part of the visual presentation because they are "a Jola group." The bugarabu was already set up at the front of the stage, making it the most visually prominent element of the ensemble next to singers Sane and Sadjo. Thinking fast, Momodou recruited one of the band assistants, a young and relatively inexperienced percussionist, to play bugarabu and instructed the sound crew to keep it low in the mix.

Groupe Fogny began their first set after midnight. The audience responded enthusiastically to the group's syncretic incorporation of several musical genres, displaying a sensitive understanding of each song's primary rhythmic pulse by switching nimbly between Jola, salsa, and mbalax dance styles. Their slick suits and fashionable dresses made a stark contrast with the performers' ethnic dress. Near the beginning of the band's second set, the building's electricity abruptly cut out, rendering the band's electric instruments useless. The audience groaned and began to move toward the chairs set up at the back of the hall. Unfazed, Sane and Sadjo leapt down from the stage and began passing out pairs of bamboo wuleaw clappers, which they had brought along apparently for just such an occasion. The young bugarabu player, heretofore all but inaudible in the amplified mix, struck up a rhythm and
received a roar of approval from the crowd. Singing at the top of their lungs, Sane and Sadjo joined in with a traditional Jola song based on a simple pentatonic melody and composed primarily of vocables, allowing the crowd to join in call-and-response almost immediately. The crowd formed a circle and took turns entering the center to dance athletically, spurred on by the double-time rhythm of *wuleaw* and hand clapping. While the electrified portion of the *soirée* situated the performers and audience within a cosmopolitan network of Black Atlantic sounds and body movements, this acoustic interlude brought typically Jola musical practices from rural Casamance into urban Dakar. When the lights came back on twenty minutes later, Groupe Fogny finished their electrified set with renewed enthusiasm from the crowd. Wrapping up around four in the morning, the concert was a resounding success – but, nonetheless, Sane and Conté privately confided that they were on the verge of quitting the band because of Dieme's tyrannical antics during rehearsals and the sound check.

*Figure 36. Awa Sadjo and Marie Sane perform in ethnic dress with Groupe Fogny. Photo by the author, 19 May 2015.*
Groupe Fogny's repertoire is steeped in Jola culture, with lyrics referencing Jola proverbs, the Jola work ethic, the role of kuñalena spiritual midwives, Jola family relationships, and other aspects of village life. The group's repertoire also includes a number of songs in tribute to high-profile Senegalese and Jola public figures, many of whom Dieme knows personally: former President Léopold Sédar Senghor, former First Lady Elizabeth Diouf, Senegalese Jola architect Pierre Goudiaby, football advisor Sadia Cissé, Senegalese diplomat César Coly, former Mayor of Ziguinchor Robert Sagna, and Casamançais politician Landing Savané, among others. Other songs speak to war and poverty across the African continent, and to general religious themes that reflect Dieme's experience that "Islam and Christianity are basically the same." The band has also arranged a handful of songs in international styles: the American blues "Mean Woman," the Spanish folk song "La Corrida," and the ubiquitous Cuban "Guantanamera," which Groupe Fogny sings in Casamançais Portuguese Creole.

Several of Groupe Fogny's lyrics make reference to the Casamance conflict, which was at its most violent in the years surrounding the band's formation. Such references unanimously support peace and Senegalese national integrity (as opposed to Casamançais independence). With some notable exceptions, the Fogny region has generally sided with the Senegalese federal government throughout the Casamance conflict, with many households making a point to prominently display one or more portraits of the Senegalese president in their living rooms. Dieme's personal proximity to these very presidents has doubtless also contributed to the band's pro-integrity stance. Two Groupe Fogny compositions making direct reference to the conflict are "Casadimança" and "Kelumaku." The nickname "Casadimança" is a play on the Portuguese-Creole phrase casa di mansa ("house of the ruler"), which is sometimes floated as an alternative etymology for the region's name. The song vividly describes the toll the Casamance conflict has
taken on the region through the perspective of a narrator returning to his natal region after many years of absence. As the song progresses, the narrator's obvious love for the Casamance is framed within a narrative of progress for both the Senegalese nation and the Casamance region. The lyrics alternate between French and Wolof before switching to Jola Fogny for the final two verses, making them accessible to nearly every Senegalese listener. Such multilingualism is typical of Jola popular music compositions, and is arguably a practice of Afropolitanism in that it demonstrates both an individual's belonging to a specific place and his or her ability to speak to other places. The song is based on a major I-IV-V-IV groove, moving at a strolling pace over off-beat reggae guitar chords.

[French]
Je n'ai jamais compris
Je n'ai jamais compris
Tout ce qui se passe en Casadimança

Après tant d'années d'absence
Je suis retourné dans ma région
O, qu'elle a vraiment changé
Je ne l'ai même plus reconnu
Elle est devenue un champ de guerre

O o Casadimança

[Wolof]
Yow mi nexon Casadimança
Yow mi nexon Casadimança
Tey bo démmon Casadimança
Do tulo xammé finganexon

Ndaxté ndaxté
Casamance yakuna
Ndaxté ndaxté
Casamance yakuna

[French]
Des femmes abandonnées
Casadimança
Des villages désertés
Casadimança
Des rizieres abandonées
Casadimança
Des enfants orphelins
Casadimança

[Wolof]
Gaañi kaayleen ŋu boolo
Gaañi kaayleen ŋu boolo

Daañu wara bolo
Sénégal am doolé
Ngir ŋu mena ligeey
Suũu Casadimança

Ndaxté ndaxté
Casamance warul ŋaw
Ndaxté ndaxté
Casamance warul ŋaw

[Jola]
Kunifane kati Sénégal
Jibeneen jilaaw a a
Wuli kuñolul jiyokééné
Siñayoli nanonaan a bururene

Alama dua jabila
Sénégal labango yemmira
Alama dua jabila o
Casamance labango yemmira

I have never understood
I have never understood
All that happened in Casadimança

After so many years of absence
I returned to my region
O, how it really changed
I no longer recognized it
It has become a battlefield

O o Casadimança

You who know Casadimança
You who know Casadimança
Today if you return to Casadimança
You will no longer know where you are

Because, because
Casamance is broken
Because, because
Casamance is broken

Wives abandoned
Casadimança
Villages deserted
Casadimança
Rice fields abandoned
Casadimança
Children orphaned
Casadimança

Gather together friends
Gather together friends

Increase development
So that Senegal can be strong
So that we can work
For our Casadimança

Because, because
Casamance doesn't need to be ugly
Because, because
Casamance doesn't need to be ugly

Wise people of Senegal
Increase your prayers
Our young people tire of us
Our mothers cry everyday

May God hear your prayers
For a bright future for Senegal
May God hear your prayers
For a bright future for Casamance

"Kelumaku" addresses the Casamance conflict in even more direct terms. The song begins with a disheartening image of the elusiveness of lasting peace, reflecting that the conflict already seemed interminable by the mid-nineties. Soon enough, though, President Abdoulaye Wade enters in the song's chorus, here cast as an amansa ("king") through a Jolified term based
on the old Mandinka title for precolonial Casamançais rulers (*mansa*). In the song, Wade is situated within a complicated network of family obligations. The lyrics name his wife, Viviane, and children, Karim and Sindiély, all of whom Dieme knows personally and all of whom have become prominent Senegalese figures in their own right. Wade is also identified as an *asampul*, a Jola term denoting a male relative from the mother's side of the family. This particular familial identity is further cemented by referring to Wade as a member of the Dabo line, invoking the family name of Wade's mother. Although Jola society is patrilineal, a child's maternal uncles carry special responsibilities for arranging education, housing, and marriage. The lyrics thus cast Wade in a familial position with particular responsibility to care for the Casamance and, at the same time, a family position to which Casamançais Jolas are obligated to pay deference. Dieme also situates Wade's strategies for peace within specifically Jola concepts. His primary action in the text is to call for *kajamoor* ("mutual understanding" or "dialogue") under the *kelumak*. In the Jola Fogny dialect, the term *kelumak* refers to a village quarter (as a synonym to *kalol*) and, more specifically, to the large tree that inevitably grows in the center of a village quarter's primary gathering ground. Francophone Jolas often translate *kelumak* as *l'arbre à palabre* ("the palaver tree") in reference to the tree's role as a shady focal point for the community to gather and chat in the afternoon and evening. Beyond this literal meaning, the palaver tree has been invoked as an African mode of conflict resolution, one that entails a communitarian ethos of open negotiation and gathering (Bujo 1998, 2003). As Scheid writes, "palaver-based commitments intersect with goals of postconflict reconciliation: a commitment to open communication, especially truth-telling; a commitment to memory or developing a shared sense of the past; and a commitment to reconciliation at the communal level" (2011:17). Dieme's evocation of the *kelumak* thus calls for a resolution to the Casamance conflict through a specifically Jola mode of community-
building that resonates with more generally African modes of sociality. Finally, Dieme's lyrics imbue Wade with an indomitable work ethic, one of the primary aspects of the Jola ethical system. Wade "will not rest" until he achieves lasting peace, and in the final couplet he advises the listener to move from unproductive passivity ("worrying settles nothing") to action ("it's time to work").

Fulengafu purulo di yintame Sénégal
Ni yiitomi përekët neene tirabé kamate injé

Sawute siliwëm
Ni manormanor, manosane ijukute
Ijukute kajunkute kawambuloyé Kasamas
Injé dérimé yati futikafu nibaji

Asampul amansa
Naané kajamoor
Ablaye Wade, Dabo kubajol

Asampul amansa
Naringul nawonké béri kélumaku naké kajamoor
Ablaye Wade Dabo kubajol
Dabo kunda yommi elupool
Asekool Viviane di kuñolool

Karim Wade, Sinjëli nirégé
Kuwoyulwoyul manosane lemo
Maitre Wade naané jikoboom
Fasim fukatute kayuwo sindool
Kamoor kuléété
Kasumaay babjute
Rori kam mi naané kajamoor

Fiũne fujakute
Burokab ringring

Every time a glimmer appears in Senegal
I am ecstatic and tell myself that the day of peace is born

It was a dream that awoke my wandering
I have so long searched, but not seen it
I do not see a way out of the Casamance crisis
I who was born in the terrible war
Man of the mother's family, king
Speaks understanding
Ablaye Wade [i.e., former President Abdoulaye Wade], born of the Dabo [the Soninké family name of Wade's mother]

Man of the mother's family, king
He comes to call them to dialogue under the kelumak tree
Ablaye Wade, born of the Dabo
The Dabo family is his
His wife Viviane and his children

Karim Wade and Sindiély [Wade's son and daughter] I speak of
They advise him to rest
Maitre Wade says, "I refuse"
As long as blood flows in their home
I will not rest
Peace will not come
Until we can understand each other

Worrying settles nothing
It's time to work

Another Groupe Fogny composition, "Bouyédietabou," speaks eloquently to a Jola perspective on environmentalism. In the song's lyrics, local environmental degradation is simultaneously emplotted within a public narrative of continental climate change and within an indigenous Jola worldview stemming from the Awasena Path. The lyrics vividly evoke the expansion of the Sahara desert, as well as efforts to stop or slow it by planting new forests. Dieme translates this as reforestation, a more technical term evoking international discourse on climate change. Dieme's lyrics also suggest that "there is nothing to do but build fences," a reference to the international West African project to plant a "great green wall" of trees protecting the Sahel from the advance of the Sahara, an initiative proposed by Nigerian president Olusegun Obasanjo and publicly embraced by Abdoulaye Wade (Hertsgaard 2011). The song also addresses the consequences of climate change through an Awasena worldview in which trees, water, and other natural entities possess an animating life force or buyejitabu ("spirit"). In
this context, the numerous personifications in the lyrics are not merely literary devices but literal evocations of non-human entities: the desert is "invited into our home" and threatens to "consume us;" anxiety is "brought by the forest;" the bush "weeps;" and, at last, "the people are orphans of the forest." The song's relatively sparse arrangement derives rhythmic pulse from a cowbell hitting every downbeat, alternating with off-beat bugaragu hand drums and synthesized keyboard in rhythmic unison. The numerous repetitions of the word buyejitabu that close the song are accompanied by a I-V-I-V progression, with an electric guitar playing an ostinato patterned after montuno-style piano and the bugarabu player taking a series of short solos that, in live performance, respond to the dancers in the audience. Hammering home the song's environmental message, these repetitions of buyejitabu urge listeners to embrace a perspective in which the natural world is composed of spirits and their physical manifestations, and is therefore deserving of the utmost respect and protection.

Ee
Jijanténé
Mani lobul wabaaje sindoolaal
Kareng kubajut karamba

Ee
Ubarawu buroom batinge
Batinge bété kaane
Bujek kayakus kuringoolo sindoolaal

Ee
Bukut buringoolo
Kajumoor mati kareng kuleebó
Ekaane kafata kuringoolaa

Ee
Mori mamege muléébo
Karamba kolééool kusasaay
Bujek sijumkute sikaani

Ee
Jisoonlo fukéné
Uregawu manu lileena
Ñéémé ubarewu bala kayakus kufagoolaa

Ee
Boteeniboteeni sindoolaal
Bukanaku burom kusukaténé
Karamba kugane mukanaay yoola

Ee
Uneena uyeditawu tine ta koone
Manu rokal sindoolaal
Mantee mumel mulaañool

Buyéjitabo boleelaal fi
Buyéjitabo [x14]

Yes
Listen
What we have in our home now
There are no more forests in the bush

Yes
All the trees are chopped down
Chopped down for charcoal
This invites the desert into our home

Yes
When the initiation arrives
The anxiety is brought by the forest
There is nothing to do but build fences

Yes
Many wild fruits have disappeared
The bush is dry
Made into charcoal and furniture

Yes
Remember yesterday
The large, dense forests
As motivation for reforestation before the desert consumes us

Yes
It's pitiful in our home
The people are orphans of the forest
The bush weeps for our behavior
Yes
Gather together our minds
Work together in our home
For the return of the water

The spirit is far from here
The spirit [x14]

**Joël Maligny Bassene: You Always Return Home at Night**

While Groupe Fogny found success beginning in the 1990s through Momodou Dieme's thoughtful lyrics, financial backing, and relentless drive, Joël Maligny Bassene represents a younger generation of Jola musicians who have struggled to earn a living through a combination of creativity, talent, versatility, and hustle (Figure 37). Bassene was born in 1970 in Djifengor, where his mother had travelled to seek the assistance of an añalena, and raised in the village of Enampor, part of a village cluster in the western Lower Casamance called Banjaal. He attributes his lifelong love of music to his father, even though neither ever saw the other play. Bassene's father was known as a skillful composer of songs for traditional events such as ekonkon wrestling matches and bukut circumcision ceremonies, and was also one of the last men in the Banjaal area to regularly play ekonting (called ehoting in the Banjaal dialect). He was forcibly conscripted into the French military during WWII and, as Joël tells it, "When he got back, he didn't want to play anymore. It's like that sometimes."

Bassene attended primary school in Ziguinchor, marking the beginning of his voracious interest in popular musics from the African continent and the Black Atlantic. At that time, he remembers listening to Americans James Brown, Otis Redding, and the Jackson Five; Congolese Papa Wemba and Tabu Ley; Ivorian Ernesto DjéDjé, Cameroonian Manu Dibango; Gabonese Pierre Akendengué; Kenyan Shirati Jazz; and South African Miriam Makeba (living in exile in
Guinea at the time). In addition to the local radio stations, Bassene would trade anything he had in exchange for records and cassettes, brought back from Dakar by older friends and other students who lived in Dakar and returned to Enampor to work the rice fields during the summer break. As Bassene describes, familiarity with these international popular musics was an important marker of social distinction: "Dancing to American music was really in style then. You knew someone who could dance to funk had class." He would also sneak out to hear live music whenever visiting bands were in town, at one point receiving encouragement from Pape Fall of African Salsa. All this he kept from his family. "I totally hid my interest in music because back in the kingdom [of Banjaal], it's seen poorly," explains. "It's for griots, you know."

Like Momodou Dieme, Bassene's parents sent him to live with relatives in Dakar to attend middle school and high school. Their house had a television, increasing Bassene's familiarity with Jimi Hendrix, Eric Clapton, and Carlos Santana. He marveled over Michael Jackson's dancing, thinking, "That guy must be supernatural." He began to learn snippets of English by memorizing the lyrics of Jimmy Cliff, Bob Marley, and Elton John. The bass guitar particularly caught his ear, and he did his best to follow the work of Cameroonian bassists Richard Bona and Étienne M'Bappé and Americans Charles Mingus, Marcus Miller, and Jaco Pastorius. At the time, Dakar was in the early years of its fertile adoption of hip hop, with pioneering groups such as Positive Black Soul, Daara J, and Gokh-Bi System becoming active. "Everyone wanted to be like Tupac," Bassene recalls, and he himself briefly adopted MC Hammer's distinctive hairstyle (though not, fortunately, his signature parachute pants).
In 1986, Bassene decided to leave high school and pursue an education in music at the École Nationale des Arts in Dakar. He only worked up the courage to tell his father two weeks before the start of classes, and, even then, he did not dare tell his older sister. She found out anyway and was furious that Bassene would pursue such a dishonorable career path; only his father's mediation managed to repair the relationship between the two. Bassene's father died a few weeks later, never having heard Bassene perform. In one of their final telephone conversations, Bassene remembers his father looking at a picture of the contrabass he was then learning to play and joking that, "It's just a big ekonting." Despite his interest in the contrabass, Bassene switched to guitar after a teacher at the École Nationale advised him that he would never be able to afford one of his own after graduation. He studied with Belgian guitarist Pierre.
Bounamaux, who had in turn studied in the United States. Bassene graduated with duel
certificates in solfege and traditional music, and with proficiency in guitar, piano, kora, and
balafon. As a young man in Dakar, he played with several orchestres de variété and briefly
worked as Director of Education at a short-lived private music school. In 2008, he joined Groupe
Fogny as a keyboard player during their tour of the Netherlands, his first and only time leaving
the African continent. After the tour, he returned to the Casamance to work on an album with
French-Guinea-Bissauan musician Patrice Gomis. He then decided to stay in the Casamance. In
explaining this decision, he uses a Jola proverb: Najawe kajaburung di kafunafun mati elaañ bóot di fukara ("You may travel during the day, but you always return home at night").

Today, Bassene lives in the coastal village of Kabrousse in the Lower Casamance with
his fiancée and infant son. Although he performs frequently in the tourist center of Cap Skirring
a short commute away, he struggles to make ends meet. Bassene rents a room in a simple house
with intermittent running water and electricity, for which he pays 15,000 CFA (about $30) a
month. Transportation to and from Cap Skirring by collective taxi costs 100 CFA each way,
though he frequently has to take a private taxi home after a late night gig, costing 500 CFA.
During the tourist season, which runs from November to April or May, he often plays six nights
a week with two different orchestres de variété in Cap Skirring's handful of bars and hotels,
earning 10,000 CFA in a good week. During the 2015 season, however, the combination of a
newly imposed visa requirement for European and American visitors to Senegal and the ebola
epidemic in Guinea, Sierra-Leone, and Liberia reduced the numbers of tourists in Senegal by
between twenty and fifty percent (World Bank 2014, 2015). Several hotels remained closed
throughout the tourist season, and Bassene found himself playing to drastically reduced
audiences two or three nights a week. Accordingly, he has had trouble finding reliable band
members who are willing to rehearse reggae, salsa, and zouk standards instead of simply showing up for gigs, not to mention learning to play Bassene's original compositions. During the rainy season from June to September, most hotels in the region shut down, often leaving Bassene unable to find work. He usually spends this time in his family's home in Enampor, but in 2015 he found a temporary job teaching music one day a week at the École Française in Kabrousse, a low-paying and short-term job he nonetheless feels lucky to have. Bassene also still performs with Groupe Fogny on the rare occasions when they have a well-paying performance in Dakar, such as the soirée I attended in April 2015. This performance required an eighteen-hour boat trip on each end of a week's work in exchange for 20,000 CFA.

Reflecting on the state of music in the Casamance, the normally soft-spoken and upbeat Bassene becomes visibly agitated. He worries that "traditional Jola music is still alive, but it's in the process of dying little by little because so many instruments are leaving, so many songs are being forgotten, so many dances are disappearing." For Bassene, mixing traditional Jola music with internationally popular styles represents a way to breathe new life into traditional music. He regrets that there are few musicians or producers left in the region to pursue this project. "Unfortunately, almost all the Casamançais musicians who have been successful have left for Europe, or they have formed groups with people from there," he says. "And no orchestre has had a producer. Even Orchestre Casamance never had a producer. Voila. They're sometimes financed by an individual or by themselves to record an album, but then there's no promotion and there are no [video] clips. […] We never had that chance like people who play mbalax in Dakar." Bassene is a strong supporter of peace in the Casamance, but he nevertheless feels that the Senegalese federal government has deliberately underdeveloped the Casamance in comparison to Dakar. "Really I think it's a problem of means (moyen; i.e., resources and infrastructure) that is killing
music in the Casamance. There is a sort of ethnic discrimination. You know, a people without a
culture are nothing. If you really want to silence someone, you have to close their mouth. If you
tell someone not to speak, fine, but once they're out working in the bush they can still sing. And
if they sing, that melody goes out to other ears. So, you can't allow people to keep singing. It's
like that." At one point, Bassene considered giving up music altogether when he broke a guitar
string and had no way to replace it without taking the ferry to Dakar. The lack of wealth and
infrastructure in the Casamance has indeed been a major deterrent to musical activity of all
kinds.

Just as Bassene views syncretic popular music as the only hope for the continued practice
of traditional music, he believes the opposite is just as true. In his words, "I think popular music
really needs traditional music today to stay alive. If not, it will die. They've heard all the popular
rhythms already. But if you mix it with traditional instruments, it becomes something different.
If you give a solo to a traditional instrument, it becomes another thing." For Bassene, the novelty
of traditional Jola music gives it particular market value. As he explains, "I know that if I put
together some traditional Jola music, people will pay more attention to me than to Mandinka
music because they've already heard that. Their music has already been exported. […] When you
go to a funeral [in a Jola village] and you hear the music, or you go to Banjaal and hear the
women sing, you say to yourself, 'No, it can't be.' You'll say to yourself, 'I've never heard this
before.'" This belief informs Bassene's dream of creating a band that uses only traditional
instruments from the Casamance. In an interesting reversal of earlier modes of syncretism, in
which electric instruments are played in the style of traditional instruments, Bassene's group
would substitute traditional instruments for the typical line-up of an electric orchestre: an
ekonting playing the role of the electric guitar, a bolong harp for the bass guitar, a balafon for the
keyboard, a gourd for the shakers, and a *bombolong* slit log drum and double-headed *bahan* drum for the trap drums. "I want to make something here that we can export ourselves without having to move there," he says, with his use of the French word *exporter* indicating how his love of music is also emplotted in a narrative of economic resources and national dependency. For the time being, however, this dream is prevented by a lack of resources and personnel: there are few traditional instruments for sale, there is no money to buy them, and all the musicians who play them well are working in Europe or Dakar.

In accordance with his wide-ranging musical taste and experience, Bassene's compositions span a range of stylistic influences and subject matter. His repertoire includes reggae songs with English choruses, harmonic minor folk ballads for acoustic guitar with Portuguese Creole lyrics, and up-tempo dance songs in the *cabo* style of Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verde, among others. He most commonly composes in the Jola language (especially the Banjaal dialect), and his interest in acoustic instruments is always obvious.

Bassene's composition "Assanoume" promotes a Jola concept of wealth that is based in land, rice, and natural resources rather than cash. He describes the song as a response to the increasing numbers of people (and especially musicians) who are permanently moving from Casamançais villages to Dakar or Europe; like Papis Danfa, he uses the term *exode rural* to situate this local issue within a continental context. The lyrics make reference to *ahula*, a Banjaal term for a young man who has not yet been circumcised or initiated into full-fledged adulthood. Such young people are those most likely to migrate to Dakar, and they frequently also complain of political and economic disenfranchisement in the face of Jola gerontocracy. The simple phrase *ahula asanom* ("the uncircumcised young man is rich") pithily reverses these concerns by casting young people as inheritors of a valuable patrimony of land, water, and sustenance. Given
Bassene's constant struggle to make ends meet, this reframing of wealth from cash to patrimony carries poignant personal significance as well. The lyrics make clear that the path to such wealth is, in true Jola fashion, hard work: *umanja burokabo, au panubaj utin* ("if you want to work, you will have food"). Bassene's lyrics are notable for their creative economy, repeating words and grammatical structures to poetic effect. The repetitive structure of the first stanza, in particular, demonstrates how Jola grammatical rules of noun-verb agreement produce a series of alliterative sound echoes: *biitabo bujipojipo / karamba kujipojipo / mula mujipojipo* ("there are many rice fields / there are many forests / there are many rivers"). With its upbeat message and fast tempo, the song is well suited to accompany youthful dancing.

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Inje asanom
Umanja ewan ema, biitabo bujipojipo
Umanja ejaw kawa, karamba kujipojipo
Umanja esof siolasa, mula mujipojipo
Mokaami nenuul inje asanom

Kutiom nireguul Casamance esuk esume
Umanja burokabo, au panubaj utin
Ahula nabaje emano balool bitiyo

O ahula, ee asanom
Ahula niine, ahula sembe
Ahula niine, ahula asanom

Utokool nehemba
Utokool nimula
Utokool nibiitabo
Ahula ee asanom
Ee ahula ee ahula ee asanom
```

I am a rich man
If you want to grow rice, there are many rice fields
If you want to go harvest palm wine, there are many forests
If you want to fish, there are many rivers
That's why I say I am a rich man

I told my friends, Casamance is a good village
If you want to work, you will have food
Ahula has so much rice that termites eat it

O ahula, yes, is a rich man
Ahula is a man, ahula is strong
Ahula is a man, ahula is rich

When you're in the forest
When you're by the river
When you're in the rice fields
Ahula, yes, is a rich man
Yes, ahula, yes, ahula, is a rich man

In contrast to Momodou Dieme, Bassene is generally sympathetic to the cause of Casamançais independence, viewing the Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de Casamance (MFDC) as a legitimate political party fighting an anti-colonial war of independence. Given the length of the conflict and its tragic cost in human life and environmental degradation, however, Bassene is a strong proponent for peace. His composition "Chanson pour la paix" ("Song for Peace") addresses these concerns. The repeated phrase ujamooraale, which can be translated as "let's understand each other" or "let's speak to each other," calls not only for reconciliation but also negotiations for peace. He then laments that Casamance esore ("Casamance is dispersed"), referring both to the literal movement of political and economic refugees to Dakar and The Gambia and to the disparate hardline positions of Casamançais people both for and against Casamançais independence. The next phrase, Casamance esuyanoor banwolaal [...] / furim fanool foofu jaye esenolaal magen tanotan sembe ("Casamance is a single people [...] / a single voice gives us strength everywhere in the world"), reflects the Afropolitan perspective that strong identification with a particular group (in this case, a unified Casamançais population as a whole) is compatible with engagement far beyond that group's borders. The song ends by naming several Casamançais public figures, including the former and present Mayor of Ziguinchor (Robert Sagna and Abdoulaye "Ablaye" Baldé) and several MFDC leaders (Ata Bajate, Salif
Sadjo, Daniel Diatta, Abdou Elinkine Diatta, Laurent Diatta, and Marcel Bassene), each personally called to peace with the phrase *ujamooraale*. Finally, Bassene names the deceased historical figures Émile Badiane and Ibou Diallo, two of the founding members of the original MFDC at the time of Senegalese independence, and Aline Sitoué Diatta, the young rain priestess also commemorated by Papis Danfa. These three names are followed by the phrase *to nafintome nisumool* ("here [in the present] they would be happy"). In association with Badiane and Diallo, Diatta is here cast as a supporter of Casamançais independence and a historical founder of the MFDC *avant la lettre*. Bassene typically sings this song in solo, his lilting voice interacting in light polyphony with an elegant acoustic guitar melody inspired by his early love for the influential Congolese fingerstyle guitarist Jean Bosco Mwenda.

\[
\begin{align*}
Arretons\ la\ guerre,\ &ujamooraal \\
Ujamooraal \\
Arretons\ la\ guerre,\ &ujamooraal \\
Ujamooraal \\
\hline
Kutiom\ jisaboore,\ Casamance\ esore \\
Kutiom\ jisaboore,\ Casamance\ esore \\
\hline
Casamance\ esuk\ yanoor\ ban\ wolaal\ bugan\ ganoor \\
Ukaanaal\ furim\ fanool\ mata\ furim\ fanool\ foofu\ jaye\ esenolaal\ magen\ tanotan\ sembe \\
\hline
Ata\ Bajate,\ ujamooraale \\
Salif\ Sadjo,\ ujamooraale \\
Robert\ Sagna,\ ujamooraale \\
Ablaye\ Baldé,\ ujamooraale \\
Daniel\ Ditta,\ ujamooraale \\
Abdou\ Elinkine,\ ujamooraale \\
Laurent\ Diatta,\ ujamooraale \\
Marcel\ Bassene,\ ujamooraale \\
Émile\ Badiane \\
Ibou\ Diallo \\
Aline\ Sitoué \\
To\ nafintome\ nisumool \\
\end{align*}
\]

Let's stop the war, understand each other
Understand each other
Let's stop the war, understand each other
Understand each other

My friends, forgive us, Casamance is dispersed
My friends, forgive us, Casamance is dispersed

Casamance is a single people and we are all related
We speak in a single voice because a single voice gives us strength everywhere in the world

Ata Bajate, understand each other
Salif Sadjo, understand each other
Robert Sagna, understand each other
Ablaye Baldé, understand each other
Daniel Ditta, understand each other
Abdou Elinkine, understand each other
Laurent Diatta, understand each other
Marcel Bassene, understand each other
Émile Badiane
Ibou Diallo
Aline Sitoué
Here they would be happy

Bassene is frequently recognized in public in the Casamance because of his collaboration with Patrice Gomis, a musician based in Paris whose mother was French and whose father was Guinea-Bissauan. Gomis had travelled to Ziguinchor in 2008 to record an album using audio equipment and musical instruments shipped in from Paris. He met Bassene through the director of the Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise in Ziguinchor, who recommended Bassene because he was able to read Gomis' written arrangements. Calling Bassene "my Sancho Panza" (Gomis 2010), Gomis relied on Bassene to put together a backing band of local musicians, christened the Peace Orchestra. The result of this collaboration was the 2009 album Following, an eclectic mix of Afro-funk and Parisian pop that was a modest success in France. A music video for the single "Protest Song" played numerous times on the regionally broadcast television station Radiodiffusion Télévision Sénégalaise 4 Casamance. The video depicts scenes of Jola village life and Gomis singing with children and members of the Peace Orchesra. At the 3:20 mark, the band
drops out and Gomis says, in English, "Hey Joël, sing something in Jola." Bassene then appears in close-up and sings an *ekonkon* song as a chorus of women in indigo-dyed Jola dress form a responsorial chorus. The band gradually reenters as Bassene continues leading this chorus until the song ends two minutes later. This video "clip" was well received in the Casamance and made Bassene's face familiar to many Casamançais.

Three years after the album's release, Gomis returned to Ziguinchor for a two-week residency at the Alliance Franco-Sénégalaise. Gomis also invited several members of a performance troupe from northeastern Brazil called Coletivo Tribo Étnos, whom he had met previously on tour in France. In addition to playing a series of concerts at the Alliance, Gomis, Bassene, and Coletivo Tribo Étnos worked out a new arrangement to Bassene's composition "Bapalaye" ("Friendship"). Appropriately, the lyrics address the meeting of people from "different sides" (of the ocean, in this case) and cast friendship as a creation of Emité. The *a cappella* performance features Bassene as the lead singer, while Gomis and the Brazilians form a backing choir with three-part harmonies arranged by Coletivo Tribo Étnos member Erivan Araújo. After returning to their respective countries when the residency ended, they decided to make a studio recording of the arrangement, a complicated process that involved recording tracks and emailing them back and forth several times from France to Senegal to Brazil. Coletivo Tribo Étnos describes the experience in terms of a universal human drive to encounter others, with music cast as one of the few arenas where such encounters can create productive dialogue: "Despite the risks of something like this, to put worldviews side by side that seem to be quite different, the language of art has this aggregative force […]. It's probably one of the few human inventions that allows dialogues, and because of that, it all succeeded. All these dimensions implemented the primordial dream of Coletivo Tribo Étnos and all the artists involved in this
project to encounter other cultures and create collective works, taking as propulsive elements the arts of dance, music, and humanistic ideals" (Coletivo Tribo Étnos 2015). Gomis, Bassene, and Coletivo Tribo Étnos christened their collaboration Berimbaobab, a portmanteau combining the names of the Afro-Brazilian instrument berimba and the baobab trees that are ubiquitous in the Casamance.

* Bapaalaay, Emit ekaane bapaalaay
  Bapaalaay, Emit ekaane bapaalaay
  Baabu napurulo, ahu napuruul gagalam
  Baabu napurulo, ahu napuruul gagalam
  Jiemore nisumuul jikaan bapaalaay
  Jiemore nisumuul jikaan bapaalaay
  O ay o ay, o ay o ay
  O ay o ay, o ay o ay

  Friendship, God made friendship
  Friendship, God made friendship
  He came from here, they came from the other side
  He came from here, they came from the other side
  No one forced you to make friendship
  No one forced you to make friendship
  O ay o ay, o ay o ay
  O ay o ay, o ay o ay

**Jean Bosco Goudiaby: We Speak Many Languages**

Today, the fastest-rising star of popular music drawing predominantly from Jola music culture is Jean Bosco Goudiaby. With a career spanning forays into hip hop, presentational arrangements of traditional music, and syncretic experiments with reggae, zouk, salsa, and other international genres, he presently enjoys a loyal following among Casamançais youth. Goudiaby was born in 1977 in Oussouye, a large village in the Kasa region of the Lower Casamance west of Ziguinchor. He was raised in the family of his maternal uncle, who took responsibility for his housing and education in accordance with the asumpul custom. Although Oussouye has a long
history of Catholic influence, Goudiaby was primarily raised in the Awasena Path, which he continues to practice. Despite his uncle's wish for him to receive a thorough education, he left school at age twelve to pursue his love of rap. "I was contaminated by the virus of music a long time ago," he says. "I stopped [school] at the fourth grade. I left when I couldn't listen to the teacher's explanations because I really had music in my head. I was really stuck with music." In addition to rap, Goudiaby developed an early interest in the ekonting. Unlike other skilled ekonting players who identify a specific teacher, Goudiaby attributes his ability to play the instrument to a heritage of both cultural tradition and biology: "Me, I had a grandfather [who played ekonting], so I am a heritage, if you like. I have it in the blood. Because, I have a relative who played a traditional instrument. I came, no one taught me. […] It's a heritage. So I didn't do the school of fine arts. I didn't take music classes. Me, I just played music. Like that [knocks on the table]."

When Goudiaby stopped going to school, he also left Oussouye and moved to The Gambia. Living hand to mouth in Serekunda for the next eight years, he formed a hip hop group called The BBC Boys and managed to self-release an album with twelve tracks. When the album's meager sales failed to recoup production expenses, Goudiaby returned to the Casamance. In 2002, he briefly joined a folkloric troupe playing Jola music for village events and tourist venues, but was asked to leave when he could barely keep up with the rest of the band, an embarrassing experience that pushed him to work hard at improving his skills on the ekonting. Two years later, he returned to the studio to record the album Ewanaay ("Cultivate"), on which he plays ekonting over a mix of synthesized and electric instruments in genres ranging from Jola ekonkon songs to reggae and salsa. The album played on Sud FM, a regional radio station broadcast out of Ziguinchor, and was immediately pirated. Echoing Balla Sidibe's
ambivalence about music piracy, Goudiaby laments that the theft of his music forestalled any hope of album sales, but also feels that it helped raise his profile in Senegal and beyond. "All around the world, they had my music," as he puts it. Among those who heard and appreciated the album was Abdoulaye Baldé, the future mayor of Ziguinchor who was then Secretary-General of the Presidency of the Republic under Abdoulaye Wade. Baldé funded a re-recording and re-release of *Ewanaay*, and another album, *Jompi*, in 2011. In 2014, Goudiaby raised enough money from concert performances to record a third album, *Kwasseen* ("To Pour Libations"), following the same formula of *ekonkon* and other Jola genres layered with electric instrumentation and international genres such as reggae and salsa. By then, Goudiaby had become well-known as a musician in the Casamance, with a particularly strong following among young people.

Speaking of his past career, Goudiaby describes a long string of equipment malfunctions, power outages, perpetually delayed payments, lack of access to instruments, and other discouraging practical challenges. There was, in fact, little to keep him going except his belief in music as both a fulfilling artistic practice and a potentially profitable career. Seeing the example set by the handful of internationally successful Senegalese popular music groups, Goudiaby's passion for music-making became a faith in better times to come despite his present poverty. "Since 1989 until now 2014, almost 2015, I’ve been in music," he reflects. "Unfortunately without anything but that I believe in what I’m doing. […] I believe in the music, and even if I have nothing, you can enrich yourself in music in all moments. You can make a lot of money in music, but you have to believe. So, I believe in music. […] That idea, just that idea, is what pushed me to make music." When I met Goudiaby in 2015, he was raising funds to travel to Dakar, where he hoped to find a producer and a promoter who could arrange a European tour.
Given the large number of musicians trying to follow the same path and the many practical and financial hurdles that stand in their way, I worried that Goudiaby's talent and persistent belief in the idea of music would not be enough to realize his dreams of economic success.

The winning mixture of musical sounds that defines Goudiaby's current sound came out of his brief experience playing in a traditional Jola folkloric troupe. He recalls, "One day, I was with some friends hanging out, sharing a little palm wine, and I said, 'With the ekonting, you can do many things.' They said it wasn’t true. I said, 'Yes, of course it is.' I said, 'Even a reggae, even a zouk, you can play it with the ekonting.' They said it wasn’t true. And so that they would understand that it’s true, I forced myself to get inspired with the ekonting and I recorded a piece in the studio. Then I asked them if they remembered what they had said that time. So, it’s curiosity that pushed me to put out those pieces so that you can understand that he who searches, finds." The ekonting remains at the center of Goudiaby's compositional process, helping him compose suitable melodies and create arrangements for electric instruments. He explains, "First, I write the lyrics. Then I find what’s called the refrain. […] With the refrain, I take my ekonting and I play the refrain. With the refrain, the melody will come. It will come. And that will allow me to arrange the piece well. […] Me, when I play, I leave the ekonting to command the other instruments. It’s the ekonting that’s above the other instruments. Because, the ekonting is the lead singer of my orchestra." While Goudiaby frequently identifies the ekonting as a Jola instrument, and more specifically as a Jola Kasa instrument, he also positions it as part of a broader Casamançais identity. As he puts it, "If you go to the last village on earth and find someone playing the ekonting, you’ll say, 'Man, he’s from the Casamance.' That’s because the ekonting is of the Casamance. It’s a special style for the Casamance." At the same time, Goudiaby sees this specific link to Jola culture and to the Casamance region as the key to
becoming known in the world through expanding channels of communication and travel. Like Rudi Gomis and Balla Sidibe of Orchestre Baobab, he speaks in terms of developing the Casamance's musical riches. "We have a very rich culture in material and value, but no one can exploit it," he explains. "Our old folks and our fathers, when there are little events, they take the ekonting, they play, and then it’s over. I say to myself, 'No.' The world is evolving. With technology evolving day by day, why not try to exploit the ekonting? I won’t say that I am the first to try it. There are others who tried. But with me, it became more serious. […] So, I’m struggling now to try to exploit the ekonting to make the ekonting known in the world."

The majority of Goudiaby's musical and performance cues stem specifically from Jola culture but, as his popularity expands, he draws more and more from other Casamançais music cultures. In turn, the ethnic diversity of the Casamance sets the stage for his engagement with internationally popular genres. Linking his music to distinct but interrelated personal and ethnic identities, he emphasizes that all Casamançais can "find themselves" in his music:

We in the Casamance, there’s the Mandinka style called jambadon. The Fogny have the style that is called bugar. The Banjaal have their style called sitting. We of the Basse Casamance, in Oussouye, we have our style called ekonkon. Voila. When the Mandinka, the Jola Kasa, the Jola Fogny, the Jola Buluf meet each other, they can find each other in the same dance. When you play the ekonkon, the Jola Fogny can dance it, the Mandinka can dance it. When the Mandinkas play the jambadon, the Jola Fogny and the Jola Kasa can dance to it. It’s the same with the bugarabu. When you’re there, you can touch the style, touch the style, touch the style, and everyone can find themselves. Everyone dances. All those people dancing the other day [at a recent concert], they weren’t just Jolas. So I can’t just
play a single style, I play all the styles. But you saw, with each piece that comes, the people dance. With each piece that comes, the people dance! That’s why I don’t play only one style. [...] I do reggae, I do bugar, I do ekonkon, I do jambadon. And all the people find themselves in it. Voila.

As with other musicians who draw from Casamançais musics, Goudiaby contrasts the region's diversity with the perceived homogeneity of northern Senegalese popular music. "Today, people who don't know Senegal think that there is only mbalax," he bemoans. "Here [in the Casamance], there is cultural diversity. In Dakar, it's just mbalax. [...] If it's an mbalax concert, you won't hear anything but mbalax. Mbalax, mbalax, mbalax."

The multifaceted nature of Goudiaby's artistry is reflected in his carefully curated self-presentation (Figure 38). A tall, well-built man who wears his hair in long dreadlocks, Goudiaby's typical performance attire consists of full-body military fatigues in a camouflage fabric, stitched with haphazardly placed squares of the indigo-dyed, striped blue cotton that is iconic of Jola ethnic dress. Although Goudiaby's studio recordings always feature his ekonting playing high in the mix, in live performances in the Casamance the ekonting part is almost always played by a synthesizer keyboard because of the technical challenges of adequately amplifying the quiet ekonting. Instead, in live performances Goudiaby wields a short wooden staff (funuk). Wrapped in reeds and carved in the image of a snake, this staff is an icon of Awasena spiritual power and one of Goudiaby's most treasured possessions. In accordance with Awasena custom, the exact nature of the staff cannot be revealed to the uninitiated, creating an aura of secrecy that both produces and protects the object's power. Goudiaby's choice to wear dreadlocks creates an embodied link to the Black Atlantic culture of reggae music, including dimensions of spirituality, peace, and the centrality of music-making. Goudiaby's military
fatigues initially seem to evoke the Casamance conflict and the Jola ideal of male physical strength, yet these associations are subverted by the patchwork of indigo Jola fabric visually disrupting the camouflage effect. Goudiaby's dreadlocks likewise contradict the bellicose message of his fatigues, with their associations of peace and Black Atlantic solidarity. Off-stage, Goudiaby prefers to wear slacks and crisp button-down shirts, creating an image aligned with his dream of financial prosperity and aspirations of cosmopolitan fame.

As with Groupe Fogny and Joël Maligny Bassene, several of Goudiaby's compositions directly address to the Casamance conflict. Stepping into an explicitly generational role, Goudiaby positions himself as the voice of a generation of struggling Casamançais youth who would prefer to put aside the conflicts of older generations rather than try to resolve them. As he
puts it, "We really need peace in the Casamance. We really, really, really need peace in the
Casamance. [...] We don’t need to know who is wrong, who is wrong. Whether it be the MDFC,
whether it be the government of Senegal, our young people don’t need to know who is wrong.
What interests me is peace in the Casamance, and to see the Casamance developed. And to put
projects in the Casamance to allow our young people to work."

For Goudiaby, making music not only allows him to disseminate a message of peace;
music is itself antithetical to warfare. True to this dichotomy, warfare for Goudiaby is conceived
largely through sound. As he describes it:

During the conflict in the past years in Casamance, there was all this noise.

Gunfire, robbery, and people stopped by armed troops. That doesn’t exist
anymore. So it’s to say that peace is already here. Even if it’s not a hundred
percent, we no longer have the disturbances we had in the past. In that time, no
one went out with dreadlocks. No one went out making lots of noise. [...] But that
no longer exists. These days, it’s already peace. So, 'Malegen Kasumay Dikufio
Casamance' [one of Goudiaby's compositions, 'Truly Peace has Already Come to
Casamance'], that’s to say that this peace is lasting in the Casamance. We don’t
want to hear, we don’t want to hear any more gunfire, any more robberies, people
massacred. So we hope that stops there, and this continues.

The sonic experience of the Casamance conflict and the opposition of music and warfare is
echoed elsewhere. "Just listen," one friend me advised me while describing the present peace in
the region. "There are no tanks, no bombs. You never hear a shot in the middle of the night." A
local newspaper headline similarly described an MFDC rebel-turned-musician as having
"swapped his Kalachnikov [Soviet-made assault rifle] for a guitar" (Faye and Diatta 2015) –
trading one sound-producing device for another, in other words. The same article begins by stating that, "in the current context, the silence of weapons reigns" (Faye and Diatta 2015). The two meanings of the word "peace" – the absence of war and the absence of noise – are here conjoined.

Goudiaby's concern with the Casamance conflict and his conception of music as an antithetical response to warfare manifest in his composition "Ça Fait Mal (Paix en Casamance)" ("It Hurts [Peace in Casamance]") from his album Kwasseen (2014). The song begins by literally replacing the sounds of warfare with the sounds of music, and sets musical sound alongside the sounds of Senegalese political discourse. The first sounds on the track are automatic rifle fire and helicopter blades, which fade almost immediately as musical instruments enter sequentially, establishing a I-V-I reggae groove. Keyboard, electric guitar, and trap drums enter together, followed by synthesized organ, synth lead, bass guitar, and trap drums, one by one. Goudiaby then speaks in French in a declamatory style, saying, "Come together, you young people of the Casamance who are for peace!" Goudiaby begins singing at the same time as his ekonting enters, both playing the same melody in a sonic reflection of his close identification with the instrument. As this groove continues, Goudiaby samples audio clips of Senegalese politicians speaking for peace in the Casamance. The first such voice declares, "Today, if you go among the maquis [i.e., the MFDC guerillas], they are for peace. [MFDC Secretary General Jean Marie François] Biagui is for peace. Abbé [i.e., MFDC leader Father Augustin Diamacoune Senghor] is for peace. The women are for peace. Everyone is for peace." The chorus of similar audio clips that follows adds to the sense of consensus established by this first speech. In between these audio clips, Goudiaby returns to the song's refrain:

Ça fait trente ans maintenant
Ça fait mal en Casamance
Ça fait trente ans maintenant
Ça fait mal, ça fait mal, ça fait mal

 [...] 

Wo wo wo wo wo wo wo
Nous voulons la paix
Wo wo wo wo wo wo wo
Nous voulons la paix

It's been thirty years now
It hurts in the Casamance
It's been thirty years now
It hurts, it hurts, it hurts

 [...] 

Wo wo wo wo wo wo wo
We want peace
Wo wo wo wo wo wo wo
We want peace

The phrases ça fait mal en Casamance, ça fait mal, ça fait mal, ça fait mal, and nous voulons la paix are accompanied by a chorus of young female singers, making use of the Jola practice of intergender call and response to build a sense of further consensus. In typical Jola fashion, the ekonting closely follows the vocal melody throughout the song, adding another "voice" to this chorus that is closely identified with Casamançais ethnic tradition and, more particularly, with young men. The composition thus leverages recording technology and Jola musical traditions to produce a generational consensus, one further supported by the popularity of reggae among Casamançais youth and that genre's associations with peace.

Goudiaby's composition "Kwasseen" speaks to his lifelong practice of the Awasena Path. The title track to his 2014 album, the term kwasseen refers to the act of pouring bunuk ("palm wine") libations to a boekin ("shrine," pl. ukin). Bunuk possesses a soul or life force deriving from the forest, which is poured out to nourish, communicate with, and pay tribute to the spirit
associated with a particular boekin. This is one of the central practices of the Awasena Path, and is at the root of the term Awasena ("one who pours libations"). The lyrics are notable for naming the kuyi ("rain priest" or "king," pl. of ayi) of several Lower Casamance communities (Oussouye, Colobane, Kadjinol, and Mlomp) that have particularly large proportions of Awasena Path practitioners. In addition to paying tribute to these religious leaders, these highly specific references give the song special meaning for people from those communities. Kuyi are the ultimate localizing figures, given that their movement is constrained to designated areas of their own villages because everything they touch becomes their property, including the ground they walk upon. Four other deceased Awasena leaders are also named, among them Aline Sitoé Diatta, using the phase ate nalakoe ("s/he was here"). The lyrics thus emphasize the way that the Awasena Path establishes connection to specific places and communities. The song's final phrase – ulawaal bo mata kasumaay laya Casamance, ulawaal bo mata ("those who pray for peace in the Casamance, those who pray there") – reframes the several small villages named in the lyrics as a part of a larger regional community. This effect is magnified in the opening verses. Goudiaby sings these verses a cappella with his voice monophonically doubled on two recording tracks. In the fifth and seventh lines of the lyrics, however, Goudiaby sings slightly different words on each of the two tracks, with the effect of pronouncing the words kuti yooli ("our brothers") and Casamance at the same time. This creates a powerful association between a close family relationship and the Casamance region as a whole. While the MFDC originally sought to create a political community in differentiation from northern Senegal, Goudiaby here calls into being a community based in real and imagined family ties and a common desire for peace.

Kwaseen ukinau uta kuti yooli
Kwaseen ukinau nuwañaal
Kwaseen ukinau wata kuti yooli
Kwaseen ukinau nuwañaal
Kwaseen ukinau uta kuti yooli / Casamance
Kwaseen ukinau nuwañaal
Kwaseen ukinau wata kuti yooli / Casamance
Kwaseen ukinau nuwañaal

Sibilubay ayi olooli ata Oussouye
Kwaseen oli
Sihakejamen ayi olooli ata Colobane
Kwaseen oli
Silimay ata Kadjinol
Kwaseen oli foof
Sibukuyak ayi olooli ata Mlomp
Kwaseen oli

Aline Sitoé ate nalakoe
Nakwaseen ukinow wata Kabrousse
Sibeete Diedhiou ate nalakoe
Nakwaseen ukin wata Siganal
Afîleejo Manga ate nalakoe
Nakwaseen ukin Enampor
Bakolo Badjî ate nalakoe
Nakwaseen ukin Niakite

Ayi ñaku kubuke kilo kwaseen
Ayi wo we wo we usakeene nuseene kayowaku
Bañilabu nufame de buko nulobin nukucam kwaseen etamolaal
Ayi nabile maane
Ulawaal bo mata kasumaay laya Casamance, ulawaal bo mata

Pour libations at the shrine for our brothers
Pour libations at the shrine to a good harvest
Pour libations at the shrine for our brothers
Pour libations at the shrine to a good harvest
Pour libations at the shrine for our brothers / Casamance
Pour libations at the shrine to a good harvest
Pour libations at the shrine for our brothers / Casamance
Pour libations at the shrine to a good harvest

Siliubay is the king of Ouussouye
Pour libations for us
Sihakejem is the king of Colobane
Pour libations for us
Silimay from Kadjinol
Pour libations for us
Sibukuyak is the king of Mlomp
Pour libations for us
Aline Sitoé was here
She poured libations at the shrine of Kabrousse
Sibeete Diedhiou was here
He poured libations at the shrine of Siganal
Afílejo Manga was here
He poured libations at the shrine of Enampor
Bakolo Badji was here
He poured libations at the shrine of Niakite

Now we have many kings who pour libations
The king, wo we wo we, speaks and gives the people children
We made them and spoke to them so they understand to use palm wine only for libations
The king is coming
Those who pray for peace in the Casamance, those who pray there

As a final example of his work, Goudiaby articulates a complex set of Afropolitan relations in the composition "Maman Africa." The lyrics make direct reference to the slave trade and colonization, and to the triangular network of economic relations that stretched between Africa, Europe, and the Americas. As in "Kwasseen," Goudiaby uses a familial metaphor ("Mother Africa") to articulate relations within an imagined community, doubtless also drawing from a public narrative of Africa as the feminized origin of humanity ("Mother Africa in the history of humanity," as Goudiaby's lyrics have it). While acknowledging that "we speak many languages," Goudiaby figures these linguistic and national differences as a product of colonization. His persistent use of the English pronunciation "Africa," rather than the French Afrique (even in the Franglish portmanteau "Sud-Africa"), likewise contributes to a vision of continental solidarity that transcends a specific colonial experience. It also facilitates several inventive non-canonical rhymes, allowing "Africa" to rhyme with de langues, jusqu'à, and "Mandela." The lyrics begin in French, switch briefly to Wolof, and end in Jola-Fogny, marking a journey from a colonial language, to the Senegalese market language, to a language identified with a specific ethnic group and region. The final section of Jola lyrics reinforces the sense of
local character through references to village quarters and sub-quarters that are little-known outside the Casamance, and to community leaders from those places. Goudiaby's reference to the Casamance as *esukoli* (literally, "our village") reframes these wards and sub-wards as comprising a single village. It also extends the *esuk* ("village") as a metaphor for a considerably broader sense of belonging tied to a Casamançais regional identity based in cultural and political solidarity, and to a continental African identity based in common historical experience and economic position in relation to Europe and the United States. This is a village situated globally.

Musically, "Maman Africa" is a laid-back groove driven by a cowbell and hand drum rhythm with melodic accompaniment from Goudiaby's *ekonting* and two synthesized polyphonic keyboard melodies. Goudiaby describes his composition as a salsa, and indeed the interlocking cowbell and hand drum rhythm does evoke a Cuban *clave*. However, the hand drums used on the recording are a pair of *bugarabu*, which create a two-tone melorhythmic ostinato. The cowbell, which ostensibly mimics the role of the Cuban *clave*, instead plays an off-beat pattern directly derived from the rhythm played on the large *bombolong* slit log drum prior to *ekonkon* wrestling matches in the Kasa region of the Casamance. This same *ekonkon* rhythm undergirds many of Goudiaby's compositions. Like Xalam's "Gorée," Goudiaby's "Maman Africa" creates a syncretic rhythm that audiotopically brings together the Casamance and the Caribbean, articulating an Afropolitan sensibility of belonging to a specific place and to the world at the same time.

[French]

Voilà encore de retourne jusqu'à Maman Africa
Voilà encore de retourne jusqu'à Maman Africa
Une femme, Maman Africa
Nous sommes de la traite négrière
Les blancs vont venir de chez eux avec de beaucoup de pacotisme
Une femme, Maman Africa
Ils ont beaucoup donné, trop
Ils vont dire l'état d'Amérique en échangeant de matière première
Ils retournent jusqu'à en Europe
Sa fait le commerce triangulaire
Je m'en vais en Sud-Africa
Salut Nelson Mandela
Aye Maman Africa à l'histoire de l'humanité

Voilà encore le retour jusqu'à Maman Africa
Une femme, Maman Africa
Nous sommes de la colonisation
Les blancs sont venus de chez eux avec beaucoup de langues
Une femme, Maman Africa
On parle beaucoup de langues
Je m'en vais en Guinée-Bissau
On va parler portugais
Tu vas jusqu'à Sénégal
On va parler le français
Je m'en vais jusqu'à Gambia
On va parler l'anglais
Tu vas jusqu'à Cameroun
On va parler le français
Je m'en vais en Sud-Africa
Salut Nelson Mandela

[Wolof]
Man de dem na bee Lyndian
Anawa Lyndian nuionaléén ma

[Jola]
Inje omubo delañul bee esukoli Casamance
Inje njaw Cagnao
Mansour nisaafi
Inje omuto Cagnao
Dianta Abouqueome nisaafi
Inje njaw Hassouca
Katifouma nisaafi
Inje njaw Kadjifolong
Pierre Kouwalaba nisaafi
Inje omuto bo Haer
Naboly Sambou nisaafi
Inje omuto Haer
Nafy Dioumaga nisaafi
Inje omuto bo Haer
Amis Théo nisaafi

Here again returning to Mother Africa
Here again returning to Mother Africa
A woman, Mother Africa
We are of the slave trade
The whites will come from their country with lots of junk from their ships
A woman, Mother Africa
They have given a lot, too much
They will say the state of America by exchanging raw material
They return to Europe
That makes the triangular trade
I go to South Africa
Greetings Nelson Mandela
Aye Mother Africa in the history of humanity

Here again the return to Mother Africa
One time Mother Africa
We are of colonization
The whites came from their country with many languages
One time Mother Africa
We speak many languages
I go to Guinea-Bissau
We'll speak Portuguese
You go to Senegal
We'll speak French
I go to Gambia
We'll speak English
You go to Cameroon
We'll speak French
I go to South Africa
Greetings Nelson Mandela

I go back to Lyndian
People of Lyndian, I greet you

I'm going back to our country Casamance
I go to Cagnao
Mansour I greet you
I'm here Cagnao
Dianta Abouqueome I greet you
I go to Hassouca
Katifouma I greet you
I go to Kadjifolong
Pierre Kouwalaba I greet you
I'm here in Haer
Naboly Sambou I greet you
I'm here Haer
Nafy Dioumaga I greet you
I'm here in Haer
Amis Théo I greet you
In the year and half since I completed fieldwork in Senegambia toward this dissertation, Goudiaby has embarked on a tour of Europe with the help of Senegalese fans based in France (Figure 39). As of this writing, he has begun recording a new album in a studio in Dijon with the help of a French production team. For the moment, his persistent faith in musical success seems to have been rewarded.

Conclusions

From the early 1990s to the present, Jola musicians have entered the popular music sphere by combining traditional music resources with a variety of international genres. The New Casamance Band, Groupe Fogny, Joël Maligny Bassene, and Jean Bosco Goudiaby have all forged a path for themselves despite significant infrastructural and economic challenges standing in their way. Their compositions and performance styles are firmly grounded in Jola music culture and, for them, music-making is a way of publicly enacting their ethnic identity through language, dress, and musical referents. At the same time, they create audiotopic experiences of connection between urban and rural communities, and between Casamance and the various distant locales that comprise Jolas' conception of the African diaspora. At the broadest level, they connect to narratives of musical universalism and world citizenship. By facilitating practices of collective dance and singing, music creates Afropolitan experiences of these concentric spheres of belonging. Although each group holds a different view on the subject of Casamançais secession, all have addressed the Casamance conflict in direct and poignant terms. The MFDC originally based their claims for Casamançais secession on historical technicalities rather than ethnic difference, even while politically mobilizing specifically Jola cultural structures in the service of their cause. By contrast, these contemporary Jola musicians increasingly relate to a regional Casamançais identity based in a common desire for peace (even at the expense of determining "who is wrong," as Jean Bosco Goudiaby has it), along with shared experiences of guerilla warfare and regional neglect in relation to Dakarois centralization. Such compositions are harbingers that "a new Casamance has come," as Papis Danfa puts it, one in which ethnic, multi-ethnic, regional, diasporic, and universal experiences "find each other in the same dance."
Chapter 7: Conclusions

The Casamance is a contact zone. It is a space of overlap between the Sahel and the forest, between the Sahara and the sea, between the colonial territories of three European powers, between three religions, and between numerous ethnic groups living in close proximity. Most of the people who live there identify with the Jola ethnic group, a conglomerate of diverse cultural communities who nonetheless share common systems of meaning and practice. The emergence of this Jola ethnicity as an umbrella identity for regional subgroups may be seen as an invented tradition in response to colonialism and religious intervention, but it is also an expression of ongoing relationships between closely related peoples that have interacted for centuries. As such, Jola culture expresses the "originary syncretism" at the heart of West African cultures (Amselle 1998). Today, Jolas reach out to the other worlds to produce a narrative of Jola identity that is formed as much through association as through differentiation. This differs from prevailing postmodern models of identity in that 1) it asserts a cultural substance to ethnic identity beyond political instrumentality and discursive positioning, albeit one that is changeable and relationally produced; 2) it is experienced as coherent and stable through embodied, collectively oriented practical activity such as music-making; and 3) it is a social formation used to make gestures of connection to broader identity narratives.

I have argued in this dissertation that Jolas create Afropolitan experiences through the production of audiotopic space that attends music-making. Audiotopias are "sonic spaces of effective utopian longings where several sites normally deemed incompatible are brought together" (Kun 2000:6). Resituating this concept in relation to contact zones (Pratt 1991, 1992) and heterotopias (Foucault 1984, 1990) in the context of the Black Atlantic (Gilroy 1993) underlines the extent to which audiotopias can be joyful and innovative, but are nonetheless
framed by relations of power. Jola people's audiotopic encounters are expressions of Afropolitan aspirations, but they are inevitably colored by power dynamics such as the international music industry's demand for palatable novelty and its various expectations of authenticity; the dominance of mbalax within the Senegalese popular music scene; the lack of economic and musical infrastructure in the Casamance; the ubiquitous reach of international media in comparison to acoustic, participatory music traditions; the luring away of talented Jola musicians to Dakar or Europe; and, ultimately, the legacy of colonial violence, the slave trade, and the Casamance conflict. Positioning themselves as participants in the Black Atlantic – a cultural sphere of interchange founded on the incomplete rupture of the transatlantic slave trade – Jola musicians work within that "slow and sometimes incoherent dance with forms and signs which we have not been able to choose freely, but which we have succeeded, as best we can, in domesticating and putting at our disposal" (Mbembe 2007:28).

Afropolitanism is an outlook that recognizes difference and particularity but simultaneously privileges interconnection, universality, and relationality. Deconstructing the false dichotomy of Africa and the West, it represents a "relativisation of primary roots and memberships" (Mbembe 2007:28) and a belief that African lives are "rooted in specific geographies but also transcendental of them" (Gikandi 2010:9). Despite the multiple influences and histories that have shaped Jola culture, Jolas nonetheless experience life through "a coherent (if not always stable) experiential sense of self" (Gilroy 2006:195). Such coherency in the face of apparent contradiction is, in part, the outcome of audiotopic spaces opened by Jola music-making, allowing Jolas to "work with what seem to be opposites" (Mbembe 2007:28). In concert with these musical contact zones, the participatory, embodied, and socially relational character of Jola music culture produces experiences of Afropolitan connection to the Black Atlantic. That is,
music is not only a way of discursively positioning Jolas within relational identity narratives; it is also a way of "belonging to the world, of being in the world and inhabiting it" (Mbembe 2007:28) even within the bounds of an apparently isolated rural village.

Marcus suggests that multi-sited studies such as this one demonstrate that "any ethnography of a cultural formation in the world system is also an ethnography of the system" (1995:99). In particular, the several sites of this dissertation demonstrate the way people's ongoing integration into world systems has vastly expanded the limits of what were once thought of as small, bounded cultural formations. The ekonting, for example, sometimes functions as a symbol of Jola identity, but it is also a locus of connection across time and space. Sometimes considered "the ancestor" of the American banjo, the ekonting itself is the product of centuries of contact across the Sahara, not a historical stopping point but a link in a chain of organological history stretching back to ancient Mesopotamia. Through recent narrative activity centered around the ekonting, Jola musicians emplot their life stories and the public narrative of Jola ethnicity in other public narratives – of Pan-Africanism, of Casamançais secession, and of the African roots of American music. Through such emplotment, the ekonting has become a reference point in the self-narratives of Jolas and non-Jolas alike. While the dominant narrative around the ekonting has been the tracing of an American instrument's African roots back to its origin, this dissertation suggests a view of the ekonting as embedded in ongoing cultural circulation on the African continent and the shores of the Atlantic Ocean.

During the alamaan festival in Thionk-Essyl, communal music-making opened a space for the performance of idealized social interaction between different types of Jola women. Through specific musical and choreographic practices, the festival in some ways affirms these different social roles, and in other ways produces experiences of women's unity across them.
Although the *alamaan* is ostensibly oriented to a village community bounded by geography, generation, and gender, it is addressed to the translocal, transgenerational issue of urban migration. It also incorporates a surprisingly diverse array of musical influences and provides context for supportive intergender relations. Further analysis of this event should yield insights into the intersection of participatory and presentational musical styles, and into the outcomes of musical performance and performativity.

The use of Jola musical resources by Orchestre Baobab, Touré Kunda, and Xalam has allowed Jola music to travel in a considerably wider orbit than Jola people themselves. In turn, their use of Jola sounds as part of a repertoire of distinctly localizing Casamançais musics has, perhaps ironically, allowed these groups to achieve a wider degree of international success than almost any other Senegalese musicians. While the Casamance is viewed as a cradle of traditional culture within Senegal, the extraordinary syncretism that has long charactized cultural lifeways in the region also sets the stage for musicians' adoption of internationally popular genres. Jola musicians have also worked to develop syncretic styles based primarily in Jola music since the 1990s. For them, music provides a point of ethnic pride and representation as well as a way to interact with far-off musical currents. Despite significant practical challenges to playing music professionally in the Casamance (and their persistent perception as ethnic Others to the rest of Senegal), the New Casamance Band, Groupe Fogny, Joël Maligny Bassene, and Jean Bosco Goudiaby have succeeded in connecting specifically Jola cultural concepts with international narratives of environmentalism, peace, and the social role of music-making. More than ever, they embrace an idealistic vision of an interconnected Casamançais future.

Mirroring this musical idealism, Kun suggests that audiotopias "point us to the possible, to help us remap the world we live in now" (2005a:23). Certainly, the audiotopic production of
Jola musicians presents a different view of the world than that represented by the grid of thick black lines drawn around countries and continents on maps of the world. Every month in Senegambia brings news of African lives lost at sea, lost in the desert, or crushed in airplane landing gears in desperate attempts to reach the economic promised land of western Europe, a place to which their music has preceded them. Rather than erasing or redrawing these lines, I suggest that Jolas utilize music's audiotopic potential to gain a measure of control in setting the terms of the "interweaving of worlds" (Mbembe 2007:28) that inevitably characterizes African lives. In doing so, they confront the "tangled cultural experiences, structures and possibilities of an increasingly connected but not homogenous world" (Clifford 1997:2). Sound carries. It "floats on the water," as Rudi Gomis puts it, carrying its affiliations down the river and across the sea.
Notes

1 The ethnonym Jola is typically rendered "Diola" in French and sometimes Joola or Jóola in English. Spellings of Jola words also vary widely. In this work, I generally adhere to the orthography suggested by Sapir (1965c) and Hopkins and Hopkins (1992), which in turn are closely based on the International Phonetic Alphabet. This has the advantage of relative simplicity and tends to lead English speakers to relatively accurate pronunciations. The disadvantage of this approach is that the spellings I use often differ from spellings that are common (though far from consistent) in the Casamance, which are typically based on Francophone phonetics. Rather than suggesting that the spellings I use are "correct," I assume that orthographic codification of primarily oral African languages is typically a political project. As Lüpke notes in relation to the Jola languages: "Codification and orthography development are not motivated by practical needs to read or write these languages, and the actual use of minority languages in writing remains rare, and in the new prescriptive orthographies virtually unattested. Rather, orthography development is to be understood as staking a claim on the new ethnolinguistic market place of the Senegalese nation state" (forthcoming).

2 The word "traditional" can be problematic in the African context because it is so frequently juxtaposed with the term "modern," which is often identified with the West and therefore propagates a false dichotomy of Africa as the past and the West as the present and future. By contrast, I proceed from the assumption that traditional music and culture can be both historical and modern, and that modernity has its own history and traditions.

3 Numerous postcolonial authors have emphasized the densely syncretic nature of postcolonial lives, not in the sense of the straightforward combination of two distinct originals but as a defining and perennial process. Young (1995) has conducted an archeology of the term "hybridity," suggesting that it cannot entirely leave behind the colonialist and biologically oriented discourse from which it emerged. Likewise, many analytic binaries such culture/race, hybrid/pure, and civilized/uncivilized developed in consort with each other, and thus cannot be utilized without reference to each other. While the view of hybridity as the coming together of two pure entities still lingers, postcolonial theorists have generally moved to significantly more radical paradigms of hybridity. For Amselle, ethnographic analysis in postcolonial Africa requires "mestizo logics" (logiques métisses), which allow the interpreter to "escape the question of origin and to hypothesize an infinite regression. It is no longer a question of asking which came first, the segmentary or the state, paganism or Islam, the oral or the written, but to postulate an originary syncretism, a mixture whose parts remain indissociable" (1998:161). For Appiah, it is certain that "we are all already contaminated by each other, [and] there is no longer a fully autochthonous echt-African culture awaiting salvage by our artists (just as there is, of course, no American culture without African roots)" (1991:354). For Said, "cultural forms are hybrid, mixed, impure […]. Far from being unitary or monolithic or autonomous things, cultures actually assume more 'foreign' elements, alterities, differences, than they consciously exclude" (1994:14-15). Finally, for Mudimbe, "acculturation is not an African disease but the very character of all histories" (1988:196).

The concept of hybridity in postcolonial theory goes beyond the idea that all cultures naturally mix together, or that powerful cultures assimilate marginal cultures. Instead, hybridity is a condition of both identity formation and imperial domination. This is described viscerally by
Fanon, who felt the "fact" of his blackness to be "overdetermined from without" (1952:116) through a dialectic of white and black upon which both depend, a model that exceeds "transactionalist" (Barth 1969) or "feedback" (Young 1976) models of identity formation. The construction of black alterity depends on white hegemony, and vice versa, much as European civilization depends on Oriental wilderness; one cannot, after all, invoke the English weather without simultaneously evoking its "daemonic doubles": the heat and dust of India; the scorching sun of Africa; the buzzing, humid jungles of America (Bhabha 1990a:319).

For Bhabha, the ambivalence of the nation is further evidence of hybridity. This ambivalence runs deep: nations are simultaneously personal and collective, timeless and historical, rational and romantic, pedagogical and performative, lived and learned, unisonant and polyphonic. The perspective of nation as narration illuminates the process of its construction, which necessarily involves hybridity in its constant creation, crossing, and erasing of boundaries. In brief, if one accepts that difference is created through a process of representation or enunciation (instead of accepting "cultural diversity" as an empirical given), one must also accept the impossibility of pure identities because difference is always produced through a space of mediation, always in complicitous negotiation with anOther [sic] constructed entity. This is the "third space" of enunciation, "which makes the structure of meaning and reference an ambivalent process" (Bhabha 1994:54) and "which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew" (Bhabha 1994:55). It is Derrida's endless rabbit-hole of différence, in which the enunciation of difference is perpetually deferred to further differentiation (1982).

In a considerably less optimistic paradigm of hybridity, Mbembe (1992a, 1992b, 2001) accepts the necessary imbrication of resistance and domination, but with dire results for both. He critiques Bakhtin's analysis of the grotesque parodies of state power enacted in subordinate "non-official" cultures (and presumably, by extension, resistance through Bhabha's "mimicry" [1994] or Scott's "weapons of the weak" [1985]), and, at the same time, he rejects Gramsci's model of cultural hegemony in which oppressed classes are made to collude in and consent to their own domination. Both, for Mbembe, rest on an untenable dichotomy. The necessary hybridity of oppressor and oppressed emerges through their joint participation in a shared simulacrum or episteme, through which discursive power is "vulgarized" (in the dual sense of "profaned" and "given flesh"). Thus, "the postcolonial relationship is not primarily a relationship of resistance or of collaboration, but is rather best characterized as a promiscuous relationship: a convivial tension between the commandement [state power] and its 'targets'" (1992a:5). This promiscuity results in "the mutual 'zombification' of both the dominant and those whom they apparently dominate. This 'zombification' means that each robbed the other of their vitality and has made them both impotent" (2001:5). Instead of leading to subversive resistance from marginal spaces of enunciation, hybrid "conviviality" here leads only to paradoxical living death and impotent promiscuity for the postcolonial state and its people.

4 Eze captures an appealingly hopeful view of Afropolitanism as a mode of cosmopolitanism that fits within a perspective sometimes termed Afro-positivism. However, I think he overestimates the extent to which "African identities, like in most other parts of the world, are now shaped by elective affinities due to cultural and racial intermixing" (2014:235) at the cost of acknowledging how African identities are also prescribed, policed, or simply accepted as predetermined and immutable. Likewise, although it is perhaps true that "it is now possible to experience in most African villages lifestyles hitherto unknown to them thanks to [...] modern means of
communication" (2014:235), access to these means remains uneven and the fleeting, incomplete experience of these "hitherto unknown" lifestyles is a far cry from fully forming a cosmopolitan mentality. For that reason, Eze loses some of the messy particularism present in Mbembe's and Gikandi's visions of Afropolitanism in favor of a more universalizing cosmopolitanism.

5 While his insights are inspiring, Gilroy's descriptions of music sometimes border on the romantic, or even the Romantic. Stating that black identity formation is "magically made audible in the music itself" (1993:37) is not particularly useful in understanding how this process occurs.

6 A skilled ethnographer who drew inspiration from sociology, anthropology, and philosophy, Thomas (1922–1994) taught high school in Dakar for ten years before joining the faculty of Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar for another ten years. He is best known as a proponent of thanatology and, incidentally, is a past winner of le Grand Prix de la Science-Fiction Française. Although his scholarly focus turned elsewhere for much of his career, Thomas continued to produce short articles on Jola culture until his death in 1994.

7 Son of the seminal linguistic anthropologist Edward Sapir, J. David Sapir has been described as "foremost among Jola scholars" (Linares 1992:xvi). His work falls into three categories: linguistics, photography, and music. A self-proclaimed "lifelong shutterbug," Sapir was also an early exponent of visual anthropology and "ethnophotography," and he has staged both real-world and online galleries of his excellent photographs of Jola people and customs (see Sapir n.d.).

8 For example: "One day Bakari Badji burst into my room singing what is recorded here. A delightful bon vivant, Bakari not only knew more folk-tales than anyone else in the quarter, but also was a great dancer, a wrestler and an excellent singer. As such men usually are, he was always penniless" (Sapir 1965b:2).


10 The passage reads: "Groups of young men swayed rhythmically in the center of a ring of observers. Occasionally, soloists would break away from them and dance to the hard, punctilliar notes of drums and flutes. Even the spectators participated. The women clanged pieces of metal and the men sang chants to accompany the three drums whose beats intertwined in constantly changing rhythms. [...] [The masked dancer embodying Kumpo] is the focal point for the music and the dance which, together, weld the community into a whole. There are no disinterested bystanders. Metaphorically, the unity which derives from this performance represents the idealized unity of the community. That ideal oneness is the surest protection against the selfish and anti-social forces of the kussay [spirit-eating witches]" (Mark 1985:124).

11 A prime fascination of scholars, audiences, and musicians, the figure of the griot has spawned a large field of scholarship unto itself, leaving one reviewer to wonder, "How many books on griots do we need, after all?" (Belcher 2004:185). In addition to a wide variety of colloquial appropriations, the term "griot" in scholarship has been adopted as a diasporic archetype (Smitherman 1997) and a model of intersubjective discourse (Frindéthié 2009 on "griirony" and Stoller 1992 and 1994 on "griot ethnographers"). The scholarship on griot music covered in this
review represents only a small portion of the larger field of scholarship on griots, which typically addresses music only superficially.

12 Despite allegations of plagiarism and an out-of-court settlement, *Roots* made an indelible statement about the durability of African heritage and introduced the word "griot" to an enormous international audience. Haley himself was memorialized as a griot in McCauley's 1983 biography *Alex Haley, A Southern Griot*.

13 Mbaye (1999) estimates that Dakar is home to 3,000 hip hop groups and Appert (2012) estimates 5,000 rappers (2012), though Tang (2012) suggests these numbers may be exaggerated. Political mobilization of Dakarois youth by these hip hop groups is widely credited with helping elect President Abdoulaye Wade in 2000 and President Macky Sall in 2012. Senegalese hip hop is often called "Rap Galsen," with "gal-sen" being an inversion of the syllables of the country's name in the French *verlan* slang style.

14 Knight is currently Emeritus Professor of Ethnomusicology at Oberlin Conservatory, where he has taught academic courses and led a *kora* ensemble since 1976. He became interested in West African music after serving in the Peace Corps in Sierra Leon from 1964 to 1966, and subsequently returned several times to Senegal and The Gambia. In addition to his continued work on Mande music, Knight has published numerous articles on Central Asian music and developed the Knight System for Musical Instrument Classification based on his own extensive instrument collection and the previous Hornbostel-Sachs system.

15 A self-described "child of the 60s," Jacqueline Cogdoll DjeDje has made major contributions to the field of ethnomusicology over the past 30 years. As a child, she trained as a classical pianist and she continued her classical music studies at Fisk University. There, she became an active participant in the student Civil Rights movement and also gained her first exposure to the serious study of African and African-American music. DjeDje went on to study ethnomusicology with Mantle Hood and J. Kwabena Nketia at UCLA. In addition to her own research, DjeDje's career has been distinguished by numerous editorships as well as leadership of the UCLA Department of Ethnomusicology (where she has taught since 1979) and the Society for Ethnomusicology. She retired in 2013 to complete a book on African-American fiddling.

16 Durán's path as an academic is somewhat nontraditional. She began as a frequent contributor of articles on Mande music for the British magazine *Folk Roots* (now called *fRoots*) and worked as a curator at the British National Sound Archive in the 1980s. She received her Ph.D. in Ethnomusicology in 1999 from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, where she currently serves as Lecturer in African Music. She is the producer of more than a dozen CDs of West African music and is a frequent presenter on the "World Routes" program on BBC Radio.

17 Currently an Associate Professor of Music at Wesleyan University, Eric Charry received his Ph.D. in Music from Princeton University. He has conducted extensive fieldwork in West Africa, especially Mali and Senegal, and is a performer on guitar, *kora*, *djembe*, and *balafon*.

18 Patricia Tang serves as Associate Professor of Music at MIT, having received her Ph.D. from Harvard in 2001. She directs a Wolof *sabar* drum ensemble at MIT and performed on violin with
an mbalax band in Dakar.

19 An article by Damon Sajnani (2013) criticizing Appert's book chapter (2011) reaches a similar conclusion, though he seems not to have read her dissertation.

20 This story is also cited as the basis for the on-going "joking cousin" relationship between Jolas and Serers, as the two ethnic groups are cast as literal cousins. Baum (1999) finds it unlikely that a genetic or historical link does in fact exist between the Jola and Serer.

21 Taking the notion of invented tradition one step further, Campbell argues that the concept of ethnicity is entirely foreign to the African continent, and that well-meaning but misdirected scholarly discourse and political pundits have colluded in maintaining its currency: "As a real and objective phenomenon innate to Africa, my proposition is that ethnicity does not exist. It is only 'real' because the persistence of the West's relationship with Africa makes it a reality. […] From this perspective, I should also make clear here that, for purposes of brevity, when I use the expression 'ethnicity' in the text it is shorthand for 'the conception of ethnicity as an ideological framework for Africa constructed in the West" (1997:6).

22 Work on Jola languages includes Wintz 1968 [1909]; Weiss 1939; Sapir 1965, 1970a; Barry 1987; Hopkins and Hopkins 1992; Carlton and Rand 1993; Graham 1995; Diatta 1999; and Bassène 2009; among others.

23 Jayawardena suggests an additional layer of egalitarian relativism: "notions of human equality are dominant in a subgroup to the extent that it is denied social equality by the wider society or its dominant class" (1968:414). This model could fit the development of Jola egalitarianism if Jola society is considered within the context of the powerful, hierarchical West African empires on whose frontiers it developed. However, the autonomous and independent character of precolonial Casamançais sustenance communities makes it difficult to convincingly argue that their egalitarian ethos developed in compensation for their denial from these distant class systems.

24 The term animist is problematic because, as developed by Tylor (1871), it suggests a universal state of primitive religion that naturally evolves toward a more civilized monotheism (see Insoll 2004 for a thorough rebuttal of this model). More recently, the "new animism" has received scholarly attention as a model of radically relational ontology between human and non-human beings (Bird-David 2000). Jolas' use of the term most likely represents a reclamation or simple acceptance of the term French colonists applied to their religion. In some cases, it may also represent a discursive linking of the Jola Awasena Path to a wider sphere of African Traditional Religions and even to Jola imaginings of other indigenous cultures around the world. This is implied by an offhand comment one Awasena practitioner made, describing the Jolas as "like the Indians [i.e., Native Americans] of Africa."

25 Debate over the accuracy and exact nature of such claims has been central to the Casamance conflict and efforts to resolve it. For more information on these claims, see Lambert 1998 and Barbier-Wiesser 1994.

26 There is some debate over the proper English spelling of the instrument's name. Within the Senegambian region, the most common pronunciation (IPA ekoontiŋ') is based on the Jola Kasa
dialect. Currently, the most common spelling in English is "akonting," which is the spelling initially disseminated by Jola scholar Daniel Laemouhuma Jatta. Thomas' early anthropological work provides several name variants that reflect the diversity of dialects spoken in southern Senegal: kõtin or kõkin (Jola Fogny); kõntîñ (Baïnunk); ehotin (Jola Séleky); ekôndiñ (Dyiwat); otôleñ (Bayot)(1959:382). I spell the word "ekonting" because (1) it conforms to the Jola orthography established by Sapir (1965); (2) it is the most common spelling used by Francophone ekonting players in the Casamance; and (3) I believe it most intuitively leads English speakers to a pronunciation close to the Jola Kasa term. Using the nominal prefix a- is also potentially grammatically problematic since that noun class is reserved for human beings only in several Jola dialects. However, I have not changed the spelling from "akonting" when quoting other authors and when referring to the name of the Akonting Center for Senegambian Folk Music. As also noted in the endnotes to the introductory chapter, there is little practical need for consistent Jola orthography within Senegambia: "Codification and orthography development are not motivated by practical needs to read or write these languages, and the actual use of minority languages in writing remains rare, and in the new prescriptive orthographies virtually unattested. Rather, orthography development is to be understood as staking a claim on the new ethnolinguistic market place of the Senegalese nation state" (Lüpke forthcoming). In this case, consistent spelling of the word ekonting is almost entirely directed to non-Jola, non-Senegambian readers, and often has as much to do with the instrument's international brand as anything else.

27 I observed the rather unusual feature of an uneven sound plane in three instances: one was an ekonting built by Adama Manga in Ziguinchor, and the other two were hastily constructed specimens in tourist-oriented artisan markets in Ziguinchor and Cap Skirring. The latter were the only two sikonting I observed for sale in public places, perhaps suggesting that it is more economical for artisans to use an uneven fragment of a gourd or that the uneven sound plane is meant to be an exotic feature that would make the instrument more attractive to tourists.

28 Ekonting players' unceremonious treatment of their instruments is evidence of their durability and their lack of associated spiritual reverence. I frequently saw sikonting casually chucked in a corner or dropped in the dirt. I once observed Musa Diatta using an ekonting to prop up a leaky tin roof during a thunderstorm.

29 Charry, for example, describes eight tuning systems used by Mande ngonî players (2000). Given the internal diversity of Jola music culture, I would be surprised if alternate ekonting tunings did not exist, perhaps in isolated areas.

30 Minor adjustments in tuning can be accomplished by tugging on the strings or varying the position or angle of the bridge. More substantial changes require collapsing the bridge, holding the instrument between the players' feet, and pulling quite hard on the string knots using the fingernails or some more durable object. Players may also adjust the tension of the skin sound plane by wetting it lightly or heating it in the sunshine or over a fire; this has a minor effect on tone and playability but a significant effect on the instrument's tessitura.

31 Musical notation in this chapter should thus be understood to represent relative pitch, not absolute pitch. I have chosen to represent the first string as the note A because it produces a pentatonic scale that conveniently omits accidentals and because it may be considered to
represent a relatively accurate average tessitura of the many instruments I observed.

32 Blench (1984) proposes an even simpler differentiation between piriform (pear-shaped) and naviform (boat-shaped) lutes, proposing that naviform lutes originated in Western Africa whereas piriform lutes entered ancient Egypt via Hyksos invaders from the Middle East. Such a binary, morphological distinction adds little to understanding West African lutes within their specific cultural contexts. Sikonting, furthermore, may well be round, piriform, or naviform depending on the materials used in their construction.

33 Jolas often say kon kon when entering a house in much the same way that English speakers sometimes say "knock knock," indicating that the term kon may be at least partly onomatopoeic.

34 This organological similarity is especially significant given Charry's comments regarding the importance of resonator material and bridge type in classifying West African lutes, discussed in the previous section (1996a). If one plugs reports of early New World banjos into Charry's classification system, they overwhelmingly fall into the un-hereditary category.

35 Sambou is describing an Awasena funeral; sikonting are not played at Catholic or Muslim funerals. During one visit with Adama Manga, he refused to play ekonting or allow me to play ekonting out of respect for a Catholic funeral being held at a nearby compound.

36 Baum suggests that blacksmithing was originally a hereditary trade in the Esalulu region, indicating that hereditary trade guilds are not entirely known in Jola communities (1998).

37 For example, both Musa Diatta and Daniel Jatta, my primary research contacts during my preliminary fieldwork trip in 2012, display a rather nominal adherence to their Abrahamic religions. Musa, a recent convert to Islam, would continue to eat and tell stories straight through our shared lunches, seemingly oblivious to the amplified adhan call to prayer wafting over the treetops. Daniel, a Christian, took particular delight in pointing out various juju charms on the compound and explaining their sometimes impolite effects. Neither man regularly attended religious services. When I asked what it was like to have family gatherings that include both Muslims and Christians, the two men shrugged and agreed that it was best to prepare multiple dishes as some Muslims do not eat pork; no other major differences were noted.

38 A significantly revised and abbreviated version of this chapter is forthcoming as "Stories of Differentiation and Association: Narrative Identity and the Jola Ekonting" in the Yearbook for Traditional Music (Linford forthcoming). Parts of this chapter are published in the Yearbook for Traditional Music. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers, guest editors, and editorial team who provided valuable feedback on the essay.

39 Behold the alarming testimony of one such Africanist: "Ethnicity and tribalism have become major enemies of the development of the human being in general and the African person in particular. Therefore, it can be asked: 'Who will save Africa from tribalism and its consequences?'" (Buconyori 1999:1-2). Even Barack Obama has weighed in on the issue, using tribalism as an umbrella term for strictly policed conceptions of group identity. In his words, "It is literally in my DNA to be suspicious of tribalism [...]. I understand the tribal impulse, and acknowledge the power of tribal division. I've been navigating tribal divisions my whole life. In the end, it's a source of a lot of destructive acts" (quoted in Goldberg 2016).
Other examples of such works include Gibbs (1965); Moss and Wilson (1991); Olson (1996); Ottenberg and Ottenberg (1960); Facts on File (1997); or, for a typical earlier example, Bettany (1969 [1890]). For similar approaches focused on the Senegambian region, see Berenger-Feraud (1879); Sonko-Godwin (1986); and Sepia (1997).

Ethnomusicologist Beverley Diamond comes to the same conclusion in her "alliance studies model," suggesting that "a research emphasis on alliances – both the ones these artists make and the ones in which they are implicated – rather than on the distinctiveness of identity, can take us closer to understanding the vision of modern Indigenous people" (2007:188).

Narrativity has gained traction in many disciplines since the 1980s. While early work focused on identifying underlying structures of narrative form, foundational work on the ontological aspects of narratives stems from Ricoeur (1979) and Mitchell (1981) in philosophy; Sarbin (1986) in psychology; and Ortner (1991) in anthropology. In music studies, narrativity or narratology typically refers to the interpretation of verbal narratives accompanied by music (e.g. Kivy 1984) or discussions of whether musical sound carries narrative associations (e.g. Savage 2006, Kramer 1991, Maus 1988).

Although these narratives have an epistemological dimension, Somers terms them ontological because, in her conception, locating oneself within a narrative not only allows individual actors to understand their social world but also enables the ongoing process of their becoming who they are. Correspondingly, ontological narratives are far from "private," even if they centre around an individual actor; they are, in fact, "above all, social and interpersonal" (Somers 1994:618). This combination of ontology and relationality bears directly on the relationship of personal and social identity. Somers' model includes two further types of narratives, meta-narratives and conceptual narratives, which are also defined by relationality but are dislocated from specific time and place.

The complicity of ethnographers in narrative production resembles the ambiguation of culture producers and consumers taking place in the global marketplace of "Ethnicity, Inc," as Comaroff and Comaroff term it (2009). As they write, tourist enterprises trading on ethnicity have the effect of ambiguating the distinction between producer and consumer, performer and audience. How so? Because the producers of culture are also its consumers, seeing and sensing and listening to themselves enact their identity – and, in the process, objectifying their own subjectivity, thus to (re)cognize its existence, to grasp it, to domesticate it, to act on and with it […] Conversely, consumers also become producers, complicit in that enactment: it is by lodging itself in the consciousness of the tourist-other […] that their tradition persists. (2009:26, emphasis in original)

When I occasionally attempted to preserve my sobriety by refusing palm wine at social gatherings, Jola friends would pass me a cup anyway and jokingly ask, "What are you, a Mandinka?" Drinking palm wine is particularly (though not exclusively) associated with the Jola-Kasa subgroup, in contrast to Jola communities north of the Casamance River that are more strongly influenced by Islam.

One of the rare instances of chords being used on the ekonting, Sambou accomplishes this by pinching the first and third strings with the index finger and thumb, and then immediately falling
back into the typical downstroke *ekonting* playing style.

47 Sambou often performs this song at home, accompanied by neighbors or family members on shaker or *bongo* (a four-pronged lamellaphone built on a large gourd), but the following transcriptions come from an unaccompanied performance at my home in Ziguinchor in January 2015, in which the *ekonting* part was more clearly recorded. In this performance, Sambou emphasizes the syncopated groove by loudly "popping" the open high string with his thumb. While rapid alternation between the lowest string and two higher strings can be accomplished effortlessly through alternation of the index finger and thumb, Sambou's ability to repeatedly strike the lowest string with his index fingernail at tempo is a mark of his virtuosity. The pitches noted in the transcription are close to Sambou's tuning.

48 During the course of the MFDC Festival for Peace, several collaborators told me that Atika (a Jola term for "warrior"), the military branch of the MFDC, remained in hiding in the sacred forests. While the political branch advocates for peace, MFDC members are quick to reaffirm their military potential, again empowered by the secrecy and mysticism surrounding the Jola sacred forests.

49 Debate of the accuracy and exact nature of such claims has been central to the Casamance conflict and efforts to resolve it. For more information on these claims, see Lambert 1998 and Barbier-Wiesser 1994.

50 In truth, I was reluctant to perform mostly because I was concerned that, despite the festival's explicit calls for peace, my participation could be interpreted as supportive of Casamancéan secession. Ultimately I agreed to play because 1) I supported the festival's overt message of peace, and 2) because I felt that my interpersonal ethical obligation to my teacher and other interlocutors outweighed my equivocal political objections and my desire to retain a more aloof stance. In hindsight, I am still working through the ethical implications of my participation in the festival – but it is a good example of conflicting ethical obligations colliding in the field.

51 The banjo was originally labelled "America's instrument" in reference to the (incorrect) story that the banjo was invented in the United States by white minstrel performer Joel Walker Sweeney in the nineteenth century. The label is still in use today, but it has taken on new meaning because of continued scholarship and performance around the banjo's African and African-American roots. I use the term "America's instrument" here to allude to the way the banjo has become emplotted in a public narrative of America; and how its newly revealed relationship to the *ekonting* complicates the banjo’s place in that American narrative.

52 Information on Daniel Laemouahuma Jatta's background comes from numerous informal conversations with him as well as his 2012 interview with Chuck Levy (Levy and Jatta 2012).

53 I have also been involved in the work of the Akonting Center since I first visited in 2012.

54 For a discussion of the impact of *Roots* in West Africa, see Hale (1997).

55 The phrases "ancestor" or "grandfather of the banjo" have become the *ekonting*'s frequent sobriquets in The Gambia, the United States, and Europe. The use of these terms to refer to a contemporary African instrument (rather than, say, "mother," "father," or, simply, "relative of the
"banjo") probably stems from an old and well-established narrative of African tradition as located in the deep ancestral past rather than as a site of innovation and change enmeshed in contemporary circumstances.

56 The term kelumak can also refer to a village quarter or to the gathering ground itself. It is sometimes translated as l'arbre à palabre ("the palaver tree"), referencing the fact that people gather in the shade provided by its branches to chat idly in the late afternoon. The significance of the kelumak as a metaphor for negotiation and conflict resolution is discussed in Chapter 7.

57 In the decades since DjeDje's 1985 essay, several works have addressed the intersection of music and gender in African cultures (e.g., Ampene 2005; Anyidoho 1993; Appert 2012, 2015; Hale and Sidikou 2013; Kaeppler 1990; Kimberlin 1990; Kringelbach 2014; Morales-Libove 2005; Muller 2013; Sidikou and Hale 2012; Steingo 2015; and Stufflebeam 2014). Scharfenberger 2011 reviews recent scholarship on women's music in West Africa.

58 Although gender is only mentioned in passing in Ruskin and Rice's survey of individuals in musical ethnographies (2012:308), a focus on individuals has become a major theme of ethnomusicological research on gender.

59 Evidence suggests that participation in the bukut initiation formerly granted Jola men privileges associated with adult: the right to own property, to participate in decision-making process, to care for awasena shrines, and to marry. In the last half-century, however, new initiates in the bukut ceremony may range from age twelve to thirty-five and are often already full participants in their political, economic, and religious communities, such that "nowadays, the lives of most of the initiates do not change in any material way. The impact of bukut is largely symbolic" (Mark, de Jong, and Chupin 1998:36). Nonetheless, it is often considered the definitional event of a Jola's life: as Thomas puts it, "To be Jola is to be initiated in the bukut" (1992:ix).

60 Under certain circumstances, the initiates also learn the songs composed for their fathers or grandfathers, such that "each generation […] learns both their own songs and those of their grandfathers" (Mark, de Jong, and Chupin 1998:39).

61 A similarly sonic demarcation is achieved by the "voice" of afan gureng, a forest guardian mask. Women who encounter afan gureng risk illness or death, so they learn to leave the area when they hear the mask's distinctively inhuman cry, which is produced through a secret aerophonic instrument. "The sound may be part of the secret lore guarded by the elders and shared with the overseers of the forest. Afan gureng thus reinforces the physical separation of women from the sacred forest" (Mark, de Jong, and Chupin 1998:42).

62 As Linares records, "As one young girl said to me, 'When I leave, my employer looks for a Wolof maid, and when I return, she fires her'" (2003:124).

63 These percentages are consistent with regional statistics collected by and Diop 1989 finding that 20 to 35 percent of Jola village populations were engaged in urban migration at the time of the study.

64 By contrast, Linares found that "although many of the employed claim that they send cash
remittances to their parents to help them hire work groups, it is difficult to substantiate their claims. Very few parents, also, will admit to receiving money from their children" (2003:121).

By contrast, Van der Klei argues that village elders, not young men, introduced Kumpo to exert authority over their sons, who had started to participate in urban migration (1989:218).

Foucher 2003 describes efforts to constrict Jola migration in more depth while arguing that female migration spurred the birth of Casamance separatism.

For example, Langeveld describes an interaction she witnessed in which anañalena insulted a female merchant with a vulgar gesture implying that "you make love for such a long time that it makes this clack-clack noise when you have sex and your vagina is very large" (2013:38). Such an outrageous insult was socially acceptable because of her deliberately transgressive role.

Langeveld includes translations of ten songs sung by kuñalena that lament their newly lowered social status, admonish others for laziness, and reference Brazilian soap operas and Senegalese popular music (2013).

Although the primary role of the alamaan drum ensemble is to provide a propulsive sonic core to drive women's participation in singing, clapping, and interpersonal dance interactions, from time to time the drummers switch to a more presentational performance mode geared towards spectacle. Toward the end of one evening's dance event, for example, ensemble leader Ajeme Niassi abruptly leaps upwards and grabs an overhead tree branch, hanging by one hand while continuing to play his tounba drum with the other. This athletic motion elicits cheers from his fellow drummers, and several groups of nearby women run forward to circle around him while clapping and playing percussion in double time. Niassi then flings both feet over the tree branch and dangles upside down while playing a fuyundum drum held up by another drummer. Dropping down from the tree to balance on top of the tounba rack, he then lifts one drum out of the rack and plays it while stomping on the other. Finally, he drops the tounba back into the rack and dances precariously on top of the two drum heads before diving down to the ground, sending a mist of perspiration arcing over the ecstatic crowd.

Although the mbalax percussion ensemble is usually associated specifically with the Wolof ethnic group or with the Serer njuup ensemble, N'Dour himself emphasizes that the instruments and rhythms of the mbalax drum ensemble come "from many tribal sources: Toucouleur, Peul, Bambara, Djola, Serer, as well as Wolof" (in Cathcart 1989:13).

There are subtle differences between the various terms Senegalese musicians use to refer to Cuban music, such as "Cuban," "Afro-Cuban," "Latin," and "salsa"), and each term has a specific referent in Latin America. In contemporary Senegalese vernacular practice, however, the general term "salsa" has come to encompass all the others, which in fact refer primarily to variants on the
Cuban *son montuno* style.

73 Some of these musicians were, in fact, Cuban. With support from Fidel Castro during the 1970s, several Cuban groups toured regularly in Senegal, especially Orquesta Aragón, who first visited Africa in 1968 (Shain 2002:97) and who remain legendary in Senegal to this day.

74 Stewart (1999) suggests that aural similarities between Spanish and African languages also accounts for some Africans' perception that the Spanish language has a special musicality.

75 Unless otherwise noted, all quotations from Rudi Gomis and Balla Sidibe are from personal interviews conducted in Dakar between October and December 2014.

76 Thione Seck and Medoune Diallo, both later famous in their own right, also sang with Orchestre Baobab in the early years, along with several other musicians who played short stints and sometimes recorded with the band.

77 As the title of their twice-released album *Pirate's Choice* indicates, Orchestre Baobab has a complicated relationship with music piracy. Speaking of the enthusiastic reception to their 2001 world tour, Sidibe recalls, "What really astonished me is that when we toured in Europe or in the United States or in China, the people already knew us. I asked [World Circuits producer] Nick [Gold], why? He said, 'They've pirated. They've pirated a lot. In the entire world, people already know the Baobab. Now, they have to come see you.' You see? Okay. The reality is, it's not good. But on the other hand, it's not bad either." Despite this apparent acceptance, Sidibe still resents the commercial failure of Orchestre Baobab's early Senegalese releases, which he attributes to piracy. "It really doesn't make sense," he says, "because it just doesn't work. [...] When you put out a CD, people pirate it and you don't earn anything. You'll earn nothing. The artist gains nothing."

78 For financial reasons, Orchestre Baobab's "world" tours have mostly not included stops on the African continent. Gomis chuckles wistfully when he says, "We've done everywhere in the world, except *chez nous*." And Sidibe laments, "We haven't done many African countries. Because, our producer, he sees Europe. Europe, and the United States. Not Africa. There's no money."

79 Taylor (1997) notes that Third World artists in the 1990s often achieved international success through the intervention of a Western star, as in the case of Peter Gabriel's work with Youssou N'dour, Paul Simon's work with Ladysmith Black Mambazo, or somewhat later, Ry Cooder's work with the musicians of *Buena Vista Social Club*. Orchestre Baobab's international breakthrough in the early 2000s came through the intervention of two of these very Third World artists: Youssou N'dour produced and sang on their 2002 album *Specialist in All Styles*, and *Buena Vista Social Club* pianist Ibrahim Ferrer played and sang on the same album. Although N'dour's popularity in Senegal had some ways displaced Orchestre Baobab's by the 1980s, they remain grateful for N'dour's continuing support. "He always liked the Baobab," Sidibe says. "He did a lot for the Baobab. [...] For our first CD in England [in 2002], Youssou came and he spent ten days with us in the studio and in the same hotel. Ten days. If he didn't like us, he wouldn't have done it. [chuckles] Voila. And it's true, he gives us advice. An extraordinary man. Very good. He says little, but when he does speak it's because he's going to say something." Gomis
recalls playing with Ferrer with similar fondness: "Now there's someone I respect a lot. [...] He would always take my hand, like this. He would say, 'I don't know. When I take your hand, it's like I become young again.' And I would say, 'Okay then, take it! We've got to cut off my hand!'"

80 For his part, Sidibe takes a more measured view on mbalax's place in Senegalese music: "Yes, it's mbalax that has dominated a little. Not too much, but it has dominated a little. Young people like mbalax because there are a lot of women there. And where there are women, that's where the men go. That's life, no?" Orchestre Baobab bassist Charley Ndiaye discusses mbalax's popularity in similarly gendered terms. Shain also notes that "it is difficult to convey how troubled [older Senegalese] were in the 1980s by the public displays of eroticism, especially by women, in nightclubs featuring m'balax music" (2009:203).


82 The polygamous Touré family included one father, four mothers, and a total of twenty-five children. Sixu was born to Mafili Touré, Amadou and Ismaïla were born to Masse Touré, and Ousmane was born to Dionfolo Touré (Tenaille 1987:7).

83 In fact, the Touré Kunda concert and the MFDC Festival for Peace shared a similar rhetoric of interethnic solidarity and universalism (see Chapter 3).

84 There is a Jola traditional song that shares the name "Ah Diatta" and that addresses a similar theme of lovers separated by distance. However, the melody is dissimilar and the theme is general enough that there is little reason to suspect the two songs are related.


86 Perhaps the phrase jisalberoöl ("lift him up") is meant to convey a sense of "whom Emité lifted up" in the manner of Emité dabognol ("whom Emité has sent"), the Jola term for an Awasena prophet suggested by Baum 2015. Again, however, neither I nor any of my Jola contacts are aware of such significance for the phrase.

87 One of the first exceptions was the UCAS Jazz Band de Sédhiou, formed in 1959 as the Union Culturelle et Artistique de Sédhiou (UCAS). Like their compatriots in Dakar, the UCAS band drew from American jazz and Cuban montuno genres, but from the beginning their sound was more strongly defined by Mandinka elements, especially high, rough vocals, traditional dance rhythms, and the iconic sound of the kora high in the mix. To a lesser extent, they drew from other musical traditions surrounding Sédhiou, including occasional use of the Jola language and melodic contours. Remarkably, the band has performed continuously until the present day, releasing six albums along the way and relocating to The Gambia in 1995, where they received special support from President Yahya Jammeh.
Bujo (1998, 2003), Scheid (2011), and others are careful to point out that they take a deliberately idealized image of the palaver tree as a model for conflict resolution, thereby evading an overly romantic portrait of social harmony in rural African communities.
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Discography


