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List of Abbreviations

AMS: African Music Society

CMS: Church Missionary Society

SEM: Society for Ethnomusicology

SOAS: School of Oriental and African Studies (London)

Linguistical Note

This thesis frequently mentions nouns from Bantu languages that describe areas, social or cultural identifications in Uganda. These nouns characteristically derive meaning from pre-fixes, and this short list on the example of Soga might provide orientation for unaccustomed readers:

Basoga: The Soga people

Musoga: A Soga person

Busoga: Land of the Soga

Lusoga: Soga language

Kisoga: Things of/related to Soga

Disclaimer on Language

The following work investigates and quotes historical sources, some of which use language or express views that are characteristic for their historical and social contexts, but have to be considered as racist and may be offensive for some readers. They do not represent the perspectives of the author.

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1 Introduction

The second decade of the 21st century has seen a renewed and growing public debate about racialized oppression in many aspects of contemporary European and North American societies. These necessary discussions and processes—be it the Black Lives Matter movement or the arguments about ownership and restitution in ethnographic museums—more or less explicitly circulate around central questions of power and hegemony. It is also in this respect that discussions about the ongoing ramifications of European imperialism—in its different instances from the 15th to the 20th century—have gained renewed impetus. In many cases, they concern Africa in multiple ways, which is hardly surprising given its significance in the complex histories of colonialism, from the Atlantic Slave Trade to the era of so-called New Imperialism in the 19th and early 20th century that brought about the rapid subjugation and partition of much of the continent under European rule.

Notwithstanding the significance of the current debates and changes, it is important to consider that critical analyses of colonialism did not just appear in the 21st century. Indeed, anti-colonial thought and critique have been existent since the very era of formal colonialism and its immediate aftermath, often voiced by former subjects of colonial rule and activists for independence. From the second half of the 20th century onwards, many theorists and authors (from Frantz Fanon and Edward Said to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Achille Mbembe) have made valuable contributions to the body of literature that is popularly coined as postcolonialism. Importantly, they have posed questions on the complexities of colonialism not only regarding predominant political and economic narratives, but issues of culture, language, religion and more fundamental questions of knowledge, power and the creation of meaning. For the sake of this thesis and its regional focus on Africa, postcolonialism can be understood as an array of

“critical practices [...] committed to explicit thematization and theorization of the experiences of people whose identities are inflected by the metropolitan habits exported to Africa through British, French, Belgian, and Portuguese colonialism” (Agawu 2003: xvii).

It is interesting to note that among the most frequently cited ‘protagonists’ of postcolonial thought, anthropologists are rarely mentioned. Given the history of this discipline as one that was, in its genesis, tied to 19th- and 20th-century European imperial projects, all of the mentioned issues fundamentally concern it. Indeed, many African intellectuals and voices

in postcolonial discourse have appeared as outspoken critics of prevalent anthropological outlooks and practices, in the case of southern Africa for example Archie Mafeje (1976) and Bernard Magubane (1968; 1971). Such critique arguably acted as a stimulus for the discipline's reformulation: Anthropological examinations and critical discussions of colonialism and the discipline's own entanglement with it have, with varying scope and degree, taken place in the 20th century. One of the most influential currents in this regard, that also touched upon central epistemological and methodological issues, was the 1980's 'crisis of ethnography', with the so-called 'writing culture' debate after the volume of the same name edited by James Clifford and George Marcus (1986). Here, anthropology's prime concept of culture—central e.g. for proponents of Boasian cultural anthropology in the US in their critiques of biological determinism and scientific racism—was fundamentally brought into question, as well as the discipline's practices of representing 'Others'.

Among many anthropologists, these debates helped to establish awareness of the constructiveness of ethnography (analogous to history), its reliance on notions of difference and continued forms of reductionism and essentialism. Equally influential in this regard were Johannes Fabian's writings on anthropological epistemology (1983), the ideas on Orientalism and Othering by literary scholar Said (2019 [1978]), and a growing amount of critical and reflective, topical scholarship up into the 21st century. They acknowledge and analyse the colonial characteristics in anthropological practice and its foundation in ideas of Otherness that were, from its early years up until the 20th century, often framed in terms of 'race'—the conceptual world that stood, in the same time period, at the very heart of European colonial projects.

The intertwined histories of colonialism and racism have of course been addressed not only by scholars, but by activists or in literature, for example by Chinua Achebe in his well-known critique of Joseph Conrad's 1899 novella *Heart of Darkness* (1990). He aptly describes how this particular text and author could, seemingly paradoxical, criticise colonial atrocities and exploitation in the Congo, while at the same time remaining oblivious to and also reproducing the "racism on which it sharpened its iron tooth" (ibid.: 19). One of the aspects that make Achebe's perspective compelling is that he does not discuss Conrad as a singular, outrageous offender propagating racism, but rather as characteristically expressing hegemonic notions of his time and the structures of 'racial' hierarchy he was embedded in. As Africa (and Africans) stood at the centre of European colonial activity as well as de-

velopments of many scientific disciplines in the late 19th and 20th century, it was pervasively imagined as “‘the other world,’ the antithesis of Europe and therefore of civilization, a place where man’s vaunted intelligence and refinement are finally mocked by triumphant bestiality” (ibid.: 3).

These imaginations and their impact on scientific perspectives will often resurface in this thesis, as it attempts to discuss them in the context of a particular field—music research—in a particular time and place—the Uganda Protectorate under British colonial rule (1894 to 1962). Most of the issues regarding anthropology and colonialism equally concern ethnomusicology, given its historically dominant subject matter of ‘non-European music’, its utilisation of anthropological perspectives and methodologies as well as its institutional and individual histories. On an epistemological level, Ronald Radano and Philip Bohlman point to a “preoccupation with the performance of difference” in musical ethnography and its often underestimated historical rooting in ideas of ‘race’ and constructions of Otherness (2000: 1).

More recently, a 2020 blog essay by Danielle Brown deems ethnomusicology to still be a “colonialist and imperialist enterprise” with continuities of “epistemic violence against BI-POC” in the discipline’s institutions as well as in fieldwork relationships (June 12 2020). What Brown targets here are continuities of inequality in knowledge production, often colonial in character, in a discipline which—amongst the other areas of music research—is often depicted as *the* pillar of cosmopolitanism, relativism and academic self-consciousness. This latter sentiment certainly has some validity, but it should not distract from the fact that e.g. racialized ethnomusicologists face discrimination and structural inequality, or from colonial characteristics in the discipline’s hallmark method of qualitative fieldwork. A critical engagement with ethnomusicology’s (and anthropology’s) complicated present thus is necessary, and it requires a differentiated, multidirectional view of its equally complex past. The latter, in regard to a specific regional and historical example, is what I aim to formulate in the following chapters.

During British rule, Uganda has seen a strand of researchers, writers, missionaries and travellers who were, to varying degree, concerned with music and produced textual, visual and auditory sources, many of which I will mention during the course of this work. In discussing them, it is equally important to assess the particular situations, agencies and ac-

tions of individuals as well as their positions as partakers and agents in the structures in which they operated—and in this case, these were structures of imperial power. Taking inspiration from Achebe’s perspective mentioned above, it is thus not the goal to frame these individuals in a homogenous way, but to ask how systemic and prevalent aspects appear in and inform their outlooks, actions and findings. As Kofi Agawu states:

“Understanding ethnomusicology as a discipline nurtured by colonialism is not the same as branding every ethnomusicologist a colonialist. But acknowledging the link between a decisive set of historical events in Africa at the end of the nineteenth century and the emergence of the discourse of an academic discipline is a precondition for adequate historical analysis” (2003: 155).

I also acknowledge my position as a white, European researcher engaging with writings of other predominantly white, European researchers in discussing an example of colonialism in Africa, and who also had the privilege to attend a fieldwork excursion to Uganda. My intent is not to reproduce epistemic power structures and narratives of ethnographic authority unquestioned, but to carefully analyse them to contribute towards a critical assessment of ethnomusicological work in the past and thus potentials for the discipline in future developments.

Proceeding from these perspectives, the research question that informs this thesis is the following: In which ways are aspects of colonial epistemologies on African music present in music research from colonial Uganda? The goal is, thus, to analyse historical source material in regard to modes of knowledge production, outlooks, concepts and narratives about music in Africa which have developed in a colonial framework. In a broader sense, the subject of this study is—to borrow a phrase from Michael Taussig—a close investigation of “the magic of academic rituals of explanation which, with their alchemical promise of yielding systems from chaos, do nothing to ruffle the placid surface of this natural order” (1987: xiv). It is precisely these ‘rituals of explanation’, tied to scientific preoccupations with order and structure, that are at the centre of interest in the following chapters—not primarily on the methodological level of, for example, fieldwork in Uganda, but rather in subsequent stages of knowledge production and negotiation of meaning about music.

The objective is, in other words, the examination of a specific discourse in a similar fashion to what Agawu, an important theoretical vantage point here, proposes: namely, an analysis not only of “specific utterances”, but of an “implicit framework for the production,

dissemination and consumption of knowledge” that can be found in the different instances and sources of scholarship (2003: xv).

Before giving an overview of this work’s structure and content, a few comments must be made on thematic and temporal limitation as well as the selection of sources. The scholar most clearly associated with music research in the Uganda Protectorate is Klaus Wachsmann, who had spent two decades living and researching there, and had a substantial impact through his recordings, publications and curatorial work. He and his contributions thus present a fitting focal point to discuss the overarching issue. But to facilitate a broader understanding of their epistemology and historical context, a number of other sources will equally be investigated. In any case, the primary material mainly consists of written text dealing with music, and can be divided into two general categories: Firstly, published articles and books by scholars, missionaries, officials or other authors; and secondly, newsletters, reports and similar documents, for example from institutions and associations like the African Music Society.

At this point, a comment on terminology is necessary: I will mostly use the term ‘music research’ instead of ‘ethnomusicology’ out of deliberation: While Wachsmann, as the main case example, and some other authors can undoubtedly be categorised as ethnomusicologists, this is not fitting for all of the sources consulted as primary material. In particular, many of the accounts, reports and articles from the earlier years of the 20th century were rather written by colonial officials, missionaries, travellers or writers with apparent interest in music and often some scholarly proficiency. Using the term ethnomusicology when discussing these texts would seem inadequate, even though some of them have in fact been used and referred to in ethnomusicological research.

In the course of the thesis, I will at times also mention and discuss pictures, audio or audiovisual material, especially when they relate to other sources or can illustrate a certain point. But the substantial body of e.g. audio recordings would undoubtedly warrant a detailed exploration in stand-alone works and cannot be provided here. In fact, the collection of recordings made by Klaus Wachsmann has already been an object of postcolonial research by ethnomusicologist Sylvia Nannyonga-Tamusuza. As director of the Makerere University Klaus Wachsmann Audio-visual Archive (MAKWAA) in Kampala, she has not only engaged with these recordings on practical questions of archiving and restitution, but

has also, from a postcolonial perspective, discussed their complex histories, the challenges and possibilities for present and future approaches to them (2006; 2012). Another study of Wachsmann audio recordings with similar objectives has been provided by Samuel Kahunde with his case study of ‘sound repatriation’ and its effects on musical practices of court music in Bunyoro (2012). Although especially Nannyonga-Tamusuza’s work will be an important reference point in parts of this thesis, recordings—as a general issue and as individual sources—will not be specifically discussed. This also applies to publications by Wachsmann primarily concerned with recording, of which there are a few.

The specific temporal focus of the analysis lies on a period stretching from the 1930s to the 1960s. Although it is not to be seen as rigidly exclusive, as a few earlier and later sources are included to emphasise certain points, this limitation was set in relation to historical events and circumstances: In 1937, Wachsmann arrived in Uganda, and even prior, in 1934, publication of the *Uganda Journal* began. Contributions in this journal are an important source for the history of various fields of research in Uganda, and in the formal colonial era, some texts focused on music were published. In 1962, Uganda gained independence from the United Kingdom and music research continued to be carried out, now typically associated with scholars like Gerhard Kubik, Lois Anderson or Peter Cooke. This paper is not aimed at specifically analysing ethnomusicological work in Uganda in the post-independence period, although this would certainly be worth revisiting in regard to continuities of coloniality in institutions and research practices.

In Chapter 2, I establish a theoretical framework for the following discussions of music research in the Uganda Protectorate. Referring to authors and concepts with different backgrounds and outlooks, general concepts as well as specifics of discipline are considered: Subchapter 2.1 will explore the term of coloniality, its connection to knowledge, research and its application to African contexts. Two specific notions, ‘tribe’ and ‘tradition’, are taken into focus in 2.2, also because of their special relevance to anthropological and ethnomusicological research. Lastly, the issue of ethnomusicology’s relation to coloniality in the case of Africa and its discussion by scholars are the subject of Subchapter 2.3. Following these theoretical reflections, Chapter 3 will, in its three parts, introduce some facets of the colonial reality in the Uganda Protectorate—including particular imperial ideologies and attitudes, social and political issues as well as the situation of anthropological research in this time and place.

The main part of the thesis, where I will analyse in detail the sources on music, is Chapter 4. After some introductory remarks and background information, this part is divided into four sections which I termed ‘paths’. They are intended to serve as four vignettes with which I want to characterise some of the principal directions that research on music in colonial Uganda took: linking musical phenomena to ideas of ‘tribe’, ‘race’ or social evolutionism (4.1); collecting, describing and thus ‘ordering’ musical instruments (4.2); posing questions about the past of musical practices and constructing historical narratives (4.3); and concerns about ‘loss’ and change in African music and possible counter-measures (4.4). It is important to state, and this will become evident, that these cannot be seen as rigidly separate, but that they frequently intersect in the perspectives of individual authors and on a broader level of discourse.

Penultimately, Chapter 5 will move on to a more general level again and inquire the position and influence of Wachsmann in the discipline of ethnomusicology, particularly the perception and discussion of his work on Ugandan music. The aim here is to provide reflection on how scholarly authority is construed in the discipline, Africanist as well as in general. The final chapter is a recapitulation of the central points and findings, and reflects on possible continuations of study.

2 Ethnomusicology and Coloniality in East Africa: Theoretical Considerations

The foregoing introduction has already circumscribed the central premise for the sake of this thesis: that a number of ideas, attitudes, modes and practices of knowledge about music in Africa can be historically and epistemologically traced to a colonial framework. If and how this applies in the case of Uganda will be investigated later on, but firstly it is crucial to formulate a theoretical approach that will allow to grasp these ‘colonial’ characteristics. Colonial, in this regard, is an adjective that creates connection to a distinctive historical moment in the history of Africa, namely European imperial conquest, expansion and rule, that reached its climax in the late 19th and early 20th century and found its end in the processes of formal decolonisation and political independence of most African states in the 1950s, -60s and -70s.

Though in many cases not a particularly long stretch of time, the impacts of this period of subjugation were, while not all-encompassing and unidirectional, often profound for many areas of African societies. This ‘colonial moment’ “signified a new historical form and the possibility of radically new types of discourses on African traditions and cultures” (Mudimbe 1988: 14). To try to understand it solely in terms of its economic and political histories, can thus not paint a complete picture of colonialism’s complex effects on African populations as well as those of the colonising metropole. Equally, it has to be kept in mind that the various agencies and interests involved in colonial situations were heterogeneous, sometimes contradictory, and contingent on particular contexts. This means in effect that, even within a specific spatial and historical example like the British Uganda Protectorate, the production of knowledge entails different perspectives, intentions, actions and thus results. With this important consideration informing the whole thesis, the following chapter primarily reflects on the general relationship between colonialism in Africa and epistemology in (social and cultural) research as it was discussed and theorised by authors of various backgrounds and disciplines.

2.1 Africa and the Coloniality of Research and Knowledge

To begin these deliberations, I would like to invoke sociologist and theorist Aníbal Quijano, who very directly addresses the interconnection of knowledge and power in colonial situations, with its lasting consequences. Although he developed his arguments with a focus on Latin America, his writings contain many elements suitable for general application and for African contexts. Specifically, I refer to his work *Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América latina* in a translated version (2016).

The central term here, already mentioned in the introduction and visible in this subchapter's title, is coloniality. Quijano generally uses it to denote power structures, social hierarchies and modes of knowledge that stem from projects of European imperialism and, in many cases, continued to exist after formal independence of colonised territories. Essentially, what he sees as the foundational element of these global patterns of power is an aspect of knowledge and order: the social classification of peoples through the category of 'race/*raza*' and an ideology of non-European inferiority, which he ties to the colonisation of the Americas as well as the corresponding developments of capitalist modes of production. This "modern", "eurocentric" capitalism, according to Quijano, entailed control of labour (and bodies) in which uncompensated labour was relegated to the colonised and racialised, while paid labour was construed as the sphere of the unmarked, colonising white (2016: 38–39). With this concept in mind, many instances of power prevalent to this day on various geographical scales can be interpreted as at least partly colonial, because they presuppose and enforce racialised hierarchies as well as capitalist structures of control, whilst having far outlived the era of formal imperialism (ibid.: 24).

That Quijano sees one of the foundations for the patterns of colonial hegemony in the sphere of knowledge is of great interest for the argument of this thesis. The term eurocentrism is central to his conception of coloniality, and is described as a "knowledge perspective and mode of knowledge production [...], that makes fully obvious the character of the global pattern of power"¹ (ibid.: 63). Quijano stresses that eurocentrism does not denote a totality of European knowledge perspectives, but rather a historically specific one that became hegemonic towards others in the world (including Europe) and thus 'colonising' (ibid.: 64). He establishes three (interconnected) aspects as central to eurocentrism and fa-

1 "Wissensperspektive und eine Art und Weise der Wissensproduktion [...], die den Charakter des globalen Machtmusters ganz deutlich machen" (Quijano 2016: 63). Translation PE.

cilitated by the colonality of power, the first being an epistemic reliance on various dualisms and binary oppositions, e.g. between European and non-European, ‘primitiveness’ and ‘civilisation’ (ibid.: 70). This aspect is also emphasised by Stuart Hall, who poses that the construction of ‘the West’ as a unique and superior sphere entails at its core notions of binary difference from ‘the Rest’ of the world, suggesting clear and inherent distinctions (1992: 277–280).

In Quijano’s view, this dichotomisation through various terminologies is concurrent with social evolutionism: the idea of a teleological, uniform path of ‘development’ of human societies towards the ‘modern’, European model as its pinnacle (2016: 70). He does not name evolutionism—a now refuted paradigm that was central for many anthropologists in the 19th and even 20th century—as a separate point, but stresses its connection to the use of categorical dualisms in together postulating inferiority of non-Europeans. Going on, the category of ‘race’ can be explained as a naturalisation and fixation of difference and pre-existing attitudes towards it, and again one that, especially in the 19th century, took on the form of scientification. The centrality of racialisation for eurocentrism as a knowledge perspective then stems from it being a theorisation of the colonial ideology of domination and superiority over the non-European ‘natives’. In this way, it became utilisable to legitimise the very structures of that domination (ibid.: 28).

As the final aspect, Quijano mentions the “distorted shifting of all these differences in time, so that everything non-European is perceived as past”² (ibid.: 70). This is of course related to the view of social evolutionism, but also evokes the role of temporal distancing as a factor in constructing Others in ethnography as it was discussed by Fabian (1983). In regard to colonial control, the attribution of pastness was in effect yet another aspect used to naturalise the inferiority of the racialised subjects and to justify their conquest and deployment, often in the guise of a ‘civilising mission’.

All of these elements of eurocentrism in the presented understanding will often resurface in the following chapters and will also be shown to have informed music research in different ways. Indeed, in the case of Africa in the 19th and 20th century, they have had lasting effect on views and attitudes towards the continent and its inhabitants, including research perspectives. In his influential work *The Invention of Africa* (1988), philosopher and writer

2 “verzerrte Verschiebung aller dieser Unterschiede in der Zeit, so dass alles Nicht-Europäische als Vergangenheit wahrgenommen wird” (Quijano 2016: 70). Translation PE.

Valentin-Yves Mudimbe critically analyses epistemologies about Africa in a diachronic, genealogical view. This includes, but is not limited to, their colonial histories. Many of his findings afford connections to those of Quijano, notwithstanding the different regional focus and paradigms. While presenting a philosophical study with often highly complex deliberations, Mudimbe is fundamentally concerned with constructions of difference, an African Other to a European Self, through modes of knowledge, and with what he calls “African gnosis”: “both the scientific and ideological discourse on Africa” (ibid.: 200).

In regard to the colonial characteristics of this discourse, Mudimbe similarly observes epistemological structures that rely on multiple dichotomisations and dualisms, all ultimately utilisable to construct African inferiority (ibid.: 4). Similarly, the notion of Africa’s ‘primitiveness’ is presented as a central discursive characteristic in the 19th and also the early decades of the 20th century. He writes:

“In fact, from a more general historical frame, one can observe three complimentary genres of ‘speeches’ contributing to the invention of a primitive Africa: the exotic text on savages, represented by traveler’s [sic] reports; the philosophical interpretations about a hierarchy of civilizations; and the anthropological search for primitiveness” (ibid.: 82).

While these genres vary in their historical situatedness and particular outlooks, Mudimbe suggests they can be treated as essentially chronological manifestations of the same discourse, one in which Africa is positioned as ‘primitive’ and in an antithetical relationship to Europe (ibid.). In a sense, the racialising perspective described by Quijano has served as much as a codification and reformulation of pre-existent European attitudes and speech on Africa as much as it transformed and amplified them. And it is no coincidence that a phase of increased discursive power for this notion of fundamental African difference, “the rhetoric of light and dark, of color and culture” now framed in terms of ‘race’, was the Victorian age of imperialism in Africa (Comaroff / Comaroff 2010 [1991]: 32).

Mudimbe extensively discusses the epistemological roles and perspectives of Christian missionaries as well as anthropologists in this regard. To the former, he attributes a foundational, if possibly unconscious aim of intervention and “radical transformation” in ‘native’ societies that is characteristic of imperial projects in general (Mudimbe 1988: 71). Similar assessments have been made by anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff, who have researched and published extensively on issues of Southern Africa from a postcolonial view-

point. With missionaries in the important positions of “agent, scribe, and moral alibi”, many apologists of colonial rule employed the “historical imperative” that, through European domination, “the ‘native’ would be brought into the European world [...] acknowledging, gratefully, his own subordination” (Comaroff / Comaroff 2010 [1991]: 32). The important role of missionaries in the processes of ‘collecting’ and knowledge production does not only pertain to early anthropology, especially in Africa, but also to music research, which will be shown in the Uganda example in Chapter 4.

Moving on to anthropologists in Africa from the 19th to the 20th century, the preoccupation with description and systematisation of what was deemed ‘primitive’ society, as quoted above, stands as a striking characteristic repeatedly highlighted by Mudimbe. While their role in providing imperialistic narratives and objectives appears to be more ambiguous, especially in the course of the 20th century, anthropology’s position as one of the ‘auxiliary sciences’ of empire is important to note. With its foundations as an academic discipline established in the same time and geographical situation as the ‘New Imperialism’, its entanglement and reciprocal relation with colonial systems are apparent in theory and practice—the latter exemplified e.g. through the conduct of fieldwork in colonised territories. In fact, the patterns of power in this particular practice of knowledge production bear resemblance to the racialised control of labour emphasised by Quijano—not only on an epistemological, but on a material level. Namely, it entails essentially hierarchical relationships between the often unpaid, racialised research ‘objects’ and the usually paid, racially unmarked researcher.

In the colonial framework, the “primitivist” anthropologists, as Mudimbe calls them, account “for differences with theories using functional paradigms and external causes. They depict deviations from the normativeness of a history or of a rationality” (1988: 206). Central to this ‘primitivist’ approach is the premise of a singular, universal mode in both rationality and history. It produces attempts of theorisation, such as social evolutionism, that ascribed certain positions of deficiency and incompleteness to non-European Others. Lack of rationality is also mentioned by Quijano as an important aspect in the notion of ‘native’ inferiority that is not only seen as making them subject to European rule, but in research also relegating them to be a mere object of study that can be examined (2016: 76).

In this motif of *knowing* the Other from a eurocentric perspective, knowledge becomes an aspect of power, as Said describes it in *Orientalism* on the example of Arthur Balfour's argument for the British occupation of Egypt. He poses that

“supremacy in his [Balfour's] mind is associated with ‘our’ knowledge of Egypt and not principally with military or economic power. Knowledge to Balfour means surveying a civilization from its origins to its prime to its decline—and of course, it means *being able to do that*. [...] To have such knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it. And authority here means for ‘us’ to deny autonomy to ‘it’—the Oriental country—since we know it and it exists, in a sense, *as we know it*” (Said 2019 [1978]: 32).

The negation of epistemic autonomy and agency is an important feature of the colonality of knowledge production, albeit one that is often not explicit. Correspondingly, the endeavour of adequately *knowing* a society has usually been construed as a European domain in colonial frameworks. Generally, one can make the observation that the processes of physical, material appropriation that colonialism entailed often went hand in hand with ones of epistemic, discursive appropriation from the position of the metropole (Carl 2004: 2). Ideas and narratives about Africa can thus be seen as “a system of representations framed by a whole set of forces that brought [Africa] into Western learning, Western consciousness, and later, Western empire” (Said 2019 [1978]: 203). It is important to note that the ‘West’ in this assessment is not to be understood in terms of a distinct place, a homogenous force or entity, but equally as a set of discourses with a complex genealogy.

An interesting and detailed study on research and knowledge in British colonial Africa is provided by Helen Tilley (2011). Her discussion covers multiple fields, including anthropology, in the period from 1870 to 1950, while setting a particular focus on the multidisciplinary African Research Survey of the 1930s. In general, Tilley argues against simplistic understandings of colonialism that rely on unquestioned binaries, but rather advocates for nuanced analyses of the often-times quite ambiguous and shifting positions of research in African colonies. On a terminological level, she criticises the notion of ‘colonial science’, noting several theoretical and historical fallacies:

“First, that something called ‘Western science’ developed in geographical isolation within Europe. Second, that colonial science existed as a distinct phenomenon separate from science proper. Third, that colonialism produced certain features that were pathological distortions of ‘real’ or ‘good’ science” (Tilley 2011: 10).

One of the central points here is that the entanglements of research with colonial systems in Africa should in analysis not be treated as deplorable deviations, but in many cases, like anthropology, as formative in the establishment of scientific disciplines. Africa in particular came, as Tilley observes, to be seen from the late 19th century onwards as a sort of ‘living laboratory’—a striking but apt description for scientific attitudes which will reappear later on in this thesis. This not only refers to areas and projects of research that were deemed to be of potential advantage for colonial rule and development (like agriculture, medicine or, to a lesser degree, anthropology), but also alludes to the evolutionistic belief that, in Africa, European scholars would be able to observe some primordial condition thus far isolated and untouched.

This ‘laboratory’ motif applied to so-called ‘primitive peoples’ appears to be a ubiquitous narrative in anthropology at least in the first half of the 20th century. Even a champion of cultural relativism and outspoken critic of racism like Ruth Benedict utilises it:

“They [primitive cultures] are a laboratory in which we may study the diversity of human institutions. With their comparative isolation, many primitive regions have had centuries in which to elaborate the cultural themes they have made their own” (2005 [1934]: 17).

What is noteworthy here is the view that the highest possible degree of social or cultural difference correlates with the highest possible degree of scientific relevance, which is evident in the early history of anthropology even outside of arguments for social evolution. In a way, this appears as a form of scientific fetishisation of Otherness, operating with hierarchical categories that are informed by the eurocentric modes of knowledge production.

The objectification of an area and its inhabitants as a ‘laboratory’ references the language of the natural sciences. It also implicates an increased sense of scientific authority, a “space of knowledge production touted for its rigorous and robust truth claims [...] a site in which manipulation might be manageable”, but also one in which “consent was rarely an explicit concern” (Tilley 2011: 12–13). The hierarchical and often problematic relationships between European researchers and their non-European research subjects have been a focal topic in many interpretations of science and colonialism. The central questions herein are those of agency and the degrees of it bestowed upon and exercised by both sides. Without obliterating power asymmetry, some scholars (including Tilley) have stressed “the importance of Africans as active agents in the production, application, and appropriation of sci-

entific knowledge”, albeit in mostly indirect roles, inside of the structures of coloniality and often without recognition (ibid.: 14). Indeed, research appears to have been one of the ambivalent (and often unstable) entranceways for many Africans into the imperial sphere, where collaboration and agency could have been enacted, but in which, in case of doubt, the role of subordination remained potent. This aspect will be revisited in the discussion of music research later on.

In the 1920s, social anthropology and its findings on African societies were increasingly seen by colonial administrators in British Africa as a possible tool to improve and extend the colonial control which was framed as a European duty (ibid.: 265; Mudimbe 1988: 207). The relationship between colonial governments and the comparatively small number of anthropologists always remained somewhat ambivalent, however, and the latter couldn’t be as sure of official support as other researchers (Tilley 2011: 283). And in certain circumstances, potentials for anti-colonial subversion among scientific disciplines were often the most pronounced in anthropology, particularly in the decades of the British Empire’s twilight around the mid of the 20th century. While this relationship did not necessarily stem from activist impetus or include active criticism—after all, many anthropologists were subject to institutional constraints—the questioning of colonial rule could sometimes have come from the arena of knowledge production. As Tilley summarises,

“[a]nthropologists rarely set out to dismantle the empire; some were actually strong believers in paternalistic overrule. But their commentary and observations often inadvertently drew attention to its injustices [...] More than any other field science, anthropological research helped to challenge both cultural and cognitive absolutes, leaving the door open for pluralistic perspectives of all kinds” (ibid.: 30).

One factor in this development was the emerging presence and work of African anthropologists, many of them trained in Britain as well as being anti-colonial activists or thinkers. Examples include the eventual president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, and later Okot p’Bitek in Uganda, who will be mentioned again in Chapter 3.

The shifting positions and paradigms of anthropology in the face of formal colonialism, however, did not inevitably or immediately result in the kind of critique and subsequent abandoning of many of the by then long-standing epistemologies about Africa shaped by the coloniality of power. The next sub-chapter will therefore reflect in more detail on two

central conceptions which have shown a conspicuous continuity in interpretations of culture, including musical practices, in Africa.

2.2 Tribe and Tradition: Two Concepts in the Context of Empire

Both of the terms that are taken into focus here are representations of knowledge paradigms which show characteristics of coloniality that have priorly been outlined. Furthermore, as I will argue in the rest of this thesis, they are recurrent and often appear inter-relatedly in music research in colonial Africa in general, and Uganda in particular.

‘Tribe’ has mostly been abandoned as an analytical term in contemporary anthropology and related fields, but it nonetheless continues to be quite common in speech about social and cultural identities in Africa in various contexts today—in the political arena for example in the form of ‘tribalism’. Being used broadly as a denominator for a type of territorially defined human society with a comparatively low degree of social hierarchy, one of its main shortcomings (but perhaps also one of the reasons for its prevalence) is its conceptual inexactness and rather inconsistent use. This is a central point of critique in the influential scholarly problematisation of the term that I will refer to in the following: Aiden Southall’s “The Illusion of Tribe” (1970). An anthropologist who was also active in Uganda, he does not necessarily call for a complete abandonment of the concept of tribe in anthropological research, but thoroughly questions its prevalent and universalising use as a ‘catch-all’ term to denote the social and cultural organisation of so-called ‘primitives’. Its prevalence also stems from the fact that, in many cases, it has become a term that has been appropriated or adapted by people to whom it referred.

Southall groups what he sees as problems of the concept of tribe into three categories: The first has been mentioned already—the often ambiguous and inconsistent definition that also results from its application on an array of different societies (whose combining element, one might add, is their racialisation or markedness as non-European). With the issue of “illusion”, Southall means the “false application of the concept to artificial or misconceived entities” (1970: 45). And finally, the problems of “transition and transformation” refer to an uncritical application of ‘tribe’ in cases where the respective entities are shaped by rather recent influence (*ibid.*). Additionally, he also points to a sort of administrative complacency—in colonial as well as postcolonial states—which might have aided the continued reproduction of misrepresentation for the sake of convenience (*ibid.*).

From a contemporary perspective, it is important to stress that ‘tribe’ is not unlike most other notions of social identity and community in that it is imagined in the sense of Benedict Anderson (2016 [1983]). They are social constructions or do at least have an element of construction to them in their perception as distinct entities. But what is particularly noteworthy with ‘tribe’ regarding the topic here is its apparent foundation in colonial modes of knowledge. Situating ‘tribe’ within Henry Louis Morgan’s concepts of savagery and barbarism as respective stages of social evolution, Southall notes that a conflation and thus interchangeability of notions of the ‘tribal’ and the ‘primitive’ are quite common (1970: 31). This not only adds to its conceptual vagueness, but points to the rooting of both of them in evolutionistic narratives and thus Africa’s perceived pastness.

An issue of contention is the question whether, and to which degree, all ‘tribes’ in Africa are colonial inventions. Mudimbe speaks of them as colonial conceptualisations and part of the invention of African primitiveness, but points out that they were nonetheless often drawn upon by African nationalists and post-independence politicians, while others wholeheartedly refuted them as outside impositions (1988: 197). p’Bitek devotes a chapter of his book *African Religions in Western Scholarship* to a critical discussion of ‘tribe’, and argues for the term to be abandoned for having “no definitive meaning, in that it refers to no specific unit in Africa”, on the contrary being insulting and often misused as a political tool (1980: 13–14). Southall seemingly attempts to take a nuanced view in not overemphasising the power of colonial administrations to shape social identities, but acknowledging that the colonial moment was without doubt influential for their codification as unidimensional categories:

“While it is doubtful whether most colonial administrators most of the time had sufficient knowledge of the internal structure of the traditional societies they ruled and sufficient expertise in social engineering to achieve what is credited to them by this view, there is a certain element of truth in it to the extent that many of the named entities which appear as tribes in the literature appeared for the first time during the colonial period and must in this sense necessarily be considered a product of it” (Southall 1970: 33).

The problem of invention is one the conception of tribe shares with that of tradition. Especially from an ethnomusicological standpoint, tradition has proved to be a term of equal pervasiveness as ‘tribe’ and informs many of the long-established attitudes towards African music. In this context, tradition is to be understood as a specific interpretive framework for

knowledge and cultural practices that is especially prevalent in speech on Othered groups from the eurocentric perspective. The term has various implications that connect to the issue of coloniality in knowledge, and hence warrants some discussion.

The idea of the ‘invention of traditions’ to describe their constructiveness was coined by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger in their collected volume of the same name (1983) and has often been quoted and discussed in historical, social and cultural research. For our purposes, especially Ranger’s contribution is relevant for applying this concept to colonial Africa, and British Africa in particular. He lengthily explores the complex and diverse relationship between the ideology and practice of ‘traditions’ in this particular historical context, and comes to distinguish two main forms: on the one hand the introduction of European ‘invented traditions’—institutions, rituals, social hierarchies and customs—to Africa in the course of colonial rule, on the other hand the (re-)interpretation of African phenomena within the conceptual framework of tradition (Ranger 1983: 261–262).

Regarding the first type, the connections to the exertion of colonial power are apparent. According to Ranger, clear hierarchical relationships and performances of masculinity are inherent to many European ‘invented traditions’ and were implemented in Africa through the establishing of institutions (like schools, Christian churches and the military) and practices of subordination framed in a language of loyalty and pride. Likewise, the concept of ‘Imperial Monarchy’ in British East Africa, a quasi-religious discourse attributing local authority directly to Britain’s sovereign, necessitated seriously executed ceremony and decorum for its representation (ibid.: 229). Besides functioning as identity markers for the European elites in the colonies and as a performance of their perceived authority and ordering force, these ‘traditions’ were impactful on Africans on various levels. While a few were, theoretically, through training in institutions prepared to be part of a ruling class, most Africans experienced them through structures of subordination (ibid.: 220–221).

The second type, the re-imagination and codification of African knowledge and practice, points to epistemological transformations in the wake of colonial power that also apply to ideas such as ‘tribe’. These were processes that were informed both by the value ascribed to what was seen as ‘tradition’ from a European perspective and by attitudes of an inherent historical stability and pastness of Africa—the

“assertion by whites that African society was profoundly conservative—living within age-old rules which did not change; living within an ideology based on the absence of change; living within a framework of clearly defined hierarchical status” (ibid.: 247).

This entailed that practices or phenomena that emphasized authority and stability tended to be viewed more favourably for consolidating and functioning in colonial structures. Those that could be seen as facilitators of instability and change would conversely rather not have been taken into the focus of ‘re-invention’.

Other authors quoted here have stressed a similar view of ‘tradition’: Quijano includes it in opposition to ‘modernity’ as one of the central dualisms of the eurocentric knowledge perspective (2016: 70). For Mudimbe, the notion of unchanging, timeless ‘tradition’ in Africa was again produced by the ‘primitivist’ discourse in the 19th and 20th century (1988: 202). Indeed, one of the fundamental contradictions of the term ‘tradition’ appears to be a peculiar relationship with the time axis: It seemingly pertains to the past, in the sense of a more or less long and continuous history of a given practice, while at the same time remaining indeterminable in regard to specific historic reference.

This is certainly not to say that African societies before European colonisation did not possibly maintain favourable views on continuity or custom, but the particular notion of ‘tradition’ tends to imply a type of rigidity and stability that can negate historical contingency. The same can be said of the conceptualisation of ‘tribe’ and its effects on the interpretation of social identities and hierarchies as rather fixated. Both the view of Africa as ‘tribal’ and as ‘traditional’ are often discursively merged with the notion of African ‘primitiveness’ and lack of autonomous historicity.

Proceeding from these perspectives, one might easily come to the conclusion that what is commonly seen and talked about as ‘traditional’ in Africa could very well have completely been a product of the colonial reality and mainly a reflection of European stereotype. Notwithstanding the potency of colonial codification, it is important to bear in mind the historical complexities at play. This is also where the ‘invention paradigm’, when coupled with simplistic views of colonialism’s impact, has received some criticism, e.g. by Thomas Spear (2003: 4). For a nuanced view, African agency in these processes of interpretation has to be considered while also avoiding a romanticising of supposed pre-colonial realities.

While Ranger actually addresses these issues in the original 1983 text, he revisits its assertions and the criticisms of it in a second publication ten years later. Here, he updates and reformulates some aspects of the ‘invention paradigm’, stating to now prefer the term ‘imagination’ to ‘invention’, because it better denotes the multidirectionality and heterogeneity of the respective historical processes (Ranger 1993: 24–25). While problematising strict dualisms between supposedly organic ‘custom’ and constructed ‘tradition’, Ranger still maintains that “a real change took place in Africa over the period and along the broad lines I suggested” (ibid.: 8). In any case, it remains clear that the colonially codified idea of tradition influenced research and historiography in and about Africa, in some aspects to date. Furthermore, the ‘(re-)imagined traditions’ became realities through which the colonial experience could be articulated, but also political tools of legitimisation and de-legitimisation.

Anthropology and ethnomusicology in particular seem to have been arenas for both of Ranger’s types of ‘invented tradition’ in colonial Africa: On the one hand their scholars were operating in a ‘neo-traditional’ framework of institutions, academic practices, rituals and communality. On the other hand, a significant effect of their research practices was—deliberately or not—the definition and codification of the phenomena they aimed to understand in ways that reflected the colonality of knowledge, like their re-framing in the language of ‘tradition’ as part of essentialised group identities. These processes of interpretation were not simple ‘top-down’ affairs on the part of the researchers, but rather multidimensional and involving multiple agents—colonial officials, African intellectuals or political leaders, missionaries as well as their ‘informants’—each with respective agencies and positionalities inside the colonial system.

2.3 The Coloniality of Ethnomusicology in Africa

Just as those of anthropology suggested in 2.1, the positions of music research in colonial Africa were far from homogenous—rather, as my discussions on the example of Uganda will show, the record presents a picture full of ambiguities illustrating the complexity of the colonial reality. Equally, the body of knowledge about African music can hardly be separated from other, more general discourses about the continent and its inhabitants. This chapter will introduce some critical perspectives on ethnomusicology in the specific con-

text of European colonialism in Africa to complete the theoretical foundation necessary for the subsequent analyses.

A renewed and continued engagement with these perspectives seems to be especially important since, in Christopher Waterman's words: "Africanist ethnomusicology has, with a few notable exceptions, lagged behind other branches of African studies in critically examining its own ideological 'context'" (1991: 179). One can certainly argue that there has been a greater amount of such reflections in the field since the time Waterman made this statement—not least because of the work and efforts of African ethnomusicologists like Kofi Agawu. But especially research on music at times still shows an inclination towards objectifying its subject matter, in a way fostering or legitimising a sort of indolence on the historical contingency of its own epistemes and practices (ibid.). Furthermore, acknowledgment of the continued existence of effectively colonial structures and acts in ethnomusicology has still often not led to profound changes in many of its academic instances.

As one of the most influential postcolonial probers of Africanist ethnomusicology, Agawu's writing presents a fitting starting point. Especially his monograph *Representing African Music* (2003) has been received as a major contribution for a critical reflection of the discipline's entanglement with colonialism—not only on a methodological and material, but on an epistemological level. In this regard, a clear connection exists between Mudimbe's general inquiry into the construction and representation of Africa in European discourses and this work on a specific, disciplinary discourse. And, like Waterman, Agawu deplores a long-running lack of interest by Africanist ethnomusicologists to scrutinize the colonality of their discipline and practices (ibid.: 155).

At times quite polemic, many of the book's arguments nonetheless provide valuable theorisations and are clearly applicable to a variety of examples throughout Africa and in the history of music research there, including Uganda. A central concern is the long predominant epistemological position of difference in ethnomusicological thought, which is equivalent to the situation in anthropology as mentioned above. Historically conceived as the study of music of European and non-European Others, the discipline has not only relied on constructions of difference in terms of its subject, but also produced them, creating "distortions and inaccuracies in technical as well as non-technical writing" (ibid.: 222). Hereby,

many of the dualisms in colonial modes of knowledge production again come into play, as dichotomisation along the lines of Non-European (or ‘native’) and European, tradition and modernity, folklore and art, simplicity and complexity, or primitiveness and sophistication pervaded the language of ethnomusicology. Comparisons in these binary frameworks, Agawu argues, fail to acknowledge the characteristics of African phenomena as existing in and for themselves, but instead express a need to establish fundamental difference from a European Self (ibid.: xxii).

That the emphasis on difference is a juncture of anthropological research and colonial projects can thus also be presumed for ethnomusicology. This also entails the typically hierarchical relationship between researchers and researched in the methodologies of fieldwork and in the process of representation of the latter by the former, which in Agawu’s view are not accidental, but systemic and “the very condition of possibility for the production of ethnomusicological knowledge” (ibid.: 155).

Moving again onto the level of epistemology, Radano and Bohlman make an important argument: While the notions of difference deployed in the eurocentric perspective are rooted in the imagination of ‘race’, the latter is mostly absent from disciplinary discourse, and “difference is shifted from human differences to musical differences, to the object of music itself” (Radano / Bohlman 2000: 10). Similar to developments in cultural anthropology, many ethnomusicologists after World War Two (and some also before it) aimed to phase out terminology of ‘race’ from their academic discourses, instead opting for culture as the prime analytical concept (ibid.: 22–24). This did not, however, necessarily mean an end to essentialist perspectives and ideas informed by colonial modes of knowledge. Likewise, evolutionistic approaches have clearly been refuted by the time of the major formulations of the discipline (Merriam 1980 [1964]: 284–286). But the currency of terminology and attitudes that stem from evolutionism was not in the same way or speed affected by its rebuttal.

In Africanist ethnomusicology, a notable example for this are the long-standing attitudes towards rhythm in African musical practices. Agawu devotes two whole chapters to this issue and straightforwardly speaks of ‘African rhythm’ as an invention, echoing the paradigms used by Ranger as well as Mudimbe (2003: 55–70). What he specifically challenges is the commonly reproduced view that “the distinctive quality of African music lies

in its rhythmic structure”, which has the effect of creating a sense of fundamental difference from European music imagined as the realm of melody and harmony, thus denying Africans agency and proficiency in these aspects (ibid.: 55).

As part of his study of German-language discourse on African music in the late 19th and early 20th century, Florian Carl also explores the development of this idea—the predominance of rhythm—in the era of comparative musicology, ethnomusicology’s early incarnation. Analysing a number of texts by Erich Moritz von Hornbostel between 1909 and 1928, he is able to discern a narrative rooted in racialisation and construction of African difference and ‘primitiveness’. A common evolutionistic view in comparative musicology at the time was that the defining factor in so-called ‘primitive music’ was melody rather than harmony, with polyphony here only being a result of the former (Carl 2004: 137). This was applied to examples of music recorded in Africa, but in Hornbostel’s texts, rhythm is also increasingly presented as a stellar principle. In his reasoning, both aspects are ultimately the result of movement sequences and thus of an African body, the audible sound being rather secondary. Herein lies an idea of African corporeality as the sole foundation of musical behaviour in opposition to the idea of European music as a space of intellect and aesthetic universal contemplation (ibid.: 140–142).

Hornbostel also suggests that African rhythms are practically always grounded in drumming, which again assumes the primacy of visible bodily movement. Carl aptly summarises this general view by pointing out its connection to a conceptual framework of ‘race’:

“African music is movement, externalisation of the body (in dance, in rhythm, in melody), thereby a natural expression of the psychophysical constitution of the ‘black race’; European music by contrast means contemplation, inwardness, detachment from the body – ultimately leaving ‘racial’ specificity behind and obtaining universal, supernatural character, in short: absolute music”³ (ibid.: 42).

Another biologism that is connected to the idea of corporeality in African music—and is a pervasive attitude to this day—is the attribution of extraordinary ability in music and dance to Africans. Often framed in terms of joyfulness, spontaneity and immediacy, and again particularly ascribed to rhythmic expression and percussion, notions along these lines can

3 “Afrikanische Musik ist Bewegung, Externalisierung des Körpers (im Tanz, im Rhythmus, in der Melodie), und dabei natürlicher Ausdruck der psychophysischen Konstitution der ‘schwarzen Rasse’; europäische Musik hingegen bedeutet Kontemplation, Innerlichkeit, Loslösung vom Körper – wodurch sie letztlich auch ‘rassische’ Spezifika hinter sich lässt und universalen, übernatürlichen Charakter erhält, kurz: absolute Musik” (Carl 2004: 142). Translation PE.

be found in some of the earlier written sources on African music in Arabic (ibid.: 4–5). While this may seem to be what is sometimes called a ‘positive stereotype’, it equally points to a perspective of African ‘primitiveness’ and simplicity that was reframed in terms of ‘race’ in colonial contexts. To recapitulate, questions of difference and similarity have long been central themes in ethnomusicological discourses on Africa. The notions that Waterman coins “psychomotor theories of rhythm” are an example, but one that has also received considerable criticism from inside the discipline (1991: 170–176).

Another issue, to again refer to the discussion of ‘tribe’, has been the question of difference in musical practice between various societies in Africa. A look at the epistemological and methodological development of the discipline shows that a perception of homogeneity for the musics of Sub-Saharan Africa—in itself a contentious term—has been maintained for longer than for other areas of the world (ibid.: 169–170). This is illustrated by the certainty with which it was, and still is, common in ethnomusicological writing and teaching to speak of *African* music in a singular fashion. Nevertheless, a gradual shift has been made towards an emphasis on musical diversity akin to cultural and linguistic diversity (ibid.). This emphasis, of course, has its own implications and relations to the colonality of knowledge. It has also assumed a particular relevance in research on Uganda, as will be shown later on. I will for now not expand these considerations on a theoretical level, but will return to many of the mentioned issues in the discussions of Chapter 4, introducing further perspectives on them in the context of Uganda.

3 Colonial Uganda: Ideas, Realities and Research in the ‘Pearl of Africa’

It has already been proposed above that colonial rule can not be sufficiently analysed when it is treated as a single homogenous force with similar effects in every historical instance and component. Rather, it is something that could have looked and been experienced very differently depending on area, powers and actors involved, on individual positions and backgrounds in the systems. Like in most African colonies, the stretch of the 68 years of formal colonial rule in Uganda appears as rather short compared to centuries of precolonial history in the area. Its reverberations on vast areas of life and societies were, however, weighty and should not be underestimated—though they were heterogeneous and depended on a variety of pre- and postcolonial factors. Not least the existence of Uganda itself as an entity is tied to the British colonial undertaking that has largely created its current boundaries.

The complexities of Uganda’s history have repeatedly been discussed by scholars and writers with varying foci and conclusions. As I will not provide a comprehensive overview of the issues surfaced and discussed in that body of writing here, I would firstly like to refer the reader to Richard Reid’s *History of Modern Uganda* (2017) as a contemporary, critical work on the matter. My intent in the following chapter is, rather, to highlight some of the key aspects of Uganda’s colonial history—political and social as well as cultural in the light of a broader theoretical framework. Providing such an introduction to the historical situation is imperative to be able to contextualise the music research practices that will be addressed afterwards. For geographical and terminological orientation, the appendix includes a map of the Uganda Protectorate and its administrative units after 1926.

3.1 The Uganda Protectorate: Ideologies and Practices of Empire

The processes that led to the formation of the Uganda Protectorate in 1894 can be situated as parts of the significant expansion of the British Empire in the late Victorian era and, more generally, the European ‘Scramble for Africa’ in this time period. The latter is the common expression to describe a phase of intensified imperial ambition and competition of European states in Africa, mainly associated with the Berlin Conference (or Congo Conference) of 1884–1885 as a major formalising event. Essentially, it brought about the conquest and partition of the majority of the continent under European colonial control. But, as

has been suggested above, these imperial projects took place in different ways and not always encompassed invasion in the strict sense, but for example transitions from informal arrangements of political and economic control to official and (more or less) direct forms of rule. The latter applies to the case of Uganda, which saw a “conversion of a bunch of ill-resourced, precarious clingers-on to formal administrators in the space of a decade”, but the integration of the whole future area into the Protectorate did not transpire at once or un-animously (Reid 2017: 289). Formal political cornerstones of this development included the Anglo-German agreement of 1890, settling territorial claims and practically granting future Uganda to Britain, the transmission of the administrative rights of the Imperial British East Africa Company to the government in 1893, the establishment of the Protectorate in 1894 and the signing of the Buganda Agreement in 1900. This initial period and the processes of establishing British rule, especially in the kingdoms south of the Nile, have been extensively investigated by Donald A. Low (2009).

An important aspect of European expansion that preceded political rule in the formal sense was the presence and influence of first Protestant and then Catholic missionaries from the 1870s onwards, especially in the monarchical state of Buganda in the south of the territory. This in fact proved to be a factor for considerable conflicts over power and allegiance in the 1880s and 1890s (Reid 2017: 175–178). Likewise, European trading activity in the region gained traction before becoming formalised with the establishment of the East Africa Company. After all, as Tilley states, economic extraction and benefit for the metropole were central drivers and motivations of British colonial endeavours in Africa and beyond (2011: 17).

Buganda was in many ways not only a first point of contact and gateway for British colonial agents, but the development of a specific alliance between the two turned out to be a defining characteristic of subsequent colonial rule that produced a number of issues I will discuss later on. This relationship between the Ganda ruling class and the British colonial administration was formalised with the Buganda Agreement of 1900 (revised in 1955). The early 20th century then saw a gradual expansion of formal colonial control in the territory, although it “was not until 1911 that any serious attention was paid [...] to effectively incorporating the region north of the Nile into the Protectorate territory” (Reid 2017: 290). Counteracting the narrative of mutual and peaceful agreement on colonial dominance, the northern regions of Uganda in particular witnessed exertions of violent force, and in-

creased military presence, for longer than the south, which also produced a symbolic and material emphasis on the militaristic features of empire here (ibid.: 295).

Although the designation as a Protectorate might suggest otherwise, Uganda was undoubtedly part of Britain's formal political empire in Africa, overseen first by the Foreign and then, after 1906, by the Colonial Office (Tilley 2011: 17). Furthermore, it was not a settler colony in the manner of e.g. South Africa, Rhodesia or, to a lesser degree, neighbouring Kenya. It is important to stress that, in the history of the Empire, different forms of relationship between the British metropole and the colonies existed, and different ideologies and practices of political control were exerted. This is not necessarily an accidental circumstance in such a large colonial realm as the British Empire, but can be seen as a systemic predicament for it:

“The methods of this control were to remain imprecise in order to facilitate the various circumstances one would face. Basically it allowed the British to implement needed mechanisms; from subtle political overrule and collaboration with cooperating Africans, to application of direct laws and orders, and, in some cases, extreme application of military force” (Fuller 1976: 312).

In the case of Uganda, the predominant mode of government that was attempted was the often-quoted ‘indirect rule’. In short, this describes a model of colonial control with a degree of reliance, at least in theory, on intermediary instances of local or ‘native’ power. Its formulation is usually attributed to the military officer, ‘explorer’ and influential colonial official in Africa, Frederick Lugard, who also played a role in the colonisation of Uganda. His book *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (1926 [1923]) not only elaborated on the imperial ideology of Britain's ‘civilising’ responsibility, but also on the concept of indirect rule.

John W. Cell compares this particular mode of imperial government in the southern kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro to that implemented in Malaya, naming both as cases “where native authorities were not incorporated into the British governing structure”, but were commissioned to exercise political power on their subjects, while themselves being subordinate to forms of British control (1999: 238–239). What is especially interesting from an anthropological perspective, connecting to the issues named in 2.2, is that the practice of indirect rule relied on what was seen as ‘traditional’ authority and custom and thus affirmed and consolidated them in a particular framework. This was not necessarily a

secondary effect, but could have very well served an objective to “freeze colonial societies, to slow and control the pace of change” (ibid.: 251).

To delve further into the colonial ideologies and attitudes that informed British rule in Uganda, Lugard can be taken as a departing point again. The ‘dual mandate’ he assumed imagined colonial rule in Africa as a situation of benefit and responsibility for both Britons and Africans. The ‘civilising mission’ ascribed to the former, resting on racialising and evolutionistic views of African ‘primitiveness’ and European—particularly *British*—superiority, is described as a benevolent act towards the ‘natives’ and, ultimately, humankind as a whole:

“I am confident that the verdict of history will award high praise to the efforts and the achievements of Great Britain in the discharge of these great responsibilities. For in my belief, under no other rule—be it of its own uncontrolled potentates, or of aliens—does the African enjoy such a measure of freedom and of impartial justice, or a more sympathetic treatment, and for that reason I am a profound believer in the British Empire and its mission in Africa” (Lugard 1926 [1922]: 5).

As a striking example, he presents both the abolition of slavery and the imperial conquest as essentially two expressions of the same historical process—namely British efforts to implement advantages of ‘civilisation’ (ibid.). Comaroff and Comaroff note in this regard that in the course of the 19th century, one mode of colonial economic exploitation of Africa—slavery—was basically replaced by another—conquest, domination and extraction (2010 [1991]: 32). In Uganda, especially the humid and fertile southern regions (which before were entangled in trade of ivory and slaves) were set up as growing areas for cash crops, primarily cotton. The construction of the Uganda Railway from the port city of Mombasa in Kenya to Kampala, starting in 1895 and mainly carried out by workers from British India, can be viewed in this economic context (Reid 2017: 222–223).

We can perhaps never discern if the argumentations in favour of colonialism express wholehearted beliefs of respective proponents, or, are rather just more or less elaborate attempts at circumscribing economic interest and Machiavellian outlooks. But in any case, they were impactful in their denial of African agency and self-determination as well as propagation of racism, not only in the corresponding structures of oppression, but in the production of knowledge on Africa.

Some of the most prevalent attitudes of British administrators, missionaries, traders and travellers in the early Uganda protectorate, 1900–1910, are summarised by Thomas Fuller in a 1976 article. As can be suspected, many of them are ultimately expressing notions of white superiority and the ‘civilising mission’. Entebbe, Uganda’s capital in the Protectorate era, was a vivid example of attempts at creating an environment according to views and conceptions of the British administrative class in Uganda—a lush and tidy assembly of houses and gardens, “far removed from meaningful interaction with the realities of African life” in Kampala (Fuller 1976: 306).

Social hierarchies, rituals and leisure activities typical of Victorian Britain as well as its conceptions of status and prestige were adhered to, an aspect which is also pointed out by Ranger in regard to ‘neo-traditions’ (1983: 218–219). Furthermore, it supported the perception that British rule was acting as an ordering force in what was seen as Uganda’s ‘native’ disorder—and on an epistemological level, this is precisely what was typically expected of research.

While thus residential segregation was implemented, often explained in a language of hygiene and health, the interactions between Europeans and Africans that did occur were typically framed in relationships of leaders and subordinates (Fuller 1976: 311; Ranger 1983: 221). A preoccupation with social hierarchy and clearly defined positions is not only visible in the practical organisation of various aspects of life in colonial Uganda, but also informed its basic structures of political power. The framework and practice of ‘indirect rule’ presumed the particular view that monarchs like the Kabaka of Buganda and local rulers wielded an amount and type of power over their respective populations akin to those of feudal Europe (Fuller 1976: 313). The privileges and degrees of authority that were, in Uganda’s case, granted to members of ruling elites like the Ganda aristocracy, clearly followed an aim, which Reid summarises as “the creation of lines of hierarchy and authority, between subject peoples and upper echelons of the governorate in leafy Entebbe, preferably through the recreation of ‘traditional’ authenticity” (2017: 291). This perspective leads to the discussion of a very important issue in Uganda’s colonial (and postcolonial) history in the following subchapter, namely the complex structures of privilege and disadvantage that were established by the British administration along regional divisions and supposed ‘tribal’ identities.

3.2 Buganda and the Rest: The Complex Layers and Hierarchies of Imperialism

To this day, Uganda faces social and political problems that revolve around regional inequality and marginalisation as well as ‘ethnically’ marked conflict. While their particular backgrounds are complex, and are also shaped by pre- and postcolonial historical factors, it has been shown in the literature that they are in many ways connected to aspects of British rule in the Protectorate. Primarily, this concerns the privileging of the so-called southern kingdoms—Buganda, first and foremost—at the expense of political and economic participation of other regions and groups, particularly in the north and east of Uganda.

It was already mentioned in 3.1 that the colonisation of Uganda at the end of the 19th century was in considerable parts brought about by the formation of alliances between British colonial agents and the ruling class of Buganda. Reid describes this as a politically utilised combination of “Ganda cultural, economic and political aspiration” and “British racial and strategic thought” (2017: 289). Codified through formal agreements, the uniquely privileged position of Buganda, also amongst the other southern monarchical states, became more and more evident.

By many British colonial officials, it was seen as particularly receptive to ideologies of development as part of the Empire and a partner in the ‘civilising’ of the whole Protectorate area (ibid.: 290). On a practical and emotive level, the Kabaka’s monarchy may well have offered obvious connecting points for British imperial imageries of aristocracy and social hierarchy. As Fuller recounts, many commentaries by Britons in Uganda tended to exalt the Baganda and characteristics of their society as especially sophisticated and superior compared to other groups of ‘natives’ – an ultimate inferiority to the British themselves assured, of course (1976: 313–314). Anglican missionary and ‘amateur anthropologist’ John Roscoe, for example, describes the Baganda as “perhaps the most advanced and cultured tribe of that family [the Bantu]” (2011 [1911]: 6). Furthermore, the language of near-paradise that can quite commonly be found in colonial writings on Uganda—like the popular phrase ‘Pearl of Africa’ attributed to Winston Churchill—was especially related to the fertile lake area of southern and central Uganda.

An example of how it was attempted to frame and consolidate the Ganda monarchy in the way of British aristocratic values and authority concepts is the establishment of King’s

School Budo (on the Kabaka's coronation hill) in 1906, which Ranger quotes as an instance of European 'neo-traditions' in Africa. As a school then specifically intended for the Ganda aristocracy, emphasising values of discipline, patriotism and 'school spirit', it reflected the idea that select Africans could be brought up and prepared to be part of the imperial ruling class through clearly defined institutional entranceways (Ranger 1983: 221–223). In effect, Budo was an important place in the increased ceremonialisation of Buganda's monarchy after British models, becoming in a way an "Anglo-African institution", while its relationship with the colonial administration developed to be quite ambivalent (ibid.: 225).

The south of Uganda was not only treated as the 'natural' centre for economic development and cash-crop production, as noted above, but also for administration and political control. Particularly the Ganda elite was favoured in questions like the distribution of land or deployment in administrative or political positions. Many members of it were sent to other parts of the Protectorate as administrators and agents for the colonial state, and structures of administration modelled on Buganda implemented (or at least attempted to do so). The presence of Ganda agents and the political impositions in this kind of 'sub-imperialism' were subsequently very often met with animosity by other populations, particularly in the north (Reid 2017: 314; Girling 1960: 186).

This inequality at the heart of the colonial project in Uganda not only exemplifies the idea of 'indirect rule'—endowing a 'native' ruling group with political and economic privileges—but also the kind of 'racial' and 'tribal' classification that so signifies the colonality of knowledge in Africa. Here, the north-south divide was (and is) framed in terms of an ethnic demarcation between mainly Bantu groups south of the Nile, Lake Albert and Lake Kyoga (e.g. Baganda, Banyoro, Banyankole, Basoga or Batooro) and Nilotic groups in the north (e.g. Lango, Acholi, Karamojong or Iteso).

The question of whether these identities constitute colonial 'inventions' can not be answered uniformly. Reid urges for carefulness in this regard, stating that "plenty of identities were already pretty well entrenched", like Nyoro and Ganda, and that the colonial moment was not the sole factor of transformation or consolidation for them (Reid 2017: 291). But there can be no doubt that the racist perspectives employed by the British administration and the often strategic utilisation of supposed 'tribes' were influential factors

in the construction and negotiation of ‘ethnic’ identities and relationships in Uganda, especially in the political arena. Importantly, regional or ‘tribal’ affiliation could in many situations have essentially determined a Ugandan person’s experience with the colonial system, given for example the history of colonial violence and military action in Bunyoro or some areas of the north (ibid.: 286–287).

If Buganda and, to a lesser degree, the south in general were therefore established as the Protectorate’s centre in most respects, the groups and areas of the north were Othered as peripheral, practically relegated into subordinate positions. The primitiveness and fundamental difference that is, in colonial frameworks and eurocentric knowledge perspectives, typically ascribed to Africa in general takes on sub-divisions here, in that some ‘tribes’ are deemed to be more ‘primitive’ than others and thus seen as less readily susceptible or suitable to the projects of ‘civilisation’.

Members of the then predominantly pastoral northern societies were mainly deployed as workers and for military service—in fact, most recruitment for the colonial army was carried out in the north, despite Buganda’s pronounced military history (ibid.: 294–295). Especially Acholi and Langi were enrolled in high numbers, creating what Charles Amone coined a “military ethnocracy” that would develop to be a potent political factor in Uganda’s history, especially after independence (2014).

This tendency can be understood as part of the ‘divide-and-rule’ policies applied in various parts of the British Empire, but also as an example of a particular mode of racist classification: the concept of ‘martial races’, meaning “that certain groups, notably pastoralists and those hardy folks of the uplands and savannah lands, made better soldiers” (Reid 2017: 295). Cell notes other examples for this notion of ‘natural warriors’ in the Empire, like the Maasai in Kenya or Punjabis in India (1999: 243). Given the more or less pronounced reliance of British rule in Uganda on militarisation and its display, the ‘martial’ designation of northern groups not only created a particular relationship with the state for them, but also a colonial view in which they could have been framed both in terms of backwardness and idealisation. The latter calls to mind the long-standing European notion of the ‘noble savage’, which was for example expressed by Uganda’s governor Henry Hesketh Bell in regard to the Acholi:

“I felt a strong liking for these fine upstanding savages and almost preferred their free and independent attitude to the cringing humility often displayed by the people of the more civilised regions further south” (Bell 1946: 138, cited in Fuller 1976: 318).

The ‘noble savage’ trope visible here has been discussed by Hall, who notes the conjunction of seemingly negative and positive stereotypes in the representational system of “the West and the Rest”: Non-European Others could well have been idealised, but such idealisations nevertheless relied on essentialist constructions and teleological ideas of social ‘development’, ahistoricity and cultural inferiority (1992: 307–308, 310–312).

As the quote by Bell might also suggest, the relationship between Buganda and the colonial administration was by no means without friction, especially as the 20th century went forward. This is an important point to stress notwithstanding the previously mentioned privileges. Reid notes that an increase in Ganda nationalism in the 1950s produced conflict both with the British administration as well as non-Ganda political agents (and some Ganda as well) in the lead-up to independence (Reid 2017: xxiv). In general, the changes in administrative structures implemented after the Second World War could not preclude the emergence of more and more obvious challenges to colonial rule—riots in Buganda in 1945 and 1949, the so called Kabaka Crisis of 1953 to 1955 (which entailed a temporary expulsion of Kabaka Mutesa II) and the proliferation of African political parties outside of the official structures of the Legislative Council (*ibid.*: 296–297).

As British withdrawal and formal independence in Uganda were perceived to be impending, the administration sought ways to bring these about in a way seen as orderly, ceremonial and as ‘face-saving’ as possible for the British government. In contemporary sources of this process, expectably, there are hardly any acknowledgements of colonial responsibilities, the effects of racialist fortifications of ‘tribes’ and regional marginalisation on the looming or already broken out conflicts in Uganda. In Reid’s summarising view,

“the British had set up a political system doomed to fail: rooted in armed force, both real and implied and the militarisation of political culture; a system of staggering geopolitical inequity, with Buganda as the capstone and outlying areas as marginalised zones of conquest; and thus a system which institutionalised ethnic competition and the politics of zero-sum” (*ibid.*: 287).

Uganda gained independence from the United Kingdom on October 9, 1962, and the corresponding narrative from the British perspective was that of an orderly, peaceful with-

drawal of the colonial state and mutual benevolence (ibid.: 298). A contemporary newsreel on the independence celebrations produced by Pathé News markedly exemplifies this perspective—visually, with emphatic displays of ceremony and ‘traditional’ decorum, and textually, with statements such as that “Uganda is gaining its freedom without bitterness, at its own request becoming an immediate member of the Commonwealth” (*Uganda Wins Independence* October 15 1962: 00:40–00:47). From a critical perspective, it seems clear that this is of course not a reflection of the experiences of every actor involved, especially for a considerable portion of Ugandans. But it is illustrative of some of the narratives of imperial rule in Africa and Uganda in particular, echoing notions of paternalistic goodwill and supposed partnership towards an ultimate, universalised objective of ‘civilisation’.

3.3 Anthropological Research in the Uganda Protectorate

Having now laid out some important attitudes and ideologies of British colonial rule in Uganda, this last part of historical contextualisation will more closely investigate positions of anthropological research. This is especially relevant considering that a great amount of music research in the Uganda Protectorate can broadly be situated in an anthropological academic environment.

As is the case in many other African examples, British colonial activity in Uganda facilitated and, to varying degree, supported travels and stays of anthropologists for research purposes. According to Tilley, the tropical colonies of British Africa directly assigned to the Colonial Office, and in which the doctrine of indirect rule had special traction, were particularly important in this regard (2011: 6). It was already stated in Chapter 2 that anthropology’s role in colonial systems in Africa in the 20th century was far from homogenous, and quite often rather ambivalent. The calls by a number of British administrators and politicians to utilise the field as an aid in colonial rule, to correct “erroneous interpretations of African’s cultures and customs”, were reciprocated by some researchers (ibid.: 265).

Conspicuously, understanding of ‘natives’ was in this view not an end in itself, but a factor in improving the structures of colonial power and their practical implementation. Some British social anthropologists, including Bronisław Malinowski, pointed to destructive effects of colonial government as having been caused by lack of knowledge on Africans and subsequently misguided policy. They argued that, for Britain’s colonial ‘responsibilities’ to play out successfully, knowledge on the ‘native’ subjects was indispensable (ibid.: 269).

On an epistemological level, the emphases on cultural relativism that gained traction in anthropology in this time did clearly not preclude paternalistic attitudes, hierarchisations and objectifications from approaches to African cultures.

A factor to be considered in understanding anthropological attempts at rapprochement with the colonial government is that the discipline was in some ways still in the process of its academic establishment and subject to scrutiny. As Tilley suggests, the reasoning of Malinowski and others could well have been fostered by common critiques of anthropology as a field detached from what was seen as ‘real world’ issues and practical problems (ibid.: 269–270). Nonetheless, the grounding in the eurocentric knowledge perspective, on which both colonial political practice and anthropological research relied and to which both contributed, provided a clear epistemological commonality that facilitated the discipline’s entanglement in the project of empire.

On an institutional level, the characteristic, formal and informal structures of academia in Britain that evolved in the 19th century maintained relevance, although repeatedly disrupted and modified, in their extension to colonial dominions until about the 1960s. Tamson Pietsch describes this particular network as an “empire of scholars”, and although she mainly discusses universities in the ‘settler’ colonies Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa, she provides insights valuable for the study of institutions and individuals in other African and Asian colonies like Uganda (2013). In this academic sphere, practices of exclusivity conceived around categories like ‘race’, gender or nationality were a recurring characteristic. For one thing, this applies to the level of epistemology, as predominant discourses reproduced and solidified the devaluation of certain perspectives or knowledge modes in scientific contexts. But furthermore, exclusion concerned individuals and institutions:

“Privileging raced and gendered forms of trust and sociability [...] [w]omen were systematically excluded from the spaces of academic connection and its attendant opportunities, even as their work enabled the attainments of their senior male colleagues. Africans, Americans and Indians operated at the edges of British academic networks, and Europeans were only rarely admitted” (ibid.: 6–7).

Pietsch makes another important point here: That the production of research in the (British) imperial context also entailed a form of extraction and appropriation in regard to the work of Othered persons, often without regard for sufficient reference, acknowledgement or

compensation. This certainly applies to anthropology and ethnomusicology, with their reliance on fieldwork relationships often marked by difference and hierarchy or collaboration with Others in ultimately subordinate positions—“a hinterland of (often female and often invisible) assistants” (ibid.: 7). As will become evident below, and is also stressed by Pietsch, these exclusionary structures did not function in absolutes or remained unchallenged and unchanged in the 20th century. If research is to be understood as a potential tool for the maintenance of power and control in the British imperial context, this characteristic nevertheless entailed elements of multidirectionality and ambivalence.

An incentive and financial engine for, among others, anthropological research in the British Empire was the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1945, which provided funding for hundreds of studies in various disciplines around the middle of the 20th century. Tilley quotes the following figures for Uganda: From 1945 to 1953, eight projects categorised as social science were carried out in the Protectorate, granted with a total of 17.845£ (not including research institutions like the East African Institute of Social Research at Makerere University). Furthermore, eight projects were funded on the scale of East Africa in general (Tilley 2011: 310). A characteristic of many of these investigations, in comparison to earlier examples or those from other fields, was an orientation on social and cultural research approaches, rather than biological (or biologicistic) ones (ibid.: 311). A project for recording music in Uganda, conducted by Klaus Wachsmann, was also financed by Colonial Development and Welfare funds and will be a topic in Chapter 4.

The complex (sub-)imperial hierarchies in the Uganda protectorate and inequities produced by the British administration also had repercussions in practices of research. On the regions and groups construed as peripheral and more ‘primitive’, particularly in the north, the amount of projects carried out and publications written was notably lower than on Buganda and the other southern kingdoms. In effect, despite their considerable share of the Protectorate’s population and territory, the former “have long been overlooked by most archivally minded historians, and only a little less so by anthropologists” (Reid 2017: 12).

This is particularly noteworthy as, on the other hand, the perception of Uganda as an area of high ‘ethnic’, cultural or linguistic diversity is a common trope in research writings. It was often deemed to be of particular interest for anthropologists because of such notions of heterogeneity and a position at a ‘racial’ and cultural crossroads. For example, in the fore-

word to Margaret Trowell's and Wachsmann's *Tribal Crafts of Uganda*, which will be mentioned again in Chapter 4, Hermann J. Braunholtz, curator at the British Museum, poses that:

“we have here a kind of natural laboratory in which different forms of adjustment between conflicting modes of life have been worked out after centuries of experiment. Uganda may not be exceptional in having a composite population and economy: but it is, I think, unusual in the clarity with which their component elements can be identified, and their interactions analysed” (1953: vi).

We can see in this quote not only a dichotomisation in terms of livelihoods, primarily referring to sedentary societies in the south and pastoralist ones in the north, but also a striking allusion to the motif of the ‘living laboratory’ introduced in Chapter 2. As Tilley summarises, such notions of difference or competition between Africa's inhabitants were indeed characteristic to the colonial discourses in various fields (2011: 21). And for many researchers, the comparatively small territory of Uganda seemed to be a suitable case example in this regard.

To exemplify the complicated spectrum of anthropological research carried out in Uganda during and after the Protectorate era, I would in conclusion like to highlight three individual researchers who do not fit neatly into the image of the anthropologist as mere colonial agent. All three delivered—in one way or the other and sooner or later—critiques of certain anthropological concepts in Africa, the discipline as a whole or researched with approaches that were for long rather excluded in the discipline.

The first and the latter are certainly true for Aiden Southall, discussed above for his critique of the predominant concept of ‘tribe’ and the “unidimensional classification of socio-cultural groups” in general (1970: 44). An anthropologist who both worked and researched in Uganda, he held positions at Makerere University in the 1940s and 1950s, and conducted fieldwork in the Protectorate. This resulted in the often-quoted monographs *Alur Society* (1956) and *Townsmen in the Making: Kampala and its Suburbs* (1957). Especially *Townsmen* came to be seen as influential for its subject matter, deemed a pioneering work in urban anthropology.

Okot p'Bitek has also previously been mentioned. As an author, p'Bitek is rather known for his literary works that address issues of colonialism in the style of Acholi oral genres—

Wer pa Lawino / Song of Lawino (1966) being the most famous—than for his anthropological contributions. Indeed, his relationship to the discipline he studied at Oxford University remained highly ambivalent, and his dissertation on Luo religion was failed there (Allen 2019: 9). In many of his writings, p'Bitek arrives at a fundamental critique of anthropology. In *African Religions in Western Scholarship*, he describes it as having in effect served as a provider of information on colonial subjects for the sole interest of the colonial state, and as having “furnished and elaborated the myth of the ‘primitive’ which justified the colonial enterprise” (1980: 1–2). His challenge to the concept of tribe in the same work has already been quoted in Chapter 2.

A scholar who shared p'Bitek's interest in topics of the Acholi in northern Uganda and was also trained in social anthropology at Oxford with E. E. Evans-Pritchard, albeit two decades earlier, was Frank Girling. Seeking a doctorate in social anthropology, he conducted fieldwork in the Acholi area at the end of the 1940s, having been awarded a training program by the Colonial Social Science Research Council. Informed by Marxist perspectives, Girling showed particular interest in processes of social and economic change, thus also investigating the transformations of Acholi society through colonial rule in the Protectorate (Allen 2019: 28). His critical outlook is exemplified by an insistence of describing his topic as one of “‘colonial’ society” and not of “‘primitive’ society”, as would still have been the anthropological norm at the time (Girling 1960: 2).

After ten months spent in Uganda, funding for Girling's research was discontinued—possibly due to an MI5 investigation into his political outlook and activities—and his supervisor at Oxford, Evans-Pritchard, seemed to have shown little interest in the problems faced by his student (Allen 2019: 22–24). Evans-Pritchard's rather ambivalent relations with the colonial system are also discussed by Mudimbe. The seminal scholar in British social anthropology has expressed views that his discipline and the knowledge it produced might be of some use for influencing European attitudes on the ‘natives’, but also for the improvement and implementation of ‘native’ policies in the colonies, at least to some extent (Mudimbe 1988: 81). Allen summarises that Evans-Pritchard was, after all, “most concerned about the professional status of social anthropology as a discipline, and was generally unsupportive of scholars with more politically critical inclinations” (2019: 25). In the case of Girling, this inevitably produced a field of conflict.

Despite all efforts, Girling and his family left Uganda. In February of 1951 “he was informed that the Governor of Uganda had decided that it would be inexpedient for him to continue the study of the Acholi people, and that his contract with the Colonial Office was terminated” (ibid.: 24). He submitted his dissertation *The Acholi of Uganda* in 1952, and it was eventually published in 1960. But Girling developed a profound disillusionment with (institutionalised) social anthropology and a critical view towards his own ethnographic work, focused on social structures and interrelated ‘layers’ of institutions, as inadequate and functionalistic (Allen 2019: 27).

A look at this thesis also shows that colonial administration could have quite directly attempted to influence anthropological work and the publication of its findings, at least to some degree and in the cases it funded. Girling himself notes here that he excluded certain aspects of his work by request of the Colonial Office, particularly those concerned with “Europeans, Indians and non-Acholi Africans in modern Acholiland, as it was felt that these passages were no longer relevant in the view of the changes which have taken place in the last seven years” (1960: ix). They might well have seemed too potentially controversial or politically charged even at a time in which formal decolonisation was beginning to loom and imperial perspectives were sometimes different to those in the earlier decades of the century. But, as Fuller poses, the views and attitudes towards Ugandan ‘natives’ by British officials and colonial agents displayed a remarkable stability throughout the Protectorate era (1976: 306).

Girling’s fate as a critical scholar practically ousted by the discipline’s institutional networks illustrates how the production of anthropological knowledge in the Uganda Protectorate was embedded in the political structures that facilitated it and informed its epistemologies—precisely the interrelatedness of power and knowledge described by the concept of coloniality. The following chapter will now turn to the main topic of investigating these complex relationships regarding the area of music research.

4 Paths of Music Research in Colonial Uganda

Before discussing four selected sets of issues and ideas that can be detected in the body of music research from the Uganda Protectorate, I want to introduce some general aspects pertaining to this matter and facets of its historical development. The sources selected for this investigation are, for the most part, representations of African musical phenomena written by British or other European scholars. They inhabit an “intellectual space defined by Euro-American traditions of ordering knowledge” (Agawu 2003: 58). Recalling the theoretical lines presented in Chapter 2, this very circumstance of representation can be seen as depending on relationships of power, both on an epistemological level—the eurocentric knowledge perspective with its notions of fundamental, racialised Otherness—and on a material, structural level of research practices in the field, institutions and policy. The former constitutes the particular focus of this investigation, which questions paradigms, narratives and concepts in the discourse about Ugandan music. A study more closely examining the institutional aspects of music research and its relation to governmental, religious or other official bodies and organisations in the Protectorate would warrant a separate study.

If one follows Waterman in presuming that “[e]thnomusicological hypotheses are inevitably grounded in scholars’ experience with particular musics in particular social settings”, the backgrounds of individuals and their “internalized musical norms” are as important points of consideration as their engagement with specific phenomena in the field (1991: 174). In this regard, an important observation is that, especially in the earlier decades of the 20th century and prior to the activities of Wachsmann, a significant amount of research and writing on ‘native’ music in Uganda has not been produced by individuals with an institutional grounding in ethnomusicology (or, rather, comparative musicology). Hugh Tracey notes:

“The end of the first World War brought an increased stream of white people into Africa, and with it a slow trickle of interest began to appear in the work of a few devoted, but severely isolated, research workers” (1957: 17).

Colonial systems not only facilitated the activity of researchers in formal institutional or administrative structures, but promoted European presence and (touristic) voyage in multiple ways. Due to its effective usage in education and Christian missionary work, music in

particular was a topic of interest for a variety of individuals. The role of missionaries, travellers, ‘explorers’ and administrators for anthropological knowledge production and the discourse on Uganda’s music is therefore particularly important for the time period examined here.

Conceptions of anthropological authority have often belittled the work carried out by missionaries and other such ‘amateur anthropologists’ as superficial or unreliable. This is a peculiar delineation, given that while many of these works are quite evidently informed by a eurocentric knowledge perspective, a similar assessment of coloniality can be made for ‘proper’ anthropological accounts. Mudimbe criticises this attempted distinction and stresses the role of ‘amateurism’ in the history of the discipline and its institutional consolidation (1988: 77). Indeed, works of anthropological researchers in the 20th century—including ethnomusicologists—often drew from those which were carried out in earlier decades not only by their disciplinary precursors, but also by other European agents in colonial settings. As Mudimbe argues, anthropologists and missionaries in fact often had more in common epistemologically and methodologically than would commonly be assumed. This applies, for example, to the way in which having lived ‘with natives’ over prolonged periods of time is construed as a factor of legitimacy for individuals and their authority on a given subject (ibid.: 79).

With Wachsmann, the starting point for many of the following discussions is a researcher most clearly associated with Uganda in the history of ethnomusicology. He was a key figure in knowledge production on music in the Protectorate era and its academic institutionalisation with support from the colonial administration—mainly through his association with the Uganda Museum and the production of a great number of sound recordings. As stated in the introduction, this thesis does not aim to present a comprehensive survey of the totality of Wachsmann’s writing on Ugandan music, rather discussing a selection of works that are of particular relevance to formulated research issue. For bibliographies, I am referring the reader to the article on Wachsmann in *Grove Music Online* (Morgan / DeVale 2001) and the tributary volume *Essays for a Humanist* (1977: 390–393). To contextualise his work and perspectives, a short chronological summary in regard to his stay, research and academic positions in Uganda is necessary (also for the discussions in Chapter 5).

In his training at the University of his native Berlin, Wachsmann was a disciple of leading exponents of the ‘Berlin School’ of comparative musicology, Curt Sachs and the already mentioned Hornbostel (Cooke 2012: 3). This is a connection Wachsmann maintained to a degree in his later research on a conceptual level, as will become clear in following subchapters. With his teachers, he shared the fate of being subjected to racist and anti-semitic oppression following the seizure of power by the National Socialists in 1933. He was expelled from the University and went into exile to finish his musicological studies at the University of Fribourg with a dissertation on pre-Gregorian chant (Wachsmann 1935). Following a short return to Germany, he emigrated to Great Britain in 1936, where he began to study linguistics and Bantu languages at SOAS University of London, before arriving in Uganda in 1937 together with his wife Eva Wachsmann. Moving to the Protectorate as guests of the Church Missionary Society (CMS), they were first charged “to work unpaid with sacred music at Namirembe [St. Paul’s Cathedral] and with local school choirs” (Cooke 2012: 5).

Two years later, Wachsmann was appointed as Education Officer with the CMS, and he was further moved up in the missionary sphere later—serving as Assistant and then Acting Education Secretary of the Protestant Missions from 1944 to 1947 (KPW Festschrift Committee 1977: xv). In many accounts of Wachsmann’s life, there is not much attention paid to the roughly ten years as a missionary—and thus ultimately colonial—official. He himself later expressed the view that an association with education rather than, say, commerce, aided his rapport in subsequent research projects (Cooke 2012: 5). Having in these positions worked with music in a primarily religious context, but to his regret not formally as a musicologist, he was appointed as curator of the Uganda Museum in Kampala in 1948. In this role, Wachsmann was for example active in the acquisition of musical instruments from throughout the Protectorate (DeVale 1985: 275). Influential for the subsequent set-up of the museum, the installation of a separate musical instrument gallery is primarily attributable to Wachsmann, and will be discussed again below. After leaving Uganda in 1957, Wachsmann returned for a number of visits up until 1966. The remainders of his life and academic career being spent in Britain and the United States, he nonetheless continued to publish on issues of music in the area.

As an example of research funding by the colonial government, the Music Research Scheme R.233, “authorised in 1948 [...] to be financed for a period of two years from Co-

lonial Development and Welfare funds” was the frame for Wachsmann’s extensive undertaking of music recording in Uganda (Wachsmann 1956: 1). This project constituted part of a bigger environment of (social and cultural) research funding by the Colonial Welfare Office that was already pointed out in 3.3. Ultimately, a body of 1.538 audio recordings of a wide range of genres and phenomena throughout the Protectorate was created in the course of two periods, one from 1949 to 1950 and the other in 1954. Two years after completion of the recordings, Wachsmann published a short report on the project (1956).

Nannyonga-Tamusuza and Andrew N. Weintraub have published an article on this considerable amount of recordings from a postcolonial archival perspective (2012). They see the project and subsequent collection as an exemplification of the “survey approach” characteristic for the Berlin School, in that it attempts to map a wide range of musical practices understood in terms of ‘tribes’ or ethnic groups, while also oriented on analytical “super objectives” (ibid.: 210). Most of the recordings were created in settings of requested performances, meaning that performers were assembled in school yards and other public places, or came to the Uganda Museum, to specifically perform for the purpose of being recorded by Wachsmann. To exemplify one of the possible experiences produced by this research practice, Nannyonga-Tamusuza and Weintraub quote from an interview with a contemporary witness:

“Benaiah Mukhwana [a retired Anglican priest] reported that Wachsmann established specific locations to make recordings: ‘my teacher asked us [...] to go early to the school yard to be recorded. However, our home was located in the mountains and by the time I arrived at the school, Wachsmann had finished recording. I watched him drive off in his huge truck on his way to another center where he had allocated time in his afternoon schedule” (ibid.: 223).

This account highlights a particular epistemic and methodological point, namely that the creation of these recordings themselves, and as much of them as possible, was apparently perceived as a primary objective. Notwithstanding the collection of data and further information on the music recorded, which Wachsmann did as well, the ‘survey approach’ taken up here can thus be characterised as highly positivistic.

As has been stated, the following discussion does not focus exclusively on Wachsmann. An important source for any study of research in colonial Uganda, and the place of publication for a number of texts described below, is the *Uganda Journal*. The institutional background for its establishment was the Uganda Literary and Scientific Society (later known

as Uganda Society) founded in 1923, which saw renewed activity and an increase in membership from 1933 onwards. With the Society mainly concerned with the organisation of lectures and a hoped-for “Arts and Craft Exhibition”, publication of the journal began in 1934 (“Editorial” 1934: 5). Its formulated aim “to collect and publish information which may add to our knowledge of Uganda and to record that which in the course of time might be lost” anticipates a notion of the ‘vanishing’ of ‘native’ cultures that is the issue of part 4.4 (ibid.: 6). A brief survey of the journal’s run shows that it published accounts on a great variety of subjects, from biology, agriculture to social and cultural topics of ‘tribes’. From its inception to the year of Uganda’s independence in 1962, seven texts of varying length primarily concerned with music and/or dance have been featured in the *Uganda Journal*.

As is evident in those sources, not only researchers in the formal sense were included as authors in the journal. They also included various writers, missionaries, travellers or government officials, with the latter’s submissions obliged to “comply with Colonial Office Regulations” (“Notice” 1934: 3). Furthermore, it was proclaimed to be a place of publication for Europeans as well as Africans—of the articles on music mentioned below, at least two were with certainty written by non-white Ugandans.

Figure 1 shows the journal’s cover from the 1939 Volume 6 Number 3 issue, in which Wachsmann published as well. This is included here because it is an interesting example of visualisation of colonial imagery of Uganda and the position of scientific research therein. The collage quite clearly conveys notions of colonial ‘development’ and exploitation of resources: from the hilly lakeside and the Crowned crane as common tropes for Uganda, aspects of agriculture and ‘modern’ vehicles to the elephant (as wildlife that is also presented in an economical frame by the depiction of two tusks next to it).

Objects associated with science and literature are positioned as a part of this imagery of empire here, as are, interestingly, musical instruments. It can be argued that they might be intended to convey an idea of the musical ‘landscape’ of colonial Uganda: At the top of the cover, more or less stylised depictions of an organ, alluding to the missionary religious sphere; a lamellophone, a bulbous drum and two trumpet-like instruments potentially signifying Africanness; a guitar- or violin-like instrument, a bugle and a frame drum, the latter two evoking the military sphere. The middle drum bears resemblance to the Ganda *ttimba*, described by Wachsmann (1953b: 377), while the two trumpets could represent gourd or

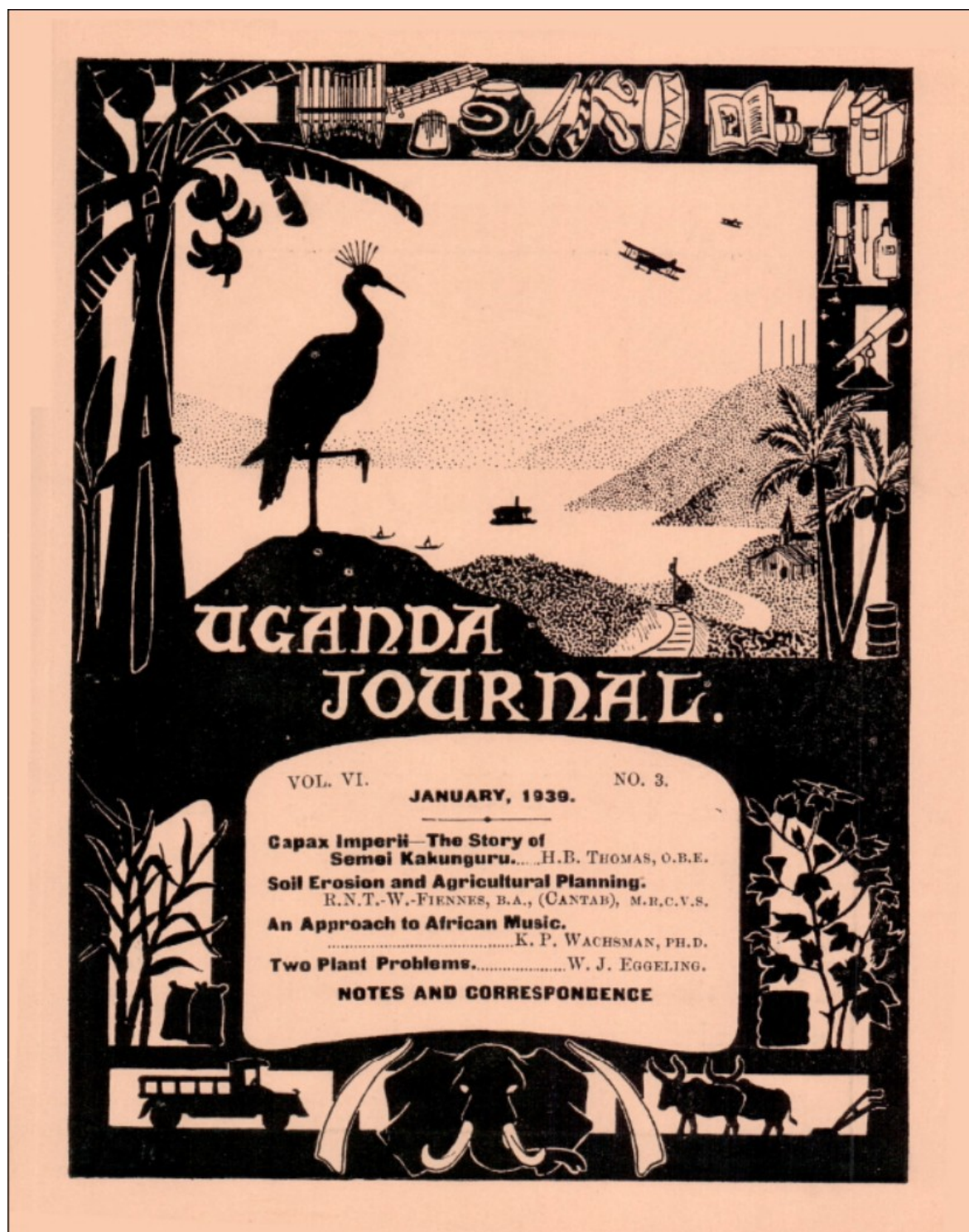


Figure 1: Front cover of The Uganda Journal 6/3 (1939).

animal horn instruments. Furthermore, a short piece of staff notation depicts not some random assemble of notes, but the two opening bars of the British and then also Ugandan national anthem, *God Save the King*. The pursuit of knowledge on various subjects in Uganda is, to summarise, displayed in a distinctly imperial framework here.

In the very first edition of the *Uganda Journal*, a short commentary entitled “Native Music” is a striking example for an evolutionist perspective. Right at the beginning, the anonymous author asserts a fondness of ‘primitive peoples’ for pentatonic scales—ultimately inferior to ‘modern’ European scales, but seen as sufficient for ‘primitive’ “musical thought” (“Native Music” 1934: 63). They furthermore state that supposedly ‘primitive’ music is essentially simple and repetitive in its structures—likening it to children’s songs. Following these general remarks, the author voices an interest for articles about Ganda music to be published in the journal—the editors seemingly felt obliged to add a clarification that texts on other ‘native’ music are welcome submissions as well (ibid.). It is evident that this short piece is not a text of research (or intended as such), but it quite blatantly expresses latent attitudes towards African music that stem from essentialist notions of (musical) difference. Some of these have been pointed out in Chapter 2, and the following subchapter will in detail examine a preoccupation with difference in music research in colonial Uganda.

4.1 A Laboratory of ‘Tribes’? Notions of Musical Difference

Perceptions of African difference are a central aspect in the colonality of knowledge on the continent, and also affect writing and research on music in numerous ways. From terminologies of ‘tribe’, ‘race’ and ‘primitiveness’ to those of homogeneity or diversity and ‘psycho-physical’ set-up, they are reproduced and appear in the discourse on music in Uganda. Here, it is important to recapitulate the point from Subchapter 2.3 that ethnomusicology is a discipline that was (and to a degree still is) epistemologically and methodologically construed around notions of difference. More precisely, for long stretches of its history it was in effect the study of non-European music by European scholars, the assertion of Otherness primarily working unidirectionally and as an “age-old hierarchized transaction in which Euro-America retains its hegemonic status” (Agawu 2003: 154).

The discourse of music in or about the Uganda Protectorate is in this regard almost exclusively concerned with music of its African ‘natives’. The first manifestation of Otherness in the selected sources I want to discuss here is the reliance on the ‘tribal’ classifications emphasised before in 2.2. As Ranger notes, the ubiquity of ‘tribe’ or ‘ethnicity’ in knowledge about Africa can be seen as reflecting an essentialist view in which a certain tribal affiliation of every individual African is not only explanatory, but an inherent and inescapable

trait: As *any* European was conceived to belong to *a* nation, *every* African had to belong to *one* tribe (Ranger 1983: 250). This is notwithstanding the conspicuous inconsistency through which vastly different types of grouping or society are referred to as a ‘tribe’ in the comparative view.

Regarding music in Uganda, this attitude becomes especially clear as many descriptions from the colonial era (as well as before and afterwards) rely on rather distinct ascriptions of a certain practice or phenomenon to a particular ‘tribal’ entity. A first, early example for this is the book *Uganda and Its Peoples* by J.F. Cunningham, a secretary to the administration of the Protectorate (1905). Clearly positioned in an imperial framework, stressing the necessity of knowledge about ‘native’ subjects for their successful control, it primarily contains descriptions of what it deems the ‘tribes and races’ of the area. In many cases, this includes remarks of varying length on musical instruments or dances seen as particular to a certain group.

For the Banyoro, as an example, Cunningham shortly describes a “peculiar” dance and names harps (*inanga*, *kidongo*), flutes (*inyamulere*) and probably a xylophone (‘*madinda*’, “a ladder-shaped instrument”) (ibid.: 38). On the Baziba, in German colonial territory, a general essentialist view is employed as they are designated as differing from the supposed ‘inherent musicality’ of Africans: “They are not a musical people, they have merely the ‘muledi’ (a reed flute) and the ‘nanga’ (a harp with four strings) [...] This lack of musical taste is rare among the savage tribes” (ibid.: 290).

A specific issue of racialisation is already present in the work’s preface, written by colonial administrator and ‘explorer’ Harry Johnston. His commentary on the Hema (here termed Hima, Bahima) from Uganda’s southwestern border regions posits a possible ‘racial’ connection to “the Hamitic races of Ancient Egypt and with the ancestor of the modern Somali and Gala” (ibid.: XI). This is clearly an expression of the refuted ‘Hamitic myth’ – a view first ascribed to the ‘explorer’ and military officer John Hanning Speke, famous for his quest for the sources of the Nile and thus travel to Buganda. As part of theories and classifications of scientific racism, most famously the *Races of Africa* by Charles G. Seligman, it presumed the existence of a non-Arabic ‘Hamitic race’ in North Africa of ‘Caucasian’ origin—which was thus imagined as inherently superior and more ‘civilised’ than Africans further south (1930: 19). In the case of Uganda, it informed the narrative of a ‘Hamitic in-

vasion’ into the area that has allegedly occurred at some point in the past, and to which the perceived advancement and ‘civilisation’ of e.g. Buganda was attributed. As Reid poses, this was a pervasive and long-standing aspect in historical and anthropological discourse on Uganda (Reid 2017: 19–20).

Visible in Johnston’s preface is the application of this racist narrative to the question of music, among others. He states that the supposed ‘Hamitic ancestors’ of the Hema “seem to have introduced [...] most of the Negro’s music instruments” (Cunningham 1905: XI). The notion of black African inferiority was extended to that of susceptibility to influence by ‘higher races’ in various aspects of culture—which, in a broader sense, could also have been interpreted in view of colonial projects of ‘civilisation’. In other writing on music in Uganda, the myth resurfaces for example by the assumption of ‘Hamites’ as one of the ‘racial’ or ‘tribal groups’ in Uganda’s makeup, or by referencing the supposed historical influence of them (Tracey 1951: 42; Trowell / Wachsmann 1953; Wachsmann 1957: 9).

Two general, connected aspects of essentialism on African music can be summarised at this point: First, that the ‘tribes’ and their musical practices are often described as homogenous, having essential characteristics and ‘mindsets’ that could be grasped and described in an encompassing way by e.g. researchers. And second, that individuals are thereby typically eradicated in the descriptions, or only included insofar as being treated mainly as representatives of a particular ‘tribe’ or ‘race’. This will continue to become evident in following examples and discussions.

Almost half a decade later than Cunningham’s book, ethnomusicologist Hugh Tracey published a report on a recording tour that he undertook in 1950 (from May to November), leading through the British-controlled territories of Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Uganda, Kenya, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1951: 38). In Uganda, this survey encompasses a number of areas and groups south of the Nile—Baganda, Banyoro, Batooro, Banyankole, Ituri ‘pygmies’ and Chopi—and centred around the Lake area, which Tracey characteristically denotes as a “demi-paradise” (ibid.: 43). It notably also includes some phenomena of urban settings in Kampala (ibid.: 45–46). The article is quite clearly intended to serve both as a description of the recorded practices as well as a favourable, personal reflection, as Tracey makes numerous assertions of which ‘tribe’s’ music he particularly valued or disliked. These valuations and impressions converge with more general historical or ethnomusicolo-

gical statements, which often take on the form of hierarchisations (‘primitive’ vs. ‘developed’, for example) or sweeping attributions towards the totality of a culture.

For instance, he notes that his research team has “recorded the music of a couple of dances and one or two Likembe (Mbira) tunes” with Chopi in the Masindi District, but in his view these “would not recommend these Nilotic Chopi to the student who is working for active music in Africa” (ibid.: 45). Similarly, Tracey states that Ankole has in some regards “music more primitive than anything we had yet experienced in Africa. Even the rhythms were utterly simple” (ibid.: 44). From a contemporary ethnomusicological standpoint, a scholar explicitly postulating such authority as to evaluate musical practices, seems highly problematic. But in an era when a eurocentric knowledge perspective and epistemic exertion of power proliferated largely unquestioned among scholars and institutions, such approaches or statements were hardly seen as outside of an academic norm.

What Tracey’s account also exemplifies is how the diversity of Uganda’s musical practices was typically framed in terms of ‘tribe’, culture or language. Analogous to anthropology, this perceived heterogeneity was in fact often treated as a central argument for the Protectorate’s interestingness for music scholars. The laboratory motif presented in previous chapters again clearly comes into play here, and quite literally so in a statement by Wachsmann:

“Uganda could almost be described as a laboratory for students of music—there are at least 25 tribal groups within the boundaries of the Protectorate, from the tall Nilo-Hamites in the northeast, with their vigorous jumping dances and strict unison singing, to the Twa in the southwest, with their love of part singing. Besides the Nilo-Hamites, there are Hamites, Bantu of various types, Nilotes, Sudanic Negroes, Bari-speakers and Pygmies. Thus the study of music in this area is of special interest” (1957: 9).

Peculiarly, it is exactly this diversity, explained in categories of ‘tribe’ and exalted in anthropological perspectives or tourist imageries, that often assumed a controversial position in conflicts and political disputes about governance and its problems in Uganda (Reid 2017: xxvi). This leads over to another important aspect in the discussion of difference and music research: While the heterogeneity of Uganda’s population was frequently pointed to as highly interesting, the marginalisations and sub-imperial hierarchies of the Protectorate came into play in the work of music scholars as well.

Here, Tracey (1951) serves as an example again. In the quoted report, he reproduces a narrative of Ganda superiority and refinement in regard to music, analogous to the ones on other cultural or social aspects mentioned in Chapter 3. While maintaining that their musical practice retained an element of ‘primitiveness’ concerning the tonal system, Tracey asserts that they are

“capable of social and musical organization of a high order in spite of the fact that in their own compositions they do not appear to have progressed beyond the pentatonic modes common to the less musical tribes” (1951: 46).

Two implications in this view are conspicuous: on the one hand, the merging of evolutionistic ideas both on society and music in the argument for Buganda’s relative ‘civilisedness’. On the other hand is the terminological equation of what is seen as musical development (in an evolutionistic sense) and musicality—as aptitude or comprehension in music. Both are thereby ascribed to the respective ‘tribe’ as defining entity.

In an overall view of publications, topics, institutions, and activities, the southern regions of the protectorate, and Buganda in particular, seem to dominate the body of music research from the Uganda Protectorate (and the independent Republic as well). An examination of the *Grove Music Online* Article on Uganda and its bibliography, written by Cooke, substantiates this claim of a certain imbalance (2001). There was (and still is) an obvious disparity in which areas or groups of Uganda are studied more expansively, and this relation coincides with the uneven distribution of power towards the area of Buganda and its aristocracy. While Wachsmann has, for example, produced recordings in the whole territory, concerned himself with musical instruments from different regions and at times also addressed respective issues in writing, a focus on Ganda musical phenomena is also evident in his work.

To a certain degree, such a concentration of research can also be explained by the material aspects and practical consequences of the policies that positioned the kingdom and its cities of Entebbe and Kampala as Uganda’s centre. The main institutions and structures of colonial administration were established there, as well as the major university of Makerere and the Uganda Museum in Kampala. Not least, Buganda was also advantageous in regard to transport and accessibility with the Uganda Railway, the ships of Lake Victoria and, later, the airport at Entebbe. It was, in some ways, a form of sub-imperial extension of the structures of the metropole that facilitated research practices. But it is nevertheless remark-

able how this positioning was legitimised and consolidated on the level of epistemology, with evolutionistic ideas of ‘racial’ or ‘tribal’ hierarchy and development, and in this way could also have informed scholarly approaches. Concerning music research, I would also argue that the various forms of court music in Buganda may have provided suitable points of contact for scholars socialised with and experienced in European genres and discourses of music as ‘art’. In a report written four years after Uganda’s independence, Kubik explicitly notes a lack of studies on music in the northern areas of Acholi, Alur, Madi, Lugbara and Kakwa, and a concentration of music students and scholars in the urban centres of the south. He reckons that “very few students have the courage to live for some months in these areas” and prefer to stay in or around Kampala to study with the important Ganda musician Evaristo Muyinda—which is, of course, something Kubik has done himself a few years prior (1968: 60).

An earlier exception for this regional predominance is a short text in the first *Uganda Journal* on “Acholi Dances (Myel)” by R.M. Bere (1934). Here, the author lists several types of dance in a classificatory manner and gives some information on each. While mostly concerned with a specification of dance movements, occasions, utensils, performers and musical instruments, some ‘aesthetic’ evaluations are also present. The *Bwola*, for instance, is denoted by Bere as the “finest of all the dances” and “the most important” of them in Acholi (ibid.: 64). Accordingly, the most space in the text is devoted to this particular dance, providing some more information on its execution, the characteristic use of small drums by the male dancers and a list of six occasions on which it is performed (ibid.: 64–65). A later study of Acholi Dances, written by Olek Saul two years after Uganda’s independence, elaborates these themes and draws, among others, from Bere (1964).

In the case of the Acholi, a particular emphasis on the diversity of dance genres is an example for the connotation of music or dance practices with ideas of ‘tribal’ identities in Uganda, in scientific as well as ‘popular’ discourse. The position of Acholi dances in the colonial imaginary and cultural policy is indicated by the mention of an unspecified dance performance in a report from the celebrations for George VI.’s coronation in Uganda (Ranger 1983: 234). Comparing the description with the literature and my own data from Uganda, it can be assumed that the dance in question is *Otole*, commonly termed a ‘war dance’. At official functions and ceremonies in British colonial Africa, the utilisation of local practices reified in the framework of ‘tradition’ could have been employed as a ritual

of affirmation for colonial rule. In this particular case, the performance of *Otole* seemingly was part of an evolutionistic dramaturgy, representing an idea of the ‘untamed’, ‘native’ warrior who could be ‘civilised’ through the colonial project. This falls in line with the imagination of Acholi as a ‘martial race’ mentioned earlier.

Illustrative in this regard are two audiovisual examples that are interesting from an ethnomusicological perspective: the newsreels *African Dancing Aka Native Dancing from Uganda* (1955) and *Uganda* (1961) produced by Pathé News. Both feature Acholi dancing and allow a visual glimpse into imperial narratives of Uganda. The former includes shots of a *Bwola* dance in some sort of open, official performance space as an “example of the ceremonial dancing that symbolises the still untamed, ferocious elements in tribal life”, with some information on the particular dance given in the commentary (*African Dancing* April 18 1955: 00:24–00:30). The latter, longer film shows two dances, *Dingidingi* and *Otole*, at the beginning and the end, respectively. Here, they serve as part of a dualistic colonial narrative, in which the Acholi dances are together with images of wildlife positioned as a ‘wild’, ‘unspoiled’ antithesis to the ‘modernity’ of the Christian and late colonial spheres in Uganda (*Uganda* July 7 1961). In both of these examples, one can also detect the intertwined notions of the ‘tribal’ and the ‘primitive’ that have previously been introduced as characteristic for the history of eurocentric knowledge on Africa. It is clear that these newsreels are not ethnographic films, and they cannot be taken to allege particular views of anthropologists or other researchers working in Uganda at the time. However, they do aptly represent some of the prevalent public notions about African music and dance as well as stereotypes of ‘tribal’ Uganda that were part of the societal framework in which the scholars discussed here operated.

Concluding the topic of this subchapter, a final facet to consider is the idea of (intrinsic) differences between Europeans and Africans in encountering music. In 1936, the *Uganda Journal* published an essay entitled “Music in Africa” by an author only identified as Y. Bansisa. It is not a text of research per se, rather a combination of information on selected musical practices and broader, essayistic deliberations. A central aim seems to be an appeal for the appreciation of African music by both Africans and Europeans, stressing notions of the universality of its effects and value for humanity rather than fundamental difference (Bansisa 1936: 108). To emphasise this point, the author—oriented possibly towards a readership of largely European colonial intelligentsia—employs comparisons with ex-

amples from the European literary canon to stress a status of African music as an equal part in a universalised body of culture. For example, Bansisa describes *ennanga* music as “even sweeter (from the native point of view)” than the mythological siren songs of Greek antiquity (ibid.: 111). The *makondere* horn and drum ensembles (Tooro, Bunyoro, Ankole, Buganda) are likened to Shakespeare’s ‘music of the spheres’ for consisting of nine notes each played by one instrument, thereby invoking an idea of a universal, ‘primordial’ harmony that would, in this case, foster emphatic reactions from Africans (ibid.: 112). Bansisa’s argumentation thus expresses the view that though different in characteristics, African and European music would be similar in their effects, at least to respectively ascribed audiences.

A concern for the European perception of African music is, from a different perspective, also expressed by Wachsmann in a text published four years later than Bansisa’s. Written at a time when he was still active as Education Officer for the CMS, “An Approach to African Music” contains both general reflections and a case study on the *ennanga* bow harp in Buganda (Wachsmann 1939). Specifically, he sets out to discuss ways in which Europeans could aim to understand and appreciate African musical phenomena—primarily researchers, but also missionary or colonial officials concerned with education of ‘natives’. He poses that encountering African music ‘in situ’ presents a very different situation for Europeans than doing so through recordings, in a private or school environment, and explicates this view with a peculiar language of inescapability and immediacy:

“It [African music] enters the ears whether they are prepared and willing to listen or not. It is obtrusive, and defence is impossible since one cannot avoid it as in the case of an ugly picture by shutting or turning away the eyes. One must react to it, and the more conscientious may even try to account for their reaction. [...] It is not surprising therefore to find on one side a nervous contempt for African music, and on the other side an equally nervous enthusiasm for it” (ibid.: 148).

Later in the text, Wachsmann tries to explain this ambivalent attitude, drawing on Hornbostel, with the idea of difference in the “psycho-physical basis of the musical experience”—the relation of stimulus and sensation—between Africans and Europeans (ibid.: 161). In short, his argument hereby is that both European music and African music—questionable to assume as such homogenous entities—necessitate some form of psychical condition as well as knowledge to be able to understand and appreciate them in ways that are

perceived as culturally significant in their respective ‘native’ contexts. If this is not the case, he argues, there could be a lack of “mental preparedness or racial substance, or whatever it may be called” as well as lack of understanding for “context, function and sentimental value” at play (ibid.: 160). Further explicating this idea that the way of encountering music is both biologically, psychologically determined (seemingly unconscious) and culturally nurtured (seemingly conscious), Wachsmann echoes the notion that the European ‘mode’ entails the experience of pleasure through aesthetic contemplation (ibid.: 162). The dichotomisation of ‘contemplative’ European music, rooted in a particular notion of ‘art’, with African ‘functional’ music has been a central issue in the construction of difference between the two since the earlier days of comparative musicology, as was already pointed out in Chapter 2 (Carl 2004: 42; Agawu 2003: 98–99). Agawu furthermore notices how terminology and speech about music are Othered in a similar manner, the African lexicon often perceived as being “natural, spontaneous, and index[ing] spiritual dimensions” (2003: 21).

Assuming the supposed ‘African mental set-up’ is not attainable, Wachsmann stresses the importance for Europeans to at least try to comprehend “the meaning of music for the African” as well as possible (1939: 150). For this purpose, he suggests three lines of approach. They can be seen as embodying different epistemological and methodological strands in (ethno-)musicological research: an enquiry of both “social functions and mental conditions” in order to discern the ‘native’ meaning of a given practice; analysis of what is coined musical structure; and intra- or cross-cultural comparisons to other phenomena (ibid.). In the particular text, these approaches are then applied to the example of the *en-nanga* through a discussion of structural ‘affinities’ of the instrument in a comparative musicologist manner, its social position as a ‘royal instrument’ in Buganda as well as an analysis of a song example (ibid.: 151–159).

Wachsmann’s outlook on the theory and practice of ethnomusicology in response to his research in Uganda, and how it can be related to themes of coloniality, will become an issue again in the chapters that follow. To summarise, the analysis of sources on music from colonial Uganda shows that many of these works rely on fundamental differentiations—between African and European music, their respective functions and values, but also between supposed ‘tribal’ or ‘racial’ entities.

4.2 Collecting and Classifying: Approaches to Musical Instruments

Since the colonial era, studies focussed on musical instruments form a significant part in the body of music research on Uganda. And while many of the examples from this discourse to some degree address instruments from classical organological or technical perspectives, in many cases they position their research objects in light of other conceptions. These include the previously presented framework of interpretation in the concepts of ‘tribal’ affiliation and culture as much as questions of historical developments. Furthermore, the institutional aspect of music research in the Uganda Protectorate is closely tied to the practice of collecting and researching musical instruments primarily for the Uganda Museum. In many of these respects, Klaus Wachsmann was particularly active, and organological questions are a recurring focus in his work.

At the beginning of this topic’s discussion, it is important to point to the fact that instruments appear to be central in many of the earliest sources from the colonial Ugandan context that mention music. This is particularly relevant within the examination of the drums of Buganda, which appear in quite a number of accounts and reports by colonial agents or travellers, including Speke’s *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (1863). Later, in the Protectorate era, surgeon John Bland-Sutton devotes a section of his travelogue *Men and Creatures in Uganda* to them (1933: 55–59). Employing the polysemic Bantu term of *ngoma*, he deems the Baganda to be “devoted to drums from babyhood” (ibid.: 55). A variety of uses of the instruments is emphasised, with a particular fascination expressed for the ceremonial context and for signalling or communicative purposes—which he likens to those of church bells in Europe. The latter is further exemplified in the book through a wood carving showing three drummers playing under the header “Cathedral drummery”, reproduced in Figure 2 (ibid.: 58). This notion can also, for example, be found in the already mentioned Pathé newsreel *Uganda* (July 7 1961). Here, the image of drums being used to gather congregants at Kampala’s Namirembe Cathedral is narrated as showing a confluence of supposedly ‘tribal’ and ‘savage’ spheres with the ‘civilised’ one of Christianity and the colonial state (ibid.: 05:53–06:28).

Furthermore, on the level of classification and structure, Bland-Sutton’s account contains a description of what came to be known in the literature as the Uganda type of drum, visible in the same picture – “a hollow truncated cone of wood with a piece of oxhide stretched over its ends. These two pieces of hide are connected by cords of banana fibre” (1933: 58).

Conspicuously, the author generally associates the particular social position and uses of drums with the perceived high degree of ‘development’ in societal structures and hierarchies in Buganda (ibid.: 56). This echoes the characteristic colonial view of its relative ‘civilisation’ that was reflected on before.



Figure 2: Wood engraving depicting Baganda drummers, original caption: “In Uganda drums are used instead of bells to call the congregation to worship” (from: Bland-Sutton 1933: 58).

An early source that was quoted especially in scientific contexts is Roscoe’s *The Baganda* (2011 [1911]). The book, written after its author was active as a CMS missionary in Uganda for years, sets out to describe a great scope of Ganda life and society—illustrating the long-standing anthropological impetus to depict the totality of ‘a culture’. Dancing and musical instruments appear interspersed, sometimes in connection to descriptions of rituals and religious issues, but are primarily presented over 13 pages in the introductory “General Survey”, including ten photographs of instruments or musicians (ibid.: 25–37). A myriad of drums, again, takes centre stage here, and Roscoe denotes a variety of uses and contexts in signalling, ceremony and for different occasions and events. The roles of drums in the aris-

tracy, clan system and respective rituals and hierarchies of Buganda are particularly emphasised, and the account includes a terminology for some rhythms associated with different clans (ibid.: 30–31).

Focussing on the Kabaka's court and the 'chiefs', Roscoe also gives descriptions for the construction and playing of a number of other instruments in Buganda's court music: one coined 'madinda', referring to the *amadinda* xylophone (ibid.: 31–33), a 'fife', probably the *endere* (ibid.: 35–37), as well as ensembles of gourd trumpets (ibid.: 31). Peculiar is the section describing a harp—the *ennanga*—and what he calls the 'Basoga harp', which actually refers to the instrument known as *endongo* in Buganda. Roscoe posits that the latter has almost replaced the *ennanga* at that time, and notes differences not only in their construction, but in the contents of their songs and the (social) status ascribed to them: The bowl lyre *endongo* is presented as an instrument of profane love and drinking songs, while the "old harp" *ennanga* is seen as a distinctly royal instrument for praise songs about the Kabaka (ibid.: 35).

This perspective on the two instruments is taken up by Wachsmann, who aims to elaborate it with a reflection on the instrument's respective historical dissemination or traceability in Buganda (1939). He concludes "that the bow-harp has always been the musical tool of higher civilisations and that in a particular culture the ruling classes have been associated with it", whereas the purportedly recent "bowl-lyre, quite in contrast to the bow-harp, exercises a great attraction to the common folk" (ibid.: 153). He comes to this rather hierarchical finding partly through comparisons of the *ennanga* with 'ancient' instruments in archaeological records from Egypt and Asia—taking the instrument type of bow harp as the object of analysis, rather than the regional iterations. The result appears to be a combination of evolutionistic—an instrument of 'higher civilisation'—and diffusionistic outlooks—condensing disparate phenomena to construct a broader narrative of dissemination. This issue, and Wachsmann's particular interest in historical questions, will be further examined in the next subchapter. Here, I will now proceed to a discussion of instrument collection, classification and exhibition in the context of (colonial) museums.

An approach to research on musical instruments in the Uganda Protectorate can gather some insights from James Clifford's attempt to theorise the importance of collection practices in anthropology. He stresses that not only museums and archives as institutions have

been relevant for the development of the discipline, but also methodologies and outlooks of the ‘collection of culture’ in a material and an epistemic way. The practices of collection always entail decision and discrimination, as well as ‘ideological’ suppositions—they are, thereby, both selective and strategic in the issue of *what* is to be collected, and in which way (Clifford 1988: 220–221).

The ambivalent notion of authenticity is often central in these processes, particularly in the collections of material from racialised Others. In Clifford’s view, these have, in the general history of museums and collections, mostly been viewed either “as (scientific) cultural artifacts or as (aesthetic) works of art” (ibid.: 222). This is certainly a valid statement in regard to musical instruments, whose positioning on the spectrum of ‘art–artefact’ relies on what is seen as meaningful in each case. Either categorisation involves particular interpretive frameworks for the respective objects, but in each case a further differentiation into what is seen as ‘authentic’ or ‘inauthentic’ is characteristic. Along these lines, Clifford argues, an “art-culture-complex” is established—a hierarchical system of classification and evaluation (ibid.: 224). Regarding music, this can be related to the observation made by Radano and Bohlman that views on music of racialised Others often paradoxically entailed the ascription of particular authenticity hand in hand with that of ultimate inferiority (2000: 16–17).

Ethnographic collections and museums, often having been established or significantly increased in the colonial era, tend to conceptualise their objects in the direction of ‘cultural artefact’. The question of how their value—read: worth of being collected and staying in the collection—is construed is especially interesting. An aspect to consider here is rooted in dualist perspectives fostered by the colonality of knowledge: “Anthropological culture collectors have typically gathered what seems ‘traditional’— what by definition is opposed to modernity” (Clifford 1988: 231). The categorisation as ‘traditional’ for, say, a musical instrument serves as factor of perceived value—thereby, to these phenomena viewed as inferior to ‘modern’ European ones, value is nonetheless ascribed through the notion of authenticity. Following some of the thoughts presented in 2.2, the term ‘tradition’ can be understood as one of legitimisation and evaluation in the context of collections and museums of ‘native’ instruments in Africa. The esteem awarded to the ‘traditional’ can, subsequently, also lead to a certain depreciation of what is perceived as ‘hybrid’ or ‘influenced’ and emphasise “what gives form, structure and continuity to a world” (ibid.).

The establishment of the Uganda Museum as an important institution for a number of research fields in the colonial era in fact began before its opening at the current location, Katante Hill in Kampala, in 1954. Cooke summarizes recounts by Wachsmann that around the turn of the century, the already mentioned commissioner Johnston began to encourage the collection of “fetishes and curiosities, curios and natural history specimens” by district commissioners which were then deposited in a “little Greek temple” (2012: 6). Quite clearly, notions of Otherness and exoticised peculiarity were seen as important criteria for the amassing of ‘native’ objects. The collections subsequently changed location and affiliation, and around 1941 or 1942 they were moved to Makerere College campus. Plans for relocation and the construction of the museum as a distinct institution developed and intensified after the end of World War Two, and were eventually realised with significant financial means granted from the above-mentioned Colonial Development and Welfare funds (ibid.). The construction of the Uganda museum can thus be seen as part of reinvigorated post-war ‘development’ efforts by the colonial government. Wachsmann, after becoming curator to the museum in 1948 (remaining in the position until 1957) was involved in these formative processes as well as the subsequent organisation of its galleries and continued collection of so-called ‘tribal crafts’.

Of the variety of exhibitions and parts of the museum (ranging from ethnographic and archaeological to biological collections), his influence was undoubtedly biggest in the musical instrument collection and the respective separate gallery, a factor of international renown for the museum (Peterson / Abiti 2022: 93). Wachsmann describes intentions and objectives that informed its installation and design in a later text, particularly that he saw importance in avoiding implications of ‘primitiveness’ and in not assembling it along categories of ‘tribe’:

“[W]e were faced with the task of making it clear—through the musical armamentarium of the tribes of Uganda—that the peoples of the country were part of the family of Man. This precluded from the beginning any thought of an ethnographic exhibit, in which the equipment of each tribe appeared in its own tribal setting” (Wachsmann 1957: 10).

This humanist-universalist attitude is visible in a number of Wachsmann’s research works, but was certainly unusual for ethnographic museums in the colonial era. The authenticity of the collected and displayed instruments as artefacts, to return to Clifford’s concept, is in this view produced not so much by their ascription to a specific entity (‘tribe’) seen as ‘tra-

ditional' or exotic, but to a supposed universal property. In Wachsmann's design, the instruments are arranged in a way that he credits to Sachs' idea of 'strata': In *Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente*, the latter groups instrument types throughout the globe into categories (*Schichten*) that he both geographically delimits and historically positions (1929). The cases in the Uganda Museum are thus said to represent certain universalised affinities, historicised 'types' and trans-regional distributions of the instruments included. For example, the first one contains instruments "still in use in Uganda" seen as "man's earliest musical instruments", which shows not so much a diffusionistic but an evolutionistic notion of 'primitiveness' (Wachsmann 1957: 10). The third one, in contrast, aims to display purported connections between instruments in Uganda and ones in South-East Asia (*ibid.*).

The latter echoes the disputed theories of certain phenomena like the xylophone having been brought to Africa from Indonesia, which were famously championed by Arthur Morris Jones. He and other researchers have put some effort into discerning affinities in construction, tuning and other aspects, thus elaborating on the purported migration and diffusion of cultural phenomena, arguing for "a map with the Indian Ocean in the centre" (Jones 1959: 166). But this remains an ultimately speculative view which, while interesting through its emphasis on early intercontinental connections, can be interpreted as implicitly ascribing lack of creative agency to Africans. As Ruth Stone notes, it has not received considerable attention in the disciplinary discourses of ethnomusicology (2008: 29). Wachsmann seems to have a somewhat ambivalent view on this matter. In another text, "Musicology in Uganda", he points to details questioning this idea and its general problem of provability, but also stresses the validity of comparisons between East African and Indonesian xylophones for their "family resemblance" (Wachsmann 1953a: 51–53).

The glassed wall cases of the instrument gallery, which I was able to see myself in their current form during a visit to the Uganda Museum in 2020, are apparently set up differently now from the way Wachsmann describes them. Still, the instruments are not grouped along lines of 'ethnic' affiliation, but rather systematically by instrument types. Furthermore, the emphasis on historicised comparison remains, at least in part: The objects are juxtaposed with explanatory texts, photographs or drawings, but also reproductions of older iconographical sources. In the case of harps, for example, these are an Egyptian mural and a Sumerian vase fragment—both presented as depictions of harpists. This may serve the stated emphasis of positioning African music as part of a broader narrative on

music and its developments, but also points to a particular concern with the history of musical instruments that Wachsmann expresses in many of his research writings. This topic will be taken up again in part 4.3 below.

An aspect of Wachsmann's work at the museum, which is often pointed out favourably in the literature, is the employment of Ugandan musicians as demonstrators and performers (Cooke 2012: 3; Hood 1977: xi; Vowles 1981: [2]). The most famous and influential of these was the aforementioned Evaristo Muyinda—a pronounced performer and teacher of Ganda court music instruments like the *amadinda* and *akadinda* xylophones. He has been working at the museum as primary music demonstrator from quite early on in Wachsmann's tenure there, hired in 1949 (Kubik 2010 [1988]: 52). According to a UNESCO report, Muyinda and other musicians were still active at the museum in 1981, performing at times (Trone 1981: 1). The ensemble enjoyed, at least in the 1960s, considerable popularity with Kampala residents, as Kubik notes (1968: 61).

From a contemporary point of view, the museum could be described as somewhat outdated regarding its set-up, displays and information, which has been explained by a difficult material situation of “permanent austerity” (Peterson / Abiti 2022: 94). Reid reflects on its position as a paradoxical place in contemporary Kampala, “[f]rozen in a late colonial moment”, in which “the scent of its well-meaning white curators still lingers in the slightly stale air” (2017: xxii). Despite avoiding an overarching emphasis on ‘tribe’ as a defining factor for its objects in the music and to a degree also the ethnographic exhibits, the museum still can be seen as reproducing stereotypical notions of African culture and its supposed rootedness in essentialised ‘tribes’ and ‘tradition’ (Abiti 2021). It can thus serve, however, as a marked example of the practices of scientific collection and the different results they could produce under the imperial framework in which it was established.

Connected to Wachsmann's activities in the museum is a work often cited as an imperative source for research on musical instruments in Uganda: the volume *Tribal Crafts of Uganda*, in which Margaret Trowell provides a survey on material culture and various objects, and Wachsmann contributes an account of musical instruments (1953b). As is stated in the introduction, the publication was funded by the colonial government in Uganda (Trowell 1953: 4). Trowell was an arts scholar who moved to the Protectorate in 1935, established a School of Art at Makerere University and preceded Wachsmann as curator of

the Uganda Museum from 1941 to 1946. But, as Cooke notes, their collaboration began before the establishment of the Museum at Makerere, as they undertook what they called “collecting safaris” together (2012: 6). While Brauholtz, in the foreword, lauds the 93-page long musical instrument section as a novel undertaking (1953: vii), Wachsmann emphasises a certain preliminary and limitedness of the study and data, rather seeing it as groundwork for subsequent research. As far as the gathering of material and data for the text is concerned, 1945 is named as the beginning, meaning that work ensued before Wachsmann became curator, and he regretfully remarks that his duties as CMS Education officer relegated it to “a hobby indulged in at odd moments” rather than “continuous and systematic study” (1953b: 311).

A detailed interpretation of this comprehensive text would exceed the scope of our discussion, but a few interesting points can be observed. Firstly, it can be seen as a further example of the ‘survey approach’ mentioned earlier, gathering and presenting first and foremost as much data as available on a variety of groups, according to a ‘super-objective’ of systematic classification and comparison. Like the museum displays, the survey here is not structured on terms of ‘tribal’ affiliation of instruments in the Uganda Protectorate. But in this case, the approach is not one of diffusionistic narratives, but of organological classification along the lines of Hornbostel’s suggestions for African instruments (ibid.: 312; Hornbostel 1933: 303–311). This means that mode of sound generation is the primary principle of order applied, followed by further differentiations in respect to material, construction or playing technique. However, the notion of ‘tribe’ as point of reference and localisation is not absent, but appears as a denominator in the descriptions and contextualisations of individual instruments. The general title of *Tribal Crafts*, after all, positions the presented objects in the conceptual frame in which what is perceived to be ‘native’ and ‘traditional’ in Africa becomes conterminous with the ‘tribal’.

The section is grouped into chapters concerned with idiophones, aerophones, membranophones (including the Uganda type drums noted above), and chordophones. The latter is the longest, reflecting Wachsmann’s own research interest in bow harps and other stringed instruments. Apart from descriptions of terminology, distribution, construction, contexts or playing techniques, every chapter includes line drawings of instruments or playing techniques, which were produced by Trowell. The comparative approach is further exemplified by the inclusion of charts, for example one compiling different types of Ugandan xylo-

phones with categories of distribution, social position or prevalence, construction and materials, number and grouping of keys, as well as positioning and terminology for players (Wachsmann 1953b: 320). Finally, photographs of instruments being played or presented by people mark the end of the book (ibid.: plates 97–115, not paginated). None of the African individuals visible in these pictures are identified by name or other data—even though these might have been documented—as was rather common in anthropological or (ethno)musicological writing for a considerable amount of time and particularly in colonial frameworks. As Nettl emphasises, this tendency of anonymous representation and de-individualisation reflects the scientific outlook of studying groups of humans and their musical phenomena, primarily, which was characteristic for many ethnomusicologists in the 20th century (2015: 213–214). Accordingly, designations of the particular Ugandan ‘tribes’, for which the instruments and human individuals were seen as representative, are nonetheless presented alongside the photographs (Wachsmann 1953b: plates 97–115, not paginated).

In December 1949, before the publication of *Tribal Crafts*, Wachsmann was responsible for a three-day exhibition of Ugandan musical instruments and corresponding talks and demonstrations at the library of the Coryndon Museum in Nairobi, Kenya. A favourable report on these events by R. R. Scott recounts the presentations by Wachsmann and three Baganda musicians. Only one of them, Muyinda Valisiti, is mentioned by name, apparently for restringing the author’s *ennanga* harp; and one is highlighted for being able to transcribe into staff notation (Scott 1949: 22). It is reasonable to assume that this was an occasion mainly directed towards a white, scholarly audience, the report itself noting that the visitors were “predominantly non-African” (ibid.). It is interesting to further examine some of the information reproduced in this text. The three instruments in the exhibition are said to be “characteristic of the Uganda Protectorate and its borderlands”: the xylophone *amadinda/entaala*; the lyre *endongo* and the *ennanga* (ibid.). What appears to be a rather odd statement, given that all three of them are from Buganda and thus hardly typical of the Protectorate as a whole, is probably referring to structural affinities of the string instruments with those in other regions in Uganda that are mentioned in the text. Nevertheless, it again illustrates the sub-imperial hierarchy explained in Chapter 3 as a characteristic of colonial Uganda.

Scott primarily recounts technical information on the presented instruments, their measurements, tuning and playing techniques. But in the segment about the *ennanga*, a good part is

devoted to historical and comparative perspectives on this instrument notably championed by Wachsmann (ibid.: 24–25). The latter is reported to have “prepared numerous maps and illustrations to show the Egyptian, Babylonian, Indonesian and Greek origins and affinities of the instruments exhibited, and their present distribution as far as known” (ibid.: 22). Before this matter—the position of historical approaches in colonial music research in Uganda, with which Wachsmann is so associated—is discussed, it is important to note that there were some other studies of musical instruments in the colonial era thus far not mentioned. Two of these, both published in the *Uganda Journal*, I want to briefly point out.

One is a small study by P. G. Coutts (an education official in Entebbe) of five instruments from the Usuku area in Teso, eastern Uganda (1950). Again, this is a rather typical organological account focused on descriptions of construction, materials, regional provenance, techniques and contexts of playing which employs both ‘indigenous terminology’ as well as one of European music (on registers, for example). The author, seemingly, aims to assert interestingness and worth of ‘native’ musical practice to the expectably predominantly white British audience of the journal. He poses that

“[t]hese five instruments, with a wealth of musical history and craft behind them, and found in the small area of Usuku, show once again that it is foolish to under-estimate the beauty, the scope, and the musical value of African music” (Coutts 1950: 162).

Similar motivations and views are indeed explicitly or implicitly voiced in many of the accounts quoted in this paper, especially from the later decades of the Protectorate. They are thus critical of downright derogatory attitudes towards African music by British colonial agents, instead aiming to promote a form of appreciation within the colonial framework.

Quite early in the run of the *Uganda Journal*, it published “Kiganda Drums” by Allan J. Lush, again a member of the Colonial Service in education, in 1935. Through its subject matter, this text is clearly connected to earlier accounts on drums in Buganda, some noted above, and frequently takes recourse to Roscoe. Employing Luganda terminology, a good portion of the text is concerned with listing the array of drums, their respective players and contexts in the Kabaka’s court as well as hereditary ownership by specific clans (Lush 1935: 9–16). Like earlier sources, he emphasises an importance of drums not only for the Baganda, but to “the African in general” with uses also “quite apart from music” (ibid.: 7). Notwithstanding their undoubtedly high social and cultural significance in Buganda, or in

other societies across the continent, the accentuation of drums and percussion as a primary aspect of all music in Africa has developed to be a common stereotype in research and beyond. In some regards, it is intertwined with the notion of the primacy of rhythm analysed by Agawu, as introduced in Chapter 2 (2003: 55–70).

As Carl points out, both drums and rhythm were often presented as expressions of the supposed inherent corporeality of African music, construed as a fundamental and ‘racial’ difference to European music (Carl 2004: 42). Wachsmann, notably, criticises the preoccupation of Africanist ethnomusicologists with drums more than once (1953a: 56; 1969: 181–182). In his view, this expectation and stereotype can produce distorted views on the part of the researcher, but can also shift the outlook of respective musicians or facilitate disregard for other aspects of musical practices in Africa. Noting that the special focus on percussion is something “every African has learned to expect of a Westerner”, he states his experience to be that, accordingly, “informants will lay on drums thick” (Wachsmann 1969: 181–182). In a rather technical essay on tunings of musical instruments in Busoga (in comparison to those in Buganda), with data gathered with a chromatic stroboscope from a Soga *Wagonda* ensemble (three lamellophones and a rattle) at the Uganda Museum in 1952, Wachsmann stresses a general importance of pitch and timbre in African music. This, he argues, has generally been overlooked by ‘Western’ musicians in favour of rhythm, which could have led “African colleagues” to neglect “their tonal heritage” (Wachsmann 1967: 583). While the direct influence of scholars should not be overstated as to obliterate African agency in these processes, it is certainly important to point to changing configurations of what is seen as quintessential or authentic in African music, which could also have been brought about by interactions in research fields.

As a final digression, it must be mentioned that classificatory approaches to Ugandan musical practices have not been limited to instruments, as another *Uganda Journal* article illustrates: Ernest K. K. Sempebwa’s “Baganda Folk-Songs: A Rough Classification” is quite straightforward in that it presents categories of songs, mostly with one or more text examples in Luganda and English, but does not give any general introductory or concluding remarks or interpretations (1948). The eleven categories of songs he proposes variably refer to their uses and contexts or their contents and topics. The employment of different points of reference also characterises the mentioned instrument classifications e.g. in *Tribal Crafts*, below the main criterion of sound production.

To summarize, it can be recapitulated that in the frameworks established in colonial Uganda, investigations of musical instruments were a central concern for music research. Hereby, an impetus of establishing structures of order is noticeable—the attempt at “yielding systems from chaos” as characteristic for ethnographic work shaped by the colonality of knowledge (Taussig 1987: xiv). The two central methodological acts in this regard are those of collection and classification. In both cases, “diverse experiences and facts are selected, gathered, detached from their original temporal occasions, and given enduring value in a new arrangement” (Clifford 1988: 231). For this process of structuring, which reconfigures meaning from the scientific outlook, musical instruments must often have seemed particularly suitable, given their perceivable materiality that allows, among others, for the physical act of collecting. The approach of classification fosters the latter in that it necessitates the continuous addition of specimen examples and data to an existing body like the classificatory systems (which is evident in the mentioned ‘survey approach’). In the paradigms and narratives thereby developed, instruments are treated as representative objects, be it as an emblematic part of a supposed ‘tribe’ and its cultural expression, as material for the formulation of a universal taxonomy, or as evidence for ‘grand narratives’ of their development or distribution.

4.3 Of Harps and History: Narrations of Uganda’s Musical Past

In the course of ethnomusicological research since the 20th century, the question of history and its place in the discipline has been an ambivalent issue. As Jonathan McCollum and David G. Hebert argue, historical perspectives were utilised by a number of scholars in ethnomusicology throughout the 20th century, but have not assumed the conceptual and methodological priority of ethnography (2014: 2–9). In their initial conceptions and practices, comparative musicology and ethnomusicology have, in distinction to (historical) musicology, often been evolutionistically framed as the study of music from “peoples without history” – meaning those racialised Others to which a sense of historic agency was epistemologically denied, particularly in colonial situations (Nettl 2015: 287). Equally, the methodology of fieldwork was typically perceived to, first and foremost, directly address phenomena of the present and people living in the present (Bithell 2006: 3). Nevertheless, as will be exemplified below, the past as an issue or implicit notion has for quite some time had a presence in ethnomusicological work, not only when scholars began to problematise the stated assumptions and restrictions, albeit under different outlooks and paradigms.

This includes the perspectives of evolutionism which have already surfaced numerous times in the preceding discussions. The assumption that all human societies (or, in the case at hand, musical practices) developed in time according to a uniform, teleological model towards ‘civilisation’, is pointed to by Mudimbe as an explicitly normative way of conceiving the past. History, in this understanding, functions as a “theoretical and abstract vocation, which refers to various achievements”, with the latter ascribing “meaning and power” (Mudimbe 1988: 203). As has been stressed in Chapter 2, evolutionistic interpretations of human societies and cultures are a central aspect in the colonial and eurocentric knowledge perspective. The particular position ascribed, for example, to African ‘natives’ and cultural practices is hereby twofold: On the one hand, any sense of distinct historicity or historical agency is denied. On the other hand, they are positioned to live in a state of pastness—an inherent ‘primitiveness’—despite their obviously contemporaneous existence (Quijano 2016: 68–69). Stemming from this view is the assumption that these ‘primitive’ peoples—‘primitive’ musics—would somehow be possible sources to be examined by researchers in reconstructing the universalised idea of the past or even ‘origins’ of music. A noteworthy recent study on such an approach is provided by Anna Maria Busse Berger, who examines the role of German comparative musicologists, musicians, missionaries and others in attempting to establish connections between European medieval music and African music (2020).

Evolutionistic perspectives thus also illustrate the interconnectedness of ideas on ‘race’ and ‘tribe’ and those on the past. I have so far already presented a number of examples for the evolutionistic paradigm and its terminology in literature on music in the Uganda Protectorate, in which ‘primitiveness’ is typically employed to both denote a low stage of ‘development’ (as opposed to modernity) and an essentialised pastness of African ‘tribal’ music. The equally ubiquitous term ‘traditional’ music—prevalent to this day—also appears to include allusions to the past in a peculiar way, namely that it often implicitly connects the phenomena labelled with it to an idea of their existence in a past not specified, that they have been ‘passed down’ from this past.

It is important to conceptualise history, analogous to ethnography, in its constructivity. Put concisely, it is not synonymous with the past, but rather discourse on the past. Following Arthur Danto’s theorisation, history can be viewed to consist of the ascription of a potentially infinite number of meanings to past events, and of bringing them into relation to

other events that are phenomenologically distinct (1962). The same instance can thus get organised into different narratives, and the meanings ascribed to it change accordingly. An example for this practice of interpretive correlation are the above-mentioned comparisons of the *ennanga* harp with instruments from Ancient Egypt—there certainly is an argument for affinities in structure or at least appearance, but given their unavoidable phenomenological and temporal separateness, this is necessarily an act of deliberate and narrative construction.

Concern for the past in music research on Uganda can broadly be grouped into two categories: The first are those instances when musical phenomena are approached as a source of information for more general historical deliberations. The second, conversely, are those where interest lies in the past or the development of these phenomena themselves and potential reconstructions to this end. These foci are not exclusive however, but at times seem to coalesce in actual research. Furthermore, in many of the analysed texts, notions of history are not formulated at the forefront, but rather appear interspersed and as just one of multiple aspects of consideration. This applies for example to the aforementioned accounts dealing with drums in Buganda by Lush (1935) and with instruments in Usuku by Coutts (1950). The former mentions a number of drums that are no longer in use, attempting to supply some information from the literature (or possibly oral accounts) on their practices, contexts or meanings, and in the case of those of the court ceremonial, assumes reasons for their demise (Lush 1935: 9).

Coutts, on the other hand, voices thoughts on possible ‘origins’ of the five instruments he presents, based on structural comparison or on views expressed by partakers. For example, the six-stringed *adeudeu* (termed as a lyre here, although harp would be more fitting) he poses to be “unconnected with the *enanga* of Buganda”, and that “Iteso claim that it is original and I believe it is Nilo-Hamitic and not Bantu in origin” (Coutts 1950: 161). This stated contradiction between a ‘local’ view of originality of the *adeudeu* and Coutts’ differing claim of a different ‘ethnic’ or ‘racial’ provenance points to a diffusionistic outlook, in which multiple instances of cultural invention are not presumed. The view of monogenesis and subsequent distribution of musical phenomena from singular ‘centres’ was, indeed, an important aspect of diffusionistic thought in comparative musicology in the late 19th and early 20th century (Stone 2008: 28). The particular assertion of Nilo-Hamitic provenance of the *adeudeu*—notwithstanding its seeming Teso identification as something distinct—fur-

thermore alludes to narratives of cultural ‘invasion’ and influence on Bantu groups in the Uganda area by those further north. This was noted in 4.1 connected to the ‘Hamitic myth’ and will reappear below in regard to harps.

By far the greatest emphasis on historical issues in the discussed body of literature is to be found in Wachsmann’s research, particularly on Ganda music. This concerns not only topics and findings of particular phenomena: As one of only few scholars in ethnomusicology in his time, he has reflected theoretically on the role of the past and its interpretation in the discipline in numerous instances. In this light, it seems all the more peculiar that Wachsmann is not mentioned once in the expansive theoretical and introductory chapters of McCollum’s and Hebert’s *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology* (2014: 1–33; id. 2014: 35–83; id. 2014: 85–147). It thus stands to reason to devote the rest of this section to a closer examination of his concern for the past and historical factors in musical practices in Uganda.

Notably, organological and historical approaches are highly coalescent in Wachsmann’s work, and many of his contributions on musical instruments are in some sense concerned with the respective instrument’s past. For example, in an essay on the *entenga*—a multipart instrument consisting of twelve drums which was formerly exclusive to the Kabaka’s court in Buganda—Wachsmann attempts some degree of historical and transcontinental speculation around a limited body of data (1965). On the one hand, he pays particular attention to an analysis of one of the many Ganda oral narratives on the origins and developments of instruments, in this case on the *entenga*, and especially the clans and persons involved (ibid.: 3–5). On the other hand, he compares the instrument to similar ones in Uganda (Bugwere and Lango) in regard to structure and playing technique, but also, relying only on photography and iconography, to somehow similar drum ensembles in Ethiopia and India (ibid.: 5–8). Regarding the latter approach, he remains careful and does not present any definite or far-reaching conclusions, but nevertheless awards some validity to another contemporaneous study of the *entenga* that suggests a connection to South-East Asia—a contested line of diffusionistic thought already presented in the last section (ibid.: 8).

The inclusion and lengthy analysis of an example of ‘oral history’ is noteworthy, given the production of knowledge in a colonial framework shows the clear tendency to construe written sources as primary and of special trustworthiness in the eurocentric view. Charles

Okumu, in his study of Acholi oral genres, states that the legitimacy of orality was effectively denied in institutions of education or administration—which were ascribed (epistemological) authority—in the case of the Uganda Protectorate as well as the Empire in general: “Colonialism denied the legitimacy of orality in the prestigious centres [...] of colonial society in each territory” (1999: 58).

While orality as a mode of constructing and maintaining knowledge was discredited in official and academic contexts, it was nevertheless seen as an issue for research at certain points. Wachsmann’s apparent interest in ‘African orality’ is evidenced by a radio broadcast he wrote and narrated for the BBC’s Third Programme, entitled *Traces of the Epic in Africa* (May 7 1963). Here, a number of recorded examples of recitation or song from throughout the continent (some from Uganda) is presented alongside a comparative narration that questions whether there exists something in the sense of an epic in Africa. While he posits that some characteristics of epics can apply to ‘oral traditions’ in Africa, like long duration and panegyric nature, their antiquity is doubted because of many “unfavourable factors” for their prolonged “survival” (ibid.: 21:15–29:19). What constitutes these unfavourable conditions is not made particularly clear. In general, Wachsmann expresses a sentiment of epistemic obscurity on the matter, that research into these oral forms is still incipient, but also echoes a notion of scholarly ‘discovery’ of Africa: the investigation of oral genres, elusive until the invention of recording devices, is seen as “a situation almost as exciting as the discovery of the black continent in the last century” (ibid.: 00:41–03:06).

There have been three other, consecutive BBC radio broadcasts featuring Wachsmann while he was still curator, which I have thus far unfortunately not been able to access. But for all of them there exist at least short programme descriptions from the *The Radio Times* that can be consulted to get an impression of their content. In *The Music of Uganda: A Century of Change* on August 29, 1956, the issues seem to have been those of intra-continental and European influence (*The Radio Times* August 26 1956: 29). The broadcast on September 11 in the same year, *Harp Music of Uganda*, presumably presented some of the examples and theories that will be discussed below, with the program note emphasising a particular diversity of harp music in the Protectorate (*The Radio Times* September 9 1956: 25). Finally, in *The Music of Uganda: Modern Trends* on September 17, 1956, “Dr. Wachsmann considers that music is being composed, by Africans, which promises an interesting musical future for Uganda” (*The Radio Times* September 16 1956: 19). The details of these

contents and narratives would of course have to be discerned from the recordings themselves. What is however interesting to note in the context of this thesis, is that these programmes—after all oriented towards a British media public in the later years of the Empire—seemingly all concern issues of musical history and change in Uganda, and thus do not fit neatly into common perceptions of African immutability and the stability of ‘traditions’.

In another rather short text, Wachsmann reflects on the attempt of identifying a drum, seemingly African from the 17th century, but on which very little information is available, in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford University (1970). Deploying a woodcut by Michael Praetorius, a 1907 photograph of a Rwandan drum and personal experience from Uganda, he points out many dissimilarities and other factors that hinder the establishing of comparative connections. The conclusion he comes to is as follows:

“An informed guess would have to rely on the observation that kettledrums from the regions of the Great Lakes and in the Upper Nile have more features in common with our specimens from the seventeenth century than do instruments from any other region of Africa today. And there the matter may have to rest, at least for the time being” (Wachsmann 1970: 101–102).

Similarly to the accounts stated above, Wachsmann again expresses hesitancy towards presenting any firm narrative explanation in a source situation that he does not perceive to be warranting such. At this point, it seems relevant to again point to the fact that he was not only trained in comparative musicology in Berlin, but also in other fields of musicological research academically present then, and his dissertation on pre-Gregorian liturgical music emphasises a degree of proficiency in classical historical approaches.

The most prominent examples for consideration of the past in Wachsmann’s research concern bow harps, present in various texts going back as far as the early years as missionary official in Uganda. Some facets of his view on this instrument type have already been presented in other contexts in this thesis, but I want to again stress the aspect of creating historical narratives around the *ennanga* or other instruments, their ‘origins’ and diffusion. Already mentioned in the case of the *ennanga* was, for instance, the narrative of it becoming less common since around 1900 and being gradually replaced by the *endongo* bowl lyre, framed as “an immigrant from the east bank of the Nile” (Wachsmann 1964: 86). While this reflects two distinct observations—the *ennanga*’s growing rarity and the *endongo*’s growing popularity—what is created by the act of interpretation is their specific

narration as essentially two aspects of the same story. In this case, it takes on to some extent the form of a tragedy as one of the modes of “emplotment”, archetypal story types that Hayden White proposes as being commonly used in the *writing* of history (1975: 7–11). The ‘hero’—the *ennanga* as a revered court music instrument—is vanquished by a counterpart—the *endongo*. But there could well be a different narration around these phenomena, if for instance the *endongo* would be positioned as the central ‘character’.

Stemming from his previous research and accounts, Wachsmann formulates some of his main ideas on the history of harps in Uganda in “Human Migration and African Harps” (1964). Here, a classificatory and a historical approach appear to be combined in his line of argument. Firstly, Wachsmann proposes a threefold classification of African harps into structural types depending on the “assembly of neck, resonator, and string holder”: “spoon in a cup”, “cork in a bottle” and “shelf” or “tanged” (ibid.: 84). He then goes on to assess the clustered distribution patterns of these types on the continent and compares them to more or less historically assured human migration routes, in order to speculate on the possible ‘diffusion centres’ and routes of harps. As already implied above, he emphasises structural affinities of contemporary African harps with the record on Old Egyptian harps and proposes historical connections through multiple processes.

This is a view also employed by Hornbostel, who proposes a categorisation of African musical instrument types in response to the above-mentioned strata by Sachs, amalgamating geographical and historical ideas around distribution, intra- and intercontinental diffusion. Here, the bow harp as found in Uganda is deemed “Pre-Islamic” and ascribed to the group of instruments with “origin in the SW. Asiatic—Egyptian High Culture of the 4th to the 2nd millennium B.C.” (Hornbostel 1933: 292). The so-called ‘high cultures’—connected to the notion of Ancient Egyptians as members of a ‘Hamitic race’—are assumed as diffusion centres for bow harps and a few other instruments, from which they permeated into supposedly more ‘primitive’ African cultures further south. It becomes evident here that evolutionistic or hierarchical outlooks on racialised Others could also have been well entrenched in diffusionistic perspectives: Hornbostel assumes that groups in ‘higher’ stages of cultural development would rather not adopt more primitive types of instruments. The bow harp, presented as a “perfected instrument” of a ‘higher civilisation’ is conversely seen as far more likely to distribute (ibid.: 297–298).

In regard to the ‘cork in a bottle’ and ‘shelf’ structural types of harps, Wachsmann suggests a link between supposed migrations from the Kingdom of Kush in the fourth century AD—seen as possible ‘inheritor’ of the Egyptian harps—to a hypothetical Bantu ‘heartland’ in central Africa, and the subsequent Bantu migrations. He hereby concludes that “the penetration of the harp deeper into Africa” probably coheres with the processes of Bantu ‘expansion’ (Wachsmann 1964: 86). Regarding Uganda, however, where the ‘spoon in a cup’ type is present, he does not present a definitive hypothesis and notes the difficulties in tracing back its existence in the inter-lacustrine area. Rather than ascribing it to Bantu migrations, he posits Nilotic “invasion” or a more direct connection to the Nile valley at some point in the past as more likely (ibid.: 87). As in the contributions above, Wachsmann seems to be aware of some of the problems and potential vulnerability of speculation on cultural diffusion, but nonetheless sees it as a justifiable and important undertaking. It was, for example, later on also taken up and extended by Kubik (1982).

On a methodological level, it is noteworthy that this attempt utilises different approaches and forms of data for the construction of its narrative of instrument migration: structural comparison of objects across areas and time periods, written or other ‘physical’ sources conventionally deployed in historiography, but also forms of oral history (or what is seen as ‘folk’ narrative) and other accounts derived from anthropological practice. In a later, more expansive work, Wachsmann not only extends the approach to other instruments in Buganda, but also offers a theoretical formulation of a methodology employing both historical and ethnomusicological strategies (1971).

For its subject matters, “Musical Instruments in Kiganda Tradition and Their Place in the East African scene” is a comprehensive synthesis of Wachsmann’s (and other’s) attempts at historical reconstruction for various instruments—tube fiddles, bowl lyres, trumpets, drums, the above-mentioned *entenga*, xylophones and bow harps—that emphasises an embeddedness in various historical processes influencing their distribution and practice in East Africa (ibid.). It would go beyond the scope of this discussion to investigate these accounts in detail, but a closer look at the epistemological outlook is of high interest. Though published almost a decade after Uganda’s independence, and 14 years after Wachsmann’s departure, it is substantially based on the large body of material he gathered while working in the Protectorate.

Wachsmann notes the problem (from a researcher’s perspective, at least) of the recency and relative sparsity of written and recorded sources on music of East Africa before the 20th century (ibid.: 94–95). Given that he sees the study of its history as a significant project, he presents a methodological scheme, reproduced in Figure 3, for historically oriented approaches in ethnomusicology (or vice versa) on Africa, which informs the subsequent discussion of Kiganda instruments. The model has two dimensions: the five horizontal layers stand for “levels of historical investigation” regarding African music, while the vertical arrows represent “the lines of attack traditionally adopted by music historians” (ibid.: 95). Each layer of historical ‘intrusion’ and line of approach would entail different types of sources and approaches to them, especially for level B and C including individual accounts and forms of oral history in fieldwork interactions, each with respective difficulties of obtaining and interpreting them.

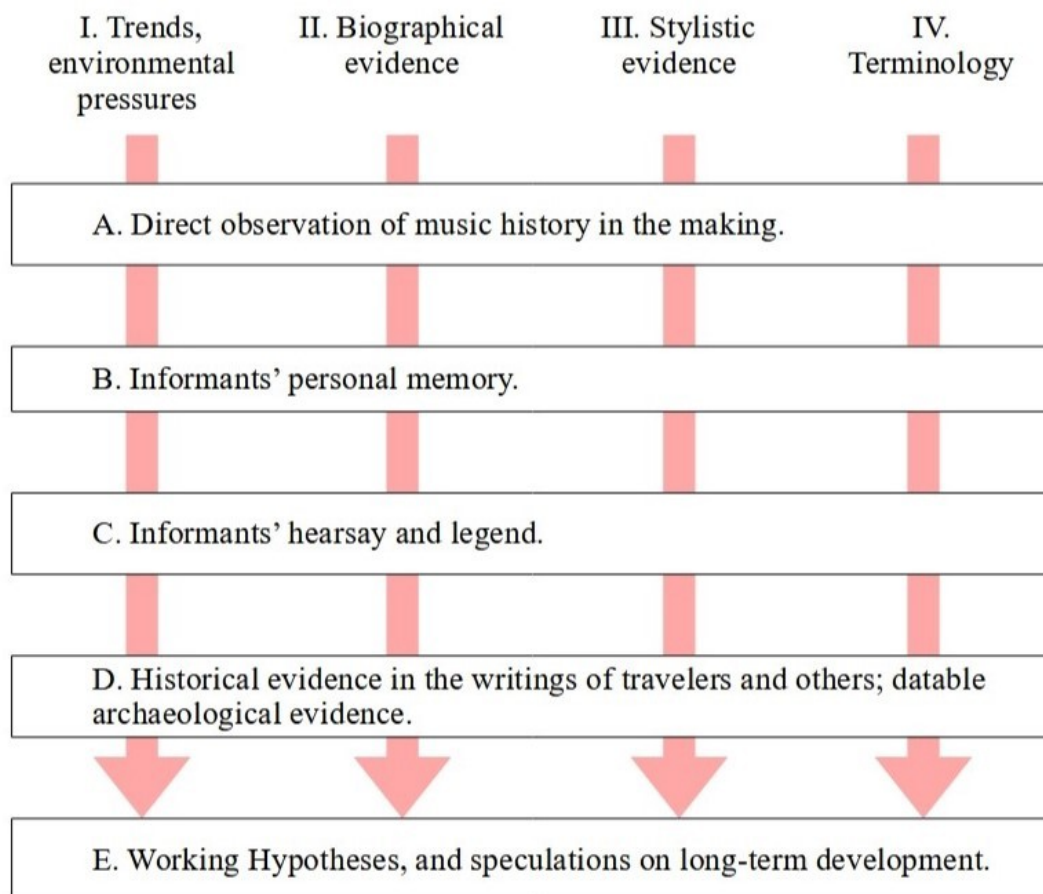


Figure 3: Scheme of investigation for ethnomusicology as proposed by Wachsmann in the context of Ganda instruments, reproduced by PE (from: Wachsmann 1971: 96).

In dealing with East African music along the lines of this scheme, Wachsmann suggests that it can be carried out in two directions, despite the arrows being depicted unidirectionally: One could begin with the investigation of present musical practices in Buganda, for example, and then continue through the consultation of informants and the other stages towards a ‘big picture’ of historical reconstruction. Particularly noteworthy is Wachsmann’s terminology for the present as “music history in the making”, alluding to a sense of temporariness (ibid.: 96). The other route of approach would, conversely, begin with the ‘long-distance’ view. This can be understood as proceeding from data and hypotheses regarding the broader, East African scale, gradually bringing particular regional or local, contemporary phenomena into view (ibid.).

However speculative and debatable they might be, through his approaches to the past from an ethnomusicological perspective, Wachsmann at least attempted to challenge the epistemic attitude of Africa’s inherent ‘pastness’, historical stability and of monolithic, unchanging ‘traditions’. Referring to processes associated with colonialism, he explicitly stresses that “African music was certainly not absolutely stable even before the impact of Western music was felt” (ibid.: 96). This is a fitting point of transition to the next and final section of this chapter, which deals with notions of musical change in the time of empire in Uganda as an underlying concern for many of the authors presented so far.

4.4 Salvage Ethnomusicology? Contemporary Reflections on Empire and Change in Ugandan Musics

One of the many paradoxes of colonial views on Africa was the simultaneity of the idea of a ‘civilising mission’—entailing the perspective that Africans were supposed to approach the idea of Western ‘modernity’—and the emphasis on ‘tradition’ that, particularly in the 20th century, often led to lamentations of their perceived loss (Fuller 1976: 317). Also in regard to other continents and contexts, this latter attitude proved to be especially prevalent among early anthropologists and informed the tendency of so-called salvage anthropology.

This term describes anthropological work which operates with a particular aim of ‘cultural preservation’ or even ‘rescue’, to describe and collect what is perceived to be in a state of demise in its research fields. This was applied especially to the ‘native’ groups and racialised Others that were for long at the centre of the discipline’s interest and often supposed to be vanishing—if not physically, then at least ‘culturally’. On a methodological level, the

‘salvage’ outlook can be said to have facilitated positivistic collection or ‘survey’ approaches, reflecting the stated objective of collecting as much data and material as possible, for as long as there was assumed to be time to do so. Indeed, as Clifford notes, in the practices of ethnographic collecting, perceptions of objects or phenomena to be of particular rarity or representing a “vanishing cultural status” have been used as one of the factors ascribing value to them and producing authenticity, and thus worth (1988: 223). In the case of comparative musicology and later ethnomusicology, where similar attitudes for a preservation of ‘the world’s music’ have developed, this included not only documentation and collection of material objects like instruments, but also the extensive production of recordings and their depositing and conservation in archives, museums and universities (Nettl 2015: 174–179).

What was often perceived in ethnomusicological writing to be the driving factor for musical depletion or loss on the side of the non-European Others was contact with European societies and music, particularly in connection to the long history of colonial activity. Carl traces the fear around loss back to the time of Hornbostel and his contemporaries. They voiced concerns that the presence of European music would influence African music in such a way as to ultimately distort what they saw as its ‘natural’, predestined way of development and ‘racial authenticity’ (2004: 144).

Surely, no scholar would doubt the profound impact the history of European colonisation (not only from the 19th century onwards) has had on African societies in general and on their musical practices in particular—some aspects of this matter have indeed been discussed in previous chapters, for example the (re-)imagination and codification of practices as ‘traditional’. Agawu sees the introduction of European diatonic scales and functional harmony, facilitated for example through missionaries, institutions like schools and churches or the presence of European musical phenomena in the urban centres, as one of the most far-reaching factors of influence to this day (2003: 8; 2016). But what this and the vast record on developments in the continent’s musical cultures in the 20th and 21st century show, is that the lasting influence of colonialism on African music is not so much the latter’s inevitable demise, but rather a consolidation of the “coexistence of musical traditions of diverse provenance” (Agawu 2003: 12).

It is also imperative in this discussion not to discount African agency in actively adapting, juxtaposing and transforming these European ‘influences’ (which also include musical instruments and, later, records) in various ways to create new practices or reinterpret older ones. There are examples for such complex processes in Uganda already from the colonial era, for instance in an Acholi dance typically performed by young girls, *Dingidingi*. In its movements and other aspects of its practice, this dance quite clearly echoes the motions and performative precision of military drill—historically associated with soldiers of the colonial army, into which so many Acholi were recruited (Okumu 1999: 79). Bruno Nettl gives a list of the numerous forms in which the processes uniformly coined ‘musical change’ could transpire, with literal abandonment not the only one and probably by far not the most prevalent (2015: 283–286).

In the body of music research from colonial Uganda, apprehensions about change and demise of ‘traditions’ are a frequent occurrence. Most of the texts selected as sources for this thesis make at least brief remarks on such issues, while some are overtly occupied with it. Notably, the concern for change in musical practices also seems to be the predominant aspect of research writing in which more or less explicit mentioning, acknowledgment or discussion of colonialism quite regularly appears. This does typically not take on a form of fundamental critique, but is mostly an assessment of certain effects on music practices that are ascribed to the European presence and influence in Uganda. Lush, in his essay on Ganda drums, writes for instance that

“the adoption of western ideas and the discontinuance of rule by a despotic king and pagan religion have already ousted them [drums] from their paramount position. To-day, some of the important drums of the past are no longer beaten, and the majority of the young Baganda are ignorant of their names and history” (1935: 7).

While it is not made clear what ‘western ideas’ entail, this assertion expresses the above-mentioned ambivalence towards change in the colonial knowledge perspective. The precolonial reality in Buganda is described as one of despotic rule and ‘heathenism’, both supposedly abolished by the British ‘civilising effort’. But the latter is then conversely viewed as having produced the devaluation or vanishing of a cultural practice seen as traditional and valued. The process of musical change is here inevitably ascribed to the processes of social change. This is a line of thought which is, if one follows Agawu’s argument, also rooted in the Othering view that African music is in a particular way subject to its social

context, inherently ‘functional’ rather than ‘contemplative’, and much more so than music in other world areas and especially Europe (2003: 98). Furthermore, the perceived rootedness in certain, defined groups and its customs is also a factor in the construction of the music’s authenticity (Radano / Bohlman 2000: 28).

Similarly, it is important to consider that the notion of decline in ‘authentic’ African music in the colonial present was often connected to essentialised ideas about the past, which can be described as a romanticising tendency inside of the interpretive framework of ‘tribal’ coherence, continuity and ‘native traditionality’. One of the problems of this view is that it assumes the colonisation of Africa as a sole transformative event in the history of the continent’s societies and musical practices, and to imagine the precolonial period as one that was essentially devoid of greater transformations. This positioning of an African musical past as a “magnificent era now permanently inaccessible, an era to be desired” shows elements of a fetishisation in the respective discourse (Agawu 2003: 22).

When the authenticity of music is asserted both in terms of being uninfluenced and being bound to a *particular* group, the perceived ‘mixing’ of different ‘tribal’ musical practices could be viewed as a problematic affair. Shortly after Uganda’s independence, Kubik gives statements along these lines concerning the national HEART BEAT OF AFRICA ensemble. This at the time quite active group had, fitting for nationalistic imperatives in cultural policy, a repertoire of music and dance of different regional or ‘ethnic’ affiliation. While he asserts quality in the group’s performance, Kubik voices scepticism about what he sees as musical “detribalisation” (1968: 60). He appears to be similarly pessimistic about musical performances aimed at European audiences in Uganda, and the increase of European music students in Kampala: On meeting his former xylophone teacher Evaristo Muyinda, Kubik voices the view that, due to the latter’s greatly increased activity in teaching Ugandan instruments to Europeans, his credibility as an “objective source for ethnomusicological research” might have been compromised (ibid.). What connects the so-far mentioned statements is not only the ascription of African music’s value for research to notions of ‘tribal’ authenticity and stability against ‘Western influence’, but a more or less pronounced lack in regard for the agency of African musicians who were active participants in these processes of change, with their own outlooks and interests.

In ethnomusicological research in the colonial framework, a seeming contradiction emerges between the explicit search for what is seen as ‘authentic’ and ‘unspoiled’ and the reliance of research practice on the colonially facilitated or accelerated shifts in African societies (Waterman 1991: 179–180). This is visible in attitudes towards the growing urban centres in the colonies, in which institutions and infrastructures for research were predominantly established, but which by some researchers were met with scepticism concerning their ‘African authenticity’. Tracey, for example, sees in 1950’s Kampala a “veneer of materialism amongst the Africans not equalled anywhere in our experience except in the large southern towns”, also essentialistically ascribing a particular susceptibility onto the Baganda (1951: 43).

In a similar vein, criticism is often levelled not only against ‘Westerners’, but also members of African urban elites or so-called ‘educated’ composers and musicians for allegedly disregarding ‘native music’ in favour of European models (Bansisa 1936: 113). Wachsmann argues that the intensifying political tide of ‘African nationalism’ in Uganda in the 1950s has facilitated the emergence of “a group of progressive, educated musicians, who compose music”, but he perceives from their direction not a dismissal of ‘tribal music’, rather an interest to adapt it in compositions (1957: 12). As with many other issues, Wachsmann shows a tendency towards a language of carefulness and weighing up in many (especially later) remarks on musical change. While he often assesses a conceptual and practical impact of European music in Africa, for example regarding missionary activity and the introduction of Christian hymns, he alleges that there is “no point in dwelling on the destructive nature of recent events” (1954: 43).

In *Tribal Crafts*, he emphasises that musical instruments are historically fluid per se and always subject to changes regarding their form, function or social position (Wachsmann 1953b: 311). As evidenced by his contributions with historical approaches, it appears that change, at least when framed in terms of history, is viewed as a topic of interest in itself (Wachsmann 1958). To be sure, Wachsmann regularly voices concern about the rapidity of changes in African music in the 20th century, and the necessity of “a rescue action [...] on a colossal scale” (1959: 77–78). But at the same time he seems to stress the view that change is not inherently to be deplored by ethnomusicologists, if it transpires inside of certain objectives of ‘tradition’, African peculiarity and in not too short a time frame (ibid.). In some

way, one can detect a differentiation between ideas of ‘good’ (read: organic, creative) and harmful (read: rapid, ‘Westernised’) transformation.

What often follows from the perception and discussion of change is, as the other component of a ‘salvage ethnomusicological’ approach, the question of what measures could be implemented by scholars to intervene in the (factual or imagined) demise of ‘traditions’ and to facilitate their preservation. Several texts include calls for educational plans or institutions propagating and teaching ‘native music’ (Bansisa 1936: 113; Nabeta 1959) or music’s inclusion in broader schemes of cultural policy in Uganda (Wachsmann 1939: 148). On an inter-territorial level, the development of agendas and practices of ‘safeguarding’ or ‘rescuing’ African music was, for example, an important aim in the formation of the African Music Society. Founded in 1947 in South Africa, the AMS was set out to be a scholarly organisation intended to serve a purpose of research and preservation in African music—African ‘native’ music, to be precise. Wachsmann participated in the society at least from 1948 onwards—the year in which he was granted a research membership by its Executive Committee alongside e.g. Jones and Tracey, and is also listed in the Society’s newsletter as the Regional Representative for Uganda (“Editorial” 1949: 3; “List of Regional Representatives” 1949: 37).

Aims and means of ‘musical preservation’ in the context of the AMS were repeatedly formulated and discussed by Tracey, who was a central figure in the organisation. One of the common tropes hereby seems to be the paternalistic notion that Africans themselves would currently not grasp the musical diversity on the continent and its ‘value’ or appreciate ‘their’ music in the ways European scholars deemed appropriate (Tracey 1957: 16–17). In a “A Plan for African Music”, Tracey declares that

“[m]ost of them are only aware of the music made and played within their own small circle of relatives and friends, which perhaps is one of the reasons why they are so open to outside influence and, musically speaking, are so easily thrown off balance” (1965: 7).

A kind of epistemic parochialism is ascribed to the ‘native’ here, and thus the necessity of intervention by the hand of European researchers is constructed—to aid the supposedly limited Africans in understanding and preserving their music. Such remarks illustrate the point of how, from a scholarly perspective, interest and appreciation of African music could have been framed according to a particularly eurocentric outlook. Tracey in fact

states that, in an ideal development, the efforts of European researchers in collecting and preserving African music would be sooner or later taken up by the ‘natives’ themselves (1957: 16). But, peculiarly, a reason for this not being the case already is seen in the supposed African underappreciation for ‘their’ music rather than, say, in the embeddedness of research in colonial institutions and practices often exclusionary towards Africans.

What is thus, from the perspective of organisations like the AMS and its actors, the task at hand for research? For Tracey, it would be to work towards filling a “missing link between authentic African music and formal educational practice”, to contribute in projects of institutionalisation, theorisation and subsequent education (1965: 6). Organised efforts, he argues, would first have to be made in the widespread gathering of data through recordings and ethnographic methods, followed by the publication of textbooks based on general theorisations, the implementation of music curricula and incentives for renewed composition and practice (ibid.: 8). For the situation in Uganda, Tom Nabeta posits ideas for a music syllabus in teacher training and, ultimately, a formal music school. The objective, in his view, is precisely one of formalisation and epistemic institutionalisation,

“to save African music from the present fluid state, recapture lost pieces of music and widen their circulation by committing them to writing, then help the people to understand music through study and learning to read it” (Nabeta 1959: 42).

Similarly to statements quoted above, what becomes evident here is that ideas of ‘preserving’ African music that were developed in the colonial era are often riddled with paternalistic and particularly eurocentric assumptions and concepts of what constitutes an understanding, or even appreciation, of music. This is emphasised by a focus on institutional education and training, as these were spaces for the production of the authority that was seen to be necessary for successful preservation of ‘musical’ practice in a colonial territory.

A noteworthy perspective with which I want to conclude this section is delivered by Blacking in the same journal issue as Tracey’s “Plan” (1965). In a report on the first course in African Music at Makerere University, just a few years after independence, he lays out what he deems the most suitable way of continuing music research in Uganda. Conspicuously, he explicitly sees no need for efforts of conservation in musical practices, but one for musicological research and teaching of a certain standard. This research, he argues, should not consist of superficial collecting over vast areas, but rather of detailed ethno-

graphic work in particular settings (Blacking 1965: 14). Blacking ties legitimisation for studying music in Uganda to “intimate knowledge” of languages and “culture areas”—the term ‘tribe’ being absent—as well as “some musical ability”, and concludes that Ugandans themselves should thus be primary (but not sole) agents of ethnomusicology here (ibid.: 15).

Seen from a critical ethnomusicological perspective, there is nothing inherently objectionable to an aim of ‘safeguarding’ or propagating a particular practice. But, in the way such concerns were voiced, and actions implemented in a colonial framework like the Uganda Protectorate, they often relied on questionable conceptions of African musical cultures, social identities and ‘tradition’. Also, they often gave rather little regard to the heterogeneous agencies of individual Africans. Change in musical practices, and how it is seen and conceptualised, is indeed a central and revealing issue in ethnomusicological inquiry, but I would join Nettl in cautioning against value statements in this regard, given that “[w]hether what has happened—in life, in music—is good or not must be judged by the people to whom it has happened” (2015: 284).

5 The Making of an Ethnomusicological Authority: Discussing Wachsmann in Uganda and Beyond

The past chapters have shown that the discourse of music in Uganda as it developed in the colonial era and its aftermath, although a number of people have participated in it, was heavily influenced by Wachsmann, and he subsequently came to be seen as one of its central figures. As a final reflection in this thesis before some concluding remarks, this chapter aims to discuss this particular presence and perception of an individual researcher, but thereby points to larger questions regarding the ambivalent production of scientific authority in (Africanist) ethnomusicology, not only in colonial contexts.

After Wachsmann's death on July 17, 1984, and in the years since, a number of commemorative texts have been produced (Günther 1984; Nketia / DjeDje 1984; DeVale 1985; Cooke 2012). For the question of his position in the history of ethnomusicology and its discourse, it is insightful to look at what is emphasized in these as characteristic of Wachsmann's work, particularly on Uganda. Typically, he is presented as a pioneering researcher with shaping influence on the discipline. His contributions in organology (with the SEM granting an award in his name) are often highlighted, as well as the historical approaches he sought. Furthermore, a high amount of self-reflection and -criticism is attributed to Wachsmann by many later authors. Concerning Uganda, he is frequently credited for his work at the museum and the employment of 'native' musicians there, the recording project as well as for *Tribal Crafts*—deemed by DeVale to be a model study in organology for a delimited area (1985: 275).

Notwithstanding the validity of these assertions, it is important here to highlight some of the ambiguities and ambivalences. While Wachsmann was certainly influential, particularly for ethnomusicology in Africa, there always remained an aspect of peculiarity in his position in the discipline. Especially during his stay in Uganda, he appears to have been to some degree isolated from the rest of the (ethno)musicological world, becoming an “ideosyncratic thinker who devoted himself to the music of Uganda and developed his own humanistic vision of ethnomusicology” (ibid.). Notions of academic and personal in-betweenness come into play in this view, the earliest one probably stemming from Wachsmann's fate of forced migration from Germany.

His escape from National Socialism can be seen as part of a general exodus of scholars beginning in 1933, especially of those who previously were public employees, and which would lead many into the British academic world. Pietsch describes the ambivalent positions many of these scholars had in Britain. While the government was more inclined to the taking in of researchers or artists compared to other refugees, there was hardly any form of financial or other aid provided (Pietsch 2013: 184). In this light, the Academic Assistance Council—later Society for the Protection of Science and Learning—was founded in 1933 and aimed to provide support to displaced scholars from Germany, e.g. financially or by arranging temporary employments. In Wachsmann's case, the Society funded his linguistical studies at SOAS (DeVale 1985: 274). As Pietsch summarises, for many of these researchers, entering a university system which was in some regards quite alien to them often created a sense of Otherness (2013: 185).

For Wachsmann, the case in point in this regard was the perception of him as an intermediary and liminal figure between the 'Berlin School' of comparative musicology and the developments of ethnomusicology in the English-speaking world in the 20th century. Mantle Hood emphasises this, for example, positioning Wachsmann both as a disciple and successor of Hornbostel's and Sachs' teachings and as an agent in the conceptual and methodological transitions the discipline underwent (1977: xi). Indeed, the discussions in this thesis have shown that he regularly referred to both scholars or their ideas in his works, and that some of his research perspectives are evidently influenced by earlier approaches, e.g. on the classification of musical instruments and the theories of their 'migration' and diffusion. He also gathered renown for co-editing the *Hornbostel Opera Omnia* (1975; 1976), and particularly in the anglophone ethnomusicological community for translating Hornbostel's and Sachs' "Classification of Musical Instruments", together with Anthony Baines (1961).

This connection undoubtedly was a source of some authority in the discipline, but it did not preclude Wachsmann from being relegated to a state of uncertainty in his academic career path. After leaving Uganda in 1957 at age 50, he held different positions and taught at institutions in Britain and the United States, including as professor at the University of California, Los Angeles, from 1963 to 1968. But he did not acquire an indefinite teaching post at a university (DeVale 1985: 276–277).

Another factor of idiosyncrasy was that Wachsmann did not conduct fieldwork in the classical sense that has, especially after the middle of the 20th century, typically come to be expected of anthropologists or ethnomusicologists as their rite of passage and engine of their disciplinary authority (Nettl 2015: 149–152). Nonetheless, the longevity of his stay and work in Uganda—twenty years—and the fact that he studied a language of his primary research area—Luganda—were typical signifiers of ethnomusicological legitimacy that pertained to him, and do not warrant a view of Wachsmann as an ‘armchair’ researcher in the sense of the early comparative musicologists. The value ascribed to language proficiency is problematised by Agawu, who criticises that “[a] native Fon’s acquisition of English would not be as marked as a native Englishman’s fluency in Fon, even when the period and circumstances of exposure to the other language are comparable” (2003: 40). This differentiation in markedness can be related to the essentialist hierarchisations that the concept of coloniality of knowledge describes: While proficiency in a ‘native’ language is perceived as a remarkable accomplishment on the part of a European researcher, acquisition of the colonial language by ‘natives’ is presumed as self-evident and inevitable in their supposed aspirations.

This point leads on to other aspects in the important discussion of the construction of ethnomusicological knowledge in an imperial framework. For the early history of the discipline, Carl posits that aims towards assuming power and towards creating knowledge over non-European Others visibly characterise the eurocentric outlook and confluence in it. The discourse of research, if interpreted in this view, then entails a unilateral “appropriation, disciplining and subjugation” of African music, materially and mentally, as a “foreign body”⁴ Carl: (2004: 148).

There are several aspects to these processes that could be discussed. For instance, a visible trait of the archive of African music—Agawu’s term for the “vast body of existing knowledge”—is the privileging of text as a mode and medium of knowledge (2003: 24–25). This is a bias not exclusive to ethnomusicology, but one that still informs the ways in which authoritative knowledge is construed in research disciplines, their institutions and beyond. Equally relevant is the problem of hierarchies between researchers and ‘researched’ in ethnomusicological fieldwork relationships—quite visible in research in the colonial era, but

4 “Der Wille zum Wissen und zur Macht führen zur Aneignung afrikanischer Musik im geistigen wie materiellen Sinne; es handelt sich auch um die Aneignung, die Disziplinierung und Unterwerfung des fremden Körpers” (Carl 2004: 148). Translation PE.

to this day somewhat unresolved. On the level of discourse, the hierarchisation is apparent in many of the works previously discussed through the degrees in which African ‘informants’, assistants and other collaborators are (de)visualised—mentioning by name being even more scarce than generalised acknowledgements. Wachsmann’s stated regard for e.g. musicians like Evaristo Muyinda and efforts to provide employment for them is noted by Cooke as pioneering and a counterexample in this context (2012: 13). Notwithstanding this assessment, it could be argued that the relationships thus created were still marked by some unevenness and a power relationship, not least because they were established as part of ‘colonial’ institutions like the Uganda Museum.

We can here again refer to Ranger’s perspective on the role of European ‘neo-traditional’ practices and institutions in colonial African contexts (1983: 227). Museums and institutions of research could have acted as entry-points into the imperial sphere of knowledge production and epistemic authority for some proficient Africans, but this did not necessarily alter their ascribed status of subordination. Waterman points to Wachsmann as a scholar who, in later writings, acknowledged the hierarchical role allocation in Africanist ethnomusicology and voiced optimism that this would, as of the 1960s, begin to change (1991: 180). In general, remarks about some of the epistemological and methodological issues that, I would argue, revolve around coloniality can be found in many of Wachsmann’s texts, although he mostly does not delve into farther-reaching conclusions for the discipline in its then present state.

Particularly relevant to ethnomusicology are also the implications of sound recordings from the colonial era, in Wachsmann’s case a considerable body of material. In 2009, the Makerere University Klaus Wachsmann Audiovisual Archive was officially established—44 years after Blacking urged for a “central archive for recordings and films of Ugandan music and dancing” at this very university (1965: 16). A symposium on ethnomusicology in Uganda was organised, a volume published, and, foremost, the collection of Wachsmann’s Ugandan sound recordings, held by the British Library, was ceremonially committed to the new archive in the form of digitised copies. In the wake of these events, scholarly discussion around the question of sound repatriation ensued: The essay on the Wachsmann recordings by Nannyonga-Tamusuza and Weintraub has already been pointed to in Chapter 4 as giving an insightful postcolonial discussion on a central ethnomusicological issue, but also specifically on Wachsmann’s methodology in its historical contingency. As

they posit, the recordings “captured moments of cultural encounter [...] and reveal Wachsmann’s motivations, preferences, and limitations” and a thorough assessment of them, or other examples, is thus a promising research endeavour (Nannyonga-Tamusuza / Weintraub 2012: 208).

In a published response to this text, Cooke expresses a need to clarify, in some way defend Wachsmann against what he sees as certain misrepresentations—for example on the accessibility of recordings prior to the establishment of the archive and Wachsmann’s intentions in this regard—and criticizes certain obstacles for community access to the current archive (2015: 479). He notes that Wachsmann, in conversation with his son Philipp, voiced awareness that his research was “of its time” and did not address issues that have since become relevant in ethnomusicology (*ibid.*: 478). While it is not clear if the phrase ‘of its time’ is meant to allude to the colonial framework of Wachsmann’s work in Uganda, or rather to issues and topics of research, a high amount of self-reflection is something many authors seemed to notice in him.

In my own reading, Nannyonga-Tamusuza and Weintraub are not aiming to delegitimize Wachsmann’s methodology and contributions—while of course subjecting them to the critical and reflective reading every scholar, past and present, must expect. Cooke’s additions and clarifications add valid points to the issue, but he unfortunately does not seem to take up on the more fundamental, epistemological and methodological questions raised by the authors on how to deal with ethnomusicology’s heritage of coloniality and power, or the potentials for fieldwork in a postcolonial frame. He justifiably asserts that it “is all too easy in 2012 to critique fieldwork carried out some six decades earlier” (*ibid.*). But I would argue that it is similarly too easy to sideline epistemological analysis and critique of ethnomusicology in the colonial era just by stressing its pastness.

In a concluding view, Wachsmann appears as an interesting and ambivalent figure when seen through this thesis’ subject of coloniality in ethnomusicological knowledge. On the one hand, he stands as an important (if quite individual) contributor to the transformation of comparative musicology into ethnomusicology, the conceptual and practical shifts and increasing importance of self-reflexivity this entailed. In some respects, Wachsmann can be seen as particularly ‘ahead of his time’, for example in his urge for historical consideration in ethnographic work or his reflections on representation in the context of the museum. On

the other hand, he occupied positions with close proximity to the colonial state in Uganda (the CMS, the Uganda Museum, the government-funded recording project) and thus could very well have been perceived as a colonial agent by Africans he worked with. This degree of proximity to a colonial system is of course not unique to Wachsmann, but rather pertains to a great number of researchers in other situations and territories. The same can be asserted for the reproduction of attitudes or paradigms typical of eurocentric perspectives on (African) music. These factors together constitute powerful modes of representation that often rely on (implicit or explicit) constructions of Otherness, rooted in the ways the production of knowledge has been shaped by coloniality. Before summarizing some aspects in these latter regards as they have been discussed in the preceding chapters, and pointing to potentials for further inquiry, I once again want to emphasise the central outlook that has informed this investigation. Waterman posits that the future of ethnomusicological research

“will depend not only upon increasing theoretical and methodological sophistication, but also upon a critical awareness of the social and cultural patterns that ineluctably condition scholarly perception and interpretation” (1991: 180).

This formulation from 1991 is still a valid aspiration for scholars in the 21st century. Critical investigations into the epistemological and methodological histories of ethnomusicology—not restricted to, but especially in colonial frameworks—still have an array of possible topics, regions and individuals to cover. They can thus provide a number of important insights which can inform the future developments of research in this discipline.

6 Conclusion

This study has shown that the entanglement of music research and colonialism in Uganda has produced a body of literature that is heterogeneous, but in many cases exemplifies what can be called the colonality of ethnomusicological knowledge. Coloniality is hereby understood as the characteristics of knowledge and power that stem from social, ‘racial’ or cultural categorisations and hierarchisations which developed with projects of European colonialism. From an analytical perspective, I have in this sense not examined it as an individual fallacy of certain researchers, but as a systemic framework for the production of knowledge in a colonial historical situation. The eurocentric knowledge perspective that characterises this framework is marked by practices of Othering, to be exact: the antithetical construction of Africa and Africans from a European Self. An aspect of this construction that often appeared in the discussion of music research was the notion of African ‘primitiveness’ and pastness, informed by evolutionistic ideas of human history.

As has become clear in the theoretical considerations and the reflections on the case example, the production of knowledge in scientific disciplines is not only situated in social, political, or economic power structures, but as epistemic power it is in itself a form and mode of power and its exertion. The imagination of Africa from a eurocentric knowledge perspective can therefore be seen as an important aspect of imperial endeavour—as an objective of ‘ordering’ what was perceived as the ‘native’ disorder. I have stressed that two concepts in particular were influential for colonial perspectives on African societies and their music in anthropology and ethnomusicology: firstly, the term ‘tribe’, which was often used as a catch-all category for a vast range of African social and cultural affiliations, and which reflects evolutionistic paradigms and notions of African Otherness. The latter also applies to the second idea, ‘tradition’, here seen as a particular term for the interpretation of African cultural practices that can have implications of essentialism and de-historisation. Both have been shown to often coalesce in the discussed perceptions of African music as supposedly defining or inherent characteristics.

These concepts have also informed the research on music in the Uganda Protectorate. Just like anthropological work, it has been facilitated by institutions, actors and funding structures of the colonial state or Christian missions. It has also been stressed above that in this particular discourse, researchers in the formal sense were not the sole participators, but

also missionaries, colonial administrative officials or travellers. In fact, these affiliations could shift or intersect, as is evident in the biography of Wachsmann, who was an official in missionary education before his appointment as museum curator. The different contributors to the colonial production of knowledge on Ugandan music also show different objectives and outlooks depending, amongst others, on the respective author's occupations, backgrounds, training and socialisation, but also their views on colonial rule or its effects. Though European researchers were predominant, Africans also participated in the discourse on music in the Protectorate, but in research practices and many texts their agency and participation was often relegated to subordinate positions.

Given that European imperialism in the 19th and 20th century entailed different processes and effects depending on area, states and actors involved, any case analysis necessitates assessment of both generalisable and particular factors. In colonial Uganda, two important aspects to consider are the idea of 'indirect rule' through 'native' authorities and, connected to this, colonial policy that emphasised distinction between supposed 'tribal' groups and ascribed a privileged sub-imperial position to the kingdom of Buganda. If one looks at which areas were studied most extensively in regard to music, this creation of a centre-periphery divide seems to have produced a marked focus on Buganda and, less so, the other southern kingdoms. But furthermore, the perception of great 'tribal' and 'racial' diversity in the area of the Protectorate informed the notion that it was akin to a 'laboratory' of essentialised groups and their musical phenomena, eagerly awaiting the avid European researcher to observe and survey.

The ways in which aspects of colonial epistemologies are present in music research from Uganda have been investigated in this work through four main parts. These reflect particular directions, themes and approaches that can be discerned from the analysed body of sources and literature, and have also proved to be interconnected. Firstly, it has been shown that many of the accounts and studies on music rely on conceptualisations and terminology that emphasise difference on multiple levels. This includes the perspective on music as essentially tied to 'tribal groups' imagined as homogenous and clearly distinguishable, so as to be grasped as an entity of musical culture. The musical practices and the individuals that produce them are hereby presented primarily as representatives of their respective 'tribe', rather than as participants in complex and heterogeneous social structures with their own agencies. The common utilisation of terms like 'tribe' or 'primitive' that imply inferiority

means that authors, even if they refute evolutionistic paradigms, position themselves and their work in the discourse in question. Moreover, a theme that has been found in the sources is a fundamental dichotomisation between European music and African music, and between Europeans and Africans in their perception and behaviour in regard to music. Here, stereotypic binaries of corporeality and functional boundedness in African music versus contemplative aestheticism and universality in European music are important underlying notions. Processes of dichotomisation also took effect in the execution of anthropological or ethnomusicological research, through the epistemic and practical hierarchies between European researchers and ‘native informants’ as well as the institutional conditions of a colonial state.

A second aspect presented in the thesis—and one that is quite prominent in music research in Uganda—concerns the paradigms and practices of studies on musical instruments. Various accounts e.g. on drums and other instruments in Buganda exist from the earlier years of British colonial rule. Later, the collecting of musical instruments as specimens, research and display objects increased, particularly for the Uganda Museum and through the activity of Wachsmann. Significantly connected to this material collection of musical instruments were epistemic practices or paradigms in ethnographic knowledge production that were informed by the above-mentioned impetus of ordering and systematisation. The case in point for Uganda’s musical instruments is the comprehensive attempt at their classification and survey carried out by Wachsmann.

As is visible by the set-up and design of the musical instrument exhibition at the Uganda Museum, for which he was a central figure, instruments were utilised to represent and attest a range of concepts and theories. In Uganda, and Wachsmann’s work in particular, this applies to historical considerations on the ‘origins’, dispersal and relationships of instruments in East Africa. Such approaches employed a variety of source types and methods to construct historical narratives, from iconographies, texts and oral genres to comparisons with other instruments on varying geographical scale. A famous example are Wachsmann’s theses on the ‘migrations’ of harps in connection to those of humans on the African continent, informed by diffusionistic outlooks. But his concern for the past is also emphasised by the attempt at theorising a historical approach in ethnomusicological methodology in Africa, developed on Ganda instruments. Notions of the past, however, also matter in evolutionistic approaches, in the form that African musical practices together with other aspects

of culture and society are positioned as ‘primitive’ examples and thus viewed as objects of the past that somehow pertained to the present, as evidence for the stages in the supposed ‘civilizational’ process.

Finally, a very frequent theme in the analysed sources, which also connects to ideas of the African musical past, are concerns about changes in the musical ‘landscape’ in Uganda. This mainly takes on the form of a fear that practices deemed ‘native’ or ‘traditional’ would ultimately and inevitably demise if countermeasures of ‘preservation’ were not undertaken (including collecting, archiving and knowledge production). Many authors seemed to have the view that they were observing something that was already in decline—a decline more or less explicitly ascribed to the acts of Europeans or the presence of European music. For many, the concern for change and loss surely stemmed from appreciation for ‘native’ music in Uganda. But the terminology of ‘dying out’ and the idea that Africans were especially susceptible to ‘Western influence’ implicate notions of primitiveness or inferiority against what is seen as the superior, more powerful European sphere.

Wachsmann, as arguably the central figure for music research in colonial Uganda, was a focal point for many of the discussions in this thesis I have summarised here. His example illustrates the ambivalences and complexities that ensued for anthropologically-oriented scholars in colonial frameworks, particularly when they express an amount of reflectiveness. Through his professions and institutional positions—first as CMS official, then as government-funded researcher in the Uganda Museum and in a recording project—he was a member of the intellectual and administrative class of the colonial state and thus in a position of power against his African ‘informants’ and collaborators. But, as was the case with a number of anthropologists, his research also posed findings and perspectives that could very well have been at odds with predominant colonial interpretations of African societies and cultural practices, for example his emphasis on the historical contingency and changeability of African music as opposed to ‘static tradition’.

Limitations of this investigation regarding sources, methodology and temporal focus have already been laid out in the introduction, and not every possible account (at least in regard to Wachsmann) has been included in the analysis for matters of scope. Generally, the reliance on (published) text as source material can be seen as potentially problematic regarding the above-mentioned eurocentric knowledge perspective as well as constructions of

ethnomusicological authority in the ‘archive’ of African music. But the thesis is intended precisely to provide a contribution to the still incomplete critical assessment and interpretation of this body of knowledge and its colonial histories. The findings point to many possible paths in order to extend this approach to other source material from colonial Uganda, or towards a thorough analysis of institutional and political aspects.

For instance, an investigation of archival sources on the activities of the Church Missionary Society regarding music in Uganda and the roles of officials like Wachsmann herein would certainly prove valuable, as this is also an issue that has not yet been touched upon for this regional example. Equally, government documents and similar material could be examined to shed more light onto the ambivalent role of the colonial state for music practice and cultural policy in the Protectorate, as well as for the funding, organisation and institutionalisation of research.

Drawing from existing work e.g. by Nannyonga-Tamusuza on the extensive Wachsmann Collection of audio recordings held at the British Library and Makerere University, further research into its contents and (meta-)data can provide insights into the methodologies and outlooks of ethnomusicological recording practices, as well as into topics of specific music genres in regional contexts in Uganda—especially those thus far rather marginalised in research. A similar approach would also be valuable through research at the Uganda Museum. Taking a detailed, on-site look at collections, documents and other archival holdings can further the arguments on the practices of collection carried out by Wachsmann and others, as well as on the design and history of the musical instrument exhibition and the often-emphasised employment of ‘native’ musicians.

Lastly, a promising endeavour would be to develop approaches together with local research partners in assessing the actual lived experiences, recollections and impacts of music research practices in the Uganda Protectorate to people and communities involved. Whether through the participation of contemporary witnesses or descendants, analyses and interpretations of (oral) histories, open discussions on processes of repatriation or by other means, such an approach can, when executed carefully and reflectively, have critical and transformative potential in the discipline of ethnomusicology.

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Appendix

Map of the Uganda Protectorate

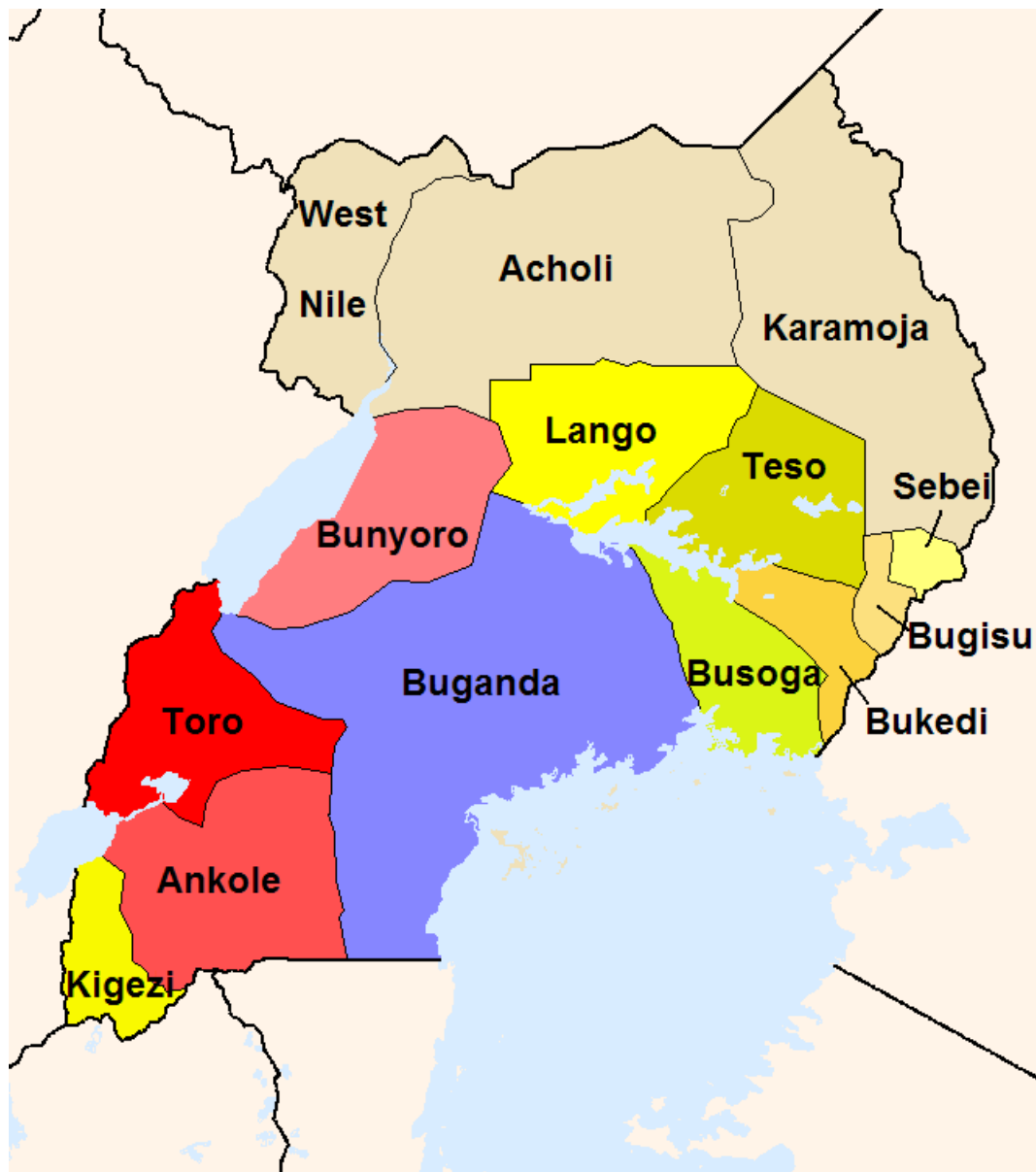


Figure 4: Map of the administrative units of the Uganda Protectorate after 1926. User Slomox "Uganda Protectorate British administration", https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Uganda_Protectorate_British_administration.png?uselang=de, licensed under Public Domain Mark 1.0.

Abstract (English)

Critical approaches to (ethno)musicological research carried out in colonial societies and frameworks still have many potential topics and areas to cover. This thesis aims to contribute an epistemological case study on music research in the British Uganda Protectorate in the 20th century. Theoretically grounded in postcolonial discussions of knowledge, power and coloniality, views on African music that have been developed in eurocentric knowledge perspectives are thus examined in a regional example and its specifics. To understand how aspects of these epistemologies are present in music research from colonial Uganda, a body of mainly textual sources (research publications, reports, newsletters and other documents) is analysed and interpreted regarding terminology, concepts, attitudes and narratives. While the selected material has been written by researchers in a strict sense as well as colonial officials, missionaries or travellers, a special focus is set on the activities and contributions of Klaus Wachsmann from the 1930s to the 1960s. The thesis thereby shows that colonially informed views and ideas are (re)produced and negotiated in the body of music research in heterogeneous, often ambivalent ways. Its findings can be grouped into four topics: the prevalence of ideas on difference and essentialist conceptions of various ‘tribes’ and ‘their’ music; the collection and study of musical instruments as expressions of an ‘ordering’ impetus; attempts to comprehend the past of musical phenomena and formulate historical narratives; and perceptions of musical change, ‘loss of traditions’ and modes of preservation. This four-part approach, together with general reflections on coloniality and the production of (ethno)musicological knowledge, points to possibilities for further critical assessment of music research in Uganda, but also presents aspects that are interesting to pursue for other examples from colonial Africa.

Abstract (Deutsch)

In der kritischen Auseinandersetzung mit Musikforschung in kolonialen Gesellschaften und Kontexten bestehen noch viele Lücken und offene Fragen. Die vorliegende Arbeit trägt zu dieser Aufarbeitung mit einer epistemologischen Fallstudie zum britischen Protektorat Uganda im 20. Jahrhundert bei. Ausgehend von postkolonialen Theorien zu Wissen, Macht und Kolonialität werden Sichtweisen auf Afrikanische Musik, die in eurozentrischen Wissensperspektiven entwickelt wurden, anhand eines regionalen Beispiels näher betrachtet. Um zu verstehen, wie Aspekte dieser Epistemologien in der Musikforschung im kolonialen Uganda präsent waren, wird ein Korpus aus vornehmlich textlichen Quellen (Forschungsliteratur, Berichte, Newsletter und ähnliches) im Hinblick auf Terminologien, Konzepte, Einstellungen und Narrative analysiert und interpretiert. Das hierfür ausgewählte Material stammt sowohl von Forscher:innen im engen Sinn als auch von kolonialen Amtspersonen, Missionar:innen und Reisenden, wobei ein besonderer Fokus auf den umfangreichen Aktivitäten und Beiträgen Klaus Wachsmanns von den 1930er- zu den 1960er-Jahren liegt. Die Arbeit zeigt hierbei auf, dass kolonial geprägte Perspektiven und Ideen in der Musikforschung auf heterogene, oft ambivalente Weise (re)produziert und verhandelt werden. Die Ergebnisse können in vier Bereiche geteilt werden: die hohe Präsenz von Ideen der Differenz und von essentialistischen Konzepten zu ‚Stämmen‘ und ‚ihrer‘ Musik; die Sammlung und Erforschung von Musikinstrumenten als Ausdruck eines ‚ordnenden‘ Impulses; Interesse an der Vergangenheit musikalischer Phänomene und die Formulierung historischer Narrative; sowie Wahrnehmungen von musikalischer Veränderung, des ‚Verlusts von Traditionen‘ und von Formen der Bewahrung. Diese vierteilige Beschäftigung zeigt, gemeinsam mit allgemeinen Reflexionen zu Kolonialität und ethnomusikologischer Wissensproduktion, Möglichkeiten für weitere kritische Auseinandersetzung mit Musikforschung in Uganda auf. Sie präsentiert damit aber ebenso Aspekte und Themen, die in Bezug auf andere Beispiele des kolonialen Afrikas interessant sein können.