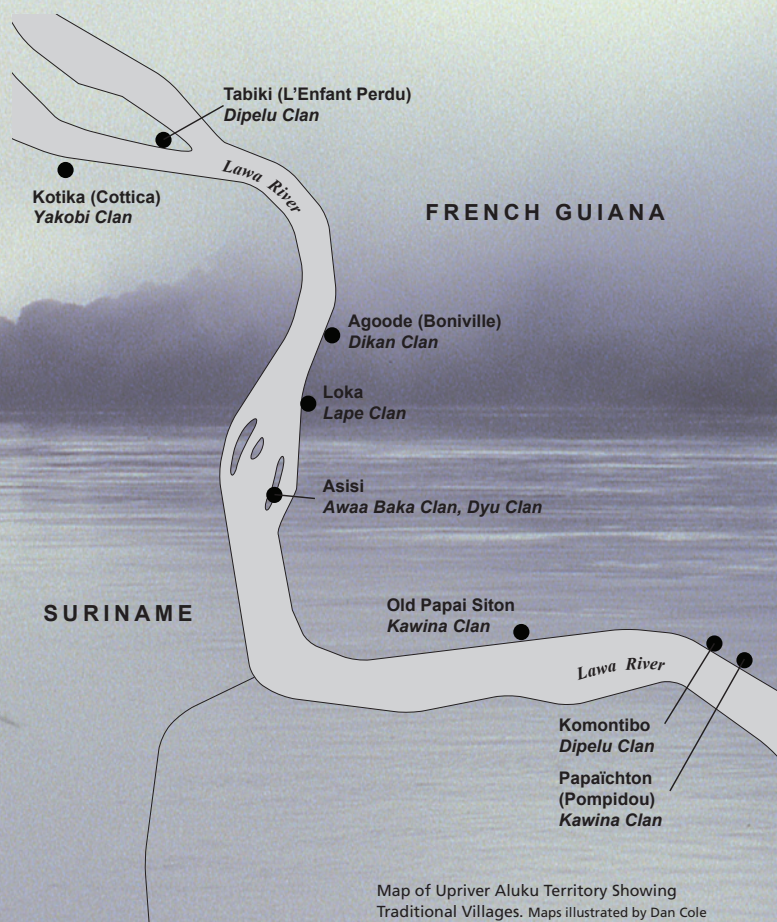
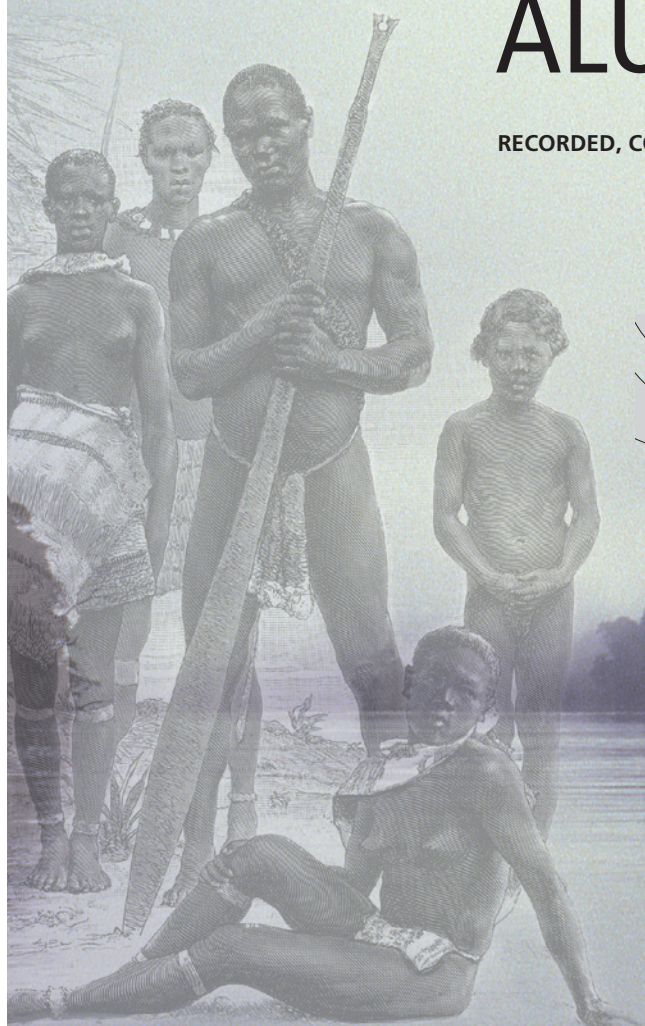


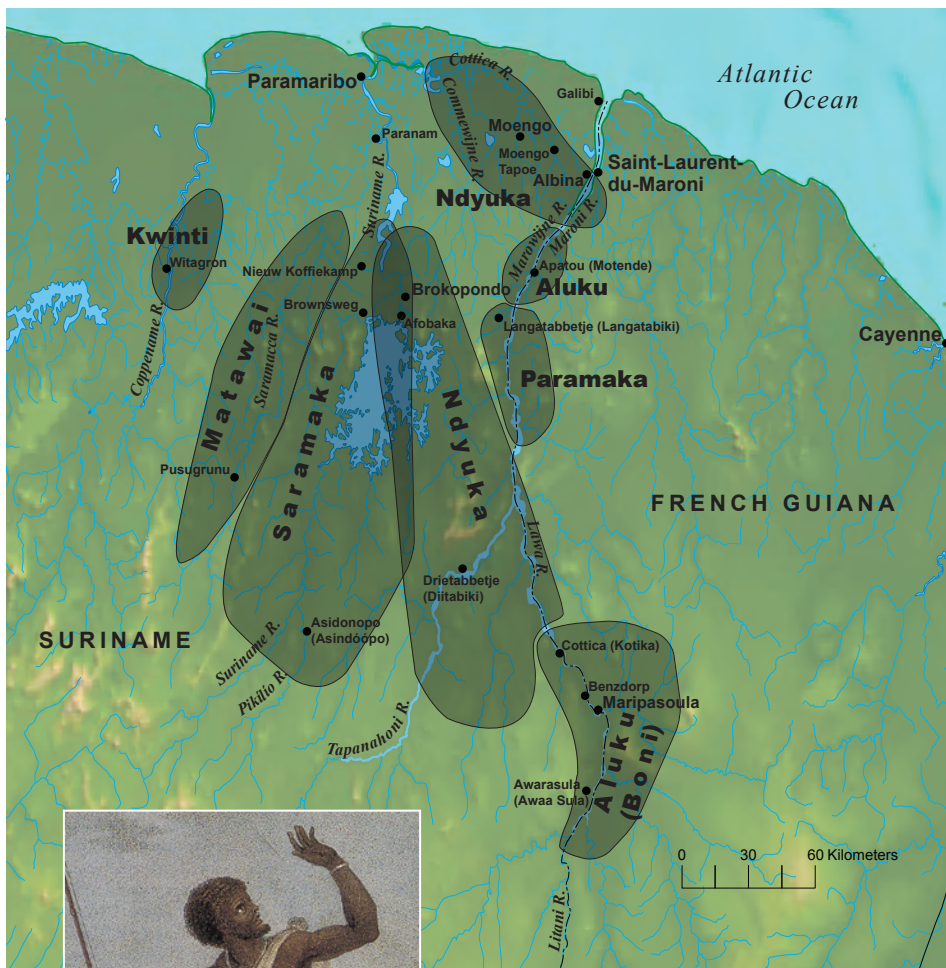
MUSIC FROM ALUKU

MAROON SOUNDS OF STRUGGLE, SOLACE, AND SURVIVAL

RECORDED, COMPILED, AND ANNOTATED BY KENNETH BILBY



THE ALUKU (ALSO KNOWN AS THE BONI) ARE SURVIVORS. Roughly 8,000 strong, the Aluku are an African American Maroon people whose territory lies on the borderlands of French Guiana and Suriname, in a part of the Amazon basin that extends to the north-eastern coast of South America and belongs culturally as much to the Caribbean as to Amazonia. Born out of resistance to slavery some three centuries ago, the Aluku have endured to the present in the face of formidable odds. Today, their survival is threatened once again, as they cope with the assimilationist policies of the French state (of which most Aluku are now citizens), as well as ever-escalating incursions into their territory by multinational corporations and independent gold miners. The fate of their Amazonian rain forest environment—not to mention their cultural and political autonomy—hangs precariously in the balance.



(Above) Map Showing Locations of Maroon Territories in French Guiana and Suriname. Map illustrated by Dan Cole

(Inset) 'A Rebel Negroe Arm'd and on His Guard' (18th century Maroon Warrior in Suriname), 1796. Engraving by Francesco Bartolozzi

The Aluku are one of only a handful of Maroon peoples in the Americas to have survived to the present. (Others include the Ndyuka, Saramaka, Matakai, Paramaka, and Kwinti of Suriname; the Maroons of Jamaica; and the Palenqueros of Colombia.) During the 18th century, the Dutch colony of Suriname (also known as Dutch Guiana), which played a prominent role in the European trade in sugar and slaves, was home to one of the most brutal slave regimes in history. Beginning around 1712 and continuing for several decades thereafter, the African ancestors of the Aluku fled the slave plantations that dotted the coastal portion of this colony and sought refuge in the surrounding forests. While waging a fierce guerrilla war against the Dutch slavocracy, the early Aluku foiled the colonial government's attempts to re-enslave or annihilate them by hiding out in one of the most inhospitable parts of coastal Suriname—the swamplands of the Cottica River region.

During this period, even as they adapted to a challenging natural environment and fought back the repeated onslaughts of Dutch colonial troops, they succeeded in laying the foundations of a new Afro-Guianese society. They also created their own variant of a rich creole language, with a vocabulary derived largely from English but also drawing on Portuguese, Dutch, French, and a wide variety of African languages (especially Fongbe, Akan, and Kongo), as well as a vibrant musical culture, which remains one of the most African in the Western Hemisphere.

Finally forced out of their haunts in coastal Suriname by a massive Dutch military campaign during the 1770s, they crossed the Maroni (in Dutch, Marowijne) River into the French colony of Guyane (French Guiana). As they headed farther upriver into the wilderness, they continued their fight for survival—first against the Galibi (Carib) Indians they encountered in the forest, then against the Dutch and their Ndyuka Maroon allies, sent out in a renewed attempt to quash them. (By then, the Ndyuka, another Maroon group with a much larger population than the Aluku, had made a treaty with the Dutch and agreed to assist them in subduing any Maroons that remained hostile to them.)

The Aluku, in fact, were the last major holdouts among the Guianese Maroons. For decades after the Ndyuka made peace with the Dutch in 1760 (followed by the Saramaka Maroons, who signed another treaty with the Dutch in 1762), the Aluku continued fighting their former enslavers. Because of their ongoing attacks on coastal plantations, the Aluku quickly gained a reputation as the boldest and fiercest of the Surinamese Maroon peoples—a reputation that was cemented in the writings of the British mercenary and author John Gabriel Stedman, who had fought against the Aluku as part of the Dutch military campaign that finally forced them out of Suriname and spurred their trek into the interior of French Guiana. Stedman gave the Aluku a prominent place in his famous *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, originally published in 1796. This account was widely read by those with abolitionist sympathies at the time, and it remains a classic in the European literature on slavery in the Americas.





“The recordings featured here capture the continuing vitality of Aluku musical traditions during a time when the fabric of Aluku society seemed in many ways to be unraveling.”

In 1793, the Ndyuka, many times more numerous than the Aluku, finally defeated the last Aluku holdouts who had been decimated by years of war. Treating them as a subject people, the Ndyuka annexed the Aluku territory and attempted over the next seven decades to assimilate the Aluku. Yet neither the Dutch nor the Ndyuka succeeded definitively in conquering the Aluku. Indeed, the Aluku managed in the end to break free of both their new Maroon overlords and the European colonial power that had enslaved them. Only in 1860, on the eve of general emancipation in Suriname (which took place in 1863), and more than a decade after slavery was abolished in the French colonies in 1848, did the Aluku make peace with the Dutch, using the impending abolition of slavery throughout the Dutch empire as a pretext to wrest their autonomy from the Ndyuka. The joint treaty they finally concluded with the Dutch and the French in 1860 recognized not only their freedom but also their independence from the Ndyuka. Finally they had achieved official recognition of both their liberty and their sovereignty as a people.

For the next century the Aluku enjoyed this freedom and autonomy with little interference from the other inhabitants of French Guiana and Suriname, whose main settlements were located far away in the coastal area. The situation began to change rapidly, however, in 1969, when the separately administered interior zone of French Guiana known as the Territoire de l'Inini—where the Aluku and other “tribal populations” lived—was fully incorporated politically into the French state (French Guiana having been made an overseas department of France in 1946). There followed a disorienting barrage of new impositions on the Aluku territory, ranging from French municipal administrative structures and government schools to welfare payments and mail-order consumerism.

Most of the selections featured on this CD were recorded in the 1980s, when the Aluku were in the first throes of the wrenching transformations wrought by these impositions. As patterns of labor migration caused the Aluku population to shift from traditional villages to newly established municipal centers constructed in their own territory with French funds—as well as to the peripheries of coastal towns such as Cayenne, Kourou, Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni, and Paramaribo (the capital of Suriname)—there was a growing feeling among the Aluku that their traditional way of life was under siege. It was during this period that I spent almost three years living among and carrying out ethnography with the Aluku—first in their traditional territory in the interior rain forest, later in a number of coastal locations. The recordings featured here capture the continuing vitality of Aluku musical traditions during a time when the fabric of Aluku society seemed in many ways to be unraveling. Indeed, these musical traditions—closely tied to Aluku ceremonial life, which in turn remained inextricably interwoven with the traditional social and political structure—played an important part in counteracting the rapid social and cultural disintegration with which the Aluku were contending at the time.



Young Aluku man displaying the decorated prows of two old canoes, saved as pieces of art. Kotika, Suriname, 1986. Photo by Kenneth Bilby

Aluku women dancing *songe* onstage at a festival in Cayenne, French Guiana, 2007. They are wearing *kawai* (ankle rattles). Photo by Kenneth Bilby



Among the most important social events in traditional Aluku life was a complex series of funerary rites that were essential to the transition of a deceased Aluku from the world of the living to that of the ancestors. Beginning with a ceremony known as *booko dei* (a kind of first funeral) and ending with another called *puu baaka* (a kind of second funeral culminating in the lifting of the period of mourning), this process could take one year or more to complete. These death rites had always served a powerful integrative function in Aluku life, activating and bringing together intersecting networks of kin from different villages and matriclans, who would gather in the deceased's home village and cooperate in a series of material and ritual exchanges. No less important than these ritual measures were the simultaneous performances of music and dance to honor the deceased, without which he or she could not proceed on the final journey to *dede konde* (the realm of the dead). These collective rites and the associated forms of music and dance remained as important as ever in the 1980s and '90s, when the selections heard here were recorded. Indeed, they continue to be practiced and remain essential today, despite the ever-intensifying pressures on the Aluku to assimilate to the dominant cultures of the larger societies of which they now form a part (French Guiana and Suriname, not to mention France, and indeed the European Community).

Several of the selections on this CD were recorded at *booko dei* and *puu baaka* ceremonies. Others, though recorded in different contexts, feature additional examples of musical genres associated primarily with these major funerary rites. But Aluku music also includes many other genres, several of which are featured here. While by no means exhaustive, the CD presents a broad portrait of musical life in Aluku. It includes, in addition to music

associated with death rites, examples of musical genres used for the invocation of possessing gods and spirits, solo flute melodies, songs accompanied by a three-string pluriarc (bow-lute) known as *agwado*, a communal work song, social dance music associated with the younger generation, and other kinds of music-making.

Although this CD includes only music considered "traditional," listeners should bear in mind that the Aluku also regularly participate in broader musical worlds. For more than three decades, the Aluku have been enjoying and dancing to "modern" popular music genres imported from the coast, including globally circulating styles such as reggae, zouk, soca, *soukous*, and several others. One of the first Guianese reggae bands to gain international exposure, Wailing Roots—who by the 1990s had already recorded and performed in Europe and the United States—was a Maroon band that hailed from Aluku. (Even at the height of their popularity, they continued to reside far upriver in the Aluku territory, in the rain forest outpost of Maripasoula.) Since then, a number of other Aluku reggae bands, such as Success Fighters and Positif Vibration, have released popular recordings. And young Alukus have continued to participate in the current Surinamese reggae explosion, launched by young Maroon musicians in the capital of Paramaribo shortly after the beginning of the new millennium. The older Aluku musical traditions heard here have so far held their own within the ever-changing larger musical universe to which the Aluku now belong (as have those of the Saramaka, Ndyuka, and other Guianese Maroon peoples). Indeed, a number of young Aluku reggae musicians and producers have consciously begun to search for ways to incorporate aspects of their traditional genres, such as *songe* and *kwadyo*, into their homegrown reggae productions.



“They are at grave risk of losing their cultural and political autonomy, and even their land rights, as the relentless process of incorporation into the French political and legal systems continues.”



Some four decades after its full incorporation into the French republic, the Aluku territory is a study in contrasts (or at least that portion of it located on the French side of the Lawa, the major river that runs through their territory and divides French Guiana from Suriname). The overwhelming presence of the French state is everywhere—in the French flags flying over municipal administrative offices, the schools, the gendarmeries, the military installations. French style, in clothing and myriad other manifestations, mingles with Aluku ways. Although there is still no road connecting the interior rain forest of French Guiana to the coast, and the Aluku territory, located more than two hundred kilometers from the nearest coastal town, remains reachable only by river or air, most Alukus have cell phones and regularly travel outside, where (as in their own territory) they are entitled to all the privileges and benefits of citizenship in the European Community. Most of the traditional Aluku villages—including Asisi and Loka, where several of the recordings heard on this CD were made—are virtually empty most of the year, their residents having migrated to new French administrative settlements in the interior such as Maripasoula and Papaïchton-Pompidouville. Because of their French nationality, the Aluku on a whole enjoy a higher standard of living than most of their Maroon counterparts in neighboring Suriname, yet they show many symptoms of malaise. They are at grave risk of losing their cultural and political autonomy, and even their land rights, as the relentless process of incorporation into the French political and legal systems continues. Multinationals continue to elbow in on their territory, and illegal mining by massive numbers of impoverished Brazilian gold workers continues to wreak environmental devastation, while the almost irresistible lure of gold threatens to undermine the solidarity of the Aluku themselves. Despite these challenges, the Aluku remain a people apart, with a rich culture of their own, harking back to the days when their ancestors fought against tremendous odds and won their freedom. In the opening years of the new millennium, as ever, they remain survivors. This is among the important things their music tells us.



(Left above) Papa Adiso playing *agwado*. Asisi, French Guiana, 1984. Photo by Kenneth Bilby

(Left below) Papa Aneli with *agwado*. Maripasoula, French Guiana, 1989. Photo by Silvia de Groot

TRACK NOTES

- 1 **MATO** "Amígo!e saté, pín!a balúba" 2:12
- 2 **MATO** "Kidénde!e, kidénde!e, sani taampu-oo" 1:32
- 3 **SUSA** (drumming with vocals) 3:16
- 4 **SUSA** (drumming) 2:01
- 5 **SONGE** "Pe lobi de, mma?" (Where is the love, mama?) 1:13
- 6 **SONGE** (extended drumming with vocals) 9:55
- 7 **AWASA** (drumming with vocals) 1:10
- 8 **AWASA** "Ma Senuwe" 2:09
- 9 **AWASA** (extended drumming with vocals) 3:23
- 10 **TUKA** (old style): "Dede, dede namo, yee" 2:33
- 11 **TUKA** (new style) 2:48
- 12 **TUKA (DONDOWEN)** "Tonkoli suku maite, molí mawá" 1:32
- 13 **KUMANTI** (song accompanied by *agwado*):
"Mi dasi-oo, Nana-oo, yee" :58
- 14 **KUMANTI** (drumming) :36
- 15 **KUMANTI** "Tide ontuo e piki-oo, kugulu man alali" :53
- 16 **KUMANTI** (song accompanied by *agwado*): "Suku a sole bamban, obia, pe fu a piki, a piiti nou" :49
- 17 **TUTU** (solo flute) 1:06
- 18 **AGWADO** (solo song with *agwado* accompaniment):
"Basi Agwado, odi, odi, odi-oo" 1:26
- 19 **ALEKE** "Mabula (Mabuya) go na Ndyuka" :57
- 20 **ALEKE** "Na so, mi mama, yee, fa wi e begi a golon wenti, mi mama, yee" 4:37
- 21 **ALEKE** "Di mi na a moni, fa mi o du-ee? Mi o go koti baana-oo, fu mi go seli a bilo" 2:52
- 22 **AGWADO** (solo song with *agwado* accompaniment):
"Basia Lomi, yu mu kali Kwaku gi mi" 2:11
- 23 **BOTOO TUTU** (flute language) :26
- 24 **FON KEN** (work song, for pounding sugarcane) 3:00
- 25 **KWADYO** (solo song): "Asa-oo, papa ngúlinya, ngúlinya" :27
- 26 **KWADYO** (drumming with vocals): "Adyaini-oo, mi na man" 1:13
- 27 **AGWADO** (solo song with *agwado* accompaniment):
"Alabi, sipi e booko genti e kon" 2:17
- 28 **PAPA (VODU)** (drumming) :32
- 29 **PAPA (VODU)** (chanting) 4:55
- 30 **PAPA (VODU)** (drumming with vocals) 5:50
- 31 **UMAN DAGUWE** 1:43
- 32 **SONGE** (full ensemble) 2:41

1. MATO: "AMÍGO!E SATÉ, PÍN!A BALÚBA"

Recorded in Komontibo, French Guiana, November 16, 1985

The Aluku have a rich tradition of storytelling closely related to performance traditions found elsewhere in the Caribbean, such as Jamaica, where "Anansi stories" are a prominent part of local folklore. Indeed, in the Aluku language, a synonym for *mato*—which in its most general sense simply means "folk tale"—is *anansi toli* (Anansi stories). Many (though by no means all) of these *mato* revolve around the mythical spider known as Anansi—a West African trickster figure that originated with the Akan-speaking peoples of Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. In Aluku, these *mato* stories are normally told only during periods following a death. A day or two after a member of the community dies, people may gather to tell these stories informally as part of the entertainment for an all-night wake. But the term *mato* also can refer to an entire genre of music and dance associated with formal funerary rites (*booko dei* and *puu baaka*). In these settings, stories are rarely told from beginning to end, and the focus does not remain long on any individual storyteller. Rather, different performers vie for attention, jumping out suddenly and launching into a new tale, often interrupting the one that came before. More than anything else, the stories serve as a pretext for the performance of the songs associated with them, backed by the standard *mato* style of drumming. The tradition also includes a good amount of improvisation. Narratives and songs satirizing local individuals and current events may be extemporized on the spur of the moment.

Mato is normally the first genre to be performed during all-night death rites. This recording was made during a typical *mato* performance at the opening of a major *puu baaka* ceremony held to honor three recently deceased members of the village of Komontibo. (At times funerary rites for more than one individual are combined into a single ceremony.) The three men honored here were Elwini, Luti, and Umaana.

2. MATO: "KIDÉNDELE, KIDÉNDELE, SANI TAAMPU-OO"

Recorded in Komontibo, French Guiana, November 16, 1985

Another song recorded during the same *mato* session as the previous one.



3. SUSA (DRUMMING WITH VOCALS)

Recorded in Kotika, Suriname, March 20, 1984

The dance-drumming game called *susa* always follows *mato* in Aluku funerary rites. The game involves a competition between two male dancers who face one another and have to anticipate each other's foot moves. The two opponents are surrounded by a crowd of onlookers, including a chorus made up mostly of women, who encourage the dancers by singing, gesturing, clapping, and cheering. The dancer who wins a round is said to "kill" (*kii*) his opponent; the "loser" then leaves the dance space and is replaced by another. Based on his observation of *susa* performance among the neighboring Ndyuka Maroons of Suriname, the art historian Robert Farris Thompson, known for his wide-ranging work on Afro-Atlantic visual and performing arts, has argued persuasively that Guianese Maroon *susa*, with its distinctive footwork, is derived at least in part from a Congolese dance tradition called *nsúusa*.

This particular example was not recorded during a funerary ceremony, but rather at a *kunu pee*—a ceremony intended to help heal a person afflicted by a *kunu* (a special type of "avenging spirit" that plays an important role in Guianese Maroon social life).



4. SUSA (DRUMMING)

Recorded in Asisi, French Guiana, July 23, 1984

Another example of *susa* drumming (this one without vocals, as is often the case) but captured from a different sonic angle. (I climbed a tree to record the sound from above.)

This was recorded at a *booko dei* ceremony for a recently deceased Aluku woman named Ma Dadi (see tracks 10 and 11).

5. SONGE: "PE LOBI DE, MMA?" (WHERE IS THE LOVE, MAMA?)

Recorded in Kotika, Suriname, June 7, 1986

Songe (also known as *agankoi*) refers both to a style of dance and drumming, and the genre of songs associated with it. *Songe* normally follows *susa* (which comes after *mato*) in the dance-drumming cycle that unfolds during all Aluku funerary rites. The graceful dancing of *songe* is said to resemble the movements of a type of fish known by the same name (*songe* or *agankoi*) (see pp. 4, 9, and 15).

Here, one of the most revered *songe* singers of his time, Aluwa, performs solo a lament about lost love, using the image of an abandoned, dilapidated canoe as a metaphor for the fading away of passion. "Where is the love you once felt?" he sings to a woman who has broken up with her lover. "The canoe he made for you [as a token of his affection] is broken, the love is gone."



(Above left) Young Aluku man playing *gaan door* onstage at a festival in Cayenne, French Guiana, 2007.

(Right) *Aleke* drum belonging to the Aluku *aleke* band Switi Libi. Komontibo, French Guiana, 1995. Photos by Kenneth Bilby

6. SONGE (EXTENDED DRUMMING WITH VOCALS)

Recorded in Kotika, Suriname, April 21, 1984

Songe music, when performed for dancing, is based on an ensemble of three wooden drums: the *gaan doon* ("large drum," serving as the leading instrument (see p. 7) and *pikin doon* ("small drum," which plays a supporting role) (see below right), both played with the hands; and the *atompai*, played with a stick and one hand. (The *pikin doon* is also known as *sebikede* or *pudya*.) These three drums vary only slightly in size and are of a similar West African design. (They are footed and cylindrical, tapering slightly toward the top; the single head is attached to the body with pegs, which are pounded in to produce tension.) Also essential to *songe* music is a percussion instrument known as *kwakwa*—a wooden board several feet long, which is laid on the ground near the drummers. Four, five, or more players sit on low stools alongside the board and, each holding two heavy sticks, vigorously beat out a supporting rhythm in unison. (The *kwakwa* is also used in *susa*, in which it plays a simple pulse.)

The same ensemble of three drums heard here is used in most genres of Aluku drumming, although the individual drums are sometimes called by different names according to the genre. For instance, the time-keeping drum known as *atompai* in *songe* is called *tun* when used in *susa* or *awasa*.

The extended *songe* jam featured here, with full drum ensemble, gives a sense of the ebb and flow—the complex, ever-shifting rhythmic interplay between the three drummers, the *kwakwa* players, and dancers (whose ankle rattles, or *kawai*, form part of the whole)—that happens when things are right and a *songe* session heats up. The drummers here are three of the best in Aluku.

The occasional sharp, cracking sounds that can be heard in the background are shotgun blasts. These are an integral part of the soundscape at *booko dei*, *puu baaka*, and other major Aluku ceremonies. Adding to the joyous mood pervading the festivities, small groups of men circulate on the edges of the crowd and fire their shotguns toward the sky. These occasional blasts can also be heard in some of the other recordings on this CD.

This was recorded at an unusually large *puu baaka* ceremony that combined funerary rites for seven different recently deceased individuals.

7. AWASA (DRUMMING WITH VOCALS)

Recorded in Kotika, Suriname, April 21, 1984

Songe is normally followed by *awasa*, the final genre in the funerary dance-drumming cycle. *Awasa* is often danced at dawn, or shortly before, and the collective effervescence that characterizes good performances during *booko dei* and *puu baaka* ceremonies often reaches a peak when *awasa* is being performed. The flashy footwork of dancers (who often double as lead singers) is sonically accentuated here by the *kawai*, or ankle rattles, tied to their feet. As in a number of other Aluku genres, the appreciation of the surrounding crowd is expressed in collective shouts of joy, known as *bali baya* ("shouting *baya*").

This was recorded at the same large *puu baaka* ceremony as the previous track.



Pikin doon made by Ba Tonkoli [Toncoli Blakaman].
Komontibo, French Guiana, 1986. Photo by Kenneth Bilby

8. AWASA: "MA SENUWE"

*Recorded in Kotika,
Suriname, June 7, 1986*

Ba Aluwa performs a well-known awasa song a cappella, accompanied by a chorus of two friends.

9. AWASA (EXTENDED DRUMMING WITH VOCALS)

Recorded in Kotika, Suriname, March 20, 1984

Another rousing awasa performance, recorded at the same *kunu pee* ceremony as track 3.

10. TUKA (OLD STYLE): "DEDE, DEDE NAMO, YEE"

Recorded in Asisi, French Guiana, July 18, 1984

Tuka is a special funerary genre kept separate from the main music and dance cycle associated with *booko dei* and *puu baaka* ceremonies. It is performed closer to the time of death than the other genres. Normally it begins a night or two after death and is played each night up until the time of burial. It is intended not only to honor the deceased individual but also to prevent his or her spirit from returning to trouble the living.

Here, the dancers, one in front of the other, form a tight ring and shuffle slowly around the body of a woman known as Ma Dadi, lying in the center of the mortuary hangar known as the *kee osu* (house of wailing). Singing to her spirit, they lament the inevitability of death but take solace in the knowledge that she will now join the ancestors in the land of the dead. Papa Bantifo, first in the ring, leads the song: "There will always be death, every day has its death. Now you are going to your final country."

This performance is in an old style of *tuka* that uses a single drum; a newer, less traditional style uses two or more drums (see track 11).

11. TUKA (NEW STYLE)

Recorded in Asisi, French Guiana, July 18, 1984

Here is an example of the faster, hotter, two-drum "modern" style of *tuka*, also danced around the corpse of the deceased. This was recorded at a different point during the same ceremony for Ma Dadi.

12. TUKA (DONDOWEN): "TONKOLI SUKU MAITE, MOLÍ MAWÁ"

Recorded in Loka, French Guiana, May 24, 1986

The final night of *tuka* includes a section that is considered particularly dangerous, called *dondowen*, in which the reluctant spirit of the deceased is persuaded to leave and not to molest any of the living with whom he or she might not have been on good terms at the time of death. This part of *tuka* ceremonies is said to have been learned from Amerindians whom the Aluku ancestors encountered when they were fleeing into the forest to escape slavery. These early Aluku runaways, it is said, happened upon a group of Indians who were in the middle of a dance. Discreetly concealing themselves, the Aluku observed and memorized the dance. The Indians themselves, say the Aluku, originally learned how to do the dance from the spirit of a vulture. Here, a group of specially chosen men join hands and form an unbroken circle around a lavishly decorated coffin holding the body of Ma Misi, an elderly Aluku woman who had died a few nights before and was awaiting burial. Facing Ma Misi, they sing and dance as they slowly rotate around the coffin.

Young Aluku women dancing *songe* onstage at a festival in Cayenne, French Guiana, 2007.
Photo by Kenneth Bilby





Ba Dakan playing *pikin doon*. Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni, French Guiana, 1987. Photo by Kenneth Bilby



13. KUMANTI (SONG ACCOMPANIED BY AGWADO): "MI DASI-OO, NANA-OO, YEE"

Recorded in Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni, French Guiana, August 8, 1987

Ba Dakan sings a song of thanks traditionally used to open ceremonies dedicated to the group of possessing gods known as Kumanti. Accompanying himself on the *agwado*, a three-stringed instrument made from three small bows inserted through the body of a gourd resonator, he thanks both Nana, the Supreme Creator, and Asaisi, the Earth, for their divine blessing and their protection, invoking their names in the West African Akan-derived Kumanti ritual language.

The *agwado* (sometimes pronounced *agbado*) is an example of a pluriarc (or bow-lute)—a type of instrument of African design that is extremely rare in the Americas (see p. 5). Other examples of pluriarcs have been documented in Brazil.

14. KUMANTI (DRUMMING)

Recorded in Loka, French Guiana, October 26, 1985

This brief segment of hot Kumanti drumming was recorded during a ceremony for a medium possessed by a Kumanti god. When properly treated, Kumanti gods, which take on the appearance of animals such as the vulture (*opete*) and the jaguar (*bubu*), make their powers available to human beings for purposes of bodily protection and healing. Oral traditions state that these powers helped the Aluku ancestors in their war against the Dutch slavocracy during the 18th century.

The word *kumanti* is derived from "Cormantin" (sometimes spelled "Kormantse"), the name of a West African port (on the coast of present-day Ghana) that played an important role in the slave trade. A significant portion of the Aluku ancestors were shipped to Suriname from this port. This port also gave its name to the related Kromanti dance and spiritual tradition of the Jamaican Maroons.

15. KUMANTI: "TIDE ONTUO E PIKI-OO, KUGULU MAN ALALI"

Recorded in Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni, French Guiana, March 18, 1987

Ba Aluwa sings a Kumanti song expressing the courage and resolve of the Aluku warrior, who puts his faith in the powers of Kumanti: "Today guns are firing, bullets are flying!"

16. KUMANTI (SONG ACCOMPANIED BY AGWADO): "SUKU A SOLE BAMBAN, OBIA, PE FU A PIKI, A PIITI NOU"

Recorded in Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni, French Guiana, August 8, 1987

Ba Dakan sings another Kumanti song, accompanied by *agwado*. Sung in the ritual language of the Kumanti gods, the song invokes their awesome powers, which are capable of rendering the enemy's weapons useless. "Thanks to *obia* [spiritual power], instead of firing, it [the enemy's gun] will split open!"

17. TUTU (SOLO FLUTE)

Recorded in Komontibo, French Guiana, September 28, 1985

On a quiet evening, sitting peacefully at the edge of the forest, away from the hustle and bustle of village life, an Aluku elder, Papa Tobu, plays a contemplative tune. Although the instrument is a plastic European-style recorder manufactured in Japan, the way of playing it is purely Aluku. More than a generation ago, the traditional wooden flutes (*tutu*) once made by the Aluku ancestors were abandoned and replaced by a new fad: handmade flutes produced and sold by French convicts living in the infamous penal colony that was once synonymous with the coastal part of French Guiana (known to English speakers as “Devil’s Island”). These flutes were once used in courting Aluku women. After the penal colony was closed in the 1940s, the Aluku began acquiring imported mass-manufactured flutes like this plastic recorder, adapting them to their traditional style of playing by developing their own fingering techniques.

18. AGWADO (SOLO SONG WITH AGWADO ACCOMPANIMENT): “BASI AGWADO, ODI, ODI, ODI-OO”

Recorded in Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni, French Guiana, August 10, 1987

Ba Dakan sings a children’s song used to greet the *agwado* and to launch a game of hide-and-seek in which the instrument provides clues. The game requires one child to hide an object (while the *agwado* player watches); another child then searches for it. The *agwado* player indicates by the patterns he plays whether the seeker is getting “hotter” or “colder.”

19. ALEKE: “MABULA (MABUYA) GO NA NDYUKA”

Recorded in Komontibo, French Guiana, 1984

A group of children ranging in age from 5 to 12 are captured in an impromptu jam session in the middle of the village. Playing on pots, pans, plastic cans, and tin cups, they are practicing a youth style known as *aleke*. This is how young drummers first begin to hone their rhythmic skills. When they get older, many of these young drummers will go on to join full-fledged *aleke* bands.

Aleke emerged during the 1950s, when young Ndyuka Maroons began to blend existing styles such as *loonsei* and *maselo* with elements of Surinamese Creole music from the coastal region. The new hybrid style spread quickly to the neighboring Aluku and Paramaka Maroons, and it has remained popular ever since, incorporating new influences and undergoing stylistic shifts with each new generation.

**20. ALEKE: “NA SO, MI MAMA, YEE, FA WI E BEGI (ALT., KALI) A GOLON WENTI, MI MAMA, YEE”**

Recorded in Komontibo, French Guiana, July 11, 1984

A nice performance of “mature” *aleke* by a group calling itself A Sa Yeepe (“it will help”). The performers are young men in their late teens and early twenties. Although *aleke* developed as a genre consciously associated with youth and the idea of being “modern,” the song performed here makes a statement about the deeply African spiritual roots of Aluku culture. The words remind all Aluku, young and old, that they must regularly offer prayers to Ma Goon, the earth goddess that bestows fertility upon the entire Aluku territory.

In addition to the three long drums of modern *aleke*, which resemble conga drums (see p. 7), the instruments heard here include a smaller (traditional) *pikin doon*, as well as a bass drum and homemade cymbal combination known as *dyaz* (from “jazz”), and a rattle made from an insect repellent can filled with seeds.

Today *aleke* remains one of the most popular musical genres among young Ndyuka, Aluku, and Paramaka Maroons. It is played in both rural and urban areas. Much contemporary *aleke* displays influences from mass-mediated popular genres such as *kaseko*, reggae, funk, zouk, samba, and *soukous*. Nowadays, *aleke* bands—though most of them continue to use only drums and other percussion instruments—regularly record in urban studios and release their music on CD. Some of them rival Maroon reggae and *kaseko* bands in popularity.

This selection was recorded during a specially arranged session.

21. ALEKE: "DI MI NA A MONI, FA MI O DU-EE? MI O GO KOTI BAANA-OO, FU MI GO SELI A BILO"*Recorded in Komontibo, French Guiana, May 4, 1986*

An a cappella rendition of an *aleke* song composed by the singer Ba Lome. Like many other *aleke* songs, this one expresses concerns and experiences typical of young Aluku men. "Since I have no money," Ba Lome broods, "what will I do? I'll have to harvest plantain, dasheen [taro], and sugarcane, and go to the coast to sell them."

22. AGWADO (SOLO SONG WITH AGWADO ACCOMPANIMENT): "BASIA LOMI, YU MU KALI KWAKU GI MI"*Recorded in Komontibo, French Guiana, June 25, 1986*

In this somewhat blues-like lament, taught to Papa Tobu by an older man while he was a boy, the protagonist bemoans the prolonged absence of a close relative, whose help in performing the chores of daily life (cooking, washing, carrying water from the river) is sorely missed. Solo songs like this are an important part of the *agwado* repertoire, although only a few capable performers of such songs remain.

**23. BOTOO TUTU (FLUTE LANGUAGE)***Recorded in Komontibo, French Guiana, June 24, 1986*

Papa Tobu plays a brief example of flute language—once again, on a plastic recorder. During the time of war (in the 18th century), the Aluku ancestors used carved wooden horns known as *tutu* to communicate across long distances and exchange crucial military information. These wooden horns fell out of use and disappeared generations ago, but the paralinguistic system of tones on which their messages were based, known as *botoo tutu*, has been retained by a few elders. By being transferred to flutes—and, most recently, to the European recorder—portions of this horn language have been maintained to the present.

24. FON KEN (WORK SONG, FOR POUNDING SUGARCANE)*Recorded in Komontibo, French Guiana, October 30, 1985*

A group of men and women form a ring around a large hollowed-out log carved to resemble a dugout canoe. Into this large mortar, known as a *ken boto* (cane boat), are placed several stalks of sugarcane. The singers march in rhythm in a circle, making their way around the *ken boto*, pounding the cane with heavy pestles held in both hands. Their pounding provides the rhythmic pulse underlying their song. They are surrounded by other workers who cut pieces of cane on the side, to be added to the mortar. The constant clinking of the cutters' machetes can be heard in the background throughout the performance. This large collective event brings together most of the village, pooling everyone's labor to produce an ample supply of *konsa*, a mildly alcoholic cane liquor that plays a critical role during Aluku death rites, where it serves as a special offering to the ancestors.

The event recorded here was part of a series of ceremonial observances leading up to the major *puu baaka* ceremony at which tracks 1 and 2 were recorded roughly two weeks later.

A traditional wooden signal horn (*tutu*) collected among the Saramaka Maroons in the 1920s. During the time of war (in the 18th century), the Aluku ancestors, like other Guianese Maroons, used carved wooden horns of this type to communicate across long distances and exchange crucial military information.

Photo by Antonia Graeber (from *Afro-American Arts of the Suriname Rain Forest*, by Sally Price and Richard Price, University of California Press, 1980)

TRACK NOTES continued

**25. KWADYO (SOLO SONG):
"ASA-OO, PAPA NGÚLINYA,
NGÚLINYA"**

Recorded in Maripasoula, French Guiana, August 21, 1990

A brief a cappella performance of a *kwadyo* song by Papa Aneli. Although *kwadyo* is a genre associated with warriors' rites, songs in the genre, as this example shows, need not always be strident.

**27. AGWADO (SOLO SONG WITH
AGWADO ACCOMPANIMENT):
"ALABI, SIPI E BOOKO GENTI E
KON"**

Recorded in Maripasoula, French Guiana, August 21, 1990

This very old *agwado* song, performed here by Papa Aneli, tells of two Aluku ancestors, two brothers living in Africa. When one decided to board the ship that would take him across the ocean, the other declined to go, afraid that he and his brother would die before landing. Upon arriving, the first brother, Takiman, sang this song to let his brother Alabi back home in Africa know that he had survived the passage and was still alive.

26. KWADYO (DRUMMING WITH VOCALS): "ADYAINI-OO, MI NA MAN"

Recorded in Komontibo, French Guiana, November 12, 1985

During a *kwadyo* performance, a man boasts of the power of his war *obia*—his protective spiritual power—which, in this case, is derived from a jaguar god known as Adyaini (derived from the Akan *a-gya-héne* [plural of *gya-héne*, "leopard" or "panther"]). He demonstrates his invincibility by striking himself with the sharp side of a machete, breaking a glass bottle against his chest, and stabbing at his arms and legs with the jagged edges. Despite these self-inflicted assaults on his body, there are no cuts or scratches, and no blood is visible. While performing this warrior dance, he sings out triumphantly (and is answered by a chorus of women): "Adyaini, I'm a man!"

Kwadyo music is closely associated with both the Kumanti spiritual tradition and with Aluku death rites. It is sometimes performed, for example, as part of *booko dei* ceremonies (though kept separate from the standard cycle of music and dance genres traditionally performed in this context). Its name is probably derived from the West African Akan term *kwadwom*, which in the Asante-Twi language refers to a type of funeral dirge.

This was recorded during a special *kwadyo pee* (*kwadyo* "play," or ceremony) held to mark the return to the village of the *busiman*—a group of hunters sent out to the forest to collect game for the major *puu baaka* ceremony at which tracks 1 and 2 were recorded a few days later.

Aluku men dancing *Kumanti* and using machetes to test the bodily protection provided by the spiritual powers of the Kumanti tradition. Cayenne, French Guiana, 1989. Photo by Henri Griffit

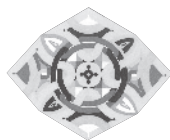


28. PAPA (VODU) (DRUMMING)

Recorded in Loka, French Guiana, May 25, 1986

The spiritual tradition called Papa, also known as Vodou, is a close relative of Haitian Vodun (Voodoo), being derived in part from overlapping Fon-Ewe sources. Here is a brief segment of hot Papa drumming, recorded during a ceremony for a recently deceased woman who had been a medium for a number of Papa *gadu* (snake gods) while alive.

Papa music calls for a drum ensemble entirely different from the kind associated with most other Aluku genres. At its center is the *agida*—a very long drum (up to six feet or more) with a deep tone, which is placed on its side at an angle (on top of a stand) and played with one hand and a stick. (The stick is used to play on both the head and the body of the drum.) One of the supporting drums, the *pikin doon*, is played with the hands. The other, known as *tyobo*, is played with two sticks; the sticks used on the *tyobo* are known as *panapana*.



29. PAPA (VODU) (CHANTING)

Recorded in Maripasoula, French Guiana, October 21, 1995

In the privacy of her horticultural camp on the edge of the forest, Ma Bwi, a Papa *basi*, or Papa priestess, chants to the Vodou gods—revered deities that live in the bodies of the boa constrictors that inhabit the Amazonian rain forest. Her chant is entirely in the esoteric Papa language, which is intelligible only to initiates.

30. PAPA (VODU) (DRUMMING WITH VOCALS)

Recorded in Papai Siton, French Guiana, June 27, 1986

A full Papa drum ensemble, with singers and chorus, delivers a powerful performance of the sacred music used to invoke the Vodou gods. The singing is led by Ma Yakoba, a female Papa *basi*.

At one point, the lead drummer, Papa Abioni, deliberately brings the drumming to a temporary halt. Ma Yakoba, showing the first signs of possession, intones a stream of Papa *tongo*, the esoteric language of the Vodou gods. Soon Papa Abioni comes back in. Playing solo, he beats out invocational patterns on the *agida*. Before long one of the other singers, Ma Maidon, launches into song once again, and Papa Abioni gives the other drummers the signal to resume in full force. Returning to one of the songs performed before the break, Ma Yakoba and the others bring the performance full circle, guiding it to its conclusion with the chorus *kon go luku Daume* ("come and look at Daume"—*Daume* [derived from "Dahomey"] being one of the mythical countries in which the Vodou gods are said to dwell).

31. UMAN DAGUWE

Recorded in Papai Siton, French Guiana, June 27, 1986

Papa ceremonies typically close with this “lighter” genre, meant for the enjoyment of women dancers after the more serious business of invoking the Vodou gods has been concluded. (Its name means “*Daguwe* for women” —*Daguwe* being a synonym for “Papa,” or “Vodu.”)

32. SONGE (FULL ENSEMBLE)

Recorded in Kotika, Suriname, December 13, 1985

We end with another stirring performance of *songe*. This was recorded at a *booko dei* ceremony for a recently deceased young man named Adyompoi. Though forming part of the standard cycle of traditional genres used in death rites, *songe* is also often performed in other contexts. One of the most popular traditional Aluku dance-drumming genres, it may be used to celebrate all manner of occasions.



Ba Demoi dancing *songe* onstage at a festival in Cayenne, French Guiana, 1989. Photo by Kenneth Bilby

FURTHER INFORMATION

In 1992, the Smithsonian Folklife Festival featured a program titled *Creativity and Resistance: Maroon Culture in the Americas* that focused on the cultural heritage of Maroon peoples from several countries. Aluku representatives were among the performers, artists, craftpersons, and Maroon leaders and dignitaries who participated in the program. Also present were representatives from the Saramaka and Ndyuka Maroons of Suriname, the Moore Town and Accompong Maroons of Jamaica, the Palenquero Maroons of Colombia, and the Seminole Maroons (Black Seminoles) of Texas and Mexico. This was the first time in history that representatives of these widely dispersed Maroon peoples assembled in one place. The Festival program also served as the basis for a Smithsonian traveling exhibition that began its national tour in 1999. For an online version of this traveling exhibition, which provides detailed information about Maroon societies and cultures in various parts of the Americas, visit the following Web site maintained by the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage: <http://www.folklife.si.edu/resources/maroon/start.htm>

Many more field recordings of Aluku music, as well as descriptive notes and additional materials, may be found at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., where they form part of the Kenneth M. Bilby French Guiana and Suriname Collection in the American Folklife Center’s Archive of Folk Culture. (The collection contains roughly forty hours of music.) See: <http://www.loc.gov/folklife/guides/Suriname.html>

Additional recordings of Aluku (and other Guianese Maroon) music may be found in the Library and Archives of the Center for Black Music Research at Columbia College in Chicago. See: http://www.colum.edu/CBMR/Library_and_Archives/Archival_Collections_at_the_CBMR_Library/Bilby_Collection.php

BILBY, KENNETH. "La musique Aluku: un héritage africain." In Marie-Paule Jean-Louis and Gérard Collomb, eds. *Musiques en Guyane*, 49–72. Cayenne: Bureau du Patrimoine Ethnologique, 1989.

_____. The Remaking of the Aluku: Culture, Politics, and Maroon Ethnicity in French South America. PhD dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1990.

_____. "'Roots Explosion': Indigenization and Cosmopolitanism in Contemporary Surinamese Popular Music." *Ethnomusicology* 43(2): 256–96, 1999.

_____. "Maroons and Contemporary Popular Music in Suriname." In Ralph Premdas, ed. *Identity, Ethnicity and Culture in the Caribbean*, 143–54. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: University of the West Indies, 1999.

_____. "Making Modernity in the Hinterlands: New Maroon Musics in the Black Atlantic." *Popular Music* 19(3): 265–92, 2000.

_____. "Aleke: New Music and New Identities in the Guianas." *Latin American Music Review* 22(1): 31–47, 2001.

BILBY, KENNETH, AND DIANA BAIRD N'DIAYE. "Creativity and Resistance: Maroon Culture in the Americas." In Peter Seitel, ed. *1992 Festival of American Folklife*, 54–61. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1992.

BILBY, KENNETH, AND RIVKE JAFFE. "Marronmuziek: tussen traditie en mondialisering." In Alex van Stipriaan and Thomas A. Polimé, eds. *Kunst van Overleven: Marroncultuur uit Suriname*, 166–75. Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2009.

HOOGBERGEN, WIM. *The Boni Maroon Wars in Suriname*. Leiden: Brill, 1990.

HURAU, JEAN. *Les Noirs Réfugiés Boni de la Guyane française*. Dakar: IFAN, 1961.

_____. *Africains de Guyane: la vie matérielle et l'art des Noirs Réfugiés de Guyane*. The Hague: Mouton, 1970.

MOOMOU, JEAN. *Le monde des marons du Maroni en Guyane (1772–1860)*. Matoury, French Guiana: Ibis Rouge Éditions, 2004.

_____. Les Bonis à l'âge de l'or et du grand takari (1860–1969): "Temps de crise, temps d'espoir." Thèse doctorale, Centre de Recherches Historiques, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2009.

PRICE, RICHARD. *Rainforest Warriors: Human Rights on Trial*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

PRICE, RICHARD, AND SALLY PRICE. *Two Evenings in Saramaka*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

_____. *Maroon Arts: Cultural Vitality in the African Diaspora*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1999.

SANDERSE, JOLIEN, AND RIVKE JAFFE. "Jonge Marronmuzikanten: muziek en marginaliteit in Paramaribo." *OSO* 26(1): 43–60, 2007.

STEDMAN, JOHN GABRIEL. *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*. 1796. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes by Richard Price and Sally Price. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988; iUniverse, 2010.

STIPRIAAN, ALEX VAN, AND THOMAS A. POLIMÉ, EDS. *Kunst van overleven: Marroncultuur uit Suriname*. Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2009.

DISCOGRAPHY

1968 *Musique Boni et Wayana de Guyane* (LP).

Recorded and Annotated by Jean Hurault. Disques Vogue/Musée de l'Homme LVLX 290.

1977 *Music from Saramaka: A Dynamic Afro-American Tradition* (LP).

Recorded and Annotated by Richard Price and Sally Price. Ethnic Folkways FE 4225.

1981 *From Slavery to Freedom: Music of the Saramaka Maroons of Suriname* (LP).

Recorded by Verna Gillis, with Notes by Richard Price. Lyrichord LLST 7354.

1992 *Drums of Defiance: Maroon Music from the Earliest Free Black Communities of Jamaica* (CD).

Recorded and Annotated by Kenneth Bilby. Smithsonian Folkways SF CD 40412.

1992 *Tambours de la terre 1: Afrique-Amérique* (CD).

Annotated by Laurent Aubert. Auvidis Ethnic B 6773.

1993 *The Spirit Cries: Music from the Rainforests of South America and the Caribbean*.

Produced by Mickey Hart. Annotated by Kenneth Bilby and James McKee. Rykodisc RCD 10250.

1994 *Wailing Roots: Original Aloukou Soldiers* (CD).

Déclic Communication 50364-2.

1995 *Wailing Roots: Feeling & Dub* (CD).

Mélodie ACP CG 014.

2002 *I Greet the New Day: Classical Songs and Music of the Ndyuka Maroons of Suriname* (CD).

Recorded and Annotated by André R.M. Pakosie. Stichting Sabanapeti and Radio Nederland Wereldomroep.

2003 *Colombie: Palenque de San Basilio* (CD).

Recorded and Annotated by Lucas Silva. Ocora C 560187.

2003 *Roots de Guyane* (CD).

Produced by Michaël Christophe. EMI/Virgin Music EMI 7243-5911022.

2007 *Lavi Danbwa: Chants, musique, danses Aluku* (CD).

Recorded and Annotated by Yvan Ho You Fat. Association Lavi Danbwa STAZ 020.

2007 *Success Fighters: Aluku Liba* (CD).

Rediarta SF.AL/01-07.

2007 *Wan Ton Melody: Boun Na Soso fou Feni* (CD).

Wan Ton Melody WM2797.

2008 *Busikondé Sama de Guyane: Musique et chants traditionnels* (double CD).

Recorded and Annotated by Apollinaire Anakesa. CADEG (Centre d'Archives de Documents Ethnographiques de la Guyane) RADdO AVPL 61.

2008 *Positif Vibration: Busi Data* (CD).

Positif Vibration.

FILMOGRAPHY/VIDEOGRAPHY

1997 *Aleke-Sound*, part one (VHS). Directed by André R.M. Pakosie. ARMP Production.

2001 *Une voix sur le Maroni* (DVD). Directed by Hélène Lee. France Mexique Cinéma, Radio France Outre-Mer, and Centre National de la Cinématographie.

2009 *Let Each One Go Where He May* (film). Directed by Ben Russell. Ben Russell Productions.

2009 *Songe et Awasa: danses traditionnelles Aluku* (DVD). Directed by Yvan Ho You Fat. CRDP Guyane and Association Lavi Danbwa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND CREDITS

Recorded, compiled, and annotated by
Kenneth Bilby

Kenneth Bilby is Director of Research at the Center for Black Music Research at Columbia College Chicago and Research Associate in the Department of Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution. He earned his Ph.D. in anthropology from Johns Hopkins University and his M.A. in anthropology from Wesleyan University. His extensive fieldwork with Maroon peoples in both Jamaica and the Guianas has resulted in numerous articles, book chapters, and other publications. He has also compiled and/or produced 15 albums (LPs and/or CDs), several of which feature his own field recordings, including Drums of Defiance: Maroon Music from the Earliest Free Black Communities of Jamaica for Smithsonian Folkways (SF 40412). His books include Caribbean Currents: Caribbean Music from Rumba to Reggae (co-authored with Peter Manuel and Michael Largey) (Temple University Press, 1995, 2006), and True-Born Maroons (University Press of Florida, 2005), which was awarded the Wesley-Logan Prize of the American Historical Association in 2006.

Photos by Kenneth Bilby; Antonia Graeber; Silvia de Groot; Henri Griffit
Mastered by Pete Reiniger
Executive producers:
Daniel E. Sheehy and D. A. Sonneborn
Production manager: Mary Monseur
Editorial assistance by
Carla Borden and Jim Deutsch
Design by Krystyn MacGregor
Maps by Dan Cole

Additional Smithsonian Folkways staff:
Richard James Burgess, director of marketing and sales; Betty Derbyshire, financial operations manager; Laura Dion, sales and marketing; Toby Dodds, technology director; Sue Frye, fulfillment; León García, Web producer and education coordinator; Henri Goodson, financial assistant; Mark Gustafson, marketing; David Horgan, e-marketing specialist; Helen Lindsay, customer service; Keisha Martin, manufacturing coordinator; Margot Nassau, licensing and royalties; Jeff Place, archivist; Ronnie Simpkins, audio specialist; John Smith, sales and marketing; Stephanie Smith, archivist.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My heartfelt thanks to the following individuals for making this compilation possible: Wilfred (Oulifini) Blakaman; the late Silvia de Groot; Seefiann Deïe; the late Gaanman Tolinga; Ma Bwi; Ma Maidon; Ma Yakoba; Bechien (Sephro) Mais; Mary Monseur; Papa Abioni (Blakaman); the late Papa [Kapiten] Adiso (Capitaine Adisso); the late Papa Aluwa (Andreas Jozef Anapai); Papa Aneli (Adolphe Anelli); the late Papa [Kapiten] Bangasa (Capitaine Bangassa Djaba); the late Papa Bantifo; Papa Dakan (Dacan Amaïkon); the late Papa [Kapiten] Pwen; the late Papa [Kapiten] Tobu (Capitaine Charles Cazal); Papa [Kapiten] Topo (Capitaine Louis Topo); Pete Reiniger; Daniel Sheehy; Peter Shultz; and Atesh Sonneborn.

ABOUT SMITHSONIAN FOLKWAYS

Smithsonian Folkways Recordings is the nonprofit record label of the Smithsonian Institution, the national museum of the United States. Our mission is the legacy of Moses Asch, who founded Folkways Records in 1948 to document music, spoken word, instruction, and sounds from around the world. The Smithsonian acquired Folkways from the Asch estate in 1987, and Smithsonian Folkways Recordings has continued the Folkways tradition by supporting the work of traditional artists and expressing a commitment to cultural diversity, education, and increased understanding.

Smithsonian Folkways recordings are available at record stores. Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, Folkways, Collector, Cook, Dyer-Bennet, Fast Folk, Monitor, and Paredon recordings are all available through:

Smithsonian Folkways Recordings
Mail Order
Washington, DC 20560-0520
Phone: (800) 410-9815 or
888-FOLKWAYS (orders only)
Fax: (800) 853-9511 (orders only)

To purchase online, or for further information about Smithsonian Folkways Recordings go to: www.folkways.si.edu. Please send comments, questions, and catalogue requests to smithsonianfolkways@si.edu.



Smithsonian Folkways