Africa

THE
GARLAND
ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF
WORLD MUSIC



AFRICA THE GARLAND ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD MUSIC VOLUME 1

Ruth M. Stone Editor

The initial planning of The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music was assisted by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Copyright © 1998 by Ruth M. Stone All rights reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Garland encyclopedia of world music / [advisory editors, Bruno Nettl and Ruth M. Stone; founding editors, James Porter and Timothy Rice].

p. cm

Includes bibliographical references, discographies, and indexes.

Contents: v. 1. Africa / Ruth M. Stone, editor.

ISBN 0-8240-6035-0 (alk. paper)

- 1. Music—Encyclopedias. 2. Folk music—Encyclopedias.
- 3. Popular music—Encyclopedias. I. Nettl, Bruno, 1930–

II. Stone, Ruth M. III. Porter, James, 1937- . IV. Rice, Timothy, 1945-

ML100.G16 1998

780'.9---dc21

97-9671

CIP

MN

For Garland Publishing:

Vice-President: Leo Balk

Managing Editor: Richard Wallis

Director of Production: Anne Vinnicombe Project Editor: Barbara Curialle Gerr Copy Editor: J. Wainwright Love

Desktop publishing: Betty Probert (Special Projects Group)

Design: Lawrence Wolfson Design Glossary and index: Marilyn Bliss Music typesetting: Hyunjung Choi Maps: Indiana University Graphic Services

Audio examples: Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University

Cover illustration: Court musician plays traditional music outside the emir's palace, Kano, Nigeria.

© Robert Frerck/Odyssey/Chicago.

Unless otherwise noted, all interior illustrations were provided by the authors of articles and sections in this Encyclopedia.

"Time in African Performance" adapted from Ruth M. Stone, *Dried Millet Breaking*, 1988. Courtesy of Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana.

Printed on acid-free, 250-year-life paper Manufactured in the United States of America

About The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music

Scholars have created many kinds of encyclopedias devoted to preserving and transmitting knowledge about the world. The study of music has itself been the subject of numerous encyclopedias in many languages. Yet until now the term music encyclopedia has been synonymous with surveys of the history, theory, and performance practice of European-based traditions.

In July 1988, the editors of *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* gathered for a meeting to determine the nature and scope of a massive new undertaking. For this, the first encyclopedia devoted to the music of all the world's peoples, the editors decided against the traditional alphabetic approach to compartmentalizing knowledge from A to Z. Instead, they chose a geographic approach, with each volume devoted to a single region and coverage assigned to the world's experts on specific music cultures.

For several decades, ethnomusicologists (following the practice of previous generations of comparative musicologists) have been documenting the music of the world through fieldwork, recording, and analysis. Now, for the first time, they have created an encyclopedia that summarizes in one place the major findings that have resulted from the explosion in such documentation since the 1960s. The volumes in this series comprise contributions from all those specialists who have from the start defined the field of ethnomusicology: anthropologists, linguists, dance ethnologists, cultural historians, folklorists, literary scholars, and—of course—musicologists, composers, and performers. This multidisciplinary approach continues to enrich the field, and future generations of students and scholars will find *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* to be an invaluable resource that contributes to knowledge in all its varieties.

Each volume has a similar design and organization: three large sections that cover the major topics of a region from broad general issues to specific music practices. Each section consists of articles written by leading researchers, and extensive glossaries and indexes give the reader easy access to terms, names, and places of interest.

Part 1: an introduction to the region, its culture, and its music as well as a survey of previous music scholarship and research

Part 2: major issues and processes that link the musics of the region

Part 3: detailed accounts of individual music cultures

The editors of each volume have determined how this three-part structure is to be constructed and applied depending on the nature of their regions of interest. The concepts covered in Part 2 will therefore differ from volume to volume; likewise, the articles in Part 3 might be about the music of nations, ethnic groups, islands, or subregions. The picture of music presented in each volume is thus comprehensive yet remains focused on critical ideas and issues.

Complementing the texts of the encyclopedia's articles are numerous illustrations: photographs, drawings, maps, charts, song texts, and music examples. At the end of each volume is a useful set of study and research tools, including a glossary of terms, lists of audio and visual resources, and an extensive bibliography. An audio compact disc will be found inside the back cover of each volume, with sound examples that are linked (with a in the margin) to discussions in the text.

The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music represents the work of hundreds of specialists guided by a team of distinguished editors. With a sense of pride, Garland Publishing offers this new series to readers everywhere.

Preface Ruth M. Stone

This volume covers the making of African music, its performers and audiences, theories of musical conception, and the exchange of music among peoples on the continent and beyond. It presents a comprehensive view of the music of Africa from the perspectives of those who have studied it and those who make it.

The authors whose articles are gathered here come from Africa, Europe, Asia, and the United States. They have all conducted fieldwork in Africa, experiencing firsthand the artistry about which they write. Together, their articles—commissioned and written exclusively for this encyclopedia—reflect the current state of scholarship about music in Africa.

All these authors have met frequently at international conferences around the globe. Their ideas form a kind of dialogue with musicians, ritual specialists, and audiences. In some cases, direct quotes convey the performers' voices, and the compact disc brings an even more immediate experience of their creativity. Scholars and performers speak and make music with multiple voices, which at some points converge in consensus, and at others diverge into contrast. In this respect, the volume reflects the first of several definitions of the word *encyclopedia* in the *Oxford English Dictionary*: "the circle of learning."

Circles of learning

A circle of learning implies connections and relations from one area of knowledge to another, but not an exhaustive knowledge. Whatever any encyclopedia describing music on the continent of Africa may purport, a great deal is known to local musicians and specialists alone, and is yet to be studied by Western and African scholars. For all the published analyses of musical practices within the past two or three decades, no honest account can claim comprehensiveness. This volume celebrates the explosion of ideas that have been studied recently without unfairly promising to be an exhaustive representation of the universe of performance in Africa. As a written document, it sketches outlines that continue to unfold, and for which our knowledge must be considered emergent.

The organization of any encyclopedia speaks a great deal about the underlying orientations of the editors and the state of current scholarship. In this volume, we have decided to emphasize thematic issues and processes. As we realized, musical practices often transcend political boundaries, many of whose lines were drawn during the colonial period, dividing ethnic groups. While political divisions have influenced many things—like roads, which tend, particularly in West Africa, to lead from the coast inward, but not across national boundaries—some of those divisions are under challenge by armed struggles. Therefore, the potential choice of a political entity (like a country) as a descriptive unit would underline, even if implicitly, a kind of containment within the geographic space that echoes the colonial period. In this volume, themes that have emerged in the course of research became the focus of the organization.

Travel and exchange

This volume explores issues that transcend regional boundaries. Though such issues are anchored in specific examples and interpretation of local practice, their relevance is often not limited to a single political region. Furthermore, recognizing the streams of influence and exchange that have flowed within Africa, and to and from Africa, a number of articles consider the nature of this movement of people and musical practices.

This volume, then, deliberately highlights concepts of intra- and intercontinental movement. Beyond this, the goal is to emphasize Africans as individuals and groups who have initiated travel and action, and do not simply wait for outside forces to act upon them, as many colonial accounts either implicitly or explicitly narrate. By beginning with such assumptions, we seek to counteract the idea that only Westerners or outsiders were, and are, active travelers on the continent. About one hundred years before the oldest extant written report of a European voyage of discovery, the Egyptian pharaoh Necho hired Phoenicians to circumnavigate the continent, which they did in three years. The first Greek settlement on the continent, Cyrene, was founded about 631 B.C., on land that is now in Libya. Even today, Egypt remains a center of active intellectual life and architectural monuments of the Islamic world.

Among the significant streams of exchanges are the contacts of Arabs with Africans as caravans moved across the Sahara Desert, bringing musical instruments and ideas about musical performance with their salt, gold, and ivory. Along Africa's eastern coast, Arabs came in ships, carried by seasonal winds; the Omanis, in particular, set up city-states along the coast. Many Africans went to Arabia, some of them as slaves, where they performed music whose styles influence local practices today.

Europeans—including the Portuguese and later the British, the French, the Germans, the Dutch, and others—moved to colonize Africa, and social connections between Europe and Africa still accent musical life in Africa. The Americas became the residence of many West and Central Africans brought for slavery into the New World, and the impact of that institution continues. Long before Europeans "discovered" Africa, interchange with the Indian subcontinent, the Malay and Indonesian worlds, and the Far East also moved along the ocean highways.

HOW THIS VOLUME IS ORGANIZED

Encompassing a broad geographical span and a variety of musical practices, the volume treats a selection of the riches African culture offers. Part 1 profiles Africa as a whole, with two overview articles followed by an article on the representation of African music in early documents (McCall) and a historical review of the scholarly study of African music from an African viewpoint (Nketia).

Issues and processes

The articles in the first section of Part 2 focus on themes and issues that, crosscutting local practices and sensibilities, integrate the performance of music and other arts within Africa. Among these themes are the integration of music with other arts (Hampton), notation and oral tradition (Shelemay), timbral concepts (Fales), compositional practices (Mensah, Njoku), theory and technology (Arom and Voisin), music as healing (Friedson), and dance (Kwakwa).

The articles in the second section of Part 2 focus on themes that have emerged from the movement of peoples within and beyond Africa: intra-African streams of influence (Kubik), Islam and its effect on music in one part of West Africa (Monts), guitar music (Kaye), the Kru mariners of Liberia (Schmidt), effects of Latin American music in Zaïre (Mukuna), and interchanges that occur in local contexts, like Ghana (Avorgbedor) and Nigeria (Brooks). Part 2 concludes with a broad survey of African popular music (Impey).

Selected regional case studies

Part 3 presents five overview articles on regional musical practices in Africa: West (DjeDje), North (Wendt), East (Cooke), Central (Kubik), and Southern (Kaemmer). Then, within each of the regions, additional articles provide case studies that continue the themes raised in the earlier sections of the volume.

The topics for West Africa encompass Yoruba popular music (Waterman), genre definitions in praise singing in Northern Sierra Leone (Arntson), and the dynamics of social interaction in Hausa performance (Besmer). For North Africa, the essays explore the interface of poetic performance and music in Somalia (Johnson), the range of performances in Sudan (Simon), and Tuareg performance that crosses the borders of Algeria and Niger (Wendt). The East African articles comment on a range of issues from popular music to various religious musics for Kenya (Kavyu) and Tanzania (Martin). For Central Africa, the transitions of Pygmy music (Kisliuk) are studied. Finally, for Southern Africa, the authors describe the principles of harmony in Zambia (Tsukada), mbira music and other genres of the Shona of Zimbabwe (Kaemmer), popular musical practices in South Africa (Coplan), and the wonderful hybrid of traditions found on the island of Madagascar, 400 kilometers east of the continental coast (Rakotomalala).

Studies of Africa have sometimes separated the continent into the area north of the Sahara Desert and the area south of the Sahara. By statement or implication, the sub-Saharan region has been considered the more characteristically African. This volume, however, takes Africa as a whole, with the assumption that travel across the desert has carried musical practices with it; even farther afield, clearly sub-Saharan musical practices occur in the eastern coastal region of Arabia. The Sahara is not a neat dividing line of musical styles, and our choice of the continental borders as boundaries for this volume is more arbitrary than indicative of actual practice. The article on the Tuareg (Wendt) shows how the same group of people occupy two separate countries—Algeria and Niger—on the edges of the desert area.

Certain issues in music are accented by regional location. The case study articles, highlighting local issues, present rich descriptive detail to illuminate the analysis of these issues, grounding and anchoring them in data. For a variety of reasons, opportunities for equally intensive study throughout the various areas of Africa have not yet arisen.

Research tools

Readers will find research aids throughout the volume. Maps help locate the places and peoples mentioned in the text; references at the end of each article specify further readings and recordings. Cross-references to other articles in this volume are indicated with brackets [see ISLAM IN LIBERIA]. For readers seeking a general bibliographic guide to African music, John Gray's compilation African Music: A Bibliographical Guide (1991) is the most comprehensive recent source (see GUIDE TO PUBLICATIONS). In addition, there is a wealth of other illustrations including photographs, drawings, and graphs.

Musical examples

Throughout the encyclopedia, musical examples supplement the verbal representations of musical sound. In most cases, these appear as staff notation or some variation of it. Some authors, however, explore other forms of notation. Labanotation illustrates body-movement patterns (Hampton); the modified staff serves as a xylophone tablature (Arnston); graphs based on frequency of sound-wave vibration illustrate timbral issues (Fales); and symbols of poetic scansion (Johnson) reflect textual construction.

One article (Shelemay) explicitly addresses the concept of notation in the study of African music. It explores both indigenous and foreign forms of notation—written and aural—that have been applied to African music, including a music-notation system employed in Ethiopia.

Writing music, like writing in general (many would say or think), marks a high level of knowledge and sophistication. Yet most African peoples perpetuate their musical traditions through aural forms of notation (Shelemay). The value of the written is largely the researcher's value. Because most notation ignores indigenous concepts, we may fail to notice in it the intricacies of indigenous aural notations. Further, some African peoples have adopted other aural notations, such as Tonic Solfa, to supplement their own systems (Njoku).

Glossary

An extensive glossary of three thousand entries provides definitions or identifications for terms, concepts, instruments, ethnic groups, and musical genres. Readers will also find selected items from the glossary reproduced at the tops of many pages within the volume.

Discography

The discography provides reference to commercially produced sound recordings. These reflect the late-twentieth-century proliferation of tapes, compact discs, and other recordings of African music from across the continent. Many more recordings exist in archives around the world.

Compact disc

A selection of recorded examples is available on the compact disc that accompanies this volume. These examples are intended to supplement and illustrate the discussions found in the articles. Our goal has been to seek examples unavailable on commercial recordings. In the margins of the text, a circled number specifies the track of the recorded example illustrating a particular discussion. A booklet of notes on the recordings is packaged with the compact disc, and is duplicated on pages 823–826, preceding the index.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

An encyclopedia, more than most academic enterprises, is a team effort. I have been assisted by a host of people who helped to shape and complete this massive project. Since 1989, I have been assisted by an editorial assistant: Mary Dart served for several years in that capacity, followed by Susan Oehler. More recently, Nina Fales and Cathy Brigham helped with final details. To these people and to the College of Arts and Sciences at Indiana University, which funded much of their work, I am greatly indebted. They checked the many details, handled the correspondence, and worked out numerous problems such as converting computer files.

An ever-present companion in the editing process has been Jacob Love, who has served as copy editor and brought an eagle eye to the copy. I shall miss our nearly continuous e-mail and phone conversations as we worried over one or another of the texts.

The shape of the volume developed in a series of meetings in 1988 and 1989, during which the founding editors, James Porter and Tim Rice, facilitated discussions. Other Africanist ethnomusicologists who attended and contributed included J. H. Kwabena Nketia and Jacqueline Cogdell DjeDje. Finally, I am grateful to Gerhard Kubik, who spent several weeks in Bloomington in 1991 working with me on his contributions and making suggestions about the encyclopedia.

Colleagues at the Archives of Traditional Music who provided reference help include Mary Bucknum, Marilyn Graf, Karen Metelnick, and Suzanne Mudge.

I must thank Leo Balk and Richard Wallis, who have represented Garland Publishing and provided strong commitment to this project and sound advice at crucial moments.

Finally, my family—Verlon, my husband, and Angela, my daughter—have supported this project and the time I have devoted to it the last number of years, and this shared commitment is important.

In the end, though I am appreciative of much help, I take responsibility for errors that may have inadvertently crept into the manuscript.

-Ruth M. Stone

ORTHOGRAPHY

ε or e = "eh" as in bet

σ or o = "aw" as in awful

ŋ or n = "ng" as in sing

γ or yg = "ch" as in German ach

f or s = "sh" as in shout

6 = implosive "b"

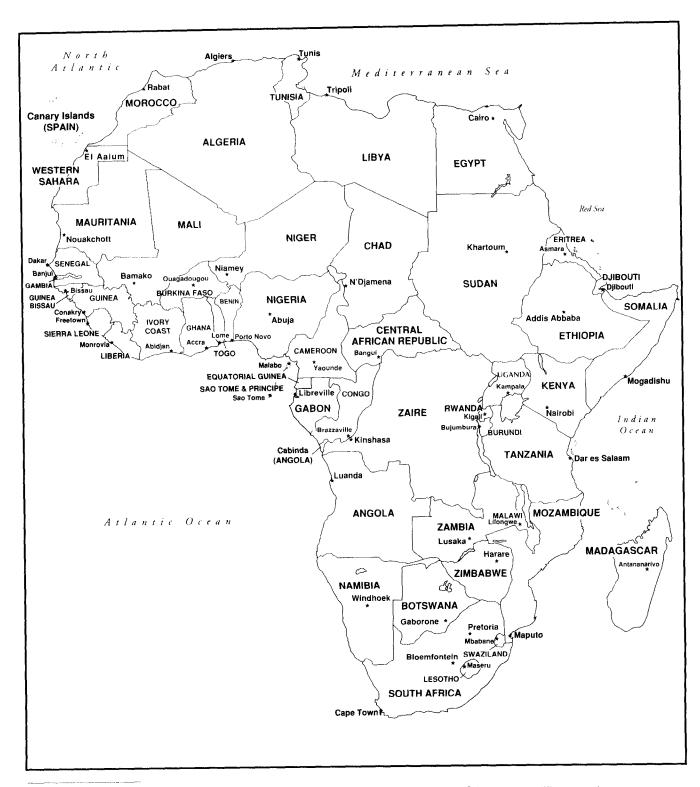
d = implosive "d"

! = click sound

= high tone

` = low tone
^ = high-low tone

~ = nasalized sound



As this volume was going to press, a new government in Zaïre had changed the name of the nation to "Democratic Republic of the Congo."

Contents

About The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music ix Preface xi
Part 1
Introduction to African Music 1
Profile of Africa Ruth M. Stone 2
African Music in a Constellation of Arts Ruth M. Stone 7
The Scholarly Study of African Music: A Historical Review
J. H. Kwabena Nketia 13
The Representation of African Music in Early Documents John McCall 74
Part 2
Issues and Processes in African Music 101
Identities: Music and Other African Arts Barbara L. Hampton 102
Time in African Performance Ruth M. Stone 124
Notation and Oral Tradition Kay Kaufman Shelemay 146
Issues of Timbre: The Inanga Chuchotée Cornelia Fales 164
Compositional Practices in African Music Atta Annan Mensah 208
Art-Composed Music in Africa <i>Johnston Akuma-Kalu Njoku</i> 232 Theory and Technology in African Music <i>Simha Arom and Frédéric Voisin</i> 2
Tumbuka Healing Steven Friedson 271
Dance in Communal Life Patience A, Kwakwa 285
Intra-African Streams of Influence Gerhard Kubik 293
Islam in Liberia Lester P. Monts 327
The Guitar in Africa Andrew L. Kaye 350
Kru Mariners and Migrants of the West African Coast Cynthia Schmidt 370
Latin American Musical Influences in Zaïre Kazadi wa Mukuna 383
Rural-Urban Interchange: The Anlo-Ewe Daniel Avorghedor 389
Foreign-Indigenous Interchange: The Yoruba Christopher Brooks 400
Popular Music in Africa Angela Impey 415
Part 3
Regional Case Studies 439
West Africa 441
West Africa: An Introduction Jacqueline Cogdell DjeDje 442
Yoruba Popular Music Christopher Waterman 471
Praise Singing in Northern Sierra Leone Laura Arntson 488
Hausa Performance Fremont E. Besmer 515

North Africa 531

North Africa: An Introduction Caroline Card Wendt 532 Music in Sudan Artur Simon 549

Tuareg Music Caroline Card Wendt 574

East Africa 597

East Africa: An Introduction Peter Cooke 598 Music and Poetry in Somalia John William Johnson 610 Music in Kenya Paul N. Kavyu 622

Music in Tanzania Stephen H. Martin 633

Central Africa 649

Central Africa: An Introduction Gerhard Kubik 650 Musical Life in the Central African Republic Michelle Kisliuk 681

Southern Africa 699

Southern Africa: An Introduction John E. Kaemmer 700 Harmony in Luvale Music of Zambia Kenichi Tsukada 722 Music of the Shona of Zimbabwe John E. Kaemmer 744 Popular Music in South Africa David B. Coplan 759 Performance in Madagascar Mireille Rakotomalala 781

Glossary 793

A Guide to Publications on African Music 809

A Guide to Recordings of African Music 817

A Guide to Films and Videos 821

Notes on the Audio Examples 823

Index 827

Part 1 Introduction to African Music

Africa astounds with its geographic expanse and its regional diversities. Because of its rich cultural heritage, we see today an extraordinary vitality in the performing arts. We begin with an introduction to African artistic expression and a survey of the history of our knowledge about African music.

Profile of Africa

Ruth M. Stone

Peoples and Languages
Subsistence and Industry
Transport and Trade
Social and Political Formations
Religious Beliefs and Practices

The African continent first impresses by its size: the second-largest of the continents of the world, it encloses more than 28 million square kilometers, spanning 8,000 kilometers from north to south and 7,400 kilometers from east to west. Islands dot the coasts, with Madagascar in the southeast being the largest.

Bisected by the equator, lying predominantly within the tropical region where thick rainforests grow, the continent consists of a plateau that rises from rather narrow coastal plains. Vast expanses of grassland also characterize its inland regions. The Sahara Desert dominates northern Africa, and the Kalahari Desert southern Africa. Vast mineral resources (of iron, gold, diamonds, oil) and deep tropical forests enrich the continent.

PEOPLES AND LANGUAGES

The population of the continent constitutes only one-tenth of the world's people, though many urban areas and countries (like Nigeria) have a high density, counterbalancing vast regions of sparse population. Large urban areas have sprung up in nearly every country of Africa, with high-rise office buildings and computers part of the milieu. People cluster into nearly three thousand ethnic groups, each of which shares aspects of social identity. The most widely known reference work that classifies these groups is George Peter Murdock's Africa: Its People and Their Culture History (1959).

About one thousand distinct indigenous languages are spoken throughout Africa. Joseph Greenberg (1970) classifies them into four major divisions: Niger-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan, Hamito-Semitic, and Khoisan. The Niger-Kordofanian is the largest and most widespread of these, extending from West Africa to the southern tip of Africa; its geographical distribution points to the rapid movement of people from West Africa eastward and southward beginning about 2000 B.C. and extending into the 1600s of the common era.

Swahili, an East African trade language (with a Bantu grammar and much Arabic vocabulary), reflects the movements of peoples both within Africa and to and from Arabia. Bambara and Hausa, other trade languages (spoken across wide areas of

FIGURE 1 Playing technique of the *nkangala* mouth bow in Malawi. Photo by Gerhard Kubik.



West Africa), are but a few of the languages that show Arabic influence. In addition, the Austronesian family is represented by Malagasy, spoken on the island of Madagascar, and the Indo-European family by Afrikaans, spoken by descendants of seventeenth-century Dutch settlers in South Africa.

Following colonial rule in many countries, English, French, and Portuguese still serve as languages of commerce and education in the former colonies. Several languages of the Indian subcontinent are spoken by members of Asian communities that have arisen in many African countries, and numerous Lebanese traders throughout Africa speak a dialect of Arabic.

From the 1500s to the 1800s, trade in slaves produced a great outward movement of perhaps 10 million people from West and Central Africa to the Americas, and from East Africa to Arabia. A token return of ex-slaves and their descendants to Liberia during the 1800s represented a further disruption, as African-American settlers displaced portions of local populations. The long-term effects of this loss of manpower, and the attendant suffering it produced, have yet to be adequately understood. The movement of peoples, however, contributed to the formation of languages, such as the Krio of Sierra Leone and Liberian English of Liberia—hybrids of indigenous and foreign tongues.

Though indigenous systems of writing were not widespread in Africa, some peoples invented their own scripts. These peoples included some of the Tuareg and Berber groups in the Sahara and more than fifteen groups in West Africa, including the Vai and the Kpelle of Liberia, whose music is studied in this volume.

SUBSISTENCE AND INDUSTRY

A majority of Africans engage in farming for their employment. In many areas, farmers use shifting cultivation, in which they plant a portion of land for a time and leave it to regenerate, moving to another plot. This form of agriculture is characteristically tied to a complex system of communal ownership. Increasingly, however, people and corporations, by acquiring exclusive ownership of large areas of arable land, are changing African land-use patterns.

International commerce has resulted in a shift from subsistence to cash crops: cocoa, coffee, palm oil, rubber, sugarcane, tea, tobacco. The wage laborers who work

4

Typical of early African kingdoms were large retinues of royal musicians, who enhanced state occasions and provided musical commentary on events.

with the crops migrate from their home villages, settling permanently or temporarily on large farms. Grassland areas throughout the continent support flocks of camels, cattle, goats, and sheep, and people there are predominantly herders, who frequently live as nomads to find the best grazing for their animals.

In many areas of Africa, rich natural resources—coal, copper, diamonds, gold, iron, oil, uranium—contribute to employment for notable sectors of the population. Processing these materials provides wages for workers and exports for the resource-rich nations.

TRANSPORT AND TRADE

For trade and travel, people have long moved across African deserts and savannas, and through African forests, but the intensity and speed of their movement increased with the building of roads, railways, and airports, particularly since the 1950s in many parts of the continent.

Suddenly, perishable fruits and vegetables could be shipped from interior farms to coastal urban areas. Taxis and buses built a lively trade shuttling people and goods up and down roads, from local markets to urban areas and back again. Manufactured goods were more readily available from petty traders and shopkeepers alike, and foods like frozen fish became part of the daily diet.

Among all that activity, cassettes of the latest popular music of the local country and the world became part of the goods available for purchase. Feature films of East Asian karate, Indian loveplots, or American black heroes became available, first from itinerant film projectionists, and by the 1980s from video clubs. On a weekly and sometimes daily basis, maritime shipping was now supplemented with air travel to Europe and the rest of the world.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FORMATIONS

Several African kingdoms with large centralized governments emerged in the Middle Ages. Among these were Ghana in the West African grasslands area around the Niger River (A.D. 700–1200); Mali, which succeeded Ghana and became larger (1200–1500); and Songhai (1350–1600), which took over the territory of ancient Mali. Kanem-Bornu flourished further east in the interior (800–1800). In the forest region, Benin developed in parts of present-day Nigeria (1300–1800); Ashanti, in the area of contemporary Ghana (1700–1900); Kongo, along the Congo River (1400–1650); Luba-Lunda, in the Congo-Angola-Zambia grasslands (1400–1700); Zimbabwe, in southern Africa (1400–1800); and Buganda, in the area of present-day Uganda (1700–1900) (Davidson 1966:184–185).

Archaeological evidence is only now providing information about the full extent of indigenous African empires, fueled by long-distance trade in gold, ivory, salt, and