

Using diverse sources of evidence for reconstructing the past history of musical exchanges in the Indian Ocean



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ACRONYMS

BCE	Before Common Era
BP	Before present
Kya	'000 years ago
ISEA	Island Southeast Asia
MSEA	Mainland Southeast Asia

ABSTRACT

Although the Indian Ocean has long been recognised as a fertile zone for cultural exchange, reflecting both trade routes and colonisation, it is only now coming into prominence in terms of its significance for the past history of the continents around its rim. It is now accepted that economic plants, animals, diseases, trade goods, languages, religion and cultural elements all moved around and across the Indian Ocean, often transforming the societies and environments into which they were introduced. The paper explores one specific aspect of cultural exchange, music and musical practice in the Indian Ocean. Case studies are used to assess the value and significance of different categories of evidence for the reconstruction of musical history and the resultant chronostratigraphy. These include the history of two types of zither which occur on both sides of the Indian Ocean and which attest to the significance of geographical distributions of material culture. A related issue is the vexed question of the similarities of the xylophone in SE Asia and Africa, and role of morphology in resolving the historical direction of transfer. Slavery and the African diaspora in the Indian Ocean have only recently been the subject of in-depth scholarly examination and the paper summarises current literature and begins the process of categorising the exchange of musical subcultures. This throws into focus an important aspect of maritime transfers in the Indian Ocean; the low profile of some of the great trading nations, such as the Sassanians and the Chinese, in terms of cultural influence, despite their importance in overall trade. The paper suggests that disease and a focus on trade to the exclusion of other activities may account for this disparity.

1. Introduction

Although the Indian Ocean has long been recognised as a fertile zone for cultural exchange, reflecting both trade routes and colonisation (Vincent 1807), it is only now coming into prominence in terms of its significance for the past history of the continents around its rim. It is now accepted that economic plants, animals, diseases, trade goods, languages, religion and cultural elements all moved around and across the Indian Ocean, often transforming the societies and environments into which they were introduced (Blench 1996, 2010; Beaujard 2012). Understanding which items are transferred and under what circumstances also helps reflect on the nature of contact and interaction.

Nonetheless, archaeological evidence for these transfers remains elusive; despite the clear evidence of the Malagasy language and genetics, no ceramics have ever been excavated that clearly demonstrate the Island SE Asia affinities of the population of Madagascar (Parker-Pearson et al. 2010). Maritime exchanges are of particular interest, since inter-ocean transfers cannot be the product of contiguous geography and imply a rather specific type of intentionality. Setting off across open water may have been driven by demographic expansion early in human history, but these motives have been supplanted in more recent eras by trade, religious proselytisation, military conquest, the quest for natural resources or slaves. All these activities have material correlates but only some leave their traces in the archaeological record. Developing an integrated narrative to account for these lacunae is a task that has hardly begun.

The transfer of immaterial culture such as religion, artistic forms and social praxis is often easy to see, but harder to model. Reconstructing a narrative involves binding together very different classes of evidence and reaching conclusions with lower levels of certainty than can be expected from ‘scientific’ archaeology. Arguably though, these topics are of greater importance, since societies are not ceramics but nexuses of complex behaviour for which pottery may be a limited proxy. The more life that can be breathed into these reconstructions the richer will be our understanding of the past.

To illustrate this, the paper¹ explores one specific aspect of cultural exchange, music and musical practice in the Indian Ocean. This is a vast topic and must be approached selectively. Case studies are used to assess the value and significance of different categories of evidence for the reconstruction of musical history and the resultant chronostratigraphy. These include the history of two types of zither attested across the Indian Ocean and the significance of geographical distributions of material culture. A related issue is the vexed question of the similarities of the xylophone in SE Asia and Africa, and role of morphology in resolving the historical direction of transfer. Slavery and the African diaspora in the Indian Ocean have only recently begun to stimulate in-depth scholarly examination and archaeology has yet to play much of a role in this topic, in marked contrast to the Atlantic slave trade. The paper summarises the recent literature and begins the process of categorising different musical subcultures. This throws into focus an important aspect of maritime transfers in the Indian Ocean; the low profile of some of the great trading nations, such as the Sassanians and the Chinese, in terms of cultural influence. This suggests the important role slavery may play; when the number of individuals transplanted across a maritime is sufficiently large, then cultural transfers may ‘stick’ and can survive long after the visible slave-descended community has been absorbed.

2. Methodological issues

Table 1 shows the types of evidence that can be integrated in a study of the musical history of the Indian Ocean and the relative abundance of that evidence;

¹ A first version of parts of this paper were presented at a special workshop on Madagascar, held in the Musée Royale de l’Afrique Centrale, Tervuren in 2009. I would like to thank the organisers for inviting me and for the audience discussion. Thanks also to Philippe Beaujard and Sander Adelaar for exchange of ideas over many years. Thanks also to the Kay Williamson Educational Foundation for supporting fieldwork. It is intended to complement a related review of the prehistory of music on the African mainland (Blench 2013).

Table 1. Category and value of types of evidence in the Indian Ocean

Category	Comment
Archaeology	Finds of instruments very few but graphic representations (e.g. iconography of monuments) extremely rich
Synchronic ethnography	Of major importance in all regions
Artefact collections	Valuable but to be used with care
Written texts (sometimes with accompanying graphics)	Of some value in India and SE Asia

Of these the study of synchronic material culture is undoubtedly the most controversial and currently much the least-used. Material culture, both ethnographic and archaeological, was formerly considered a key element in the reconstruction of prehistoric exchange and mutual cultural influence. This was particularly associated with a North European tradition of ethnology and remains reflected in museum collections. However, the study of synchronic material culture has almost vanished as an academic discipline, regrettably along with much of its subject matter. The reason appears to be primarily a lack of interest from anthropology, where the agenda has shifted markedly, but also the weakness of interpretative frameworks. Ethnologists and musicologists such as Bernard Ankermann (1899), Curt Sachs (1928) and Sture Lagercrantz (1950) expended much time in categorising cultural traits into layers, complexes of traits supposedly found together. These debates now seem largely pointless because they were not founded on a significant awareness of either the processes or chronology of human settlement. Lagercrantz (1950), who contributed so much to the mapping of African material culture, had almost nothing to say about the logic of his manic accumulation of information. Nonetheless, archaeologists have slowly begun to recognise the value that can be retained from such material culture studies. In an era prior to geographical information systems, these authors provided a systematic description of material culture, much of which cannot be easily recovered from archaeology, and plotted the distribution of artefacts, their gradual or abrupt morphological changes. Matching these to known historical, linguistic and cultural events and (possibly) to archaeological horizons, enriches the cultural spectrum attributable to past societies.

The key analytic tool is mapping the distribution of material culture elements. This is not a straightforward task, as the evidence is scattered and not collected in any systematic fashion. The maps which form the core of this paper have been compiled over many years, through examination of specimens in European and SE Asian museums, trawling the ethnomusicological literature, including the sleeve-notes for CDs, which often contain information not otherwise recorded. The iconographic material, principally the images on stone-friezes within SE Asian monuments have been photographed following a series of visits from 2002 onwards (see Blench 2006, 2008 for further details²).

Discerning cultural and material transfers in the near present is usually unproblematic due to the abundance of historical records. Further back in the past the analysis becomes more difficult because of the different weighting ascribed to innovation. If two very similar artefacts are recorded in different geographic regions, then what is the likelihood that they are simply invented repeatedly as opposed to the two occurrences being connected? This topic has a long history in American cultural anthropology and Steward (1929) first attempted to construct an algorithm of the likelihood of innovation while Rands & Riley (1958) considered the issue of discontinuous distribution. Our understanding of this is strongly dictated by academic fashion. Earlier writers tended to see much of the culture of Sub-Saharan Africa as flowing outwards from Egypt. The reaction to this was denying that anything came from Egypt and the two regions were effectively unconnected. Both positions are certainly extreme; there were clearly cultural flows between the two areas which can be picked apart by careful analysis. This is where careful morphological analysis of individual items is crucial; the greater the specific similarities, the better the evidence for transfer as opposed to independent invention. Complexity must also play a role in the argument. For example, the bullroarer, a

² See the author's website URL <http://www.rogerblench.info/Ethnomusicology/Video%20&%20images/Asia/AsmusOP.htm> for much additional material

wooden plaque whirled on the end of a cord is found in societies from Scandinavia to Tierra del Fuego as well as in the European Pleistocene (Zerries 1942). While it may be a very ancient human invention, its constructional simplicity is such that an argument for its antiquity as opposed to serial innovation cannot be resolved.

In interpreting the application of material culture analysis to particular cases, the analogy with biological transfers is helpful. These are rarely disputed; we can know with some certainty that bananas, taro, water-yam and sweet potato were not domesticated within Africa and so must have been brought from outside through human agency. This is because botanical features can be defined with sufficient detail to make convergent evolution unlikely. In contrast to more functional items such as household tools or weapons, musical instruments share some of the same characteristics. Their morphology is largely arbitrary and dictated by culture, rather than subject to the evolutionary constraints of practical requirements. They are, moreover, a highly conservative category of material culture. For example, in the whole of the Americas, common organological categories such as the stringed instrument and the double-reed were not innovated and were thus absent in pre-Columbian times (Izickowitz 1934). This is probably because sound producers are not constrained by functionality in the same way as, for example, fish-traps, and to that extent, they resemble zoogeography as a tool for analysis of the past. Geographically bounded regions, such as islands, are often easier to unpick than a contiguous mainland area. Hence the importance of island biogeography for zoologists. As musical instruments diffuse from one culture to another they often retain names and performance styles of the source culture and make possible the creation of a chronostratigraphic map of exchanges. Since Sachs (1938) it has been observed that an island such as Madagascar provides a palimpsest of the maritime nations which have influenced its cultural development. Musical instruments introduced from Island SE Asia (ISEA), India, the African mainland (including apparently pre-Bantu forager populations), Arabia and early Europe all remain in the ethnographic record.

To establish the background to Indian Ocean transfers, it is useful to set up a very approximate history of pathways. The initial settlement of Indian Ocean rim is disputed but perhaps began as early as 125 kya. However, the well-recognised maritime traditions are mostly associated with the Neolithic. Table 2 is a list of these traditions most and their estimated starting date. Some of these are more controversial than others, and not all have had any recognised impact on musical traditions. It is not the intention to lay out the arguments for all of these, but rather to give sense of the chronological stratigraphy in relation to different transoceanic traditions.

Table 2. Indian Ocean maritime traditions and approximate chronology

Maritime tradition	Chronology	Reference(s)
Early Assyrian/ Egyptian voyages	2300 BCE onwards	Possehl (1995)
Navigation from South Asia	2500 BCE onwards	Vogt (1996)
Navigation from ISEA	Within ISEA from 4000 BP, but in Indian Ocean from ca. 2000 BP onwards	Spriggs (2011) for early Austronesian navigation Burney (1987) for charcoal evidence of settlement
Graeco-Roman voyages	From ca. 100 BCE	Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (first century AD) describes already established trade routes (Casson 1989)
China	Definitely from 700 AD, controversially from 200 AD	Sun (1989)
Sassanian voyages	From 200 AD	Whitehouse & Williamson (1973)
Arabian voyages	From 0 AD	Hourani (1995). Pre-Islamic Arabian traders referred to in Agatharchides (110 BCE).
Swahili coastal trade	From 700 AD	Horton (1996)
European voyages	From 1500 AD	Numerous sources

A table such as this simplifies many uncertainties and some important biological transfers took place in the absence of any clear evidence as to their context, for example, the early movement of key African crops to India (Blench 2003).

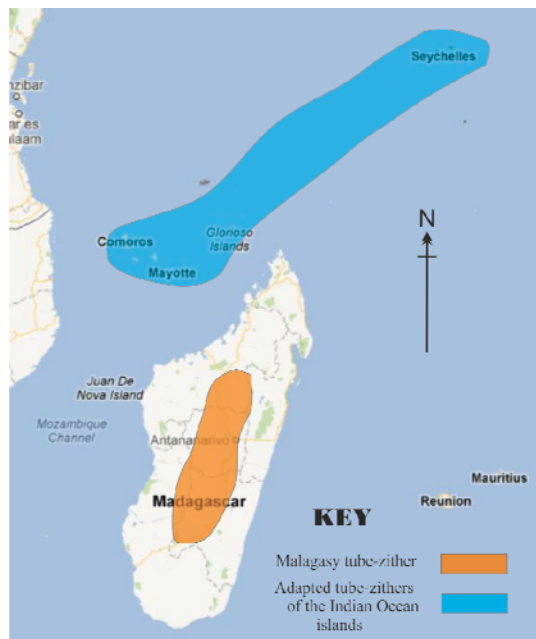
3. Two case-studies, the *valiha* idiochord tube-zither and the *zeze* stick-zither

Two types of zithers are found with a pan-Indian Ocean distribution (Blench 1984). One of the most distinctive musical instruments in the Indian Ocean region is the *valiha*, an idiochord tube-zither (Domenichini 1984; Razafindrakoto-Montoya 1997, 2006). Such zithers are

Photo 1. *Valiha* with tin-can resonator



Map 1. Western distribution of the tube-zither



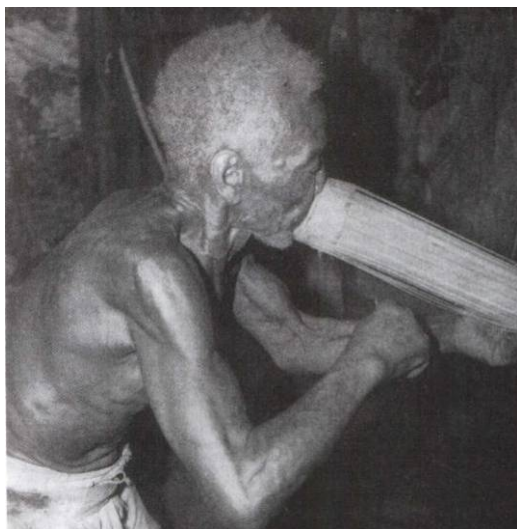
typically made from a single internode of a broad-diameter bamboo, and the strings are formed from the raised epidermis of the bamboo. Small bridges at either end keep the strings taut and also act to tune them. Modern instruments have wire strings and even tuning pegs to make for increased durability, but these are recent innovations. The general principle is known widely across SE Asia, although more commonly involving instruments made from a half-tube of bamboo laid horizontally on a

surface and struck with light beaters, as in Borneo and Sumatra. The player holds the instrument upright or horizontally outwards from the body, sometimes perched on a resonator, and plays it with two thumbs (Photo 1). The *valiha* is the national instrument of Madagascar, although the tubular form is only found in the highlands area and is strongly associated with the Merina people. The seventeenth century traveller Peter Mundy (1919) first described the instrument, which he saw in Madagascar in 1638. Instruments with a similar pedigree are also found in parts of island SE Asia, including Sulawesi, Maluku and Timor, but not Borneo (Sachs 1928; Kaudern 1927). Map 1 and Map 2 show the distribution of the hand-held tube-zither at the eastern and western ends of the Indian Ocean. The red shading on the map of Madagascar shows the restricted highland distribution of the tube-zither, while the blue shading marks the extended forms found on Indian Ocean islands. This instrument is unique to these two regions and does not occur elsewhere in the world³.

³ Sachs (1927) also lists Guyana, the Malay Peninsula and the Balkans [!] but checking back to his references, the instruments are structurally quite different.

The classic explanation of the origin of the name *valiha* is Sanskrit *vādyā* (वाद्य) a general term for a musical instrument (Sachs 1938). Adelaar (ined.) has proposed *balikan*, an Iban term for a stringed instrument, apparently an outmoded type of lute, in Borneo. Neither explanation is wholly convincing, as the instrument itself must originate in Sulawesi and islands further east, despite the general origin of the Malagasy in Borneo. This underlines the multi-ethnic character of the early trans-Indian Ocean migrations which populated Madagascar, since both words and material culture could be carried by individuals from other islands despite the eventual cultural dominance of the language of Borneo (Beaujard 2003). Although the tube-zither does not survive on the East African mainland, it must have been part of the instrumentarium of enslaved populations at one time, since it was carried to both the Comores (Ottenheimer 1970) and the Seychelles (Koechlin 2002). It underwent a remarkable transformation in the Seychelles where it survives as the *mulumba*, one of the disappearing *anciens instruments*, along with the chest-bow, still played by populations of African origin. Despite retaining the external appearance of a tube-zither, the *mulumba* is now used as an end-blown horn with simultaneously scraped strings (Photo 2). While retaining the organological character of the original Austronesian tube-zither, the players have functionally re-interpreted it, presumably through lack of contact with the

Photo 2. Seychellois *mulumba* trumpet



with the east coast of Africa ceased (Blench 2009, 2010). On becoming established in Madagascar, it then

Map 2. Eastern distribution of the tube-zither



Malagasy performance tradition.

Map 3 shows a synthesis of information concerning the spread of the tube-zither. The type of instrument common to Sulawesi and Madagascar is not found in Borneo or the coastal areas of East Africa. It seems likely that it must have travelled with individuals direct from Sulawesi or other nearby islands after the establishment of the route to East Africa. The date of the Austronesian settlement of Madagascar remains uncertain, but so far has not been pushed back beyond the sixth century AD (Verin & Wright 1999) even though it now appears it may have been settled by foragers from the mainland much earlier (Blench 2007). The tube-zither was thus carried in the centuries following this, probably not after the eleventh century, when traffic with the east coast of Africa ceased (Blench 2009, 2010). On becoming established in Madagascar, it then

was adopted by the mixed Bantu/Austronesian populations who moved it first to the Comores and then on to the Seychelles. We know this because studies of the tube-zither in the Seychelles show that it is confined to populations of African descent, as indeed the Bantu name, *mulumba*, suggests (Koechlin 2002).

Map 3. Spread of the tube-zither from Sulawesi

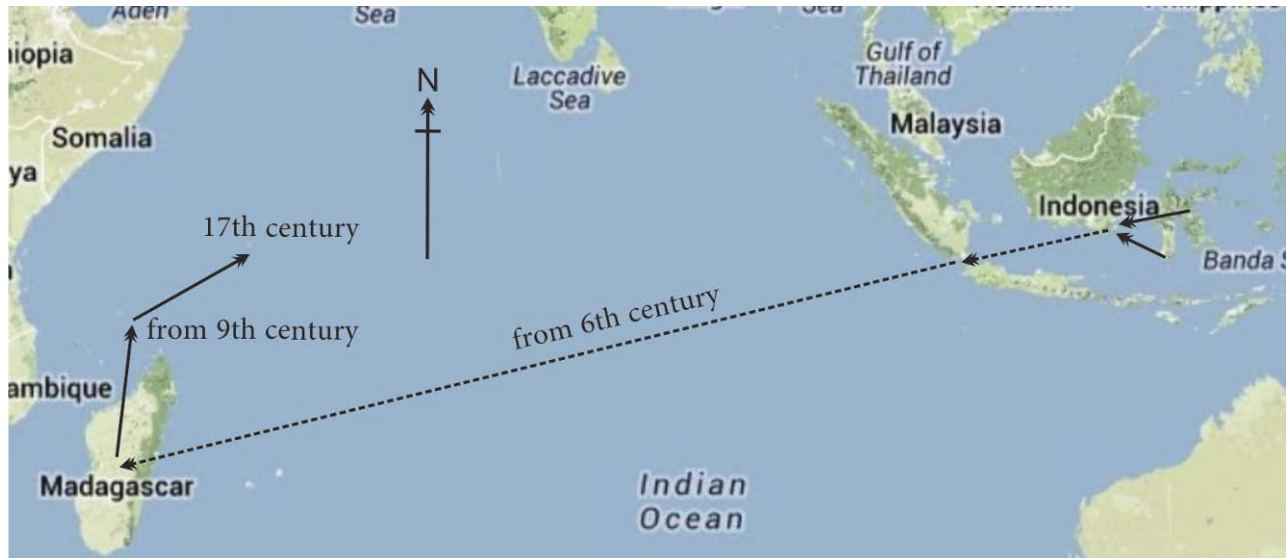
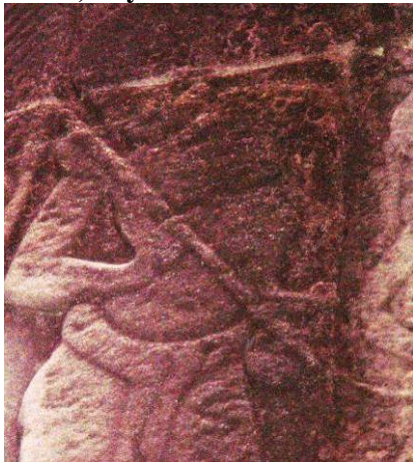


Photo 4. Chest-resonated stick-zither, Bayon



Source: Author photo

Photo 3. Chest-resonated stick-zither at Borobodur



Source: Author photo

Another instrument which also persists in the Seychelles in transposed form is the stick-zither, which is only found around the rim of the Indian Ocean. A stick-zither is a flat bar with a fastening post at one end, with one or several strings stretched along its length. The string(s) pass along the top of the bar, attached to a hemispherical gourd or other resonator held against the player's chest. The bar may have projections beneath the strings so that as they are strummed the projections are used like frets to alter the pitch of the string (Jones 1971: 163). Alternatively, the player can stop the string with the pad of the fingers to bring out various harmonics. There are two types of stick-zither in SE Asia, those where the stick is a flat bar, and those where it is a round bar. The second type underlies such significant classical instruments as the South Indian *vina*. Map 4 shows the eastern distribution of the stick-zither. The yellow shading marks the flat-bar zither and the blue the round-bar.

The stick-zither is first represented in India in the 7th century on the temple at Māmallapuram (Marcel-

Photo 5. Lan Na stick-zither



Source: Author collection

Dubois 1941:72; Kaufmann 1981:180). In South Asia, it rapidly develops into instruments more closely resembling the modern *vina* with two gourd resonators and more strings (Coomaraswamy 1926, 1931; Chonpairot 1981; Wrazen 1986). However, simpler

Photo 6. Seychellois *zez* monochord zither



types survive as folk instruments, for example among the Sora (Bhattacharya 1999: 48). In this form it was carried to SE Asia via Indian voyages

which may begin as early as the 2nd century BCE. For MSEA, the stick-zither is first shown on the Bayon within the Angkor complex (ca. 1050 AD) several times (Blench 2008). Although there is nothing specifically Buddhist about this instrument, it may be significant that both these monuments are Buddhist in orientation and iconography. The first clear evidence of its presence in ISEA is at the monument of Borobudur in Java (800-850 AD) where it is shown several times on the external friezes (Photo 3).

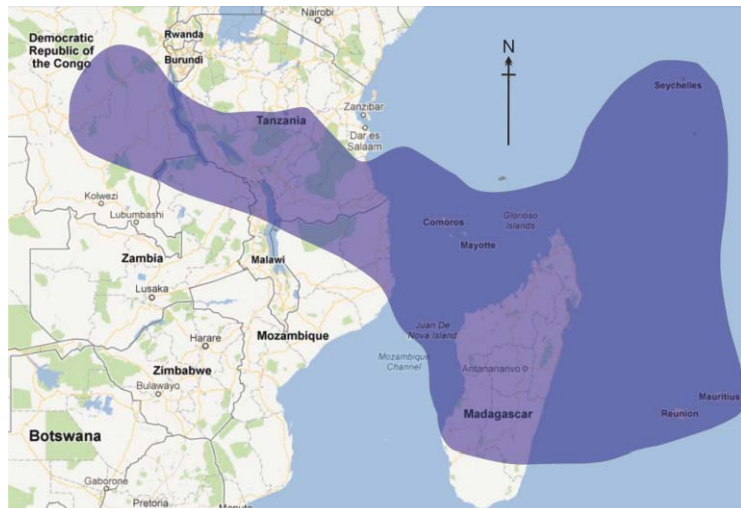
The SE Asian distribution is intriguing, since it is disjunct, found in the mainland, and apparently transmitted via the Indianised states established from 200 BC onwards. It is still common in Việt Nam and has been revived in Lan Na, modern Chiang Mai, in Thailand, where it was once a prestigious instrument (Photo 5). Known as *say diev* or *khse muoy*, it has virtually died out in modern Cambodia. The other area of

Map 4. Eastern distribution of the stick-zither



distribution is in Sulawesi and Maluku. The ISEA distribution was first mapped by Kaudern (1927) for Sulawesi, but it occurs in Timor as well, although, like the plucked tube-zither, it is absent in Borneo. Since we know from iconography it was formerly played on Java, it was presumably introduced by the Indianised states, spread eastward with the inter-island trade networks and then disappeared in Java and other islands nearer the mainland.

Map 5. Western distribution of the flat-bar stick-zither



Map 5 shows the western distribution of the flat bar stick-zither. The flat-bar stick-zither was subsequently carried both to Madagascar and the East African coast from ISEA. Unlike the tube-zither, the stick-zither is widespread along the East African coast. The origin of the Swahili name *jeje* is uncertain, but it is unlikely to be a loan from Ancient Egyptian *dede*, as suggested by Sachs (1938:47). Swahili culture in its present form is usually dated to around the 7th century AD, while Egyptian navigation in the Red Sea probably ceased before 0 AD. Although it is also recorded inland towards the DRC, this expansion was apparently a

consequence of the expanding slave trade in the eighteenth century (Laurenty 1960; De Hen 1960). The stick-zither presumably spread among coastal populations in the period when a mixed Bantu/Austronesian trading community was settled on the coast. Blench (2010) argues this would have been from the 7th century onwards, to judge by oral history records of pre-Arab raiders and the tenth century records of Sumatran raids on the coastal islands.

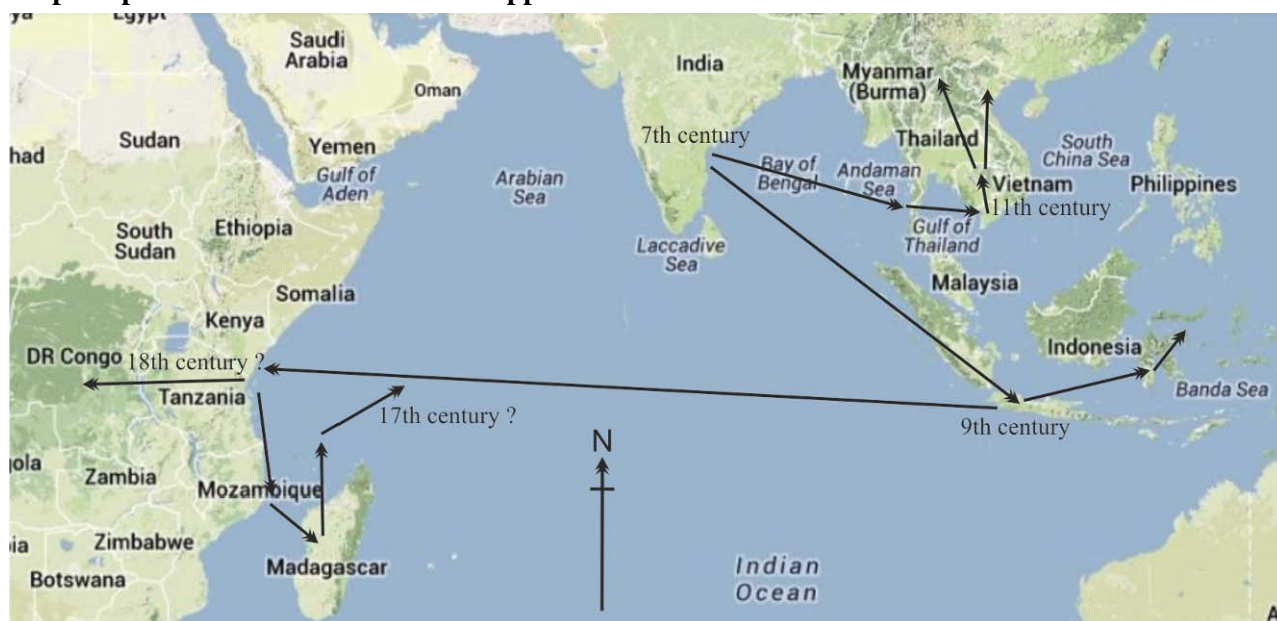
The prevalence of this instrument in the coastal communities among populations who were later enslaved has also led to its appearance in the Seychelles in reconfigured form (Koechlin 2002). Photo 6 shows a Seychellois performer on the *zez* (cognate with *jeje*) which has somehow been hybridised with the chest-bow, also played on the coast. The structure and performance style is still that of the stick-zither but the appearance has been made to conform to the chest-bow. Précourt et al. (2010) illustrate the three-stringed *ndzendze* of Mayotte which maintains a highly conservative SE Asian appearance. The Malagasy name (*lokanga voatavo*) appears to be a later calque comparing it to the fiddle, suggesting it may have been introduced from the East African coast, rather than the other way around. Table 3 summarises the transfers and contexts of the stick-zither as reflected in the broader history of the region.

Table 3. Transfers of the stick-zither around the Indian Ocean

Develops in India at unknown date, both as a folk and later a classical instrument. First represented 7th century AD
Transfer to MSEA as part of formation of Indianised states
Carried to ISEA at the same time or later. Adopted in Java and probably elsewhere and spreads eastward to Sulawesi. Then disappears from Java.
Transfer to East Africa during the 'raiding and trading' period, 6-9th centuries
Transfer to Madagascar as part of Swahili coastal trading, 8th century onwards
Transfer to Indian Ocean islands following European slave trade, 16th century onwards
Transfer to interior Africa via the slave caravan routes, 18th century onwards

Because of its better iconographic record, we can be somewhat more precise about the movements of the stick-zither. Map 6 shows a synthesis of the probable transfers of the zither, with dates from the iconography. These do not necessarily represent its first appearance, but markers on its directions of travel.

Map 6. Spread of the stick-zither with approximate dates



4. Africa, Indonesia and controversy

One of the long-running controversies in the history of Indian Ocean transfers is the vexed question of xylophones and other musical influences as exemplars of Austronesian influence in Africa (Hornell 1934; Hutton 1946). Xylophones consist of wooden plaques of different lengths, arranged in order of size, and often supported in a frame and in some examples, resonators under individual keys. As long ago as the 1930s, the musicologist Jaap Kunst (1936) posited a connection between the musical cultures of Indonesia and 'Central Africa', based not only on instruments, but on the similarity of musical intervals, in particular the equiheptatonic scale. This argument was expanded by A.M. Jones (1964, 1971) who moved on from xylophones to a broader argument connecting even West Africa and Indonesia. Heins (1966) and Blench (1982) evaluated Jones' arguments and found them highly misleading, sometimes including a wilful misrepresentation of the evidence. Despite this, Jones' arguments live on in an even more extreme form, including claims that Indonesians were responsible for the construction of Great Zimbabwe (Dick-Read 2005).

Figure 1. Holbein's (1515) illustration of the xylophone



This is alternately amusing and annoying, but it should not be allowed to obscure the fact that, as the examples above illustrate, cultural and material transfers across the Indian Ocean were perfectly real. The example of the xylophone can be taken as a disputed case study. Prior to European colonisation, xylophones were known only from SE Asia and Africa. Although the marimba may seem highly characteristic of South-Central America, its introduction reflects the Atlantic slave trade (Chenoweth 1964; Armas Lara 1970), while the African origins of the European xylophone, *Strohfidell*, first noted in Europe in 1511 (Schlick 1511) and represented by Holbein in an engraving dated 1515 are still more evident (Figure 1).

The question is thus whether the two areas of distribution are an example of a transfer, and if so in which direction? It has been virtually taken for granted that the African occurrences reflected a 'high-culture/low-culture' transfer although there was no concrete evidence for this. In reality there is quite a strong case that the transfer was in the opposite direction, from Africa to ISEA. The difficulties arise mainly from prejudices about 'high culture' rather than historical credibility. Attributing an African origin to the complex orchestras of pitched percussion instruments so much admired by Western composers runs counter to a series of unspoken assumptions.

Xylophones, and their cousins, the metallophones, are highly prominent in SE Asian culture today and indeed are taken as almost iconic of the region (Blench 2006). They now occur in Cambodia, Laos, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and South China (Collaer 1979; Sam-Ang et al. 1998; Miller & Chonpairot 1981, 1994; Zhang Xingrong 1990, plate 22). In certain regions, notably Java, the xylophone evolved into a highly elaborate ensemble instrument (Kunst 1968). Kunst (1973, II:416-7) shows a frieze of a wooden xylophone depicted at Borobudur in Java (Photo 7). A significant element of the modern Javanese instrument is missing, however, the resonators under individual keys, which presumably developed later. In the intervening period between Borobudur and the first European descriptions, metallophones developed, and the large ensembles with the arrays of tuned gongs were formed. Although noted as early as the sixteenth century, the *gamelan* first made an impact on European culture when a Javanese group played at the Paris Exhibitions of 1889 and 1890 and was praised by Debussy⁴ (Harpole 1986).

Photo 7. Trough-xylophone, Borobudur



Source: Kunst (1973)

Compared with Java, the evidence for mainland SE Asia has nothing like the same time-depth. Neither the Champa friezes nor the Bayon show xylophones (Blench 2006). Morton (1976: xx and frontispiece) has researched representations of the xylophone in Thailand and notes that the earliest is an image of the wooden-keyed xylophone, *ranāt ēk*, in a manuscript dated ca. 1730 illustrating a *pi phat* ensemble. Photo 8 shows a typical *ranāt ēk*. The painstaking unpicking of Thai musical history in Miller & Chonpairot (1981) points to a first appearance of the xylophone in the eighteenth century. Similar xylophones are found in Cambodia and Laos and at the court of Trengganu in Malaysia. The Burmese xylophone (Keeler 1998), the *pat-talā*⁵, is a 24-key trough-xylophone with suspended keys first described by Alexander Hamilton (1727:427). Xylophones do not appear on the paintings at Bagan, suggesting a late introduction.

Photo 8. Thai *ranāt ēk* xylophone



A SE Asian trough-xylophone⁶, the *orgue de Barbarie*, apparently came into the possession of the composer Rameau, and he discussed its tuning in his *Guide de la musique pratique* (1760). The xylophone has been recorded from India, known under the names *kashtha tarang*, *bastran* and *taranga*, all apparently trough-resonated instruments on the Burmese model (Sachs 1915). The xylophone was played in China as part of the court ensembles of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) but was regarded as a ‘foreign’, i.e. Burmese instrument (Thrasher 2000). This instrument, under the name *mokkin*, was introduced into Japan in the Edo period as part of the *minshingaku*, ‘Ming and Qing dynasty music’, and is still heard in the kabuki *geza* ensemble (Ferranti 2000:53). The xylophone in the Philippines is confined to the more southern islands and is manifestly borrowed from Indonesian traditions (Maceda 1998). Map 7 shows the approximate pre-European SE Asian distribution of the xylophone. The larger yellow area shows all frame-xylophones, the inner red area the distribution of xylophones with individually resonated keys. A map such as this inevitably smoothes out subtle ethnic mosaics; for example, on a large island such as Sumatra, not all populations play the xylophone. Nonetheless, it suggests the broad pattern of distribution.

⁴ ‘Javanese music obeys laws of counterpoint which make Palestrina seem like child’s play.’ Quoted in Smith (1977)

⁵ Etymologically a Mon word meaning drum + coffin (Miller & Chonpairot 1994:59).

⁶ To judge by the illustration in La Borde (1780)

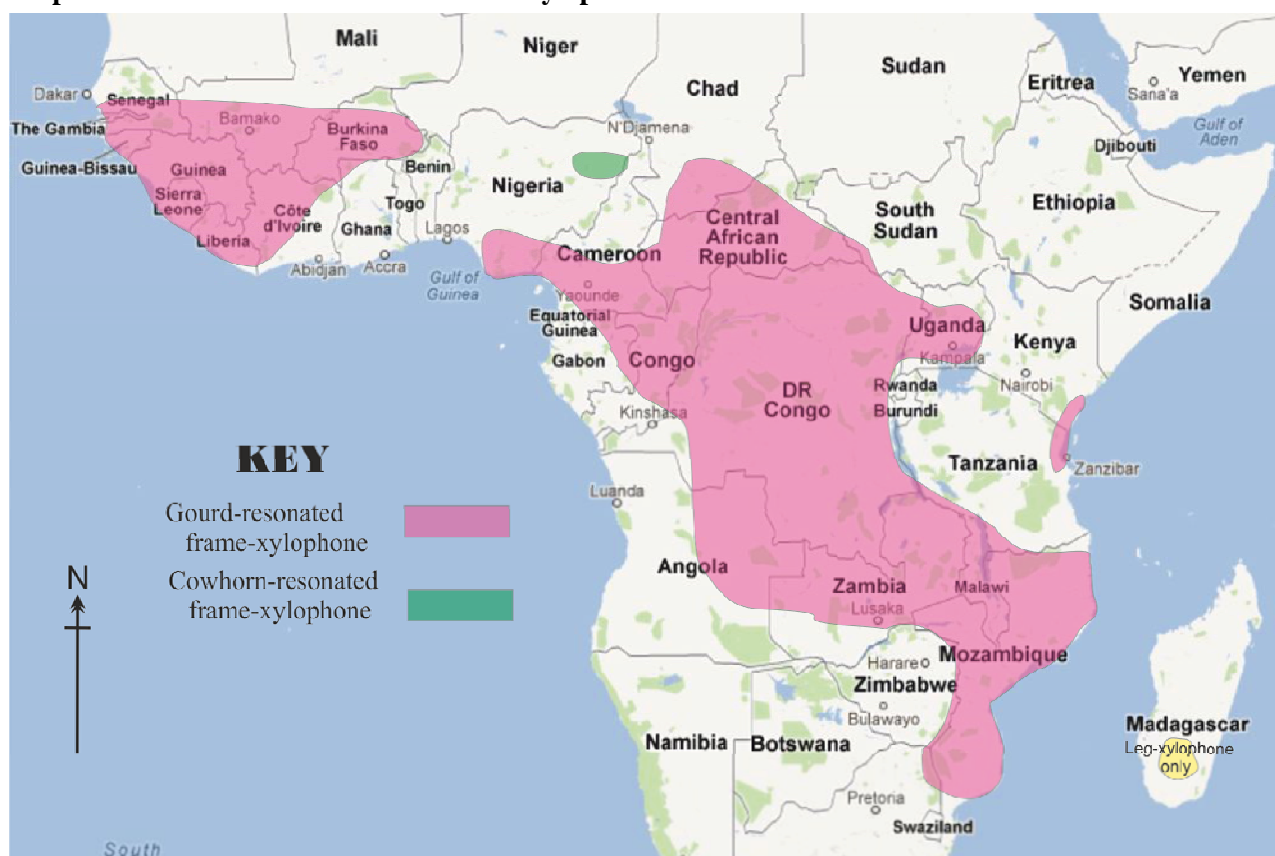
Map 7. Eastern distribution of the xylophone, trough and resonated key types



On the basis of existing evidence, it seems most likely that Java was the nucleus of the evolution of the frame-xylophone and that it spread northeast to the Southern Philippines, northwest to Sumatra and thence to mainland SE Asia, to Cambodia, Thailand and Myanmar. The transfer of the instrument on the mainland may well be as late as the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.

Frame-xylophones in Africa are a similarly iconic instrument and occur from Senegal to Southern Mozambique. The distinctive features of African frame-xylophones are the individual gourd-resonators under each key, and the ‘buzzing membrane’, a patch of spider-web placed across a hole in the gourd, to give the struck key a distinctive resonance. These are found across the range of the instrument, except for the small area in NE Nigeria where cowhorns replace gourds as resonators. Map 8 shows the pre-European African distribution of the frame-xylophone.

Map 8. African distribution of the frame-xylophone



There no archaeological evidence for the presence of the xylophone and representations by travellers only go back to the seventeenth century. However, a remarkable example of a musical instrument which may have been preserved over a long period is the Sosso Bala, a *balafon* [frame-xylophone], kept in the town of Niagassola in modern-day Guinea. It is said to be the original instrument referred to in an episode in the Mande Sundiata Epic, which would make it over 800 years old⁷ (Blench 2013). Photo 9 shows a xylophone pictured in the *manoscritto Araldi* (about 1670) from near the mouth of the River Congo and Northern Angola, and, given the representational conventions of the period, generally reliable (for details of the manuscript and its recovery see Pistone 1969). Photo 10 shows performers on a rather larger instrument in central Angola, photographed in the 1930s.

The distribution of the African xylophone has been studied by Boone (1936), Jones (1971), Le Bomin (2001) and Anderson (1967, 2001). Without entering technical discussions, it is clear that instruments everywhere in the continent share numerous constructional features, related tuning systems, and playing techniques, including the ‘interlocking’ melodies generally characteristic of African music. A telling piece of evidence for the antiquity of the xylophone discussed in Blench (1982) is

Photo 9. Xylophone, gourd trumpet and harp from the manoscritto Araldi



⁷ URL http://www.unesco.org/bpi/intangible_heritage/guinea.htm

the presence within Africa of all the stages of its evolution, from simple struck bars, to resonated bars, leg-xylophones, pit-xylophones and frame-xylophones. This suggests a long history in the continent, and the evolution of the sophisticated instruments found today spread over millennia. Given our understanding of the chronology of ISEA contact with Africa, the idea that the xylophone ‘spread’ from SE Asia is almost impossible to model historically. As the patterns exhibited by the tube- and stick-zithers show, transfers from SE Asia seem to be confined to a restricted area of the East Coast.

The alternative is that the African xylophone was transported to island SE Asia. As in a detective novel, there must be motive and opportunity. We know from Chinese records that African slaves were carried to SE Asia from an early period, and that xylophones are played in the same regions as the probable source of the slaves. Most tellingly, the earliest iconographic representations of musical performance in SE Asia, those at Borobudur and My Son, do not show pitched percussion ensembles, but rather flutes, drums and string instruments. Similarly, no xylophones appear in the friezes at Angkor, despite the importance of the xylophone in the Cambodian classical orchestra today.

Photo 10. Angolan gourd-resonated xylophone



An intriguing piece of iconographic evidence points to the possibility that xylophones were introduced by African slaves. Kunst (1973, II) illustrates a frieze of the paired xylophones at the temple of Candi Penataran in Central Java (ca. 1375). The players are playing with forked sticks similar to those used in East Africa, and the arrangement of paired instruments facing one another is also a typical African practice. Even more striking, one of the player also has what can only be described as ‘big hair’, large bouffant hair arrangements (Photo 11). Kunst makes no comment on this, but it seems worth considering that these are representations of African performers teaching their Javanese counterparts. Although absolute proof of a transfer from Africa is unlikely to be forthcoming, it seems perfectly credible that such a transfer did take place and initiated a transformation of SE Asian regional musical culture.

Photo 11. Xylophone players at Candi Panataran



Source: Kunst (1937)

5. Music and the African diaspora in the Indian Ocean

5.1 The historical framework of Indian Ocean Slavery

An aspect of music history in the Indian Ocean which is becoming more apparent as the body of evidence grows is the role of the African diaspora. The Atlantic slave trade, in the guise of diaspora studies, has received considerable attention from historians and archaeologists in recent decades. There is also a body of

research on the Islamic trade across the Sahara, although much of this was in the 1960s and 1970s (Blench 2011). But until recently, the Indian Ocean trade had received little attention from scholars and certainly none from archaeologists (Blench n press). Yet it is almost certainly of greater antiquity than the other two and was conducted on a scale of equal magnitude (Collins 2006 estimates some twelve and a half million slaves were transported over two millennia). The reason for this curious lacuna is thus little to do with its historical importance and everything to do with ‘voice’, the stridency of communities in calling attention to their identity. Former slave communities are dispersed across a wide range of Asian countries and today speak a variety of languages. Moreover, records may be in languages not read by European scholars, while what is written about them frequently does not enter the Euro-American library system. However, a range of publications has begun to appear, focusing on historical topics (Harris 1971; Rashidi & Van Sertima 1987; Baptiste 1998; Segal 2001; Basu 1993, 2008a,c; Collins 2006; Mohamed 2006; Obeng 2007; Hawley 2008; Kessel 2007). Archaeology is almost completely unexplored to date.

Map 9. African diaspora communities in the Indian Ocean



The broader picture is that East African slaves were being transported from as early as 0 AD to Arabia, Oman and the Gulf. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (ca. 120 AD) already refers to a slaving culture (Casson 1989). Diaspora communities rapidly became established in the Tihama in SW Arabia and their musical culture is still very much alive today. Further along, there are African communities in Makran, coastal Baluchistan, today’s Pakistan (Badalkhan 2006). The most well-studied groups are the Siddi, Siddhi, or Sheedi (Urdu: سیدی; Gujarati: સિદ્દી), or Habshi (from the word for Ethiopia, *Habesh*), mainly in Gujarat and Hyderabad, India. The Siddi population is uncertain and current estimates range between 20–55,000.

Siddis are mainly Sufi Muslims, although some are Hindus and some Roman Catholic Christians. The first record of the arrival of the ancestors of the Siddi is 628 AD, when a group arrived at the port of Bharuch (Catlin-Jairazbhoy & Alpers 2004). The Siddi are definitely of East African origin, as their language retains Swahili retentions, especially in the names of musical instruments. Villages in the forests of northern Karnataka have residents who likely are descended from Mozambican/Angolan slaves who escaped from Portuguese traders and ships. Finally there are the 'Indo-African' communities who still survive in Sri Lanka today. The orange ellipses on Map 9 show the approximate distribution of still-identifiable African diaspora communities around the Indian Ocean. Those only hypothesised, further east are not shown.

Exactly when slaves began to be taken further east is unclear. It is clear that by the time of the Tang Dynasty (618-901 AD) African slaves are being regularly imported into China, via Arab intermediaries (Hsing-Lang 1930; Wyatt 2009). Although the name used in the records, Kun- Lun (崑崙), can refer to anyone dark-skinned, parallel descriptions in Chinese records point to the East Africa coast, as a source of ivory, rhino horn and slaves. Interestingly, some of the Chinese records also reflect mythic views of Madagascar, which occur in Marco Polo's travels (for example the *ruk* bird, a monstrous bird originating with the extinct *Aepyornis*). By the tenth century the maritime cultures of ISEA were able to mount a raiding expedition of a thousand ships on the East African Coast. In 945 AD 'Waqwaq' raiders and traders from Sumatra attacked Qanbalu [an island on the coast as yet unidentified] (Hornell 1934). We can therefore assume that prior to the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, there was a thriving slave traffic around the Indian Ocean, transporting slaves from East Africa and Madagascar to Arabia, modern Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka and also to the islands of SE Asia and on to China and Japan.

The arrival of European maritime cultures in the sixteenth century added significant complexity to the picture. Even where military conquest was not undertaken, slaving first were built in many coastal locations, and the Dutch, English and Iberian merchants played a major role in expanding the trade (Segal 2001; Ray & Alpers 2007; Jayasuriya & Pankhurst 2003; Jayasuriya & Angenot 2008). An important new element was the settlement of the Indian Ocean islands, the Comores, Réunion, Mauritius and the Seychelles. Except for the Comores, these were previously uninhabited, and became both settlements worked by African slaves and significant transit points. Table 4 provides an approximate chronology of the settlement of the Indian Ocean islands.

Table 4 The settlement of the Indian Ocean islands

Islands	Settlement history
Comoros	Settled from the ninth century onwards, at least (Allibert & Verin 1996)
Réunion	Probably known to Arab navigators and visited by the Portuguese from 1507, but first claimed by the French 1638
Mauritius	Probably known to Arab navigators and visited by the Portuguese from 1507. Settled then abandoned by the Dutch (1638-1710). Permanent French control 1715.
Seychelles	Known to Maldivians from the 12 th century, first landed by English navigators in 1609. Permanently settled from France in 1756

These are predominantly French colonial possessions, with the exception of the Seychelles which was first claimed by the French but later became a British colony. All these islands have complex histories, claimed, settled, exchanged between colonial powers, but also settled by Iranian traders, Malagasy and Indians. Without entering controversial politics, all have populations of predominantly African origin, which is reflected in their music (La Sève 1984 ; Des Rosiers 1992).

5.2 Musical traditions

Indian Ocean diaspora community music has been studied by a variety of authors (Koechlin 2002; Badalkhan 2006; Khalifa 2006; Racy 2006; Catlin-Jairazbhoy 2007; Basu 2008a, b; Basu et al. 2008; Jayasuriya 2008). The first observation of African musicians in the diaspora may be by the Dutch priest, Phillipus Baldaeus, who lived in Sri Lanka from 1656 for nine years, and who wrote an extremely popular account of its customs, which was rapidly translated into English (Brohier 1960). On the 20th July 1656, Baldaeus (1672) described two 'Kaffirs' (the King's trumpeter and drummer) who brought details of the

Sinhalese King's movements to the Dutch. He also mentions a 'Kaffir' trumpeter who accompanied a Portuguese free merchant. It seems likely these were African slaves trained in European musical traditions. Nonetheless, the music of assimilated slaves remains popular in Sri Lanka up to the present with a musical form, the *kaffirinya*, which in its local form reproduces memories of African dance-songs, but which now has been parlayed into an excitable genre of pop music⁸.

In the Arabian peninsula, performances on the lyre, a characteristic musical instrument of the Horn of Africa are still to be recorded throughout this region (Bakewell 1985; Racy 2006). Exactly when the trade reached the northern coast of Arabia is less certain, but at least as early as the turn of the millennium. Olsen (2002) documents 'African' memories in Bahrain and Christensen & El-Shawan Castelo-Branco (2009) make similar observations for Oman.

in the Indian Ocean islands, the Seychelles, in particular reflects the type of chronostratigraphic layering which creates a map of its psychic geography. The types of African music associated with the earliest layer of instruments reflect a mixed Bantu/Austronesian culture. French popular dances of the eighteenth century still remain in fashion, such as the *contredanse*. However, some of the dances also reflect the period of English rule, including the polka and the waltz. East African coastal forms representing a mixed Afro-Shirazi culture, including *taarab*, *zouk* and *soukous* are popular. However, *sega*, originally a low-prestige music from Mauritius (and possibly before that from Mozambique) has now spread throughout the Indian Ocean islands and is a dominant genre. Even more surprising is the *contombley*, which derives from Brazilian *candomble*, originally a music associated with the *vodun* cults on the West African coast. The list could go on, but the point should be clear. Deracinated cultures, a typical product of slavery, retain elements of their source culture, but often with transposed elements, as consequence of the bottleneck that the process of slavery represents. Individuals from a particular ethnolinguistic group are mixed together with others from quite different regions, and a characteristic language of intercommunication inevitably develops, in this case the creole languages typical of the Indian Ocean islands. Fragments of the source culture become adopted, but often with elements reinterpreted. The new culture is geographically displaced and thus not constantly reinforced by contact with more traditional, long-standing practices. It thus becomes open to adopting and integrating cultural practices from all the different peoples who pass through its cultural space. This should be contrasted with India, China and SE Asia, where historical continuity can be attested from both archaeology and text analysis.

6. Conclusions

The expansion of exchange models to include a variety of data sources can help construct a richer image of the past. Movements between SE Asia and East Africa took place in an absence of documented traditions, but their impact was highly significant. Archaeology on Madagascar has yet to find demonstrably SE Asian ceramics, despite the evidence of language. Material culture indicates clearly something linguists have begun to suspect, that the migrations were complex and multi-ethnic, layered in time as well as space. The pattern formed by musical instruments shows clearly that there were significant contacts with islands such as Sulawesi as well as Borneo. Another aspect of a study of this type that would not easily emerge from archaeology alone is the importance of slavery in the transfer of material and social culture. The secondary distribution of the instruments given as case studies in this paper is associated with slavery, even where the original movement reflected commercial and religious colonisation. The context of the movement of Africans to SE Asia is poorly understood, although Chinese records are fairly explicit on East African slaving. The transformations of the xylophone attest to the early importance of a largely undocumented African diaspora in the Middle Ages. African-related musical traditions have been recorded in many diaspora communities around the rim of the Indian Ocean. The onwards transmission of highly distinctive instruments to islands such as Mauritius and the Seychelles, attested by their use in Afro-descendant communities today, points to a mixed Bantu/Austronesian culture in the transitional era which has been obscured by later developments. Slave cultures, by their very nature, are rarely documented, but just as in the diaspora westwards to the New World, transmit music, oral traditions, food cultures even where languages are lost. Music cultures, even more than figurative art or religious ceremonies, give life to past

⁸ Web searches now produce breathless celebrity journalism and clearly the somewhat offensive implication of the term 'Kaffir' which has led to its disappearance in South Africa has no resonance in popular Sri Lankan culture.

cultures. They can be studied through a synthesis of scholarly disciplines which enriches our concept of past history.

The prominence of elements of African culture in Indian Ocean transfers and exchanges also highlights some intriguing absences. Evidence for Chinese voyaging in the Indian Ocean is excellent, their knowledge of ports and sailing directions well-established (Filesi 1972; Sen 2006), and yet their impact on musical and other aspects of cultural life was minimal. No instrument of Chinese origin or any type of Chinese musical practice appears to have spread with transoceanic voyages. The Sassanians too, despite their maritime culture flourishing over four centuries, left remarkably little trace, except for luxury traded goods (Whitehouse & Williamson 1973). The explanation for this is unclear, but it may be that the focus of certain cultures was so strongly on trade that there was thus little or no cultural interaction with the places where their ships touched. Related to this is the possibility that Africa was a lethal place for traders from East Asia, who would have had little or no resistance to African malaria. The risk of becoming sick was relatively high and this would strongly have discouraged the type of long-term interaction which facilitates the transfer of cultural practices. This is strikingly in contrast with ISEA, where Chinese did form colonies, for example in Borneo and the Philippines, and also traded gongs throughout the region (Arsenio 2009). Even SE Asian islanders themselves, both Malays and those from other islands, left remarkably little musical trace, given that they traded in locations all around the rim of the Indian Ocean. Madagascar constitutes the one exception, where apparently a significant number of individuals, both Austronesians and Bantu-speakers, physically took possession of the island, and both brought extensive cultural baggage. Following the argument that disease was a key factor in determining the settlement patterns of migrants, it is notable that the ISEA populations moved almost directly to the Malagasy uplands where the risks were reduced. The contrast is thus with the Indians, Africans and Arabs, whose pathogen profile allowed them to form long-term colonies. Their musical culture was strongly embedded in the matrix of the factors determining the patterns of maritime travel. Wherever they landed, traces of their music remain, if transformed. These very different outcomes present a striking dichotomy in terms of the impact of cultural and material transfers and were reflected beyond the strictly musical. And it seems this is the case; if we consider religion, linguistic borrowing, subsistence technologies and dress similar patterns should emerge.

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